(RE)STRUCTURING STRUCTURES, SPEECH AND SELVES: YORUBA LANGUAGE LEARNING AND REDEVELOPMENT IN SALVADOR DA BAHIA, BRAZIL

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(Re)structuring structures, speech and selves: Yoruba language learning and redevelopment in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil

Adrienne R. Washington, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2016

This dissertation investigates the redevelopment of Yoruba as a curricular language in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, and the sociohistorical and cultural dimensions of its changing form and function by drawing from the literatures on language contact and the sociosemiotics of language. Centrally, this dissertation clarifies that what drives the local study and sociolinguistic status of these linguistic practices are the social values that Yoruba carries in Salvador according to local cultural schemas.

In four studies, I explore the social and historical significances attached to Yoruba linguistic forms (within local cultural schemas) in northeastern Brazil and how these socially significant language practices often serve as sites for the materialization and negotiation of cultural ideas, particularly notions about personhood (*race*, *heritage*, *nation*). As part of my exploration of the cultural schemas (or *language ideologies*) that shape and are shaped by the local patterns and practice of Yoruba language in Salvador, I examine how these language ideologies manifest or materialize through discursive practices at different levels of the local Yoruba language learning enterprise. That is, through the distribution of Yoruba learning and the types of students (academic, career, heritage, and religious learners), the language-learning motivational orientations and perceived values attached to Yoruba learning, the evaluations of teaching and the notions of expertise or teaching qualification, and the institutions and linguistic forms or skill sets involved in teaching Yoruba.

This dissertation highlights the impact of language ideologies and social context on language learning and teaching as well as language use overall, with theoretical implications for language learning and pedagogy research and language studies more generally. It contributes new scientific data on the sociolinguistic situation of Yoruba linguistic practices in Brazil, highlighting Yoruba's functional expansion from a liturgical to a curricular language. The dissertation also demonstrates an alternate language contact trajectory and unconventional language practices overlooked by extant scholarship. It invites linguists to reframe discussions of the sociolinguistic situation of post-plantation, post-colonial societies, moving beyond a notion of "outcomes" as the endpoint and to instead embrace ever-evolving language contact situations shaped by ever-changing cultural assumptions about language in relation to society.

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PREFACE

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Yoruba is a Niger-Congo language spoken by an estimated thirty million people in places like Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Sierra Leone, the United Kingdom, Cuba and Brazil. Yoruba and Portuguese have been in contact at least since the beginning of Portuguese exploration of the Atlantic coast of Africa in the fifteenth century. This contact was established overseas as early as the mid-sixteenth century, when Yoruba-speaking peoples began arriving in Brazil via the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, which imported an estimated 4.86 million enslaved Africans of various ethnolinguistic backgrounds to Portuguese America (Goza, 2011; Graden, 1996; cf. Curtin, 1969; Guy, 2004).

Today, Yoruba-Portuguese contact continues in the post-colonial, former plantation society of modern Brazil and is evidenced by the ubiquity of Yoruba linguistic practices throughout the landscape. Although Portuguese is the predominant language, Yoruba still forms an undeniable part of the local image of places like Salvador da Bahia—so much so that Yoruba is cultivated as a heritage language in contemporary northeastern Brazil.

My dissertation research analyzes the current learning and redevelopment of Yoruba linguistic practices among northeastern Brazilians in Salvador. Centrally, this dissertation is interested in understanding what motivates or orients *Soteropolitanos* (or residents of Salvador) to study or use Yoruba, and it argues that the answer to this question lies in the cultural values that Yoruba linguistic forms carry in Salvador according to local cultural frames (or *language*

ideologies). Through interviews and survey methods, and grounded in the literature on the sociosemiotics of language and the language contact history of Yoruba in Brazil, I explore the social and historical significance attached to Yoruba linguistic forms (within local cultural schemas) and, moreover, how these (socially meaningful) Yoruba language practices, particularly as used within the domain of Yoruba language learning in Salvador, often serve as sites for the materialization and negotiation of cultural models about personhood (*race*, *heritage* and *nation*). In particular, I focus on how local cultural models shape and are shaped by features of Yoruba as practiced in Salvador. I examine the iteration and negotiation of local ideologies about Yoruba language in relation to *race*, *heritage*, and *nation* through discursive practices at four different levels of the local Yoruba language learning enterprise. Specifically, I explore the distribution of Yoruba learning, the motivational orientations and perceived values attached to Yoruba learning, the evaluation of Yoruba teaching and the notions of Yoruba teaching qualification at play, and finally the institutional sites involved in Yoruba teaching as well as the linguistic practices and skillsets taught as Yoruba. This investigation, in turn, clarifies how the current sociolinguistic situation and redevelopment of Yoruba as a curricular language in Salvador are both supported by and supporting local ideologies that articulate linguistic practices with notions of personhood.

1.1 BACKGROUND AND PROBLEM

Yoruba is arguably one of the most commonly treated topics in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies (Castro, 2005; Dantas, 2009; Harding, 2000). Its popularity partly owes to the unique socio-history of Yoruba in Brazil and, thus, its recentness and salience in the historical memory

and local imaginary of Bahians and Soteropolitanos. Specifically, Yoruba was the language of the last group of slave arrivals to Brazil and predominated as the lingua among Africans and Afro-descendants in the northeastern region of the country by the nineteenth century. There is also a Yoruba liturgical register used for worship in the popular Yoruba (or Nagô-Ketu) branch of the Candomblé religion as well as in other Candomblé nations and less dominant African-based (or African-matrix) belief systems in Brazil. Thus, to date, there is an extensive body of work documenting the historical presence of Yoruba cultural and linguistic forms in Brazil. However, as I discuss in my **Literature Review** [Chapter 2], there is a preoccupation among researchers with the religious function of the Yoruba language (i.e., in the domain of African-matrix religions) at the expense of our greater understanding of the workings of Yoruba linguistic practices in Brazil overall.

Furthermore, the body of literature on the historical Afro-Brazilian linguistic situation, in general, provides us with an incomplete understanding of the current status of African-based language varieties, such as Yoruba linguistic practices, in Brazil. Indeed, as shown in Chapter 2, there is a sizeable body of research describing the various, principal (contact) linguistic outcomes of African speech forms in Brazil. However, current scholarship treats their decline in detail and privileges discussions of borrowings and African influences on Brazilian Portuguese, semi-creolization, and functional reduction to the oversight of the other linguistic pathways travelled by African speech forms in the country (e.g., Bonvini, 2008; Bonvini & Petter, 1998; Byrd, 2012a). Specifically, current scholarship has overlooked the functional expansion of Yoruba from a liturgical register to a curricular language, the redevelopment of Yoruba linguistic practices through language study, as well as the factors that contributed to these changes, which will be explored in this dissertation.

There is evidence that Yoruba linguistic practices resurged in Brazil following attrition and, moreover, that, for several decades now, the Yoruba language has actively been taught and studied throughout the country of Brazil, including at several public universities (e.g., Alberto, 2011; Brown, 1994; Capone, 2010; Dawson, 2014; Parés, 2004; Petter, 2006/2007; Santos, 2008). The caveat, however, is that, given their non-linguistic and/or distinct research objectives, none of the previous research that has acknowledged the study of Yoruba in contemporary Brazil has ever systematically or empirically explored the topic, especially not from a linguistic perspective. There is, thus, the need for an up-to-date discussion of the Yoruba language in Brazil that explores more than just its historical decline or contemporary religious significances but, moreover, focuses on elaborating its current sociolinguistic situation and redevelopment as a curricular language. Additionally, given that extant linguistic explorations of Yoruba teaching and pedagogy have tended to focus on cases in the West African context, Europe or the U.S. to the oversight of other Yoruba language learning communities (e.g., Adeniyi, 2005; Alao, 1999; Mosadomi, 2006; Moshi, 2011; Ojo, 2006, 2008; Olabode, 1995; Orie, 2006; Schleicher, 1997), as Section 2.2 will show, there is also a need to fill this regional gap in the literature.

One possible direction for research updating the scholarship on Yoruba in Brazil is another study of linguistic retention that discusses the persistence of Yoruba linguistic practices in the vein of similar works in Afro-Brazilian linguistics (e.g., Aragão, 2010/2011; Castro, 1983, 2005; Rocha & Puggian, 2011) or in line with studies conducted within the fields of language contact, sociolinguistics, and diasporic/Africana studies regarding the preservation of a general African oral heritage among relocated communities in the Americas. (There is no shortage of research on Africanisms and the persistence of African oral traditions in American speech varieties, but see, e.g., Asante, 1975; Harris, 2003; Holloway, 2005; Mufwene & Condon, 1993;

Smith, 1972; Smitherman, 1986; Turner, 1949). For certain, the trajectory and continuity of Yoruba linguistic forms in Brazil resembles other cases of so-called African linguistic conservatism, especially cases of (functionally reduced) African ritual languages in (post-) plantation societies in the Americas, such as Yoruba in Cuba (e.g., *Lucumí* and *Anagó* in Cabrera, 1970; Castellanos, 1976; Concordia, 2012; Lipski, 2000; Wirtz, 2014) and in Trinidad (Warner-Lewis, 2009) as well as Akan (*Kromanti* in Bilby, 1983) and Ashanti (Dalby, 1971) in Jamaica, cases which have been made clearer through a language contact perspective. Yet another option for updating the scholarship on Yoruba in Brazil would be a description of the redevelopment and relearning of the language as has been done in countless studies of language renewal and regenesis in the literature (e.g. Bell, 2013; Congáil, 2012; Fhaoláin, 2014; John, 2009; Saulson, 2011; Smith, 2015; Williams, 2000; Zenker, 2012, 2014). To be sure, the cultivation of Yoruba as a sociocultural and sacred heritage language for (northeastern) Brazilians of unknown, heterogeneous and/or complex ancestral origins is reminiscent of other cases of language retention and redevelopment among diasporic populations as part of (language-based) self- and nation-making processes and/or relating to the cultivation of religious heritage (e.g., Modern Hebrew among Jews in Berdichevsky, 2014; Fellman, 1973; Nahir, 1983, 1988, 1998; Paulston, Chen, & Connerty, 1993), cases which engage with the language contact and language policy/planning scholarship. But at the very minimum we want to avoid doing with our analyses of linguistic retention and redevelopment the very ideological work that our investigations should be examining—i.e., avoid reproducing (language-based) diasporic linkages, reifying (semiotically mediated) ancestral ties, and so forth. Thus, for example, several works on the role of *identity* in creole and language contact studies have established that social and (socio)psychological forces motivate sociolinguistic variation and language change and,

accordingly, beg consideration in analyses of such linguistic phenomena (e.g., Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Roberts, 2004). Yet falling back on the 'language reflects society' trope and employing "the notion of speakers expressing a social identity" as an explanation or rationalization for language practices or processes of language change, such as those observable in Salvador, can be essentialist, at best (Cameron, 1990, p. 86). That is, such a notion "implies that social structures somehow exist before language" (p. 81). But, as Cameron pointedly asks, "is it correct to see language use as expressing an identity which is separate from and prior to language? […] is it not the case that the way I use language is partly *constitutive* of my social identity?" (p. 86, emphasis in original).

To that end, several works (e.g., Ben-Rafael, 1994; Eisenlohr, 2006; England, 2003; Leedom Shaul, 2014; Meek, 2010) nicely demonstrate how a third option—i.e., a study of language learning and redevelopment grounded in the literature on language contact and the sociosemiotics (social meanings) of language—allows for a much richer account of linguistic survivals and language redevelopment in Salvador. This approach examines how sociocultural processes inform linguistic processes and vice versa. It provides for the exploration, as Ben-Rafael did, of language (e.g., learning/redevelopment) as a symbolic resource in the enactment and negotiation of notions of personhood and types of belonging. Meanwhile, it avoids, as Eisenlohr did, the common pitfalls of essentializing notions of *heritage* or *heritage language learning* among learner communities purely on the basis of sociolinguistic background. Rather, this bridged approach encourages exploration of the ideologically mediated, language-focused semiotic processes that are involved the cultivation of ancestral traditions or cultures, such as self-identified heritage languages, and in the negotiation of different notions of personhood or belonging.

1.2 THE PRESENT STUDY

This dissertation documents the current status and redevelopment of Yoruba learning in Salvador da Bahia in response to the lacunae in the scientific literature regarding Yoruba language and linguistic practices in modern Brazil. But beyond this basal goal, this dissertation explores the motivations behind the study of the Yoruba language among learners in northeastern Brazil and, specifically, how the local values (about personhood) attached to Yoruba language and linguistic practices, as mediated by local language ideologies and language-focused narratives about *race*, *heritage* and *nation* in Salvador and Brazil, shape and are shaped by the patterns and practice of Yoruba as used in the local research context.

Through an exploration of the formal (or classroom) Yoruba learning community over four studies, this dissertation seeks to answer the major guiding question of the research: *Why are people in Salvador (Soteropolitanos) currently interested in learning the Yoruba language?* Such a question is of import to linguistics research, as this dissertation shows, because the motivations and values surrounding Yoruba language and linguistic practices have implications for the form and practice of the language in the local setting and vice versa. Specifically, cultural narratives that construe the intersection of Yoruba linguistic practices with social notions, such as personhood (*race, heritage, and nation*), shape the social patterning/distribution of Yoruba learning or who sees the language as pertinent to them and decides to study it, the reasons why learners undertake the study of the language, the objectives and evaluations of Yoruba teaching including notions of who qualifies to teach Yoruba, and, finally, which institutions participate in Yoruba teaching and what is taught as Yoruba language in the classroom—all with implications for the structure and fate of Yoruba language and linguistic practices in Salvador.

The study is comprehensive in the engagement of the literature on the social and historical underpinnings of the contemporary development and learning of the language as well as in the methods that inform this research. Specifically, each aspect of the Yoruba learning community is explored in relation to the greater sociocultural context of the research in Salvador and northeastern Brazil as a whole and the broader beliefs and social constructs entailing Yoruba linguistic practices in social life and entextualizing cultural narratives about personhood within Yoruba linguistic practices.

Data collection for this dissertation took place over the course of three months in the latter part of 2013 in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, a context whose social and political history is deeply and ideologically entwined with the Yoruba language. To respond to the overarching research question of this dissertation as well as attend to the guiding research questions of each study, I employed a mixed-method approach to data collection. My methodological approach consisted of participant observations and systematic documentation of practices, which were specifically focused on Yoruba language classroom observations but also led to explorations of Yoruba language learning through religious ritual, cultural ceremony, and daily life. Moreover, to access the data, I utilized carefully constructed, semi-structured interviews and survey methods (questionnaires), which were first piloted on key informants prior to the onset of the research process.

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This interdisciplinary work draws conceptual, methodological and analytical tools from several theoretical traditions, including language contact, sociocultural linguistics (linguistic

anthropology and sociolinguistics), social sciences (social theory, history, critical *race* theory), language teaching and second language learning research as well as Afro-Brazilian studies. Primarily, however, the present research is scaffolded by a framework fusing a language contact perspective with a notion of how linguistic practices can signal social meanings and structurally ground cultural models, that is, *language ideology*. This approach is justified by its demonstrated usefulness in elucidating language retention and redevelopment in similar cases (e.g., of transplanted varieties and heritage languages), as discussed above. Furthermore, such an approach to investigating the case of Yoruba language learning in modern Brazil highlights the broader scope of impact of the current research for studies of language in society and linguistics, in general, rather than circumscribing its significance to region- or language-specific research.

1.3.1 Language contact

Given the (contact) history of Yoruba in Brazil, a grounding in the language contact literature is necessary for understanding the current status, changing form and function and study of Yoruba as not just another case of second or even foreign language learning but in light of a much older history and longer linguistic trajectory of the language in Brazil. Moreover, the historical background or context provided by a language contact perspective is especially important in exploring the cultivation of Yoruba as a sociocultural and sacred heritage language for (northeastern) Brazilians of unknown, heterogeneous and/or complex ancestral origins. These learners deviate from traditional, restrictive understandings of *heritage learners* described in the language learning literature (see King & Ennser-Kananen, 2013) and, yet, because of the contact history of Yoruba in Brazil, still have cultural/historical connections to the target language. Such facts should not be ignored because of the potential impact on the local language learning

enterprise. In short, a grounding in the language contact literature allows for a socio-historically and contextually informed account of Yoruba language learning in Salvador.

Part of my incorporation of this framing involves the use of terms from the discipline to describe the linguistic processes of languages in contact, especially as I overview the history of Yoruba in Brazil (Chapter 2) and make projections for the future of Yoruba language and linguistic practices in Salvador as a result of the language learning enterprise (Chapter 7). These concepts are elaborated as they emerge in the dissertation.

1.3.2 The social function of language: a sociosemiotic approach to the study of Yoruba language learning and redevelopment in Salvador

The current sociolinguistic situation of Yoruba linguistic practices in Brazil and, specifically, the study of Yoruba as a sociocultural and sacred heritage language for northeastern Brazilians of unknown, diverse and/or complex ancestral origins and language backgrounds cannot be effectively analyzed with theories of language contact and change in isolation. They should not be merely interpreted as instances of cultural continuity and as the preservation/persistence of relocated African oral traditions or unquestioningly documented as the resurgence of a language of historical significance in Brazil. Any of these approaches would miss the multitude of social, historical, and cultural processes back-grounding the linguistic moves made on the ground in Salvador that come to bear on the fate of Yoruba linguistic practices. Furthermore, such an approach lacks explanatory power for clarifying *why* (i.e., through what cultural model or schematization of language) some of the language practices and linguistic forms observable in Salvador should even be considered Yoruba language and, thus, instances of linguistic retention, Yoruba language learning or redevelopment in the first place. Instead, a supplementary approach

grounded in an understanding of the social semiotics of language (i.e., social values of linguistic practices within a particular cultural model) can clarify our discussion of Yoruba language learning and redevelopment. This approach requires the notion of *language ideologies* to attend to the cultural models that make Yoruba language learning socially meaningful and valuable in Salvador as well as rationalize and even structure the linguistic processes and changing forms and functions of Yoruba language. This framework also entails the complementary concept of *linguistic indexicality* to account for the idea that Yoruba linguistic features and practices often function as (non-referential) sign vehicles that signal social meanings and convey cultural notions within local language ideologies in Salvador.

1.3.2.1 Yoruba-focused language ideologies in northeastern Brazil

As previously stated, the concept of *language ideologies* is key to our investigation of the current sociolinguistic situation of Yoruba linguistic practices and, in particular, the motivations and perceived values attached to Yoruba language learning in Salvador. I use the term *language ideologies* to describe cultural ideas about Yoruba linguistic practices in relation to the social worlds of Salvador and Brazil, particularly notions of *race, heritage and nation*, as well as related cultural assumptions and evaluations. These languages ideologies are both explicitly expressed in local discursive practices and implicitly embedded, entextualized or materialized in the local patterns and practice of Yoruba language (cf. Gal, 1989). Specifically, I explore how the linking or association (indexicalization) of Yoruba linguistic practices with notions of self-making and personhood via local narratives or ideological schemas allows cultural models to shape and be shaped by the features of Yoruba as practiced within the Yoruba language learning enterprise of Salvador. In other words, through these semiotic processes, local cultural ideas, which articulate Yoruba linguistic forms with notions of personhood, have reciprocal linguistic

implications. Specifically, they have implications for Yoruba language learning, the vitality/viability of Yoruba language practices and, furthermore, the overall sociolinguistic situation (changing form and function) of Yoruba linguistic practices in Brazil. A review of some of the ways in which the concept of *language ideology* has been discussed in the sociocultural linguistics literature can help us to further understand its application within the current research.

An early explanation of *language ideologies* comes from Rumsey (1990), who discussed them as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world" (p. 346). Although this conceptualization does not attend to the indeterminacy and idiosyncrasy of some language ideologies, it does attend to the idea that many of the narratives circulating about Yoruba linguistic practices in relation to social life in Salvador and Brazil are sociohistorically derived, cultural products and are pervasive within the Salvador landscape. These include rhetorics about the central contribution made by the Yoruba ethnolinguistic group in the development of Afro-Brazilian linguistic practices, Afro-Brazilian culture, the local heritage of Salvador and Brazilian culture overall, among other local narratives (see Chapter 3). These narratives often implicate (mobilize or coopt) Yoruba language practices, among other forms of Africanity in the Brazilian landscape, as part of their iteration. Moreover, cultural rhetorics are often even "taken up" as justifications for the promotion of Yoruba linguistic practices and other socially meaningful cultural forms, which, in turn, allows them to visibly impact language practices in Salvador while also being reified or even negotiated through them.

On a related note, a central question in this dissertation concerns the reasons (motivational attributes or goals) that orient Soteropolitanos to study the Yoruba language. Such a question is essentially an exploration of the local social values and perceived benefits of Yoruba linguistic practices as mediated by local language-focused cultural notions or *language*

ideologies. Application of the concept here may seem redundant given that it resembles the notion of *language attitudes* in language learning research—i.e., "an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object," such as a target language and target language community, "inferred on the basis of the individual's beliefs or opinions about the referent" (Gardner, 1985, p. 9). However, a concept that encompasses culturally produced, shared, inculcated and often taken-for-granted notions about languages rather than idiosyncratic ones is much more robust and appropriate for this case about the changing form and function of Yoruba linguistic forms in Brazil being supported by macro-level cultural narratives about personhood, which implicate language practices. This dissertation will consider a number of cultural schemas at work in the local research setting, which frame Soteropolitanos' understandings of linguistic forms and practices in relation to the local social world and even structure and become structured by the features of Yoruba as practiced in Salvador. For example, notions of Yoruba as a *heritage language*—i.e., the ideas that Yoruba language is pertinent to, let alone belongs to, particular religious or cultural groups—are one such instance of linguistic ideologies at work in this research. That is, they are informed by local cultural assumptions about the connectedness of Yoruba language to particular social groups. Similarly, when Yoruba learners rationalize their language study through their professions, areas of study, social identifications or spiritual affiliations, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, they are building upon ideological ties that articulate linguistic practices with social practices or with social groups. Additionally, when Yoruba instructors draw on their membership in Yoruba-based religions (religious heritage) or in the Yoruba ethnolinguistic group (sociocultural heritage) to demonstrate their connections to Yoruba linguistic practices and their qualification to teach them (see Chapter 6), they are

building upon ideologically mediated links between Yoruba language and particular social entities.

And yet language ideologies in this dissertation encompass not just overt cultural notions about linguistic practices (i.e., explicit "talk about talk" and metalanguage) in relation to social life in northeastern Brazil but also tacit cultural assumptions, which inform and are simultaneously informed by the local linguistic structures and practices that ground them. Specifically, the notion of *language ideologies* attends to how cultural ideas about the social worlds of Brazil and Salvador have been materialized through the local patterns and use of Yoruba language practices and are, moreover, implicitly iterated and negotiated through them. I discuss, for example, city buses in Salvador bearing the word <axé> (see Figure 1), a Yoruba borrowing and common greeting, especially among Afro-Soteropolitanos and within African-matrix religions, which now functions as the name of a local ground transportation company. <axé>, I suggest, serves as a salient site for the implicit iteration or materialization as well as negotiation of national and local rhetorics about *race, heritage, and nation*, in this case, ideas about African heritage, inclusion and cultural mixture in Salvador. It demonstrates how language ideologies both shape and are shaped by socially significant linguistic practices—in this case, the Yoruba borrowing *axé*, its cooptation and its widespread employment throughout the city. I also describe the introduction of bilingual Yoruba-Portuguese signs in a local Salvador *terreiro* (or Candomblé temple, see Figure 15). They were created as part of attempts to cultivate the purported "language of the ancestors" and increase the use of Yoruba linguistic forms within the sacred domain of Yoruba-based religions. As you will read in Chapter 6, Yoruba words on bilingual terreiro signs tacitly index or signal cultural assumptions about Yoruba language in relation to, e.g., (religious) heritage or (theological) Yoruba nationhood as well as related moral

evaluations regarding linguistic purity and corruption. In these instances, *language ideologies* provides a framework for understanding how paralinguistic ideas, such as religion, race, culture/ethnicity, or nation, which come up frequently in this dissertation, have remotely anything to do with verbal practices like the Yorubanisms and lexical borrowings scattered across the city of Salvador or with the activity and enterprise of Yoruba language study itself. *Language ideologies*, which "are never just about language, but rather also concern such fundamental social notions as community, nation, and humanity" (Woolard, 2004, p. 58), provides a framework for attending to those more covert discourses and cultural ideas embedded within linguistic forms.

Linguistic ideologies have also been defined as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization of perceived language structure and use," meaning that they function as interpretive schemas for socially construing or understanding linguistic data as well as for categorizing them (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). As Irvine and Gal (2000) explain, "identifying a language presupposes a boundary or opposition to other languages with which it contrasts in some larger sociolinguistic field" (p. 35). Stated differently, understandings of linguistic difference and similitude are never neutral. Language ideologies "parse out" which linguistic/speech forms, features and practices constitute one linguistic code versus another, or where one language system stops and another begins. According to extant linguistics research, (presupposed) linguistic differences and boundaries are often inscribed, highlighted/foregrounded or downplayed in corollary to other mappings of social difference, e.g., racial, national/ethno-political, or socio-economic lines (Bucholtz, 2001; Gal & Irvine, 1995; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Milroy, 2000). Consider, for example, how (along the putative creole continua) the boundaries between *what* is "creole" and *what* is the source or lexifier language are

culturally, sociohistorically and/or politico-economically drawn. They are also theoretically grounded, informed by the overt as well as "hidden assumptions which underlie linguists' models" (Cameron, 1990, p. 79). Thus, Pollard (2003) writes about how different imaginings of Jamaican speech distinctly "play up" or "down play" linguistic contrasts: "If you ask a Jamaican what language he or she speaks you will get the answer 'English'. Sometimes the answer is right. Most times it is not. Most Jamaicans speak some version of what linguists call Jamaican Creole and what the layman knows as Patois (Patwa), dialect, the vernacular, and increasingly, as 'the creole'" (p. v). Eisenlohr (2006), on the other hand, offers an example of how language ideologies construe/project linguistic similitude—that is, how nationalist imaginings among Hindu Mauritians re-render language boundaries and the identification of local languages in a way that minimizes or backgrounds contrasts. Specifically, he writes that Mauritian Bhojpuri becomes Hindi when interpreted through the lenses of the Hindu nationalist imagination:

> Hindu nationalists in Mauritius call Hindi simply 'our language,' they sometimes maintain that Hindi is widely spoken among Hindus in Mauritius. This is performed by categorizing Bhojpuri as Hindi, erasing the important linguistic and socio-linguistic differences between Hindi and Bhojpuri and thereby appropriating a wide set of linguistic practices for the purposes of Hindu activism. (p. 53)

This makes a notion of *language ideologies* particularly pertinent to the present research and its discussion of the changing interpretations, form and function of Yoruba linguistics practices in modern-day northeastern Brazil. It contributes to our discussion of how the sets of practices identified and functioning as Yoruba locally are at times distinct from those in other contexts, especially given that conceptualizations and rationalizations of language structure and use as well as patterns of language themselves are contextually derived, historical constructs and products. Namely, it feeds into the discussion of which types of linguistic forms and skillsets constitute Yoruba linguistic knowledge or Yoruba language and, thus, what counts as Yoruba

expertise and teaching qualification or as Yoruba language learning in Salvador according to local cultural schematizations, which construe similarities or differences and draw boundaries among language practices according to notions of personhood (i.e., *race, heritage, and nation*; see, e.g., Chapters 6 and 7).

In sum, my conceptualization of *linguistic ideologies* in this research treats them as cultural lenses as well as bridges between linguistic and nonlinguistic facts, which construe language practices as socially meaningful and, furthermore, allow the two planes of action to shape one another. Thus, Woolard (1998) describes *language ideologies* as "representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (p. 3). Milroy (2000) similarly explains that "language ideologies mediate […] between macrolevel social structures and particular forms of talk," thereby making languages and linguistic practices (seem) socially relevant (p. 64). Likewise, research in linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics discusses linguistic ideologies as the cultural schemas that make sense of the social distribution of language (linguistic variation), investing correlations between linguistic variants and their contexts of use with social meaning and, ultimately, shaping linguistic practice. Thus, Irvine and Gal (2000) explain that language-ideological notions of linguistic difference and similitude mediate and contribute to language change, citing Labov's (1963) study on the social motivation of sound change on Martha's Vineyard as an example. Cameron (1990) also notes the impact of speaker attitudes on language use/practice and, thus, their potential to effect language change. Similarly, Silverstein (2003) explains that, "ideologically-informed metapragmatics shapes and, in the statistically measurable sense, biases our verbal and other interactional behavior; it endows otherwise mere behavior with indexical significance that can be 'read' in relation to conventional norms" (p. 197). More importantly,

Silverstein's conceptualization of language ideologies offers an account of how beliefs about language (in tow with social meanings) motivate linguistic practice and, ultimately, cause language change. Following Silverstein's lead, sociolinguistic, specifically variationist, studies as well as linguistic anthropological research on stylistic variation often discuss how language ideologies—ranging from the common to the idiosyncratic—interpret and, in turn, shape sociolinguistic variation and change (e.g., Bailey, 2002; Becker, 2014; Bucholtz, 2001; Gooden & Eberhardt, 2007; Hill, 2011; Morgan, 1994). Eckert (2008), for example, explains, "Ideology is at the center of stylistic practice: one way or another, every stylistic move is the result of an interpretation of the social world and of the meanings of elements within it, as well as a positioning of the stylizer with respect to that world" (p. 464). The work of Johnstone and Kiesling (2008) likewise attends to the "ideological schematizations that shape how we hear […] variants," such as accents and regional dialect features, and which, thus, come to inform the life cycles or shift of linguistic forms. Lastly, Eisenlohr's (2006) work in linguistic anthropology uses Silverstein's term *metapragmatics* (or metapragmatic framework) to discuss how linguistic ideologies "organize the indexicality of microlevel interaction in such a way that indexical relationships […] are recognizable as socially meaningful events and enable the reading of performative acts as indicative of particular socially locatable identities (p. 18).

Language ideologies, then, are a sine qua non to my analysis of how cultural ideas about Yoruba language in relation to notions of *race, heritage and nation* as well as related cultural assumptions reciprocally shape Yoruba linguistic practices. Such a framework also entails the notions of *index* and *indexicality*, the semiotic links by which Yoruba linguistic forms have become not just (referential) linguistic signs but, moreover, socially meaningful signals for specific cultural values and often sociohistorically derived connotations within the language

ideologies in Salvador. In order to further clarify the social function of Yoruba linguistic practices in the local context, I will now define the concept of *indexicality.*

1.3.2.2 The social signification of Yoruba language practices through cultural models in Salvador da Bahia

An *indexicality* or *index* is one of three relational signs—alongside icons and symbols—presented by logician C. S. Peirce (c. 1902).[1] The index "refers to its object…because it is in dynamical (including spatial) connection with the individual object, on the one hand, and with the sense or memory of the person for whom it serves as a sign, on the other hand" (p. 107). Indices, then, represent by virtue of association and physical connection.

Silverstein (1976) extends the Peircean concept of indices in proposing several types of indexicalities, of which we will consider the non-referential kind. According to Silverstein, non-referential (or social indices) convey information about the communicative context (e.g., qualities of the language user or domain of use). Thus, rather than contributing to the denotation of a word as do referential indices (e.g., "here, there"), non-referential indices signal social meanings and enable the social function of language. Moreover, Silverstein explains that whereas referential indices (e.g., "mine, yours") are only understandable in context (e.g., with accompanying social information, features of the speech event or contextual cues), some "pointers" are social indexicalities or rather creative, non-referential indices. That is, they bring contextual parameters into being and effect changes in the communicative context; "they produce or entail their context" (Hill, 2011, p. 143).

[1] For a more in-depth discussion of Peircean semiotics, see Parmentier (1994) and Peirce (c. 1902).

Silverstein (2003) further clarifies this notion by conceptualizing multiple *orders of indexicality*—i.e., a theory that indexical values or social meanings are layered (or multi-dimensional), grounded/anchored, as well as "functionally, in dialectic competition one with another" (p. 194; cf. Irvine & Gal, 2000). As such, indexicalities are also "necessarily unstable and indeterminate" (Blommaert, 2015, p. 107). *Indexicality*, then, offers a framework for understanding semantic polysemy (variation) and shift as well as overall linguistic variation and change (e.g., Eckert, 2008; Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008). It is, thus, an important component to our exploration of the redevelopment and changing form and function of Yoruba linguistic practices in Salvador.

The orders proposed in Silverstein's theory represent distinct levels of meaning (change) and consciousness/metapragmatic awareness as well as different degrees of codification of the indexical meanings. The *n-th* (or first) order of indexicality involves correlation between a speech form and the context of its use or social demography, such as a domain of speaking or the social category of the speaker. To clarify this first level of indexicality, let us examine the case of Salvador and northeastern Brazil, discussing the indexicalization of "Yoruba," whether as a mass symbol-concept or as individual linguistic forms and practices.

Historical data on the trajectory of Yoruba language and linguistic forms in Brazil have established some of their contexts of use, allowing us to list several form-demographic category correlations. Among the first-order correlations, we know that the function of Yoruba varieties as lingua francas among Africans and Afro-descendants in nineteenth-century northeastern Brazil established an nth-order correlation in reflection of the context of Yoruba's use (Bonvini, 2008; Castro, 2012; Harding, 2000). Additionally, the liturgical function of Yoruba linguistic practices in the sacred domain by the early decades of the nineteenth century correlated Yoruba language

and linguistic forms with additional social categories, i.e., Yoruba-based religions but also practitioners and/or sacred domains of African-matrix cosmologies, in general (e.g., Bonvini, 2008; Harding, 2000; Petter, 2006/2007, 2011). And with the arrival of L1 Yoruba speakers to Brazil to teach Yoruba language courses in the mid-twentieth century (Alberto, 2011; Capone, 2010; Santos, 2008), the historical correlation of Yoruba linguistic forms with peoples and polities of Yorubaland—which might have become archaic with the abolition of the slave trade and during the barring of Black immigration to Brazil (see Andrews, 2004; Telles, 2004)—likely became reactivated or recycled. These indexical linkages between Yoruba language and linguistic practices and socio-demographic categories in Brazil will frequently surface as relevant in this dissertation. However, this is by no means an exhaustive list of the possible, local *n*-th order associations of Yoruba language and linguistic practices, namely because of the indeterminacy, instability and multiplicity of indexical meaning, as described in the literature (e.g., Blommaert, 2015; Eckert, 2008; Silverstein, 2003). By that same token, we can also assume that the *n*-th order indexicalities of Yoruba have evolved considerably since the establishment of these initial indexical correlations, with new demographic category associations emerging and others becoming more archaic or rare due to, among other factors, the many functional and sociohistorical changes undergone by Yoruba linguistic practices since emancipation (e.g., Bonvini, 2008; Petter, 2006/2007, 2011). Furthermore, first-order meanings are unstable and indeterminate because they can potentially be ideologized or construed as socially significant by linguistic ideologies, thereby shifting or expanding their meanings. This point brings us to the second order of indexicality.

According to Eckert (2008), “the social evaluation of a population is always available to become associated with the index and to be internalized in speakers’ own dialectal variability to

index specific elements of character" (p. 463). At this juncture, when the social distribution of Yoruba linguistic practices gains social value through language-ideological lenses, $n+1^{st}$ (second) order indexicalization occurs (Silverstein, 2003). As a result, ideologized languages and linguistic features can be used as signals of the categories with which they are affiliated. That is, they are available for sociolinguistic work. However, because of the indeterminacy, instability and variability of meaning, items can operate at multiple levels of indexicality at once, meaning that not all language users will hear or read the same social meanings—if any (cf. "ah" in Gooden & Eberhardt, 2007; Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008; "dude" in Kiesling, 2004). To clarify this second level of indexicality, we can return to the case of Yoruba language in Salvador.

By socially interpreting the first-order correlations between Yoruba linguistic forms and their historical contexts and functions of use, some language ideologies begin to hear Yoruba linguistic forms as connotative of certain types of personhood. Use of the forms comes to index social notions, such as being from the northeast, Bahia state or Salvador (i.e., the slave port city or the regions where Yoruba functioned as a lingua franca); being Yoruba or African (i.e., its historical users); and, through national and/or local racial(izing) schemas, being Black. For, as one can infer from Gal and Irvine's (1995) work on linguistic differentiation and the coincidence of linguistic and national boundaries, and as Bucholtz (2001) explicitly explains, "ideologies of race are also ideologies of language […] given the longstanding association between ethnoracial and linguistic differentiation promoted both in early linguistic theorizing and in (other) nationalist projects" (p. 87). At this point in the indexical cycle, the historical distribution of Yoruba linguistic forms and their correlation with certain practices, practitioners and domains of practice are not only socially meaningful to some hearers and users and but also available for mobilization or social work. In other words, they can be used to enact memberships in

ideologically affiliated categories or be heard as signaling membership in historically linked social groups—whether or not this meaning is the intention of the user (e.g., Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008).

For some Soteropolitanos, then, there are Yorubanisms operating at the second level of indexicality, such that their use affiliates the speaker with culturally or historically relevant categories. For example, the liturgical function of Yoruba linguistic practices within African-matrix religious domains has been construed as socially meaningful, such that use of Yoruba linguistic forms is often interpreted (within local cultural schemas) as suggesting that the user practices an Afro-Brazilian religion or Candomblé and/or even that the user belongs to a specific sect of the religion, e.g., the Yoruba-based Nagô-Ketu *nação* or "nation." To that end, Voeks (2010) explains that each nation (or sect) of Candomblé, "maintains a lexicon, chants, deities, offerings, sacred plants and animals, and other traditional knowledge linking them to the source from which they were originally derived" (p. 54). Moreover, Silverstein explains that all registers—whether ritual languages of Candomblé or the secret, in-group codes I describe in Section 2.1.2.3—entail second-order indexicalities and emerge through ideologization:

> The existence of registers […] is an aspect of the dialectical process of indexical order, in which the *n*+1st-order indexicality depends on the existence of a cultural schema of enregisterment of forms perceived to be involved in *n*-th-order indexical meaningfulness; the forms as they are swept up in the $n+1^{st}$ order valorization become strongly presupposing indexes of that enregistered order, and therefore in particular of the ideological ethno-metapragmatics that constitutes it and endows its shibboleths with *n*+1st-order indexical value. (pp. 212-3)

A number of other Yoruba cultural and linguistic practices in Salvador are also operating at the second level of indexicality for some Soteropolitanos, with socially significant usages that are indicative of various memberships or alignments, even when their social meanings remain inaccessible to other speakers or hearers (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008). They will be elaborated

as this dissertation progresses. However, as social meanings grow in accessibility, consensually, conventionality and codification, they achieve higher levels of indexicality, in this case, third-order indexicalization.

By the third level of indexicality, which Silverstein (2003) compares to Labov's (1972) *sociolinguistic stereotypes*, *n*+1st-order indexicalities "have tilted in the direction of ideological transparency, the stuff of conscious, value-laden, imitational inhabitance—consciously speaking 'like' some social type or personified image (note the iconic replication intended) in a fully 'superposed' […] paradigm of alternation intentionally performable at will" (p. 220). As I will explore in this dissertation, many Yoruba language and linguistic practices circulating in Salvador have accessed this higher level of indexicality for Soteropolitanos. As such, they are socially meaningful and available for mobilization in the activation or constitution of certain identifications and alignments (e.g., *Yorubaness, Africanity, Blackness, localness (baianidade or Bahianness, Soteropolitanidade Soteropolitano-ness)*, spiritual citizenship, and so forth). Moreover, their social meanings are the objects of discussion and are highly codified to the point of their being symbolic of certain identifications as well as emblematic of "speaking Yoruba." This logic explains why the previously referenced city buses in Salvador bear the Yoruba borrowing <axé> (meaning 'power' or 'force,' and a common greeting in the Candomblé religion) in much of the way that it clarifies why stereotypical, third-order regional variants of Pittsburghese are visible in written representations/print media in Pittsburgh: they have gone from being merely associated with local speech to, moreover, being emblematic of localness (cf. Johnstone, 2013; Wittkofski, Johnstone, & Bhasin, 2002). Moreover, in the case of *axé*, this index also projects the African and Yoruba character of the city of Salvador and, thus, entextualizes and reproduces local and national cultural narratives about personhood.

Several other key second- and third-order indexicalities will emerge as this dissertation unfolds in an effort to fully examine the changing form and function of Yoruba linguistic practices in northeastern Brazil in light of their perceived cultural values and ideologized connection to social practices in the Salvador context. I explore, for one, how within local language ideologies of interest to this research, purportedly African-based linguistic forms and practices, namely Yoruba-based language practices, become not only articulated or associated with particular social groups according to their sociohistorical contexts of use but, moreover, how they come to carry social meanings or connotations. As previously discussed, language ideologies in Salvador construe the historical contexts of Yoruba linguistic forms and their resultant (indexical) affiliations as socially meaningful. Accordingly, Yoruba linguistic practices become seen or heard as sounding like particular social groups, for example, linked with being from Salvador or being Bahian; they even become racialized and politicized as "Black language" or religicized as "the language of the Yoruba (*orixá*) ancestors" within local ideologies. Accordingly, use of or approximation to these ideologized and, therefore, socially significant practices often becomes essential for the negotiation of notions of personhood and belonging in social categories that have been ideologically affiliated with Yoruba language practices, i.e., certain *nations* (e.g., Yorubaness, Brazilianness or religious nations/sects), *heritages* (e.g., African ancestry), and *races* (e.g., Blackness and/or mixedness). This idea of social indices is what Dawson (2014) is referring to when he explains that, in northeastern Brazil, there is an African-oriented "formulation of [Black] identity that uses the symbols and practice of a particular African culture" (p. 31). Specifically, Dawson establishes (through ethnographic methods) that Yoruba cultural forms in northeastern Brazil are often socially indexical of an African-oriented Blackness, and he likens them to Asante cultural forms in the U.S. (e.g., kente

cloth), which connote Blackness and have, thus, been important for the negotiation of racial identity among African Americans (p. 29). It is also what Parés (2013) means in writing that Candomblé nations are distinguished "according to ritual elements such as language, songs, dances, and instruments, especially drums" (p. 67).

I also highlight ways in which Yoruba linguistic forms and practices in Salvador, including the socially significant practice of Yoruba language learning, can tacitly and explicitly carry social meanings and signal cultural values about the connectedness of Yoruba language with notions of personhood and, thus, through their use, serve as sites for the iteration and negotiation of local ideologies and cultural narratives. Thus, in addition to examples of city buses or terreiro plaques functioning as (non-referential) linguistic indices that entextualize or ground and signal cultural ideas about personhood or even related moral evaluations about linguistic purity, as in the latter case, I also consider how the indexical associations of Yoruba with notions of Blackness, Yorubaness, African-matrix religious heritage/citizenship, localness or *Soteropolitanidade/Baianidade* allow people in Salvador, with emphasis on Yoruba language students, to enact or negotiate notions of personhood through approximation to socially meaningful Yoruba linguistic forms (Chapter 5). I also explore how the historical demographic associations of Yoruba language practices even become perceived as necessary affiliations or backgrounds for operating as a Yoruba expert or instructor within local cultural frames (Chapter 6). In general, these historical linkages implicate particular social actors and institutions in the activity of Yoruba language learning in Salvador.

More important for a thesis on language change, I discuss how a continuum or variety of linguistic forms and practices in Salvador can be identified and function as "Yoruba language," through local language-ideological lenses, even when they deviate from the norms and patterns

of other Yoruba varieties. Furthermore, my discussion will offer several examples of some of the more established (higher-order) social meanings of Yoruba practices in Salvador and explore what can potentially happen when indexical associations become essentialized through their ritual and habitual use, as well as what this inculcation might mean for the vitality or trajectory of such linguistic forms and their source language varieties. These include salient, crossover linguistic forms (e.g., *axé*, *orixá*, as described in Sections 2.1.2.1 and 3.3.2) as well as other visible, stereotypical linguistic practices or linguistic functions (e.g., the Yoruba liturgical register and its sacred context of use). My suggestion is that such codified forms and practices are often incorporated (borrowed or coopted) into the dominant language, like the many Yorubanisms readily observable in Salvador, divorced from their original matrix language varieties (cf. crossing and appropriation in Bucholtz, 1999, 2001; Hill, 1998, 2011; Rampton, 1995). Additionally, because such practices have become so salient and emblematic of "speaking Yoruba," we can even explore how they may lead to the reanalysis of the language, reinterpreting what functions or passes as Yoruba language, Yoruba linguistic knowledge, and as Yoruba language learning in the local landscape (see Chapters 6 and 7).

1.3.3 Terminological clarification | What is Yoruba?

In the previous section, I described the variability of the non-referential meanings conveyed by Yoruba language and linguistic practices in Salvador. Before presenting the overview of this dissertation, I lastly want to offer a terminological discussion to clarify the denotative use of the term "Yoruba" in this research.

The term "Yoruba" takes on multiple and inconsistent meanings in the language learning community of Salvador, as this dissertation discusses, owing to the diachronic and synchronic

variation of the linguistic system over time and to the local language ideologies that interpret it. The coexistence of these different varieties presents an interesting case of language contact and dialectal variation while the perception of different language varieties and varietal differences allows for the observation of noteworthy attitudes and beliefs about Yoruba as a linguistic system and in relation to social categories. Consider, for example, how Yoruba is understood in Excerpt (1) by Clara, a student in the Yoruba learning community of Salvador:

(1) **What is in the dictionary and what we speak in the terreiro doesn't match at all. {{laughs}} So that's why I say: either they are things that are really wrong or they are things that our ancestors brought to Brazil, because they had no contact with Europeans yet. When they came here, I say that they were prisoners, taken—in chains. Did they know what the Europeans were saying? Not a thing. They didn't know. You know? So their Yoruba was pure. It was archaic, it was native. So—Now that they—from the 1800s until now—that they came in contact with the Europeans. And then it began to mix. But, those that came here, no. So, so many things that we say are what the ancestors brought to us. It isn't wrong. But there are also many things that were created in Brazil. Do you understand? There are many things that were created in Brazil.**

For one, this excerpt is riddled with notions about purity and correctness that go beyond the scope of the present terminological discussion and which I will reserve for later (see, e.g., Sections 2.1.3.2 and 6.5.6). However, what I will say is that this participant distinguishes between multiple "Yorubas" or Yoruba linguistic varieties. Clara comments on the discrepancies between (1) older varieties of Yoruba spoken prior to enslavement, which she considers "pure," "archaic," "native;" (2) the Yoruba of the *terreiro*; and (3) what she describes as the Yoruba of dictionaries, likely a modern variety of Nigerian Yoruba and the variety that is often provided as a language model for L2 learning. From her account, we see that there are multiple varieties encompassed by the term "Yoruba" and, moreover, that they are not just distinct, they are hierarchical (see Chapter 6). In fact, Clara comments that they "don't match at all." In addition to the linguistic practices named by Clara in Excerpt (1), we can consider how another member

of the local learning community of Salvador, an instructor who I will call Adebisi, understands and navigates Yoruba dialectal variation in the research context.

(2) **There was this interesting incidence one time, many years back. I went to this city outside of Salvador. We call it Cachoeira. And we went in a group from the— When I was studying here. And there was this man. He knew there were some people from Nigeria, Yoruba-speaking people, so they went to call him. Cause he learned his Yoruba from his grandmother. And he came and he was— He said, "Oh, look. A Yoruba man." So he was speaking. I didn't understand anything because it was the archaic type. He was talking— You can— You could pick some words, but no syntax. They don't form sentences. But there is no meaning. You want to say, "Telephone is on the table." He doesn't— Maybe he knows the word for "telephone" and he knows the word for "table," but there must be prepositions. There must be other aspects of the grammar that will join everything together to form a sentence. This does not exist. It's like when they sing their music to— their songs, you won't know the meaning—except some of them that are now learning new songs in Modern Yoruba to be able to— So— But— I told them, "You are not communicating because I couldn't form a sense— No sentence in the things you are saying." They are— They are words that are just— Like I could pick some of the words, but you cannot bring them together to form sentences and to form meaning.**

In Excerpt (2), we again observe ideas about correctness and legitimacy. They contrast with ideas espoused by Clara in the previous excerpt by, for one, privileging distinct linguistic practices (i.e., those associated with modern Nigerian Yoruba) as the standard or norm of "Yoruba." In the excerpt, Adebisi recalls an encounter with a speaker of *Nagô* (Yoruba), for whom the language was learned from his grandmother. Adebisi comments on differences between the Nagô Yoruba variety and modern Nigerian varieties of Yoruba as well as liturgical varieties, which he describes as used in "songs." Among other things, these two excerpts point to the diachronic and synchronic variation that characterizes both the concept-symbol and language varieties of "Yoruba" in northeastern Brazil, and, thus, the need to establish a meaning for the term given its long and complex history. This section, therefore, briefly maps out some of the referents of the term "Yoruba" in Salvador in order to clarify the terminology and scope of this dissertation.

During its long and complex history in Brazil, “Yoruba” has denoted a multitude of language varieties and linguistic practices, ranging from the linguistic systems transported from Yorubaland to Brazil during the era of the slave trade, to the linguistic traditions, including the lingua franca and liturgical registers, that developed and crystallized in Brazil in the enslavement and then post-colonial periods, to the newer waves of Yoruba language varieties that have entered Brazil during the post-emancipation period and since the onset of formal Yoruba teaching by Nigerian speakers in the mid-twentieth century. Owing to the socio-history of Yoruba language varieties in Brazil and, more specifically, in Salvador, Soteropolitanos are tasked to navigate a unique linguistic situation characterized by dialectal variation and the coexistence of a continuum of different varieties encompassed by the term “Yoruba.” At the Candomblé terreiro, the Soteropolitano encounters the Yoruba ritual language. Commonly referred to as “the language of the orixá ancestors,” the Yoruba ritual language is functionally reduced and restricted in terms of use, which is to say, not a first language or language of everyday life outside the sacred domain (Bonvini, 2008; Petter, 2006/2007, 2011). Functionally, it is a liturgical register (as well as a symbolic resource) reserved for religious practice and in-group communication among initiated members and practitioners of Yoruba-based and Afro-Brazilian religions (Parés, 2004; Voeks, 2010). Structurally, this liturgical register is said to exhibit “pidginized forms,” which distinguishes its lexicon and grammatical system from full languages, such as its source language or native varieties of modern Yoruba (Bonvini, 2008, p. 51; Petter, 2006/2007, p. 64).

In select commercial areas of the city as well as in academic contexts, the Soteropolitano may encounter Nigerian varieties of Yoruba as spoken by native speakers from Yorubaland and, oftentimes, southwestern Nigeria. These speakers and their varieties have typically come to

Brazil as a product of the transnational, cultural and academic exchanges established between Brazilian and Nigerian universities in the aftermath of West African decolonization and the Brazilian *reAfricanization* movement (Alberto, 2011; Capone, 2010; Dawson, 2014; Santos, 2008). In the Yoruba language learning classroom, these L1 Yoruba varieties often serve as the language models offered as the target for L2 learning, or students may learn Yoruba by way of non-native instructors from (northeastern) Brazil, who learned the language second-hand from said Nigerian instructors as well through contacts with the multitude of Yoruba linguistic practices that characterize an upbringing and daily life in Salvador.

In the Portuguese spoken, sung and plastered throughout the city of Salvador and pervading the culture of the city's art and tourism industries, the Soteropolitano hears and reads Yorubanisms. These Yorubanisms are the borrowed linguistic elements and lexical items of ultimate Yoruba origin that have been incorporated in varying degrees into Portuguese lects due to the long period of Yoruba-Portuguese contact—albeit sometimes without the user knowing their roots (e.g., Aragão, 2010/2011; Castro, 1983, 2005; Davis, 2000; Lipski, 2006; Rocha & Puggian, 2011). The Soteropolitano may furthermore witness Brazilians speaking *Nagô*, the moribund variety of Yoruba transmitted by some Yoruba slaves to their descendants (Pierson, 1942; Turner, 1949; Watkins, 1972). The restricted Nagô code has a limited functional load, spoken by bilingual persons with L1 proficiency in the language, and has a limited domain of use often within remote, isolated areas of Bahia (e.g., Cachoeira in the interior of the state).

Between these varieties of Yoruba, one can notice, both overlaps and differences: for instance, lexical variation in terms of the words that the different varieties of Yoruba use to reference concepts like "stone" and "table" (see Table 1). Additionally, local varieties of Yoruba, such as the liturgical register, often reflect phonological influence from Portuguese, for example,

bearing collapsed tones and a phonemic inventory more in line with Brazilian varieties of Portuguese. There is also orthographic variation in terms of the symbols used to represent speech sounds in the different varieties of Yoruba (Table 2). Some instances of distinctions between the different Yoruba varieties are perceptible to language learners while others are below the level of awareness. Tables 1 and 2 display some of the lexical and orthographic variants that exist between various Yoruba varieties in Salvador as per field notes from interviews and classroom observations.

Table 1. Lexical variants among Yoruba varieties in Salvador

Lexical variation		
Gloss	Liturgical Yoruba	Mainstream Nigerian Yoruba
"table"	pako	patako
"stone"	otá	okuta

Table 2. Orthographic variants among Yoruba varieties in Salvador

Orthographic variation		
Gloss	Yorubanisms (lexical borrowings into Brazilian Portuguese lects)	Mainstream Nigerian Yoruba
"power"	axé	aṣẹ
"first or preferred wife"	yalodê ~ iyalodê	iyalode
"ladyship/chief"	ialê	iya le

In this dissertation, I am principally concerned with the development of Yoruba as a curricular language and with Yoruba linguistic practices in the curricular context. However, I variably and broadly use "Yoruba" to encompass or reference the contemporary continuum of language varieties and linguistic practices that have crystallized in northeastern Brazil in

consequence of the introduction of Yoruba speakers during the era of the slave trade and through the many reintroductions of Yoruba varieties since abolition. All of these varieties converge in the language learning context because of the presence of people with various ties to Yoruba language and linguistic practices and in reflection of the many ways in which the participants of this research varyingly and sometimes dissentingly understand the concept-symbol known as Yoruba.

1.4 CONTRIBUTIONS

This contextualized study of Yoruba language learning and redevelopment in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, contributes to broader conversations in the fields of linguistics, diasporic/Africana studies and Latin American studies for several reasons. First, this dissertation contributes to the language teaching and second language learning research within the field of linguistics. For one, it employs and expands the current understanding of *heritage languages*, especially because the learners in this research are shown as having varied and heterogeneous origins as well as Portuguese first languages and yet, within local language ideologies and cultural models, often see Yoruba as a heritage language tied to their culture. My findings on language learning motivation in Salvador enrich and expand two dominant theoretical approaches in language learning motivation studies, i.e., the *Socio-educational model* (Gardner & Lambert, 1959) and *Self-determination theory* (Deci & Ryan, 1985), by extending them to a new sociocultural context, which bolsters their reliability. Furthermore, the findings of my four studies indicate how the social milieu of Salvador and the language ideologies circulating therein support and are supported by the local patterns and practice of Yoruba in Salvador. Specifically, they

reciprocally shape Yoruba language learning—that is, the distribution of language learning, learner motivations and goals, evaluations of teaching and notions of teacher qualification/expertise, and, finally, what is defined as the target language and taught as Yoruba in the classroom. In this way, this research engages with and expands broader conversations in the language teaching literature about the impact of social context on language learning (e.g., Abongdia, 2009; Dyers & Abongdia, 2010; Shaw, 1997; Spolsky, 1989; Stern, 1983). Methodologically as well as theoretically, it implies that the activities of language teaching and learning cannot be reliably analyzed or fully understood when divorced from context and without consideration of the local language ideologies at play.

Secondly, this research contributes to area, regional and language-specific studies. First, this research responds to the lacunae in the scientific literature on Yoruba linguistic practices in Brazil by offering critical empirical data on Yoruba language learning in Salvador da Bahia. As such, this dissertation establishes Yoruba learning and teaching in Brazil as an important research consideration for Afro-Brazilian studies and Afro-Brazilian linguistics. Additionally, linguistic explorations of Yoruba learning have, thus far, focused only on certain contexts—that is, on cases in the West African context, Europe or the U.S. to the oversight of other Yoruba language learning communities, namely those in the Americas. This contextualized study adds new data and extends the body of research on AFL2 pedagogy (i.e., the teaching of African languages as a second or foreign language) to include Yoruba language learning in the Brazilian context. As such, this dissertation enhances current understandings of the language learning interests and (ideologized) connections, learner motivational orientations and goals, notions of teacher qualification and training, and instructional methods as well as competencies fostered as parts of the spread of Yoruba language study across the globe. In short, this dissertation builds

upon extant research on Yoruba teaching pedagogy and brings the contextualized situation and Brazilian practice of Yoruba teaching to the broader table, so to speak. Finally, the fact that Yoruba linguistic forms have persisted in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, and are currently undergoing redevelopment and cultivation—in part, because of their import as ancestral heritage traditions—connects to conversations in diasporic/Africana studies about cultural continuity among relocated African-based communities.

By the same token, this research presents a case of putative African or ancestral oral traditions that survived the language contact situation of the Portuguese-dominant, plantation society of colonial Brazil, as evidenced by the ubiquity of Yorubanisms in the modern Salvador landscape. As such, it draws on and contributes to conversations about linguistic retention (as well as reanalysis and change) in the field of language contact. This research, therefore, has theoretical implications for studies in language contact and sociolinguistics. It demonstrates how theory of social meaning in language (how *language ideologies* shape and are shaped through *indexicalized* linguistic practices) is not merely a useful concept for predicting or explaining shift in variationist studies. (In fact, the very existence of *prestige planning* as part of language planning efforts shows that linguistic ideologies and social meanings shape the course and viability of a language.) Rather, given that this notion offers a valid theory of language change (e.g., Silverstein, 2003) that is supported by numerous studies in sociolinguistics (e.g., Becker, 2014; Johnston & Kiesling, 2008; Labov, 1972; Milroy, 2004), this dissertation demonstrates that language contact research and investigations of historical/diachronic change must also take into consideration language ideologies and the social meanings they assign languages and linguistic forms, with structural or practical implications, in order to fully understand their trajectories.

1.5 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is presented in eight chapters, including four data chapters that each feature a vignette examining a different dimension of Yoruba language learning in Salvador while looping back to the central thread about language learning motivations and values and how they shape Yoruba as a language in Salvador. The dissertation is structured as follows: Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature on the study of the historical situation of African-based language practices, specifically Yoruba, in Brazil (i.e., Afro-Brazilian linguistics). It traces the status of Yoruba language and linguistic practices through the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, Brazilian enslavement and thereafter and surveys relevant works in the field of Afro-Brazilian linguistics regarding the post-abolition status of Yoruba speech forms in Brazil. It then reviews the available scholarship regarding the establishment of Yoruba language study in mid-twentieth century Brazil. Furthermore, the survey of the literature considers several relevant studies about Yoruba language learning and pedagogy in the global context. These works include texts from the field of African language (AFL2s) teaching that outline language learner identities, objectives/interests and motivations; types of Yoruba instructors; as well as instructional methodologies that characterize the field of Yoruba teaching. This literature review will provide a background for the present dissertation by highlighting gaps in the extant body of research regarding Yoruba language practices in modern Brazil, which requires attention and accordingly rationalizes the studies of this dissertation.

Chapter 3 presents the research questions that guided the four studies of this dissertation as well as the general methodology used to address these questions. Additionally, this chapter offers a background discussion of the setting of the research in order to contextualize Yoruba language learning in Salvador and continue highlighting some of the (ideologized) historical

connections to the Yoruba language upon which participants' language study may build and which underlie the Yoruba language learning enterprise of Salvador, in general.

I then begin to present the main studies of this dissertation. The first vignette is my **Place of Yoruba Learning in Salvador** study [Chapter 4], which presents a survey of the community of learners enrolled in Yoruba classes in Salvador in order to understand the local distribution or patterning of Yoruba study. In order to document who is studying the Yoruba language and, in particular, explore some of the types of learners and learning objectives (e.g., religious heritage, general/sociocultural heritage, career, academic), this study analyzes the socio-demographic data on the learner community, focusing on three main aspects of learners' backgrounds: (1) professional/educational backgrounds, (2) social backgrounds as well as (3) language backgrounds and language use. In doing so, it not only begins to elucidate the types of learners in this population but, moreover, broadens and refines the concept of *heritage language learning* (Dwyer, 2003; Kondo-Brown, 2003). Furthermore, this chapter points to some of the ideological groundings of Yoruba learning and redevelopment in Salvador, elucidating how language ideologies that connect Yoruba language to notions of personhood are embodied as well as supported (and negotiated) by the language learning enterprise and, specifically, by who studies a language or the distribution of learning.

Next, the **Values and Motivational Attributes of Yoruba Learning** study [Chapter 5] offers an empirical investigation of the motivations and orientations of Yoruba students in Salvador in order to understand what incentivizes the local study of the Yoruba language. To do so, the study is, in part, theoretically framed by the *Socio-educational model* (Gardner & Lambert, 1959) and *Self-determination theory* (Deci & Ryan, 1985). These theoretical models, which are two dominant frameworks of language learning motivation, permit us to gauge how

integratively and instrumentally (i.e., socioculturally and pragmatically) as well as intrinsically and extrinsically oriented students in Salvador are to learn the Yoruba language. This study, furthermore, employs the notions of internal stimulus and autonomy versus external compulsion (i.e., constructs of the Self-determination theory framework) to assess two of the more salient language learning interests among students in the community, i.e., religious and sociocultural heritage or what I will term "religion" and "heritage." Lastly, this chapter unpacks the findings of the statistical tests using a qualitative analysis of interview data to clarify the import of Yoruba learning for the negotiation of different types of personhood (e.g., spiritual citizenship, Blackness, African ancestry or roots, localness or Bahianness) among members of the learning community. Ultimately, this chapter clarifies how pervading cultural narratives, which affiliate Yoruba language and linguistic practices with notions of personhood, are reflected in the motivations and perceived values of language learning and, therefore, undergird or drive the local study of Yoruba. As such, it furthers our understanding of how language ideologies shape language practices and vice versa.

Following, I present the **Yoruba Teaching Evaluation** study [Chapter 6], which explores local language ideologies among the body of Yoruba instructors in Salvador and how they reciprocally inform evaluations and ideas about Yoruba teaching, particularly notions of Yoruba expertise and teaching qualification. I adopt a performative approach to understand *expertise* as an (ideologically mediated) aspect of cultural production in Salvador, i.e., rather than an arbitrary, universal or fixed credential. From qualitative analyses of interview data, I construct profiles that explore instructors' (1) language learning histories, professional training, and expressed connections to Yoruba; (2) teaching perspectives or goals; and (3) ideas about what constitutes Yoruba language in the learning context, and, accordingly, what counts as

teaching qualification or Yoruba expertise in light of these conceptualizations. Ultimately, this chapter underscores how local beliefs about Yoruba linguistic practices vis-à-vis notions of personhood are "taken up" and negotiated through instructor beliefs and narratives—i.e., underlying their ideas about Yoruba teaching as well as their assessments of teaching qualification and expertise. Furthermore, not only does it address how notions of expertise are locally grounded (i.e., supported, framed and enabled by context and local language ideologies), but, moreover, because the enactment of expertise hinges on the evaluation or stratification of different ways of knowing and types of competencies (e.g., Bourdieu, 1977, 1991; Carr, 2010), we see that so too are notions of *what*, precisely, constitutes Yoruba language enabled by the local context. These data, then, demonstrate how local linguistic ideologies have consequences for the form and function of Yoruba linguistic practices in Salvador. As such, this study contributes to our understanding of languages ideologies as multidimensional, at times variable or discrepant and, moreover, as recursive and wide-reaching—shaping *who* is hired to teach Yoruba and *what* gets taught (and learned) as Yoruba in Salvador.

Lastly, my **Institutions that Shape Yoruba Learning** study [Chapter 7] explores the sites and classroom contexts of Yoruba teaching in Salvador both in terms of the physical spaces as well as the teaching approaches and practices observed therein in order to understand how social context shapes learning institutions, which, in turn, mold language form and practice. To document the institutions of formal/classroom Yoruba learning in Salvador and their instructional approaches, this study offers a profile of five Yoruba learning institutions in Salvador in terms of their histories, sponsorships, and orientations or interests. It provides an analysis of the physical language learning environments, including the classroom setups and learners represented. Using the concepts of *grammar-based teaching* and *audio-lingualism* (as

discussed by Steinberg, Nagata, and Aline, 2001) as well as the notions of *content-based* and *goal-based* teaching approaches (Folarin-Schleicher, 1999; Moshi, 2001), it describes observable teacher practices as well as instructional resources, activities, and methods used in these Yoruba language classrooms while providing examples from actual lessons. Ultimately, this chapter culminates the research by demonstrating how the motivations and values attached to Yoruba in the local context reciprocally shape what happens in the classroom and, in turn, what is defined, taught and potentially learned as Yoruba in Salvador. More broadly, it highlights how local values and language ideologies, which articulate Yoruba with notions of personhood, shape and structure Yoruba linguistic practices, patterns and processes and, therefore, participate in language change.

I end this dissertation with a summary and then a statement of general conclusions in Chapter 8. There, I also present the limitations and implications of this research as well as suggestions for future studies.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides the background for this dissertation by summarizing the literature regarding the history of Yoruba language and linguistic practices in Brazil. I trace the status of Yoruba through the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, Brazilian enslavement and thereafter. I survey relevant works in the field of Afro-Brazilian linguistics regarding the post-abolition status of African-based speech forms in Brazil while highlighting gaps in the body of research on African-based linguistic practices, particularly Yoruba, which need attention and, thus, rationalize the present research. Lastly, I end with a discussion of the scholarship on the contemporary development of Yoruba as a curricular language in both the Brazilian and global contexts.

2.1 THE SOCIO-HISTORY OF YORUBA IN BRAZIL

For much of the slaving period, West-Central Africa and especially the Congo-Angola region provided the majority of African imports to Brazil, with Bantu speakers of languages like Kimbundu, Umbundu, and Kikongo, predominating among slaves exported to Portuguese America (Byrd, 2012b; Castro, 2005; Lucchesi, 1998, 2009). In the eighteenth century, however, Bahian merchants established a direct exchange between (1) the state of Bahia, Brazil, and (2) the Bight of Benin, including Dahomey (or the modern-day Republic of Benin), modern Togo, and western Nigeria (Agwuele, 2004). At that time, Bahia was one of three slave ports in Brazil,

the colonial capital of the territory, and the slave center for Brazilian sugar cultivation. Facilitated by the fall of the Oyo Kingdom and civil wars along the Slave Coast (Castro, 2005; Harding, 2000), the Bahian slave trade thereafter became almost exclusively concentrated in Yoruba areas of West Africa (Agwuele, 2004), and the Bight of Benin eventually came to supply the bulk of the slave population in Bahia and the vast majority of Brazilian slaves altogether (Reis & Mamigonian, 2004).

According to Harding (2000), Yorubas were in the minority among other ethnolinguistic groups that came to Brazil in the early cycles of the slave trade, reportedly comprising a maximum of forty percent of the African arrivals to Bahia (Reis & Mamigonian, 2004). However, by the late eighteenth century, the Bight of Benin became the second largest trafficking zone in Africa (Reid, 2004), with Bahia receiving eighty-eight percent of the slave exports from the region (Reis & Mamigonian, 2004). According to Castro (2005), numerous and successive waves of slaves from the Bight of Benin began to arrive on Salvador's shores in the late eighteenth century, leading to the predominance of Kwa languages, including Ewe-Fon, Akan and principally Yoruba—known locally as *Nagô*[2]—in the region (Byrd, 2012b; Lucchesi,

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[2] *Yoruba* is a relatively newer term in the Bahian and Brazilian contexts and reportedly only came into popular usage after the mid-twentieth century with the establishment of Yoruba language courses (Castro, 2012). *Nagô*, on the other hand, has traditionally been the term used in Bahia to designate what we often discuss as "Yoruba." It derives from *Anagô*, a term originally used as an ethnic self-identifier among a small subgroup of Yoruba speakers located southeastward of Dahomey (present-day Benin) in southwestern Yorubaland (Parés, 2004; Reid, 2004; Reis & Mamigonian, 2004). The term was later adopted by their geographical neighbors to the west, the Gbe people of Dahomey, during the Brazilian slave trade (Lohse, 2004; Reid, 2004). In the Gbe languages, *Nagô* was used as a generic designation to more generally reference all Yoruba-speaking peoples regardless of ethnicity and, eventually, all peoples from the Bight of Benin as well as slaves exported through (primarily Dahomean) ports regulated by Gbe speakers (Johnson, 2002; Lovejoy, 2004; Reis & Mamigonian, 2004).

With the Bahian slave trade almost exclusively concentrated in areas of Yorubaland, the Nagôs (or Yorubas) grew to become the most numerically dominant and influential African group in Bahia during slavery while their cosmologies, which crystallized in the Bahian context, came to constitute various religious traditions, including the largest and most popular branch of Candomblé known as Nagô-Ketu. Furthermore, the hegemony or predominance of the Nagô people and their language varieties in Bahia during slavery was such that the term *Nagô* eventually became used indiscriminately to reference all languages and persons of African origin in Brazil (Castro, 2012).

2009). With the turn of the nineteenth century witnessing a rise in slave importations to Bahia, Yorubas grew to become the slave majority in the state (Agwuele, 2004; Harding, 2000). Moreover, Harding (2000) informs that by the third decade of the nineteenth century, "the Nagô language had become the form of common parlance among Bahia's blacks" (p. 48), while Brazil likewise grew to become one of the world's largest concentrations of Yoruba speakers (Reis & Mamigonian, 2004).

The insertion of African languages into the social milieu of colonial Brazil alongside indigenous, (restructured) colonial and incipient contact varieties made for a veritable situation of multilingualism and a complex case of language contact. *So what was the status* (or function; Stewart, 1968) *of Yoruba during the slaving period?*

2.1.1 Yoruba in the era of Brazilian colonialism and enslavement

There are many possible trajectories for languages in contact, including first language (L1) shift, (L1) maintenance, multilingualism, language convergence or cross-linguistic influence, language genesis, as well as language redevelopment (see Sebba, 1997; Winford, 2003). The likelihood of each outcome is constrained by an array of linguistic and social factors (see Arends, 1994; Mufwene, 2001; Paulston, 1994; Sankoff, 2001; Singler, 2006a, 2006b). But whereas many Atlantic colonial societies in the Americas saw creole formation among the lects in contact, research on the Afro-Brazilian linguistic situation indicates that African languages in colonial Brazil did not generally undergo creolization. This trajectory was due to several historical-demographical factors in the slaving period that dissuaded such a break in transmission. According to Naro (cited in Bonvini, 2008, p. 20), the widespread creolization of Portuguese in colonial Brazil was prevented by: (1) the preexistence of a common language or *língua geral* to

mitigate communication barriers among the first African slaves without need for an additional intergroup language or *pidginization* processes (see Byrd, 2012b), as well as (2) insufficient linguistic diversity to necessitate the development of a broker language thereafter due to a Yoruba majority in Bahia and a predominance of speakers of Bantoid languages in other states. Similarly, Lucchesi (2009) argues that widespread creolization in colonial Brazil was inhibited by:

- The degree of social interaction or integration among urban, domestic and mining community slaves; relatively proportionate Black-White population ratios in certain parts of Brazil; and miscegenation, all of which resulted in the Afro-Brazilian population having adequate access to the colonial target language (see also Castro, 2005, pp. 4-6)
- The use of African languages as lingua francas among segregated, fugitive or other isolated slaves communities
- The absence of a familial and social life among the slave population due to the poor quality of life during the slaving period[3]
- General incentives to learn the colonial language

These sociohistorical conditions can be compared to the ecologies of other Atlantic plantation societies in the Americas or even in rural or interior speech communities in isolated pockets of Brazil whose conditions, in contrast, *did* support considerable target language restructuring (Holm, 2001, 2004; Lipski, 2006; Lucchesi, 2009; Mello, 1997).

[3] Notably, the presence of poor quality of life in colonial Brazil and the resultant high rates of mortality and thus constant waves of replacement slaves parallel some cases of language contact wherein creolization did occur (cf. Arends, 1994, 1995; Singler, 1992). These different linguistic consequences, then, may stem from the fact that Brazilian slaves generally acquired an African language as lingua franca and/or the colonial language of Portuguese as a broker language for inter-ethnic communication, much like locally-born Hawaiian children in the early history of the territory who acquired the L1s of their peers to mitigate inter-group communication barriers (Singler, 2006b), whereas "abnormal" linguistic transmission and inter-ethnic communication barriers in other plantation societies typically lead to the genesis of novel second languages in the form of pidgins and/or creoles.

In lieu of widespread creole formation, then, research suggests that African slaves in Brazil generally acquired (some form of) Portuguese for communication with Whites and locally born Afro-descendants and/or utilized an African auxiliary language for intraracial communication (Bonvini, 2008; Byrd, 2012b; Harding, 2000; Lucchesi, 2009). Specifically, Bahian slaves adopted a Yoruba auxiliary language, which came to predominate as lingua franca or common language in Bahia state by the 1830s (Harding, 2000), while the Kimbundu and Mina lingua francas of Congolese/Bantoid and Ewe/Gbe origins, respectively, predominated among slave and other Afro-Brazilian populations in the north and southeast of Brazil (Bonvini, 2008; Lucchesi, 2009). Castro (2005) cites Nina Rodrigues (1945) in alluding to the use of a Yoruba contact variety, or 'Nagô dialect,' in eighteenth century Salvador. Lucchesi (2009) also attests to the status of Yoruba as a common language in colonial Brazil, writing: "The predominance of speakers of the Kwa group languages (mainly Yoruba) led to utilization of a Yoruba lingua franca (called *nagô* in Bahia), which was commonly used in Bahia city [Salvador] in the nineteenth century, perhaps continuing into the beginning of the twentieth century" (p. 67).[4] According to Byrd (2012a), these African auxiliary languages even coexisted with Portuguese in a code-switching relationship within some Afro-Brazilian speech communities during Brazilian enslavement. In addition to its status as a lingua franca in colonial Brazil, the literature also indicates that Yoruba had furthermore acquired a liturgical function within the sacred domain of African-based or African-matrix cosmologies, such as Candomblé,[5] by the first decades of the nineteenth century (see, e.g., Bonvini, 2008; Lucchesi, 2009):

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[4] **My translation. Original quotation:** "o predomínio de escravos falantes de línguas do grupo kwa (maioritariamente iorubás) levou a utilização de uma língua franca ioruba (chamada na Bahia *nagô*), que era de uso corrente na Cidade da Bahia no século XIX, devendo ter se prolongado até o inicio do século XX."

[5] Candomblé is a "religious practice that originated in African traditions brought into Brazil by slaves" (Parés, 2004, p. 185) and crystallized locally. It consists of several branches or *nations* (Nagô-Jeje, Angola, and

> A newspaper account cited by Pierre Verger, for example, indicates that in 1835 a group of Nagô men and women were gathered in a house in the Rua de Paço, dancing and singing in their language in a ceremony of Candomblé. Also, Nina Rodrigues's account of ceremonies at the Gantois terreiro in the 1890s indicates that Yoruba was used as a liturgical language there. (Harding, 2000, p. 56)

This language situation, however, changed drastically beginning in the early nineteenth century due to a number of developments. In particular, British authorities in cooperation with Brazilian diplomats passed the Anglo-Brazilian Anti-Slave Trade Treaty, legally banning the international slave trade in 1830. Although the importation of Africans and hence speakers of African languages would continue as piracy until the 1850s, the late- nineteenth century would see involuntary African immigration to Brazil cease altogether. The abolition of the slave trade would trigger the redistribution of the Afro-Brazilian population throughout the country and the onset of new situations of language contact that would induce change among these African-based/Afro-Brazilian varieties (Castro, 2005).

In 1888 and with the passage of the *Lei Áurea* (the Golden Law), Brazil became the last nation in the Western Hemisphere to abolish slavery. With the illegal trade continuing at least until the mid-nineteenth century, Brazil undoubtedly had a large population of African-born slaves at the time of emancipation. Yet, despite the persistence of some African languages as vehicular languages alongside Portuguese throughout the more than three-hundred-year period of Brazilian enslavement, research explains that the abolition of the international slave trade followed by emancipation and in turn a new economic tide led to the redistribution of the Afro-Brazilian population with implications for the linguistic situation of post-abolition Brazil.

Caboclo), which trace their practices to different regions and communities in Africa. Among them, the Ketu or Nagô nation is the largest and most popular branch and traces its origins to the ancient city-sate of Ifé (in modern-day Nigeria). It developed among Yoruba speakers from Dahomey (Benin) and Nigeria and has a unique/distinct ritual practices and set of deities known as *orixá* (or divinized Yoruba ancestors).

> Starting with the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade to Brazil in 1856 and continuing until the official abolition of slavery in the country in 1888, internal trafficking intensified. Enslaved blacks on northeastern plantations were taken to other regions in the south and southeast (later occupied by European and Asians [immigrants]) and, in the opposite direction, from the Midwest to exploit the Amazon forest, where indigenous groups predominated. Therefore, as a result of the vast geographic scope achieved by this human distribution, the black element became a constant presence in all regions of Brazil under the colonial and slave regime. A phenomenon that is similar to this human mobility, with its cultural and linguistic dynamics, is presently occurring because of the migrations of Afro-descending Brazilians to the industrialized states of the Center-South of the country and to the mining regions in the North and Midwest in search of better living conditions.[6] (Castro, 2005, p. 6)

Bonvini (2008) and Byrd (2012b) charge the internal migration of the Afro-descending population from rural to urban areas with the decline and, in some cases, gradual disappearance of African languages that had once predominated in local Afro-Brazilian speech communities. This postulation parallels the findings of other language contact studies in terms of the impact of an urban setting, particularly its degrees of diversity and inter-group communication, on language shift (e.g., Nordberg, 1994; Roberts, 2004; Singler, 2006a, 2006b). In some instances, the redistribution of the ex-slave population triggered a decrease in the social functions of African languages and a restriction in their domains of use to, e.g., intra-group contexts among Afro-Brazilians, such as Afro-Brazilian/African-matrix religious temples (Bonvini, 2008), rural and isolated communities (Byrd, 2012a, 2012b), and Black fraternal societies (Harding, 2000), all of which are changes symptomatic of language loss. Whereas African languages became functionally reduced, the Portuguese language spread in the aftermath of emancipation to include

[6] **My translation. Original quotation:** "Finalmente, com a extinção do tráfico transatlântico para o Brasil em, 1856, até a abolição oficial da escravatura no país em 1888, o tráfico interno foi intensificado. Negros escravizados nas plantações do nordeste foram levados para outras nas regiões do sul e sudeste (depois ocupadas por europeus e asiáticos) e, em direção oposta, do centro-oeste para explorar a floresta amazônica, onde os povos indígenas são preponderantes. Em conseqüência, portanto, da amplitude geográfica alcançada por essa distribuição humana, o elemento negro foi uma presença constante em todas as regiões do território brasileiro sob regime colonial e escravista. Fenômeno semelhante dessa mobilidade humana com sua dinâmica cultural e lingüística ocorre presentemente através das migrações de brasileiros afro-descendentes para os estados industrializados do eixo Centro-Sul do país e para as regiões de mineração do Norte e Centro-Oeste, em busca de melhores condições de vida."

virtually the entire Afro-Brazilian population as speakers and also expanded functionally, invading social domains previously reserved for African languages and virtually ending the coexistence of Portuguese and African language varieties. *So whatever came of these African(-based) lects in post-colonial Brazil?*

2.1.2 African languages in the aftermath of slavery: Research on the Afro-Brazilian language contact situation

For the first time since the mid-sixteenth century inauguration of Brazilian slavery, African arrivals to Brazil had ceased and African vehicular languages like Yoruba were in decline as community languages (Bonvini, 2008; Byrd, 2012a). Meanwhile government-sanctioned European immigration—with the Portuguese superstrate as well as new socially dominant languages in tow—surged in the post-emancipation period in accordance with the racial thinking and eugenic principles of the time[7] (Andrews, 2004; Telles, 2004). And although research

[7] Social Darwinism and White supremacist views about race emerged throughout the Americas after the abolition of slavery, equating Blackness, miscegenation and tropical inhabitants with degeneracy, and dooming Brazil to inferior status among other nation-states (Telles, 2004). The degree of overt miscegenation in Brazil and the extent of the Afro-descending populations thus created a dilemma for eugenicists in terms of the place of admittedly mixed race persons on racial hierarchies. New ideas of scientific racism also valorized Whiteness and Europeanness as progressive, civilized and modern, thereby posing another problem for Brazil and its majority Afro-descending population (Andrews, 2004). Yet, rather than using the dichotomizing, Black-White segregationist models of many nations at the time, a Brazilian (Lamarckian-based) version of Eugenics proposed that miscegenation could lead to the gradual Whitening and therefore biological progression of lower racial types. Accordingly, Whitening or *branqueamento* as solution to problem of heredity became the ideology and social policy beginning in late 19th-century Brazil. The theory of constructive miscegenation proposed that inferior Afro-descendants and tropical inhabitants could overcome their status through interbreeding with Whites and non-tropical inhabitants of putative superior biology, thus it was said that mixture and the perceived dominance of "White" genes would could eradicate Blackness (Telles, 2004). Brazilian eugenicists thus advocated for racial, demographic, cultural and aesthetic Whitening and Europeanization as vehicles for social progression in light of these changing ideas of race, the structural implications of which included not only the racialization of immigration but moreover the repression of African cultural elements (Andrews, 2004). Specifically, Telles writes that White race became a criterion for immigration, with Brazilian elites recruiting and subsidizing European immigration and the federal government restricting Asian immigration up until approximately 1908, when European immigration drastically

indicates that, "Yoruba still served as a common language among many of the former slaves and even some Brazilian-born blacks" by the end of the nineteenth century (Harding, 2000, p. 48), the post-abolition period nevertheless saw the dispersal and internal migration of Afro-Brazilians to different regions of the country, thereby disintegrating and heterogenizing Afro-Brazilian speech communities and, in turn, further affecting the form and function of African languages in Brazil (Bonvini, 2008; Byrd, 2012b).

The following section outlines some of these linguistic pathways travelled by African languages and Afro-Brazilian varieties, namely Yoruba, due to the Brazilian language contact situation of slavery and colonialism followed by emancipation. This overview will help to further clarify the impetus for the present research describing the changing status of Yoruba linguistic practices in contemporary Brazil.

2.1.2.1 Africanisms in colonial and contemporary Brazilian Portuguese lects

Entire books have been written on the topic of the Afro-Brazilian linguistic situation and the contact varieties it yielded, including more recently *The genesis and development of Brazilian vernacular Portuguese* (Mello, 1997); *Falares africanos na Bahia: Um vocabulário afro-brasileiro* (Castro, 2001); *A língua mina-jeje no Brasil: Um falar africano em Ouro Preto do século XVIII* (Castro, 2002); *Anticrioulo: Manifestação lingüística de resistência cultural* (Couto, 2002); *África no Brasil: A formação da língua portuguesa* (Fiorin & Petter, 2008); *O português afro-brasileiro* (Lucchesi, Baxter, & Ribeiro, 2009); and *Calunga and the Legacy of an African Language in Brazil* (Byrd, 2012a), to name only a few. The current body of literature highlights in detail several trajectories or linguistic outcomes for the languages transported to

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declined. Thus, in contrast with the previous three centuries of Brazilian history, Europeans were now the predominant group immigrating to Brazil.

Brazil by African slaves. One branch extensively treats African languages vis-à-vis the colonial languages of Brazil and focuses on African contributions to the development of Brazilian Portuguese. This camp highlights African linguistic elements that survive in contemporary Brazilian Portuguese varieties as lexical and structural borrowings or retentions. In the aptly titled, "Influências terminológicas da cultura iorubá na língua portuguesa," for example, Rocha and Puggian (2011) survey the inventory of Yoruba lexical and structural influence on Brazilian Portuguese and offer that, "Among the many African language groups that arrived here, the Yoruba are the ones that most influenced the language of the Portuguese colonizers from a terminological point of view" (pp. 627-628).[8] The authors, furthermore, add that, in certain regions of Brazil, such as Bahia, many Yoruba terminologies "are more explicit" and have actually spilled over into more general, quotidian use owing to the particular socio-history of the locale and, specifically, to "certain socio-cultural and religious practices that [have] ensured their greater propagation" (ibid., p. 628).[9] On a similar note, Davis (2000) offers that there is a preponderance of Yoruba lexical influence in semantic fields referring to food and religion, while a number of other researchers likewise allude to the widespread incorporation of Yoruba culinary and religious concepts, like *acarajé* as well as *orixá* and *axé*, into the mainstream, quotidian lexicon of Brazilian Portuguese (Aragão, 2010/2011; Castro, 2005; Rocha & Puggian, 2011).

Ethno-linguist Yeda Pessoa de Castro has published extensively on the matter of African influence and interference in the development of Brazilian Portuguese. Her aptly titled,

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[8] **My translation. Original quotation:** "Dentre os inúmeros grupos linguísticos africanos aqui chegados, os iorubás foram os que mais influenciaram do ponto de vista terminológico a língua do colonizador português."

[9] **My translation. Original quotation:** "Em algumas regiões do país os termos do iorubá são mais explicitados, em função de algumas práticas socioculturais e religiosas que garantiram sua maior propagação. Na Bahia, por exemplo, em virtude das religiões de matrizes africanas utilizarem muitos desses vocábulos, tornou-se corriqueiro no dia a dia da população presenciarmos tais terminologias."

"Influência das línguas Africanas no português Brasileiro," surveys "four centuries of direct and permanent contact between African speakers and the Portuguese language in Brazil," and renders that this relationship during the colonial period until now has effectively yielded the "Africanization of Portuguese" and "Portuguesement [Lusofication] of the African" (Castro, 2005, p. 8).[10] Her work identifies Africanisms in several principal areas of Brazilian Portuguese: the vocabulary, morphosyntax, semantics, as well as phonology and pronunciation. Of particular interest to the present research on Yoruba, Castro's work highlights areas of Yoruba influence on the Portuguese language, even so far as Brazilian pop music.[11] It determines that, "Due to a late introduction and the large concentration of its speakers in the city of Salvador, Yoruba's contributions are more apparent, especially because they are easily identified by the religious aspects of their culture and the popularity of their deities in Brazil" (ibid., p. 8). Perhaps as a cautionary note, Castro adds that the salience of Yorubanisms has also resulted in a tendency for research on African cultures in Brazil to focus on, "one of the most prominent branches of Candomblé in Salvador, the Nagô-Ketu tradition," and to "interpret African contributions in Brazil through a Yoruba optics, even when they are not" (ibid., p. 8).

Castro (1983) works more closely with the question of Africanisms in Brazilian Portuguese by examining the morphophonology of African loanwords utilized at different sociocultural levels of Bahian speech. It proposes a gradient "chain" of speech forms that is reminiscent of Stewart's (1965) *creole continuum*—although Castro does not consider Brazilian

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[10] **My translation. Original quotation:** "Depois de quatro séculos de contato direto e permanente de falantes africanos com a língua portuguesa no Brasil, o português do Brasil, naquilo em que ele se afastou do português de Portugal, descontada a matriz indígena menos extensa e mais localizada, é, em grande parte, o resultado de um movimento implícito de africanização do português e, em sentido inverso, de aportuguesamento do africano."

[11] Santos' (2014) dissertation, on the dissemination of Afro-Brazilian ritual music into the secular domain, also attests to the singing of music, known as *ijexá*, in Yoruba by Brazilian carnival blocks and streets bands in Salvador (p. 62).

Portuguese a creole (Byrd, 2012b)—except more specialized. Castro's chain or continuum consists of five lects or "levels" of speech that vary "according to the lesser or greater degree of phonological and morphological integration of the African lexical borrowings attested in Bahian speech, and in large part, the Portuguese of Brazil" (p. 82).[12] These levels are (L1.) religious terminology from Bahian Candomblé; (L2.) the typical inter-/intra-group language of Candomblé practitioners, members and supporters; (L3.) the colloquial language of Bahia; (L4.) the most educated language that is commonly and regionally used in Bahia; and (L5.) general Brazilian Portuguese. Castro determined in this research that of all the African donor languages, Bantoid influence was the most extensive and profound among the different Brazilian/Bahian registers of speech; however, in the area of religious terminology, the author found a preponderance of Yoruba influence. Notice that these data on the continuity and persistence of Yoruba linguistic forms through African-matrix religious practices in Brazil (e.g., Castro, 1983, 2005; Rocha and Puggian, 2011)—among the other mechanisms that have supported Yoruba linguistic retention—fall in line with linguistics research, in general, regarding religion as a vehicle for language maintenance (see also Sections 2.1.2.3 and 2.1.3.2).

2.1.2.2 African substrata in colonial and contemporary Brazilian Portuguese lects

In addition to explorations on the topic of lexical and structural borrowings as well as cross-linguistic influence/interference in Portuguese, several works in the canon of Afro-Brazilian linguistics studies propose that the influence of African languages on Portuguese was more profound, leading in some cases to the considerable restructuring and creolization of Portuguese

[12] **My translation. Original quotation:** "o produto da observacão de duas situacões sócioculturais distintas e da escolha sistemática entre a mudanca ou não de variedade lingüística que elas revelaram, resultou na identificacão de mais quatro níveis de linguagem e na divisão desses níveis em funcão do menor ou do maior grau de integracão fonológica e morfológica dos empréstimos lexicais africanos atestados nos falares da Bahia e, em grande parte, no português do Brasil."

in certain areas of Brazil (see, e.g., Baxter, 1992, 1997; Guy, 1981, 1989, 2005; Holm, 1987, 2003, 2009, 2012; Holm, Lorenzino, & Mello, 1999, 2000; Holm & Mello, 2002; Lucchesi, 2000, 2008; Mello, 1997, 2014). Mello (1997) updated by Holm (2000) and Lucchesi, Baxter, and Ribeiro (2009) provide an outline of the scholarship on this topic.

Such studies attend to the set of sociohistorical and linguistic circumstances that led to the "irregular" transmission, restructuring and/or (semi-)creolization of Portuguese in some instances as well as the structural outcomes of these contact situations. Among them, Holm (2001) discusses the partial restructuring of the Portuguese language in certain parts of Brazil as a byproduct of its contact with other restructured varieties of Portuguese as well as its acquisition as a second language (L2) by adolescents and adults from indigenous and African linguistic communities. Holm (2004) expands on the author's earlier work on the partial restructuring of Portuguese and contributes to the discussion a theoretical model for addressing partially restructured varieties. Researchers like Dante Lucchesi and Alan Baxter discuss the restructuring of Portuguese as a product of "a light form of irregular linguistic transmission" ("*transmissão linguística irregular de tipo leve*") (Lucchesi, 1999, 2003; Lucchesi and Baxter, 2006, 2009). In particular, Lucchesi (2009) explains that while urban centers and metropolises of Brazil successfully "cultivated" the colonial Portuguese language, other areas—typically in the interior regions of the country—witnessed a polar opposite sociolinguistic phenomenon:

> [I]n the vast regions of the country, Portuguese underwent drastic changes, especially due to the process of irregular linguistic transmission, initiated in abrupt, massive and radical contact situations between languages, comprising the precarious acquisition of Portuguese by the Indians and Africans, its socialization among these groups and its nativization from these defective models, among the endogamous and mixed descendants of these acculturated Indians and enslaved Africans. [13] (p. 53)

[13] **My translation. Original quotation:** "[N]as vastas regiões do interior do país, a língua portuguesa passava por drásticas alterações, sobretudo em função do processo de transmissão linguística irregular, desencadeado nas situações de contato entre línguas abrupto, massivo e radical, compreendendo a aquisição precária

More recently, Avelar and Galves (2014) used a comparative, morphosyntactic analysis of Lusophone contact varieties and African adstrate languages, such as Bantoid varieties (Kimbundu/Kikongo/Umbundu), in order to argue that the second language acquisition of Portuguese by Africans led to (L1) language transfer and grammatical restructuring in the formation of Brazilian Portuguese.

Several works on language restructuring in the development of Brazilian Portuguese highlight specific features in the restructured vernaculars of isolated Brazilian speech communities that point to African structural influence. Campos (2012), for example, offers a synchronic study of verbal inflection in the Jurassaca Maroon Community of Pará state in northern Brazil. Lipski (2006) presents a diachronic study on the development of a Portuguese semi-creole (of Gêge, Yoruba and Kikongo substrate) in the isolated Afro-Brazilian speech community of Helvécia, Bahia. Based on its morphosyntax, he reports that "Helvécia semicreole Portuguese is likely the product of a symbiotic acquisition of Portuguese as a second language by [Swiss and German] immigrants and—perhaps a generation or two earlier—by their African slaves" (p. 1). Countless other works also explore structural elements in the vernacular speech of Afro-Brazilian rural communities in Brazil as the products of restructuring or (at least partial) creolization. These include investigations of variation in the noun phrase (Baxter, 1996, 2009; Baxter & Lopes, 2009; Holm & Inverno, 2005), verbal system (Baxter, 1997; Guy, 2004; Lucchesi, Baxter, & Alves da Silva, 2009), general morphosyntax (Lucchesi, 2014), etc. of Afro-Brazilian Portuguese dialects like that of Helvécia. According to this branch of scholarship on the Afro-Brazilian linguistic situation, then, African languages—principally Bantoid varieties

do português por parte dos índios e africanos, a sua socialização entre esses segmentos e a sua nativização, a partir desses modelos defectivos, entre os descendentes endógamos e mestiços desses índios aculturados e africanos escravizados."

and Yoruba to a lesser extent—survive to varying degrees as the substrate variants in contemporary vernacular and popular varieties of Brazilian Portuguese.

2.1.2.3 Afro-Brazilian restricted codes and registers

A third branch of studies on the Afro-Brazilian linguistic situation discusses Afro-Brazilian varieties in their own right, focusing on what remains of the transplanted varieties themselves in light of a situation of prolonged language contact with Brazilian Portuguese as well as other adstrate/nondominant languages. It consists of studies that explore the varieties that became structurally reduced and functionally restricted to specific speech domains and users. Several Afro-Brazilian varieties reduced to restricted codes and registers in the aftermath of abolition. Utilized by speakers who use Brazilian Portuguese (vernaculars) as primary languages, these speech forms are reserved for communication in specific intragroup contexts. In "Línguas africanas no Brasil," Petter (2006/2007) provides a bibliography and overview of the field of Afro-Brazilian linguistic studies as well as research on contemporary Afro-Brazilian speech forms. Regarding the matter of restricted codes/speech forms in contemporary Brazil, the author explains that Brazil's sociohistorical matrix yielded African varieties that "are [n]o longer full languages, but do reveal traces of their long and intense contact with Portuguese" (p. 64). Rather than primary or "full languages," Petter informs that the surviving African-based varieties have two main functions in contemporary Brazil: [1] "ritual: in the so-called 'Afro-Brazilian' religious services/activities and [2] social demarcators/boundary-makers: as a 'secret' language, used in rural black communities made up of descendants of former slaves" (ibid., p. 64).[14] Petter then

[14] **My translation. Original quotation:** Não se apresentam mais como línguas plenas, mas revelam traços de seu longo e intenso contato com o português. O seu uso – além de estar associado a grupos específicos – está vinculado a duas funções principais: ritual: nos cultos religiosos ditos "afro-brasileiros" e demarcação social: como

goes on to discuss several instances of contemporary Afro-Brazilian varieties in their modern functional capacities and speech domains, including the Tabatinga, Calunga and Cafundó cryptolects, as well as the ritual use of Afro-Brazilian varieties like Yoruba in the Candomblé religions. Bonvini (2008) also elaborates the changing face of African languages in post-emancipation Brazil and in particular indicates that surviving African languages have transitioned from being primary languages to either (1) cryptolects (i.e., secret languages), as occurred with the isolated languages of Cafundó in São Paulo and Tabatinga in Minas Gerais, or (2) pidginized/restructured liturgical languages, as in the case of the Jeje/Ewe, Kimbundu/Kikongo, and Yoruba ritual languages (see also Lucchesi, 2009). Secret languages, Bonvini explains, are most often found in isolated Afro-Brazilian communities comprised by descendants of former slaves and occasionally by descendants of fugitive slaves or *maroons* (*quilombolas)* (p. 51). The social values or functions (i.e., boundary-making) of these lects is key to their persistence in contemporary Brazil:

> [T]he old languages, mainly the vehicular ones (Kimbundu, Mina, Yoruba) were confined to 'internal' use, specific to a particular population as tools of identity preservation, self-defense and affirmation as a group. They were 'repurposed' as specialized languages in a context of secrecy, learned or transmitted, whether in the form of ritual languages reserved for Afro-Brazilian religions, or in the form of 'secret' languages.[15] (Bonvini, 2008, p. 50)

Several relatively new studies also take to documenting these contemporary varieties of Afro-Brazilian speech. Steven Byrd and colleagues (Byrd, 2006, 2007, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Byrd & Moraes, 2007) have published extensively on the Calunga cryptolect of Bantu-

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língua "secreta", utilizada em comunidades negras rurais constituídas por descendentes de antigos escravos, como Cafundó e Tabatinga."

[15] **My translation. Original quotation:** [A]s antigas línguas, principalmente as veiculares (quimbundo, "mina", iorubá) foram confinadas a um uso "interno", específico de uma determinada população, como ferramentas de preservação identitária, de autodefesa e de sua afirmação como grupo. Elas foram "refuncionalizadas" como línguas de especialidade num contexto de clandestinidade, aprendidas ou transmitidas, seja sob a forma de línguas cultuais reservadas aos cultos ditos afro-brasileiros, seja sob a forma de línguas "secretas."

Portuguese origin in Minas Gerais, which has historically been used to communicate in code or in solidarity. In his description of the cryptolect, Byrd (2012b) informs, "Clearly, while some of Calunga's lexicon has terms of African origin—mostly from Kimbundu, Umbundu, and Kikongo (the latter probably to a lesser extent)—its phonetics/phonology and morphosyntax are on par with the rural, regional Brazilian Portuguese vernacular known as *português caipira* ('Caipira Portuguese')," the latter of which is the primary language of its speakers (p. 103). A number of other works also discuss the cryptolects of the Calunga, Tabatinga, and Cafundó communities, including several studies that treat the varieties as anti-creoles because of the cultural resistance said to have led to their grammars (morphosyntax and phonology) deriving from Brazilian vernacular Portuguese and the (at least partial) preservation of their African lexicons amidst the presence of another, more dominant language (Byrd, 2012a, 2012b; Couto, 1992, 1997, 2002; Lipski, 2009; Mello, 1997). In this regard, Couto (2002) writes, "there is a strong pressure from the dominant language and culture on the dominated [subordinate] language and culture in the form of a constricting force. The fact that it [the nondominant language] was still able to maintain at least part of its original vocabulary, a symbol of identity and cultural resistance, is admirable" (p. 50). [16]

The other side of research on contemporary Afro-Brazilian speech forms investigates the ritual function of contemporary African language varieties in the Afro-Brazilian/African-matrix liturgy. In documenting the continuity and persistence of African-based linguistic practices through African-matrix religions in Brazil, they corroborate the notion within the linguistics

[16] **My translation. Original quotation:** "[H]á uma forte pressão da língua e cultura dominantes sobre a língua e culturra domainadas, sob a forma de uma força costrictora. O fato de mesmo assim ela conseguir manter pelos menos parte de seu vocabulário original, símbolo de identifafe e de resistência cultural, é admirável."

scholarship that religion is often a medium for language maintenance (see also Section 2.1.3.2). According to Petter (2011),

> These languages consist especially in the use of a lexicon related to the religious universe generally called Candomblé in Brazil and principally in Bahia, batuque in Rio Grande do Sul, Xango in Pernambuco and tambor de mina in Maranhão. In each of these religions there is a [specific] type of organization and language that distinguishes the different types of Candomblé, classified according to the "nations," i.e., based on the dominant languages represented [at that time]: Nagô-Keto, Yoruba-based; Jeje-Mina, Ewe-Fon-based; Angola, Congo-Angola or Bantu, of Bantu origin (Kimbundo/Kongo/Umbundo). (p. 87)[17]

In addition to the Candomblé religions, Bonvini (2008) cites Umbanda temples as another domain where African linguistic forms inhabit the liturgy, although to a lesser extent due to the predominant employment of Portuguese in the syncretized religion of Umbanda[18] (p. 51; see also Brown, 1994; Santos, 2014; Wafer, 1991).

There is no shortage of literature documenting the ritual use of African languages, particularly the Yoruba register, in the domain of African-matrix religions. This fact partly owes to the predominance of the Nagô-Ketu or *Yoruba* branch of Candomblé and the general socio-history of Yoruba in Brazil—e.g., the functional restriction of Yoruba language varieties to the sacred domain of African-matrix religions following abolition and the increasing common knowledge or salience of their limited context of use (see, e.g., Agwuele, 2004; Bonvini, 2008; Byrd, 2012a; Castro, 1983, 2005; Dantas, 2009; Folarin-Schleicher, 2002; Harding, 2000). Carvalho (2006), for example, documents the use and overall status of the Yoruba register in the

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[17] **My translation. Original quotation:** "Essas línguas consistem sobretudo no uso de um léxico relacionado ao universo religioso chamado genericamente de candomblé, no Brasil todo e principalmente na Bahia, batuque no Rio Grande do Sul, xangô em Pernambuco e tambor de mina no Maranhão. Em cada um desses cultos há um tipo de organização e língua, que vai distinguir os diferentes tipos de candomblé, classificados de acordo com as "nações", ou seja, conforme a predominância linguística representada: nagô-queto, de base iorubá; jeje-mina, de base eve-fon; angola, congo-angola ou banto, de base banta (quimbundo/quicongo/umbundo)."

[18] The syncretized religion of Umbanda emerged in the 1920s in Rio de Janeiro as a product of the appropriation of Afro-based religious practices, including Yoruba cosmologies, into a predominately White doctrine created in 19th-century France and known as the Kardecist religion (Brown, 1994).

music of contemporary Afro-Brazilian religions and informs that the quotidian use of Yoruba among practitioners ceased at the beginning of the twentieth century. Thus, Carvalho explains that there is a struggle to preserve the lyrics of hymns as well as an "effort to prevent the erosion of collective memory [which] implies the development of ritual mechanisms and social etiquette to activate the memory and retard oblivion. The battle against linguistic erosion caused by time is carried out through severe vigilance by 'fathers-of-saints' [Candomblé priests] in order to correct the way members of their houses [terreiros] sing" (pp. 266-267).[19] Santos (2014) likewise informs that the Nagô-Ketu branch of Candomblé not only sings in Yoruba but, furthermore, employs the language in naming objects and titles within the religion (p. 34).

Research also attends to the structural components of African-based liturgical registers. According to this line of research, these ritual languages are not only functionally reduced and restricted in terms of use, i.e., reserved for communication among initiated members and practitioners of Afro-Brazilian religions. Rather, these codes have undergone other types of reduction, "reflect[ing], many times pidginized forms, wherein the lexicon and the grammar is distanced from the original African language" (Petter, 2006/2007, p. 64). To that end, Petter cites Póvoas (1989) in describing a continuum of variation between Yoruba and Portuguese in the liturgical register of Nagô-Ketu Candomblé communities:

> In fact, between common Portuguese, the native language, and Nago, the ritual language, at least two variants are to be found in the Candomblé communities of Nago origin: one with Portuguese syntax, with a strong Nago lexical presence; another, also of Portuguese syntax with Nago interference on the semantic level, with translated lexemes. Thus, the first variant, here named A, is characterized by loans, while the second, called B here, by

[19] **My translation. Original quotation:** "esforço para impedir o desgaste da memoria coletiva implica no desenvolvimento de mecanismos rituais e de etiqueta social para ativar a lembrança e retardar o esquecimento. A batalha contra o desgate linguistico provocado pelo tempo se manifesta na vigilancia severa dos pais-do-santo ao corrigir o modo de cantar dos membros de sua casa."

> calques. Bear in mind, however, that A is not exempt from the possibility of presenting sentences with actual Nagô syntax, which does not occur in B.[20] (ibid., p. 64)

Bonvini (2008) similarly describes liturgical registers as, "mostly pidginized forms, on account of the source of their lexicon and the absence of the grammatical system that is characteristic of the eponymous reference language" (p. 51).[21]

Other texts in the canon of research on African-based liturgical registers have focused on the employment of African languages as symbolic resources in the context of Afro-Brazilian religions. Thus, in much of the same way that cryptolects are treated as symbols of identity, solidarity and resistance in the literature, contemporary African liturgical languages are similarly attributed with boundary-making functions. On the one hand, research explains that these codes delineate and exclude the uninitiated. Thus, according to Petter (2006/2007), African ritual languages are typically only acquired by practitioners and initiated members of Candomblé and serve a restricted function, "as a vehicle of expression in songs, greetings and names of the initiated members, primarily, although they can also serve as a means of communication between practitioners in the same worshiping community" (p. 64). Bonvini (2008) also alludes to the restricted nature of African liturgical languages: "Access to them is actually quite difficult because they are reserved, in most cases, for the initiated. They serve as a support to the rituals:

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[20] **My translation. Original quotation:** "Na verdade, entre o português comum, língua nativa, e o nàgó, a língua ritual, pelo menos duas variantes hão de ser detectadas nas comunidades do candomblé de origem nàgó: uma, de sintaxe portuguesa, com forte inserção lexical nàgó; outra, também de sintaxe portuguesa, com interferência nàgó no nível semântico, com lexemas traduzidos. Assim, a variante primeira, aqui denominada A, caracteriza-se pelos empréstimos, enquanto a segunda, aqui denominada B, pelos decalques. Leve-se em conta, porém, que A não está isenta da possibilidade de apresentar frases em legítima sintaxe nàgó, o que não ocorre em B."

[21] **My translation. Original quotation:** "No plano lingüístico, trata-se mais de formas pidginizadas, em razão da proveniência de seu fundo lexical e da ausência do funcionamento gramatical característico da língua epônima de referência."

chants, greetings, baptismal names of initiated members. It is also intended for communication within the spiritual community" (p. 51).[22]

Yet, aside from excluding the uninitiated, contemporary African ritual languages are also reportedly part of the constellation of symbolic elements that distinguish (between) the different African-matrix religions. Thus, Voeks (2010) explains that each Candomblé nation (or sect), "maintains a lexicon, chants, deities, offerings, sacred plants and animals, and other traditional knowledge linking them to the source from which they were originally derived" (p. 54). Similarly, according to Parés (2013), Candomblé nations are distinguished, "according to ritual elements such as language, songs, dances, and instruments, especially drums" (p. 67). Parés even goes so far as to say that, "the identity of the 'religious' nations of Candomblé, based on the articulation of a series of diacritical signs, shares the same logic and dynamic of contrast also inherent to the processes of ethnic identification" (p. 69). That being said, the liturgical register of Yoruba is among the distinctive ritual elements retained by members of the Nagô-Ketu nation of Candomblé and to a lesser extent by practitioners of other African-matrix religions in part for its cultural value and social function.

Based on these restricted functions, uses and structures of African-based ritual languages in Brazil, Petter (2011) clarifies that, "the term *language* should be understood as a vehicle of symbolic expression and not necessarily a manifestation of language proficiency" (p. 87).[23]

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[22] **My translation. Original quotation:** "O acesso a elas é, na verdade, difícil pelo fato de serem reservadas, no mais das vezes, aos iniciados. Elas servem de suporte ao ritual: cânticos, saudações, nomes-mensagens de iniciados. Destinam-se também à comunicação no interior da comunidade cultual."

[23] **My translation. Original quotation:** "As línguas africanas dos cultos afro-brasileiros têm uma função litúrgica e seu uso fica restrito aos iniciados e praticantes. Nesse contexto, o termo *língua* deve ser entendido como um veículo de expressão simbólica e não propriamente uma manifestação de competência linguística."

2.1.2.4 Concluding statement on Afro-Brazilian linguistics research

The literature establishes that African languages transported to Brazil during the slaving period suffered attrition—some upon the arrival of their speakers to the Portuguese colony, others in the aftermath of emancipation (see, e.g., Bonvini, 2008; Byrd, 2012a, 2012b; Castro, 2005). There are indeed rare cases of African languages persisting (in some form or another) well into the modern era within isolated Black populations. Donald Pierson (1942), for example, attested to the persistence of Yoruba in mid-twentieth-century Brazil, describing how one finds the Yoruba language or "Nago at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of the language is comparable to his command of Portuguese" (p. 72). Turner (1949) likewise found evidence of the persistence of Yoruba in the northeastern region of Brazil and even included Yoruba narratives in his seminal work, *Africanisms in the Gullah dialect*, writing: "These passages have been taken from Yoruba narratives, told to me by Brazilian ex-slaves born in Nigeria and by their descendants, which I recorded in Northeastern Brazil during the year 1940-1" (p. 221). Additionally, Watkins (1972) found that a number of Afro-Brazilian descendants of slaves were still speaking Yoruba language. Nevertheless, the fate of the bulk of African varieties that reached Brazil's shores can be accurately encapsulated by the previously outlined research on Afro-Brazilian languages and the concepts of cross-linguistic influence and borrowings into Brazilian Portuguese; partial restructuring, "abnormal" language transmission and (semi-)creolization in the development of Portuguese vernaculars; as well as functional and structural restriction in the case of secret and ritual languages.

As my review has demonstrated, there is a sizeable body of research describing the various, principal (contact) linguistic outcomes of African speech forms in Brazil. However, the tendency to document Yoruba linguistic practices in the religious setting or in their liturgical

functional capacity does not yield a complete understanding of their status in modern Brazil—i.e., Yoruba's functional expansion from a liturgical register to a curricular language, the redevelopment of Yoruba through the teaching of the language as well as the factors that contributed to these changes. Likewise, studies that investigate the African linguistic elements that survive in contemporary Brazilian Portuguese varieties as lexical and structural borrowings, substratum variants or as moribund restricted registers or codes, while an important vein of research, only provide us with a partial account of the status of African-based language practices in contemporary Brazil.

Fortunately, several works have taken to elucidating the study of the Yoruba language that spawned from a unique socio-history and, in particular, its cultural value in northeastern Brazil, its use in the sacred sector of Brazilian life as well as its value among persons desiring to cultivate their Black or African heritage. As such, these works have begun to shed new light on the sociolinguistic situation of Yoruba in contemporary Brazil and to offer novel, potential directions for research in the field of Afro-Brazilian linguistic studies.

2.1.3 Yoruba as a curricular language in Brazil

While many studies on the contemporary situation of African-based languages in Brazil discuss the products and outcomes of language decline/attrition, several recent studies have begun exploring the resurgence of African languages in Brazil and the factors contributing to this rise. Among them, works aiming primarily to describe Afro-Brazilian religious practices and several studies on other Afro-Brazilian topics have contributed to the literature on the emergent L2 study of the Yoruba language in Brazil and have identified several reasons for the uptake of Yoruba courses among Brazilians following the decline of the language after emancipation. These

factors, which I will elaborate on below, include Nagô-centrism and the promotion of Yoruba-based linguistic and cultural institutions in Brazil, the ritual function of (some) Yoruba linguistic practices, and the sociocultural or socio-racial values of Yoruba linguistic elements in Brazil.

2.1.3.1 Nagô-centrism in the roots of Yoruba study in Brazil

To some degree, the literature ties the study of the Yoruba language to the emphasis placed on the role played by the Yoruba ethnolinguistic group in the development of Afro-Brazilian culture—i.e., religion, language, etc.—as well as the promotion of Yoruba linguistic and cultural practices among other forms of Africanity in the Brazilian landscape and, thus, their salience in the local imaginary. A number of works (e.g., Castro, 2005; Dantas, 2009; Harding, 2000) attest to the hegemony of Yoruba cultural and linguistic forms—or what Harding calls a "Nagô-centered perspective"—in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies (p. 39). Specifically, Capone (2010) credits Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, the forensic physician and psychologist who published the first academic study of Candomblé and who is credited with inaugurating the study of Candomblé in the late nineteenth century (Harding, 2000), further fostering their dominance among other African-based cultural and linguistic forms in northeastern Brazil. According to Capone, Rodrigues' work emphasized the predominance of the Yoruba lingua franca among the enslaved population Bahia as well as the superiority of Yoruba—e.g., its "certain literary quality"—among other African languages in the Brazilian landscape (p. 235). Capone also describes how Edison Carneiro, another writer on Afro-Brazilian topics, likewise "reaffirmed the need to the study the Nagô language," which he deemed 'the Latin of Sudanese languages' (ibid., p. 235).

2.1.3.2 The religious roots of modern Yoruba language learning in Brazil

This line of research on the origins of Yoruba language study in Brazil establishes that the integrality of Yoruba linguistic practices to African-matrix religions in Brazil supported the persistence of the language (e.g., as a liturgical register) during the widespread epidemics of language shift and attrition among speakers of African languages during the slaving as well as post-colonial periods. But, research also indicates that the religious value of Yoruba linguistic practices has, furthermore, reinvigorated interest in Yoruba language practices, driving their current development among religious practitioners as a means of cultivating sacred or ritual knowledge, negotiating spiritual citizenship, as well as reconnecting to the roots or origins of the religion. Thus, Diana Brown (1994) attributes the development of Yoruba in modern Brazil to an attempt among African-matrix religious practitioners to cultivate African roots and "purify" the content of their ritual practices. In her research on Umbanda, Brown draws on the concepts of *authenticity* and *purity* to explain the resurgence of Yoruba and the push to study the language among Candomblé practitioners:

> Long famous and much studied in its original home in the most African of Brazilian cities, Salvador, in the northeastern state of Bahia, Candomble represents the most Afro-centric of Afro-Brazilian religions—the most concerned with asserting purity and authenticity in its African rituals and cosmology. It thus occupies the opposite pole of Umbanda, which in the past has emphasized eclecticism, syncretism with other religions, and the "whitening" of its African forms. Bahian Candomblé leaders of the influential Yoruba tradition have in recent years intensified their insistence on African authenticity in ritual observance by urging initiates to study Yoruba language and rituals with African specialists. (p. XX)

Stefania Capone's (2010) research also documents the historical development of Yoruba language classes in Brazil. She echoes Brown's research in explaining that the valorization of Yoruba in Salvador, especially among Candomblé practitioners and sacerdotes or religious authorities, largely propelled the study of the language. According to Capone, the creation of a

Yoruba professorship at the Federal University of Bahia's Center for Afro-Oriental Studies (CEAO) occurred in 1959 as the result of a Luso-Brazilian Symposium in Bahia. This position was then filled by Visiting Professor Ebenezer Lasebikan, who came from Nigeria to teach Yoruba language and culture courses and who I might add is credited with teaching several of the instructor participants in my own research. The timing of the creation of these courses as well as the founding of CEAO itself in 1959 was hardly coincidental. Thus Santos (2008) explains that 1959, "was a bubbling political and cultural moment in which Brazil inaugurated a policy of diplomatic and cultural presence in postcolonial Africa. CEAO was conceived as a channel between the university and the Afro-Brazilian community on the one hand, and among Brazil and African and Asian countries on the other" (p. 296; see also Alberto, 2011, p. 230).

These early Yoruba language and culture courses were tailored to and attended by Salvador's Afro-Brazilian religious community, religious authorities and elites, as well as religious practitioners (Alberto, 2011; Capone, 2010) and were offered regularly at the Federal University starting in 1961. According to Stefania Capone and Paulina Alberto, these classes were aimed at helping Bahians cultivate and return to their African roots as well as achieve ritual, including linguistic, "purity" through contact with the original culture of their religions as well as the Yoruba people. Alberto, describes this purist initiative among CEAO anthropologist Vivaldo da Costa during the 1960s, for example:

> When asked whether the CEAO's new Yoruba course—intended for Candomblé devotees but taught by visiting Nigerian professor Ebenezer Lasebikan—would corrupt the Yoruba traditionally spoken in Bahia's candomblés, Costa Lima responded, "It is precisely against this cultural nostalgia that we struggle." Far from fearing ruining the "purity" of the Bahian experiment—or slowing the process of national integration—by exposing Afro-Bahian culture directly to African culture, Costa Lima and others like him at the CEAO expressed the belief that Bahia's African culture would only be strengthened by the renewed contact. The Yoruba course, Costa Lima explained, brought dozens of Bahians of African descent to study the language of their ancestors 'in order to remake the cultural bond,' to 'link what has been severed.' (p. 231)

The push to reconnect with African origins and cultivate African roots grew even more during the 1970s through a movement known as *ReAfricanization*. Led by Brazil's population of practitioners of African-matrix religions as well as Afro-descendants in hopes of unifying African-based religious practices and returning to their African roots and/or the origins of their religions, *reAfricanization* and specifically *reYorubanization* further contributed to the study and development of Yoruba in Brazil (Capone, 2007; 2010). In that regard, Parés (2004) explains that terreiros in the southeast of the country seeking greater authenticity and legitimacy in religious practice attempted to achieve ReAfricanization through "Yoruba courses, readings of African religious ethnographies, and the establishment of direct links with Africa" (p. 202). Petter (2006/2007) also notes how a desire to reacquire the perceived purity of African ritual traditions fueled the development of Yoruba as a curricular language in Brazil:

> Driven by the desire for greater authenticity and Africanity in rituals, some "fathers-" and "mothers-of-saints" undertook a "return" to Nigeria and, with the support of Nigerian intellectuals, not only promoted courses on Yoruba language and culture among practitioners and interested persons, in general, but also encouraged travel to the African country, in order to realign their rituals to Nigerian models. This "return" generated a paradoxical situation: terreiros wanting to be more traditional (conservative) by complying with their African origin are now the most modern (innovative) after having introduced the current African model and Yoruba language into worship. The original historical fact, however, still remains: Africans (re) created here a religion with a new identity, which incorporated into the black-African world the new social reality experienced in Brazil and expressed itself in several languages, primarily Nagô-Ketu from Benin and languages from the Ewe-Fon and Bantu groups (p. 65).[24]

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[24] **My translation. Original quotation:** "Impelidos pelo desejo de maior autenticidade e africanidade dos rituais, alguns pais e mães de santo empreenderam um "retorno" à Nigéria e, com o apoio de intelectuais nigerianos, não só promoveram cursos de língua e cultura iorubá para adeptos e interessados em geral, como também incentivaram viagens ao país africano, com o objetivo de realinhar seus rituais aos modelos nigerianos. Esse "retorno" gerou uma situação paradoxal: terreiros desejosos de serem mais tradicionais (conservadores) por respeitarem a origem africana passam a ser os mais modernos (inovadores) por introduzirem o modelo africano e a língua iorubá atual no culto. O fato histórico original, no entanto, não se apaga: os africanos (re)criaram aqui uma religião com uma nova identidade, que incorporava ao universo negro-africano a nova realidade social vivenciada no Brasil e se expressava em várias línguas, prioritariamente nagô-queto do Benim e línguas dos grupos eve-fon e banto."

The curricular development of the Yoruba language was further aided by a 1974 agreement signed between Brazil and several African countries for the development of an Afro-Brazilian studies program, which effectively facilitated the influx of Nigerians to Brazil to teach Yoruba as well as study (Capone, 2010). Among the institutions providing Yoruba instructors during the early years of Yoruba teaching, Capone explains that "[t]he university of Ifé decided to send Yoruba professors to the CEAO, with the aim of giving Candomblé initiates linguistic competence so that they could, at last, understand the meaning of their sacred texts" (p. 235). In later years, Capone tells that similar African Studies centers and Yoruba language and culture classes popped up in other parts of the country, including the southeast of Brazil. But more than linguistic competence, Capone informs that these Yoruba classes were important for cultivating sacred knowledge as well as African roots—i.e., achieving *ReAfricanization*.

These studies on the role of religious practice in the development of Yoruba in Brazil echo what previous research has shown about the positive effects of religions on language use and language vitality, including maintenance, the hindrance of language attrition, and language revival/redevelopment (see, e.g., Hebrew among Jews in Palestine, Nahir, 1998; Dutch in the Christian Reformed Church, VanDam, 2007; mother tongue retention among Chinese immigrants with ethnic religious affiliations in Canada, Wang, 2002). Furthermore, these data about African-matrix religions serving as vehicles for the retention and even redevelopment of Yoruba linguistic practices in Brazil corroborate similar findings about the maintenance of African-based language varieties through African-based religious practices in other parts of the diaspora (see, e.g., African retention in conservative Jamaican creole through the Maroon "spirit

language," Bilby, 1983; Yoruba retention and development in Cuban Lucumí, Flores-Peña, 2005; Yoruba in orisha traditions of Trinidad, Warren-Lewis, 1996).[25]

2.1.3.3 The heritage roots of modern Yoruba language learning in Brazil

In addition to the uptake of Yoruba language learning for spiritual or religious reasons as well as due to the local and sociohistorical import and promotion of the language, the literature also indicates that the redevelopment of Yoruba through language courses has also been supported by self-identified Afro-descendants wanting to reconnect with their African roots. Agwuele (2004), for example, has noted a change in the primarily ritualistic function of Yoruba in African-diasporic communities, such that the language is increasingly being used for conversational purposes in daily life. Accordingly, he suggests that there is currently a movement to relearn the Yoruba language. Like those writing about the uptake of Yoruba language learning among religious practitioners as a way of cultivating the African roots of their religions (e.g., Brown, 1994; Capone, 2010; Parés, 2004; Petter, 2006/2007), Agwuele attributes the modern study of the Yoruba language to an "initial attempt of uprooted Africans to maintain a cultural and historical connection with the 'utopic' West Africa, as a means of escaping the immediate pain of slavery" (pp. 339-40). Moreover, he proposes that "[t]his psychological connection may have been furthered by their diasporic descendants, probably as a spiritual consciousness and cultural renaissance in response to their having been linguistically, and culturally, marginalized in the New World (pp. 340). Likewise, in evaluating the status of L2 Yoruba teaching in the global landscape, Ojo (2006) similarly found that, "[i]n the African Diaspora, Yorùbá language is

[25] I do not make the claim that the maintained linguistic systems in these cases are preserved copies of earlier African languages. As I discuss in this dissertation, the very systems and their statuses are products of their local social contexts as well as the interpretive language-ideological schemas circulating therein.

spoken and learned as part of the African socio-cultural heritage of the many descendants of Africans relocated to the new world during the slave trade era" in addition to being "offered as part of various foreign language educational requirements" (p. 117). Alberto (2011) also cites CEAO anthropologist Costa Lima in explaining that Yoruba courses in Salvador "brought dozens of Bahians of African descent to study the language of their ancestors 'in order to re-make the broken cultural bond' [and] to 'link what has been severed'" (p. 91).

The assertion that the ancestral and cultural value of Yoruba language practices, particularly among self-identified African or Yoruba descendants, has motivated the redevelopment and study of the language corroborates the linguistics literature on language and ethnicity. It particularly echoes the well-documented notion that ethnic or sociocultural heritage identifications can positively impact the trajectory of a language. The linguistics literature discusses, for example, the positive relationships between ethnic and language revival movements. (See, e.g., heritage language teaching and the revival of the Hebrew, Irish and Maori languages, Spolsky 2001; the impact of ethnic consciousness on language use in southern Nigeria, Wolff, 1967). The literature also establishes the positive relationship between ethnic boundary maintenance and language maintenance. (See ethnolinguistic integration of African slaves and language shift, Baugh, 1983, p. 13; the effect of ethnic identity on language maintenance and shift in Belize, Koenig, 1980; segregation and the divergence of (what was then termed) Black English Vernacular, Labov & Harris, 1986, see also Kautzsch, 2002; ethnicity and language change in northern Ireland English, McCafferty, 2001, see also Paulston, 1990; ethnic boundaries and language vitality, Mufwene, 2004; ethnicity as a sociolinguistic boundary, Rickford, 1985; the impact of residential segregation on the domains of use, retention and transmission of ancestral languages among laborers in Hawaii, Singler, 2006b). In light of this

literature on ethnicity and language vitality, we see that knowledge of the values and functions of Yoruba language and linguistic practices for ethnic or sociocultural heritage as well as for other social identifications in Brazil is important for fully understanding its current cultivation and redevelopment. An understanding of the social or sociocultural value of Yoruba linguistic practices may also provide greater explanatory power for the motivations of language learners, namely in terms of the learning of heritage languages, in general, which is a primary concern in the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) literature (Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997; Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Noels, 2005; Parry, 2012; Wen, 2011).

These studies on the development of Yoruba as a curricular language have begun to document Yoruba language learning in Brazil as well as identify the factors that incentivize the study of the language. They are among the ranks of scholarship regarding the rising trend of teaching African languages as second or foreign languages (AFL2s). However, further documenting the learning of Yoruba in Brazil while exploring the forces driving the current interest in the study of the language will help to clarify its contemporary sociolinguistic situation. It will furthermore contribute to the Afro-Brazilian linguistics scholarship along with studies on the positive effects of religious and sociocultural identifications on language vitality. Additionally, further studying the case of Yoruba language learning can contribute to the research on the teaching of AFL2s and would aid in the development of a typology for Yoruba teaching in Brazil. These goals are the thrust of my research. Before introducing the case of Salvador, I will first look to other studies on Yoruba learning and teaching.

2.2 GLOBAL RESEARCH ON YORUBA LANGUAGE LEARNING

Recent decades have witnessed the worldwide expansion in the learning of Yoruba as a second or foreign language (YL2) in the global context, and research in the field of linguistics has accordingly attempted to respond to this development. Here I summarize some of the relevant literature on the subject, which contributes to a typology of Yoruba language learning and teaching in order to further contextualize the present dissertation research.

2.2.1 Types of learners objectives

A survey of the literature on the teaching of Yoruba (e.g., Mosadomi, 2006; Ojo, 2006; Orie, 2006; Schleicher, 1997) will reveal that many studies focus on communicative competence—i.e., "the linguistic competence and cultural proficiency of […] learners" (Ojo, 2006, p. 118)—as an endpoint for studying Yoruba. As such, they attend to describing the best approaches for the realization of this goal. Olabode's (1995) research, however, recognizes a variety of language learning aims. As a whole, his text provides a framework for categorizing the trend of teaching AFL2s and, specifically, attends to the situation of Yoruba learning. Part of his framework outlines some of the potential objectives of a language program—i.e., "what the sponsor and the subjects of the YL2 hope to achieve at the end of the programme" (p. 3). Olabode (non-exhaustively) identifies three objectives of learning AFL2s: (a) proficiency or the ability to "speak the target language in just a functional way" and "at a level that will equip the subject with only the simple basic forms of day-to-day conversation in the language" (p. 4); (b) competence or the goal of approximating native-speaker-like abilities in the language; and (c) an academic objective. Rather than aiming at communicative competence, the academic objective

has as its goal the analysis of data on the language, e.g., "to justify or illustrate linguistic claims" (p. 5). This framework of learner objectives nicely serves situations like Brazil, where proficiency in the L2 may not be the endpoint of language learning (see, e.g., Capone, 2010; Dwyer, 2003). Thus, through additional, contextualized research, such as the studies presented in this dissertation, Olabode's framework can be further bolstered and elaborated.

2.2.2 Types of Yoruba language learners and language learning interests

The research on the study of Yoruba in Brazil largely highlights the religious and, to a lesser extent, sociocultural/socio-racial aspects of Yoruba language learning. The research on Yoruba learning in the global context, however, spotlights other or additional types of language learners, interests and goals for the learning of the language.

Adeniyi (2005) traces the establishment of Yoruba studies programs in the U.S. and the forces driving U.S. interest in the study of less commonly taught languages (LCTLs) like Yoruba (see also the history of African language programs in Bokamba, 2002; Sanneh & Omar, 2002). Namely, Adeniyi highlights the value of Yoruba study for its potential to provide graduate students with study and research opportunities following World War II; the importance of the language for U.S. Defense interests in the post-World War II geopolitical climate (in light of the Decolonization of Africa, Cold War and the Space Age); and the significance of the language for African Americans with an interest in learning about their origins, especially in light of the Black Power and Civil Rights movements. Challenges of globalization joined this list of Yoruba learning incentives in the 1990s, supplanting Cold War imperatives as the driving force behind U.S. interest in AFL2s (Sanneh & Omar, 2002).

As of 2002, Sanneh and Omar found that there had been no formal studies of motivation to delineate the reasons undergraduates come to study African languages. Nevertheless, Sanneh and Omar posit several motives for African language study among college students. Among the motivations and types of language learners identified, the authors cite (a) African study abroad program participants as "a regular source of student intake;" (b) "students who have traveled to Africa on vacation, either with parents or in a group;" (c) "the rapidly growing category [of] 'heritage' students"—i.e., "students who have grown up here [in the U.S.] but who have close family members who speak another language;" and finally (d) students with a general interest in Africa (p. 45). Meanwhile Sanneh and Omar found that many advanced-level AFL2 students at the post-graduate level often had prior international study or volunteer abroad experience and/or were studying in disciplines such as history and anthropology and, to a lesser degree, linguistics.

In an introduction to several other pieces documenting the status of Yoruba language programs in various parts of the globe, Ojo (2006) also highlights developments in the field of AFL2—and, specifically, YL2—teaching in Nigeria and worldwide, as well as areas for growth/improvement. Ojo outlines several context-specific reasons for the growth and development of U.S. YL2 programs and Yoruba learning. These reasons include: (a) in Nigeria, Yoruba learning in response to the national language policy requiring Nigerian children to learn one of the three national languages (Yoruba, Hausa or Igbo); (b) in the diaspora, the learning of Yoruba "as part of the African socio-cultural heritage of the many descendants of Africans relocated to the new world during the slave trade era;" and (c) worldwide, Yoruba instruction "as part of various foreign language educational requirements" (p. 117). Notice that this list of motivations does not include cases of language learning for religious reasons, as we find in Salvador, nor what Olabode calls the academic objective—i.e., language learning for the

purposes of research; however, it does offer a blueprint for our discussion of motivations. Ojo also pinpoints some of the interests or types (backgrounds) of YL2 learners. They include: (a) traditional Indo-European language speakers who have little to no contact with Yoruba. (b) speakers of non-European and other African languages. (c) Yoruba heritage learners—i.e., "the children of Yoruba native speakers […] who were exposed to some Yoruba cultural practices and values growing up in their home settings but who had never acquired any significant level of proficiency in Yoruba language," whether born in Nigeria or in the diaspora (p. 118). Notice that this list does not account for a fourth class of learners that we see in places like Brazil—i.e., Indo-European language speakers who have considerable contact with (at least some variety of) Yoruba because of the socio-history of the language in the local setting.

Mosadomi (2006) asked Yoruba students at Tulane University of Louisiana about their reasons for studying Yoruba. She adds to the list of Yoruba language learning interests and motivations the following factors or incentives: "interest in studying many world languages [...]; interest in visiting Nigeria for personal official, or business reasons; and interest in knowing more about Yoruba culture" (p. 239).

Orie (2006) also contributes to our understanding of Yoruba learner types and language learning motivations in her exploration of the issues and challenges that face U.S. adult and child learners in the L2 acquisition of Yoruba tones. Her research included three types of learners and language learning goals and interests. Like Ojo (2006), Orie's research encompasses a heritage group, or children of Yorubas in the diaspora (Yoruba emigrants), who received target language input in the home and are learning Yoruba as a heritage language. Also similar to Ojo as well as Olabode (1995), Orie makes mention of an academic group of Yoruba students—i.e., learners who are studying Yoruba or another AFL2 for academic reasons. Distinctively, however, Orie

accounts for a religious group of learners "whose interests lie in Yoruba religion and the variety of Yoruba spoken before and during colonization and the transatlantic slave trade" (p. 122). In presenting the challenges to L2 tone acquisition, one thing that Orie's research highlights is how different learner types and learning goals or interests can differently impact language learning outcomes and, in particular, affect the acquisition of L2 tone or tone proficiency, perhaps with implications for the acquisition of prosody more generally. Specifically, Orie found that young heritage learners can develop near-native tone proficiency because of their ability to 'parrot' the tone structure and "because they are naturally endowed to do so within the 'critical period' timeframe", whereas most older learners in the heritage and academic groups "have difficulty parroting tones" (p. 123). Yet, she found that in contrast, older learners in the religious group "do not have the same problem. They put great effort into parroting chants and songs because they believe that the efficacy of religious materials lies in the accurate rendition of the texts" (ibid., p. 123). Citing the work of Mufwene (2001) on language endangerment, Orie thus highlights the importance of language learning incentives, like religion, for language maintenance: "heritage and academic interests seem not to be sufficient incentives for acquiring tone with near-native accuracy but religion appears to provide greater incentive" (p. 124). What is missing among the learner types/identities mentioned in each of these works (Ojo, 2006; Orie, 2006; Sanneh and Omar, 2002), however, is a formulation of heritage learners that encompasses students with no immediate relatives who speak Yoruba as a first language but who, nevertheless, identify with the language culturally. Such an understanding of heritage languages is presented in Dwyer (2003).

According to Dwyer (2003), students of AFL2s largely fall into one of two groups: heritage language learners or career learners. Different from the aforementioned works (e.g.,

Ojo, 2006; Orie, 2006; Sanneh & Omar, 2002), Dwyer sees heritage learners of AFL2s as students who "seek language study to learn more about the language and culture of their community, relatives, or ancestors" (p. 1). He writes:

> African heritage learners fall into two categories: those whose ancestors arrived in […] America during the 16th through 18th centuries and those whose families came to this country [the U.S.] in the 20th or 21st century. Because the specific African origin and ancestral language of the former group is often unknown, almost any African language will meet the heritage function for these learners. (ibid., p. 1)[26]

Career learners, on the other hand, study the target language to further their professional goals, according to Dwyer. He makes an interesting observation of the different objectives of these two types of learners. Namely, Dwyer states that whereas career-oriented learners are aiming to develop communicative competence, heritage learners of AFL2s have an "interest in developing a better understanding of the culture of their parents [which] is often greater than their interest in learning the language" (p. 1). Accordingly, Dwyer explains that "language courses for these students should emphasize cultural content" (ibid., p. 1). Additional research on Yoruba learning, in conversation with existing research, can, therefore, expand the extant scholarship by helping to reveal other dimensions to the question of language learning motivation as well as further elaborate the types of language learners and goals for studying AFL2s or Yoruba.

[26] This broad conceptualization of the heritage learner mimics Kondo-Brown's (2003) extension of the term to include persons who have a renewed interest in "any ancestral language such as indigenous, colonial, and immigrant languages" and culture "'for ethnic and religious reasons' after generations of no family connections with the target language and culture" and regardless of whether or not the "'language [is] regularly used in the home and the community'" (ibid., p. 1).

2.2.3 A typology of Yoruba instructors

Writing about the body of AFL2 instructors in the U.S., Sanneh and Omar (2002) noted a decline in the number of second-language AFL2 instructors from the U.S. and a shift to first-language speakers from Africa starting in the 1990s. According to the authors,

> Many of these Africans were students who came to the United States to pursue degrees in fields unconnected to language. Through arrangements with their institutions, they taught full elementary-level courses in exchange for tuition and a stipend. A small number entered fields related to language; and of these students, some have remained here, heading African-language programs, teaching their respective languages, or filling tenure-track positions in departments of linguistics. (p. 45)

Olabode's (1995) research presents a framework for classifying "the teacher and the learner in the pedagogical process" (p. 5). It uses four instructor/student criteria that vary in terms of the first language of the instructor, the presence of a common language to facilitate language learning/teaching, and the qualification of the YL2 or AFL2 instructor to teach. Olabode's four criteria are:

- Cases where the instructor is a qualified native speaker who has training or training education in the target language and shares a common language with students that is adequate for instructional purposes.
- Cases where the instructor is a qualified native speaker, but where there is limited competence in the common language for the instructional/learning process.
- Cases where the instructor is a qualified non-native speaker who shares a common language with the students.
- Cases involving an instructor who is an unqualified native speaker—i.e., the instructor has "no training in the language or linguistics" (p. 6). In this case, there may or may not

be a common language between the instructor and students adequate for the learning/instructional process.

This theoretical scaffold offers a starting point for categorizing the types of learner-instructor relationships encountered in the teaching of AFL2s. It makes mention of the potentially problematic situation of unqualified L1 Yoruba instructors, wherein "the teacher is allowed to teach the students just because he is a native speaker of the language" (ibid., p. 6). However, notice that it does not account for situations involving non-native language instructors who, furthermore, lack training in Yoruba or linguistics. In fact, the literature on the teaching of AFL2s or YL2 often takes for granted that Yoruba instructors come with linguistic and/or pedagogical training in the target language. It conceptualizes teaching qualification or Yoruba *expertise* in ways that may not apply to all situations or goals of Yoruba learning. Thus, for example, Orie recommends that, in order to overcome challenges with the acquisition of tone, "instructors must be native or near native Yoruba speakers so that they can provide learners accurate guidance for pronouncing Yoruba tones. Instructors must be knowledgeable in the workings of Yoruba tones, phonologically and syntactically, and they must be aware of L2 Yoruba tone acquisition patterns and problems" (p. 128). Mosadomi (2006) also considers that instructors will have considerable metalinguistic awareness and knowledge in Yoruba phonological processes to help learners navigate potential pitfalls in language learning. Ojo (2006) similarly emphasizes the importance of "teacher training beyond the knowledge of second language acquisition theories but into the complete preparedness for Yorùbá L2 teaching" as well as an awareness of the "the relationship between the contemporary socio-political environment (of a country or institution) and the well being of the Yorùbá L2 program" (p. 117).

Extending research on the study of Yoruba to the context of Brazil will be useful for further developing this typology of instructors as well as the particular set of circumstances that arise in each case. It may also invite us to reconsider our conceptualizations of teaching qualification or Yoruba *expertise* beyond the criteria emphasized in the existing literature and according to the local language learning context.

2.2.4 Methods for teaching Yoruba

Olabode (1995) identifies two methods of Yoruba teaching, according to his survey of the literature, and outlines pros and cons for each approach. These approaches include (a) the bilingual method, whereby at a language other than the target is used to teach YL2, and (b) the direct/monolingual, which uses the target language as the medium of instruction and the language of teaching materials. Olabode draws on Dell Hymes' (1972) concept of communicative competence to posit a rubric of skills in the AFL2, and he advocates for the use of the direct method of teaching Yoruba for achieving these communicative competence skills. And by communicative competence, I mean knowledge of "the acceptability of a given well formed linguistic construction in a given social context" (Olabode, 1995, p. 8). But by privileging communicative competence as the ideal outcome of language learning, this model forgets cases in which there are other desired goals of learning, for example, the case of religious-oriented Yoruba language study documented in Capone (2010) or the heritage-driven learning of AFL2s described by Dwyer (2003).

Since Olabode's research several years prior, a number of advancements have occurred in the field of teaching African languages as second and foreign languages, including the reformulation and formalization of instructional approaches for Yoruba and African language

teaching noted as well as the development of more contextualized and learner-focused methodologies for language instruction (Ojo, 2006, 2008). These methodological/pedagogical advancements include the development or elaboration of goal- and content-based instructional approaches for the teaching of African languages. The first methodology, known as the Goal-based approach (GBA), aims "to meet the need and interests of each learner in the learning environment" through a student-driven curriculum that is based on the goals and learning motivations of students (Folarin-Schleicher, 1999, p. 26). To that end, GBA "systematically tries to integrate students' needs, academic interests, or research interests into the language curriculum" (p. 42; see also Schleicher & Moshi, 2000). A second methodology, known as Content-based instruction (CBI), aims to complement the needs- or interest-based methodology of GBA through its communicative approach (Moshi, 2001). According to Moshi, CBI is founded on the sociolinguistic approach (i.e., a concern for situated or contextualized language use) as well as "the fives Cs: Communication, Culture, Connection, Comparison, Communities" (p. 91). It advocates for the development of content-based instructional models (CBI) that situate the AFL2 in the social world and "integrate language and content" (p. 89), thereby mimicking the authentic learning contexts of immersion teaching.

Ojo (2006) writes about the emergence of the Goal-based approach as a dominant, student-centered methodology that "enhances previous initiatives and contains principles and features applicable to African languages" (p. 117). Ojo found this methodology to be "a useful and applicable approach to African language and culture learning that tries to ensure focus on the students rather than the instructor or class schedule" (ibid., p. 117). Moreover, Ojo (2008) adds that the framework proposes "instructional modules and methodologies […] to help the language learner manage their own learning" (p. 2). Orie (2006) describes the application of GBA

principles in Yoruba language classes and specifically how the instructional methods developed according to this approach will vary depending on the type of learner and his or her specific set of language learning interests. Thus, Orie explains that the class for heritage learners (the *Language and culture* course) involves "language learning activities centered around cultural topics such as greetings, respect, rites of passage (e.g., birth, naming ceremony, puberty, marriage, and death), dressing, music and dance, festivals and so on" (p. 121). Meanwhile the *Spoken Yoruba* course in her research, which is aimed at academic learners, emphasizes "the acquisition of sounds, vocabulary, grammar and culture [with] [a]ll learning activities […] arranged to enable learners to acquire listening, speaking, reading and writing skills (p. 122). Finally, the *Colonial Yoruba* course for religious learners "is primarily designed to stimulate and sharpen listening and speaking skills using rhythmical language such as chants, poems and songs" (ibid., p. 122). Accordingly, the course "begins with a brief introduction to the structure of Yoruba after which emphasis is laid on the acquisition of traditional chants, poems and songs […] Culture and history are also discussed in detail. Toward the end of the semester, reading and writing are introduced" (ibid., p. 122).

Despite noting progress in the field of AFL2 teaching, Ojo nevertheless highlights the need for "the development of functional pedagogical materials" for AFL2 instruction that would "incorporate the formalized methodologies in Yorùbá L2 teaching and provide a communicative approach for the learning and teaching of Yorùbá as a L2" (p. 118). Specifically, Ojo advocates the use of a student-centered teaching approach known as Strategies-based instruction in teaching AFL2s, which "equip[s] the learners to become more effective in their own learning and usage of the target language," and encourages "increased 'self-management' on the part of the students in the learning process" (p. 2). Mosadomi (2006) similarly mentions the importance of

“a communicative-interactive approach to learning” as a “meaningful integrative teaching device by which learners perform interactively in the target language,” and thus work towards the development of communicative competence and “the mastery of forms for communicative functions” (p. 239).

Aside from more general AFL2 teaching pedagogies, the literature also outlines several topic-specific instructional methods for languages teaching. Schleicher (1997), for example, demonstrates the importance of contextualized language teaching for the mastery of Yoruba greetings and offers several strategies to ensure that in addition to linguistic content, learners acquire “the gestures that go with greetings, and the knowledge of the cultural information embedded in greetings” (p. 342). Orie (2006) similarly highlights some of the different traditional instructional methods available for teaching of Yoruba tones and ultimately advocates for a more communicative instructional approach. These traditional methods include (a) the No Tone strategy, which uses materials marked for tone without insisting on accuracy and focuses on writing and silent reading rather than the development of listening and speaking skills; (b) the Classical strategy or an “Intuitive-imitative approach,” which also utilizes tone-marked materials as well as implicit instruction and relies on repeated imitation drills and tone memorization for the development of tonal proficiency; and (c) Kotey’s (1995) Proficiency oriented strategy, which uses toneless instructional materials where tones are not marked but rather provided by instructors in context so that tones are learned intuitively. Orie ultimately made the determination that the teaching of chants and songs enhances the tonal performance of learners. Specifically, she informs that “L2 learners do not overcome tone acquisition problems if tones are taught through vocabulary drills involving pronunciation and word memorization; however, when tones are first taught through chants and songs, tone errors are reduced” (p. 125). She, therefore,

advocates for the introduction of tones using what she calls a rhythmic language approach, which entails “memorization through chants and songs, critical thinking and group discussion” (p. 126).

As briefly stated earlier, recent years have witnessed reformulation, formalization and standardization of methodologies for African language instruction in the U.S. thanks in large part to (national) professional bodies, such as the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC), the African Language Teachers’ Association (ALTA), as well as other national initiatives, including the National African Language Resource Center (NALRC), providing for the advancement of the field of African language teaching and learning in the United States. A comprehensive study of Yoruba language learning in the Brazilian context may reveal additional or alternative methods and strategies for language teaching as well as how sociohistorical differences in the learning context (e.g., potentially distinct types of students, learner objectives, and interests or motivations) have accordingly yielded a unique set of instructional methods.

2.3 SUMMARY OF AFRO-BRAZILIAN LINGUISTICS RESEARCH AND GLOBAL RESEARCH ON YORUBA LANGUAGE LEARNING

I reviewed the literature on the study of the sociolinguistic situation of African-based language practices in Brazil in order to a background for the present research on Yoruba language learning in Salvador. This literature review shows that there is an extensive body of work documenting the trajectory of African-based language varieties and, specifically, Yoruba linguistic practices in Brazil and has traced the history of these practices. It has discussed the status of Yoruba during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, Brazilian enslavement and thereafter; surveyed relevant works in the field of Afro-Brazilian linguistics regarding the post-abolition status of Yoruba language

practices in Brazil. I then reviewed the available research with Afro-Brazilian studies regarding the establishment of Yoruba language learning and teaching in Brazil. These reviews highlighted gaps in the scholarship on African language varieties in modern-day Brazil—in particular, the absence of linguistics research attending to the changing form and function and current development of Yoruba as a curricular language in Brazil—that need attention and, thus, rationalize the present research.

The survey of the literature then considered linguistics research about Yoruba language learning and teaching in the global context. It reviewed several works in the field of African language teaching that outline learner objectives; learner types, interests and motivations; types of Yoruba instructors; as well as instructional methodologies that characterize the field of Yoruba language teaching. Unfortunately, what we often find is that research on the teaching of African languages or Yoruba as foreign or second languages tend to encompass only cases in the "home" country of the language, in Europe (e.g., Alao, 1999), or in the U.S. (e.g., Mosadomi, 2006; Moshi, 2011; Ojo, 2006, 2008; Orie, 2006) to the exclusion of other AFL2 and, specifically, YL2 programs. We observe this limited perspective, for example, in Olabode's concept for *place of operation*—i.e., "the location where the YL2 enterprise is being undertaken" (p. 6), which encompasses African language programs in the "home" country of the language as well as in Europe, the U.S. or Asia, but overlooks the learner communities throughout the Americas. Pedagogical research on the teaching of Yoruba language should incorporate the situation of Yoruba learning in Brazil. Moreover, extending the body of research on AFL2 and YL2 pedagogy to include Yoruba language learning in the Brazilian context can further enhance current understandings of the language learning interests and (ideologized) connections, learner motivational orientations and goals, notions of teaching qualification and training, and

instructional methods as well as competencies fostered as parts of the spread of Yoruba language study across the globe. My dissertation builds upon extant research on Yoruba teaching pedagogy and expands it through a contextualized study in a novel setting.

The following chapter outlines the research questions that guided the four studies of this dissertation as well as the general methodology used to address these questions. Additionally, Chapter 3 offers a contextual background to the dissertation by discussing the research setting in order to situate Yoruba language learning in Salvador and continue highlighting how local narratives allow Yoruba language and linguistic practices to take on patterns and social meanings that undergird Yoruba language learning and, in general, reciprocally shape the local practice of Yoruba in Salvador.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research questions that guided the four studies of this dissertation as well as the methodology used to address these questions. It furthermore describes the locus and social matrix of Yoruba study in modern Salvador and, thus, the context of the research.

3.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As previously stated, this dissertation aims to understand the context of Yoruba learning in Salvador and the reasons why Soteropolitanos are studying Yoruba through four studies attending to distinct aspects of the Yoruba language learning community of Salvador:

The **Place of Yoruba Learning in Salvador** study (a socio-demographic survey) – Chapter 4 attends to the question:

1. What is the place of Yoruba learning in Salvador? That is, how is Yoruba language learning valued and distributed in Salvador?
    - **a.** What are the personal and professional/educational backgrounds of learners?
    - **b.** What are the social backgrounds of learners?
    - **c.** What are their linguistic backgrounds and patterns of language use?

The **Values and Motivational Attributes of Yoruba Learning** study (a quantitative and qualitative analysis) – Chapter 5 attends to the questions:

1. Why are learners studying Yoruba? That is, what types of motivational orientations, or language learning goals, drive language study among learners in Salvador?
    a. Are learners in Salvador more driven to study Yoruba for sociocultural (*integrative*) or practical (*instrumental*) reasons, according to the constructs of the *Socio-educational model*?
    b. Are learners in Salvador more *intrinsically* or *extrinsically* motivated to study Yoruba, according to the constructs of *Self-determination theory*?
    c. What orientations underlie religious and (general) heritage interests in Yoruba learning?
2. What sociosemiotic linkages or language-ideological ties undergird these motivational orientations and, in turn, incentivize the study of Yoruba in Salvador?

The **Yoruba Teaching Evaluation** study (a qualitative analysis) – Chapter 6 attends to the questions:

1. How is Yoruba language teaching evaluated and valued in Salvador?
2. How is expertise conceptualized? That is, which knowledge practices and skill sets are valorized and thereby constitute expertise or expert identities?

The **Institutions that Shape Yoruba Learning** study (institutional, classroom and pedagogical profiles) – Chapter 7 attends to the questions:

1. What are the sites and classroom contexts of Yoruba teaching that shape Yoruba language practices in Salvador? Specifically:
    a. Which institutions are involved in language teaching and what are their objectives and interests?
    b. How is the learning environment organized?
    c. Which instructional practices (tasks, activities and overall methods) are used to teach Yoruba in these contexts? How do they reinforce or deviate from the objectives of the language learning institution or language learning community?
2. What do these institutional practices mean for the ultimate fate of Yoruba linguistic form and practice in Salvador?

3.2 RESEARCH METHODS

Data collection for this dissertation took place in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, over the course of three months in 2013.[27] To respond to the overarching research question that seeks to understand the reasons why residents of Salvador are learning Yoruba and attend to the guiding research question of each study, I employed a mixed-method approach to data collection. My methodological approach consisted of participant observations, which were specifically focused

[27] The Institutional Review Board of the University of Pittsburgh approved this study. The research procedures were also reviewed and approved for standards of ethical conduct by coordinators and graduate faculty in the Multidisciplinary Graduate Program in Ethnic and African Studies at the Federal University of Bahia. The informed consent document for this research was translated into Portuguese by me, the principal investigator (PI). The materials were then reviewed by researchers, who are native speakers of Portuguese, for translation accuracy, literacy level, and meaning. I reviewed the consent document verbally with the participants prior to the initiation of the research.

on Yoruba language classroom observations but also led to explorations of Yoruba language learning through religious ritual, cultural ceremony, and daily life in Salvador. Moreover, to access the data, I utilized carefully constructed semi-structured interviews and survey methods (questionnaires), which were first piloted on key informants prior to the onset of the data collection process.

All surveys and interviews were conducted at the five schools where Yoruba language courses were being offered during the intensive data collection period. These institutions were first identified through an Internet query involving combinations of the terms: “curso” or “aula” (course or class); the word *Yoruba* written according to various orthographic norms (<ioruba>, <Iorubá>, <Yorubá>, <Yorùbá>); and “Salvador” (the research location). In addition to the internet searches, all Yoruba instructors throughout the city of Salvador were asked to identify the other Yoruba language programs to confirm the depth of the study. Participants were furthermore recruited through snowball sampling techniques. The research was presented to various residents of Salvador; Candomblé, Umbanda and other African-matrix religious practitioners; language researchers; Nigerian expatriates; community organizers; and other members of the Yoruba learning community who had access to the target population and who then identified language learning centers by recommendation. A total of nine language learning sites or centers were named; however, only five were active at the time of the research. The data produced comprised questionnaires, field notes, lecture notes (from over thirty-two hours of classroom observations), audio-recordings of select lessons, and teaching materials or handouts.

3.3 RESEARCH SETTING

Background knowledge of the research setting is essential to understand Yoruba language learning in Salvador. In particular, a notion of the social matrix of Yoruba language practices in Salvador is necessary for developing my claim that the local context and its language-focused ideas about personhood support and shape the local patterns and practice of Yoruba language. Thus, before presenting the studies covered in this dissertation, I will further contextualize Yoruba language learning in Salvador and elaborate some of the cultural ideas that underlie the redevelopment and changing form and function of Yoruba linguistic practices.

3.3.1 Africanity as a cultural heritage of Salvador

The city of Salvador is located on the northeastern coast of Brazil in the state of Bahia and has an overwhelmingly Black and mixed race population (IBGE, 2010; Telles, 2004). The city is reputed as the "symbol of Afro-Brazilian tradition" (Capone, 2007), while the state of Bahia—home to the largest population of Afro-descendants in the country and one of the largest concentrations of Afro-descendants in the world—is commonly branded the "most African part of Brazil" (Pinho, 2010, p. 3). This reputation has several sources and, more importantly, supports and is supported by African-based cultural practices like Yoruba language. Through an examination of the national and local ideologies about personhood and, within them, the social practices that discursively produce Brazil as a mixed, inclusive nation and Salvador as African and as Black, one can understand the bases for the promotion of certain (socially significant) cultural forms like African-based practices and, thus, the context of Yoruba language learning in Brazil.

Salvador's African cultural heritage (or *patrimony*) owes in part to a history entangled with enslavement and human trafficking (described in Section 2.1) for which the colonial capital of Salvador functioned as the center of the Brazilian sugar industry and the American slave trade. Specifically, the port city of Salvador was one of the major slave ports in the Americas during the slaving period. And in Brazil, Salvador was one of three slave ports, the country's colonial capital (1549-1763) as well as the slave center for Brazilian sugar cultivation. Thus, of the 12.5 million Africans exported to the Americas during the more than three-hundred-year-period of the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade (Gates, 2014), 4.86 million arrived in Brazil and between 1.3 and two million Africans arrived in Salvador da Bahia alone (Goza, 2011; Graden, 1996). But the racialized reputation and African cultural heritage of Salvador are more than just casual byproducts of Brazil's colonial past. Rather, Africanity is a propagated and cultivated symbol of Salvador's heritage as well as Brazil's identity, deriving from as well as reproducing national ideologies of *mestiçagem* (racial and cultural mixture) and racial democracy. It is also an important part of the local tourism industry and, furthermore, part and parcel of the self-making process of Afro-Brazilians and Soteropolitanos. As I will discuss, these racialized and Africanized reputations/legacies have implications for Yoruba cultural forms and, of particular interest here, Yoruba language and linguistic practices in northeastern Brazil.

To be clear, Brazil has not always recognized its African heritage. During the years immediately preceding and following emancipation (1880-1930), Brazil like many Latin American countries wrestled with its overwhelmingly Afro-descending population and in fact actively encouraged as well as subsidized European immigration in order to progressively "Whiten" its non-White population through constructive miscegenation. Brazil meanwhile barred Black immigration in addition to repressing African-based cultural forms in response to the

eugenic principles of the time (Andrews, 2004, p. 119; Telles, 2004, p. 29). Then, following this fifty-year period of anti-Black immigration policies and the repression of African-based cultural forms, the promotion of miscegenation continued through the guise of new ideas about race involving the valorization of *mestiçagem*. As Andrews (2004) explains:

> As both the export economies and the oligarchical regimes collapsed in the economic crisis of the 1930s, policymakers, intellectuals and common citizens responded to the failure of whitening by sharply shifting course. Instead of ignoring and rejecting the region's African and Indian heritage and its history of race mixture, Latin Americans acknowledged both and even went so far as to propose them as the foundations of on which to construct new national identities. (p. 165)

Emergent ideas about race and cultural mixture in 1930s Brazil shed new light on the country's African and indigenous legacies and helped to dissociate the concept of *mestiçagem* from degeneracy in the construction of a new Brazilian identity. This new national identity was built upon the very concepts of racial and cultural mixture as well as a related narrative about tripartite origins, which holds that Brazil is a nation of blended peoples (cf. "Gordinhas de Ondina")[28] from the three continents of Africa, America and Europe. Meanwhile through the writings of social thinkers like anthropologist Gilberto Freyre, notions of Brazilian racial harmony, which originated during the period of U.S. abolition, were revitalized and adopted in the formation of a new national ideology of *racial democracy*. Cultural and racial mixture at this time came to symbolize *brasilidade* (or Brazilianness). Accordingly, non-dominant and marked/racialized practices, such as samba, Afro-Brazilian religious institutions, as well as other Africanisms and

[28] These Brazilian ideals are nicely iconized by the work of plastic artist Eliana Kerts, titled "Meninas do Brasil" (or *Brazil's girls*) or affectionately as "Gordinhas de Ondina" (*Ondina's chubby girls*). Eliana Kértsz's famous statues are practically the embodiment of national racial ideologies, as they literally materialize the Brazilian narrative/ideology of *mestiçagem*. Fashioned from bronze, each "menina" represents one of the purported founding populations of Brazil: Mariana represents the European community, Catarina the indigenous, and Damiana represents the African founding community. Notably, the monuments are strategically located in the Ondina neighborhood of Salvador, home to the Federal University of Bahia, urban beaches as well as Salvador's most famous Carnaval circuit. (see Leonardo, 2009, for example: http://www.lupa.facom.ufba.br/2009/11/as-gordinhas-mais-charmosas-do-brasil/).

even African-based linguistic practices in the Brazilian landscape, were coopted by members of mainstream society in the formation of a popular Brazilian culture and employed as national spectacles in order to project the multiracial character of the nation and to bolster notions of Brazil as "a *país misto*—a mixed country, characterized by racial conviviality" (Edmonds, 2010, p. 134).

The racialized and African character of Salvador has been further promoted through the relatively recent cultural and touristic marketing of Afro-Bahians. This marketing was done in an effort to further cultivate the national narratives of African heritage, *mestiçagem* and inclusion or racial democracy. Furthermore, it aided in revitalizing the city of Salvador through the cooptation and cultural commodification of Afro-Brazilian cultural forms as spectacles and symbolic resources in the construction of a local Soteropolitano heritage involving the promotion of Salvador as "Black" and as an African Mecca for cultural or roots tourism (Dixon, 2014; Pinho, 2004, 2010; Riggs, 2008; Williams, 2013). As Dawson (2014) informs,

> Africa has been and continues to be used and manipulated in order to underpin what is, in essence, a Brazilian ethnic identity […] 'African' elements in Brazilian society were a problem that had to be eradicated through continued racial mixing and miscegenation. Now, however, Africa has become a cultural trope that has acquired significant cultural and political capital in the context of a state—Bahia—where Afro-Brazilian practices and traditions are placed front and centre in the public consciousness. (p. 156)

Telles (2004) similarly writes about the "large tourist industry engendered by this Afro-Brazilian culture in Salvador," which is "illustrated by terreiros, orixá statues, and moqueca restaurants that have become an established part of the urban landscape, while hiding the deep poverty of the Afro-Salvadoran periphery" (p. 213). He is, in other words, speaking of these sites as indices of Africanity. Telles, moreover, explains how the promotion of Salvador as African benefits the commercial industry of the city as well as the status quo, highlighting the ubiquity of

Africanisms in Salvador to the point of masking those areas of society where persons of color are excluded or even erased:

> I have heard the city's mayor proclaim that Salvador is an African city (and he is not referring to Johannesburg!) He seems to mean 'African' in a cultural sense, where blacks are granted nearly free run of the cultural realm, and where the culture of Africa is celebrated, apparently in exchange for relinquishing claims to economic and political power so that it can continue to be monopolized by a small white elite. (p. 213)

Additionally, the racialized character and African reputation of Salvador draws from (while also producing) the self-making processes of Brazilians and Soteropolitanos, but particularly Afro-Brazilians and *Afro-Soteropolitanos* (or Afro-descendants in Salvador), described in this dissertation. Namely, its reputations are propagated through the reclamation or (re)construction of an African ancestral heritage as part of the negotiation of local, racio-cultural and (African-matrix) religious identities/memberships as well as the (symbolic) construction of a homeland in light of the disintegration of family units and communities and the loss of ancestral knowledge as a result of the slave trade. This reconstruction or self-making process was at the heart of the push to reconnect with African origins and cultivate African roots that was fostered during the 1970s period of *reAfricanization* as well as the Black activism that grew out of this period. According to Dawson (2014), said racio-cultural identities in Brazil often take the form of a globalized and, more specifically, Africanized Blackness.

> Globalizing Blackness, then, is about an African-oriented expression of Black identity, but also emphasizes a very American […] idea of what Africa is about […] it seeks to build on a formulation of identity that uses the symbols and practice of a particular African culture, but wants little or nothing to do with the in situ realities of life in that society. (p. 31)

As this dissertation argues, Yoruba-based practices are key sites for the production and negotiation of notions of personhood in Salvador. In particular, Yoruba practices are oftentimes at the heart of local representations of Africanity, which suggests or points to the cultural value

of Yoruba language practices and, thus, the value (or prestige) of having a modicum of Yoruba linguistic competence in the Salvador context.

Today, the rhetorical and cultural production of Salvador as African and as Black is embodied in the many African(ized) practices and representations that fill the local landscape and, in particular, through the use of socially meaningful linguistic practices that are associated with notions of *race* (e.g., Blackness, mixedness), *heritage* (African origins) and *nation* (e.g., Brazilianness or Yorubaness—whether theological or ethno-political) within local language ideologies. In a sense, then, these language-focused rhetorics about personhood (*race*, *heritage*, *nation*) have become self-sustaining, as they foster or shape practices (primarily linguistic but also cultural, religious, etc.) that likewise embody and reproduce them. My dissertation focuses on the plane of linguistic action in Salvador as a key site for the iteration and negotiation of these national and local narratives, examining how the patterns and practices of Yoruba language locally and particularly within the domain of Yoruba language learning classrooms materialize but also negotiate local ideologies about *race*, *heritage* and *nation*.

3.3.2 Yoruba as a local patrimony of Salvador

Although Portuguese is the predominant language of Salvador, Yoruba practices form an undeniable part of the city's image and are seen as a local patrimony. Recall that the research establishes that Yoruba borrowings, like *axé* and *orixá*, are prevalent within the lexicon of mainstream, quotidian Brazilian Portuguese (e.g., Aragão, 2010/2011; Castro, 1983, 2005; Davis, 2000; Rocha & Puggian, 2001; see Chapter 2). Similarly, the city center of Salvador is filled with local businesses with names that attest to as well as stem from narratives about the Yoruba contribution to Salvador's heritage following centuries of intense cultural and linguistic

contact: a women's clothing store named *ialê* (from *iya le*) ['ladyship; chief'] in Salvador's commercial district, city buses sporting the name of a local transportation company *axé* (from *àṣẹ*) ['power'], a natural hair salon named *yalodê* (from *iyalode*) ['first or preferred wife'] in the city's second most populous district, vendors frying black-eyed pea fritters named *acarajé* at almost every corner (a compound of *akara* + *jẹ*) ['bread + to eat'], and so on. These visible and pervasive instances of Yorubaness are a regular part of the social world of Salvador and attest to the hegemony of Yoruba among other versions of Africanity and Blackness in the Salvador landscape. These pervasive Yoruba (linguistic and cultural) borrowings and retentions in the local culture allow Yoruba to pass as an everyday language of Salvador and often become foundations among Soteropolitanos for claiming heritage-based affiliations with the Yoruba language. Likewise, the ubiquity or salience of linguistic Yorubanisms and local Yoruba language practices (along with Yoruba cultural forms) in the landscape of Salvador help to project Yoruba and Africanity as essential parts of the local culture or heritage by reinforcing their indexical association, thereby reproducing local and national narratives about inclusion and *mestiçagem* as well as cultural assumptions about the Blackness and Africanness of Salvador and Brazil. These socially meaningful Yoruba language practices (which are indexically intertwined with local ideas about *race*, *heritage* and *nation*) become not only critical sites for tacitly propagating cultural ideas about personhood but also vehicles for the language-based enactment or negotiation of certain social affiliations (e.g., Yorubaness, Africanity, Blackness, religious or sociocultural heritage, localness/Baianidade/Soteropolitanidade) among members of Salvador's population.

Figure 1. Yorubanisms in the local cityscape – The *Ialê* women's clothing store and *Axé* Transportation Company[29]

There are a number of important factors in the permeation of Yoruba practices in the city of Salvador and the salience of Yoruba in the collective imagination—often above other articulations of Africanity and Blackness, some of which I began to attend to in Chapter 2. The large numbers of Yoruba arrivals to Salvador at the conclusion of Brazilian slavery and the widespread use of a Yoruba lingua franca among people of color in the northeast prior to abolition are one such factor. As Harding (2000) explains, "Yoruba-speaking people were, by the 1830s, the largest single group of Africans in Salvador. And because the slave trade ended in 1850 they were never replaced in numerical dominance by a new wave of slaves of different

[29] **Figure 1. Yorubanisms in the local cityscape – The *Ialê* women's clothing store and *Axé* Transportation Company.** Pictured are the *Ialê* women's clothing store and a city bus bearing the name of the local *Axé* transportation company, also noted by Allan Charles Dawson (2014). These language forms attest to the pervasion of Yoruba linguistic elements in the Salvador setting and are also social indices. Their ubiquity helps to entextualize and (re)iterate local language ideologies about the centrality of Yoruba to the local heritage.

ethnicity" (p. 39). The pervasion of the Candomblé religion in the city and particularly the hegemony of the Yoruba-based Nagô-Ketu sect (whose ritual language and practices originate in Nigeria and Dahomey or modern Benin) also contribute to the permeation of Yoruba in the Salvador landscape (Capone, 2010; Castro, 2005; Dantas, 2009; Harding, 2000). The literature also shows that Nagô-centrism in the area of Afro-Brazilian studies has furthermore promoted or even privileged Yoruba among other articulations of Blackness and Africanity in Salvador and Brazil (e.g., Capone, 2010; Castro, 2005; Harding, 2000).

The salience, hegemony and pervasion of Yoruba practices in Salvador are such that identifications as African descendants or even as Soteropolitanos tend to translate into (cultural or heritage) identifications with the Yoruba language and heritage; it is, for example, the default or dominant articulation of African ancestral heritage (whether religious or socio-cultural) and Blackness. In fact, Dawson (2014) explains that Yoruba cultural traditions in Salvador and in Brazil are commonly the local signifiers of Blackness and Africanness in much of the same way that cultural forms from the "Asante people of Ghana [serve] as key markers of Blackness and Africanness" for African Americans (p. 29). Similarly, given the organizational structure of the Candomblé religion, which follows a nation and family model (Parés, 2013), practice of the religion becomes an additional basis for claiming (spiritually based) heritage, ancestral and kinship ties to Yoruba. Specifically, Yoruba is regarded as the language of the divinized Yoruba ancestors (or *orixá*), thus making it an ancestral or heritage language through religious lenses and for practitioners of Candomblé Nagô-Ketu, in particular. The identification with Yoruba among some White residents (or persons in historically privileged positions and of primarily European ancestry) results at least in part from the adoption of Yoruba into the cultural heritage or patrimony of Salvador and also falls in line with the rhetoric of racial mixture that forms Brazil's

national ideology. For Blacks and persons claiming primarily African ancestry, an identification with the category of *Yoruba* or with Yoruba cultural and linguistic practices is also in line with the adopted or proclaimed African or Yoruba heritage of the city but is additionally important for the construction of a homeland in light of the disintegration of family units and communities and the loss of ancestral knowledge as a result of the slave trade. And, again, it also follows the Nagô-centric or dominant mode of self-making in Salvador and the African-oriented "formulation of [Black] identity that uses the symbols and practice of a particular African culture," described by Dawson (p. 31).[30]

Much like the Africanisms and African-based cultural practices coopted by nationalist projects in fashioning a mixed Brazilian identity; by African-matrix religious practitioners and Afro-descendants with the aim of cultivating African ancestral links and cultural roots, particularly during the eras of *reAfricanization* and *reYorubanization*; and by the tourism industry in the forging of a local heritage for Salvador, the Brazilian government as well as other local institutions in Salvador have similarly appropriated and mobilized cultural and linguistic practices as spectacles or sites for the reiteration of national and local ideologies about personhood. Moreover, the city has gone a step further (than officially recognizing and endorsing these practices) by actually formalizing this process of cooptation. This incorporation of African or even Yoruba heritage into government initiatives has led to the implementation of language policies in support of African-based practices or other socially meaningful cultural forms, which discursively produce local and national ideologies about *race, heritage and nation* with

[30] *Correio Nagô* (or *Nagô mail*) is a Bahia-based, online information sharing portal aimed at the diffusion of news and communications related to Black culture. The website nicely demonstrates how the articulation of racial identities in Salvador are often Yoruba- or Nagô-focused and how they tend to mobilize Yoruba-based practices for their enactment. Even its name attests to the ubiquity of Nagô-Yoruba references in the research context and to the Yoruba-oritented or Nagô-centric articulation of Blackness in Salvador. (see http://correionago.ning.com/)

implications for Yoruba language learning in Brazil. In this way, macro-level Brazilian, northeastern and Soteropolitano ideologies of personhood (about *race*, *heritage*, *nation*) come to shape and be shaped by micro-level (language) policies and practices, with implications for the local practice, patterning and processes of Yoruba language. This is consistent with my earlier discussion of the reciprocal impact of language ideologies on language use (see Section 1.3.2), and it, furthermore, aligns with what Spolsky (2004) writes about the multidirectional or dialectical relationship between linguistic ideologies, policies, and practices. Specifically, he explains that language ideologies—i.e., "beliefs [which] designate a speech community's consensus on what value to apply to each of the language variables or named language varieties that make up its repertoire"—are essentially language policies; "these beliefs both derive from and influence practices" (p. 14). It also echoes the sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology literatures and their discussions of patterns of ideology and the social meanings they construe as hierarchical and layered, i.e., building upon and interacting with other cultural schemas (see Blommaert, 2005, 2015; Gal, 2005; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Silverstein, 2003). In particular, ideologies (based or anchored) at one level of society—such as the national Brazilian and local Soteropolitano ideologies about *race, heritage and nation*, in this instance—have come to (analogously) implicate other seemingly unrelated practices and/or levels of social interaction—in this case, Yoruba linguistic practices and Yoruba language learning in Salvador in order to shape and be shaped by such practices.

For example, Telles (2004) explains that the Brazilian government, both during the Vargas years (1946-1954) and the military regime (1964-1985), championed the ideology of racial democracy. Specifically, in seeking to bolster Brazil's image as a post-racial nation, the government took several steps with ultimate implications for African-based languages, which

included “expand[ing] its relations with Africa and establish[ing] centers in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia to study Africa and its relations with Brazil” (p. 40). (Of course, the cultural-political movement to establish transnational exchanges with Africa during the late-1950s was also an attempt to capitalize off of decolonization throughout the continent; see, e.g., dos Santos, 2008.) The 1959 establishment of the Federal University of Bahia’s *Center of Afro-Oriental Studies* was one such materialized effect of the ideologies of personhood pervading at the time, with the institute intended to serve as a liaison for the Afro-Brazilian, Asian and African communities. And, as previously discussed in the **Literature Review** [Section 2.1.3.2], the university also established a professorship for the Yoruba language at this time and eventually filled the chair position with a Yoruba speaker from Nigeria (Capone, 2010). The Yoruba course, which has been offered regularly from 1961 onward (Alberto, 2008; dos Santos, 2008), demonstrates how macro-level Brazilian ideologies about *race, heritage and nation*—namely rhetorics about Africanity and inclusion, in this case—and, in turn, their micro-level reverberations made significant contributions to the vitality of African languages like Yoruba in Brazil, supporting their study and statuses as curricular languages.

More recently is the example of Brazilian law *Lei No.10.639/03*, which dictates another such instance of national ideology being translated into policy and practice. The major function of this piece of legislation, generated by the legislative branch of the Brazilian government and ratified by the executive branch on January 9th, 2003, is the creation of mandatory instruction as it relates to African and Afro-Brazilian history and culture from elementary school through secondary school. A number of Brazilian educators in the area of social science who participated in this dissertation research believe that an understanding of the Yoruba language and thereby culture will better enable them to perform their duties as teachers and as conduits of

this law and have, thus, sought out to learn Yoruba through language courses. The reverberations of this legal code in the metropolitan Salvador area have further effects that extend beyond what the law requires. For example, at one public grade school in Salvador, this law (*Lei No.10.639/03*) and the Brazilian ideologies about *race, heritage and nation* (e.g., inclusion or racial democracy, African heritage and *mestiçagem*) as well as local rhetorics (i.e., about the African/Yoruba legacy and Black character of Salvador) have translated into the routine teaching of Yoruba greetings and expressions alongside Yoruba folklore and literature in the curriculum (see Figure 2).

Estudo da tradição-cultural Afro-Brasileira
Palavras em Iorubá utilizadas pelos alunos na construção de sua identidade"

The study of the Afro-Brazilian cultural tradition
Words in Yoruba utilized by students in the construction of their identity

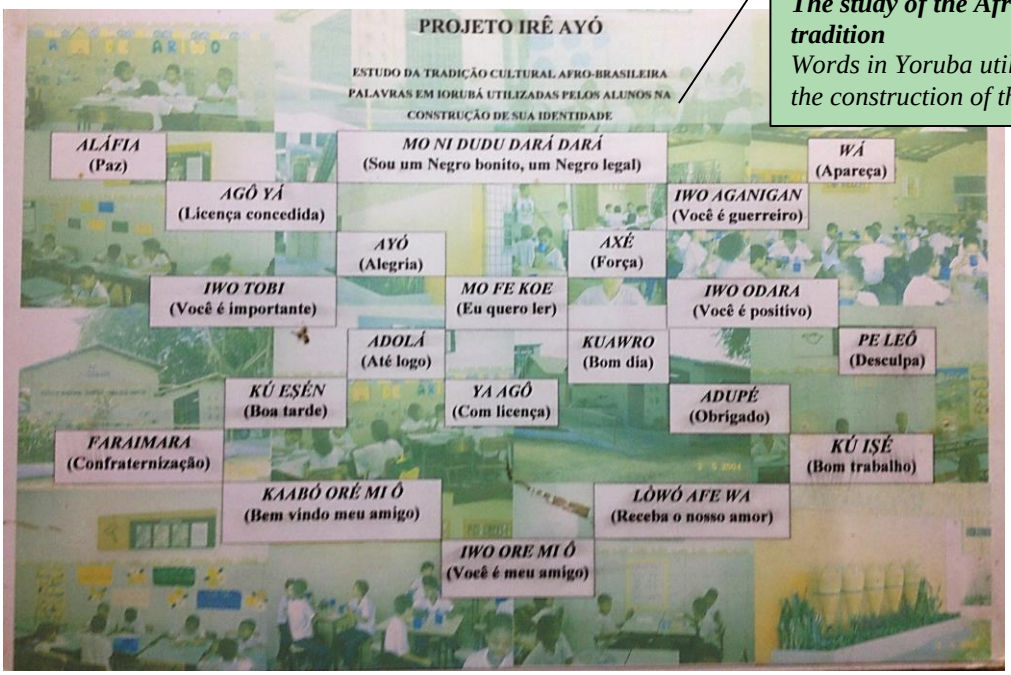

Figure 2. *Projeto Irê Ayó* [31]

[31] **Figure 2. *Projeto Irê Ayó*.** This plaque at a local, public grade school features Yoruba words and their Portuguese equivalents as well as its mission statement, which implicates the Yoruba language in the formation of students' identities and reinforces narratives about *race, heritage and nation*.

A more poignant example from my own data collection comes from an annual conference aimed at proposing and discussing more equitable policies for the city of Salvador, which is coordinated by the Municipal Secretary of Reparations and the City Council of Black Communities. This example illustrates how national and local rhetorics implicating African or even Yoruba ancestry (recursively) inform policies and, in turn, socially meaningful, indexically affiliated practices. During the third *Conferência Municipal de Promoção da Igualdade Racial* (Municipal Conference for the Promotion of Racial Equality), held in July 2013, one plenary member proposed the incorporation of Yoruba language teaching into Brazilian education as a means for combating racism. The proposal for the teaching of the Yoruba language was later modified, by other plenary members, to include the Bantu language of Kimbundu as well as (unspecified) varieties from the indigenous language family of Tupi-Guarani and was eventually submitted to city hall (the *prefeitura*) for approval and recommendation at the state and federal levels. Further analysis of data from the conference revealed that these three languages and language families were singled out among the many codes that have figured into the Brazilian linguistic landscape because of their perceived contribution or centrality to the national Brazilian heritage in keeping with national racial narratives and ideologies (e.g., of *mestiçagem* and tripartite origins). This example, again, demonstrates the "trickle-down," radiating effect of ideologies, and the four studies of this dissertation will continue to elaborate how (language-focused) schematizations of personhood in Brazil implicate and reverberatively shape other levels of practice—in this case, Yoruba linguistic forms and practices.

With the first study and a discussion of the personal, professional/educational, social and linguistic backgrounds of participants therein, I primarily intend to provide a clearer picture of the composition of the classroom community of Yoruba learners in Salvador and the distribution

of Yoruba learning. With this demographic information, I also hope to begin clarifying some of the interests and ties that learners are negotiating with regard to the Yoruba language as well as potentially how said goals and connections build upon larger (language-ideological) narratives about personhood in the Salvador and Brazilian landscapes.

4.0 THE PLACE OF YORUBA LEARNING IN SALVADOR

Accounts of Yoruba language learning in Brazil as well as within the global context have identified several types of language learners, each differentiated by their particular (reported) backgrounds and thus (ideologized) ties or connections to Yoruba language or linguistic practices. These student types include: i) practitioners of African-matrix religions (Alberto, 2011; Brown, 1994; Capone, 2010; Orie, 2006; Petter, 2006/2007), ii) persons of immediate or remote African or Yoruba heritage (Agwuele, 2004; Dwyer, 2003; Ojo, 2006), iii) students with career goals relating to Yoruba (Dwyer, 2003), iv) persons learning Yoruba for academic reasons, such as curricular requirements or research purposes (Olabode, 1995; Orie, 2006), and v) finally students with a general interest in African or Yoruba culture (Sanneh & Omar, 2002). In previous chapters, I also established several historical and sociocultural factors that supported the early development of Yoruba study in Brazil, including the perceived (social and spiritual) heritage significance of Yoruba practices, the promotion/pervasion of the Yoruba concept-symbol in Salvador as well as the rhetorical valorization of signifiers of Africanity in Brazil, in general (Capone, 2010; Castro, 2005; Dawson, 2014; Harding, 2000).

This first study describes the community of learners enrolled in Yoruba classes in Salvador to clarify the distribution of Yoruba learning and to begin understanding the types of learners, their (ideologized) connections, as well as the language learning interests and goals that drive Soteropolitanos to pursue language study. It refers to the entire population of classroom

Yoruba students in the city of Salvador and offers a model or proxy for other studies on (Yoruba) language learning. I focus on three main aspects of learners' backgrounds: (1) personal and professional/education backgrounds, (2) social backgrounds as well as (3) language backgrounds and language use. Recall that the research question that guided this inquiry asked, *What is the place of Yoruba learning in Salvador?* That is, *how is Yoruba language learning valued and distributed in Salvador?*

There are a few points that I hope to demonstrate through this discussion. First, some of our data on language use will begin to clarify the current sociolinguistic situation of Yoruba language practices in Salvador (their functional contexts, applications or use, and current status) using this community of learners in Salvador as a proxy. Secondly, I hope to provide a better notion of who enrolls in Yoruba classes (the types of learners) and to highlight some of the potential (ideological) connections underlying their study of the language as well as the demographic categories they represent. Specifically, we will notice many of the historical form-demographic category linkages, outlined in previous chapters, mimicked by this data on the learner pool in Yoruba classes. This information will, thus, support my initial statement that the local context of Salvador and the ideas and narratives circulating in it, which often articulate Yoruba linguistic practices with notions of personhood, shape and are shaped by the Yoruba language learning enterprise—in this case, the distribution of learning as well as the general place of Yoruba language and linguistic practices on the whole in Salvador.

4.1 METHODS

Yoruba learners were recruited for participation in the research at the five research sites where language courses were being offered during the intensive data collection period. The inclusion criteria were that the students be adults residing in the city of Salvador. Participants also needed to speak Portuguese fluently and be enrolled in Yoruba classes at one of the five Yoruba language teaching sites in Salvador at the time of data collection.

4.1.1 Participants

Forty-seven questionnaires were distributed to active Yoruba students (31 women; 16 men) at the Yoruba learning institutions in Salvador. Thirty-eight adult Yoruba learners (26 women; 12 men) from different proficiency levels had returned questionnaires at the end of three months and were included in this phase of data collection.

4.1.2 Instruments

Students were asked to complete biographical questionnaires with open-ended and multiple-response questions to obtain general information about the community of Yoruba learners (e.g., age, sex, birth place, educational attainment, profession). These questions were aimed at providing a better idea of the learner types, potential language learning interests and, in turn, the distribution of Yoruba learning and the place of Yoruba language in Salvador. Excerpted items from the questionnaires were translated into English and are provided below as examples.

What is your age? _____ Date of birth: _____/ _____/ 19____
day month year

Sex: ☐ M ☐ F

What is your heritage/ancestry? _____

What is your city and country of birth? _____

If you were not born in Brazil, when did you arrive in the country? _____

From where (country and state) are your mother and father? _____

Describe your occupation? _____

What is your highest level of education?

- ☐ Elementary/middle school
- ☐ High school
- ☐ Higher education. Name of your major_____
- ☐ Post-graduate. Name of your major: _____

Figure 3. Excerpted questionnaire items – Personal, professional and educational information of Yoruba students

Questionnaires also contained open-ended measures regarding students' language use and linguistic backgrounds, including questions about language background and language socialization. These questionnaire items were adapted for the Yoruba learning context in Salvador in part from Lei's (2012) *Language and Attitude Survey*, which originally investigated socio-psychological and sociocultural factors among Chinese heritage language learners. These items allowed me to access and collect information about the language use and language backgrounds of participants and their close relatives.

Which languages do you speak at home? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Yoruba
- ☐ Portuguese
- ☐ English
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ French
- ☐ Other. Please specify: _____

Which of the following languages best describes your grandparents' language background? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Yoruba
- ☐ Portuguese
- ☐ English
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ French
- ☐ Other. Please specify: _____

Which languages do your parents speak with you? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Yoruba
- ☐ Portuguese
- ☐ English
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ French
- ☐ Other. Please specify: _____

Figure 4. Excerpted questionnaire items – Sociolinguistic information about Yoruba students

Lastly, questionnaires contained several items regarding learners' social backgrounds, which asked participants to report their religious affiliations as well as how they identify. The items also used open-ended and multiple-selection formats with several choices as possible answers, including an option to volunteer an answer not already on the list. Excerpted items from the questionnaires are provided below as examples. Participants were asked:

To what religious denomination(s) do you belong? _____

Do you practice a religion of African origin?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure
- ☐ Yes. Please explain:_____

How do you identify yourself?

- ☐ Brazilian
- ☐ Yoruba
- ☐ White
- ☐ Nagô
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Black
- ☐ Afro-Brazilian
- ☐ Other. Please specify: _____

Figure 5. Excerpted questionnaire items – Social information of Yoruba students

Questionnaire items inquiring about participants' language background and language use were semi-randomly interspersed with items concerning social background (ancestry, self-identification and religious affiliation) in order to help prevent a response bias. This study distinguishes between the concepts of *ancestry* and *race*, the latter which is determined by ancestry along with class, skin color, phenotype and sometimes even "an array of cultural practices [and] religious beliefs" in Brazil (Dawson, 2014, p. 11; Telles, 2004). The question, *What is your heritage/ancestry?*, was designed to understand participants' ancestral origins or identifications. The question, "*How do you identify yourself?*" was intended to access participants' self-identifications including racial identifications (i.e., *Black*, *mixed*, *White*, *Asian* and *indigenous* as per the Brazilian racial schema) as well as other, more general social categories (e.g., *Brazilian*) given the tendency for some Brazilians to refuse to commit to racial identifications in light of the post-racial rhetoric of the national narrative of racial democracy

(Andrews, 2004; Telles, 2004). Options for this question also included the terms “Yoruba” and “Nagô,” the latter being a synonym for “Yoruba” in the Salvador context. Answers to this question were not mutually exclusive. Data obtained from this questionnaire item were used in coding for *self-identification* as well as *ancestry* (e.g., multiple-selection responses such as “Afro-descendant” and “Afro-Brazilian” were interpreted as African ancestry alongside write-in responses such as “African”).

The data from the questionnaires were subjected to qualitative analysis and statistical analysis including computation of means, sums, and percentages to determine the frequency of characteristics among the population and the existing relationships. The following sections contain the results of the questionnaires.

4.2 THE PERSONAL, PROFESSIONAL, EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF YORUBA LEARNERS

This portion of the study reports on the personal, professional, educational and social backgrounds of learners.

4.2.1 The professional and educational characteristics of Yoruba learners

Thirty-eight participants were asked to document their highest levels of education. The educational levels of participants ranged from a high school diploma (n=11, 28.95 percent), to higher education (n=12, 31.58 percent), and post-graduate school (n=15, 39.47 percent). Analyses of interview data furthermore reveal that of the thirty-eight participants, at least six

volunteered that Yoruba learning was important for academic purposes, specifically for their fields of study and/or research in music (n=1) and social sciences (n=5). In terms of employment, participants represented a number of industries. Here, I have categorized participant professions while maintaining important distinctions for the local context:

- Artists: stylist/plastic artist, musician (n=2)[32]
- Clergyman: (n=1)[33]
- Clerical personnel: judiciary technician, secretary, department administrator, accountant, police registrar, civil servant, human resources (n=7)
- Educators: public school teacher, education specialist, librarian (n=9)
- Full-time students[34] (n=6)
- Health field workers: holistic therapist, doctor, physical therapist, nursing assistant, biomedical researcher (n=5)
- Language teachers: Yoruba instructor, Portuguese/French instructor (n=2)
- Service industry workers: driver, seamstress/tailor, "Baiana" hostess of touristic events, "Baiana" food vendor (n=4)
- University faculty: professor, researcher (n=2)

Analyses of interview data also reveal that of the thirty-eight participants, fourteen (36.84 percent) volunteered that Yoruba language study was important for professional advancement in their respective career fields of: language teaching (n=2), music (n=2), social sciences, including

[32] This count does not include students in the music industry or field of musicology (n=2), who were classified as "students."

[33] This count does not include leadership roles in Candomblé terreiros, or priestesses (n=4), who were classified according to the full-time professions that they each declared on the questionnaires.

[34] This count includes persons who work in several other industries, including music (n=2) and language teaching (n=1), as they declared their occupation as "student."

research and teaching positions (n=6), clergy work (n=1), and the service or tourist industry (n=1).

4.2.2 General background information on Yoruba learners

Participants were asked to answer a series of biographical questions. According to these data, the average age for Yoruba learners in Salvador is 43.47 years; participants ranged in age from 18 to 80 years. An overwhelming majority of participants were native to (born and raised in) northeastern Brazil (n=32, 84.21 percent) and more specifically to Bahia state (n=31, 81.58 percent). The remaining respondents (n=6, 15.79 percent) represented places like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in the southeast region of Brazil. Most participants were native to the research context of Salvador. Given the vast territorial mass of Brazil and the accompanying differences in racial makeup, history, and rhetoric which can vary by state and region, the significance of *place* was particularly important to measures because of the potential relationship between self-identifications and Yoruba language learning as well as given the established influence of local ideologies/cultural schemas for Yoruba language practices, discussed in Chapter 3.

4.2.3 The ancestral identifications of Yoruba learners

The literature suggests that the study of the Yoruba language is often key to the negotiation of ethnic, racial, ancestral and sociocultural identifications for persons in the African diaspora (Agwuele, 2004; Alberto, 2008; Dwyer, 2003). In other words, it implies that many students are (sociocultural) *heritage learners* in the narrow as well as broad applications of the term—i.e., persons who have a renewed interest in "any ancestral language such as indigenous, colonial, and

immigrant languages" and culture "'for ethnic and religious reasons' after generations of no family connections with the target language and culture" and regardless of whether or not the "'language [is] regularly used in the home and the community'" (Kondo-Brown, 2003, p. 1; see also Dwyer, 2003). Given the dominant racial narratives of Salvador and Brazil as a whole (i.e., about mixture/mestiçagem, Africanity, Yorubaness, and Blackness) as well as the centrality of Salvador to the slave trade, learners claiming African origins (and thus potentially a sociocultural heritage connection to the language) are likely in the majority. Nevertheless, here I provide a statistical picture of the distribution of the learner community in order to document who, in addition to self-identified Afro-descendants, is studying the language. Furthermore, given that this is the first study of its kind, there is potential to explore the language/identification connection as it relates to the push to study Yoruba.

With this goal in mind, participants were asked to specify their ancestries using an open-ended (write-in and multiple-selection) format. The majority of participants self-identified as Afro-Brazilians or Afro-descendants (n=26, 68.42 percent). Other identifications included:

- Indigenous and European (n=4, 5. 10.53 percent)
- African, Indigenous and European (n=3, 7.89 percent)
- African and indigenous (n=2, 5.26 percent)
- African and European (n=1, 2.63 percent)
- European only (n=1, 2.63 percent)
- Indigenous only (n=1, 2.63 percent)

None of the respondents self-identified as Asian. The respondent who claimed European-only ancestry was from the predominantly White state of São Paulo, known for the large influx of

European immigrants that arrived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She was also the only participant who self-identified as "White" (see Section 4.2.4).

Given the social demographics of Salvador and the African climate of the northeastern region, this distribution seems to accurately mirror the city population.[35] Furthermore, inasmuch as there is a Yoruba language-ancestry/heritage connection, this distribution might be relevant for understanding the push to learn Yoruba in Salvador.

4.2.4 Self-identifications of Yoruba learners

This portion of the study focuses on the results of the questionnaires pertaining to participants' self-identifications, which were administered in order to better understand the demographics of the learner population and thus the distribution of Yoruba learning. These data also help to begin to define the connections and interests (e.g., religious/spiritual heritage, sociocultural heritage, career, academic) that may undergird language learning for Yoruba students and also includes a framework for *heritage learners* among Yoruba language students in Salvador.

Participants were asked, "*How do you identify yourself?*" using an open-ended, multiple-selection format. Bear in mind that categories were not mutually exclusive. "Brazilian" was by far the most popular identification (n=27, 71.05 percent) among the thirty-eight respondents along with "Afro-Brazilian" (n=26, 68.42 percent) and "Black" (n=16, 42.11 percent), whereas three participants identified as "Indian" (7.89 percent) and only two (5.26 percent) participants explicitly or categorically self-identified as "Mixed" (*mestiça*/*parda*) and "White," respectively. Four participants identified as "Yoruba" (10.53 percent) and three as "Nagô" (7.89 percent),

[35] As of the latest (2010) census, Salvador's population is overwhelmingly made up of people of color, including a distribution of 27.80% Blacks and 51.67% multi-racial persons (IBGE, 2010).

which may suggest that most people do not see their connections to the Yoruba language as literal or heritage-based despite the historical narrative of Salvador. Notably, three of the four participants identifying as "Yoruba" and two of three participants identifying as "Nagô" were Candomblé practitioners. This data is in line with Agwuele (2004), who indicates the tendency for Candomblé practitioners to identify with the category of *Yoruba*: "especially the orisha devotees who, on seeing themselves as partly Yoruba, hold the Yoruba language and practices as their heritage, will therefore linguistically define themselves as such" (p. 340).

4.2.5 Religious affiliations of Yoruba learners

Research suggests that Yoruba learners are largely persons with spiritual or religious ties to the language through their practice of Yoruba-based or African-matrix religious traditions (Alberto, 2008; Capone, 2010; Santos, 2008). They are, in other words, religious heritage learners (cf. Kondo-Brown, 2003). These ties may be related to the use of Yoruba as a ritual element and symbolic resource for religious practice in certain branches of Candomblé and perhaps the importance of Yoruba knowledge or competence for the negotiation of religious identities—e.g., initiated versus non-initiated practitioners as well as membership in and differentiation of various Candomblé nations—and for overall participation in rites and ceremonies of the religious community (Parés, 2013; Petter, 2006/2007; Voeks, 2010). According to Parés, for example, Candomblé nations are distinguished, "according to ritual elements such as language, songs, dances, and instruments, especially drums" (p. 67). Recall that in the largest and most popular branch of Candomblé known as Nagô-Ketu, a register of Yoruba is the language of liturgy. Yoruba is also the ritual language—alongside Ewe and Fon—in the Jeje sect of Candomblé. Thus, an idea of the religious affiliations of Yoruba learners is likely imperative for fully

understanding Yoruba language learning (motivation) and learner connections to the Yoruba language especially in a context such as Salvador.

Two survey questions aimed to obtain information about the religious affiliations of learners. Participants were first asked, "*To what religious denomination(s) do you belong?*" Of thirty-eight students, the responses were:

- Candomblé only (n=24)
- Catholicism (n=3)
- Candomblé/Catholicism (n=3)
- Umbanda/Catholicism (n=1)
- Candomblé/Umbanda (n=1)
- Protestantism (n=1)
- other/Esotericism (n=1)
- none (n=4)

Participants were then asked, "*Do you practice a religion of African origin?*" to which twenty-nine of the thirty-eight students answered in the affirmative.

4.3 THE LINGUISTIC BACKGROUNDS OF YORUBA LEARNERS

There are multiple understandings of the term *heritage language* including: (1) a non-dominant language with which a person identifies culturally and (2) a nondominant language spoken at home, in one's community or in familial contexts and at times resulting in bilingual competence or abilities (King & Ennser-Kananen, 2013). While the literature on Yoruba learning in Brazil is clear that many Yoruba students culturally identify with the language, I wanted to ascertain the

overall use of the Yoruba language among students in order to assess whether it qualifies as a heritage language in a more restricted sense. This inquiry will also clarify the place of Yoruba in Salvador using language use data from members of the learner community as a proxy for the city.

4.3.1 Language backgrounds

To that end, recall that participants completed a linguistic background and language use questionnaire adapted from Lei (2012) for the sociolinguistic context of Salvador. The first item in the questionnaire was presented as an open-ended question: "*What is your mother tongue (the first language you learned)?*" Out of thirty-eight respondents, thirty-seven people answered "Portuguese" with the exception of one student who reported "Spanish" as his mother tongue. Next, students were asked, "*Do you speak a language fluently in addition to Portuguese?*" Thirty-two out of thirty-eight students replied, "no." The six remaining students responded, "yes," and reported fluency in other (Indo-)European languages:

- English only (n=2)
- Spanish only (n=1)
- French and Spanish (n=1)
- English and French (n=1)
- English, French and Spanish (n=1)

None of the participants reported Yoruba as their mother tongue or reported fluency in Yoruba.

Students were also asked, "*Which of the following languages best describes your grandparents' language background?*" Options for this multiple-selection question included: "Yoruba," "Portuguese," "English," "Spanish," "French," and "Other" with a blank space to

write in a response. Thirty-seven students completed this question. Of the thirty-seven respondents, thirty-six selected "Portuguese" except one student who chose Spanish. One student chose Yoruba in addition to Portuguese to describe her grandparents' language background. Next participants were asked, "*Which of the following languages best describes your mother's language background?*" Thirty-six out of thirty-seven respondents selected "Portuguese" except one student who chose Spanish. One student selected Yoruba in addition to Portuguese and another student chose English in addition to Portuguese to describe the language backgrounds of their mothers. Lastly, I asked, "*Which of the following languages best describes your father's language background?*" Out of thirty-seven respondents, thirty-six selected Portuguese except one who instead chose Spanish. One student selected Yoruba in addition to Portuguese and yet another student chose Spanish in addition to Portuguese as the language of her father. Overall, most students (36 out of 37) identify Portuguese as the language background of one or more parents and/or grandparents. A total of two students identified Spanish as the language background of: one or more parents (n=1), and one or more parents as well as grandparents (n=1). One student reported English as the language background of her mother. Only one student used Yoruba to describe the language background of her parents and grandparents. These data indicate that Portuguese is the primary language of most Yoruba learners in Salvador. Portuguese is also reported as the language of most students' parents and grandparents. Following these data, then, Yoruba is not a heritage language for Yoruba students in Salvador in *stricto sensu.*

4.3.2 Language use

Several questions were posed to elucidate the roles of different languages in the home environments and among family members of Yoruba learners as well as to better understand the language backgrounds of classroom Yoruba learners.

Students were asked, "*Which languages do you speak at home?*" Options included: "Yoruba," "Portuguese," "English," "Spanish," "French," and "Other" with a blank space to volunteer a response. All thirty-eight participants listed Portuguese as their "home" language. In addition, participants reported using the following languages at home: Yoruba (n=8), English (n=4), and Spanish (n=1). Next students were asked, "*Which languages do your parents speak with you?*" All thirty-eight participants listed Portuguese except one who reported using Spanish to communicate with his parents. Two other participants reported speaking Yoruba in addition to Portuguese with their parents. Participants were then asked, "*Which languages do your siblings speak with you?*" Of the thirty-seven participants with siblings, all but one student reported using Portuguese with his siblings. As with previous questions, this student reported using Spanish with his siblings. One participant reported using Yoruba in addition to Portuguese with her siblings. Finally, students were asked, "*Which languages do you speak most frequently?"* Students replied: Portuguese (n=37), English (n=4), French (n=2), Yoruba (n=1), and Spanish (n=1). According to these data on language use, Portuguese emerges as the primary language of most of the Yoruba learners—both at home and in familial contexts as well as in general.

4.3.3 Contexts of Yoruba language use

The next series of questions aimed to determine in which situations and with whom students typically use Yoruba, especially in their free time and outside the classroom, in order to offer a better picture of the language backgrounds of learners. The potential answers/contexts of use were not mutually exclusive. Students were asked, "*With whom do you speak Yoruba?*" Of thirty-seven students who responded to the questionnaire item, thirty-one reported using the language with their Yoruba instructors, twenty-nine with colleagues in their Yoruba classes, five with friends and relatives in Brazil, two with one or more parents, one with siblings, and one with grandparents. Three students reported using Yoruba with "no one." Seven students volunteered that they use Yoruba with people other than those provided in the questionnaire, including a "Nigerian/Yoruba boyfriend" (n=1), the respondent's child (n=1), and with their religious families or communities along with other Candomblé practitioners (n=6). Many respondents referred to interlocutors in their religious circles as "community," "siblings" or even as "family," according to the nation and family organizational structure used in Candomblé, which suggests that lines between the ritual and familial contexts are at times blurred. No students reported using Yoruba with "Yoruba friends and relatives in Nigeria, Benin or Togo." Figure 6 illustrates the six interlocutors with whom the thirty-seven respondents reported using Yoruba. Please note that there may be some overlap between categories.

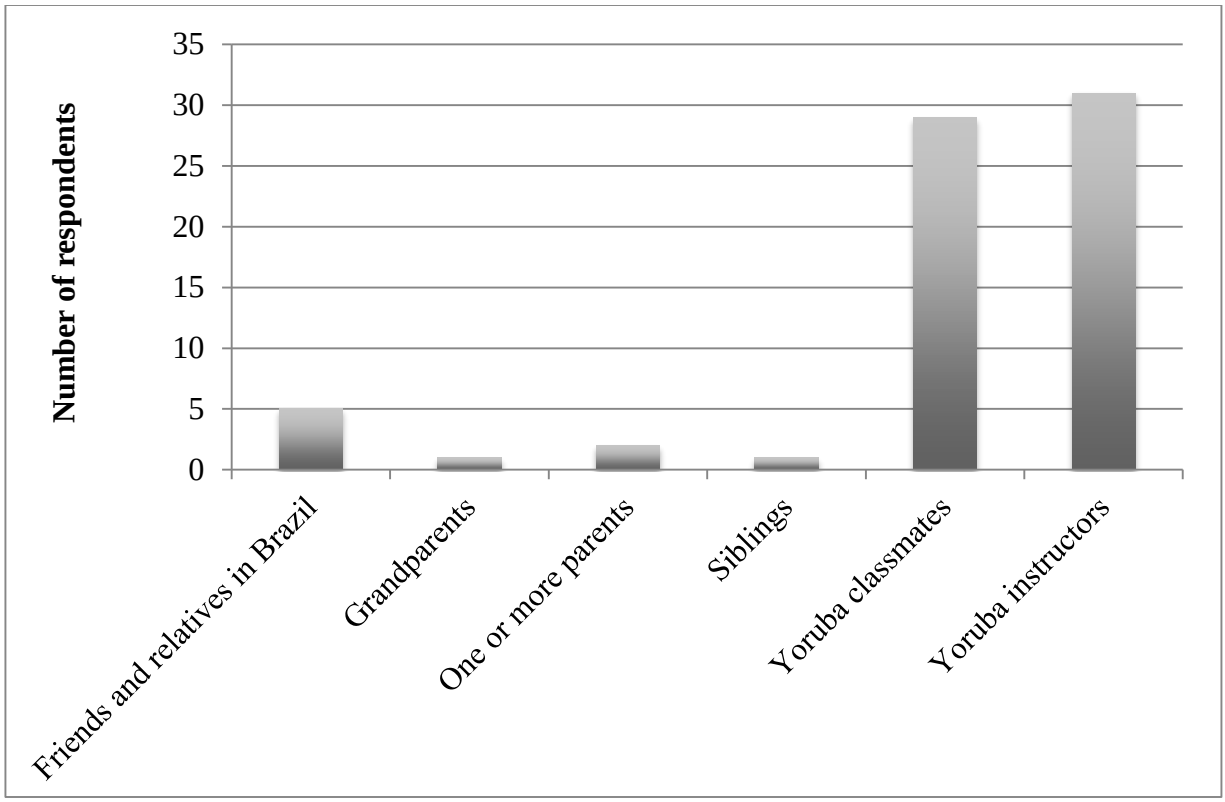

Figure 6. Interlocutors with whom students use Yoruba (n=37)

This data indicates that Yoruba has the greatest frequency of use in the classroom setting amongst language teachers and classmates; however, it also suggests that Yoruba is utilized in the private lives of some students as a language of communication with friends and, to a lesser extent, in familial relationships (natal and spiritual). Table 3 also summarizes data on the use of Yoruba in learners' extracurricular relationships. The names utilized are pseudonyms assigned to each student who participated to ensure their anonymity. Again, answers/contexts of use were not mutually exclusive and some of these categories overlap.

Table 3. Extracurricular relationships wherein students use Yoruba

	Friends and relatives	One or more parents	Grandparents	Siblings	Daughter	Boyfriend	Candomblé practitioners
Alice		x					
Clara							x
Cristina							x
Fabiana				x			
João	x						
Lucas	x						x
Mariana	x					x	
Pamela							x
Paula					x		x
Vanessa		x					
Vitor			x				
Wesley	x						
William	x						x

As Table 3 demonstrates, thirteen out of thirty-seven learners who responded to the item use Yoruba in extracurricular relationships. Thus, while fellow language learners and Yoruba instructors are the primary interlocutors for Yoruba use among these students, extracurricular interactions are a secondary domain for using the Yoruba language.

Next students were asked, "*In which situations do you speak Yoruba?*" Answers or possible situations of use were not mutually exclusive. Of thirty-seven students who responded, seven replied "at home," twenty-eight reported "at the language school," twenty stated "at religious services and activities," two students replied, "Nowhere," and two students selected "Other." Students who chose "other" volunteered that they use Yoruba amongst the "terreiro community" (n=1) and then among "friends and [her] Nigerian boyfriend" (n=1), respectively.

No students reported using Yoruba "In Nigeria, Benin or Togo" or "During festivals or parties." Figure 7 illustrates the three main contexts of Yoruba use among the respondents.

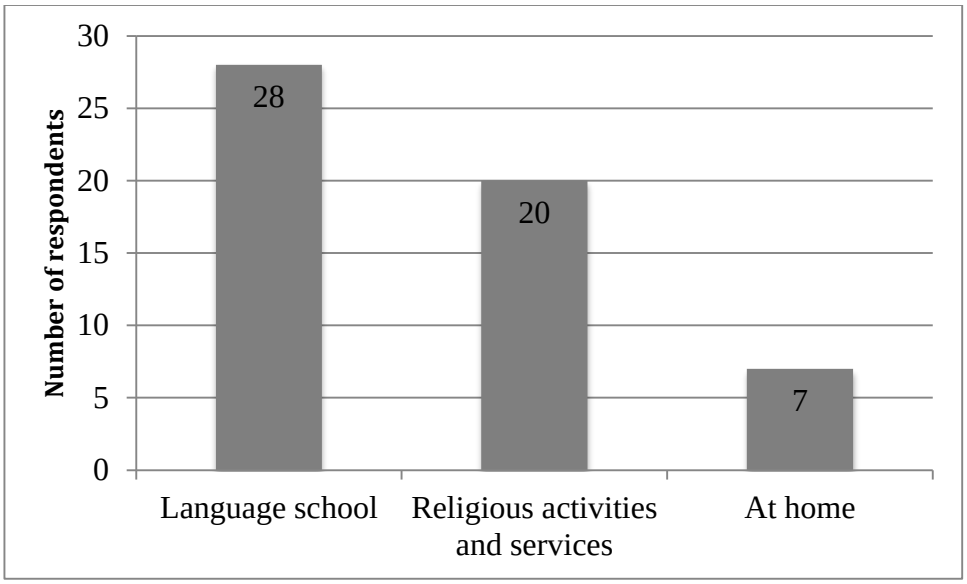

Figure 7. Main contexts of Yoruba use among learners[36]

According to this data, students primarily utilize Yoruba in the curricular domain of language classes and secondarily in religious contexts. We expect a lower number of respondents to report the use of Yoruba religious contexts than in the classroom context because not all respondents are religious or practice an Afro-Brazilian religion for which Yoruba is employed. It is not clear whether students who report using Yoruba in "religious activities and services" are referring to the liturgical register of the language or another variety of Yoruba. Nevertheless, these data again suggest that Yoruba functions primarily in the educational domain and as a liturgical register while highlighting the use of the language in extracurricular and personal or informal contexts besides the historical domains of liturgy and the classroom.

[36] **Figure 7**. Main contexts of Yoruba use among learners. Numbers for "language school" and "religious activities and services" were based on thirty-seven respondents, while thirty-eight students responded for "at home."

4.4 DISCUSSION

This study aimed to describe the demographics of language learners enrolled in Yoruba classes in the city of Salvador in terms of (1) their personal and professional/educational backgrounds, (2) social backgrounds and (3) their language backgrounds and language use in order to understand the local distribution or patterning of Yoruba study. The results are to be viewed in light of our discussion of the practical implications of language-focused ideologies about the connection of Yoruba and linguistic practices to notions of personhood in Salvador and Brazil. At a minimum, this study suggests that a number of the more established Yoruba language-category associations are mirrored in the socio-demographic composition of the learner community and social distribution of Yoruba study in Salvador.

First, the data presented provided general information about the student community and indicated that classroom Yoruba learners have an average age of 43.47 years. The great majority of Yoruba learners were women, which may in small part be attributable to the fact that women are more numerous (53%) in Salvador's population.[37] However, the bulk of this frequency discrepancy, since most learners are also Candomblé practitioners, may reflect the historical tendency for Candomblé initiates and supreme leaders in Bahia to be women (Griffith & Savage, 2006; Harding, 2000, p. 100). Yoruba learners tended to have high levels of educational attainment. The members of the Yoruba learning population are often described as intellectuals (cf. Alberto, 2011; Capone, 2010), and indeed this research indicates that more than half of this group (27 out of 38) indicated higher education or post-graduate studies as their highest level of educational attainment. Yoruba learners in Salvador represent a vast array of industries and areas

[37] As of the latest (2010) census, Salvador's population is comprised of 1,426,759 women and 1,248,897 men (IBGE, 2010).

of study. At least six of the thirty-eight participants in this research are academic learners, for whom Yoruba study serves at least the purposes of research or academic studies, and at least fourteen of the thirty-eight participants are career learners who study Yoruba for at least professional reasons.

Most participants were native to the research context of Salvador. Many students claimed African ancestry or origins (n=26; 68.42 percent). All other participants (n=10), with the exception of two, identified multiple ancestral origins. This predominance of participants claiming African ancestry is aligned with the demographics of Salvador and the rhetorical promotion of Salvador as "African" and as "a symbol of Afro-Brazilian tradition" (Capone, 2007). The common identification with African and/or multiple origins is also consistent with the discourse theorized and illustrated in the work of scholars of Brazil who have demonstrated the national Brazilian ideology of *mestiçagem* (or racial and cultural mixture; Andrews, 2004; Telles, 2004) as well as the local Soteropolitano and Bahian rhetorics of Africanity and Yorubaness (Dawson, 2014; Pinho, 2010), previously elaborated in this dissertation.[38]

In terms of self-identifications, "Brazilian" was by far the most popular identification (n=27, 71.05 percent) among the thirty-eight respondents along with "Afro-Brazilian" (n=21,

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[38] That is, like the many African(ized) practices, such as elements of Yoruba language, in the local landscape, the practice of identifying as multicultural and/or Afro-descending among many Brazilians and, in particular, Soteropolitanos, also serves as a medium or site for the (tacit) production and negotiation of national and local narratives about *race*, *heritage* and *nation*. Thus, despite the apparent numerical dominance of Whites in Brazil, a great majority of Brazilians throughout the country claim some degree of mixed ancestry. This practice of claiming African ancestry or multiple origins is related to the valorization of mixture as part of the national ideology of *mestiçagem* as well as the rhetorical and theoretical veneration of African culture and the African presence or contribution in Salvador and Brazil (see Chapter 3). Identification with African origins or even those more post-racial identifications or designations, such as "Brazilian" or "multi-racial" (rather than, e.g., "White" or as purely European descendants), is especially common among people of color but also Whites in Salvador given the city's social history and reputation for Africanness. As Telles (2004) explains, "for many years there has been a clear sense of African Brazilian ethnic identity among a large part of the African-origin population in Salvador" whereas "this is less common in other Brazilian metropolitan areas" (p. 212). Moreover, the African heritage of Salvador and narrative of *mestiçagem* are so pervasive that even its White residents are purportedly Afro-descendants or otherwise mixed.

55.26 percent) and “Black” (n=16, 42.11 percent). Again, these identifications—whether post-racial “Brazilian” or Afro-descending Brazilian—align with the dominant schematizations of personhood circulating in the research context.

Many participants also reported practicing African-based or African-matrix religions, such as Candomblé and Umbanda, which again reflects the locus of the research in Salvador as well as its social history—i.e., considering the history of African-matrix religions in Bahia and the fact that “the basic model adopted by the Afro-Brazilian religion known as Candomblé was established in Bahia” (Reis, 2013, p. 116). Specifically, a majority of learners studied were practitioners of Candomblé (28 of the 38 student participants), a religious cosmology that often entails theological ancestry and, thus, ancestral ties to Yoruba-based institutions and practices. To be clear, the organizational structure of Candomblé follows a nation and family model such that the branches or sects of Candomblé are literally called nations (or *nações*), meaning “the various lineages or genealogies of the *família-de-santo*” (or religious community) as opposed to “individuals sharing the same land of origin or African ascendency” (Parés, 2013, p. 68). This model of nation and family can be interpreted literally, especially given the disintegration of family units, communities and state systems during the slave trade (ibid., p. 68). However, based on the present data on participant self-identifications, relatively few students identify as Yoruba or Nagô despite the majority practicing Candomblé. This data may, then, suggest that learning the Yoruba language may not be tied up in participants’ literal Yoruba or Nagô identifications after all, but rather another type of (sociocultural heritage) connection to the language.

Ultimately, this study lays the framework for the identification of four archetypes for Yoruba language learning, both among northeastern Brazilians in Salvador and in general. The academic, career/professional, spiritual/religious heritage, and sociocultural/socio-racial heritage

learner profiles that have been outlined in this chapter will be framed in greater context in subsequent chapters—particularly the latter two connections, which the socio-demographic data indicate are most predominant in this community (see Chapter 5). Nevertheless, this data on learner backgrounds can help us to understand the types of connections learners may be developing or negotiating through approximation to socially significant Yoruba practices and, thus, their orientations and motivations to study the Yoruba language. This data on the composition of the learner community also shows some of the demographic categories that are stereotypically or historically affiliated with Yoruba being represented and reproduced in the language learning classroom, namely religious and general heritage (socio-racial/sociocultural) linkages but also the perceived relevance of the language to social scientists as well as practitioners of local trades, such as tourism and arts, which I also believe to be shaped by language ideologies in Salvador that associate Yoruba linguistic practices with certain personhoods, social practices and cultural meanings. For although the population of Salvador is predominantly Afro-descending, we do not see the city's socio-racial demographics fractally reproduced at every domain of society, e.g., in academia, in politics, and so forth. And yet people of color are overwhelmingly the learners represented in this Yoruba learning community. By the same token, Afro-Brazilian religious practitioners are in the minority compared to practitioners of non-heterodox, mainstream religions in Salvador, and yet they are in the majority in the Yoruba classroom. This, then, speaks to the ability of cultural notions about the connection of languages to society to shape (micro-level) language practices—in this case, language learning and, moreover, who finds a language relevant to herself in light of ideologically grounded form-demographic category linkages and, as a result, who enrolls in Yoruba classes.

Lastly, this study reported on the language backgrounds and language use of participants. The results showed that Portuguese is the primary language of most classroom Yoruba learners in Salvador. It is the first language of most students and the language of most students' parents and grandparents. Portuguese is also the language most often and most widely used by participants. And yet many (13 out of 37) learners report using the Yoruba language in their private lives among relatives and friends.

This data about the learners' reported use of Yoruba is critical to the scientific data on Yoruba language learning in Salvador, Brazil, for several reasons. One, it responds to the lacunae in the scientific literature on Yoruba language learning. Two, it elucidates the types of learners and learning objectives in this population. And three, it broadens and refines the concept of heritage language learning. In particular, reports of Yoruba use in religious contexts and with fellow Candomblé practitioners suggest that a majority of the learner population may potentially have a spiritual connection to in the language. Likewise, reports on learners' language use and language backgrounds indicate that these students are not heritage learners in the traditional sense of the term—i.e., a minority language learned in the home or community as a child. However, what the data on learner social identifications and religious affiliations, in tandem with a background on the local cultural value of Yoruba linguistic practices (see Section 3.3.2), do suggest is that students are heritage learners in the broad sense of the term. That is, they are learners of an ancestral language that they associate with their own cultures or identities (Kondo-Brown, 2003, p. 1; see Dwyer, 2003).

These data furthermore have implications for understanding the sociohistorical trajectory of the Yoruba language in Brazil—i.e., its functional contexts, applications or use, and current status—using this community of learners in Salvador as a proxy. The Afro-Brazilian linguistics

literature states that Yoruba became functionally and structurally reduced as a liturgical language in post-emancipation Brazil (Bonvini, 2008; Petter, 2006/2007, 2011) and that it otherwise survived as scattered borrowings or substrate features in modern lects of Brazilian Portuguese (Castro, 1983, 2005; Lipski, 2006; Rocha & Puggian, 2011). The literature makes minimal reference to its revitalization or redevelopment as a language of study in the collegiate curriculum in Brazil as early as the 1950s and with the establishment of Yoruba courses. These new data, however, document the current situation of Yoruba linguistic practices in Brazil and particularly Yoruba's status as a curricular language with limited, albeit potentially expanding, uses or applications and functional domains among learners (e.g., in curricular and familial interactions) compared to what has been previously documented regarding the language after abolition. The changing functions and domains of the language highlight a case of language redevelopment worth exploring in Salvador as a whole.

5.0 THE VALUES AND MOTIVATIONAL ATTRIBUTES OF YORUBA LEARNING IN SALVADOR

Language learning motivation is defined as "the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favorable attitudes toward learning the language" (Gardner, 1985, p. 10). It is also understood as "the internal and/or external forces that lead to the initiation, direction, intensity, and persistence of behavior" (Vallerand, 2004, p. 428). Motivation is a key component in the decision to embark on language study and in the (sustained) language learning process itself. From an SLA perspective, then, motivation is important for understanding students' efforts and achievement in language learning. In the case of the Yoruba language practices in Salvador, learner motivation takes on a broader significance, helping us to understand its current status (i.e., as a language with an older history in the local context), particularly its resurgence and current development as a curricular language in.

The concept of motivation has been extensively employed in various sociocultural contexts over the last half-century in order to empirically understand individual differences in language learning. (For reviews, see Barker, 2005; Dickinson, 1995; Dörnyei, 1998, 2001, 2003; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2013; Gardner, 2001, 2010; Keblawi, 2014; Khodashenas, Amouzegar, Farahani, Hasheminasab, & Kazemian, 2013; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; Oxford & Shearin, 1994; Schmidt, Boraie, & Kassabgy, 1996; Spolsky, 2000; Taie & Afshari, 2015; Tremblay & Gardner, 1995; Ushioda, 2005). However, despite the abundance of studies on second language

learning motivation, little to no work has empirically explored what drives Yoruba language learning, specifically. As discussed in the **Literature Review** [Chapter 2], studies of the second- and foreign-language learning of Yoruba in the U.S. and in the global context have only discussed the notions of student "interests," identifying several that drive language study among Yoruba learners. These interests include: i) religion (Alberto, 2011; Brown, 1994; Capone, 2010; Orie, 2006; Petter, 2006/2007), ii) African or Yoruba heritage (Agwuele, 2004; Dwyer, 2003; Ojo, 2006), iii) career goals (Dwyer, 2003), iv) academic or research requirements (Olabode, 1995; Orie, 2006), and v) a general interest in African or Yoruba culture (Sanneh & Omar, 2002). However, as of 2002, Sanneh and Omar found no formal studies of motivation among undergraduate learners of African languages in the U.S. context. Similarly, the scholarship within Afro-Brazilian studies alludes to several (historical and sociocultural) reasons for the uptake of Yoruba language learning among Brazilians and, more specifically, Bahians. These reasons include the perceived (social and spiritual) heritage significance of Yoruba practices (Alberto, 2011; Brown, 1994; Capone, 2010; Parés, 2004; Petter, 2006/2007), including the promotion/pervasion of Yoruba practices in Salvador, as well as the related rhetorical valorization of African practices in Brazil (Capone, 2010; Castro, 2005; Dawson, 2014; Harding, 2000). However, all in all, no study has ever systematically explored the motivational orientations that impinge upon Yoruba learning, especially in Salvador or Brazil.

The study presented in this chapter empirically and systematically investigates the motivations and values of language learning among Yoruba students in order to respond to the overarching research question of this dissertation as well as the guiding research questions of this chapter—i.e., *What types of motivational orientations, or language learning goals, drive language study in Salvador?* Answering this question is a bit more complex, so for clarity I list

the more specific subquestions here:

- Are learners in Salvador more driven to study Yoruba for sociocultural (integrative) or practical (instrumental) reasons, according to the constructs of the Socio-educational model?
- Are learners in Salvador more intrinsically or extrinsically motivated to study Yoruba, according to the constructs of Self-determination theory?
- What orientations underlie religious and general heritage interests in Yoruba learning?

Moreover, this study asks: *what sociosemiotic linkages and language-ideological notions about Yoruba language and linguistic practices undergird these motivational orientations and, in turn, incentivize the study of Yoruba in Salvador?*

Through these research questions and the data present here, I continue exploring the ways in which social context and the language ideologies circulating in Salvador shape Yoruba language learning and, in this case, the (ideologized) values and goals for studying Yoruba. Specifically and in keeping with the theoretical framework of this dissertation, I treat motivational orientations and values of language learning as necessarily matters of *linguistic ideology*—i.e., "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). The idea that motivational orientations are ideologically mediated reasons for language study means that their histories and implications are much broader than the immediate activity of language learning. That is, they are often historically grounded cultural products. Furthermore, they have the demonstrated potential to valorize and, thereby, incentivize (or, conversely, devalorize and disincentivize) language practices (Silverstein, 2003), potentially shaping language variation and change and steering the ultimate trajectory of a language while also reciprocally reproducing and

negotiating the linguistic ideologies that support them. My central contention here is that (1) the ideologies that link Yoruba linguistic practices to notions of personhood in the local context and, accordingly, (2) the potential to mobilize these socially meaningful indices of personhood undergird the motivations to study Yoruba. In particular, I will discuss learners who are aiming to cultivate ancestral ties, spiritual citizenship or religious heritage, racial identifications (e.g., Blackness), African heritage or roots, Yorubaness, and immersion into Bahian culture (localness) through the study of Yoruba.

This study draws from two dominant theoretical frameworks of language learning motivation, the paradigms of *Socio-educational model* and *Self-determination theory*, which offer methods to systemically examine, describe and understand the reasons (or orientations) driving Yoruba language study. In the next section, I will introduce each framework as well as their explanatory power for the present research.

5.1 THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

Numerous conceptualizations of *motivation* in the extant SLA literature tie the target language and the language learning enterprise to notions of selfhood and belonging among learners (for overviews see, e.g., Dörnyei, 2009; Ushioda, 2011). Thus, for example, Schumann's (1978, 1986) model of *Acculturation* discusses "the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language (TL) group" (p. 379), and how acculturation to the target language community in naturalistic settings provides access to L2 data, which then allows for language acquisition. Several additional theories take an intergroup approach to motivation, which considers language learning in terms of establishing inter-ethnic belonging/membership (e.g.,

Clément, 1977, 1980; Gardner, 1979, 1980, 1985, 1988, 2001, 2010; Gardner, Smythe, Clément, & Gliksman, 1976). Among these intergroup theories, the *Socio-educational model* of motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1959) offers that identification with the target language (TL) community sustains motivation and, therefore, predicts success in language learning. Similarly, Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) *L2 motivational self system* reinterprets *integrativeness* (Gardner & Lambert, 1959) to offer a theory of motivation that ties language learning to the learner's senses of self (*ideal L2* and *ought-to L2* selves) vis-à-vis the second language learning experience. Lastly, Noels, Pelletier, Clément, and Vallerand's (2000, 2003) model of motivation uses the framework of *Self-determination theory* (Deci & Ryan, 1985) to explore the degrees to which language learning is internationalized by the learner. Two of these theoretical models of motivation, the *Socio-educational model* and *Self-determination theory*, are particularly in line with the themes and goals of the present dissertation. I, thus, describe them in greater detail in the following sections.

5.1.1 Integrative and instrumental dimensions of language learning motivations

One dominant theoretical model that has been used to conceptualize language study goals or orientations amongst second language learners is the *Socio-educational model* (Gardner & Lambert, 1959). As part of this theory, foundational studies in the field of second language motivation research by Gardner (1960, 1985) and colleagues (e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1959, 1972) established that motivation and, in turn, language learning achievement are determined by learner beliefs and perceptions (*attitudes*) toward the target language and its community as well as by learner orientations (or goals) toward the language learning task. According to this

framework, there are two types of second language learning orientations that can sustain motivation. The first is an *integrative* orientation, which reflects situations "where the aim in language study is to learn more about the language group, or to meet more and *different* people" (p. 267). The second orientation is *instrumental* and involves cases of language learning "wherein the reasons reflect the more utilitarian value of achievement" (ibid., p. 267). The Socio-educational model hypothesizes that, among the two types of language learners, integratively oriented students, who are "characterized by a willingness to be like valued members of the language community," were more successful at learning the second language than students learning for practical or pragmatic reasons (p. 271).

This model has been successfully applied in a variety of sociocultural contexts in order to elaborate the importance of integrative motivation for language achievement, especially in bilingual contexts wherein the L2 has a functional role beyond the classroom setting and where there is ample opportunity for learners to identify and interact with native speakers of the TL group (Ellis, 1998; Gardner, 1960, 1988; Gardner, Smythe, Clément, & Gliksman, 1976; Giles and Byrne, 1982; Ramage, 1990; Schumann, 1978, 1986; for a list of additional studies, see Hernandez, 2008, p. 1). Furthermore, building upon the Socio-educational model, recent research has, moreover, demonstrated the benefit of a complementary language-ideological approach in order to understand the effect of sociocultural ideas and beliefs about languages and their social worlds on language learning (e.g., Abongdia, 2009; Dyers & Abongdia, 2010. Namely, Abongdia and colleagues' work on Francophone high school students of English in Cameroon revealed that a framework entailing the concept of *language ideologies*, more than just the notion of (idiosyncratic or overtly metalinguistic) *language attitudes* (see Section 1.3.2.1), was necessary to fully capture the deep-seated-ness (e.g., historically grounded and structurally

inculcated nature) of learner beliefs vis-à-vis the target language (English), the Anglophone community in Cameroon and, thus, learner motivational orientations. As such, a notion of *language ideologies* in this study attends not just to overt or idiosyncratic ideas about linguistic phenomena—that is, *ideologies* or *attitudes of language*—but, moreover, language-focused cultural constructs and beliefs about society that can reciprocally shape and even become embedded within patterns and structures of language through non-referential indices. Following in a similar vein of the bridged approach used by Abongdia and colleagues, this study will use the constructs of *language ideology* and *integrativeness* to understand the motivational factors that drive Soteropolitanos to study Yoruba and which, therefore, also contribute to the current development of Yoruba as a curricular language in Brazil.

This dissertation has suggested several practical or pragmatic reasons why Soteropolitanos embark on Yoruba language learning. I have also highlighted cases where learners are driven to study Yoruba by interpersonal reasons of admiring, identifying with and wanting to align with the Yoruba language community. Table 4 uses translated extracts of interviews with student participants in this research to provide examples of how the constructs of integrativeness and instrumentality apply to Yoruba learners in Salvador. The names utilized are pseudonyms, which were assigned to each student who participated in this dissertation study to ensure anonymity.

Table 4. Yoruba L2 orientations according to the Socio-educational model

Socio-educational model orientations in Salvador	
Instrumental	• **Alice**: "I am a historian [...] I am conducting a Master study [...] at UFBA on African culture as a whole. Studying Yoruba helps me to get closer to the African culture [...] It's an instrument that I have to more deeply engage in African culture." • **Clara**: "The motivation is religious because— I wanted to [learn] because our orations, everything is in Yoruba. So we don't know what we're saying." • **Paula** "In all actuality, I didn't decide to study Yoruba. I have contact with the language through my religion, which is Candomblé. What will possibly happen is that I'll need to establish some kind of link to better understand the language. Because learning already comes from the religion. But specificity... something deeper...it would have to be from outside of the religion."
Integrative	• **Sofia**: "I actually began to study Yoruba […] in college. I came to know some Yoruba idioms through college. I study at the Federal [University], too. So, from the study of African culture, I came to know a bit more of the language and became interested. And also because— for [cultural] recovery. It is a language of my ancestors, that I believe to be, and I wanted to study Yoruba." • **Fabiana:** "I want to learn [Yoruba] more than I want to learn English, which globalization made the language of the world. I prefer to study that which has more to do with my roots. For that reason alone." • **Gustavo**: "I'm a musician. I am a composer and here in Bahia, Yoruba is present in many aspects of Bahian culture. And that is ancestral [...] Very old, very ancestral. So it is part of our cultural life, Yoruba [is]. Even today it is a part. And I, as a musician and composer, artist, I love this contact. I felt the need to delve into it."

Table 4 includes excerpted speech from interviews with Yoruba learners in this research. These excerpts serve to demonstrate how integrative and instrumental orientations sound in the context of this research and among participants, who while having stated religious, academic, (general) heritage and/or career connections to the Yoruba language, more generally have practical or sociocultural reasons for studying the language that can be accessed using the Socio-educational

model. The first tier of excerpts represents students who are studying Yoruba to achieve a practical goal or toward pragmatic ends, including understanding her post-graduate research on African culture, learning religious orations, and understanding her religion. The second tier of excerpts represents language learning that is motivated by a desire for contact and identification with the members of the second language or Yoruba community.

While the Socio-educational model focuses on the intergroup or social/sociocultural dimension of orientations, the next model (Self-determination theory) offers another way of conceptualizing Yoruba learning goals in the Salvador context by looking at the interpersonal level of orientations.

5.1.2 Intrinsic and extrinsic dimensions of learning motivations

Self-determination theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985) is another theoretical model that can help us to conceptualize the goals of the Yoruba learners in the research. This framework distinguishes two types of motivation: "one based on intrinsic interest in the activity per se and the other based on rewards extrinsic to the activity itself" (Noels et. al, 2000, 2003, p. 38). Rather than representing a polarity or dichotomy like the motivations in the Socio-educational model, the orientations in this paradigm "are not categorically different […] but rather lie along a continuum of self-determination" (ibid., p. 38).

In other words, the SDT framework describes a continuum of autonomy in human behavior. At one end is the state of *Amotivation*, characterized by learned ineffectance and helplessness. It is "the impersonal orientation, which involves experiencing situations as unmasterable" (p. 175), and as "beyond [the learner's] intentional control" (p. 152). Amotivation occurs when conditions in the language learning environment "interfere with the development of

competence" (p. 97), and, as a result, individuals passively engage activities without a sense of goals or purpose. However, analysis of interview data suggests that participants in the Yoruba learning community did not exhibit an absence of motivation but, rather, were very clear in their intentions or the overall value of studying Yoruba. Next on the continuum of self-determination is *Extrinsic motivation*, used to describe "behavior where the reason for doing it is something other than an interest in the activity itself," which can "range from being determined largely by controls to being determined more by choices based on one's own values and desires" (p. 35). Extrinsic motivations range from low degrees of motivation to high levels of self-determination, encompassing External regulation, Introjection, Identification and Integration.

External regulation is the least self-determined of the four types of controlled motivations and refers to "behaviors […] performed to satisfy an external demand or obtain an externally imposed reward contingency" (Ryan & Deci, 2000, p. 61). Next are *Introjected* activities, which have a regulation internal to the actor. They are "not experienced as fully part of the self," but rather performed "with the feeling of pressure in order to avoid guilt or anxiety or to attain ego-enhancements or pride" (p. 62). Next is the point when the actor begins to identify with the value, see the "personal importance of a behavior and has thus accepted its regulation as his or her own" (ibid., p. 62), i.e., *Identification*. Lastly, *Integrated regulation* occurs as extrinsic motivations become autonomous—i.e., "when identified regulations have been fully assimilated to the self" or brought "into congruence with one's other values and needs" (ibid., p. 62). Table 5 offers examples of extrinsic goals for learning Yoruba in the Salvador context, reflecting varying degrees of external compulsion. As you move down the table from External regulation to Integrated regulation, notice how the decision to study Yoruba becomes increasingly autonomous and self-determined.

Table 5. Yoruba L2 orientations according to Self-determination theory – Extrinsic motivations

Extrinsic motivations in Salvador	
External regulation	• **Rafaela**: "I needed a foreign language, a language different from mine, like, for [my] college curriculum. This [course] was one."
Introjected regulation	• **Vanessa**: "I have some contacts just through promoting events, so I know some people and have some contacts. They are Nigerians, some people— […] because of the events, I decided to learn [Yoruba] too, because we are always in contact with foreigners and now I have lots of contact with Nigerians. And...it's essential, there's no way […] I think it's important that we learn it in order to receive even better those people who are arriving; especially we who worked— I work in reception, so I'm at the receiving line. It's important that I have this knowledge so that when people arrive, I know how to act, how to talk to the Nigerians."
Identified regulation	• **Pedro**: "I decided [to study Yoruba] because— I work with education, with history, and I noticed that in the classroom we almost don't have, let's say, evidence of the presence— Africa history in the classroom. But European history, a bit of the history of Brazil with the absence of the Indians, actually [is] a story told by the Portuguese, and in the case here in Salvador, with the majority being Black, you know, I think it's important that we seek these historical sources of the language, of the Yoruba culture."
Integrated regulation	• **Mario** "Well, in the first place because I work, you know, [because of] the pastoral work that I do and also I have contact with people who are of another religion. I am Catholic and then have contact with people who I work with. And just [want] to know a bit of the language itself, you know— Because people have prejudice especially, I think, just because of a lack of knowledge of the language, so much of what is done in Candomblé, so this helps […] Because the way to understand something is when you understand the language of a person. Then you strip away all the prejudice […] So this was for me a strong goal, heartfelt, to understand the cosmology, ecology, even the worldview of Candomblé world, which I find very important. Language is an interesting tool, which opens the door to say— To enter and righteously come into a reverence and respect, above all."

At the other end of the spectrum of motivation and autonomy is *Intrinsic motivation*, consisting of human behavior "for which the rewards are internal to the person," such that "[t]he actor engages in them out of interest and to feel competent and self-determining" (Deci & Ryan, 1985, p. 194). Put another way, "Intrinsic motivation is […] the doing of an activity for its

inherent satisfactions rather than for some separable consequence" (Ryan and Deci, 2000, p. 56). Thus, while extrinsically motivated activities are driven by external rewards and incentives, including compensation, social approval or praise, evaluative feedback or grades, pressure, and competition, intrinsically motivated behaviors are performed for an internal reward, such as interest or mastery (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Despite the similarities between intrinsic motivation and more internal or integrated forms of extrinsic motivation—since "both [are] autonomous and unconflicted"—the latter orientations "are still extrinsic because [the] behavior motivated by integrated regulation is done for its presumed instrumental value with respect to some outcome that is separate from the behavior, even though it is volitional and valued by the self" (Ryan and Deci, 2000, p. 62).[39] The continuum of internalization and self-determination, proposed as part of SDT, accounts for the fluid or variable nature of orientations in terms of relative autonomy as well as the fact that activities can become more self-determined over time and depending on social/contextual factors. Specifically, increased integration of behaviors (i.e., the assimilation of goals to the self) and internalization of an activity (i.e., the adoption of goals or regulations) can facilitate self-determination.

Vallerand and colleagues (Vallerand, Blais, Briére, & Pelletier, 1989) have further developed this framework by dividing intrinsic motivation into three subtypes: *Accomplishment*, *Knowledge*, and *Stimulation* (Noels et al., 2000, 2003). For our purposes, intrinsic motivation *to accomplish* is learning a language for the pleasure or satisfaction that comes from mastering a new skill, achieving a goal, or simply surpassing oneself. Intrinsic motivation *to know*—i.e., the *Knowledge* subcomponent—is studying a language for the pleasure and fulfillment in learning

[39] For a visualization of the continuum of self-determined motivation that displays the range of interpersonal motivations and degrees of autonomy possible in performing activities according to SDT, please see Ryan and Deci (2000, p. 61).

something or exploring new ideas or from simply gaining insight. Finally, intrinsic motivation *to experience stimulation* is learning a language to experience the pleasant feelings, such as fun or excitement, of the activity. Table 6 highlights the intrinsic language learning goals of Camila, who is "learn[ing] language for language's sake" (p. 40). Although there is some degree of overlap, Clara's reasons for learning Yoruba draw on the three subdivisions of intrinsic motivation identified by Vallerand and colleagues—i.e., language study in order to master a new skill, in order to acquire knowledge or learn, and just simply for the joy that comes with learning languages.

Table 6. Yoruba L2 orientations according to Self-determination theory – Intrinsic motivations

Intrinsic motivations in Salvador	
Accomplishment	• **Camila**: "Look, namely I like languages. I am a language teacher, I already teach Portuguese, I speak French, you understand? I speak a little English, I understand Spanish pretty well, and also, like, the desire to broaden my universe in regards to the question of Black culture, you know? Which is a very remarkable culture, you know, in my life— My life here and in my work too, and here in the middle where I live. So learning Yoruba for me represents yet another increase, you know? Another way for me…how do I say, to add an instrument so that I can further advance […] Mine [my reasoning] is also expanding my universe, especially because I speak French, which is a Romance language, you know, but I did not speak any African language, when this opportunity came about, and since we have interest…I also have interest, so for me, learning Yoruba is something quite interesting. I don't have a precise goal for study and stuff, but I'm studying for knowledge, for expansion of my perspective."
Knowledge	
Stimulation	

This conceptualization of second language learning orientations has inspired a great volume of research examining how varying degrees of self-determination relate to language learning, which indicates that more autonomous forms of motivation can promote learning strategies, self-esteem or self-confidence, engagement in learning, and thus educational attainment (e.g., Noels, 2005; Takahashi, 2005; Wang, 2008; for a review, see Ryan & Deci, 2000). This model is ideal here

because it has as its basis a theory for conceptualizing degrees of internalization and, from a sociocultural linguistic perspective, incorporates different gradations of essentialization of the links between Yoruba linguistic practices and notions of personhood. Additionally, given that this model of motivation explores the degrees to which language learning is internationalized, it helps prevent the common pitfall of assuming a priori that languages and linguistic practices are internalized (i.e., tied to notions of self), as evidenced by the over-application of *identity* in analyses of social practice (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000).

These two theoretical frameworks complement each other by assessing different dimensions of motivations—i.e., the intergroup or social dimension of orientations (Socio-educational model) and the interpersonal level (Self-determination Theory). They will thus enable us to comprehensively identify, quantify, and understand the multitude of orientations and goals at work in language learning among the Salvador community. Furthermore, the SDT framework can be applied to elucidate the more salient learning interests among Yoruba language learners in Salvador (cf. Bakar, Sulaiman, & Rafaai, 2010), as discussed in the following section.

5.1.3 Religious and heritage interests in the learning community

Soteropolitano learners of Yoruba are drawing on a number of interests and connections in their study of Yoruba, most saliently heritage (e.g., sociocultural/socio-racial) and religion (i.e., theological or spiritual heritage). The Afro-Brazilian studies literature adds further support for the idea that religion or spirituality as well as (general) heritage are reasons or factors that have historically undergirded the study of the Yoruba language and, moreover, provided for the persistence of Yoruba linguistic practices in Brazil and Bahia (Alberto, 2011; Brown, 1994;

Capone, 2010; Parés, 2004; Petter, 2006/2007). However, as previously stated, no study has ever systematically explored religion/spirituality or (general) heritage as attitudinal-motivational factors impinging upon Yoruba learning in Salvador or Brazil. What, furthermore, remains unclear is whether learners with (ideologized) religious or heritage connections and interests in Yoruba practices are oriented to study the language by their own volition (e.g., a personal decision to study Yoruba because of its connections to their heritage or spirituality) or because of some external compulsion (e.g., pressure from their families, community members or religious authorities to learn a language seen as integral to their heritage or religion). The constructs of the Self-determination theory framework, thus, offer a way of assessing the degrees of motivation along with the relative internal stimulus and autonomy (versus external compulsion) in order to clarify two of the more predominant interests among students in the Yoruba learning community of Salvador.

I will now present the methods and analysis for this study.

5.2 METHODS

In order to attend to its guiding research questions, this study continues with the same mixed-method scaffolding used throughout the dissertation and introduces a complementary methodology drawn from the paradigms of the Socio-educational model and Self-determination theory (discussed above in Sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2).

5.2.1 Participants

Current and former self-identified learners of Yoruba were recruited over the course of three months and asked to participate in this research. Recruitment targeted adult learners of Yoruba in Salvador who were fluent speakers of Portuguese. However, the target population was later reduced to include students enrolled in Yoruba classes at the five Yoruba language schools in Salvador at the time of the data collection. Forty-seven questionnaires were distributed to these Yoruba students (31 women; 16 men). Participants were asked for verbal consent at each stage of data collection. A total of thirty-eight Yoruba learners from different proficiency levels completed one or more questionnaire items, returned questionnaires and thus participated in this study. They ranged in age from eighteen to eighty years, with a mean age of 43.5 years. Women composed 68.4 percent of the respondent group (n=26 w, 12 m). The length of time participants had spent learning Yoruba ranged from two weeks to twenty-eight years, with a mean length of 1.7 years.

5.2.2 Procedures

One to two administrators who had no association to the language centers were present during the conduct of the study. Questionnaires were individually distributed to Yoruba students during regular class periods at the five language centers. Participants were given an unlimited amount of time to respond to the subscale items and questionnaires were then returned directly to me.

5.2.3 Instruments

The instruments used to assess motivational orientations for this study consisted of three questionnaire measures. They consist of a combination of previously validated scales as well as adapted measures:

- Subscales adapted from the Portuguese-language version of Gardner's (1985) *Attitudes/Motivation Test Battery* (AMTB; El-Dash & Gardner, 2004) in order to measure integrative and instrumental orientations;
- Subscales adapted from the *Language Learning Orientations Scale–Intrinsic Motivation, Extrinsic Motivation, and Amotivation* subscales (LLOS-IEA; Noels et al., 2000, 2003) and translated to explore intrinsic and extrinsic motivations;
- Subscales to assess heritage and religious interests among language learners that were developed on the basis of the *Religious Motivational Subscale* (Bakar et al., 2010) and translated.

5.2.3.1 Assessing integrative and instrumental orientations in the learner community

To assess the motivational orientations and attributes involved in language learning, Gardner (1985) and colleagues developed the instrument known as The Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) for use in the Canadian context among Anglo-Canadians learning French in elementary and secondary schools. The AMTB operationalizes the constructs of the Socio-educational model and uses self-report scales to measure orientations as well as several other second language learning variables. The AMTB has been adapted for use in a variety of L2 contexts and more recently a Portuguese version was developed for English learners in the Brazilian context (El-Dash & Gardner, 2004).

This study adopted the *a priori* Portuguese questionnaire, originally developed in southeastern Brazil, with some modifications in accordance with the setting of my research among Yoruba learners in northeastern Brazil. The questionnaire utilizes the original ranking of a six-point Likert Scale (1 = 'strongly disagree' to 6 = 'strongly agree'). It consists of eight items distributed over two scales for *Integrative orientation* and *Instrumental orientation*, as shown in Table 7, in order to assess the intergroup dimension of motivation.

Table 7. AMTB scale items

Integrative and instrumental orientation subscale items	
Integrative	Q08. Studying Yoruba is important because it will allow me to be more at ease with people who speak Yoruba. Q28. Studying Yoruba is important because it will allow me to meet and converse with more and varied people. Q50. Studying Yoruba is important because it will enable me to better understand and appreciate the way of life in Yoruba-speaking countries. Q72. Studying Yoruba is important because I will be able to interact more easily with native speakers of Yoruba.
Instrumental	Q15. Studying Yoruba is important because I will need it for my career. Q35. Studying Yoruba is important because it will enhance my education. Q59. Studying Yoruba is important because it will be useful in getting a good job. Q79. Studying Yoruba is important because other people will respect me more if I know Yoruba.

5.2.3.2 Assessing intrinsic and extrinsic motivations in the learner community

To assess language learning orientations from the perspective Self-determination theory, I developed a new Portuguese questionnaire on the basis of the *Language Learning Orientation Scale – Intrinsic Motivation, Extrinsic Motivation and Amotivation Subscales* (Noels et al., 2000, 2003). Like the original measure, this test excludes Integrated Regulation—i.e., the most self-determined form of extrinsic motivation—given that "earlier studies of motivation in education [have] had difficulty distinguishing the construct from identified regulation" (p. 56). I changed the language and wording of the original questionnaire to adapt the items for a study on Yoruba

learning among Portuguese speakers. As a further departure from the original questionnaire with twenty-one items, my measure has (seven) subscales containing four items to assess each motivational subtype for a total of twenty-eight items, as shown in Table 8.

Participants were asked to indicate the extent to which each of the twenty-eight statements in the measure reflected their reasons for language study using a reduced Likert scale consisting of five points (to avoid having excessive or insufficient response options while keeping with the odd numbering system of the original, seven-point scale). The five-point scale ranged from 1 = ‘does not correspond at all’ to 5 = ‘corresponds exactly.’

Table 8. Items for the LLOS-IEA subscales

Intrinsic motivation, Extrinsic motivation, and Amotivation subscales	
Amotivation scale	Q03. Yoruba has no practical importance for my life. Q19. I have the impression that I'm not capable of succeeding in this Yoruba course. Q34. Honestly, I don't know; I have the impression that studying Yoruba is a waste of time. Q35. I cannot come to see why I study Yoruba, and frankly, I don't care.
Extrinsic Motivation - *External Regulation scale*	Q02. I might need to travel to Yoruba-speaking countries someday. Q09. I'm studying Yoruba in order to get a position that requires knowing the language. Q15. I study Yoruba because I have the impression that it is expected of me. Q63. Because it allows me to be well regarded by people that I know.
Extrinsic Motivation - *Introjected Regulation scale*	Q11. I would feel ashamed if I couldn't speak to Yoruba friends. Q51. Because I would feel bad if I was not taking the time to study Yoruba. Q61. Because I would feel guilty if I didn't know Yoruba. Q67. Because I feel like other people approve of me when I do.
Extrinsic Motivation - *Identified Regulation scale*	Q05. To widen my circle of international friends. Q41. Because, in my opinion, it is one of the best ways to meet people. Q65. Because I think it is good for my personal development. Q70. Because I choose to be the kind of person who can speak Yoruba.
Intrinsic Motivation - *Accomplishment scale*	Q25. For the pleasure that I feel when I can engage in conversation with native Yorubas. Q30. For the satisfaction that I feel when I can acquire a second language. Q47. For the enjoyment that I feel when I can grasp the complexity of Yoruba grammar. Q58. For the pleasure I experience when surpassing myself in my Yoruba studies.
Intrinsic Motivation - *Knowledge scale*	Q32. For the satisfied feeling I get in finding out new things. Q39. I am curious about the Yoruba culture and language. Q57. For the pleasure I experience in knowing more about the Yoruba community and their way of life. Q68. Because I enjoy the feeling of acquiring knowledge about the Yoruba community and their way of life.
Intrinsic Motivation - *Stimulation scale*	Q29. For the pleasure that I feel when I hear Yoruba being spoken. Q53. For the "high" feeling that I experience while speaking in Yoruba. Q56. For the high feeling that I feel when I get to speak in Yoruba. Q59. Because lessons are interesting.

5.2.3.3 Assessing religious and heritage learning interests in the learning community

As previously stated, the constructs of the Self-determination theory framework offer a way of tapping into the notions of internal stimulus and autonomy versus external compulsion and thus a means for clarifying two of the more salient interests among students in the learning community: heritage and religious interests. Therefore, a third and final subscale was developed on the basis of this paradigm to explore the orientations underlying religious and heritage interests in learning Yoruba. I adapted the subscale from an existing measure known as the *Religious Motivational Subscale* (Bakar et al., 2010), which Bakar and colleagues devised by modifying and contextualizing the LLOS-IEA in order to analyze religious motivational orientations among Muslim learners of Arabic. I changed the language and wording of the original items in the *Religious Motivational Subscale* instrument to adapt it for this study as well as extended it to elucidate religious and innovatively heritage interests peculiar to the local cultural context of Salvador. As with Bakar et al.'s measure, religious and heritage items were created to correspond to the seven existing, hypothesized constructs of Self-determination theory. The heritage and religious subscales each contained twenty-one items.

As in the adapted LLOS–IEA instrument of this research, the *Heritage and Religious Motivational* scales asked participants to indicate the extent to which each of forty-two statements in the measures reflected their reasons for language study using a five-point scale ranging from 1 = 'does not correspond at all' to 5 = 'corresponds exactly.' Examples of statements from this measure are included below in Table 9. Again, each of the religious and heritage items corresponds to one the seven hypothesized constructs of Self-determination theory, from Amotivation to Intrinsic motivation (Stimulation).

Table 9. Items for the Religious and Heritage interest scale

Religious interest and Heritage interest subscale items	
Heritage	Q07. Learning Yoruba has no relevance to my culture. Q49. Because some people think it's important for my heritage that I learn Yoruba. Q12. I would feel ashamed if I couldn't speak the language of the ancestors. Q24. I choose to study Yoruba because it is a central part of my cultural identity. Q54. For the enjoyment that I feel in being able to better understand my culture. Q69. Because I enjoy acquiring knowledge about my (African) origins through Yoruba language courses. Q45. For the pleasure that I feel when I can communicate with members of my community or family in Yoruba.
Religion	Q01. Yoruba has nothing to do with my religion. Q04. I need to learn Yoruba to be a good practitioner of my religion. Q38. I believe that all members of my religion should make the effort to learn Yoruba. Q66. Because I find it is a good way to develop the religious aspects of myself that I value. Q44. For the pleasure that I feel when I can comprehend words at religious services and activities. Q20. I enjoy finding out new things about my religion through Yoruba language courses. Q43. For the pleasure that I feel when I can decipher the beauty of prayers in Yoruba.

To prevent participants from recognizing any trends in the questionnaires, items from this measure were randomly ordered and interspersed with the twenty-eight items from the adapted LLOS-IEA.

5.2.4 Semi-structured interviews

To complement the questionnaire data, semi-structured interviews were conducted with Yoruba students based on their willingness to participate and their availability. This resulted in a respondent group size of n=35 (26 w, 9 m). Student participants were asked to respond to questions like, "Why are you studying Yoruba?" "What does Yoruba mean to you?" These

questions were designed based on a primary interest in exploring the significance of and motivation behind Yoruba study among members of the classroom learning community. Interviews were typically conducted in small groups of two or more for students unless a potential participant was unavailable, in which case alternate arrangements were made for an individual interview. Using an interview guide to direct the interviews and explore specific topics related to the research questions, semi-structured questions were posed to the interview group. Participants were asked to respond in turn and, where applicable, to each question posed. The order of the questions was modified depending on participant responses. Questions were also added or eliminated in order to further explore participant comments or as the scope of the interviews changed. Participants were allowed to share stories or insights about specific topics they found pertinent to the conversation about reasons for studying Yoruba (e.g., their occupation, religious affiliation, academic studies, hobbies/pastimes, upbringing). Interviews were typically conducted in Portuguese. All interviews were audio-recorded and complemented with detailed field notes about the interviews, setting, participant responses, direct quotes of particular interest, and other key information noted during as well as following interview sessions.

Following the period of data collection, I listened to the audio recordings, and conducted a qualitative review and content analysis of interview responses while reviewing field notes. Throughout the present chapter, I pull from these interview data in order to further elucidate the motivational orientations of Yoruba learners in Salvador and to better understand what cultural values are at work in the learning community. The interview excerpts selected for discussion in this chapter were transcribed and translated into English with the assistance of a native Portuguese speaker, and are presented in the **Discussion** [Section 5.5].

5.3 ANALYSIS

The questionnaire responses of each individual participant were coded in Excel spreadsheets and then analyzed as a community using SPSS. Means were computed for each Likert-type item on the questionnaire and, for each composite variable (i.e. motivational orientation) or subscale, the average of means was calculated from the Likert scores. Higher scores on these items indicate strong agreement between the statement and the participant's proposed reason for language study (i.e., strong motivational attributes), while lower scores reflect less correspondence (i.e., weak endorsement of the orientation).

Non-parametric Friedman's analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests were selected according to the data set in order to compare participant responses regarding their reasons for studying Yoruba. The following three sets of Friedman's ANOVAs were applied to assess learners' endorsement of each of the motivational orientations and to determine the significance of the mean differences between subscales in each statistical analysis:

- **Socio-educational model**: Friedman's analysis was applied to test learning orientations (integrative vs. instrumental motivation) as a within-subject factor

  H0: Integrative orientation has the same distribution as instrumental orientation at alpha=0.05

- **Self-determination theory**: A 1x5 Friedman's ANOVA with orientation (i.e., intrinsic motivation, identified regulation, introjected regulation, external regulation, and amotivation) as a within-subject factor

  H0: All five subscales (motivational subtypes) have the same distribution, at alpha=0.05

- **Scale for religious and heritage interests**: A 1x10 Friedman's ANOVA with heritage and religious interests as a within-subject factor

H0: All ten subscales have the same distribution at alpha=0.05

When applicable, post-hoc statistical analyses were applied using Friedman's test in pairwise comparisons in order to identify groups with significantly distinct scores.

5.4 RESULTS

This section reports the results of the three sets of non-parametric tests that were applied to assess learners' endorsement of the different motivation types.

5.4.1 Test 1: Integrative versus instrumental orientations

The first Friedman's ANOVA was used to compare mean scores for the integrative and instrumental subscales and to determine whether there is a statistical difference between learners' endorsement of integrative and instrumental orientations. This test revealed that there is a significant orientation effect and a difference between integrative and instrumental scales among learners in this learning community (χ^2=34.00, df=1, $p<0.001$, α=0.05), as shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Comparison of motivational orientations for AMTB scales

Orientation	N	Mean	SD
Integrative	37	5.33	1.026
Instrumental	38	3.34	1.318

Furthermore, the statistical analysis of the scores revealed that Yoruba learners in Salvador are significantly more integratively oriented to study the language (5.33 on a 6-point scale) than they are instrumentally motivated (3.34 on a 6-point scale). This finding means that while learners are

studying Yoruba toward both goals, they are more oriented to learn Yoruba for sociocultural reasons, such as an interest in the L2 community or desire to identify or interact with that culture, than for practical or pragmatic goals. Figure 8 illustrates their statistically higher (mean) scores and stronger agreement with integrative items in comparison to instrumental questionnaire statements.

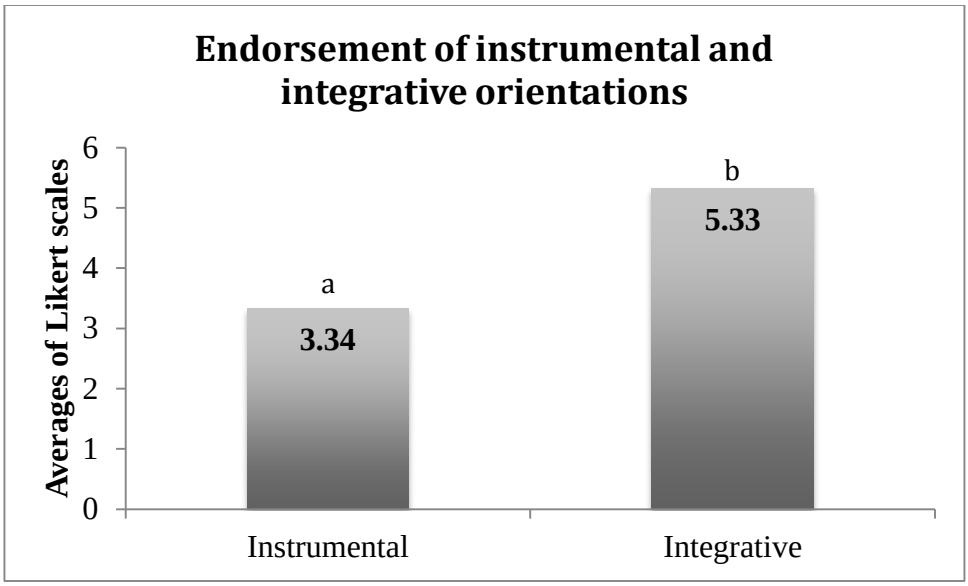

Figure 8. Scores for instrumental and integrative orientations[40]

5.4.2 Test 2: Intrinsic versus extrinsic motivational types

The second Friedman's ANOVA was used to compare mean scores for subscales or composite variables according to the constructs of Self-determination theory in order to determine whether there is a statistical difference between learners' endorsement of each of the different motivational subtypes. This test revealed that there was a significant effect according to

[40] **Figure 8. Scores for instrumental and integrative orientations.** (n=38, for instrumental; n=37, for integrative). Values are means of Likert scores based on a 6-point scale of four questions per orientation. Means followed by the same letter do not differ significantly in pairwise comparisons by Friedman's test of variance at α=0.05. Thus participants in this Yoruba learning community are driven by sociocultural goals more so than practical ones.

motivational subtype and that the degree of agreement with the statements for each subscale varies significantly among learners in this community (χ^2=115.116, df=4, p<0.001, α=0.05), as shown in Table 11. Subsequently, tests were performed to isolate where the differences lie. Pair-wise comparisons in post-hoc Friedman's tests furthermore revealed significant differences between all of the (composite variable or motivational subtype) scales, suggesting that Yoruba learners in Salvador distinguish between amotivation, the less self-determined motivational subtypes (external and introjected regulation), as well as the autonomous/more self-determined orientations (i.e., identified regulation and intrinsic motivation).

Table 11. Pair-wise comparisons of motivational subtypes for LLOS-IEA subscales

	χ^2	df.	Significance
Amotivation * External regulation	32.000	1	<0.001
Amotivation * Introjected regulation	11.571	1	<0.001
Amotivation * Identified regulations	36.000	1	<0.001
Amotivation * Intrinsic motivation	37.000	1	<0.001
External regulation * Introjected regulation	10.125	1	<0.001
External regulation * Identified regulation	7.258	1	0.007
External regulation * Intrinsic motivation	25.973	1	<0.001
Introjected regulation * Identified regulation	24.500	1	<0.001
Introjected regulation * Intrinsic motivation	37.000	1	<0.001
Identified regulation * Intrinsic motivation	28.444	1	<0.001

Participants expressed statistically strongest agreement with statements assessing intrinsic motivation (4="corresponds a lot") and contrastively, weakest endorsement of amotivation (1="does not correspond"). This finding confirms that amotivation is virtually absent among students in this community. Rather, learners are personally invested in language learning and, in fact, motivated to study Yoruba for more self-determined motives—i.e., primarily intrinsic reasons (i.e., personal enjoyment and satisfaction of engaging in the activity) followed by

reasons of identified regulation, external regulation, and least of all introjected regulation, as illustrated in **Figure 9**.

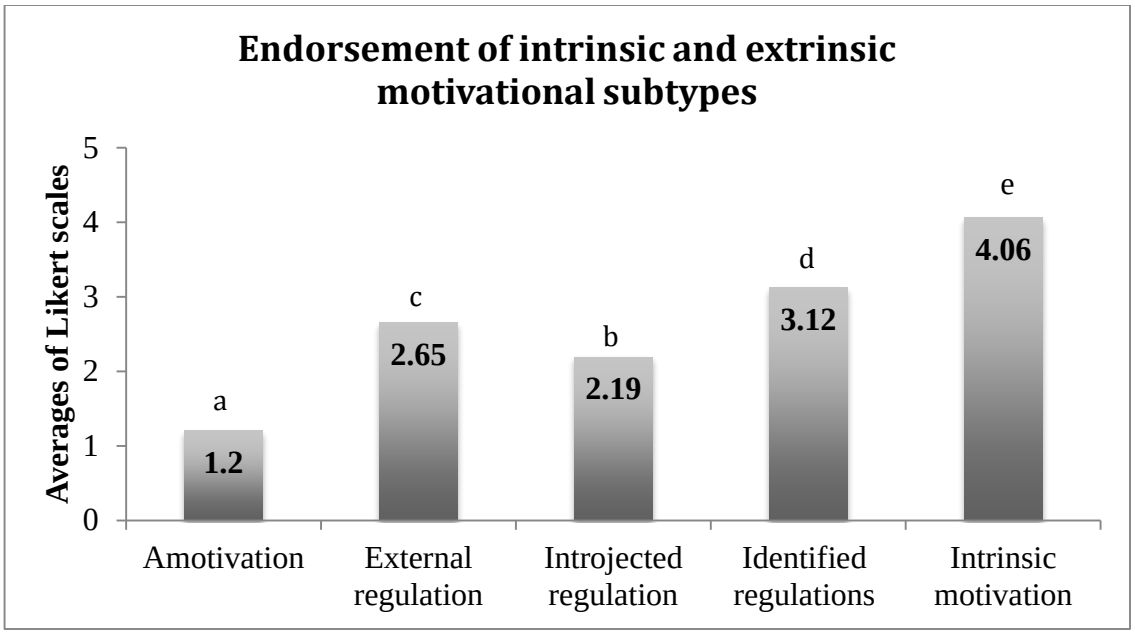

Figure 9. Scores for intrinsic and extrinsic motivations[41]

5.4.3 Test 3: Degrees of self-determination and autonomy underlying heritage and religious interests

The third Friedman's ANOVA test was used to assess the motivational orientations underlying the heritage- and/or religious-oriented study of the Yoruba language in this community. It compared the significance of mean differences between each of the five composite variables on the Scales for religious and heritage interests in order to understand learners' endorsement of the different motivational subtypes. This test revealed that there is a significant effect according to

[41] **Figure 9. Scores for intrinsic and extrinsic motivations.** (n=37 for all categories, expect for intrinsic, where n=38). Values are means of Likert scores based on a 5-point scale. Means followed by different letters differ significantly in pairwise comparisons by Friedman's test of variance at α=0.05.

motivational subtype for learners in this community (χ^2=145.352, df=9, p<0.001, α=0.05). Given that the Friedman's ANOVA demonstrated a clear distinction between one or more of the subscales, post-hoc tests were performed. Multiple comparisons in post-hoc tests revealed significant differences between learners' endorsement of several of the scales, as shown in Figure 10.

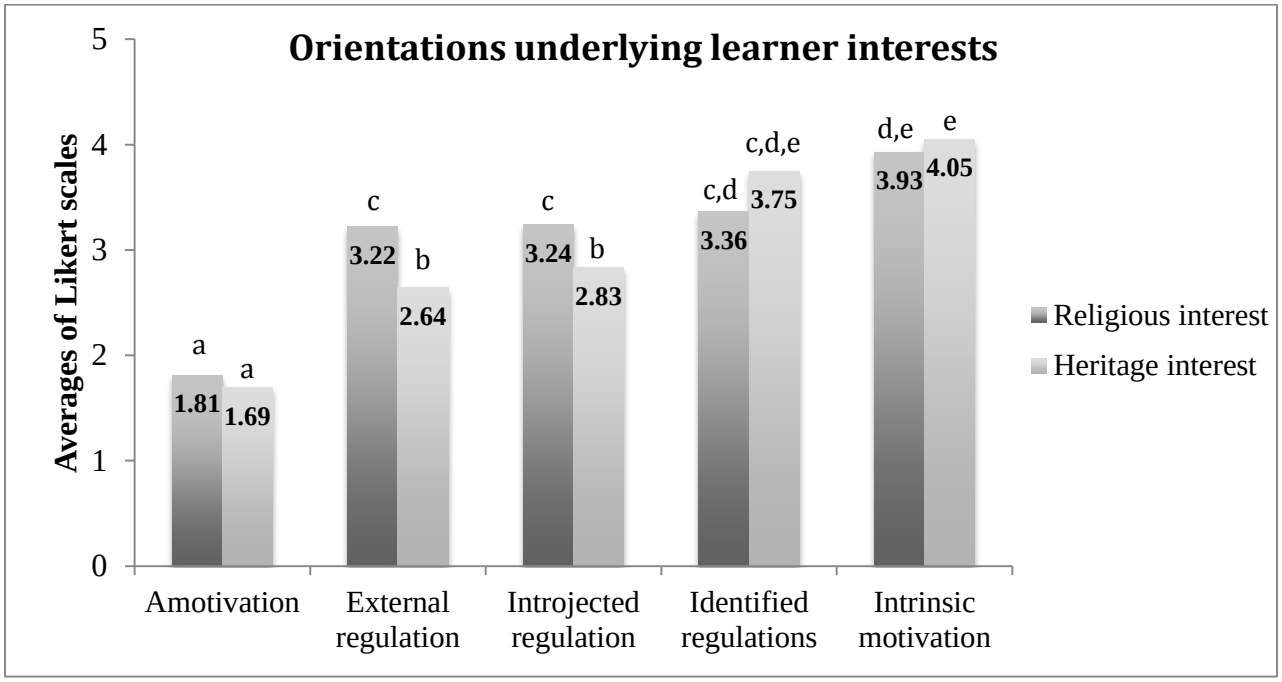

Figure 10. Scores for orientations underlying heritage and religious interests among Yoruba students in Salvador[42]

Specifically, post-hoc tests indicated that religious amotivation and heritage amotivation, indicated as 'a' in Figure 10, are statistically equivalent and that there is least endorsement of these two orientations (averages approximate 2="corresponds a little"). Next, the tests determined that there is no distinction between less self-determined forms of heritage motivation (i.e., external and introjected regulation, indicated as 'b'), and secondly that all forms of extrinsic

[42] **Figure 10. Scores for orientations underlying heritage and religious interests among Yoruba students in Salvador.** Values are means of Likert scores based on a 5-point scale. Means followed by the same letter do not differ significantly in pairwise comparisons by Friedman's test of variance at α=0.05.

religious motivation (indicated as ‘c’) are equivalent. The results, furthermore, revealed that intrinsic religious motivation and more self-determined forms of heritage motivation (i.e., identified regulation and intrinsic motivation, indicated as ‘d’) are statistically indistinguishable. Finally, the tests indicated that intrinsic religious motivation along with the more self-determined forms of heritage motivation (indicated as ‘e’) are statistically equivalent to each other and are significantly the strongest motivational type among Yoruba learners in Salvador. In sum, heritage and religious interests in studying Yoruba are primarily driven by self-determined motives—i.e., emanating from language learners themselves (intrinsic) or related to personally valued and internalized goals (identified regulation). However, there was more endorsement of extrinsic religious motivational subtypes than extrinsic heritage motivational subtypes, suggesting that heritage interest is even more self-determined than religious interest.

5.5 DISCUSSION

Recall, we set out in this study to empirically and systemically investigate the motivations of Yoruba learners in Salvador in order to understand the reasons why some students are learning Yoruba as well as identify the *types of motivational orientations, or language learning goals, that drive the study of the language in Salvador*. Simultaneously, this research aimed to extend two models of language learning motivation (Gardner, 1985; Noels et. al, 2000, 2003) that originally characterized Anglo-Canadian learners of French in a bilingual French-English setting to research among learners of Yoruba in Salvador, as well as adapt and apply the *Religious Motivational Subscale* (Bakar et al., 2010) to the sociocultural context of Salvador in order to develop a distinctive and reliable measure for exploring religious and heritage

interests/connections among Yoruba students in northeastern Brazil.

The results of Tests 1 and 2 demonstrate a clear, statistical distinction between subscales of learner motivation. These findings thus support the conceptualization of orientations (among Yoruba learners in Salvador) according to the integrative and instrumental as well as amotivation, intrinsic and extrinsic subtypes proposed by Gardner and Lambert (1959) and Deci and Ryan (1985), respectively. Furthermore, the types and number of components extracted as valid in the current study are congruent with results of earlier studies on these motivational subtypes (Gardner, 1985; Noels et al., 2000, 2003). Results, as previously reported, revealed statistically stronger endorsement of integrative orientations and intrinsic motivations. These results suggest that Yoruba learners in Salvador are more driven to study the language due to (1) sociocultural reasons and an interest in identification, integration or interaction with Yoruba speakers and (2) for internal reasons, such as viewing Yoruba learning as personally satisfying. The salience of intrinsic motivation for this community of learners, which is overwhelmingly comprised of people for whom Yoruba is linked to religious practice, echoes similar findings about religious-oriented learners in Bakar et al.'s (2010) research, where Muslim students were similarly shown to be learning a language of religious significance/Arabic primarily for intrinsic knowledge.

The results of Test 1 are consistent with previous studies among learners with heritage and religious connections to the L2 and with what these works have revealed about the impact of said interests on integrative motivations among learners. For example, Obeidat's (2005) research on Malaysian L2 learners of Arabic found them to be significantly more integratively oriented towards the learning of Arabic. Obeidat attributed this intrinsic motivation to the pertinence of the L2 (Arabic) culture to participants' own religion (Islam) as well as "the deep connection

between Malay and Arabic cultures, which may have resulted from the shared belief in Islam. This shared belief may make them more interested in Arabic and more inclined to broaden their horizon and to build-up their personality through learning this language" (p. 14). Test 1's results also resemble Teh, Embi, Yusoff, and Mahamod's (2009) research, which found students of Arabic (in Malay religious secondary schools) to have high levels of integrative motivation and which the authors suggest is an effect of religion. Likewise, the integrative orientation of learners in this research is reminiscent of Parry's (2012), which investigated the motivational attributes of U.S. university students of Modern Hebrew. These students tended to be American Jews studying Hebrew as a heritage language in order "to connect with Israel or explore their own cultural heritage" (p. 41). Notably, Parry found that these heritage-driven learners were often more integratively oriented to learn Hebrew than their counterparts (non-heritage students). Lastly, the findings in the present research align with Noels' (2005) study comparing heritage and non-heritage learners of German. Although her analyses did not reveal statistical differences in participants' integrative and instrumental motivational orientations, she nevertheless writes: "the direction of the means tends to support the idea that heritage learners may be more oriented to learn German to interact with the community than non-heritage learners" (p. 301), i.e., for integrative reasons.

A third and final test explored religious and heritage aspects of motivation in learning Yoruba and the orientations underlying these interests using the constructs of Self-determination theory. In this test, not all motivation subscales emerged as distinct dimensions. Rather, we observe a pattern with three levels: amotivation, extrinsic motivation, and autonomous forms of motivations (i.e., identified regulation as well as intrinsic motivation). In other words, the boundaries between the originally hypothesized constructs are fuzzy. This finding resembles the

overlaps that Bakar et al. (2010) observed in their research among Arabic learners with a religious interest. Specifically, they found that "the items transcend the boundaries between subscales to cluster together with other [similar] motives irrespective of the items' originally hypothesized origins" (p. 79). Bakar and colleagues attributed these overlaps to the internalization of religious language learning motives among learners of Arabic. That said, heritage and religious interests for studying Yoruba were shown to be statistically and primarily driven by more self-determined motives—i.e., emanating from language learners themselves (intrinsic) or relate to personally valued or internalized goals (identified regulation). Amotivation, on the other hand, was the weakest motivational attribute. Furthermore, there was statistically more endorsement of extrinsic religious motivational subtypes than extrinsic heritage motivational subtypes, suggesting that (general) heritage interest is even more self-determined than religious interest.

In the next section I will further unpack the results of the statistical analyses by exploring some of the cultural values and schematizations of Yoruba language and linguistic practices that are at work in the research community and which, more importantly, shape the goals that bring learners in Salvador to study Yoruba. To do so, I will base my discussion on ideas that emerged during post-hoc interviews with students.

5.5.1 Unpacking the quantitative data

In previous chapters of this dissertation, I explored how Yoruba language and linguistic practices have become indexically tied to a number of social practices and types of personhood in the Salvador landscape. Furthermore, "through the recognition of their repeated conjunction" in the local setting, these linkages have, moreover, "com[e] to be seen as inevitable and hence

ideological" (Bucholtz, 2001, p. 88). As a result, approximation to (marked or stereotypical) forms, like Yoruba practices in this case, is often seen as part and parcel of accomplishing alignments or memberships with these (indexically) affiliated social categories. In the following section, I revisit the results of the three statistical analyses from this chapter and tease apart the data by exploring some of the social meanings of Yoruba language and linguistic practices drawn on by specific participants of this research study. Among the different social meanings that learners are aiming to activate through the study of the Yoruba language, the following excerpts feature learners who are cultivating and negotiating (African) ancestral connections/Yorubaness, spiritual citizenship or religious heritage, racial identifications (e.g., Blackness), and participation in Bahian culture (localness). This discussion will offer a more in-depth understanding of the values and motivations that incentivize Yoruba learning in Salvador and support the redevelopment as well as changing form and function of the language.

5.5.1.1 Integrative orientations and the social functions of Yoruba learning in Salvador

Test 1 in this study showed that Yoruba learners in Salvador have a stronger integrative motivation to learn Yoruba. That is, they are pursuing Yoruba language study for reasons of group membership and are motivated by an interest in identification, familiarity, integration or interaction with the Yoruba language community or, more generally, the social group that uses the L2. This statistical data (i.e., the stronger endorsement of the integrative orientation) is consistent with our postulation that the study of the Yoruba language for learners in Salvador and the current development of Yoruba as a curricular language is key to the discursive negotiation of personhood among members of the learning community. Integratively oriented Yoruba learners, then, are building upon the historical social meanings of Yoruba language and linguistic practices in their attempt to negotiate social identifications through the study of the language—

and in doing so, reify or reinforce these social-semiotic linkages. Consider, for example, the integrative motivational attributes represented/expressed by the participant Sofia in the following interview excerpt in response to the question of *why she decided to study Yoruba*:

> **I actually began to study Yoruba […] in college. I came to know some Yoruba idioms through college. I study at the Federal [University], too. So, from the study of African culture, I came to know a bit more of the language and became interested. And also because— for [cultural] recovery. It is a language of my ancestors, that I believe to be, and I wanted to study Yoruba.**

Sofia shares that she is interested in the Yoruba language because she identifies it as her ancestral or heritage language, so to speak, and sees it as important for cultivating or "recovering" her cultural and ancestral heritage. Her statement reminds us of Dawson's (2014) discussion of the social function of Yoruba cultural practices in Salvador and northeastern Brazil as *the* local and, more importantly, hegemonic "signifiers" or "markers" of Blackness and Africanity (p. 29). Sofia's affirmation of Yoruba origins, given the hegemony of Yorubaness among other ancestries and versions/articulations of Africanity in Salvador, is thus not at all surprising and, in fact, parallels the identity constructions of many of her Soteropolitano and Bahian compatriots through the appropriation and strategic employment of indexicalized Yoruba linguistic and cultural forms (cf. Pinho, 2010).

Yet while Sofia aims to cultivate ancestral connections and specifically her Yoruba heritage through the study of the Yoruba language, other learners are drawn to study Yoruba because of their interest in cultivating other notions of personhood. These include, for example, racial identifications, such as what Dawson (2014) refers to as a globalized and "African-oriented expression of Black identity" (p. 31), or even local identifications, such as what Pinho (2010) terms "an imagined Yoruba Bahianness (*baianidade nagô*)" (p. 42). The former is the case with a Yoruba instructor named Ângelo, to be discussed in the *Yoruba Teaching Evaluation*

study [Chapter 6], who credits "**the Black movement, militancy movement, politics, rights, Black [politics]**" with rousing his interest "**in the general [Yoruba] culture"** and **"the Yoruba language**." Indeed, given the hegemony and over-application/promotion of the Yoruba concept-symbol in Salvador and especially its "repeated conjunction" with various African linguistic, cultural, and religious practices in quotidian Brazilian life but also in the Afro-Brazilian scholarship (see Capone, 2010; Castro, 2005; Dantas, 2009; Dawson, 2014; Harding, 2000) as well as the potential for social meanings to be idiosyncratic (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008), it follows that the study of the language is key to integration or alignment with a number of identifications and memberships in Salvador.

In addition to its ideological connection to notions of Africanity and Blackness, some Yoruba language and linguistic forms have achieved higher order indexical meanings and are almost synonymous with Soteropolitano and Bahian culture through their recurrent, situated use, supported by the ubiquity of Yorubanisms in Bahian life and, thus, their ideological association, as discussed in Section 3.3 **[Research Setting**]. Drawing on this historically grounded linkage, another student, named Gustavo, explains his integrative motivation to learn the Yoruba language as a desire to align with or "delve into" Bahian culture:

> **I'm a musician. I am a composer and here in Bahia, Yoruba is present in many aspects of Bahian culture. And that is ancestral [...] Very old, very ancestral. So it is part of our cultural life, Yoruba [is]. Even today it is a part. And I, as a musician and composer, artist, I love this contact. I felt the need to delve into it.**

Yet, while Sofia and Gustavo see the study of Yoruba as key to an ancestral identification and integration into the socio-culture of Bahia or Salvador, respectively, Yoruba study for a third learner, named João, is driven by a desire to become more familiar with yet another social group/aggregate that has become semiotically affiliated with Yoruba linguistic practices, i.e., his religion of Candomblé.

> **In my case, to better understand, you know, the words, the songs. In order to familiarize myself with the religion. For us to know what we're saying. At least have an idea, a notion in order to stop saying so many things incorrectly. You know? So the idea more or less initially about the principle is that, for me. It is to try to become more familiar with the religion through the language.**

An interesting observation among these different excerpts is that there is no singular, monolithic understanding of the L2 community that uses the Yoruba language. Rather, learners may have different social groups in mind as the target language community with which they desire more familiarity, alignment or integration through the study of Yoruba. Recall that (social) indexicalities are contextually-derived signs, representing by virtue of association and physical connection. Accordingly, different conceptualizations of what constitutes the Yoruba community may stem from the diachronic as well as synchronic variation of Yoruba linguistic practices in Salvador and, thus, their indexical association with distinct contexts of use, language users and, in turn, social meanings. Stated differently, the continuum of linguistic practices known as Yoruba have become tied to a variety of social groups because of the socio-history of their tenure in Brazil and are, thus, relevant to the negotiation of a constellation of types of personhood—some more established or codified and others newer or more idiosyncratic. Consider, for example, how the next participant, Rafaela, associates the language (within local cultural schemas) with a complex of religious, ancestral and socio-racial categories in the following excerpt:

> **I am from Candomblé. I love being Candomblecista, and I wanted to understand our language just a little bit, the language of my ancestors, you know? You know that Blacks— There are lots of things— We very much identify the Black man's language with the Yoruba language, right? Particularly when it's in the terreiro, in the day-to-day terreiro. At those times, I was like: "Wait a minute, I need to learn [the language] to know what I'm talking about, to not be talking nonsense, so that I won't be cursing myself and cursing at others." So then I have to identify, right? So then I decided to take this course.**

Rafaela racializes Yoruba as “the Black man’s language” as she explains her identification with the Yoruba language and her reasons for studying it. Yet she also connects it with her ancestors (in both the sociocultural and spiritual senses), literally calling it “the language of my ancestors” Furthermore, she associates it with the linguistic practices and speech events in her religious community.

These interview excerpts show that the social values of Yoruba practices in Salvador, which undergird and drive Yoruba language study, are many. Namely, they demonstrate the polysemy and variability of Yoruba’s ideologically mediated social meanings among members of the learning community and attest to the multiplicity and indeterminacy of indices discussed at the outset of this dissertation (Blommaert, 2015; Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008; Silverstein, 2003). Specifically, the data echo the assertion that the social meanings of linguistic forms “are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings—an *indexical field*, or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable” (Eckert, 2008, p. 454). This observation of the variability of the social meanings connoted by Yoruba practices within the learner community also harkens back to the idea that there are multiple cultural schematizations of Yoruba as a linguistic system in Salvador, as discussed in Section 1.3.3 [**Terminological clarification | What is Yoruba?**]. Because these “linguistic ideologies are never just about language, but rather also concern such fundamental social notions as community, nation, and humanity itself” (Woolard, 2004, p. 58), these coexistent or competing schematization of Yoruba, in turn, construe how learners have come to (distinctly) conceptualize the target language group or Yoruba speech community and, thus, the various social memberships available for negotiation through ideologized Yoruba linguistic practices.

5.5.1.2 Intrinsic and autonomous orientations and the social functions of Yoruba learning in Salvador

The second test in this study revealed that Yoruba learners in Salvador were more intrinsically motivated. Similarly, a third statistical test focusing on religious and heritage interests for language learning revealed that Yoruba learners had greatest endorsement of *autonomous motivations* (i.e., identified regulation as well as intrinsic motivation; Deci & Ryan, 2008). In other words, Yoruba students in Salvador are going to Yoruba classes out of personal interest, for the inherent satisfaction in studying the language or for some other internal reward rather than due to an external compulsion. We hear, for example, intrinsic motivational attributes, such as personal interest in Yoruba study, expressed by the student Cristina. In the following excerpt, she describes her intrinsic motivation to study Yoruba in order to *accomplish*, that is, to master a new feat by learning "an African language":

> **My reason was more personal. I am not, like, motivated...like, professionally, you understand? I ho— I want to do my master's, my doctorate even outside of— If God— I'm looking already into Portugal, in places— A specific study, but in the area of education. But the Yoruba language, specifically, I am doing [it] as a personal project of my life: to learn an African language, you understand? And the language with which I identify is the Yoruba language because the majority of the terreiros that my mother attends is of the Ketu nation. So what drives me is more a personal matter, I'm not after money.**

Cristina shares that she is studying Yoruba for internal reasons and, more specifically, because of her personal, "life's" goal to learn an African language rather than because of external incentives (see also Camila, page 132), like academic requirements or money. These statistical findings about the intrinsic value of Yoruba learning in Salvador are not entirely surprising when we consider that Yoruba cultural and linguistic forms have historically been construed as personally significant, that is, literally and ideologically connected to notions of selfhood and personhood in the Salvador context. Thus, you may recall my discussion of the mission statement on the

entryway plaque at a local public elementary in Salvador in Section 3.3 **[Research setting]**. The plaque read: "**The study of the Afro-Brazilian cultural tradition | Words in Yoruba utilized by students in the construction of their identity**." This wording implicates the Yoruba language in the formation of students' Afro-Brazilian identities in a way that essentializes and codifies this ideological connection. In general, discourses or narratives, such as this one, which abound in the social context of Salvador, habitually and routinely juxtapose/articulate notions of selfhood or personhood with Yoruba cultural and linguistic forms. Over time, then, they habituate and essentialize these links and may, in turn, foster the internalization of Yoruba language learning goals—i.e., such that the student "identifie[s] with an activity's value and ideally […] integrate[s] it into their sense of self" (Deci & Ryan, 2008, p. 182). Thus, even though Cristina experiences her motivation to "learn an African language" as intrinsic, given the pervading local rhetorics, which construe notions of Africanity and Yorubaness and Yoruba practices as inextricably linked, the ultimate origins of her motivations may very well be external.

The next quote comes from another Yoruba student in Salvador named Mariana. Like Cristina, she is driven to study Yoruba because of personal interest in learning the language.

Mariana: **I was raised in a Catholic family, but since early on I was attracted to Candomblé. Then after I entered college, I began to have some courses on the history of Africa (*Africa I, Africa II, Africa III*). At that point, I started to become interested in those roots and then because of this interest I went to do research—like you are doing now—there in the terreiro, there in Ilê Axé [terreiro name omitted]. And there, from researcher I became initiated.**

PI: **Why did you decide to study Yoruba?**

Mariana: **Because of my religion. You know? I wanted to know the roots of my African heritage more.**

Mariana's discourse conveys the gradated development of her interest in Yoruba(-based) practices—spawning from her early interest in the Candomblé religion, to her academic studies and then research, through to her own religious initiation. This progression provides a nice glimpse into her increasing identification and internalization of these Yoruba practices. What is especially nice about Mariana's discourse about her Yoruba language learning goals is how it conveys the fluidity or overlap of the concepts of heritage and religious interest in Salvador—i.e., there is no clean dichotomy or separation between studying Yoruba "**because of […] religion**" and because of a desire to understand one's "**roots**," as Test 3 demonstrated. Her discourse reminds us of the organizational structure of Candomblé, which follows a nation and family model—from the branches or sects literally known as "nations" (or *nações*) to the terreiro religious community called the "family-of-saint" (or *família-de-santo*) (Parés, 2013, p. 68). As such, Mariana's discourse helps to clarify and account for the great deal of overlap between these two types of learner interests as revealed in the third set of test results.

5.5.2 Perspectives

Future research should explore the relationship between endorsement of motivational orientations among Yoruba learners in Salvador in conjunction with other language learning factors (e.g., use of learning strategies, contact with the target language group, language learning attitudes) and learning success. It would also be insightful to investigate other language learning interests, such as career and academic connections to the Yoruba language, and compare them to religious and heritage interests/connections, e.g., in terms of their (varying) degrees of self-determination and internalization. Future studies might also develop a single rating system for assessing integrativeness and instrumentality as well as amotivation, intrinsic and extrinsic

subtypes in order to compare these two motivational substrates (i.e., interpersonal versus intergroup dimensions of orientations), understand their similitude, as well as determine their relative endorsement by Yoruba learners. The present research has developed a measure for exploring learner motivational orientations as well as religious and heritage interests among Yoruba students in northeastern Brazil; however, future research can further buttress the validation of these scales, especially for the newly derived scale for religious and heritage interests. Nonetheless, these new data have provided a better understanding of orientations among Yoruba learners in Salvador and have contributed to the scholarship on learner motivation, the learning of African foreign and second languages (AFL2s), as well as Afro-Brazilian linguistics through a theoretically driven, formal and contextualized study of L2 Yoruba learning motivation.

More importantly, the data presented here elucidate some of the specific social meanings and cultural schematizations of Yoruba language and linguistic practices that drive the study of Yoruba for specific learners. Interview excerpts in tandem with the results of the statistical analyses support the idea that Yoruba language learning for many students is part and parcel of their discursive self-making processes and the negotiation of different forms of belonging. Specifically, we heard from learners who are attempting to cultivate Yorubaness/African heritage or ancestral ties, spiritual citizenship or religious heritage, racial identifications (such as Blackness), and immersion into Bahian culture through their development of a language that has been (ideologically) construed as relevant to these various social categories and practices (cf. Brown, 1994; Capone, 2010; Dawson, 2014; Harding, 2000; Parés, 2004; Pinho, 2010; Voeks, 2010). In this way, this study elucidates the ways in which the context of Salvador and the

language ideologies circulating in it have molded and incentivized Yoruba learning, informing the perceived (ideologized) values, goals and benefits of studying Yoruba.

6.0 THE EVALUATION OF YORUBA TEACHING IN SALVADOR

Knowledge of Yoruba linguistic and cultural practices is actively pursued in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil. Specifically, Soteropolitanos are eager to forge or fortify spiritual, (general) heritage/ancestral, professional, academic or other connections and to do so through the study of the Yoruba language and culture. Among these consumers, students come to Yoruba classes hoping to attain religious authority, greater connection to the divinized Yoruba ancestors or *orixá*, knowledge of self or of their heritage, professional clout or even a mere muse for composing art, academic goals, or to cultivate African knowledge. From a language teaching perspective, these learners are in search of something more than isolated linguistic data; they are interested in content or cultural content knowledge—i.e., "all subject matter that contribute both directly and indirectly to the learner's knowledge base for learning and understanding the target language, its culture, and its users," including "aspects of linguistic, cultural, (including anthropological and sociological aspects), as well as ideological information pertaining to the target language and its users" (Moshi, 2001, p. 90; cf. Simons, 2014). From a sociological perspective, they seek *cultural capital*, i.e., valued or valorized "knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions" affiliated with Yoruba cultural and linguistic practices in Salvador (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 14). In such a context, Yoruba instructors need not only be teachers of language but must, moreover, (effectively) function as experts of Yoruba history, Yoruba cosmologies (e.g., orixá worship) and Yoruba cultural practices, which often translates more

generically into a perception of instructors as authorities on Africa, African cultural and religious practices, and the umbrella of Candomblé religions. These language instructors have a role beyond simply imparting and transferring information to learners; they become creators and producers of cultural and linguistic knowledge for the consumptive purposes of the language learning community as well as facilitators to, "guid[e] the students through the material to facilitate learning" (Moshi, 2001, p. 94).

In their capacities as Yoruba teachers and, thus, producers of knowledge, instructors also function as *cultural intermediaries* (Szasz, 2001) who arbitrate between the Yoruba and Portuguese languages and guide learners and their communities in traversing the frontiers of Yorubaland and Bahia and, more generally, Africa and Afro-Brazil during their studies. In some cases, instructors have even been assigned or even sanctioned to teach Yoruba in Brazil by the government of Nigeria, in which case they are cultural brokers and arbiters in an additional and more literal or political sense. Yoruba instructors, then, are much like the West African "roots" tourist guides, street vendors and other cultural liaisons in Salvador discussed by Allan Charles Dawson (2014) as forming a transnational community of intermediaries between Africa and Brazil who "actively engage in negotiating ideas of Black identity articulated through some connection—real or asserted—with the African continent" (pp. 36-37). Dawson calls this network of persons *cultural brokers* and explains that they "are involved in continuing a transatlantic dialogue, furthering the ongoing process of imagining and creating communities of Blackness, and in interjecting the idea of African into formulations of Black racial consciousness in Bahia" (p. 37). One important distinction to note between the cultural brokers in Dawson's research and those in the present study is that the social actors in the former represented a multitude of countries and cultures along the western region of the African continent while the

instructor participants in this research very necessarily represent the (locally hegemonic and valorized) language and linguistic practices, cosmologies and people of Yorubaland. Thus, Yoruba instructors as producers of linguistic and cultural knowledge can be distinguished from other social actors (e.g., other African expatriates in Salvador or other Soteropolitanos) who cannot equally participate in the symbolic market as producers of cultural goods and as authorities on Yoruba to interested student consumers due to power asymmetries (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991) as well as knowledge asymmetries (Carr, 2010) that create differences in the ability to define reality.

6.1 STUDY SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES

Thus far, this dissertation has considered the language ideologies informing both the distribution of Yoruba learning and the types of interests represented (academic, career, heritage, and religious learners) as well as the motivational attributes and values of Yoruba learning for students in the local research context. In this chapter, I continue to look at these themes (the reverberations of local language ideologies) while turning to another dimension of the Yoruba language learning enterprise of Salvador da Bahia and focusing on the pool of social actors, who have been authorized to participate in the local symbolic market of Yoruba linguistic and cultural knowledge production and brokering as instructors in light of local cultural notions. This chapter seeks to understand how language-ideological notions about Yoruba language vis-à-vis personhoods reciprocally inform evaluations and ideas about Yoruba teaching, including (1) instructors' language learning histories and ideologically grounded connections to the Yoruba language, (2) teaching perspectives and objectives and, primarily in this chapter, (3) their

conceptualizations of Yoruba teaching qualification and the idea of Yoruba expertise. Specifically, this discussion explores instructors' beliefs about Yoruba language with respect to notions of *race*, *heritage* and *nation* and how they inform and support evaluations of teaching as well as notions of teaching qualification and expertise among members of the local instructor community.

This investigation was primarily guided by the research question: *How is Yoruba language teaching evaluated and valued in Salvador?* Furthermore, in considering how expertise is conceptualized in Salvador, I also ask: *Which Yoruba knowledge practices and skill sets are valorized and thereby constitute expertise or expert identities?*

This chapter includes a theoretical discussion of *expertise* as a cultural production, a methodology section, followed by a description of the methods of data analysis and then the presentation of results. The results section contains eight individual instructor profiles, which offer statements about each of the instructors in terms of their language learning histories, professional training and (ideologized) connections to the Yoruba language; their teaching perspectives or goals; and, most central to this chapter, their conceptualizations of expertise and teaching qualification. As part of this discussion of expertise, I explore how instructors differ in their ideas about what (e.g., which forms of knowledge) constitutes expert or specialized competencies and how these diverse understandings of expertise differentially implicate them as producers of knowledge and as cultural brokers in the Salvador language market. For my theoretical framework, I continue with the same grounding used throughout this dissertation (involving a conceptual notion to describe the cultural values and social meanings conveyed by Yoruba linguistic practices within local cultural models, which shape and are shaped by language use) while also drawing from the scholarship on the cultural production of *expertise*. I adopt a

performative approach to understand teaching qualification and the concept of *expertise* not as an arbitrary, acquired, static credential but rather as indeterminate and mutable. That is, I treat ideas about *expertise* as matters of language ideology, which draw upon the associations of Yoruba linguistic practices with particular social values (e.g., certain types of personhood and other social qualities) and, thus, iterate and negotiate language ideologies through local practices. Particularly, notions of Yoruba teaching qualification and *expertise* shape the local practice of Yoruba language but also have implications for how local notions of personhood (*race*, *heritage*, *nation*) are conceptualized. This approach is in keeping with my overall treatment, in this dissertation, of identities and notions of self—or other social meanings and cultural signs—as discursively accomplished rather than inherited, essential or decontextualizable and universal.

My contention is that an investigation of the Yoruba instructor pool reveals that some of the general language-ideological narratives and valuations observable at other tiers of the Yoruba language learning enterprise of Salvador. Specifically, instructor narratives about their language learning histories and connections to the Yoruba language have some of the same ideological groundings as students—e.g., spiritual, socio-racial and heritage linkages—and, moreover, their teaching perspectives and objectives build upon and reinforce these very bases. But most centrally to our current chapter, I demonstrate that global or universal evaluations of Yoruba expertise—e.g., level of educational attainment, professional background, training in the Yoruba language, native or near-native proficiency in Yoruba, metalinguistic knowledge, training in linguistics and knowledge of second language acquisition theories, pedagogical training and preparedness (see, e.g., Mosadomi, 2006; Ojo, 2006; Olabode, 1995; Orie, 2006)—are generally voided in the Salvador context, such that other credentials, competencies or qualifications emerge as cultural capital (valorized competencies and skill sets) and as criteria for expertise in

the local *market* or *field* of language teaching (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). These local criteria for Yoruba teaching qualification are mediated by local language ideologies as well as grounded in the historical meaning associations or evaluations of the Yoruba language in Salvador. In particular, the local understandings of expertise that I will explore differentially privilege certain instructor characteristics (e.g., affiliation with particular personhoods) as well as certain varieties of Yoruba knowledge as constitutive of Yoruba teaching qualification.

Through this discussion, I aim to continue elaborating my central thesis about how the Yoruba language learning enterprise in Salvador is both product and (re)producer of local notions about Yoruba language and linguistic practices in relation to personhood. Principally, I clarify the ways in which the Salvador context supports particular ideas about Yoruba teaching as well as situated notions of expertise—specifically, certain types of personhoods and social values that are associated with Yoruba practices in Salvador. These notions, in turn, support local practices, e.g., local enactments of Yoruba expertise, with ultimate implications or consequences for Yoruba linguistic forms and practices. Finally, I postulate what local evaluations of Yoruba teaching and expertise mean for local interpretations of Yoruba as a language—that is, which Yoruba competencies and linguistic practices can constitute Yoruba knowledge (e.g., the Yoruba ritual register, the full language that is spoken as an L1, or some other variety)—and, thus, what will be fostered and taught by local producers and brokers of knowledge as Yoruba.

As a point of departure for this investigation, allow me to clarify the concept of *expertise.*

6.2 EXPERTISE AS A CULTURAL PRODUCTION

Expertise as a theoretical concept is understood in various ways across the academic disciplines. In many fields, there is often a "conception of expertise as universally valid or professionally certified knowledge" (Jasanoff, 2003, p. 159). Moreover, effective processes of essentialization have further inclined us to take specialized bodies of knowledge, expert identities and notions of expertise for granted as natural. But this justification or explanation of expertise is, at a minimum, circular, offering no explanation for the authorization of only certain ways of knowing.

A number of theoretical paradigms and academic traditions take an idiosyncratic approach to expertise that focuses on individual cognitive capacities and, thus, sees expertise as a matter or product of individual knowledge acquisition. Cognitivism is one such discipline, according to O'Connor (2003), that accounts for expertise (and for 'educated persons') through the notion of individual learning and, by opposite logic, for the absence of expertise and 'uneducated persons' by "*failure* to acquire knowledge" (p. 64, emphasis in original). As a result, cognitivist and, similarly, individualist perspectives "hol[d] individuals, and not processes of cultural production, responsible for their success or failure" (p. 68), thereby overlooking—among other things—the sociology of expertise, i.e., the well-established notion that expertise manifests in and helps to reproduces power relations" (Carr, 2010, p. 18). Thus, for example, Bourdieu writes, "[t]he educational system helps to provide the dominant class with a 'theodicy of its own privilege' […] through the practical justification of the established order which it achieves by using the over connection between qualifications and jobs as a smokescreen for the connection…[or] between the qualifications people obtain and the cultural capital they have inherited" (p. 188). Furthermore, scholarship on the sociology of education and on

sociolinguistics and education attests to some of the potential pitfalls that can stem from the practical application of individualist approaches to knowledge/learning, essentialist/acritical ideas of expertise and/or the acknowledgement/privileging of only certain knowledge practices/styles of learning in education (e.g., Alexander, Entwisle, & Olson, 2001; Ceci, 1991; Fraser, 1995; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001; Labov, 1995; Trueba, 1988; Wolfram, 1983; Wolfram, & Christian, 1989; Wren & Wren, 2003). Additionally, essentialist theories of knowledge and expertise overlook the limitations of individual agency in obtaining expertise, e.g., that acquisition of certain knowledge practices (and other cultural capital) and, in turn, expertise or authority (symbolic capital) are oriented or mediated by preexisting structural conditions and dispositions beyond the scope of individual volition (cf. *habitus*, Bourdieu, 1977).

(Linguistic) anthropological and other socially-grounded accounts of expertise, in contrast, treat the construct as performative and processual or ongoing, as opposed to acquired; as dialogic/dialectic and interactional rather than individual given that, among other things, "it involves the participation of objects, producers, and consumers of knowledge" (Carr, 2010, p. 18; cf. Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996; O'Connor, 2003). Specifically, expert, educated and learned identities within this account—much like the constructions of other social identities and cultural beings, which are semiotically mediated and discursively produced—are also seen as accomplished and negotiated in situated interaction through processes of cultural production. Simply put, the anthropology of expertise sees the construct as, "something people do rather than something people have or hold" (Carr, 2010, p. 18).

This model of expertise as a cultural production has been taken up to discuss the enactment of expert identities and expert forms of knowledge in a variety of fields. (See, e.g., the struggle for expertise between academic and mass media institutions in Arnoldi, 2007; expertise

in light of new media practices/forms in Beaulieu, de Rijcke, & van Heur, 2012; paranormal investigator and ghost hunter expertise in Hanks, 2015; the institutionalization of scientific disciplines, Lenoir, 1997; autistic expertise in Milton, 2014; expertise in the museum blogosphere in Verboom & Arora, 2013; terrorism expertise in Stampnitzky, 2011; expertise and cultural taste in Wright, 2015). Of particular interest are the texts that have explored the cultural productions of learnedness in schooling/educational domains (e.g., production of cultural practices, knowledge sets and the "educated person" in various global contexts in Levinson, Foley, & Holland, 1996; engineering student expertise, O'Connor, 2003) or, better still, in language learning settings (e.g., deconstruction of the native/non-native English speaker dichotomy through an interactional, situational approach to expertise in Alhodithi, 2015; negotiation of language expert roles among students and teachers in English as a foreign language interactions within an English-medium instructional setting in Hynninen, 2012; L2-English speaking students' negotiation of expert-novice identities in online interactions in Jeong, 2009). Such investigations point to the social/contextual embeddedness of expertise and the importance of taking a situated approach to the exploration of expert identities rather than the common tendency to superimpose notions of expertise as, e.g., merely competence. This (situated or context-based) conceptualization of expertise goes hand in hand with the general argument of this research that the local context and the cultural values and language-ideological schematizations of Yoruba language therein shape all layers of the learning enterprise, in this case, the production of Yoruba language expertise. Accordingly, I adopt this approach in the present research, drawing from Carr (2010) to understand the local conceptualizations and enactments (evaluations) of expertise in Salvador. As a complement, I will also incorporate select terms and concepts from Pierre Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) approach to social relations given

that he and Carr both use a market analogy to theorize social practices such as language use as capital-driven.[43]

6.2.1 The four enactments of expertise

Studies within the anthropology of expertise have extensively documented semiotic enactments of expertise across countless spaces, and Carr (2010) reviews this scholarship in detail. As a result of her survey, she identifies four main constitutive practices used to accomplish expertise: socialization, evaluation, institutionalization and naturalization. I will briefly elucidate each concept by pulling examples from the local learning community.

6.2.1.1 Socialization

According to Carr's taxonomy, the enactment of expertise requires that would-be experts establish intimacy with classes of culturally valued objects and ways of knowing and then learn how to discursively and semiotically "communicate that familiarity from an authoritative angle" (Carr, 2010, p. 19). Experts acquire this familiarity and the know-how to mobilize and perform it during *socialization* processes. Thus, pulling from the local Salvador learning context for example, initiates into the secret society of Salvador Candomblé acquire sacred knowledge through their initiation and rites of passage into the interior of the terreiro community, but, moreover, they acquire the ways (symbolic resources, such as the ritual language and other forms

[43] Namely, I am discussing how different types of knowledge, skill sets and cultural acquisitions (i.e., cultural capital) are evaluated and stratified in the field of Yoruba language teaching, how this distribution implicates or authorizes different social actors as experts (symbolic capital holders)_in the Salvador teaching community as well as how, as instructor profiles will reveal, Yoruba instructors are accordingly engaged in competition with other social actors in order to either maintain or challenge the distribution of different types of cultural capital and resources and thereby (re-)negotiate their positions within that structured social space. See, e.g., Bourdieu (1977, 1991), for a more detailed discussion of the Bourdiean theory of practice and social relations.

of traditional knowledge) for iteratively conveying this intimacy and thus their ritual citizenship during these processes of socialization and training (e.g., Parés, 2004; Voeks, 2010). This ritual training, usually in addition to formal study of the Yoruba language among other apprenticeships, is often part of the socialization of some (non-native) Yoruba instructors in Salvador. By contrast, there are other members of the teaching community who establish intimacy with culturally valued objects and ways of knowing, in this case Yoruba linguistic and cultural practices, through birthright or initial socialization in southwestern Nigeria as members of the Yoruba ethnolinguistic group. Still others are trained through academic institutions and other rites of passage, which help them approximate to Afro-Brazilian practices and knowledge sets. My interview with one Yoruba instructor, Olufemi, who you will come to know later in this chapter, credits his initial socialization into the Yoruba ethnolinguistic group with preparing him as an instructor of Yoruba linguistic and cultural practices. But it is also important to note that Olufemi's lectures were decorated with metalinguistic jargon (specialized language for talking about language, such as grammatical terms), which he attributed to his undergraduate training in English and Portuguese language arts and which regularly signifies/reinforces his training and expert knowledge. The cultural objects and bodies of knowledge, described in Chapter 7, along with the other constitutive practices that provide Salvador's instructor community with opportunities or sites to enact their expertise, are noticeably distinct from conceptualizations of Yoruba expertise in other contexts (e.g., Mosadomi, 2006; Ojo, 2006; Olabode, 1995; Orie, 2006), suggesting how social context supports understandings and manifestations of expertise—a point which I emphasize throughout this study.

6.2.1.2 Evaluation

Given that expertise involves or is premised upon the consumption of rare or specialized bodies of knowledge and cultural commodities produced by special types of people (experts), the production of expertise necessarily also plays out through the stratification and differentiation of social actors and ways of knowing through what Carr calls practices of authentication and *evaluation*. In evaluation, expert practitioners "create hierarchies and distinctions by determining the qualities, authenticity, or value of the objects within their purview" (p. 21), and by "casting other people as less aware, knowing, or knowledgeable" (p. 22). Productions of expertise, therefore, through the evaluation/appraisal and hierarchization/ranking of cultural objects and areas of cultural knowledge as well as types of people, can directly shape how practices, such as languages and linguistic forms, and well as people, such as users of linguistic varieties, are defined and valued. This chapter will highlight some of the productions of expertise and language-ideological notions of authority among Yoruba instructors through *evaluation*; how, among other things, positioning certain actors as more or less knowledgeable and their expert objects as more or less valuable or special entails the process of linguistic differentiation and also creates notions of linguistic prestige and authenticity; and, thus, how enactments of expertise in Salvador speak to broader or classic conversations in the sociolinguistic literature on these topics.

6.2.1.3 Institutionalization

A third mode of expert enactment reviewed by Carr is institutionalization or institutional authorization. Besides being a principal arena for the performance and negotiation of expertise identities, institutions participate in the production of expertise in many other ways including the cultivation, authorization and organization of knowledge practices and types of expertise. Carr

explains that institutions sponsor the training and *socialization* into expert ways that render experts and that they authorize the *authentication* and *evaluation* (ranking) processes that create asymmetries between the more and the less educated, the expert and the novice. Specifically, institutions authorize expertise and thus certain types of knowledge and knowers by "host[ing] ritual ceremonies, such as ordinations and graduations," which have the performative power to render experts and which furthermore don practitioners with "emblems of expertise" that "signify these expert rites of passage in future expert enactments…[thereby] providing access to other institutional sites and the equipment, artifacts, and objects contained therein" (p. 24). As you will read in this chapter, some members of Salvador's instructor community were rendered experts through the institution of Candomblé Nagô-Ketu, wherein they acquired sacred knowledge of "ritual elements such as language, songs, dances, and instruments, especially drums" (Parés, 2013, p. 67), as well as other "emblems of expertise" (e.g., a baptismal name or *orucó*), which both constitute and, thereafter, (re)signify their ritual citizenship and their training (initiation) into the secret ways. The ritual elements they obtain through training and initiation followed by their participation in a public initiation ceremony differentiate them from non-initiated practitioners of Candomblé but also convey their membership in a specific nation or branch of the religion. Moreover, instructors who have been socialized, authenticated, and authorized, in part, through the institution of Candomblé Nagô-Ketu often have achieved special charges within the religious community, such as the male title of "honorary chief" (*ogan*), and thus have additional training and an even higher tier of knowledge/expertise within the religious community. As you will read, enactments of expertise by these instructors, then, are distinct from instructors whose authorization comes not by way of religious (Candomblé) and other Afro-Brazilian institutions—as well as supplementary, formal study of the Yoruba language—but

through family and education, i.e., initial socialization processes, and who thus makes claims to expertise on the basis of birthright, as in the case of the Nigerian Yoruba instructors in the research.

Carr also explains how institutions organize ways of knowing (e.g., into academic disciplines) and, thus, participate in the production and, specifically, the institutionalization of expertise in other ways. Chapter 7, for example, surveys five institutions in Salvador, each hosting unique knowledge practices and sets of cultural objects and, yet, all nevertheless subsuming these various competencies under the same headings of "Yoruba language" or "Yoruba language and culture" classes. As you will read, multiple varieties of Yoruba are among this diversity of cultural practices whose differences are collapsed and whose boundaries are blurred due to the organizational/naming schema of Salvador Yoruba teaching institutions. Meanwhile, whereas one institution (Site 2) offers separate or additional section for the teaching of religious chants in the liturgical Yoruba language, other Yoruba sections subsumed the teaching of hymns into their regular Yoruba language sections. This (schema) means that while all instructors in the community are nominally teaching the same class, based on the diversity or variation of content and practices described and the lack of standardization of methods, Yoruba students in Salvador are actually acquiring distinct sets of knowledge practices. In effect, the expertise and jurisdictions of instructors is also dissimilar despite the titling of their teaching disciplines suggesting otherwise. The designation of course titles, then, is just one way in which institutions organize ways of knowing/forms of knowledge/knowledge practices as part of the production of expertise. Moreover, it is also a glimpse into how the production of expertise (through the organizational processes and boundary-making of institutions) shape how languages are defined (i.e., boundary effects) and, in this case, what is identified, taught, learned and then

used as Yoruba in Salvador. That is, it implicates the semiotic processes of expert performance and, specifically, organizational practices into processes of *linguistic differentiation*—i.e., the construction of linguistic contrast and difference and even the formation of languages and dialects, often (iconizingly) identifying speech forms and knowledge sets with ideal (or iconic) speakers and practices to rationalize their distinctions (Gal & Irvine, 1995; Irvine & Gal, 2000). It also reminds us of the opposite directionality between the conceptualization and creation of linguistic differences, such as the diversity of Yoruba-based linguistic practices in Salvador, and (the construction of) disciplinary boundaries. That is, "that scholarly ideologies about linguistic differentiation are also inscribed and reproduced in the contrasting practices through which different disciplines claim access to specialized knowledge, and, moreover, that, "[i]n addition to shaping scholarly work, these practices are also boundary-making devices, implicated in ideologies that highlight disciplinary differentiation in situations of scholarly competition for institutional or public approbation, legitimation, and support" (Gal & Irvine, 1995, p. 971).

6.2.1.4 Naturalization

Naturalization of expert enactments—i.e., practices that essentialize expertise by masking its processual, performative, discursive nature or sociohistorical/contextual derivation—is the final constitutive process of expertise elaborated by Carr. It entails what Bourdieu (1977) discusses as *misrecognition*, "the well-grounded illusion that the value of symbolic goods is inscribed in the nature of things;" that it is arbitrary (p. 183). Carr offers language ideologies as one example of the various semiotic practices that naturalize expertise. Specifically, she says that, "the[se] widely held ideas that language primarily functions to denote preexisting states and that those states are the inner property of speakers […] so frequently naturalize expertise as something one has rather than something one does" (p. 26). The idea of naturalizing language ideologies is

nicely captured in some conceptualizations of expertise explored in this chapter, especially the privileging of first-language Yoruba speakers as models for language learning (cf. *native speaker concept* in Doerr, 2009) in ways that favor instructors who developed the language as a product of birthright and sociolinguistic socialization in the language.

An interrogation of notions of expertise, then, essentially means asking, *how is Yoruba teaching expertise socialized, evaluated* (and *authenticated*), *institutionalized* (and *authorized*), and *naturalized* (or *essentialized*) in the local Salvador context? Furthermore, since the enactment of expertise requires that would-be experts establish intimacy with classes of culturally valued objects and ways of knowing, or what Bourdieu (1977, 1991) calls "cultural capital," an exploration of the local constitution of expertise in Salvador furthermore means identifying which knowledge practices and skill sets are valorized and thereby constitute expertise or expert identities. I will primarily attend to one mode of expertise enactment, i.e., the *evaluation* of knowledge practices and thereby different instructors/social actors in the local setting. While Yoruba language and culture classes may be the key sites wherein instructors regularly negotiate their expertise through the situated practice of teaching, in this chapter, I explore expertise evaluation and enactment through interviews. My methods are described in further detail below.

6.3 METHODS

This research does not attend to an official rubric of hiring requirements used in Salvador Yoruba institutions when contracting instructors in order to interrogate the evaluation of Yoruba teaching or local conceptualizations of expertise. Rather, it explores self-perceptions and

narratives of expertise/teaching qualification from the lenses of members of the instructor community through analyses interview data. Specifically, to respond to the overarching research question and to the guiding research question of this chapter (i.e., *How is Yoruba language teaching evaluated and valued in Salvador* and *Which knowledge practices and skill sets are valorized and thereby constitute expertise or expert identities*?), I utilized a methodology consisting of qualitative, semi-structured interviews and questionnaires conducted over the course of three months at eight Yoruba learning schools in Salvador. These Yoruba learning institutions were identified using the Internet query and snowballing process described in Section 3.2 [**Research Methods**].

6.3.1 Participants

All participants were instructors in at least one or more of the eight Yoruba learning institutions. They were identified over the course of three months through a referral method of recruitment among fellow members of the Yoruba language community, including residents of Salvador, Candomblé and Umbanda practitioners, language researchers, Nigerian expatriates, community organizers, fellow Yoruba teachers, and other contacts who had access to the target population as well as with the assistance of the local Yoruba learning institutions. Instructors were contacted via email messages or approached in person and invited to participate in the study based on their teaching area. The inclusion criterion was that they be affiliated with a "brick-and-mortar" Yoruba learning institution in Salvador that offered formalized Yoruba classes. This resulted in a total number of eight instructor participants in this study. Of the eight instructors interviewed, all were men. All participants were asked for verbal consent at each stage of data collection and

provided informed consent before participating in the research. All instructors were fluent speakers of either English or Portuguese.

6.3.2 Instruments

Instruments for data collection consisted of semi-structured interviews and questionnaires adapted in part from Lei's (2012) *Language and Attitude Survey* for the Yoruba learning context in Salvador. First, instructors were asked to participate in semi-structured interviews. Interviews consisted of open-ended questions and were used to elicit a profile of each instructor's social background; academic training, professional history and Yoruba teaching experience; language background and language use; and Yoruba teaching perspectives and goals. Language instructors were asked, for example, "*How did you prepare yourself to teach Yoruba?*" "*How did your life experiences prepare you to teach or lead to you teach Yoruba?*" "*What is your goal for students?*" "*What are the expectations of students for the level you teach?*" Instructors born outside of Brazil were asked, "*How long have you been in Brazil?*" and prompted to describe how they came to be in Brazil and teaching Yoruba. L1 Portuguese instructors were asked, "*How long have you studied Yoruba?*" and prompted to describe their training in the language area. All questions were vetted for clarity by post-graduate and post-doctoral researchers with experience conducting data collection and working with research populations in Brazil.

Instructors were also asked to complete biographical questionnaires with open-ended and multiple-response questions to obtain general information about them, including their age, sex, birthplace, educational attainment, and Yoruba teaching experience. These questions were aimed at providing a better idea of the context in which classroom Yoruba language learning and thus

this research take place as well as the distribution of Yoruba teaching. Excerpted items from the questionnaires are provided below as examples.

What is your age? _____ Date of birth: _____/ _____/ 19____
day month year

Sex: ☐ M ☐ F

What is your heritage/ancestry? _____

What is your city and country of birth? _____

If you were not born in Brazil, when did you arrive in the country? _____

From where (country and state) are your mother and father? _____

Describe your occupation? _____

What is your highest level of education?

- ☐ Elementary/middle school
- ☐ High school
- ☐ Higher education. Name of your major_____
- ☐ Post-graduate. Name of your major: _____

Name of the school or university where you teach Yoruba _____

Please indicate which levels of Yoruba you teach: _____

How long have you been teaching Yoruba? _____ years

Figure 11. Excerpted questionnaire items - Personal, professional and educational information of Yoruba instructors

Questionnaires also contained open-ended, multiple-selection measures concerning the linguistic practices of instructors and their relatives, including the excerpted questions below. These items aimed to obtain information about the sociolinguistic backgrounds of participants.

Which languages do you speak at home? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Yoruba
- ☐ Portuguese
- ☐ English
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ French
- ☐ Other. Please specify: _____

Which of the following languages best describes your grandparents' language background? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Yoruba
- ☐ Portuguese
- ☐ English
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ French
- ☐ Other. Please specify: _____

Which of the following languages best describes your mother's language background? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Yoruba
- ☐ Portuguese
- ☐ English
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ French
- ☐ Other. Please specify: _____

Which languages do you speak most frequently? _____

Figure 12. Excerpted questionnaire items - Sociolinguistic information of Yoruba instructors

Lastly, questionnaires contained items asking participants about their social identifications and religious affiliations. These items used a multiple-selection format with several choices as possible answers, including an option to volunteer an answer not already on the list. These items aimed to obtain information about the personal and social backgrounds of instructors. Participants were asked:

How do you identify yourself? Select all that apply.

- ☐ Brazilian
- ☐ Yoruba
- ☐ White
- ☐ Nagô
- ☐ Asian
- ☐ Black
- ☐ Afro-Brazilian
- ☐ Other. Please explain: _____

To what religious denomination(s) do you belong? _____

Do you practice a religion of African origin?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure
- ☐ Yes. Please explain:_____

Figure 13. Excerpted questionnaire items – Social information of Yoruba instructors

Questions inquiring about participants' linguistic practices and language background were interspersed with items concerning social background (ancestry, self-identification and religious affiliation) to prevent participants from recognizing any trends in the questionnaire and therefore a response bias.

6.3.3 Procedures

Interviews were conducted prior to the administration of questionnaires, where possible. The researcher began the interviews by explaining very generally the objective of the research: (1) "to learn more about the study of the Yoruba language" and (2) "to gain insight into why people in Salvador are interested in studying the Yoruba language" as well as "the factors that motivate

people to continue studying Yoruba." Participants were also informed of their roles as informants regarding their own, "experiences teaching Yoruba and about related areas of […] daily life."

Instructor interviews were conducted one-on-one. Similar to student interviews, an interview guide was used to direct the interviews and explore specific topic areas related to the research questions. Instructors were asked questions in a semi-structured format, and the order of the questions was modified depending on participant responses. Questions were also added or eliminated in order to further explore participant comments or as the scope of the interviews changed with each interview. Similarly, participants were invited to share stories or make comments about specific topics of personal relevance. Interviews were typically conducted in English for fluent English speakers (e.g., Nigerian instructors) and in Portuguese for L1 Portuguese speakers (e.g., Brazilian instructors). As before, all interviews were audio-recorded and complemented by detailed field notes about the interviews, setting, participant responses, direct quotes of particular interest, and other key information taken during as well as immediately following interview sessions.

Questionnaires were individually distributed to instructors, who agreed to participate, for completion at their convenience and by the end of the research period. All questionnaires were returned directly to me.

6.3.4 Analysis

The data from the questionnaires were subjected to qualitative and simple statistical analyses, including computation of means and sums. I also listened to audio recordings and conducted a qualitative review and content analysis of interview responses while reviewing field notes. Selected parts of sound files were then transcribed and, where necessary, translated into English

with the assistance of native Portuguese speakers and then used to construct profiles on each Yoruba instructor.

From my analyses of these data, I have compiled a brief demographic profile in order to provide an idea about the interview participants and members of the Yoruba teaching community in Salvador in complement to the present discussion of evaluations of Yoruba teaching and local enactments of expertise. It describes the current instructor community as a whole in terms of teacher (1) social backgrounds, (2) academic training, professional histories and Yoruba teaching experience, and (3) language backgrounds and language use in order to provide an idea about the distribution of Yoruba teaching in Salvador in preparation for our main discussion. Secondly, I have constructed eight individual instructor profiles, which offer statements about each of the instructors and their (1) language learning histories and connections to the Yoruba language, (2) teaching perspectives and goals and (3) discourses about teaching qualification, which differently privilege or evaluate various knowledge sets, forms of training and, in turn, instructors in the constitution of Yoruba language teaching expertise.

6.4 PROFILE OF THE YORUBA INSTRUCTOR POOL

The Yoruba teaching community of Salvador is composed of a pool of instructors who vary and at times converge in terms of their personal, social and sociolinguistic backgrounds as well as educational/professional histories. Firstly, all instructors are men, and further analysis of interview data with language learners and teachers in this community indicates that the field of Yoruba language teaching in Salvador has historically been a male-dominated terrain. This distribution presents a neat contrast to the principally female learner population and the historical

tendency for Candomblé initiates and supreme leaders in Bahia to be women (e.g., Griffith & Savage, 2006), especially considering the role that Yoruba instructors play not simply as imparters of information but as authorities, producers of knowledge and as cultural brokers. Table 12 summarizes the personal histories of instructors. The names utilized are pseudonyms assigned to each instructor who participated in this dissertation study to ensure anonymity. The pseudonyms chosen are traditional/typical Yoruba or Brazilian names according to the nationality of each participant.

Table 12. Instructor profiles - Personal background

	Adebisi	Afolabi	Ângelo	Ayo	Carlos	Jorge	Olufemi	Reinaldo
Age	53	33	31	40	74	59	51	48
Years in Brazil	15	5	Born	1.5	Born	Born	13	Born
Birth-place	Ilesa, Osun, Nigeria	Ibadan, Oyo, Nigeria	Salvador, Bahia, Brazil	Oyo, Oyo, Nigeria	Salvador, Bahia, Brazil	Salvador, Bahia, Brazil	Osu, Osun, Nigeria	Salvador, Bahia, Brazil
Sex	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M

In many ways, L1 Yoruba instructors in Salvador are much like the students-turned-language-instructors described by Sanneh and Omar (2002), who "came to the United States to pursue degrees in fields unconnected to language" and then, "[t]hrough arrangements with their institutions, […] taught full elementary-level courses in exchange for tuition and a stipend" (p. 45). While six of the eight instructors in this research have at least a college education, they vary in terms of their academic areas/backgrounds and especially in terms of their formal (or normative) training as language instructors. According to studies on Yoruba teaching in the U.S. and global context (Mosadomi, 2006; Ojo, 2006; Olabode, 1995; Orie, 2006), Yoruba teaching qualification generally entails the following characteristics: training in the Yoruba language; native or near-native Yoruba proficiency; metalinguistic knowledge; training in linguistics and

knowledge of second language acquisition theories; training education in Yoruba teaching; teacher training and preparedness for Yoruba instruction. Yet, the information provided in questionnaire responses reveals that, while several of the instructors have backgrounds in education/pedagogy (n=2) or exposure to linguistics as part of language arts education (n=2), none have training specific to language instruction or Yoruba teaching to meet the criteria for being "qualified" according to standards outlined in the aforementioned studies on Yoruba teaching in the U.S. Rather, these data suggest that other forms of knowledge and other competencies are valorized and seen as critical for Yoruba expertise in Salvador. Table 13 summarizes the educational and professional backgrounds of Yoruba instructors in Salvador.

Table 13. Instructor profiles – Educational training and professional experience

	Adebisi	Afolabi	Ângelo	Ayo	Carlos	Jorge	Olufemi	Reinaldo
Primary occupation	Civil servant	Teacher	Art educator	Cultural officer	Religious administrator	Teacher	Teacher	Teacher; Massage therapist
Education	Post-graduate	Post-graduate	High school	Post-graduate	High school	Post-graduate	Higher education	Higher education
Area of study	Educational administration	MBA	N/A	History; Administration	Electrician training	Geography; Pedagogy, Afro-Brazilian studies	Arts & Letters with English/ Portuguese	Arts & Letters with English
Years teaching Yoruba	12	2	5	1	26	20	12	4
Levels taught	Beginner	Beginner	Beginner	Beginner	Beginner; Intermediate	Beginner	Beginner; Intermediate	Beginner; Intermediate

There is a neat, binary division of the teaching community in terms of instructor origins and first languages or sociolinguistic backgrounds. Specifically, half of instructors are L1 Yoruba speakers born and raised in southwestern Nigeria in the states of Oyo and Osun who arrived in Salvador as adults. The other half are native to Brazil and, more specifically, northeastern Brazil or Salvador and speak Portuguese as their first language. The following map in Figure 14 illustrates the birthplaces and hometowns of the eight instructors.

Figure 14. Map of the birthplaces and hometowns of the Yoruba instructors of Salvador in northeastern Brazil and southwestern Nigeria

Yoruba, Portuguese and English are the primary languages of the instructors (i.e., languages in which most professors reported fluency and most often reported as home languages during childhood), which reflects the social context of the research in Salvador as well as the colonial legacies of northeastern Brazil and Nigeria, in general. Specifically, L1 Yoruba speakers understandably reported fluency in English, which reflects the status of English as an official language and the language of instruction in Nigeria. Interestingly, more instructors reported fluency in English (i.e., seven out of eight) than in Yoruba (i.e., two out of four L1 Portuguese

speakers; six out of all eight instructors) or Portuguese (i.e., two out of four L1 Yoruba speakers; six out of all eight instructors). Understandably, Yoruba and Portuguese were also selected most often to describe the language backgrounds of instructors' parents and grandparents and were also reportedly the languages most often used for communication by instructors both in general and with family members. Table 14 summarizes the language use of instructors in this research, while Table 15 summarizes the language backgrounds of instructors.

Table 14. Instructor profiles - Language background

	Adebisi	Afolabi	Ângelo	Ayo	Carlos	Jorge	Olufemi	Reinaldo
L1	Yoruba	Yoruba	Portuguese	Yoruba	Portuguese	Portuguese	Yoruba	Portuguese
Languages beside L1	Arabic English Portuguese Spanish	English	n/a	English	Bantu English Yoruba	English Spanish Yoruba	English Portuguese	English Spanish
Grandparents' language	Yoruba	Yoruba	"Indigenous" Portuguese	Yoruba	Bantu Portuguese Yoruba	Portuguese Yoruba	Yoruba	Portuguese
Father's language	Arabic English Yoruba	Yoruba	Portuguese	Yoruba	Bantu Portuguese Yoruba	Portuguese Yoruba	Yoruba	Portuguese
Mother's language	Yoruba	Yoruba	Portuguese	Yoruba	Bantu Portuguese Yoruba	Portuguese Yoruba	Yoruba	Portuguese

Table 15. Instructor profiles - Language use

	Adebisi	Afolabi	Ângelo	Ayo	Carlos	Jorge	Olufemi	Reinaldo
Home language	English Portuguese Yoruba	English French Portuguese Yoruba	Portuguese Yoruba	English Yoruba	English Portuguese Yoruba	English Portuguese Spanish Yoruba	Yoruba	English Portuguese
Languages most often used	English Portuguese	Yoruba	Portuguese Yoruba	English Yoruba	Portuguese Yoruba	Portuguese Spanish Yoruba	Yoruba	English Portuguese
Language for communication with parents	Arabic English Yoruba	English Yoruba	Portuguese	Yoruba	Portuguese Yoruba	English Portuguese Spanish Yoruba	Yoruba	Portuguese
Language for communication with siblings	English Yoruba Portuguese	English Yoruba	Portuguese	English Yoruba	Bantu English Portuguese Yoruba	English Portuguese Spanish Yoruba	Portuguese	Portuguese

An interesting observation is that the L1 Yoruba instructors in this research were usually religiously distinct from the non-native or L2 Yoruba instructors, i.e., often practicing Abrahamic religions, such as Christianity or Islam, rather than Yoruba or African-matrix religions like their counterparts. Despite their differing personal or social histories, however, their identifications sometimes overlapped and, thus, we see professors of varying (national) origins identifying as "Yoruba" or "African," for example. Specifically, all instructors identify as "African" or African descendants in some form and/or as "Yoruba" and/or "Nagô." Table 16 summarizes the ancestral and personal identifications as well as spiritual affiliations of the eight Yoruba instructors in this study.

Table 16. Instructor profiles – Ancestry, self-identifications and religious affiliation

	Adebisi	Afolabi	Ângelo	Ayo	Carlos	Jorge	Olufemi	Reinaldo
Ancestry	Nigerian Yoruba	Yoruba	African	Yoruba	African European	African	Yoruba	African
Identification	African Black Nigerian Yoruba	Yoruba	African Afro-Brazilian Indigenous	Yoruba	Afro-Brazilian Black Bantu Nagô White Yoruba	Afro-Brazilian Black Brazilian Nagô Yoruba	Yoruba	African Afro-Brazilian Black Brazilian
Religious affiliations	Muslim	Christian	Candomblé	Christian	Candomblé	Candomblé	All	Candomblé, *Mesa Branca* (Spiritism)

In summation of this demographic profile, each of the instructors in this research falls into one of the following categories in terms of their sociolinguistic and educational/professional backgrounds:

- He is an L1 speaker of Yoruba with a background in education or language arts and extensive teaching experience but no formal training in Yoruba language instruction or teaching pedagogy.
- He is an L1 speaker of Yoruba with professional degrees but has limited or no training in language teaching approaches and limited Yoruba teaching experience.
- He is a former student of Yoruba and an L1 speaker of Portuguese who has developed an extensive knowledge of Yoruba linguistic practices, literature, religion and/or culture. (This group of instructor types varies greatly in terms of their educational attainment and professional backgrounds but collectively has no (formal) training as language teachers.)

These data, then, attest to the fact that Yoruba teaching qualification is uniquely conceptualized in Salvador and, therefore, support the notion that *expertise*, in general, is a cultural production—discursively enacted in specific social contexts and, thus, indeterminate and unabstractable.

6.5 TEACHER PROFILES

What follows are eight individual instructor profiles which describe instructor participants in terms of their Yoruba teaching preparation (language learning history, educational background, other training) and connection to the Yoruba language, their teaching perspectives and objectives and, primarily, their conceptualizations of Yoruba teaching qualification and the idea of expertise

in Salvador. Recall, these data were obtained through semi-structured interviews with instructors in complement with the questionnaire data.

These profiles display many of the same general language-ideological narratives and valuations of Yoruba language and linguistic practice observable at other tiers of the Yoruba language learning enterprise in Salvador. Specifically, instructor narratives about their language learning histories and connections to the Yoruba language have some of the same ideological groundings as students and their learning motivations, e.g., spiritual, socio-racial and heritage linkages. Moreover, their teaching perspectives and objectives build upon and reinforce these very bases. But most centrally to our current discussion, these profiles indicate that global or universal understandings of Yoruba teaching qualification—e.g., training in the Yoruba language, native or near-native proficiency in Yoruba, metalinguistic knowledge, training in linguistics and knowledge of second language acquisition theories, pedagogical training and preparedness (e.g., Mosadomi, 2006; Ojo, 2006; Olabode, 1995; Orie, 2006)—are null and void in the Salvador context of Yoruba instruction. Instead, other credentials and knowledge sets have been valorized as cultural capital and criteria for expertise. These local criteria for Yoruba teaching qualification play upon or mobilize the sociohistorical significances (e.g., racial, cultural, local and spiritual meanings associations) of Yoruba language and linguistic practices in Salvador, as mediated by local language ideologies about Yoruba language and linguistic practices vis-à-vis notions of personhood (*race*, *heritage*, *nation*). Local understandings of expertise can be divided into two main branches: those that privilege characteristics like sociolinguistic socialization (*natal* or *nativist*) and those that privilege training and knowledge in local Afro-Brazilian practices, including religion, as indicators of Yoruba teaching qualification (*local* or *localist*).

The first Soteropolitano notion of expertise (*natal* or *nativist*) assesses teaching ability according to the *native speaker concept*—i.e., privileging first-language speakers as models for language learning—and in ways that favor instructors who developed the language as a product of birthright and sociolinguistic socialization in the language (Doerr, 2009). In that sense, it essentializes Nigerian Yoruba speakers as language experts and apt instructors. The second conceptualization of Yoruba teaching qualification (*local* or *localist*) builds on the affiliation Yoruba linguistic practices with Afro-Brazilian cosmologies and local practices and, thus, privileges instructors (e.g., religious and cultural leaders) and competencies (e.g., sacred knowledge, knowledge of the local socio-history of Yoruba, etc.), accordingly. Among other things, notice how notions of expertise and teaching qualification in the Salvador context vary depending on the sociolinguistic backgrounds (e.g., first languages and national origins) of the instructors as well as how expertise appears to be ascribed according to the instructor's "relative proximity to or distance from the legitimate culture" or a particular variety of cultural capital (Weininger, 2005, p. 99). In other words, understandings of teaching qualification differentially implicate instructors as producers of knowledge, cultural brokers and authorities on Yoruba in the Salvador language teaching market, and instructors in this community tend to understand expertise in ways that privilege themselves as producers of knowledge. Interestingly, for all instructor participants discussed, you will notice that the idea of *nation(hood)* plays an important role in their language-ideological conceptualizations of Yoruba expertise, albeit differentially. For nativist conceptualizations, *nation*, *Africanity* and *Yorubaness* bear on ethno-political categories, e.g., "I'm Nigerian" (see, e.g., Adebisi or Ayo), that often implicate politico-economic, modern-day nation-states in claims to expertise. In localist understandings of teaching

qualification, on the other hand, *nations*, *Africanity* and *Yorubaness* implicate local Afro-Brazilian phenomena, such as theological nations, e.g., the Nagô-Ketu nation of Candomblé.

Let us begin our investigation with the branch of instructors who acquired the Yoruba language as an L1 and product of sociolinguistic socialization and who often espouse *nativist* conceptualizations of expertise.

6.5.1 Adebisi

Adebisi is a native speaker of Yoruba from southwestern Nigeria. That is to say that Yoruba was reported as the first language that he learned to speak and as his primary means of communication before beginning schooling. Adebisi learned English upon entry into primary school and also studied Spanish during his schooling as well as Arabic as part of religious practice. Adebisi first came to Brazil in the late 1980s as a student of Portuguese through a "year abroad" exchange program between Brazilian and Nigerian universities. After graduating from his university in Nigeria, he returned to Brazil to remain permanently and had been in the country for fifteen years by the time of the data collection. Adebisi studied Educational Administration at the post-graduate level and currently works as a civil servant while teaching Yoruba part-time. He has twelve years of Yoruba teaching experience at three learning institutions in Salvador.

Adebisi bases his knowledge of Yoruba on his language and social backgrounds, which might be surprising given his professional background in education and the potential teaching skills gained therein. To clarify his expertise, as briefly discussed in Section 1.3.3, Adebisi shared, "**I'm Nigerian. I'm Yoruba. I speak Yoruba with my people. This was my maternal language. It was my first language of contact before I went to school—at all.**" Adebisi

construes his ethno-political and sociolinguistic backgrounds—his Nigerianness and his Yorubaness—as constituents of expertise and Yoruba teaching qualification. His understanding of his qualification, like that of several instructors documented here, is based on the *native speaker concept*—i.e., the language-ideological notion that the "'native speaker' has a superior competence in a language in comparison to 'non-native speakers,'" and is, therefore, a standard or model for language teaching "whose intuition in the language makes him/her a natural judge" (Doerr, 2009, p. 8). Yet amidst drawing on his sociolinguistic background and self-identifications in claiming his expertise in the language, thereby reinforcing the politico-national or ethnic meaning associations of the Yoruba language as well as essentializing notions about language in general (i.e., native speakers as naturally apt language teachers), Adebisi also discusses his (inconstant) goal of depoliticizing (decosmologizing, deethnicizing) Yoruba linguistic practices; that is, he expresses that the importance of the Yoruba language for himself relates to its function as a "medium of communication." His goal for his students, then, was to help them reconceptualize Yoruba by broadening their understandings of its functions to include those outside the context of Yoruba-based and Afro-Brazilian religions; i.e., to see it as a world language and a general means of communication. To this end, he reports telling his students:

> **You don't have to be an orixá worshipper to speak Yoruba; it's a general means of communication" […] My goal is to let them know that Yoruba is not language for orixá worshippers. It's not for religious purpose alone. It's language of people who are not only living in Africa, but in some other parts of the world. Yoruba are not limited to Nigeria alone. They're in all the world, they're all over West Africa and outside because of slavery. They were taken outside to Cuba, to Venezuela, brought to Brazil, they came to the United States. So you have Yoruba all over the place.**

Adebisi's desire to reconceptualize students' ideas about the category of *Yoruba* or Yoruba linguistic and cultural practices, especially in terms of their ideologically grounded associations with Yoruba religions, admittedly stems from his own religious background as a Muslim. His

lessons, as he reports, thus, emphasize the fact that "**Islam has a history in Bahia**" and that some Yoruba speakers are in fact Muslim, while simultaneously working to dearticulate Yoruba from its social meanings involving Yoruba cosmologies and orixá worship. Thus, when teaching Yoruba, Adebisi says, "**we let them know that Yoruba is not language of orixá. It is language of a people, culture of a people who are in millions today. It is a language that is studied up to the PhD or post-doctorate level in universities.**"

6.5.2 Afolabi

Afolabi is also a native speaker of Yoruba from southwestern Nigeria. He was introduced to English when he began primary school as a child. Afolabi came to Brazil to begin post-graduate studies in Economics and Business Administration and has been in the country for five years. He has worked primarily in the fields of banking and economics, but became interested in promoting African culture in Salvador through the teaching of Yoruba language and culture after receiving multiple invitations to give talks relating to Africa or Yoruba. He now works primarily as a language instructor and has two years of Yoruba teaching experience at two of the learning institutions in Salvador.

The importance of the Yoruba language for Afolabi stems from that fact that he identifies with it, i.e., he expressly has personal connections to Yoruba. His goal in teaching Yoruba is to promote African culture to his students and to Brazilians in Salvador, at large. Afolabi also aims to change popular (mis)conceptions about the category of *Yoruba* and, in particular, the hegemonic interpretation of Yoruba as something religious and thus, through Christian ideological lenses, often as pejorative:

> **When you talk about Yoruba, they [most Brazilians] think you're Candomblé. "These people, this religion Candomblé" […] You're Candomblé, they are afraid of you. So, I try to orate that: "No! There's difference between the language and the culture and the religion. Three different things. If you want to speak the language, it's different. It's like you're speaking Portuguese. Go to anywhere, you communicate with people in Yoruba language. It doesn't have anything to do with the religion or the culture. When you talk about the religion, when you talk about the orixás, then you're going deep into the religion.**

In addition to aiming to address the conflation of the religious, linguistic and cultural meaning associations of the category of *Yoruba* through his teaching, Afolabi discusses the role/charge that comes with being perceived as an authority or expert on Yorubaness and Africanity in Salvador by birthplace or birthright:

> **Once they see you are an African man, because they believe they are practicing a African religion […] They want to ask the question, "Am I right? Am I wrong?" Or things like that, so, once we go there— "And okay this is what we have," we want to teach them things. We want to do, "oh, have it, we are here for you." You understand? So, that's why they embrace or welcome all these ideas.**

According to his narrative, Afolabi's birthplace and resultant perception as "African" are appraised in the Salvador landscape as cultural capital and indicators of expertise, thereby giving him "the power to impose the legitimate mode of thought and expression […] in the field of the production of symbolic goods" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 170). That is, by virtue of his perceived "relative proximity to […] the legitimate culture" (Weininger, 2005, p. 99), Afolabi is apparently seen as an authority on Yoruba and Africanity and on what is "right" and what is "wrong" for the practitioners of African-matrix religions who seek out his counsel. He thus explains that his perceived expertise and instructor role are afforded by his background: "**Because they believe I'm an African man— Yoruba man. I'm from the roots. You understand? So they think, 'Ah, this is the real man.**'"

Afolabi sees himself and is apparently seen by potential students and other Brazilians, who seek him out for his knowledge, as a pseudo griot-historian and cultural intermediary who

facilitates the language-based, transatlantic and temporal border crossings of Soteropolitanos and Brazilians to the language, religion and land of their purported "roots" and to the glorious past of their (orixá) ancestors. What we hear is that his ability to serve as a cultural broker and producer of knowledge derives not so much from his professional training and education as from his birthplace (on the African continent) and, thus, his (perceived) authenticity or "relative proximity to […] the legitimate culture" in comparison, for example, to persons in the diaspora (Weininger, 2005, p. 99). Afolabi's teaching goal, as he explains it, is to promote African and Yoruba culture in Salvador. And given the pervasiveness of restructured or what he calls "modernized" Yoruba cultural and linguistic forms in the local landscape, Afolabi also hopes to show Brazilians in Salvador both the (purported) origins and the original forms of the African and Yoruba linguistic and cultural elements present in their everyday lives. In this way, Ayo's statements suggest how expressed connections to the Yoruba language have implications for instructor teaching perspectives and objectives, which trickle down to their conceptualizations of Yoruba teaching qualification and expertise and, in turn, shape the form and structure of Yoruba linguistic practices in the local landscape. His discussion also resonates with and elaborates the notion of language ideologies as (initially) anchored, layered or recursive, and dialogic (Blommaert, 2005, 2015; Eckert, 2008; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Silverstein, 2003). Namely, based upon his perceived connections to Yoruba cultural and linguistic practices, Ayo espouses Africanist, Nigerianist and nativist teaching objectives and notions of Yoruba expertise. And as a result of these ideological groundings, Ayo aims to supplant, through his teaching, restructured or "homegrown" Yoruba linguistic elements in Salvador with forms modeled on an L1, Nigerian Yoruba variety.

6.5.3 Ayo

Ayo, like the instructors described thus far, is originally from southwestern Nigeria. He is an L1 speaker of Yoruba who learned English in school and has a limited knowledge of Portuguese, as he self-assessed. He studied history and administration at the post-graduate level in Nigeria and taught history for thirteen years before becoming a cultural officer for the federal government. Ayo's job then assigned him to Brazil one and half years prior to the research. He, therefore, is a cultural broker in the figurative and political senses. Ayo has been working as a cultural officer in Salvador ever since being assigned to Brazil and has taught Yoruba at one of the local Yoruba language learning institutions for one year.

Ayo believes that "**the world is turning into a global village**." Here therefore explains that globalization will require Brazilians to be multi-lingual in order to avoid being isolated, which, he believes, incentivizes the study of Yoruba. Ayo has an implicit and practical approach to teaching Yoruba that reflects his understanding of learner interests and objectives:

> **Even if you're teaching it you don't have to teach the grammatical aspect because it's not a necessity. They want to converse in Yoruba. They want to have information about the culture of the Yoruba. They want to be able to practice it. You understand? That is what they're after. But when you are going to the grammar of Yoruba, then you are going to the nitty gritty of the language […] That's like I'm learning Portuguese, so— and you're telling me all this *subjetivo* and all those things. I'm not interested! I don't want to be a professor of Portuguese! I want language I can speak and speak it correctly and write it correctly. Simple.**

Ayo's perception of learner goals has implications for the form that Yoruba language teaching will take but also for notions of expertise in Salvador. Namely, it undermines the importance of certain sets of skills (e.g., grammar teaching) and, in turn, certain would-be experts while valorizing knowledge sets that position him to function as an expert and language instructor, e.g., cultural content knowledge. Furthermore, Ayo enacts his expertise by privileging certain

transmitters or conductors of Yoruba knowledge. Specifically, Ayo is invested in the teaching of Yoruba by Nigerians, which may in part reflect his role as a cultural officer: **"We want to sustain the teaching of Yoruba in the Nigerian cultural center [name changed to protect confidentiality] So if it is done somewhere else, it would look absurd. We have the culture, the language […] And my government recognize the need for the language to be taught here.**" Aside from his official or professional connections to and interest in the promotion of the Yoruba language (and, moreover, by Nigerians), Ayo also has a personal investment. He speaks of Yoruba as if it were an entity with a definable owner or guardian. That is, he espouses a Herderian philosophy of language, which explicitly ties languages to notions of personhood or ownership and sees language as critically important to definitions of a people and, in fact, equitable to an ethnicity (Irvine, 2006). Namely, Ayo believes that Yoruba language is part and parcel of his identification as a member of his cultural group and he implies that members of his community are inherent authorities on the language. When I asked him about the significance of the Yoruba language for him in the domain of teaching, he replied: "**If you ask as such, you're asking me the importance of my existence. Yoruba language isn't only a means of communication, it's an identity. I grew up [unintelligible= to meet] the language. So it gives me identity as a Yoruba man.**" Yoruba is of further importance to Ayo due to its history and valorization in Salvador and, thus, the privileges or symbolic power this history affords Ayo as a Yoruba speaker and self-identified Yoruba man: "**It is not the language I am using to work; I have to learn English. Everyday it's English I'm using to learn, to work. Then our Yoruba I will simply— It's a relevant thing because it gave me opportunity to get this job. Or rather I will say, well, by virtue of the fact that I'm a Yoruba man, the [Nigerian] government they posted [me] to Brazil.**" Thus, in addition to his ideologized cultural

connection to the language, Ayo comments on his Yoruba background as a form of cultural capital, in so many words, and discusses the prestige and authority that being and knowing Yoruba afford him in the local context:

> **Being a Yoruba man and the language actually helped me in terms of getting posted […] You are an Igbo man and posted here, and somebody from Candomblé comes, "Can you tell me about Xangô?" He knows nothing about Xangô. So, that is another advantage […] And since I came here, it has enabled me to at least explain so much. Because when they come, they see me as, "Okay, this man has information for us.**"

Even with a professional background in History, notice that Ayo places emphasis on his sociolinguistic and ethno-political backgrounds as professional assets and symbolic resources that permit him to function as a producer of knowledge and cultural broker on both the job market and in the Salvador (language) market as a whole. The value of his Yorubaness, then, rests on its cultural value/identity connection as well as its potential as a symbolic resource to produce (other forms of) capital. It is as Bourdieu (1977) explains: "symbolic capital, which is in the form of the prestige and renown attached to a family and a name"—or in this case, an "authorized language" and culture that have been endorsed and valorized by religious, political, academic and other Soteropolitano institutions—"is readily convertible back into economic capital" (p. 179). It is, therefore, "perhaps the most valuable form of accumulation in a society in which the severity of the climate […] and the limited technical resources […] demand collective labour" (ibid., p. 179).

Ayo's statements also exemplify how the evaluation or stratification of knowledge sets is part and parcel of the enactment of expertise. Specifically, we observe how he casts Yoruba linguistic competence as important in light of globalization and how he (interestedly) construes Nigerian Yorubas as the best or most apropos transmitters of the language given their (ideologized) connections to it by initial sociolinguistic socialization. Furthermore, we see how

he casts other social actors and would-be experts—e.g., "an Igbo man" and non-Nigerian Yorubas, in this case—as less knowing and, therefore, less apt to engage in the Salvador Yoruba market as language and cultural producers and brokers. Notably, this rhetoric also points to, builds upon and reproduces the general, established valorization of Yoruba(-based) linguistic and cultural practices above other articulations of Africanity in the local landscape.

6.5.4 Olufemi

Olufemi is originally from southwestern Nigeria. He is an L1 speaker of Yoruba and learned to read and write in both English and Yoruba during grade school. Olufemi first came to Brazil in the late 1990s to study Portuguese and English language arts at a local university. He has taught both English and Yoruba since graduation and now has twelve years of Yoruba teaching experience at three Yoruba learning institutions in Salvador. Despite his lack of formal pedagogical training, Olufemi utilizes metalinguistic terms in teaching Yoruba and follows a text-based approach to language teaching as a reflection of his academic background in language arts.

Olufemi believes that his students study Yoruba to further cultural, spiritual and professional or academic connections to the language. He explains that they are "**Fascinated to know their background. Some are fascinated and moved […] to study Yoruba because of their passion for the African religion. And some because of the necessity in their courses and university as a researcher.**" As such, he displays an awareness of the Yoruba student community of Salvador and their learning interests. However, Olufemi's own investment in Yoruba teaching stems from his sense of ownership and connection with Yoruba as his language and culture:

> **As a matter of fact, what really motivated me is that— The language, you know, the slaves were transported in this human, you know, situation without nothing, they were ashamed, they were not able to even take anything along. Still, when they came to this strange land, they were able to remember and they gather everything they left behind. So the suffering has not been able— Will not be able to take away their belief. That mean they are very resilient. So when I see there is somebody having interest in my language, my culture…to me— It was a challenge to me when I took it over, though in the beginning, you know, there were challenges […] but all along, you know, my motivation is somebody that wanted to learn my culture. It's you know, nothing can beat it, it's priceless!**

Olufemi is furthermore invested in teaching Yoruba in Salvador because of his desire to impart and preserve (transplanted) African culture in Brazil. He explains,

> **My intention is that, maybe we'll be able to start a program now that the best student will be able to go to Nigeria and improve their language and something like that, you know? It's culture. They are trying to preserve it. They don't want it to die. Neither I. So I believe that the way— The only way that I can contribute to African culture and particularly Yoruba culture is to give the best out of me to them. That's what I'm trying to do.**

For learners, then, Olufemi serves as a cultural broker and vehicle for the transmission and retention of African cultural and linguistic elements as well as transnational exchanges. And as a native speaker of Yoruba, Olufemi believes that he has a certain advantage and authority in teaching Yoruba:

> **You know I was schooled, cultured in Yoruba and as an insider […] You know the culture, when we don't have culture, we are…we are dead. The culture, you know, is just like a SIM card. It's just like DNA. Someone without culture, without the tradition is [inaudible=gone] […] It's different when you acquire and it's different when you are born into it. I was born into it. My father was the king of a small town, so I grew up [inaudible=knowing what is it]. […] So I think I can give the little that I know for others to develop.**

Much like his expressed connections to Yoruba and investment in teaching, Olufemi's ideas of expertise in Yoruba teaching are grounded in Romantic ideas of languages and cultures as the essences of a people—so much so that he likens culture to DNA. He not only sees his knowledge as a birthright but as a qualification that gives him a "leg up" on L2 speakers of Yoruba who

were not “born into it.” In this, way he is like other L1 Yoruba instructors in Salvador whose ideas and assessments of Yoruba teaching abilities and expertise are informed by the language-ideological schema of the *native speaker concept*. Specifically, they enact their expert identities by privileging L1 competencies and connections to the Yoruba language and culture and by foregrounding their own native and essentialized connections to said practices. Yet, an interesting note is that even as Olufemi identifies Yoruba linguistic and cultural practices as his own due to his sociolinguistic background, which espouses a romantic, Herderian notion of languages as essentially tied to notions of peoplehood—in this case, Yorubaness—he appears to be one of the few L1 Yoruba instructors who also sees Yoruba practices as part of the (preserved and/or reconstructed) cultural heritage of Brazilian learners.

The next four instructors I profile are L2 Yoruba speakers who were born in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, and who learned the Yoruba language long after initial association and/or as adults. And yet, because of the ubiquity of Yoruba practices in Salvador as well as the instructors’ practice of Yoruba-based cosmologies, they admittedly encountered Yoruba linguistic and cultural forms prior to formally studying the language. As you read this series of instructor profiles, notice the stated values and language-ideological narratives about Yoruba language and linguistic practices, i.e., the reported instructor connections to the language and their teaching objectives; notice how their ideological groundings inform their narratives and evaluations of Yoruba teaching and, more than anything, their conceptualizations of Yoruba expertise; and notice how they compare and diverge amongst each other as well as from those of their L1 Yoruba instructor counterparts in terms of notions of expertise. Finally, consider how these models of language and social relationships aim to shape and refashion Yoruba language and linguistic practices in Salvador accordingly.

6.5.5 Ângelo

Ângelo is a native speaker of Portuguese from northeastern Brazil. He completed his education through the secondary school level and began studying Yoruba as an adult in part because of the racio-political significance that the language holds for him: "**I was always a part of the Black movement, militancy movement, politics, rights, Black [politics]. And that aroused in me the interest as much in the general [Yoruba] culture as in the Yoruba language.**" Much like the learners in this research and in line with some of the more established sociosemiotic linkages construing Yoruba practices in Salvador at large (see, e.g., Chapter 3), the significance of Yoruba language for Ângelo is its ideologized connection to his culture and to socio-racial phenomena as well as to the Candomblé religion. In other words, his investment in the language seems to build, at least in part, upon its linkage with local Afro-Brazilian phenomena:

> **That phase there with the Black movement made me wake up in order to deepen my knowledge of my culture and also the Yoruba language. Also the religious aspect: I practice Candomblé. I am an ogan. I take my charge to sing in the Candomblé celebrations seriously, and that was also a motivator for me to go deeper and understand what it is that I'm singing and understand the ritual part.**

Ângelo took several semesters of Yoruba courses and a directed study class taught by native Yoruba speakers from Nigeria. He has also pursued independent language study and has a self-assessed intermediate proficiency in Yoruba. He now studies Yoruba as an autodidact while working as a musician and art educator. He has been offering Yoruba classes for five years.

Ângelo's goal for his students is that they, "**leave with a minimal knowledge of the language that enables [them] to maintain a basic conversation, knowing how to say their name, good morning, good afternoon, good evening— Just a basic communication level.**" For students with spiritual connections to Yoruba, he has additional, specific aims: "**since we also work with a group that is from the Candomblé religion— that they can minimally be**

able to understand, contextualize some prayers, songs." Therefore, Ângelo utilizes, what he called, "**a methodology based on music**," involving Yoruba secular and religious music as well as vocabulary and grammar exercises motivated by his teaching objectives. Ângelo's narrative seems to make little to no claims of expertise by virtue of his own birthright. He even displayed a sense of humility in discussing his training in the Yoruba language and his intermediate level of proficiency, but explained that he was still actively studying the language and confidently volunteered that he had previously studied Yoruba under the direction of a Nigerian professor who was, no less, from Ife—the ancient, holy city renowned by Yoruba legend as the cradle of civilization and where the deified ancestors, Oduduwa and Obatala, began the creation of the world and made the first Yoruba people. Different from the previously described natal claims to Yoruba teaching qualification, Ângelo's teaching authority may rest dually on the *native speaker concept* and expertise of his former L1 Yoruba language instructors as well as his own knowledge of local Afro-Brazilian practices, i.e., his skillset stemming from his professional title as musician and art educator as well as his authority and sacred charge as a junior religious authority and ogan drummer for Candomblé ceremonies, which he admittedly draws on in his Yoruba teaching objectives and stated music-based methodology.

Ângelo's statements elucidate how his localist schematization of language and social relationships undergird his encounters with the Yoruba language. Specifically, his language ideologies about Yoruba construe his connectedness to Yoruba language and linguistic practices on the basis of race, culture and religion. That is, they incentivized his study of the language, and they ground his teaching objectives and perspectives as well as his notions of expertise and his ability to function as a Yoruba instructor, all with potential (linguistic) implications for Yoruba language in Salvador. Specifically, we hear of the types of Yoruba knowledge that Ângelo aims

to foster and transmit through teaching in light of his ideological model of language and social relations. He aims to hone basal, practical knowledge of the language or perhaps solely token linguistic pieces as well as cultural content knowledge rather than promote communicative competence. This perspective, in turn, situates him as a potential expert actor and Yoruba instructor in Salvador and has implications for the simplified form and structure that Yoruba language will take through his transmission.

6.5.6 Carlos

Carlos is another native Portuguese speaker from northeastern Brazil. He has been studying Yoruba for over thirty years and has also studied English and "Bantu," possibly Kimbundu, Kikongo or Umbundu, as an adult. Carlos completed schooling through the secondary level and has vocational training as an electrician. He now serves on a council for Afro-Brazilian religions and has twenty-six years of experience teaching Yoruba as a teaching assistant and lead teacher at several cultural, religious and academic institutions throughout Salvador.

Carlos became invested in the study of Yoruba because of his participation in the religion of Candomblé Nagô-Ketu and due to his belief, like many learners in this research, that a modicum competence in the Yoruba language was important for him and for other Candomblecistas for the purposes of religious practice, orixá worship and spiritual growth, in general. But Carlos also explains how Yoruba learning and what he termed a "growing proximity to the language" have been instrumental in the recovery of lost history and knowledge within the Candomblé community.

> **So with this growing proximity to the language, it became easier to understand the meanings of certain phrases spoken in Candomblé in the songs. There were also scholars, you understand, that were also bringing the dictionary. Also, the Africans**

> **coming here also gave some explanations—not in much detail, but they gave explanations: "this is it, this is it, this is it." And this grew within the concept of the school. So today, through the concept of the school […] I've picked up a lot in classes, but we haven't figured out a way to create a course so that the Candomblé community can get this thing and overcome this recovery of the past to transform it into something stronger, into some form of knowledge. Because the strongest thing is knowledge.**

In his narrative, Carlos discusses the recovery of lost history and knowledge within the Candomblé community through Yoruba language courses. He explains how scholars and "Africans" have historically served the religious community as importers of knowledge and cultural brokers, aiding religious practitioners in the reclamation of sacred knowledge and the return to the language of the orixá ancestors. Carlos, in other words, values Yoruba linguistic practices for what I have previously discussed as *reAfricanization*, i.e., the language-based cultivation of an African ancestral heritage in light of the disintegration of family units, communities and ancestral knowledge/practices as a result of the slave trade and Brazilian colonial experience (see Section 2.1.3.2). Carlos specifically refers to the relexicalization processes that accompanied *reAfricanization* in Afro-Brazilian religions—i.e., the replacement of Portuguese religious terms for equivalent words in the Yoruba language—facilitated by the network of "Africans," scholars and other arbiters mediating on behalf of the Candomblé community:

> **So this [Yoruba] knowledge stayed on the periphery, it did not enter into the heart of Candomblé, you understand? Someone who has a title of priest in that time was called "mother-of-saint." So someone who took this [term] and went— associated with some— […] among Africans, and then went to acquire knowledge that many— *iya*…like "mother"… like we say "mother"— It's "priest." "Priestess" is the best way to say this. What we also wanted to say is, "mother-of-the-saint," because this word "mother-of-saint" was distorted.**

In this excerpt, Carlos alludes to how religious titles, such as *mãe-de-santo* [mother-of-the-saint], that were at one time in Portuguese—and in his view "distorted"—became substituted or

relexicalized with their Yoruba equivalents, such as *ialorixá*, through contacts with "Africans" or native Yoruba speakers who brought Yoruba linguistic knowledge to the community. Ideas about the "distortedness" of Portuguese-based religious titles and terms in the ritual language are one example of how beliefs and perceptions about language mediate or trigger language change. Specifically, the processes Carlos describes as occurring to the ritual language as a result of linguistic ideologies of corruption (filtered through religious lenses and experiences) mirror what is discussed as *language purism* or *lexical purification* in the language planning literature—that is, the intentional replacement of certain lexemes, such as the removal of "foreign terminology" or loanwords, in a language's vocabulary often as part of modernization and other nation-making processes (e.g., Cobarrubias, 2012; Cooper, 1989; El-Mouloudi, 1986; Kia, 1998; Ferguson, 2006; Jernudd & Shapiro, 1989; Landau, 2011; Nahir, 1984; Triano-Lopez, 2005). In particular, it resembles the lexical purification of Mauritian Bhojpuri as part of the language-based forging and cultivation of diasporic and ancestral ties among Hindus in Mauritius (Eisenlohr, 2006). Specifically, Eisenlohr describes the construction of a Mauritian Bhojpuri broadcast register, which involved attempts to purge the Mauritian Bhojpuri variety of Urdu (Perso-Arabic) and Creole lexemes and to alternatively use Sanskritized Bhojpuri or Standard Hindi due to concerns for the ancestral and linguistic purity of the variety. However, given the varied and complex origins of the Yoruba liturgical register of Candomblé Nagô-Ketu, much like the case of the heterogeneous code described by Eisenlohr, the idea of lexical purification and reYorubanization becomes particularly interesting and complicated, namely because it is uncertain as to how "Yoruba" or "Yorubanized" the ritual Candomblé language was to begin with. The signs displayed in Figure 15 illustrate how purist language ideologies and, in turn, the (re)insertion and augmentation of Yorubanisms and Yoruba linguistic practices within the Afro-Brazilian religious

domain are materializing in one Candomblé Nagô-Ketu terreiro in Salvador. They also demonstrate how linguistic forms and structures—in this case, word choice and the use of Yoruba words on these terreiro plaques—can tacitly entextualize language ideologies, e.g., notions about (religious) heritage and related ideas (or moral evaluations) about linguistic purity (see also Section 7.3.1.2).

Figure 15. Language ideologies materialized: Bilingual Portuguese/Yoruba terreiro signs[44]

Given these beliefs (i.e., linguistic ideologies of corruption and distortion), it is not hard to understand (the grounding of) Carlos' investment in Yoruba teaching. Carlos' aim through teaching Yoruba is to prevent a lack of knowledge among Candomblecistas and the disappearance of the Candomblé faith. He expressly sees himself as involved in a revival or *resgate*—perhaps in both the religious and linguistic senses of the term. Thus, his teaching is aimed at the preservation of cultural knowledge especially for orixá worshippers and practitioners of Candomblé. He says:

> **I want for my students to continue to take advantage of what […] has almost been thrown away. Because if we do not do it now, we will lose our— Our religion will disappear […] Because in Brazil, it is much worse than in Bahia, the lack of**

[44] **Figure 15. Language ideologies materialized: Bilingual Portuguese/Yoruba terreiro signs.** Plaques labeled "dining room" and "kitchen," respectively, at a Salvador terreiro as part of efforts to reYorubanize the language of the religious domain.

> **knowledge, you understand, because of this thing of people who are in Candomblé, they do not have the means for us to force this learning unto them. Why? Because they think that Evangelism is less work.**

Carlos explains here that he is invested in the promotion of Yoruba knowledge and learning especially amidst the cosmological transition and explosion of Evangelism that are occurring in Brazil, no less to the detriment of nondominant, African-based religious practices and their practitioners as well as to the social practices, such as Yoruba language and linguistic forms, that have become (semiotically) associated with them.

Carlos goes on to discuss how a break in the transmission of Yoruba linguistic and cultural knowledge precipitated attrition of the language and affiliated cultural practices. And he discusses his function as a producer and arbiter of such knowledge sets in light of this rupture:

> **Because look: the elders, many of them knew, they had the opportunity to learn the Yoruba language. All they practiced and what they received immediately in that circumstance of slavery. Do you understand? So, since then, they ceased because there was no transmission of this culture, there had been no effort to elucidate the language, and all that. So today we have this job of bringing them all this information, to show them that there's still time to learn something, truly because they remember what they heard in the past from their grandparents, great-grandparents, great-great-grandparents who spoke it, they spoke it but they did not understand what it was. They were outside of the knowledge [inaudible] Words are spoken but are not understood. Now that we are understanding it, we are bringing amidst these differences in tonality. We are seeing that the [Yoruba] words were being used, they just were not being understood because of the lack of knowledge of the language. So today we can understand it, if you say something today, if he a fellow instructor] says something to me, I know what he is saying.**

An interesting note about Carlos is that while his *resgate* (recovery) or cultivation of Yoruba-based practices has relied, in part, on transmission of the Yoruba language by way of L1 speakers from Yorubaland, he does not valorize natal competencies or connections to Yoruba nor does he espouse natalist conceptualizations of expertise. Rather, his teaching objectives aim to preserve the Candomblé religion and transmit as well as promote sacred knowledge through language teaching. Accordingly, Carlos' approach to teaching Yoruba focuses on the religious

aspects of the language. And with these ideological groundings, Carlos frames his understandings of valorized Yoruba knowledge or cultural capital, expertise and thereby teaching aptitude in terms of cosmology and spiritual rather than sociolinguistic background (i.e., *localist* expertise conceptualizations) in much of the way that other members of the cohort of L2 Yoruba speaking instructors do:

> **The Africans, they do not bring us the necessary subject matter. In fact, I've got to say this: "You come here but give us nothing, you try to trick us. You do not give us the things we need" [...] And another thing they have is this thing of denying knowledge, about one thing or the other, because today the majority is Muslim. They have nothing to do with this Yoruba religion, you understand? All you see is majority Muslim. Only a few who come here are exempt, in that sense, who still inherited [Yoruba religions] from his father, grandparents, great-grandparents. Who inherited [it] while still a child, outside of the city. When he came to the city, he no longer uses the religiosity that they learned there in small states, in the villages […] Only a tiny group—very small—is still devoted to wanting to keep it alive, which is what? Knowledge, and what is this knowledge? It is believing wholeheartedly, without this there is no religion.**

Carlos reminds us of the discrepancy in conceptualizations or evaluations of knowledge (cultural capital) and expertise among the instructor community of Salvador. He reflects, in particular, the branch of instructors who believe in knowledge and expertise as products of religious initiation rather than sociolinguistic socialization, as produced through familiarity with local, Afro-Brazilian practices rather than exogenous forms of Yoruba knowledge, and as theological/spiritual inheritances rather than birthrights.

His narrative reflects his methodological/pedagogical dedication to the religious aspects of the Yoruba language and a departure from the teaching approaches of native speaker instructors from Nigeria, especially in light of theological differences. It stands in direct contrast with L1 Yoruba instructors in Salvador, like Adebisi and Afolabi, in terms of religious background and, more importantly for our present discussion, in terms of the types of Yoruba knowledge and learning they aim to promote in teaching the language (i.e., two more secular,

one more religiously grounded). Also imbedded in this rhetoric is an appraisal of the different types of Yoruba knowledge and, in turn, an evaluation of the fitness of different would-be experts to produce and transmit Yoruba knowledge. Namely, Carlos privileges local, Afro-Brazilian, cosmologically grounded Yoruba competencies above other skillsets. In this way, his statements demonstrate how *evaluations* are part and parcel of enactments of Yoruba expertise (Carr, 2010) as well as how fields of practice, like the Yoruba language teaching community of Salvador, are inherently sites of struggle where social actors compete over the symbolic power (e.g., prestige, authority/expertise, status) to redefine and redistribute resources and, thereby, renegotiate their social positions: "the struggle for the power to impose the legitimate mode of thought and expression […] is unceasingly waged in the field of the production of symbolic goods" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 170).

6.5.7 Jorge

Jorge is another L1 speaker of Portuguese from northeastern Brazil. He began studying Yoruba when he was initiated into Candomblé as a teen. He also studied English and Spanish as an adult as well as Fon and Kikongo because of the use of the languages in the music of the Afro-Brazilian religious sector. Jorge has been studying Yoruba both independently and under the direction of Nigerian instructors for nearly thirty years, which included participating in a language exchange program in Nigeria and offering Brazilian Portuguese and culture classes in exchange for learning Yoruba abroad. Today, he is a physical geographer by profession and is currently pursuing post-graduate studies in human geography and Afro-Brazilian studies while lecturing on these topics.

Jorge sees his connection to the Yoruba language as part and parcel of his spirituality as a Candomblecista and his religious charge as a spiritual leader and head musician (or *alagbê*) at his terreiro. Because of his charge, Jorge wants an understanding and competence in the Yoruba language in order to decode and meaningfully use the Yoruba-based expressions employed in Candomblé rituals rather than simply remembering and repeating this finite set of sounds and phrases of the ritual language in a "parrot-like" capacity without understanding them. This goal drove him to study the Yoruba language and to encourage it among other orixá devotees. But, as you will read, it also informs his teaching perspectives and objectives and evaluations of Yoruba expertise:

> **In my case especially, being an alagbê, I am a singer, a musician, I have to know […] because otherwise I will not know how to worship, we learn by practicing, but then you have to know what it means. You know how you hear something [and repeat it] like a parrot? Like, if I were singing a song to you, you would not understand the meaning, but after you go study, you would know.**

Jorge identifies as Yoruba and sees Yoruba as, what he termed, a "cultural inheritance" and as integral to his cultural and spiritual identifications: "**For example, I consider myself a Yoruba. Because I belong to the orixá religion that is Yoruba. I practice the Yoruba culture, right? So all of us here [at the terreiro] consider ourselves Yoruba, not by birth, okay, but by religion.**" Jorge apparently has a theological or spiritual interpretation of what it means to be Yoruba that contrasts with previously discussed notions of Yorubaness as a birthright and product of primary socialization rather than religious initiation. He, thus, demonstrates the idea that there are multiple and often competing interpretations of *nationhood* and *Yorubaness* in Salvador: ones that implicate ethno-political categories and modern, politico-economic entities like nation-states and others that implicate theological nations and other notions of personhood.

Jorge justifies his study of Yoruba as a Candomblé practitioner by using the importance of classical Arabic for Muslims as an analogy: "**Because for the Muslim, the language is Arabic [...] Inevitably the Muslim has to know Arabic.**" Based on this religious line of reasoning, Jorge encourages at least a basal level of Yoruba competence for Candomblé religious practice, and this religious basis also has understandable implications for his notions of expertise, for his evaluations of types of Yoruba knowledge and furthermore likely has linguistic consequences for what is identified/understood and taught as "Yoruba language" in his classes and potentially in Salvador as a whole:

> **Because I personally go to them, when we have a class here, when there's a class on chanting, I say, "Look." Because we have to sing, but we have to know what we are singing [...] and in order for you to know what you are singing, inevitably you have to learn Yoruba. At least the basic concepts you have to learn, because it's to know the meaning of one word or another, you know?**

Jorge's teaching approach derives from his belief in the importance of having at least a modicum of linguistic competence for religious practice. He thus uses a methodology that while drawing on deductive and grammar-based methods in introducing and developing written skills before other language abilities, focuses primarily on the religious aspects of the Yoruba language and targets students with religious or spiritual goals/interests for language study. His curriculum encourages conversation skills and concentrates on culture, which includes religious aspects, rites and rituals and other customs of Yoruba culture. His teaching objectives and pedagogical foci, then, diverge tremendously from his instructor counterparts (e.g., many L1 Yoruba instructors) who actually aim to dearticulate Yoruba language and linguistic practices or the Yoruba concept-symbolic from social meanings involving Yoruba cosmologies and orixá worship or to at least challenge these privileged meaning associations/connotations (see, e.g., Adebisi and Afolabi). In describing his own experience as a language learner, Jorge contrasts the

reportedly learner-oriented content of courses like his own to the instructional approaches of teachers, such as L1 Yoruba speakers from Nigeria, and in so doing provides insight into his understandings of Yoruba teaching qualification:

> **I was only interested in those that had— that were courses [inaudible=offered] by the university, which I found more organized, you know? Because sometimes a Nigerian comes, offers a private course, to give in the terreiro, something like that, but it's not the same, you know? It's not the same, he will teach more simplified concepts. He will get— He will focus more on the grammar, right? And our goal, is like I say: Yoruba for us here, it has to be Yoruba directed at religion. Otherwise it makes no sense.**

One thing we consistently notice about Jorge is that he conceptualizes or ideologizes Yoruba language and linguistic practices in terms of religious heritage. As such, Jorge's understanding of expertise does not draw on the *native speaker concept* by automatically privileging L1 Yoruba speakers as producers of knowledge based on the belief in an exhaustive and innate competence in the language. Nor does it treat Nigerianness as a privileged position or the "legitimate form" of cultural capital and, thus, as an inherent guardian/keeper of Yoruba knowledge. Rather his notions of teaching ability relate less to sociolinguistic socialization and more to religious initiation. He explains,

> **It's fine that you have— I know the grammar part, I do know— The part about verbs, conjunctions, and everything, I know, okay? But our main goal is the religious part. Because there are many religious things that are not in the grammar: there are certain codes, for example, *orucó*. There are *orucó* that even if you are Nigerian, you do not know because you do not know the origin of it, how it began. He will know, like, single words, but what does that word mean? He knows about words, but within the religion, he does not know.**

Jorge's narrative challenges the expertise and teaching abilities of native speakers by highlighting the potential limits of their knowledge as sociolinguistically but not religiously/cosmologically Yoruba. He highlights as an example their limited to null understanding of the Candomblé Ketu rite, wherein initiates are given a baptismal name (or

orucó) and new identity by the orixá, as well as their lack of other forms of sacred knowledge pertinent to Yoruba cosmologies. Jorge seems to understand Yoruba knowledge as a theological or spiritual rather than natal right and perhaps, accordingly, privileges his own authority as an *alagbê* or lead drummer and religious officer in the Candomblé house and ceremonies as indicators of his Yoruba expertise. In this way, Jorge's discourse exemplifies how enactments of expertise necessarily entail the valorization of knowledge sets and certain producers of knowledge as well as the denigration or subversion of competing forms (Carr, 2010). It also demonstrates the Bourdieuan notion of sites of practice, in this case the field or market of Yoruba language teaching, as inherently sites of struggle, with actors therein engaged in competition with other groups in order to either maintain or challenge the distribution of the types of capital and, accordingly, renegotiate their positions within that structured social order (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991). Specifically, Jorge is attempting to subvert L1 claims to expertise and challenge L1 linguistic competencies as valued knowledge sets or cultural capital in the local language teaching market while promoting *localist* ideological notions of the Yoruba language, *localist* notions of Yoruba expertise and, in turn, locally developed Yoruba linguistic forms and competencies.

6.5.8 Reinaldo

The final Yoruba instructor I will discuss is Reinaldo, another native Portuguese speaker from northeastern Brazil. He studied English language arts at the university level as well as Spanish. Reinaldo began studying the Yoruba language because of his capacity as a language coordinator. But he explained how he gradually came to identify with Yoruba and how his motivation, thereafter, became internalized or intrinsically driven (Deci & Ryan, 1985) after hearing Yoruba

linguistic forms triggered memories of him growing up in a terreiro community surrounded by the (liturgical) language. Reinaldo now works as a massage therapist and a teacher and has taught Yoruba at several cultural institutions in Salvador for a total of four years.

Reinaldo describes himself as an "educational activist" and defines his teaching methodology as "interethnic pedagogy," which apparently hones in on the (ideologized) socio-racial and cultural associations of the language and (reifies) its perceived significance to persons who aim to (re)construct or negotiate their social identities through racialized symbolic resources like Yoruba practices. Reinaldo says,

> **I'm a kind of educational activist here in Salvador, you know, teaching a second language for [the] Black community, you know. The Language Center [name omitted to protect confidentiality] is dedicated to teaching language regarding the idea of the ethnic group that I have taught, you know. So I studied with Manuel Almeida, that was one of the first members of [the] Black movement that started teaching things like inter-ethnical pedagogy, you know.**

In addition to his investment in the Yoruba language for its (ideologized) implications for the Black community, also Reinaldo sees himself as a cultural broker for those students affiliated with Candomblé. His goal is to broaden their knowledge of Yoruba language and linguistic practices beyond the religious context. Accordingly, he describes his teaching objective as:

> **Bringing them a condition to understand better their culture, especially because some people they come from Candomblé religion. In Candomblé religion, they have, we have a very singular phenomenon, you know: It's possible that people, they start singing at 9 o'clock at night, you know, and they keep on singing all night long until 9 o'clock in the morning. Twelve hours singing in Yoruba language and they don't know one word's meaning, you know? If you question: What does that mean? They don't know. They just know they sing to Ogum, Ogum dances. They sing to Xangô, Xangô dances…and other things. And the idea was bringing people the opportunity to understand better, their culture, you know, their ancestors, their ideas, their history, because Xangô, Ogum, they have a history there in Nigeria.**

Reinaldo's narrative alludes to a phenomenon referenced by other instructor participants, such as Jorge and Carlos—i.e., "orixá devotees" or Candomblé practitioners with a capacity to remember

and repeat a finite set of sounds and phrases of the Yoruba-based ritual language without understanding the utterances. Reinaldo's goal in teaching Yoruba, then, is to give meaning to the many concatenated sounds (meaningless words) that learners were already using on a regular basis as part of religious practice; to translate their memorized knowledge of isolated phrases of the language into an actual communicative competence (Hymes, 1966) in Yoruba language, including a cultural competence or cultural content knowledge about orixá ancestors, such as Xangô and Ogum, and the people of Nigeria; and to extend sacred knowledge into comprehensive and broad world knowledge. In this sense, Reinaldo is much like L1 Yoruba instructors, such as Adebisi and Afolabi, who aim to reconstruct or broaden the indexical field and learners' understandings of the category of *Yoruba*. By the same token, this attribute or goal differentiates him from his L2 Yoruba instructor colleagues and their religious or religiocentric schematization of Yoruba linguistic practices.

Currently, Reinaldo explains, religious interpretations of Yoruba are privileged over other social meanings in the local context. Speaking on the subject, he informs me:

> **People…only think that, "Ah!" that any Yoruba word is linked to religion, you know? Even [if] you say *olorum*…some [unintelligible] you say, "Oh, it's not *olorum*. It's god, or Jehovah, other things," but the name *olorum* is "god," you know? It's just the name to say "god." You say "god" in English, you say *dios* in Spanish, you say *olorum* in Yoruba…the same name, you know. But people say *olorum* is not god, it's the name of another— I don't know. But they accept *dios*, they accept *deus*, they accept god, they accept other languages, but when you say *olorum*, people feel that it's strange, you know. So, even Christianist, Black people Christians, they have to know that in Nigeria, forty-one percent of population is linked to Christianity, you know, so they— You have many Yoruba people that are Christian, they are linked to the Christianity, even [if] they pray in Yoruba, they sing in Yoruba. Yoruba is just a language, you know, and here we try to connect the moment with religion, singing some *orixá* song, culture, telling them about the history, you know, and language. Language is very important because Yoruba is a very ancestral language.**

Reinaldo is interested in the reconceptualization of the category of *Yoruba* and, particularly, in de-privileging its articulation (association) with the Candomblé religion and traditional Yoruba

cosmologies. He believes that "**Yoruba is just a language**," which again resembles the thinking of colleagues, such as Adebisi and Afolabi. His goal in teaching is to redress the privileging of certain social meanings and to connect the category of *Yoruba* to its linguistic significance as well as its cultural and historical meaning associations, not just religious connotations.

According to Reinaldo, the Yoruba concept-symbol is commonly associated with nondominant heterodoxical religious practices, such as Yoruba religions and orixá worship—or just the concept of religion, in general. These common, religiocentric meaning associations, he explains, have ultimately led to pejorative interpretations of the category of *Yoruba* as, e.g., anti-Christian or heretical, and thus to resistance against the practice of the Yoruba language or even Yoruba linguistic borrowings with a long history of use in the Brazilian Portuguese language. Speaking on how certain social meanings are privileged in the local context, at times to the detriment of the status of the Yoruba language, Reinaldo explains:

> **Sometimes people are always linking language and culture to religion, you know? So, for example, we had last year some televangelists, they wanted to change the name *acarajé* to "Jesus' cake." But there is no sense, because *acará* in Yoruba language is just "cake" or "bread" and *ajé* is "business," is "money." So, the idea of the name of *acarajé* is just some cake that it is possible to sell, you know, it's a selling cake, a cake that is possible for you give some— collect some money, just that. So, there is no reason to change the name because Jesus Christ didn't ask anybody to be remembered by *acarajé,* you know? [inaudible] And it was a kind of religious battle to people understand that the name of *acarajé* is just a simple name meaning, "cake," to simplify. So, the idea is exactly bringing people culture, you know, knowledge about their roots.**

In his narrative, Reinaldo alludes to the push for the relexicalization of *acarajé*, a black-eyed pea fritter, led by Evangelists in resistance to Yoruba language and linguistic practices and one of their privileged social meanings, i.e., Yoruba-based cosmologies. Reinaldo, therefore, wants to teach learners about the constellation of social meanings indexed by the category of *Yoruba*; not just religious but also other historical and cultural associations, e.g., socio-racial or ethno-racial

categories, namely Blackness and African heritage. As he explains, "**The problem is that many people they don't know the meaning of the words, they don't know the meaning of the songs, right? So, it's just trying to link them with culture, religion, history of something that they practice.**"

According to this broad language-ideological model of Yoruba practices, Reinaldo's approach to teaching Yoruba reportedly draws heavily on imported teaching materials from L1 speakers in the U.S. and Nigeria that have been adapted to the local Salvador context in order to provide examples of native speech, which he believes is critical for learners' development of the language. The reported use of authentic (i.e., real-word rather than synthesized) L1 teaching materials points to the impact of ideologies of Yoruba language and teaching goals on the shape Yoruba takes in Salvador, in this case, on what is being identified and presented as the Yoruba target language. Yet while privileging L1 Yoruba input, Reinaldo's conceptualization of Yoruba teaching qualification diverges from nativist notions of L1 speakers as a standard or model for language teaching and as innately apt teachers as per the *native speaker concept* and per natalist schematizations of expertise. Specifically, Reinaldo believes that the approach of L1 instructors is much too specialized or advanced for the general language learning goals of the students in the local community:

> **When some people comes from Nigeria as a Yoruba teacher, you know, sometimes— It is through the Bahia university. And they bring some doctors, they bring some important people, you know, but our necessity here is very very basic. Maybe we need to create another kind of methodology, maybe create a kind of way, you now, of teach[ing] Yoruba first for small groups, you know, in a capacitation for them to teach to the people in general, alright? Because when you are a doctor, you know, a PhD in a language, yes, you don't want to teach the alphabet for example, for beginners, or numbers, or…maybe you do not have the time to explain differences between the pronouns and why it is subject, why it is object, why it is possessive, you know, the difference between adjective possessive and possessive pronouns, for example.**

Reinaldo's narrative alludes to the (connected or layered) language-ideological, pedagogical and methodological rifts among members of the Salvador teaching community, especially in terms of their understandings of expertise in Yoruba instruction and teaching ability in the local context. Namely, Reinaldo's understanding of expertise deprivileges what are typically authorized forms of Yoruba teaching qualification—higher levels of educational attainment, competencies as a native speaker, etc. At times he diverges from his L2 Yoruba-speaking colleagues in that his teaching objectives and notions of expertise are not grounded (exclusively) in a religious ideologization or schematization of Yoruba language and linguistic practices and, accordingly, a primary valorization of sacred Yoruba knowledge practices. However, Reinaldo otherwise resembles their thinking in that he privileges locally grounded teaching approaches and competencies (e.g., an understanding of the history of Yoruba in the local context and vis-à-vis the learner population and familiarity with locally formed/crystallized Yoruba practices) as forms of cultural capital and, thus, as constituents of Yoruba teaching expertise.

6.6 DISCUSSION

This chapter focused on the pool of social actors who have been authorized to participate in the classroom Yoruba language learning enterprise of Salvador as instructors and, thus, as producers and brokers of Yoruba linguistic and cultural knowledge on behalf of Yoruba learners. My chief aim was to respond to the research questions, *How is Yoruba language teaching evaluated and valued in Salvador? Which Yoruba knowledge practices and skill sets are valorized and thereby constitute expertise or expert identities?* The discussion elaborated the types of connections to the Yoruba language being fostered in Salvador and, ultimately, within the local language

learning community as being reciprocally shaped by local notions about Yoruba language and linguistic practices in relation to notions of personhood.

This chapter provided a general demographic profile of the eight members of the instructor community in terms of their (1) social backgrounds, (2) academic training, professional histories and Yoruba teaching experience, and (3) language backgrounds and language use. But more importantly to our central thesis on the impact of social context on language form and practice, this research presented individual profiles (constructed from questionnaire and, in large part, interview data) detailing each of the instructors in terms of his language learning history, professional training and (ideologized) connections to the Yoruba language; teaching perspectives or goals; and primarily, his conceptualizations of expertise and teaching qualification. In particular, I approached the concept of *expertise* as an aspect of cultural production in Salvador, exploring how instructors differed in their ideas about what (e.g., which forms of Yoruba competencies and skillsets) constitute expert or specialized knowledge (or *cultural capital*, Bourdieu, 1977, 1991) and how these diverse understandings of expertise differentially implicate them as producers of knowledge and as cultural brokers in the Salvador language market.

The data revealed that members of the teaching community, in their interview statements, drew on a variety of overlapping and essentialized connections to explain their backgrounds and investments in the Yoruba language. These include theological or spiritual ties as part of religious heritage (Carlos and Jorge) and/or, more generally, through practice of an Afro-Brazilian/African-matrix or Yoruba-based religion (Ângelo and Reinaldo); natal or ethnolinguistic heritage and, at times, ethno-political ties through sociolinguistic socialization and nationality (Afolabi, Ayo, Adebisi and Olufemi); and racio-cultural ties through participation

in local Black or Afro-Brazilian cultural practices (Ângelo and Reinaldo). Instructor profiles also attended to the goals and teaching objectives that underpin their vocations. These included aims of de-privileging religiocentric meaning associations of Yoruba language and linguistic practices or the category of *Yoruba*, in general (Adebisi, Afolabi, Reinaldo and Olufemi); fostering and preserving racio-cultural knowledge and connotations (Ângelo and Reinaldo); promoting Yoruba as a world language (Adebisi, Afolabi, Reinaldo and Ayo); and encouraging development of the Yoruba language as part of religious heritage, sacred knowledge and spiritual growth and/or for the preservation, advancement or practice of the Candomblé religion (Ângelo, Carlos, Jorge, Olufemi and Reinaldo). In most cases, we observed that the sociosemiotic linkages being reified or negotiated by instructors were anchored in the very ideologized connections that drove them to study or teach the language in the first place.

Finally, profiles surveyed how social actors in the teaching pool envisioned and, therefore, enacted Yoruba expertise and teaching qualification—examining, in particular, which Yoruba knowledge practices and skill sets were valorized and, thereby, constituted expert identities in Salvador. We found that language-ideological notions of expertise and expert forms of knowledge in Salvador were sometimes grounded in the same, more established language ideologies that undergird many other Yoruba linguistic practices and phenomena in the local language learning community. Interestingly, sometimes they diverged from these ideas. In particular, I identified two main models of Yoruba expertise, which I termed *localist* and *nativist*. Nativist conceptualizations followed the logic of the *native speaker concept*—i.e., privileging first-language speakers as models for language learning (Doerr, 2009), which favors instructors who developed the language as a product of birthright and sociolinguistic socialization in the language. Furthermore, nativist schematizations of Yoruba expertise often drew on or mobilized

ethno-political categories that bear on political, economic, modern-day nation-states to make claims to expertise, e.g., Nigerianness. In that sense, it essentializes L1 and often Nigerian Yoruba speakers as language experts and apt instructors. Localist understandings of teaching qualification and Yoruba expertise, on the other hand, built upon the indexical affiliation of Yoruba linguistic practices with African-matrix cosmologies and other local Afro-Brazilian practices. Building upon this association, it therefore privileges local Yoruba competencies (e.g., in regards to sacred knowledge, knowledge of the local socio-history of Yoruba, often Yoruba varieties that crystallized in Brazil) and, in turn, locally competent/grounded instructors (e.g., religious or cultural leaders) to produce that variety of knowledge. Moreover, localist understandings of teaching qualification often implicated local Afro-Brazilian categories to make claims to expertise, e.g., theological nations (such as the Nagô-Ketu nation of Candomblé) or in local personhoods (e.g., *Nagô*, Blackness). Among other things, we observed how notions and evaluations of expertise and teaching qualification in the Salvador context varied depending on the ideologized connections of the instructor to Yoruba language and linguistic practices, e.g., his sociolinguistic background (e.g., first language as well as ethnolinguistic and national origins), cosmology or religious affiliation, etc. These formulations of expertise in Yoruba teaching and expert knowledge authorized certain persons as producers of knowledge while disqualifying others. They were interested conceptualizations, with these eight instructors tending to benefit from their own notions of what constitutes cultural capital and who is, accordingly, fit to serve as producers of knowledge and cultural brokers in the Salvador Yoruba language market.

Through its discussion of the body of Yoruba instructors in Salvador in terms of their (ideologized) connections to the Yoruba language, teaching perspectives or goals, and

conceptualizations of expertise and teaching qualification, this chapter furthered our understanding of the social and historical dimensions of Yoruba language learning in Salvador—specifically, the (semiotic) connections and language-ideological narratives implicating Yoruba language and linguistic practices or the general category of *Yoruba* and undergirding the Yoruba language learning enterprise of Salvador. In particular and in keeping with the trickledown or ripple effect of language ideologies described in the linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics literatures (e.g., Blommaert, 2005, 2015; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Silverstein, 2003), this study elaborated yet another dimension of language learning shaped by local language ideologies and their reverberations. Moreover and of added import to linguistic studies, this chapter supported the notion that instructor models of language and social relations (language ideologies) have implications for their teaching objectives and methodologies as well as the language varieties, linguistic practices and degrees of Yoruba competence they valorize and will, therefore, aim to teach in their capacities as knowledge producers. As such, these data demonstrate the potential for local language ideologies to shape the fate of Yoruba linguistic practices in Salvador.

In the next and final chapter of this dissertation, I will continue to explore how social context shapes language form and practice. I will look at the institutions that mold local Yoruba linguistic practices to delve further into the matter of how cultural narratives and the (indexical) values they permit not only shape Yoruba language learning—in this case, the institutional settings and what transpires in the classroom—but, moreover, reinterpret what is identified, used and taught as Yoruba language, with ultimate consequences for the linguistic patterns, processes and practice of the language in Brazil.

7.0 INSTITUTIONS THAT SHAPE YORUBA LEARNING IN SALVADOR

This dissertation has been exploring Yoruba language learning motivation and, specifically, how the pervading cultural values and language ideologies that implicate Yoruba language and linguistic practices in notions of *nation*, *heritage* and *race* reciprocally shape each layer of the language learning enterprise—from the distribution of Yoruba learning, to the values and motivations attached to Yoruba learning, through to the (multiple) conceptualizations of Yoruba teaching and expertise. At last, the institutional sites (i.e., physical context) and practices involved in teaching Yoruba will be explored in this last data chapter.

Key to this dissertation is the utilization of sociocultural and language contact approaches to the question of motivation, which attend to the sociohistorical and ideological dimensions of Yoruba language learning. They pay particular attention to the history of Yoruba language and linguistic—and, to a lesser extent, cultural and religious—practices in Brazil as well as the language-ideological narratives that make Yoruba linguistic forms socially meaningful in Salvador in order to clarify the depth of their significance for learners. The field of language teaching research is clear about the impact of context on language learning. Thus far, this dissertation has described the broader locus of Yoruba language study in order to situate language learning in a specific historical and sociocultural context. What this chapter will show is that context is much more than social milieu, involving physical context as well. Thus, according to Stern (1983), the language learning process and ultimately learning outcomes are

determined by three variables: social context, learner characteristics, and learning conditions; however, all variables in language learning, including the educational treatment—i.e., "any deliberate creation of language learning conditions"—are products of the social milieu of that learning (p. 393). Like Stern, Spolsky (1989) also explores the impacts of context on language learning and emphasizes the need to explore language learning within its social or sociolinguistic context. Social context, he writes, "plays a major role in developing in the learner the set of attitudes towards the language being learned, its speakers, and the language learning situation" (p. 131). Moreover, the context determines, "the social provision of language learning situations and opportunities of various kinds" (ibid., p. 131). Similarly, Shaw (1997) states that, "The educational experiences on which we reflect are always gained in particular contexts. These involve the physical and economic surroundings and the social cultural traditions, ideas, beliefs, expectations, and distributions of power, legal frameworks and bureaucratic arrangements within which education has to be carried on, and which influence teaching profoundly" (p. 16).

Shifting gears from a discussion of the broader social context of Yoruba learning in Salvador, this study is aimed at describing the immediate Yoruba language learning context and learning conditions both in terms of the physical spaces as well as the teaching practices observed therein. An exploration of educational treatments in reference to the contextual matrix in which Yoruba language teaching is embedded can help us to better understand the nature of Yoruba learning in Salvador. In particular, it can elucidate the types of institutions (e.g., grassroots versus state-endorsed) operating, their support systems, and the interests and goals of said learning institutions. It can furthermore clarify whether the structural and contextual conditions as well as educational treatments in place in Yoruba language learning institutions of Salvador foster language learning (i.e., cultural understanding as well as linguistic competence)

and the goals of the institutions or learning community. More generally, it elucidates how the ways in which languages are defined and valued (the sociohistorical and ideological dimensions of a language) ultimately shape what happens in the classroom and thus what is consequentially learned or acquired as Yoruba, with implications for language structure and change in Salvador. Accordingly, the first question that guided this study was, *What are the sites and classroom contexts of Yoruba teaching in Salvador?* Specifically:

- What institutions are involved in language teaching and what are their objectives and interests?
- How is the learning environment organized?
- Which instructional practices (tasks, activities and overall methods) are used to teach Yoruba in these contexts and how do they reinforce or deviate from the objectives of the language learning institution or language learning community?

Furthermore, we are interested in understanding: *What do these sites and their institutional practices mean for the ultimate fate of Yoruba linguistic form and practice in Salvador?*

Much of my discussion in this dissertation, so far, has looked at the ideological notions that link Yoruba discursive or linguistic practices to types of personhood and how the potential to do sociolinguistic work with socially meaningful Yoruba linguistic forms and practices undergirds and drives the local study the language. In particular, it is notions of *race*, *heritage* and *nation* that have been historically and ideologically affiliated with Yoruba linguistic, among other, practices in the local context. As discussed earlier, language learning is often part of the discursive, language-based self-making processes of Soteropolitanos. Specifically, local sociosemiotic linkages implicate Yoruba learning in the cultivation of ancestral ties or African

heritage/roots, spiritual citizenship or religious heritage, racial identification (Blackness), Yorubaness, and immersion into Bahian culture (see Chapter 5).

In the current chapter, I will continue to examine how ideologies of Yoruba language and linguistic practices shape Yoruba teaching and learning in Salvador, this time, additionally examining how local cultural schematizations and narratives, which "are never just about language, but rather also concern such fundamental social notions as community, nation, and humanity itself" (Woolard, 2004, p. 58), have implicated particular institutions and certain varieties of Yoruba knowledge in language teaching. Moreover, I will discuss how language teaching in Salvador and the competencies it fosters reflect and are supported by the local social milieu of the language learning enterprise. Finally, in reflection of my analyses of instructional materials and practices, I offer that the teaching strategies utilized in Salvador Yoruba classrooms and the type of L2 development it apparently provides for resembles linguistic incorporation of the type described in the literature on linguistic "crossing," expropriation and borrowing, often with the aim and endpoint of acquiring linguistic forms as stylistic devices and symbolic resources (e.g., Bucholtz, 1999, 2001; Hill, 1998, 2011; Rampton, 1995), more so than language acquisition with a goal of proficiency or communicative competence.

7.1 METHODS

In order to address the research questions of this study, data collection was conducted at the five institutions offering Yoruba at the time of the research. These institutions were identified using the Internet query and snowballing process described in Section 3.2 **[Research Methods]**.

7.1.1 Instruments and procedures

The principal research method for this study involved detailed, ethnographic observations of Yoruba classrooms. Classroom observations took place over the course of seven weeks and involved five instructors who were teaching in Salvador during late summer and early fall 2013. Observations consisted of monitoring routine classroom activities, including instruction, group activities and exercises, as well as independent seatwork (i.e., activities intended to be completed individually by students) in order to better understand the nature of student/teacher interactions, the instructional materials utilized, classroom organization, the instructors' teaching methodologies, and the overall classroom culture. Descriptions of items found in the classrooms and learning centers were also collected. During classroom observations, I assumed the roles of observer and active listener by paying attention and taking detailed notes on all that transpired, including recording direct quotes or utterances of particular interest to the research questions as well as descriptions of the classroom atmosphere and dynamics. Classroom observations were occasionally followed by brief interviews with instructors or students to help clarify observations.

Instructors at the five language learning centers also completed questionnaires adapted from Lei's (2012) *Language and Attitude Survey* regarding their use of teaching materials, as shown below (Figure 16).

Which of the following items do you use in teaching the Yoruba language? Select all that apply.

- ☐ TV programs in Yoruba
- ☐ Newspapers in Yoruba
- ☐ Magazines in Yoruba
- ☐ Videos/films in Yoruba
- ☐ Radio programs in Yoruba
- ☐ Cartoons/books in Yoruba
- ☐ Other. Please specify: _____

Figure 16. Excerpted questionnaire items – Use of teaching materials among Yoruba instructors

This self-report data was intended to complement or verify classroom observation data regarding instructional materials. Questionnaires were individually distributed to instructors, who agreed to participate, for completion at their convenience and by the end of the research period. All questionnaires were returned directly to me.

7.1.2 Analysis

In keeping with the objectives of this research (i.e., to better understand the study of the Yoruba language—how it is defined and valued—in Salvador through an exploration of the sites and classroom contexts of Yoruba teaching), the questionnaire data were subjected to qualitative analyses to identify and describe instructional materials utilized by each teacher in the local Yoruba teaching community. Similarly, I employed content analysis of lecture notes, field notes from observations, teaching materials obtained from the data collection, and notes from follow-up interviews to further identify and describe features of the sites and classroom contexts of Yoruba learning. Analyses of classroom observations focused on describing the classroom environment (i.e., setup or organization) as well as course materials and content vis-à-vis current

language teaching methods for AFL2s or YL2 and stated institutional objectives and interests. Furthermore, analyses of instructional practices identify the ways in which the Yoruba language learning takes on a new form in Salvador classrooms as the incorporation of token linguistic forms and practices rather than comprehensive language acquisition with a goal of communicative competence. From the analyses of these data, I have (1) drawn a profile of each of the institutions of Yoruba learning and (2) constructed an in-depth discussion of the instructional practices used in teaching Yoruba.

The first part of the chapter offers a profile of each institution in terms of its history, sponsorship, and orientations or interests. Next, the profile provides a description of the physical language learning environments, including the organization of the classroom and learners represented. Finally, the profile discusses observable teacher practices as well as instructional resources, activities, and methods used in these classrooms while providing examples from actual lessons. Then, in the second part of this chapter, I offer a more in-depth analysis of teaching practices and methods found in Yoruba classrooms.

7.2 THE INSTITUTIONS AND CLASSROOM CONTEXTS OF YORUBA TEACHING IN SALVADOR

What institutions are involved in language teaching and what are their objectives or interests? At the time of data collection, five (identified) institutions were offering and/or housing Yoruba language courses in the city of Salvador. The Yoruba course levels being offered were Beginner/Elementary and Pre-Intermediate/Intermediate. These institutions were located throughout the greater Salvador area, with three of them situated in the historic city center,

another in a nearby market district, and a final site in the municipal limits of Salvador. As previously stated, they served as the primary research sites for classroom observation, interviewing and the administration of questionnaires. Formalized/classroom Yoruba courses were inactive at several (three identified) Yoruba learning institutions at the time of the research (due to interim breaks, discontinued classes, etc.), including classes offered through a Candomblé terreiro (Inactive site A), a Black cultural development center (Inactive site B), and an Islamic center (Inactive site C). As such, they will only be discussed in brief in this report.

Nevertheless, my position is that Yoruba learning institutions in Salvador are inarguably both products and (reifying) mirrors of the local ecology and sociocultural context. By that, I mean its socio-history (e.g., colonial past and legacies), spiritual or cosmological practices, current demographics, as well as its language-ideological narratives regarding the social significance of Yoruba linguistic and cultural practices in terms of Blackness, Africanity, other ethno-political categories (Nigerianness), and certain cosmologies. When we consider the active as well as inactive institutions of classroom/formalized Yoruba language learning in Salvador, we find that these sites fall into one of the following categories:

- Public institutions of higher learning that have historically aimed, at least in part, to establish exchanges with Nigeria and Africa, in general, and to service the local Afro-Brazilian and religious communities through the teaching of Yoruba. (Site 1)
- Privately owned learning centers aiming to connect the Yoruba language to a constellation of religious/cosmological, racial, cultural, political and other concepts through language instruction. (Site 2)

- Institutions affiliated with or even supported by particular governments in Yorubaland and, in some cases, Brazil as well. They aim, in part, to highlight the relationship of the Yoruba language to the people and nation-states of Yorubaland, promote the Yoruba language and culture in Salvador, and establish transnational exchanges through the teaching of Yoruba. (Sites 3 and 4)
- Religious institutions highlighting, at least in part, the relationship of the Yoruba language to a particular cosmology (i.e., Candomblé Nagô-Ketu, Islam) and the religious aspects of the Yoruba language. (Inactive sites A and C)
- Government-funded institutions and programs aiming to promote (socio-racial, cultural, political and economic) development among members of the Black community through language teaching. (Inactive site B; Site 5)

Again, the following reports document the five Yoruba learning institutions that were active at the time of the data collection. What we will see is that the sites invariably reflect different aspects of the social context for language learning in Salvador, including the common ideological associations of *Yoruba* with notions of *race*, *heritage* and *nation* as well as learner socio-demographics and interests (e.g., the overwhelming identification with African and/or multiple origins and common affiliation with African-based religions among learners; see Chapter 4).

7.2.1 Site 1

The first institution I will discuss is over fifty-years-old and is a research institute that specializes in Afro-Oriental studies and Human Sciences within the Department of Philosophy at the local federal university. It was founded in 1959 to serve as a liaison for the Afro-Brazilian, Asian and African communities and to assist in the formation of transnational exchanges with Africa during the era of decolonization (Alberto, 2008; Capone, 2010; Santos, 2008). This institute first established a Yoruba professorship in 1959 and began offering Yoruba courses, originally intended for members of Salvador's Afro-Brazilian and religious communities, in 1961. Today the research institute offers Japanese, Arabic and Yoruba language courses along with undergraduate and postgraduate courses, conferences and seminars in anthropology, sociology, social sciences, philology, language arts, and history.

There were fifteen students in the Yoruba class I observed at this location, including self-identified intermediate and advanced learners who had been studying Yoruba anywhere from four months to twenty-eight years. Most (i.e., nine of the eleven) students who participated in the research study were self-identified Afro-descendants, including one student who additionally claimed indigenous and European ancestry. There were only two students who did not identify as Afro-descendants; these participants claimed European and indigenous ancestry only. Nine of the eleven participants reported practicing a religion of African origin, specifically, Candomblé. One student reported no religious affiliation, and one selected the "other" option for religious affiliation; she was Esoteric. Participants in this group represented a number of educational levels, industries and occupations as well as language learning interests (or student types). Thus, for example, one participant in this group indicated the importance of the Yoruba language or Yoruba language learning for her studies in musicology as well as her (socio-racial) heritage, and

another learner linked her study of Yoruba to religion as well as her doctoral studies in history. Similarly, most other students at this site linked their study of Yoruba to their religious affiliations and/or spiritual heritage.

7.2.1.1 Classroom environment

How is the learning environment organized? Intermediate-level *Iorubá/Ioruba* classes met once a week on Wednesdays from 6:30 to 8:30 PM. One month of classes cost sixty Brazilian Reais (15 U.S. dollars). Instruction took place in a dimly lit classroom in the upstairs of the research institute. Most students sat in several rows of desks, each arranged in a linear formation. Another row of student desks lined the perimeter of the room. The desk of the instructor was located at the front and center of the room with the blackboard behind it. The instructor alternated between teaching from the desk and lecturing on foot at the chalkboard.

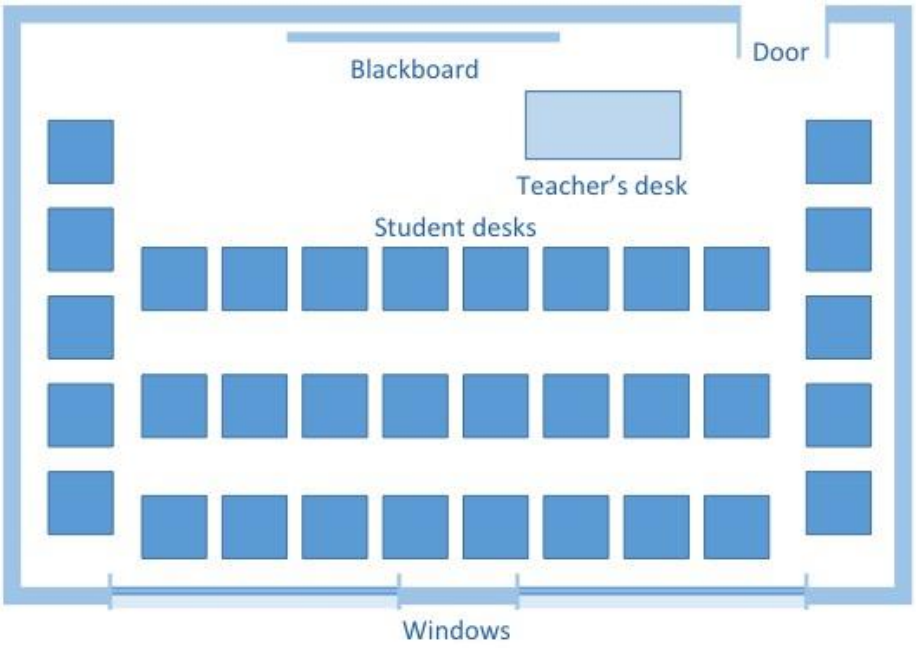

Figure 17. Classroom layout, Site 1

7.2.1.2 Course materials and content

What instructional practices (tasks, activities and overall methods) are used to teach Yoruba in these contexts and *how do they reinforce or deviate from the objectives of the language learning institution or language learning community?* Deductive, text-based practices were used to introduce content at this institution and were complemented by oral and multimedia activities. Classes were typically organized around the teaching of a specific grammar point but also involved a cultural component, such as the discussion of Yoruba culture and language in the context of the Candomblé religion. Afro-Brazilian religious references were also used to provide examples of terms or to demonstrate possible usages as part of the teaching of grammar and vocabulary. The text-based activities utilized as part of this institution's curriculum promoted the development of vocabulary knowledge as well as textual (e.g., reading, writing and translation) more than, e.g., oral competencies. Meanwhile cultural teaching in Portuguese, which highlighted the use of the Yoruba language in both Yorubaland and in the domain of Afro-Brazilian religions, reinforced associations between religion or culture and the Yoruba language.

Activities at this institution were teacher-centered—i.e., they did not aim to maximize student involvement and participation in the learning process (Moshi, 2001). Activities usually included a grammar lesson followed by related dialogs, wordlists, and written exercises, such as comprehension questions and sentence-building exercises selected from a textbook and intended to apply the grammar principle. According to a multiple-selection questionnaire item asking, "*Which of the following items do you use in teaching the Yoruba language?*", this instructor reported additionally using videos and films in Yoruba as teaching materials. This class also incorporated other multimedia activities as authentic, real-life materials (i.e., as opposed to created language teaching materials), such as listening to Yoruba hymns or songs and then

performing line-by-line translations of the lyrics. Song lyrics were also used to highlight new vocabulary as well as possible sentence constructions in Yoruba. Portuguese was primarily the medium of instruction for this class, with some comments made in Yoruba and subsequently translated into the students' first language of Portuguese.

Opportunities for target language production, especially oral, were limited but included reading dialogs, completing comprehension questions and sentence-building exercises. Student participation and oral practice were encouraged, however, not enforced, perhaps given the placement of the instructor at the head of the room, the traditional arrangement of desks, and choice of classroom activities. Table 17 highlights some of the lessons and activities used in this Yoruba course.

Table 17. Example lessons and activities from Site 1

Grammar point	• Introduce **greetings**. Read dialogs applying the grammar point. Complete comprehension questions. Read a passage relating to the dialog. • Introduce **relative pronouns**. Read dialogs applying the grammar point.
Yoruba popular music	• Listen to and translate music by Nigerian Yoruba artists, e.g., "Iya ni wura" (*Mother is gold*) by Dele Ojo. • Listen to and translate music by Nigerian Yoruba artists, e.g., "Ololufe" (*My lover*) by Orlando Julius Ekemode. Highlight song lyrics to give examples of possible conjugations and new vocabulary.
Religious hymns	• Listen to and translate traditional gospel music, e.g., "Omoge" (*Comfort*). • Listen to and translate Afro-Brazilian religious music, e.g., ("Oração à Santa Barbara" (*prayer to Saint Barbara*, the orixá Oya/Yansa).

7.2.2 Site 2

The second site is a privately owned language and cultural learning center that was created in 2006. It began offering Yoruba in 2010 with the aim of helping students to better understand their culture, religion and history (e.g., as Blacks or Afro-descendants/Afro-Brazilians). The center is housed in a two-room condominium and commercial building in the historic center of Salvador and offers courses on Yoruba, English, and Spanish language; African or Afro-Brazilian dance; as well as chants of Candomblé Nagô-Ketu.

Students in this Beginner/Elementary Yoruba class had varying (self-identified) levels of Yoruba competency, but all reported studying Yoruba for two to four months. Many of the students in the class (four out of the seven) were of self-identified African descent. Two of the remaining students claimed both indigenous and European ancestry. One student claimed indigenous ancestry only. When asked, "*Do you practice a religion of African origin?*," all but one student (a Catholic) replied "yes." Specifically, these six affiliates of African-matrix religions reported practicing Candomblé or Umbanda either exclusively or syncretically alongside another religious practice such as Catholicism: Candomblé only (n=4), Candomblé and Catholicism (n=1), Umbanda and Catholicism (n=1). Notably, the student who did not participate in the research was also a Candomblé practitioner and, moreover, a *ialorixá* (or priestess/female spiritual authority who initiates practitioners as well as terreiro leaders). In addition to stated religious and ancestral/heritage connections with the Yoruba language, learners in this group also had career/vocational connections to Yoruba linguistic practices and, thus, simultaneous instrumental motivations for studying Yoruba. Five students reported occupations that, in part, motivated their study of Yoruba. These vocations included musician (n=3), Catholic

clergyman, and city tour guide/cultural hostess (*Baiana*).

7.2.2.1 Classroom environment

There were two *Yorùbá Language & Culture* sections offered at this site, and each met twice a week: one section on Wednesdays and Fridays from 5:00 to 6:30 PM and the other on Thursdays and Saturdays from 6:30 to 8:00 PM. One month of classes cost sixty Brazilian Reais (15 U.S. dollars). This group met in a small classroom with individual desks snuggly arranged to form a horseshoe around the parameters of the room. This group had one instructor and a teaching assistant as well as eight students. The first instructor, adorned in traditional dreadlocks and usually donning traditional West African attire, such as a long robe (or *agbada*), led most classes and was usually positioned at the front of the room at the opening of the horseshoe desk arrangement with the blackboard and teaching resources behind him. The second instructor sat in a desk amongst students. The students tended to take the same seats each class. Directly adjacent to the classroom was the lead teacher's office, boasting Yoruba teaching materials (e.g., language books, handouts) and Afrocentric artwork.

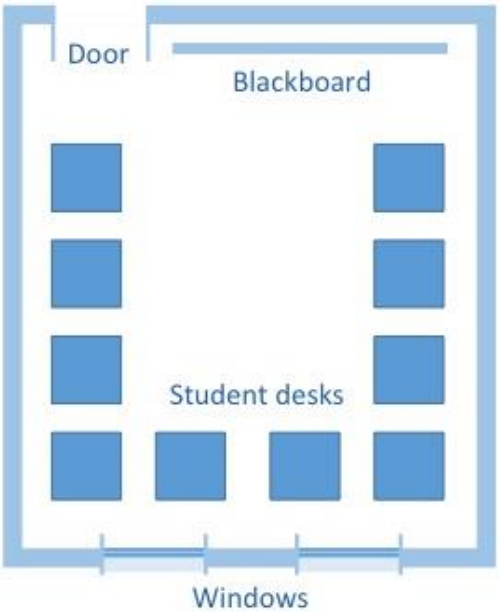

Figure 18. Classroom layout, Site 2

7.2.2.2 Course materials and content

Deductive, text-based practices were used to introduce grammar at this institution and were complemented by oral and multimedia activities using authentic language teaching materials. The choice of class activities utilized at this institution—in tandem with classroom décor and even potentially the instructors' attire—promoted the development of cultural and religious knowledge, albeit in the Portuguese language, and reified associations between the Yoruba language, on one hand, and Afro-Brazilian religions and Afro-descendants or Africanity, on the other.

Language instruction at Site 2 was offered in Portuguese and written materials were usually translated into Portuguese from English before being presented to learners. Target language content most often consisted of multimedia (including audial and visual) activities in Yoruba, e.g., watching videos and listening to music or religious hymns. According to a multiple-selection question asking, "*Which of the following items do you use in teaching the*

Yoruba language?", this instructor used the following teaching materials: TV programs, newspapers, magazines, videos/films, cartoons/books and music in Yoruba.

In addition to the teaching of grammar, this class contained religious and cultural content such as the teaching of chants. The head instructor at times began classes by entering the classroom from his adjacent office and striking an *agogô* (a Yoruba cowbell instrument, often used in Candomblé ceremonies) while singing a chant in Yoruba. Activities were teacher-centered, with the instructors functioning as experts and controlling the learning enterprise (cf. Moshi, 2001), but nevertheless involved a great deal of interaction amongst students in their first language.

7.2.3 Sites 3 and 4

The next two language learning sites were cultural centers and museums that housed a *Yorùbá/Yorubá Language and Culture* course. I describe these two institutions together because they shared a curriculum. One institution was established in 2008 and is operated by the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Tourism, Culture and National Orientation with the goal of promoting Nigerian culture in Salvador. This site offers courses on English, Yoruba language and culture, as well as Africanity and the history of Africa. The second museum and cultural center was founded in 1988 during the centennial of the abolition of Brazilian slavery and is aimed at highlighting and preserving connections between Bahia and Benin in order to convey the history of African peoples. It is supported by a cultural foundation maintained by the municipal government of Salvador as well as the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations and a privately owned, public service, nonprofit foundation. It offers art viewings, Yoruba courses, as well as lodging for exchange students from Benin. Yoruba classes at these two sites were organized,

offered and taught by a grassroots African linguistic and cultural institute with the stated objectives of "teaching language through culture" and "promoting African and Yoruba culture in Salvador."

A total of fifteen students were enrolled in these classes; of these, twelve completed questionnaires for this research. Students in these Beginner-/Elementary-level classes had been studying Yoruba for anywhere between two weeks and thirteen years. These students were primarily self-identified Afro-descendants, including seven students who exclusively claimed African ancestry; two who claimed African, European and Indian ancestry; one who claimed African and European ancestry; and one student who claimed African and Indian ancestry. There was only one student who did not claim African ancestry; this participant instead exclusively reported European ancestry. Eight of these students were Candomblé practitioners, including one student who additionally practiced Umbanda. Two students were Christians (Catholic=1, Protestant=1) and two students identified no religious affiliation. Three of the students were Candomblé spiritual leaders, including a priest (or *babalorixá*) and two priestesses (or *ialorixá*). At least one other student was a Candomblé official or *ogan* (drummer). I also found that, in addition to religious and general ancestral connections, this group of learners had vocational (career and academic) connections to Yoruba and, thus, instrumental motivations for studying the language. For example, these classes contained at least six learners working or researching in areas of social science (i.e., African Studies, Anthropology, History), who expressed the importance of Yoruba for their work and/or studies.

7.2.3.1 Classroom environment

Separate sections for *Yorùbá/Yorubá Language and Culture* were held once a week on Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays from 6:00 until 8:00 PM at these two locations. Classes had a registration fee of twenty Brazilian Reais (5 U.S. dollars) as well as a monthly fee of 200 Brazilian Reais (50 U.S. dollars). These classes were for Beginner-/Elementary-level learners. Tuesday and Saturday sections met in a classroom in the upstairs of the Nigerian institution (see Figure 19). Students at this institution sat in desks placed about the classroom in a traditional arrangement of straight columns facing the front of the classroom. The blackboard and a large desk for the instructor were located at the front of the room. The teacher offered lessons from the desk and occasionally approached the blackboard to write key points from the lesson.

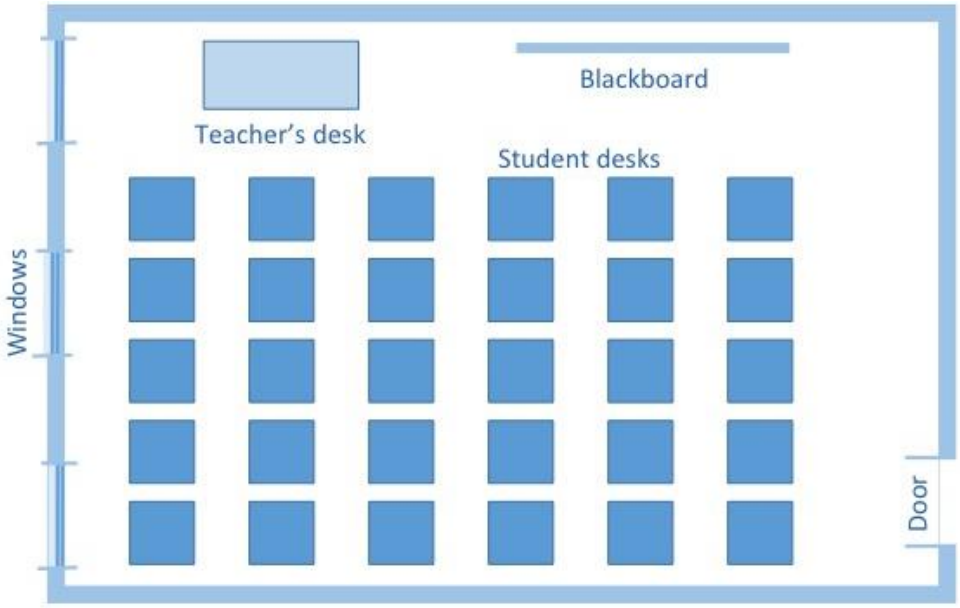

Figure 19. Classroom layout, Site 3

Friday classes were held in an empty gallery space that doubled as a classroom on the third floor of the Benin institution (see Figure 20). Students sat in wooden, collapsible chairs placed in

straight rows facing the front of the room. The teacher taught standing at the front of the classroom or seated in the front row of chairs and used an easel to note key information.

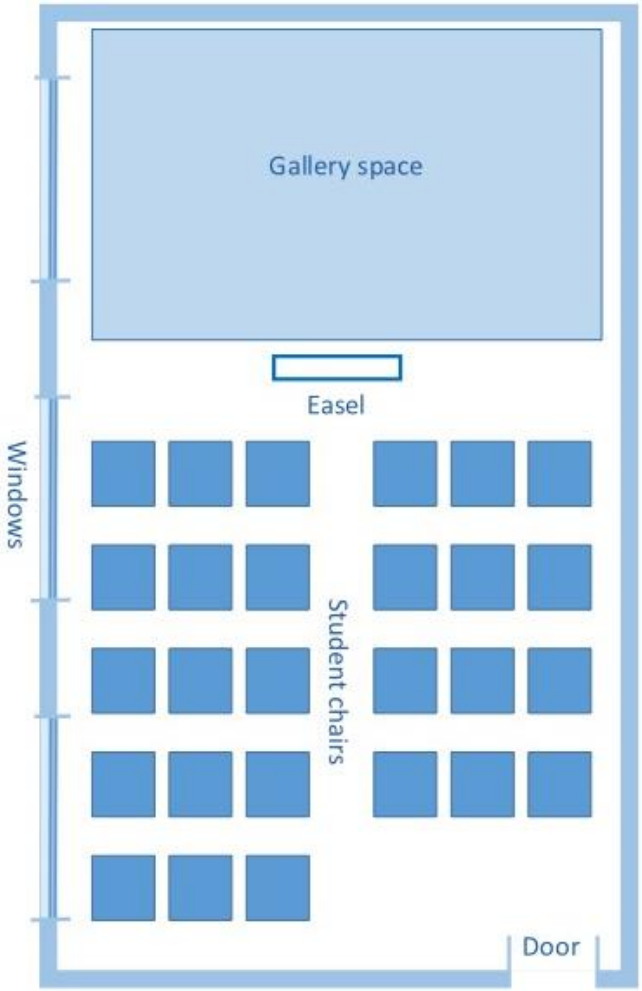

Figure 20. Classroom layout, Site 4

Instructional practices utilized at these institutions supported vocabulary knowledge and possibly literacy development (i.e., sound-symbol recognition). The choice of activities also reinforced associations between the Yoruba language and the culture and history of the people of Yorubaland while giving limited attention to the history or use of Yoruba language and linguistic practices in Brazil.

7.2.3.2 Course materials and content

All content at these institutions was presented in Portuguese. This institution utilized deductive, text-based practices to introduce new information and occasionally speaking exercises (e.g., repetitions of vocabulary lists and phonics drills) to reinforce the content. Class activities usually involved reading lessons in Portuguese from a book or handout aloud as a group with a focus on Yoruba pronunciation, where appropriate. Bilingual wordlists with relevant Yoruba vocabulary were introduced as part of most lessons and because students were formally introduced to the Yoruba alphabet and phonics, pronunciation and the use of standard orthographic conventions were emphasized.

Aside from the explicit teaching of phonics and pronunciation, this group featured little (inductive or deductive) grammar teaching, instead focusing on the teaching of Yoruba culture and history as well as (often decontextualized) vocabulary instruction in the students' first language of Portuguese. There was no observed or reported use of multimedia resources for teaching. According to a multiple-selection question asking, "*Which of the following items do you use in teaching the Yoruba language?*", the instructor for these sections reported using cartoons/books in teaching Yoruba. Classes were largely teacher-guided and yet learner-centered, encouraging student participation and interaction, albeit in their first language, and even occasionally requiring students to lead portions of lessons or otherwise reproduce information. Table 18 highlights some of the lessons and activities used in this Yoruba course.

Table 18. Example lessons and activities from Sites 3 and 4

Phonics instruction	• Introduce the **Yoruba alphabet**, then teach **phonics** and pronunciation. Memorize the alphabet and Yoruba phonemes.
Vocabulary instruction	• Introduce **greetings** and **common expressions**, practice reading pronunciation and practice using expressions. • Introduce **body parts** vocabulary and practice reading pronunciation.
Culture/history instruction	• Teach history of the graphization of Yoruba. • Discuss *ígbeyàwó* (traditional Yoruba **marriage rite**) and teach related vocabulary.

7.2.4 Site 5

Site 5 is a community library established in 2008 and located in a small room that doubles as a media center and classroom. It is located within the instructor's private residence in the suburbs of Salvador. The library offers courses on Yoruba language and culture, and specializes in African and Afro-Brazilian culture with the aim of providing information on African and Afro-Brazilian culture and history and, in turn, the students' own heritage. It is funded by the Brazilian federal government, several federal banks, community sports and recreation centers, several terreiros as well as sponsored by a host of scholars and other cultural institutions.

The class had nine students, eight of whom participated in the research. Everyone in this Beginner-/Elementary-level course had been studying Yoruba for two to four months at the time of data collection. The composition of this class largely mirrors the demographics of Salvador and the research population of classroom Yoruba learners in terms of the number of self-identified Afro-descendants and the number of learners practicing a religion of African origin.

These students were all self-identified Afro-descendants, including one student who additionally claimed indigenous ancestry. Six of the eight student participants practiced Candomblé, two alongside Catholicism, and three of these practitioners were Candomblé priestesses (or *ialorixás*). Of the two students who did not declare Candomblé as their religion, one was Catholic and the other student indicated no religion in particular.

7.2.4.1 Classroom environment

The *Yorùbá/Yorubá Language and Culture* course that was held at this institution met on Saturday mornings from 9:00 to 11:00 AM in the media center classroom and was offered free of charge. Students sat in chairs in a horseshoe or L-formation around the perimeter of the room. Bookshelves holding Afro-Brazilian religious artifacts as well as literature on Yoruba language and culture, African culture at large and Afro-Brazilian topics lined the walls opposite and/or behind the students. The teacher, dressed in casual attire, alternated between sitting amongst the students towards the front of the classroom and standing at the front of the classroom beside an easel used for writing key points from the lessons.

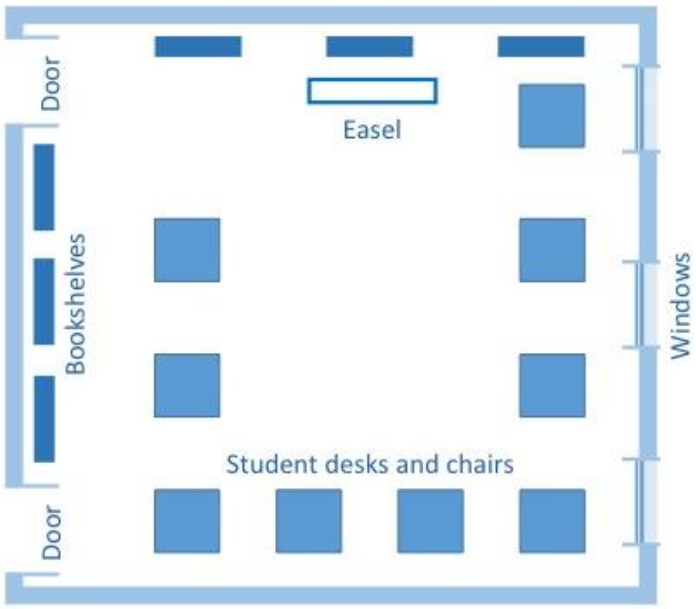

Figure 21. Classroom layout, Site 5

The choice of class activities utilized at this institution—in tandem with the classroom surroundings/milieu of African décor and prints, a map of the African continent, Afro-Brazilian religious artifacts, African instruments as well as bookshelves lined with Afrocentric- and Yoruba-themed literature—reified associations between the Yoruba language, on one hand, and Afro-Brazilian cultural forms and/or Yoruba or African peoples, on the other. They furthermore encouraged the development of oral as well as textual skills in the target language.

7.2.4.2 Course materials and content

Portuguese was the primary language of communication in this class; however, speaking exercises, such as oral drills, and writing exercises (e.g., answering questions or sentence-building) related to the material learned in repetitive drills were carried out in Yoruba. This class utilized authentic materials and multimedia (including audial and visual) activities and especially music to teach Yoruba language and culture (e.g., listening to traditional Yoruba music,

watching a video of typical Yoruba wedding). According to a multiple-selection question asking, "*Which of the following items do you use in teaching the Yoruba language?*", this instructor used videos/films, music and stories/legends in teaching Yoruba.

Activities were largely teacher-guided but learner-centered, involving a great deal of student participation and interaction, albeit largely in the Portuguese language. Given the relatively small class size, the arrangement of desks, and the occasional placement of the teacher amongst students, all students were given some opportunities for oral practice in the target language and were expected to participate in lessons.

7.2.5 Summary

At the time of my data collection, only one university in Salvador was offering Yoruba courses whereas four non-academic institutions were holding classes. No religious institutions were offering formalized Yoruba courses at the time of data collection; however, prior to the time of data collection, several religious institutions including one Islamic center and most commonly terreiros, or Candomblé houses, had officially offered Yoruba languages classes. Many other terreiros had at least informally taught Yoruba at some point. Instructors at these religious institutions were typically members of the religious community themselves who had formally studied the language or who were first-language speakers, as discussed in Chapter 6. According to a number of informants, the teaching of Yoruba in terreiros was intended to help circumvent differences in educational or institutional access (e.g., due to transportation issues, costs, etc.) and other obstacles (e.g., amotivation, impertinent teaching methods) in language learning that otherwise hamper or dissuade Yoruba study among Candomblé affiliates. It may also aim to appeal to the specific objectives of religious heritage learners given their unique orientation or

interest (i.e., spiritual connection) with regard to the Yoruba language.

Aside from classroom learners who pursue Yoruba study in institutions and classroom settings, there is also the autodidactic branch of the Yoruba learning population. Because this population is decentralized, it is impossible to estimate its size. Informants suggest that pursuing an autodidactic approach to language study (e.g., relying on computer-mediated communication and telecommunication for language study and practice**)** aims, in particular, to mitigate issues of access and other obstacles in language learning. It is also the approach utilized by learners who desire a higher level of proficiency than what is currently offered by existing Yoruba learning institutions.

Section 7.2 has demonstrated the diversity of instructional practices and classroom contexts that categorize Yoruba learning in Salvador. Recall, these sites offered Beginner/Elementary- and Pre-Intermediate/Intermediate-level Yoruba courses. Half of classroom instructors of Yoruba in the research utilized a teacher-centered model of instruction sometimes reflected in the linear arrangement of desks and the overall classroom layout, whereas other environments were more learner-centered in terms of participation and the exchange of information as well as perhaps the organization of the classroom or the placement of instructors among students. Target language input was limited in all classes, with instruction or communication conducted in Portuguese more often than not and any instruction in Yoruba most often subsequently translated into Portuguese for the sake of clarity or comprehensibility. Most classes made at least occasional use of authentic language teaching materials, such as Yoruba chants, proverbs, and poems, to situate the language learning in its real-world context and to gear learning towards the specific interests and needs of learners (given the historical functions of Yoruba in Salvador) in accordance with the Content-based and Goal-based approaches of

teaching African languages (Folarin-Schleicher, 1999; Moshi, 2001). The use of chants, poems and songs in many Salvador classrooms is reminiscent of the use of similar materials by Orie (2006) in her Goal-based approach to teaching Yoruba to religious-oriented learners in the U.S. Additionally, cultural instruction and the teaching of religious content in Salvador, although in Portuguese, at least incorporates content in the curriculum according the Content-based approach (Moshi, 2001). However, in other ways, the Yoruba teaching methods observed in one or more Salvador classrooms run contrary to the communicative approaches to language instruction currently encouraged in the field of African language (AFL2) teaching (see Folarin-Schleicher, 1999; Mosadomi, 2006; Moshi, 2001; Ojo, 2006, 2008; Olabode, 1995), including:

- Language-driven (deductive) teaching
- Use of Portuguese to teach content
- Student-teacher asymmetry and/or teacher-centered instruction
- Limited student interaction or participation in the learning enterprise

Without the consistent use of communicative language teaching strategies, current teaching methodologies in Salvador do not foster the development of "both oral and written skills, skills that are dependent less on the teacher and more on their [students'] ability to think critically and to analyze the content in order to creatively use it to produce mediated or non-mediated discourses" (Moshi, 2001, p. 99). In light of the findings of this study, thus far, one might ask: what teaching methodologies *are* being utilized in Salvador in lieu of current communicative and student-driven instructional approaches in the field of AFL2 and YL2 teaching, and what types of competencies or language learning do they foster? Moreover, *what do said institutional practices mean for the ultimate fate of Yoruba language form and practice in Salvador?*

7.3 INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES OF YORUBA TEACHING IN SALVADOR

Instructors drew from a number of instructional techniques to teach Yoruba in Salvador, including multimedia activities, speaking or oral exercises, as well as explicit grammar instruction and related reading, translation, vocabulary, and writing practices. The instructional methods of each class were heterogeneous, but tended to include one of the following two practices, which I will define and elaborate in the next sections:

- Oral drills and other audio-lingual activities
- Text-based instruction resembling the grammar-translation method

But moreover, the observed instructional practices seem to foster only the partial development of the Yoruba language as opposed to full communicative competence. In fact, what is often being identified, taught and thus learned as Yoruba in Salvador classrooms hardly represents a full(-fledged) language in the structural and functional sense. Rather, what is defined and produced as Yoruba in some classes takes the form of token pieces and practices that are identifiable or passable as Yoruba—and, thus, perhaps (socio-linguistically) mobilizable and sufficient for learners aiming to do social work more so than acquire higher level linguistic competencies. Token forms potentially include authentic Yoruba chants or other texts, decontextualized lexis or vocabulary items, and/or cultural content knowledge, like those discussed in earlier examples (see, e.g., Tables 17 and 18), on the basis that they are taught to learners in isolation or in their first language of Portuguese rather than within the matrix of the target language. They may also tend to be higher-order indexical forms that are more codified and salient (marked or even stereotypical) as Yorubanisms. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the notion of the (socio-semiotically motivated) partial memorization and/or adoption of token Yoruba linguistic practices, as opposed to wholesale language learning, resembles the socially meaningful

borrowing phenomena described in other studies in socio- or sociocultural linguistics. For example, Rampton's (1995) research on the sociolinguistic practice of "linguistic crossing," which investigates the borrowing by British youth of token linguistic features or language varieties that are usually associated with speech communities other than the speaker's own (i.e., English-based Caribbean Creole, Panjabi and stylized Indian English), and how these "crossing" adolescents, in turn, employ the tokens of out-group language as symbolic resources or stylistic devices. It also parallels the (trans-/cross-racial) linguistic and cultural appropriation of African American English vernacular (AAEV) features and other (marked) Black cultural practices by "European Americans" that goes into the discursive production of certain types of Whiteness, e.g., White teenage coolness or White masculinity (Bucholtz, 1999, 2001). But the present case of (apparently purposeful) partial language teaching especially resembles Hill's (1998, 2011) discussion of "mock forms," i.e., linguistic borrowings and tokens from Spanish that are reanalyzed and repurposed as symbolic resources by Anglophone North Americans to accomplish a specific social position and moreover "a particular kind of 'American' identity" (Hill, 2011, p. 128). Specifically, these appropriated mock forms have often been phonologically, orthographically, semantically and/or otherwise grammatically reanalyzed. And yet, mediated by language ideologies (e.g., anti-Spanish, English-only rhetorics as well as notions of appropriateness and the idea that only non-racialized forms of speech are permitted in the "White public space"), they nevertheless pass as "Spanish" in English varieties. Although I am in no way arguing that the "passing off" (teaching and learning of) token Yoruba forms as wholesale "Yoruba language" in Salvador serves to denigrate or marginalize the Yoruba language or its speakers, the way that current teaching practices in Salvador are reanalyzing Yoruba language and linguistic practices and reinterpreting what passes as Yoruba does indeed parallel some of

the restructuring and simplification that produces “Mock Spanish” forms. It blurs the boundaries of Yoruba and Portuguese linguistic practices, since the interpretation of linguistic borders is inherently mediated by language-ideological lenses (Gal & Irvine, 1995), and it reconceptualizes which practices and forms count as Yoruba, with definite consequences for the fate of Yoruba language in Salvador. In general, then, these works on crossing and linguistic appropriation offer a valid point of comparison and a potential explanation for the teaching practices and apparently fostered partial language learning observable in many Yoruba classrooms.

To provide a more in-depth analysis of teaching practices found in Yoruba classrooms in Salvador, I have selected several classroom extracts as examples of activities used by instructors to present new information. Notice how these activities are either more or less deductive, promote the development of different skills and competencies (e.g., oral versus written proficiencies, cultural versus linguistic competencies) and may, thus, cater to different types of learners and learning objectives (see Olabode, 1995). Furthermore, observe how some teaching approaches reduce or reassess Yoruba language as token linguistic forms or practices, thereby reinterpreting what passes or is identified as Yoruba language in Salvador.

7.3.1 Oral drills and audio-lingual exercises

Speaking and audio-lingual exercises are one set of practices used to teach Yoruba in Salvador classrooms. According to this method of language teaching, instructors used dialogues and repetitive drills to introduce new vocabulary, teach grammar inductively and cultivate oral competence (Steinberg, Nagata, & Aline, 2001, pp. 199-201). In a typical class, the instructor would recite a Yoruba text aloud to model sentences and the pronunciation of words, and the text would later be made visible on a chalkboard or easel. This text might be a prayer, hymn, general

dialog, or proverb that appeals to the general Yoruba learner community in Salvador as well as specific populations or learner types, such as religious-oriented students or general heritage learners. Oral presentation of the text would then be followed by oral practice of each utterance or line in the text. The students would attempt to repeat, imitate and ultimately memorize the sentences modeled by the instructor through said drills or pattern-practice exercises.

The following is one example of a drill used in a lesson on professions. The text used in this drill derives from a Yoruba proverb and a Yoruba poem, i.e., authentic, real-world materials that are, thus, useful for the teaching of culture. The choice of a proverb/poem is also significant because both types of texts involve fixed lexical phrases that can, therefore, facilitate memorization. Notice that the activity has many lines; however, only one word (i.e., the profession) changes in the utterances, and it is always replaced by another profession. I have included the English glosses, in italics, for comprehensibility.

7.3.1.1 Drilling activity example - Professions or *"Iṣẹ́":*

Teacher models:

Iṣẹ́ ni òògún ìṣẹ́!
"*Work is the best antidote*"

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ tisa mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a teacher [pejorative connotation], it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ télọ́ mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a tailor [pejorative connotation], it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ lọ́ya mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a lawyer [pejorative connotation], it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Bóba se ṣẹ́ dókíto mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a doctor [pejorative connotation], it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ akólè mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a home owner, it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ olórin mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a singer, it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"
Bó ba se ṣẹ́ adájo mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a lawyer, it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ onilù mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a drummer, it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ bábà mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a barber [pejorative connotation], it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ bánkà mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a banker [pejorative connotation], it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ agbépóò mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a janitor, it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ onísegun mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a doctor, it would be good*""

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ aláṣè mo le bawọn ṣe
"*Even if I were a cook, it would be good*"

Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"*Every job is a noble job*"

Ẹni ba jalè lo bọ̀mo jẹ́!
"*Unless you're the son of a thief*"

After modeling the text, the teacher would recite each utterance in the text for a second time with students repeating after him, each line as part of a repetition drill. Emphasis was placed on students' pronunciation of Yoruba phones but not on the accuracy or reproduction of Yoruba tones, and students were corrected as needed. Then, the teacher treated the passage as a call and response or chain drill. Each student took turns reciting a line from the text while simultaneously taking notes, and the rest of the class would respond as a chorus.

7.3.1.2 Drilling activity example (continued):

Student 1:

Bó ba se ṣẹ́ tisa mo le bawọn ṣe
"Even if I were a teacher [pejorative connotation], it would be good"

Everyone:
Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"Every job is a noble job"

Student 2:
Bó ba se ṣẹ́ télọ́ mo le bawọn ṣe
"Even if I were a tailor [pejorative connotation], it would be good"

Everyone:
Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"Every job is a noble job"

Student 3:
Bó ba se ṣẹ́ lọ́ya mo le bawọn ṣe
"Even if I were a lawyer [pejorative connotation], it would be good"

Everyone:
Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"Every job is a noble job"

Student 4:
Bó ba se ṣẹ́ dókíto mo le bawọn ṣe
"Even if I were a doctor [pejorative connotation], it would be good"

Everyone:
Iṣẹ́ ni iṣẹ́ nję!
"Every job is a noble job

…

Everyone:
Ẹni ba jalè lo bọ̀mo jẹ́!
"*Unless you're the son of a thief*"

Drills were usually followed by post-teaching, in which the instructor explained the meaning of the text and associated vocabulary and expressions for highlighting. Notice that reading and writing followed the teaching of listening and speaking (oral skills) in Yoruba.

For this lesson on professions, the teacher extracted different occupations in Yoruba to create a wordlist with Portuguese translations. The teacher highlighted the fact that words like <tisa> "teacher," <télọ́> "tailor," <lọ́ya> "lawyer," and <dókíto> "doctor" are borrowings from English and have pejorative meanings compared to their "native-Yoruba" counterparts. Notice that these words present yet another example of how language ideologies—in this case, moral evaluations about Yoruba linguistic purity (versus the impurity of "foreign" borrowings)—can tacitly materialize by shaping the features of a language (e.g., word meanings or lexical

connotation and, thus, word choice). This drill was also the basis for a brief grammatical explanation of Yoruba word formation, wherein the teacher focused on the use of the Yoruba prefix [oni], which denotes ownership or in the case of this lesson, someone who practices a trade or profession.

7.3.1.3 Wordlist excerpt from audio-lingual activity - Professions:

olórin = oni + orin
singer *owner music*

onìlu = oni + ìlu
drummer *owner drum*

onisègùn = oni + ise + oogun
doctor *man work medicine*

Next the teacher added new professions to the wordlist and then provided students with questions to answer as a pattern practice for using the vocabulary introduced in the drill, the wordlist, or in previous lessons. Students responded to the questions independently and in writing and then took turns answering orally as a class. The questions and answers for items 1) and 2), below, were based on the topic and situation of the original text, while the questions and answers for items 3) and 4) related to the learners' personal experiences (i.e., the occupations of her/his brother and mother, respectively) but still centered on the theme of the original text.

Dáhun ni kikún:
"Complete the exercise"

1) Iṣẹ wo ni Ronaldinho nṣe?
"What does Ronaldinho do?"
2) Iṣẹ wo ni Caetano Veloso nṣe?
"What does Caetano Veloso do?"
3) Iṣẹ wo ni ẹgbọn rẹ nṣe?
"What does your brother do?"

4) Iṣẹ wo ni iya rẹ nṣe?
"What does your mother do?"

Notice that the sentence structure of the questions is very repetitive or redundant in line with the audio-lingual method to allow for memorization of the sentences or their structure. Again, we see single-word replacement or substitution. This pattern of replacement is a common feature of oral drills in the audio-lingual method. In this case, only the subject of the sentence changes, and the new subject is always a familiar, recognizable vocabulary term or person (e.g., the famous Brazilian singer, Caetano Veloso, or the soccer player, Ronaldinho).

Classes using oral or audio-lingual methods provided for more student engagement and participation. Nevertheless, the teacher's use of the students' first language outside of oral drills and as well as his control over the learning enterprise diverged from the principles of the content-based approach to language teaching, which, again, advocates a learner-centered instructional approach to language teaching (Moshi, 2001). There was generally little or no explicit grammatical instruction with this method and any grammar discussion (e.g., the explanation of the prefix [oni]) tended to follow and/or derive from oral exercises. Orthography, writing and rules of the Yoruba language were also not emphasized during drilling exercises in accordance with the audio-lingual method of teaching. Likewise, classes using this technique often did not make use of a textbook, although the teacher would distribute handouts or utilize the blackboard/easel to accompany repetitive drills. This focus on spoken language is relevant to the population of learners who may be largely interested in speaking abilities due to the orality of the Yoruba varieties historically used in Brazil, particularly in the religious domain or among some Yoruba slave descendants. Orie (2006), however, demonstrates that use of this "intuitive-imitative approach" is inadequate for the mastery of certain oral skills, such as tonal proficiency, in Yoruba. As such, we know that the audio-lingual approach is inadequate for the cultivation of

full Yoruba communicative competence/proficiency. Furthermore, while this method can potentially foster the development of a sizeable Yoruba lexicon through memorization exercises and vocabulary instruction, all very impressively grounded in the teaching of cultural content knowledge and complemented with grammatical post-teaching, pattern-practice typically only leads to mimicry (or "language-like behavior") and is largely unsuccessful at producing the deeper understanding of the functioning of language that separates human symbolic communication from parroting or imitative speech, for example (Hanchey, 1974, p. 26). It is, thus, somewhat consistent with the token-type language teaching that I have previously described. That is, this teaching strategy and the Yoruba development it likely provides for resembles the limited linguistic incorporation of the kind described in the literature on linguistic "crossing," expropriation and borrowing of out-group practices, e.g., the learning of AAE or the cooptive memorization of AAE(V) slang through popular cultural practices like hip hop (Bucholtz, 1999; Chesley, 2011) or the cross-ethnic learning and use of Panjabi expressions among British youth through popular bhangra music (Rampton, 1995), rather than "full-on," communicative-/functionally-oriented language instruction or learning of the L2 variety.

The audio-lingual approach contrasts with more deductive, text-based methods of language teaching that were observed in other Yoruba lessons in Salvador.

7.3.2 Text-based instruction

Text-based instruction, with a focus on written language and rule-based, deductive teaching, is another technique used to teach Yoruba in Salvador classrooms. These class activities and lessons were organized around the explicit or deductive teaching of vocabulary or the rules of language (e.g., a grammar point or phonics) and typically followed a grammar-translation

method of teaching, meaning the statement and explanation of the grammar rule followed by its application (Steinberg, Nagata, & Aline, 2001, pp.193-195). It is also what Moshi (2001) calls the "language-driven" approach, in that it teaches language patterns in isolation and out of context in comparison to content-driven instructional methods.

Written language practice precedes the development of oral skills within the grammar-translation method, thus instructors borrowing from this approach would typically distribute a handout or copies of a lesson from the textbook prior to beginning the lesson. The handout would present a new grammar rule or a bilingual vocabulary list followed by invented (rather than authentic) example sentences in Yoruba and Portuguese, a reading exercise in Yoruba such as a dialog illustrating the grammar point, and then a reading comprehension task or writing exercise to reinforce the grammar point or a wordlist to allow the learner to practice applying the grammar rule. Subsequently, the instructor might guide the class in the line-by-line translation of a text, such as an invented passage or an authentic (language teaching) text in Yoruba (e.g., a song, prayer or hymn). The following is one example of a grammar-translation activity used to teach greetings. I have included the English glosses, in italics, for clarity.

7.3.2.1 Text-based activity example 1 - Greetings:

For this lesson on greetings, the instructor distributed a handout, which began by presenting a grammar point. The instructor read the rule aloud:

"Algumas sentenças ou palavras em Yorubá são formadas de contração em que juntam: verbo mais substantivo, preposição mais substantivo, substantivo mais, etc."

Some sentences or words in Yoruba are formed by contractions that join: verb plus noun, preposition plus noun, noun plus, etc.

Next on the handout were illustrations/examples of this principle followed by a bilingual wordlist of greetings, which the instructor and students read aloud together. Again, I have included English glosses for comprehensibility:

si ile = sile
[*no gloss provided*]
bo oju = boju
[*no gloss provided*]

Ẹ ku àárọ̀ (Ẹ karọ)	Bom dia.	Good morning/day.
Ẹ ku ọsan (Ẹ kasan)	Boa tarde.	Good afternoon.
Ẹ ku irọlẹ (E kurole)	Boa tarde (depois das 4 horas).	Good evening (after 4pm).
Ẹ ku alẹ (Ẹ kalẹ)	Boa noite.	Good night.
O di àárọ̀ (O da aarọ)	Boa noite (despedida).	Good night (farewell).
O di ọla (O dọla)	Até amanhã.	See you tomorrow.
Ṣe alafia ni?	Como vai?	How are you?
Ṣe dada ni?	Como vai?	How are you?
A dupẹ	Obrigado.	Thank you.
Alafia ni a dupẹ	Tudo bem, obrigado.	Fine, thank you.

Following the list of greetings and expressions, the instructor used the text to explain the different honorifics or values of greetings in Yoruba and to provide examples of this principle. Notice that the explanation provided is in the students' first language of Portuguese rather than the Yoruba target language:

"Em Yoruba quando você vai cumprimentar seu amigo é diferente como se cumprimenta uma pessoa mais velha."

In Yoruba when you greet your friend, it is different than when greeting an older person.

Se fosse amiga seria: O kaarọ.

If it were a friend, it would be: O kaarọ.

Se fosse uma pessoa mais velha seria: Ẹ kaarọ.

If it were someone older, it would be: Ẹ kaarọ.

Finally, the handout provided a dialogue involving an exchange between two speakers of different statuses, a professor and a subordinate. This dialog text demonstrates the grammar points that were presented in the lesson thus far (i.e., the rules on contractions and the use of honorifics in Yoruba greetings). For this exercise, two students volunteered to read the following example conversation aloud while the remainder of the class followed along on their own handouts.

Olùkọ́: Kaarọ o Bọla.
Good morning, Bọla.

Bọ́lá: Ẹ Kaaro ọ oluko.
Good morning, professor.

Olùkọ́: Ṣe alafia ni?
How are you?

Bọ́lá: Alafia ni, a dupẹ
Fine, thank you.

Olùkọ́: Awọn ará ile nkọ?
[*no gloss provided*]

Bọ́lá: Wọn wa a dupẹ
[*no gloss provided*]

This exercise was followed by another grammatical explanation as well as additional dialogues and ultimately by questions and a writing exercise allowing students to apply the grammar points covered in the lesson. Notice that presenting and illustrating grammar rules were the main foci of these activities. Also in keeping with the grammar-translation method or language-driven teaching approaches, in general, instruction was conducted in Portuguese and guided by the instructor. Any content in Yoruba was usually translated into Portuguese or explained by the professor. This language-centered teaching strategy for introducing Yoruba greetings contrasts nicely with the context-based methodology that Schleicher (1997) recommends for teaching

greetings. Namely, Schleicher emphasizes the importance of contextualized and situated language teaching approaches for the mastery of Yoruba greetings: "teaching greetings in Yoruba goes beyond teaching the meanings of the greetings. It also involves teaching Yoruba learners the link between words and cultural content. Various examples of greetings and accounts of personal experience could be useful […] to illustrate the interaction of words and actions in a cultural frame" (p. 334).

Deductive, text-based practices were also apparent in Yoruba classrooms where little grammar teaching was observed, such as in classes that privileged the written language by introducing the writing system before spoken language, used the Yoruba alphabet to teach phonics, and/or used bilingual wordlists with translations to teach vocabulary. The following is another example of an activity using a text-based approach to teach Yoruba.

7.3.2.2 Text-based activity example 2 - the Yoruba alphabet or *"Abidi"* and sound system*:*

This example lesson concerned the Yoruba alphabet and the history of its development and was given on the first day of one Yoruba class. For this activity, the teacher gave students a handout in Portuguese about the story of the Nigerian linguist Samuel Ajayi Crowther and the graphization of the Yoruba language. An excerpt of the text along with my English translation is provided in Figure 22.

Introdução ao aprendizado do idioma yorùbá!

Para entendermos o idioma yorùbá, temos que conhecer um pouco de sua história. O idioma é na verdade bem novo em matéria de escrita, pois só em 1852 o Rev. Samuel Crowther o passou para o papel e antes disso, Clapperto, o chamou de Yariba.

To understand the Yorùbá language, we have to know a bit of its history. The language is actually quite new in terms of writing, because only in 1852 did the Rev. Samuel Crowther pass it to paper and before that, Clapperton called it Yariba .

Mas quem é Rev. Samuel Crowther?
Bispo Sameul Adjai (AJAYI) Crowther (c. 1809 - 31 de Dezembro de 1891) foi um lingüista e primeiro bispo anglicano de origem Africana, na Nigéria. Nascido em Osogun, Yorubaland (hoje, em Matosinhos Administração Local, Oyo, na Nigéria), Rev. Dr. Samuel AJAYI Crowther foi um membro da etnia Ioruba.

But who is Rev. Samuel Crowther?
Bishop Samuel Adjai (Ajayi) Crowther (c. 1809 - December 31, 1891) was a linguist and the first Anglican bishop of African origin in Nigeria. Born in Osogun, Yorubaland (in today's Iseyin Local Government, Oyo State, Nigeria), Rev. Dr. Samuel Ajayi Crowther was a member of the Yoruba ethnic group.

Figure 22. Handout contents for activity on the history of the Yoruba alphabet

Students took turns reading the text aloud. Next, the students read about the composition of the *Abidi* (Yoruba alphabet) and were introduced to the twenty-five letters of the alphabet along with their phonetic representations in Portuguese on both a handout and the chalkboard, as displayed in Figure 23.

A	B	D	E	Ẹ
a	bi	di	ê	é
F	G	GB	H	I
fi	gui	gbi	rri	i
J	K	L	M	N
dji	qui	li	mi	ni
O	Ọ	P	R	S
ô	ó	pui	ri	ci
Ṣ	T	U	W	Y
xi	ti	uu	ui	ii

Figure 23. Handout contents for activity on the Yoruba alphabet

The teacher would read each letter first and then students were expected to repeat. Then the class would engage in a drill for which each student took turns saying a letter of the alphabet in sequence. The instructor then erased the alphabet from the blackboard, and groups of students took turns going to the chalkboard and writing down, from memory, letters of the Yoruba alphabet in sequence. Finally, the class learned the seven vowels in Yoruba. The handout provided to students displayed the symbols used to represent the seven vowel phonemes in Yoruba along with their corresponding phonetic representations in Portuguese, as shown below in Figure 24. The class then practiced reading and pronouncing each of the consonant-vowel combinations.

Fonemas	**Vogais**						
Consoantes	A	E	Ẹ	I	O	Ọ	U
B	bá	bê	bé	bi	bô	bó	bú
D	dá	dê	dé	di	dô	dó	dú
F	fá	fê	fé	fi	fô	fó	fú
G	gá	gê	gé	gi	gô	gó	gú
GB	güá	güê	güé	güi	güô	güó	güú
H	rrá	rrê	rré	rri	rrô	rró	rrú
J	djá	djê	djé	dji	djô	djó	djú
K	cá	quê	qué	qui	cô	có	cú
L	lá	lê	lé	li	lô	ló	lú
M	má	mê	mé	mi	mô	mó	mú
N	ná	nê	né	ni	nô	nó	nú
P	pá	pê	pé	pi	pô	pó	pú
R	rá	rê	ré	ri	rô	ró	rú
S	ssá	ssê	ssé	ssi	ssô	ssó	ssú
Ṣ	xá	xê	xé	xi	xô	xó	xú
T	tá	tê	té	ti	tô	tó	tú
W	uá	uê	ué	uí	uô	uó	uú
Y	iá	iê	ié	ií	iô	ió	iú

Figure 24. Handout contents for activity on Yoruba phonemes (or *fonemas*): vowels (or *vogais*) *and* consonants (or *consoantes*)

According to analyses of interview data with current and former Yoruba language teachers in Salvador, it is common for local Yoruba instructors to introduce the Yoruba alphabet before teaching the oral language or before developing spoken proficiency/oral competencies in students. As shown in Figures 23 and 24, students in Yoruba classes following text-based approaches were taught the names of Yoruba letters in alphabetical order according to convention as well as their most common sounds. This method supports students learning to read and write Yoruba words before acquiring basic knowledge of the spoken language.

In observed text-based approaches to Yoruba language teaching, emphasis was placed on the written language, rules of language and the development of written skills, such as the ability

to translate, writing, reading comprehension and memorization of bilingual vocabulary lists, but little focus was given to speaking competencies besides reading pronunciation. Oral practice was limited, usually followed explicit grammar instruction, and typically only involved several repeat volunteers while other students tended to fly under the radar.

Classes using text-based, deductive instructional methods presented teaching points in written form and, thus, typically made use of a textbook or handouts. Said classes were also more teacher-centered. This focus on patterns and rules of language (explicitly taught) as well as writing and translation can prepare learners to read and translate original texts in Yoruba, but it does not foster the development of oral skills/competencies, critical thinking skills, student creativity or engagement in learning and certainly not communicative competence—i.e., linguistic competence and cultural understanding (Hymes, 1966; Olabode, 1995). It may, thus, be most appropriate for learners with non-extensive learning objectives, e.g., academic learners (see Olabode, 1995) or other students simply aiming to adopt token Yoruba linguistic practices and lexis for the symbolic value that comes from approximation to such (ideologically rich) forms.

Text-based instructional methods contrast with the student-driven teaching models advocated by the Goal-based approach (Folarin-Schleicher, 1999) as well as with the method of Content-based instruction (CBI) described by Moshi (2001) in that they "place the teacher at the center of learning by controlling what is to be learned and how it should be learned" (p. 94). Text-based, deductive teaching practices further deviate from the principles of CBI through their "focus on the acquisition of the major linguistic aspects of the language as described in existing grammars," which divorces language teaching and learning "from content and context and student-creative input" (p. 95). Furthermore, the use of a priori and sometimes even imported

teaching materials in some text-based lessons may not foster the specific needs and (contextually derived/grounded) interests of individual Yoruba learners in accordance with Goal-based instructional approaches advocated in the literature on AFL2 teaching pedagogy (e.g., Folarin-Schleicher, 1999).

Much like the imitative teaching and learning advocated by audio-lingual methods, we observe in the text-based instructional approaches of Salvador classrooms practices that do not represent the full complexity of the Yoruba language. Specifically, many text-based practices present language patterns in isolation, amputated from their cultural and linguistic matrices. Rather than comprehensive L2 input and, thus, the potential for full L2 development, these practices support the linguistic incorporation of decontextualized, token Yoruba linguistic forms—for example, common lexical phrases or vocabulary items, such as greetings (e.g., *Text-based activity example 1*), as well as alphabet knowledge and phonics instruction without the context of text or vocabulary words (e.g., *Text-based activity example 2*). Moreover, some text-based practices have little to no L2 content, such as *Text-based activity example 2*, which fosters cultural content knowledge (e.g., the history of the Yoruba alphabet) and metalinguistic skills (e.g., alphabet knowledge and phonic awareness), but provides no opportunities for L2 input or output since teaching is conducted in the students' Portuguese first language. Instructional methods that present token Yoruba linguistic forms and practices within an overall matrix of the Portuguese language are effectively recasting the structure and boundaries of Yoruba language and linguistic practices for learners with ultimate consequences for what is being learned, used and identified as "Yoruba language" in Salvador.

7.4 DISCUSSION

This chapter set out to identify and describe the institutions and classroom contexts of Yoruba teaching in Salvador and, in turn, clarify (1) the ways in which this context shapes the local language learning enterprise as well as Yoruba language and linguistic practices and (2) what these institutional practices mean for the ultimate fate of Yoruba linguistic form and practice in Salvador. To do so, it explored three specific questions:

- What institutions are involved in language teaching and what are their objectives or interests?
- How is the learning environment organized?
- What instructional practices (tasks, activities and overall methods) are used to teach Yoruba in these contexts and how do they reinforce or deviate from the objectives of the language learning institution or language learning community?

This chapter is consistent with previous research concerning the impact of context on the language learning process (e.g., Shaw, 1997; Spolsky, 1989; Stern, 1983). Specifically, it demonstrates how five institutions of Yoruba language learning and their educational treatments derive from and, thus, reflect the larger sociolinguistic context of Salvador in terms of its social demographics as well as its local narratives or ideologies regarding the Yoruba language vis-à-vis notions of personhood. It also suggests how sociohistorical differences in the Salvador learning context (e.g., learner types, objectives, and interests) have accordingly yielded a unique set of instructional methods and strategies for language teaching than those found, for example, in the field of AFL2 teaching in the U.S. In other words, it demonstrates how the motivations and

values attached to Yoruba practices in the local context shape what happens in the classroom and, thus, what will be taught and learned as Yoruba.

First, this chapter provided a discussion of the history and sponsorship of each Yoruba teaching institution in Salvador to clarify their objectives, interests and orientations. Active sites of classroom language learning in Salvador ranged from federally funded to grassroots learning centers and included: public institutions of higher learning, privately owned cultural learning centers, government-funded institutions, religious institutions, and community institutions with multiple funding sources. The interests of these institutions varied and were religious, cultural or even political, with language learning perhaps being a secondary or complementary goal in some cases. This widespread sponsoring of Yoruba study as well as the communicated objectives of institutions fall in line with the rhetorical promotion of Africanity and Yorubaness that one generally finds in Salvador as a product of the larger narratives of African ancestry/*mestiçagem*, inclusion/racial democracy, and Africanized Blackness. Moreover, the types of institutions offering Yoruba mimic and, furthermore, reify some of the more established or recurring indexical associations of Yoruba language and linguistic forms in Salvador, i.e., with particular socio-racial, religious and ethno-political categories.

This chapter also described the organization of Yoruba classrooms to provide a better picture of the Yoruba language learning environment, which ranged from multipurpose or repurposed rooms in private residences with learners seated in curved desk arrangements, to traditional classrooms with desks arranged in linear rows. Furthermore, this chapter described the makeup of Yoruba classrooms and potentially the target audiences of each school in order to further explore the types of connections learners have or are developing/negotiating with the Yoruba language (i.e., religious, general heritage, academic, career) through language study.

This investigation revealed that the demographics of classrooms reflect the locus of the research in Salvador in terms of its social history and mirrors the city's own population while perhaps even reifying or embodying its narratives about the connectedness of Salvador residents—and, in particular, Afro-descendants, Afro-based religious affiliates, etc.—to the Yoruba language. It is uncertain as to whether institutions vary significantly in terms of the types of learners in attendance; however, future research may benefit from empirically exploring whether more of one type of student (e.g., heritage, religious, academic or career learners) tends to frequent a specific Yoruba course or type of institution over others and why.

Finally, this chapter focused on teachers' observable classroom practices, gave examples of lessons and activities that we find in the Yoruba classrooms in Salvador, and discussed instructional practices in relation to the objectives of the language learning institutions. Overall, the instructional practices and curricula of these institutions varied greatly even among Yoruba classes of the same level. Some classroom instructors of Yoruba utilized a teacher-centered model of instruction most often reflected in the flow of information and sometimes the linear arrangement of desks and the overall classroom layout, while other environments were more learner-centered in terms of seeking student participation and the exchange of information as well as the classroom setup. Target language input in many classes was limited with classes conducted in Portuguese more often than not and even to the point that many professors (i.e., L2 Portuguese speakers) emphasized proficiency in Portuguese—or contracting a translator—as a requisite for teaching Yoruba. Furthermore, most instruction in Yoruba was usually subsequently translated into Portuguese for the sake of clarity or comprehensibility.

Instructors in Salvador utilized a variety of educational approaches and techniques to teach Yoruba, which contrasts with the increasing formalization and standardization of teaching

methodologies—and particularly communicative approaches—in the fields of Yoruba and AFL2 teaching in the U.S. (Ojo, 2006; Sanneh & Omar, 2002). While some Yoruba classes in Salvador relied more on oral drills and audio-lingual exercises to cultivate speaking skills, others used more text- and rule-based methods of explicit instruction in accordance with the grammar-translation method, which develop textual or literacy skills. A common thread in all classes and institutions, however, was the emphasis on cultural (including religious) teaching and what I believe to be the promotion of cultural over communicative competencies. In this way, the teaching practices and types of knowledge produced in Yoruba learning institutions reflect the social milieu of the learning enterprise as well as the cultural values or social meanings tied to Yoruba language and linguistic practices in Salvador. The absence of upper-level Yoruba courses as well as the use of methodologies that are not conducive to the development of higher-level proficiencies (oral and written) may in part, attest to the institutional promotion of cultural over communicative competencies in Yoruba. While the literature on Yoruba pedagogical approaches advocates the teaching of content in language courses (Moshi, 2001), the medium of instruction for cultural teaching in Salvador is primarily the students' first language of Portuguese.

The nurturing of learners' cultural competencies in Portuguese rather than their overall communicative competence in the target language is possibly a question of pedagogical training among instructors—i.e., it may reflect the pedagogical proficiency of teachers. However, it may also reflect different values in the Yoruba language learning community of Salvador—that is, the socio-historically grounded and ideologically mediated motivations and goals of the learner population with regard to the Yoruba language as well as the (interested) objectives of the institutions. That is to say, rather than pursuing communicative competence or proficiency in the

Yoruba language, learners in this classroom community may be after a more practical level of knowledge (Olabode, 1995).

This suggestion is consistent with Capone's (2010) assessment that, "the [Candomblé] initiates who took the [Yoruba] courses [in the early years of formalized Yoruba language teaching in Brazil] were not really interested in learning the language, but rather in learning secret knowledge" (p. 242). It also resonates with Dwyer's (2003) assertion that heritage-driven learners of AFL2s like Yoruba are most interested in the cultural content of language courses and that courses serving this group of learners should be designed accordingly. The pedagogical approaches employed in Yoruba classrooms in Salvador suggest that the observations of Capone and Dwyer regarding Yoruba and AFL2 learners' interest in honing specific and functional rather than general language learning goals (i.e., communicative competence) is applicable to Salvador's current Yoruba learning community at large.

All in all, we observe teaching practices that focus on limited dimensions of the language rather than providing comprehensive and varied input, i.e., cultural content knowledge instruction at the expense of providing L2 linguistic data/input, oral or written training at the expense of honing the opposite skill set, deductive or inductive grammar teaching to the exclusion of other teaching strategies, and so forth. Current instructional strategies, then, fail to capture and convey the full complexity of the target language or provide adequate stimuli for L2 development. As such, they have re-construed Yoruba language learning as the incorporation of token linguistic forms and practices—e.g., vocabulary wordlists, authentic Yoruba texts and lyrics, as well as other lexical items and phrases—in tandem with knowledge of Yoruba cultural practices rather than language acquisition with the end goal of communicative competence or proficiency. This, in turn, reinterprets what constitutes Yoruba linguistic knowledge in Salvador.

Based on my observations, isolated Yoruba lexis and token phrases, as opposed to a complete grammatical system imbedded in cultural knowledge (communicative competence), often come to function as Yoruba language in Salvador classrooms, meaning that Yoruba language learning and redevelopment may not lead to the resurgence of archaic Yoruba varieties or the spread of modern Yoruba language varieties but to linguistic re-analyses that approximate linguistic hybridization and L2 incorporation into Portuguese.

8.0 CONCLUSION

"The encounter between African Languages (Yoruba, Igbo, Twi, Kikongo, and many others) and Western languages (French, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, English) was perhaps the most subtle and most complex aspect of the cultural confrontation that the African slaves faced in the New World," writes Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (1989) in his introduction to *Talk that talk: An anthology of African-American storytelling* (p. 15). "Radically abstracted from their cultural communities, and broadly dispersed from plantation to plantation, state to state, and country to country, the African slaves in much of North America soon lost the capacity to speak their own African languages" (ibid., p. 15). However, studies in the field of language contact present another perspective on the saga of African cultural institutions and linguistic practices that landed upon American shores (see, e.g., Chapters 1 and 2). And following in this vein, this dissertation has also demonstrated the continuity of Yoruba language practices in northeastern Brazil. Although research is clear that they did not go unscathed, Yoruba linguistic forms and practices have nonetheless persisted in post-colonial Brazil and are, moreover, being cultivated and redeveloped through the modern-day study of the Yoruba language following its earlier attrition.

The overall aim of this dissertation has been to document the current status of Yoruba linguistic practices and Yoruba language learning in Salvador da Bahia, emphasizing the development of Yoruba as a curricular language in response to the language-specific and

regional gaps in the literature on Yoruba language learning and Yoruba linguistic practices overall in modern Brazil. Meanwhile it also highlights how the local social context shapes this sociolinguistic situation. In particular, I have paid attention to the sociohistorical and ideological dimensions of Yoruba language learning in Salvador by utilizing an approach grounded in the language contact scholarship and the literature on social meaning in language. This theoretical approach allowed me to understand the motivational orientations for Yoruba study and the overall redevelopment of Yoruba language practices as tied to local language ideologies and social values that articulate linguistic practices with notions of personhood and, as such, render them socially meaningful. Specifically, these language ideologies reciprocally shape the pattern and practice of language by informing how linguistic variation is understood—i.e., by construing linguistic differences and boundaries according to social groupings in order to define what does and does not count as Yoruba, Yoruba knowledge or Yoruba language learning. Or local language ideologies inform language practices by literally embedding themselves within (indexicalized) linguistic features and forms in a way that incentivizes or disincentivizes the use of those socially imbued linguistic forms. Most centrally, these cultural ideas undergird Yoruba learning in Salvador and recursively shape each tier of the local language learning enterprise—the social distribution of Yoruba language learning and types of learners involved, the motivational orientations and perceived values attached to Yoruba learning, the evaluations of teaching and notions of *expertise* or Yoruba teaching qualification, as well as the institutional sites and practices and the linguistic forms and skillsets involved in teaching Yoruba, with ultimate implications for the fate of Yoruba language practices in Salvador.

In this final chapter, I will summarize the main results of the four studies of this dissertation and discuss some of their implications for this research and for broader

conversations in the fields of sociocultural linguistics (linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, sociology of language), applied linguistics (language teaching and language learning research), and areas studies (Africana/diaspora studies, Afro-Brazilian studies and Latin American studies). I will end by providing a statement about the implications of this dissertation and by proposing perspectives for future research.

8.1 SUMMARY

The **Place of Yoruba Learning in Salvador** study explored the distribution of Yoruba learning in modern-day Salvador through analyses of the socio-demographic data on the classroom Yoruba language learning community. It examined the professional, educational, social and sociolinguistic backgrounds of Yoruba learners as well as their overall language use. This study outlined four archetypes for Yoruba language learning: academic, career/professional, spiritual, and religious heritage learners or interests. Specifically, reports on the professional and academic backgrounds of learners revealed that some members of the population studied were prompted to learn Yoruba for career or academic reasons. Demographic data regarding religious affiliations in tandem with reports of Yoruba use in religious contexts and with fellow Candomblé practitioners suggest that a majority of the population studied potentially has a spiritual (religious heritage) connection to the Yoruba language. Reports on learners' language use and language backgrounds show that they are not heritage learners in the traditional sense of the term—i.e., studying a minority language originally learned in the home or community of the student as a child. However, socio-demographic data on learner social identifications and religious affiliations in tandem with a background on the cultural value of Yoruba linguistic practices in

Salvador do suggest that students are heritage learners in the broad sense of the term—i.e., learners of an ancestral language that they associate with their culture. As such, this research expands and enriches the notion of *heritage language learning* according to the local context. Furthermore, this study was instrumental in beginning to understand the bases and groundings of Yoruba language learning and redevelopment in Salvador. Specifically, the sociodemographic data on the Yoruba language learning pool mimics and, therefore, reproduces some of the local, historical demographic associations of Yoruba linguistic practices, especially given the predominance of Afro-descendants, practitioners of African-matrix religions, etc. represented in the learner community.

The **Values and Motivational Attributes of Yoruba Learning** study investigated language learning motivations and orientations among Soteropolitanos in complement with how the indexicalized meanings of Yoruba linguistic practices (within local language ideologies) undergird and incentivize the local study and redevelopment of Yoruba. First, it offered a quantitative analysis of the motivational orientations of Yoruba language learners in Salvador in order to identify the goals driving the study of the language and, thus, the current development of Yoruba as a curricular language in contemporary Brazil. The first statistical analysis explored motivational orientations according to the Socio-educational model (Gardner & Lambert, 1959). It revealed that Yoruba language learners in Salvador are statistically more oriented to learn Yoruba for sociocultural or integrative reasons, such as an interest in the L2 community or desire to identify or interact with that culture, rather than for practical (instrumental) goals. The second statistical analysis assessed learning motivations according to Self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985), and it determined that Yoruba learners in Salvador are personally invested in language learning. In fact, they are mostly driven to study Yoruba by autonomous motivations,

principally intrinsic reasons (i.e., personal enjoyment and satisfaction of engaging in the activity). A third and final statistical analysis explored the motivational orientations underlying religious and (sociocultural) heritage learner interests using the constructs of Self-determination theory. The results showed that heritage and religious interests for studying Yoruba are primarily driven by autonomous motivations (i.e., intrinsic motivations and identified regulation).

As a complement to the quantitative analyses of motivational orientations and to enhance our understandings of the integrative and intrinsic/autonomous motivational orientations of Yoruba learners in Salvador, I drew from learner interviews. These interview data clarified some of the specific language ideologies and cultural values at work in the learner community, which undergird language learning for many Yoruba students. This qualitative analysis of motivational orientations reminded us that Yoruba linguistic forms in Salvador often symbolize or index notions of personhood. Specifically, they tend to signal religious heritage or spiritual citizenship, socio-racial identifications such as Blackness, identification with local culture (e.g., Bahianness/Soteropolitanidade), Yorubaness, as well as African heritage or roots—among other potential affiliations and notions of personhood. Moreover, they are available for mobilization as part of learner self-making processes. As such, integratively oriented Yoruba language learners in Salvador can actually be understood as aiming to negotiate alignments or achieve familiarity with these ideologically affiliated social groups through the socially meaningful study or use of Yoruba language practices. Similarly, we came to understand the intrinsic and autonomous values of studying Yoruba as the results of historical processes of indexicalization. Specifically, the intrinsic value of Yoruba learning as well as the autonomous grounding of heritage and religious learner interests in Salvador likely derive from the conjunction of Yoruba linguistic practices with notions of selfhood and personhood (*race*, *heritage* and *nation*), the habituation

and essentialization of these linkages, and, thus, students' internalization of or identification with Yoruba language learning. This research study, in turn, elucidates how the Salvador social context and its local models of Yoruba language and social relations shape language learning and the redevelopment of Yoruba—informing, in this case, motivational orientations and the perceived values of studying the language.

The **Yoruba Teaching Evaluation** study explored the reverberations of local language ideologies among the body of Yoruba instructors in Salvador and how they reciprocally inform evaluations and ideas about Yoruba teaching, including instructors' expressed connections to the Yoruba language, their teaching perspectives/goals, and their conceptualizations of Yoruba expertise. Qualitative analyses revealed that instructors draw on religious/spiritual, natal and/or ethno-political, and racio-cultural ties to explain their connections to Yoruba linguistic practices. Next, an investigation of the stated teaching objectives underpinning instructor vocations and teaching strategies showed that instructional goals were often anchored in the very sociosemiotic linkages and ideological ties that reportedly connected instructors to the Yoruba language in the first place—i.e., notions of personhood. Finally, investigations of local evaluations of what counts as Yoruba expertise and as expert knowledge forms (or qualifying competencies) found that local notions of teaching qualification are sometimes grounded in the very language ideologies that undergird other linguistic practices in the Salvador Yoruba language learning community. Yet, interestingly, sometimes they diverged from them. Particularly, there were two models of Yoruba expertise at work, both drawing upon notions of personhood, albeit distinctly. *Nativist* conceptualizations of Yoruba expertise privileged first-language/Nigerian Yoruba speakers as experts. They valorized competencies that developed as parts of primary sociolinguistic socialization as well as affiliations with particular ethno-political/politico-

economic categories (e.g., Nigerian Yorubaness. Nigerianness). *Localist* understandings of expertise privileged competencies in Yoruba practices that crystallized in Brazil and, accordingly, locally versed instructors to produce this version of Yoruba knowledge. This study demonstrates how linguistic ideologies reciprocally shape the patterns and practice of languages. Particularly, beliefs about Yoruba—i.e., evaluations of Yoruba teaching as well as assumptions about what counts as Yoruba language or as qualifying competencies for teaching it—were grounded in (while also negotiating) notions of personhood—that is, what counts as Yoruba nationhood or heritage and links a person with the language and, thus, what constitutes a Yoruba expert. As such, this contextualized study contributes to our broader understanding of language ideologies as indeterminate (both varied and negotiable), layered (building upon and negotiating other cultural schemas), and as recursive or wide-reaching in terms of their implications.

Lastly, the **Institutions that Shape Yoruba Learning** study elucidated yet another realm of the learning community impacted by local evaluations and schematizations of Yoruba language practices in terms of personhood. This study explored the sites, classroom contexts and instructional practices of Yoruba learning institutions in Salvador. Namely, this chapter demonstrated that these institutions along with their educational treatments embody and reflect the larger Salvador social context. An analysis of local institutions revealed that classroom Yoruba learning is housed anywhere ranging from federally funded to grassroots learning centers, including: public institutions of higher learning, privately owned cultural learning centers, government-funded institutions, religious institutions, and community institutions with multiple funding sources. Of particular interest, this survey revealed that the histories, sponsorships and interests of Yoruba teaching institutions were varied but generally consisted of religious, sociocultural/socio-racial, and (ethno-)political bases, sponsorships that obviously

mimic and reproduce some of the more established indexical associations of Yoruba linguistic practices in Salvador. This widespread sponsoring of Yoruba study as well as the communicated objectives of learning institutions also fell in line with the widespread rhetorical promotion of racialized or Africanized practices, such as Yorubanisms, as part of larger narratives in the local context about Brazilian *mestiçagem* and inclusion or the Black and African heritage of Salvador.

Institutional data also suggest how sociohistorical differences in the Salvador learning context have accordingly yielded a unique set of instructional methods and strategies for language teaching than those found, for example, in the field of Yoruba (YL2) instruction in the U.S. For one, analyses of teacher practices and instructional resources, activities, and methods used in Yoruba classrooms revealed a lack of formalization and standardization in terms of the pedagogical methods utilized to teach Yoruba in Salvador. Furthermore, institutional data demonstrate how the values attached to Yoruba in this context via local language ideologies of personhood are reciprocally shaping what occurs in the classroom in terms of which sets of linguistic practices and competencies/skillsets are identified, taught and potentially learned as Yoruba. Specifically, classroom practices and instructional techniques were shown to build upon and reinforce local language-ideological notions by fostering cultural teaching and cultural content knowledge as well as practical levels of proficiency. Moreover, instructional practices promoted the development of cultural competencies or cultural knowledge in the (Portuguese) L1 as well as specific and functional, rather than general, linguistic skills in the Yoruba target language. Overall, extant teaching methodologies in Salvador were shown to be nonconductive to the achievement of higher-level proficiencies (oral and written) and to not foster the development of communicative competencies in the Yoruba language. In this way, the teaching practices utilized and the types of knowledge produced in teaching Yoruba reflect (and

occasionally even reify/support) the context of the learning enterprise—i.e., the immediate environments (the learner types, learner goals, the instructors, the institutions) as well as the larger social milieu (the socio-history of Yoruba linguistic practices in the local setting as well as the historical functions and cultural values assigned to them).

Ultimately, I found that current instructional strategies, which do not capture or convey the full complexity of the target language or provide adequate stimuli for L2 development, have effectively re-construed Yoruba language learning as the incorporation of token linguistic forms and practices—e.g., vocabulary wordlists, authentic Yoruba texts and lyrics, as well as other lexical items and phrases—rather than as language acquisition with the end goal of communicative competence or proficiency. In consequence, local sites, producers of knowledge, and other social actors involved in the relearning and redevelopment of Yoruba in Salvador—mediated by local language ideologies—are re-fashioning the form and structure of local Yoruba language varieties, sometimes in ways that approximate linguistic hybridization and L2 incorporation into Portuguese. That is, they are actively renegotiating what is counted and identified as Yoruba language in Salvador.

Through these four studies, this interdisciplinary dissertation builds upon and extends research in a number of scholarly traditions. It offers critical empirical data regarding the current situation of Yoruba language learning in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, which contributes to conversations in Area Studies (Afro-Brazilian studies, Africana/diasporic studies, Latin American studies), language teaching and language learning research (including within the field of African foreign and second language (AFL2s) pedagogy), and, particularly, sociocultural linguistics (linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics) as well as studies of language contact and change. I will outline some of these contributions below.

8.2 IMPLICATIONS

Studies of language and linguistics have long been guilty of bypassing local models of language and society and ignoring the non-referential functions of language in favor of exploring or promoting their own more sanctioned theories of language. In consequence, research indicates that the "surgical removal of language from context produced an amputated 'language' that was the preferred object of the language sciences for most of the twentieth century" (Kroskrity, 2000, p. 5). However, this isolation of linguistic structures from their cultural, socio-historical and political-economic matrices yields an incomplete and perhaps even artificial account of language and social practices.

As a corrective, *language ideologies* were proposed as a framework for mending this theoretical and methodological shortcoming in the scholarship (Cameron, 1990; Kroskrity, 2000; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), and following this cue, countless studies in sociocultural linguistics have employed the concept to produce thorough, well-grounded analyses of language structure and practice (see, e.g., Section 1.3.2). Moreover, language research has utilized the notion of language ideologies to theorize, predict or even promote/plan (synchronic as well as diachronic) language variation and change.

In the vein of said studies, this dissertation has employed and further elaborated the theory of *language ideologies* as well as the complementary concept of *indexicality*—a mode of signification that grounds ideologies in the specific plane of language practice through linguistic forms as (non-referential) signs. This conceptual scaffolding in tandem with a grounding in the language contact literature allowed me to comprehensively explore the sociohistorical dimensions and ideological bases of Yoruba's retention and current resurgence in northeastern Brazil. That is, they provided for an account of how local, culturally grounded models construe

the intersection of Yoruba language practices with notions of personhood, which makes them socially meaningful and, in turn, supports their current sociolinguistic situation and redevelopment. Moreover, local language ideologies reciprocally shaped the local patterns, processes and practices of Yoruba teaching, learning and use overall. While of obvious relevance to sociocultural linguistics and the literature on the sociosemiotics of language, the four studies of this dissertation demonstrated the vast consequences of local language ideologies for different planes of social action in northeastern Brazil—in particular, within the realm of linguistic practice—by enlisting concepts from a number of theoretical traditions and, thus, elaborating them in the process. Specifically, this contextualized research has demonstrated the instrumentality and explanatory power of a framework of *language ideologies* for research on topics like language learning motivation, language learning pedagogy, language variation and change, social theory, Brazilian history, critical *race* theory, and the cultural production of expert identities or other types of personhood. But for linguistics research, in particular, it has broader theoretical implications and justifies the use of an integrated approach informed, in part, by the literature on language ideologies. I will start by highlighting some of its implications for language teaching and language learning research.

As previously established, this dissertation contributes to conversations in the fields of language teaching, language learning research and applied linguistics. It extends two models of language learning motivation (Gardner & Lambert, 1959; Noels et al., 2000, 2003) that originally characterized Anglo-Canadian learners of French in a bilingual French-English setting to the sociocultural context of Salvador and, as such, has enriched two longstanding research paradigms in L2 motivation studies and highlighted their explanatory power. Using Yoruba students in northeastern Brazil as a proxy, it has furthermore offered a distinctive and reliable

measure for exploring the motivational orientations of religious and heritage learning interests for future investigations of Yoruba language learning motivation. As the first systematic, theoretically driven investigation of Yoruba language learning in Brazil, this dissertation contributes to shifting the focus of research on the worldwide teaching of African foreign and second languages (AFL2s) and, specifically, Yoruba (YL2) teaching from "First World" and/or western contexts of the U.S. and Europe to other parts the Yoruba diaspora and, particularly, (Lusophone-dominant) Latin America. It contributes empirical data regarding the study of Yoruba linguistic practices in a novel context, but also has implications for the field of AFL2 and YL2 instruction. Namely, it establishes that the case of Salvador—its contextually driven instructional methods and strategies for Yoruba teaching and/or its Yoruba linguistic varieties—must be incorporated into pedagogical research in the field if it is to be comprehensive. For future research following in its stead, the present research has developed a typology for analyzing Yoruba teaching in Brazil, and, in particular, the types of learners and the distribution of Yoruba learning; the motivational orientations and valuations of Yoruba language study or use; the instructor population, their evaluations of Yoruba teaching and their notions of Yoruba expertise; and, finally, the institutions, pedagogical practices and varieties of Yoruba knowledge that characterize Yoruba language learning in modern-day Salvador. But moreover, this research has engaged with and expanded broader conversations in the language teaching literature about the impact of social context on language learning (e.g., Abongdia, 2009; Dyers & Abongdia, 2010; Shaw, 1997; Spolsky, 1989; Stern, 1983). Namely, the data presented here demonstrate how the perceived intersection of Yoruba language practices with personhood (within local language ideologies) reciprocally informs the teaching and learning of Yoruba language in Salvador. That is, different cultural evaluations of Yoruba practices inform the types of students;

the sociohistorically grounded, culturally produced and ideologically mediated motivations and goals of the learners; the types of instructors and notions of teaching qualification; the affiliations or interests of the institutions; as well as the locally and sociohistorically grounded notions of what constitutes the Yoruba target language and the activity of learning a language. This study, therefore, highlights the impact of language ideologies and social context on language learning and teaching as well as on language use overall. As such, it demonstrates the broader merit of this concept in language learning and teaching research. Methodologically as well as theoretically, it establishes that language teaching and language learning cannot be reliably analyzed or fully theorized and planned out of context and without consideration of the local language ideologies at play.

This dissertation, furthermore, has implications for Area Studies. It contributes to the body of Afro-Brazilian linguistics scholarship as well as Afro-Brazilian studies and Latin American Studies, more broadly, by establishing Yoruba language practices (e.g., learning and teaching) in Brazil as important research considerations. With a particular contribution to Afro-Brazilian linguistics scholarship, this research comprehensively analyzed the linguistic retention, redevelopment and contemporary curricular status of Yoruba language practices in Salvador da Bahia following earlier periods of functional and structural reduction. Employment of the concept of *language ideology* highlighted how local, language-focused cultural narratives, which construe the connectedness of Yoruba linguistic practices to notions of peoplehood, support the sociolinguistic situation of Yoruba language in Brazil. In so doing, the present research has, furthermore, updated and sealed regional and language-specific gaps in the scholarship on Yoruba language (learning) in Brazil and on Yoruba language learning motivation, in general. Furthermore, by the fact that Yoruba linguistic forms have persisted in Portuguese-dominant

Salvador da Bahia, Brazil, and are currently undergoing redevelopment and cultivation—in part, because of their import as heritage traditions and as part of the self-making processes of Afro-Brazilians and practitioners of African-based cosmologies—this research also connects to conversations in Afro-Brazilian studies as well as diasporic/Africana studies regarding the continuity (as well as refashioning) of relocated, African-based cultural traditions and linguistic practices. And yet the framework of *language ideologies* allowed us to de-essentialize notions of personhood, such as heritage/culture, ancestry, Africanness, Yorubaness or Blackness, in our account. Instead, it permitted us to explore these different personhoods as discursively enacted and negotiated (rather than essentially inherited) through the cultivation and mobilization of socially meaningful symbolic resources like Yoruba language and linguistic practices. In other words, they became "something people do rather than something people have or hold" (Carr, 2010, p. 18).

By the same token, this research presents a case of transported oral traditions that survived the language contact situation of the Portuguese-dominant, plantation society of colonial Brazil and that are currently being cultivated, redeveloped and even reinterpreted/reanalyzed. It contributes new empirical data regarding the sociolinguistic situation of Yoruba linguistic practices in Brazil, highlighting Yoruba's functional expansion from a liturgical register to a curricular language and drawing attention to an alternative trajectory of language contact and to language practices overlooked by extant scholarship. But moreover, it invites linguists to reframe discussions of the sociolinguistic situation of post-plantation, post-colonial societies, moving beyond a notion of "outcomes" to instead see ever-evolving language contact situations shaped by ever-changing social notions about language in relation to society as well as by cultural evaluations about society that become embedded within patterns of language.

Furthermore, it draws on and contributes to conversations about linguistic retention as well as language reanalysis/change in the field of language contact. This research has demonstrated that the courses travelled by language varieties are constrained or steered, in part, by language-ideological factors. Moreover, it has provided data to reinforce the idea that the interpretation of linguistic variation and change—be it attrition or redevelopment—are mediated by boundary-making devices and linguistic ideologies of differentiation (Gal & Irvine, 1995), i.e., by cultural schemas that make linguistic forms hearable as distinct or similar codes (Johnstone & Kiesling, 2008). Such data, in turn, have theoretical implications for studies in language contact and sociolinguistics as well as language research overall. They demonstrate how a notion of language ideologies must be taken into consideration in order to fully theorize and understand language variation and change as well as language use, in general.

In the next and final section of this dissertation, I offer brief recommendations for future research perspectives on studies of language practice (e.g., language learning, language policy and planning, language contact, and language variation and change), particularly with regard to the current Brazilian linguistic situation.

8.3 FUTURE RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE AND CONSIDERATIONS

This research explored valuations of Yoruba language practices and, in turn, the contemporary redevelopment and learning of Yoruba in northeastern Brazil as products of a complex of sociohistorical and ideological processes and as sites for the production of local cultural narratives about personhood. Following this line of theoretical inquiry in future research to further explore how language-ideological and sociohistorical factors constrain language learning,

language variation or the trajectories of language varieties in contact can only enrich linguistics theory.

One potential avenue for future research would be continuing to explore the evolving structural implications of the redevelopment of Yoruba linguistic practices vis-à-vis language-focused ideologies about *race*, *heritage*, and *nation*. It would involve further exploring how Soteropolitanos navigate and rationalize a linguistic situation characterized by dialectal variation and the coexistence of a continuum of different linguistic practices encompassed by the term "Yoruba." Thus, while the **Yoruba Teaching Evaluation study** [Chapter 6] attends to the ways in which instructors rationalize and evaluate "homegrown" versus exogenous Yoruba linguistic practices, future research could explore how members of the Yoruba learning community of Salvador, in general, or how other communities of Yoruba practice (e.g., cultural, religious) schematize and rank different Yoruba linguistic practices, particularly in accordance with their historical associations and cultural values.

Regarding the case of other contact varieties in northeastern Brazil, in general, future research might ask: What is the current sociolinguistic situation of other African-based language forms, such as those of Fon/Ewe or Bantoid origins (e.g., Umbundu, Kikongo or Kimbundu), and how do local language-ideological schemas support their statuses? Are these varieties, for example, viable curricular languages in Brazil, and how do local linguistic ideologies (e.g., regarding these language varieties in relation to Soteropolitano society) constrain their viability? As for the African-based language practices that *are* adopted or coopted as curricular languages and cultivated as ancestral traditions or linguistic patrimonies, as is the case of Yoruba in Brazil, an interesting avenue for future research would be exploring what local linguistic ideologies mean for the structure and function that such varieties will take in the social context.

Thinking of a more timely case, such an approach would also elucidate the sociolinguistic situation of indigenous L1 languages in Brazil, especially following a presidential veto in December 2015 that now limits the use of "native" languages in education to initial literacy instruction (see Maciel, 2016). That is, it would clarify the logics backgrounding the Brazilian government's language policy as well as the language-ideological notions, no doubt Herderian philosophies about language and personhood, that are motivating members of the indigenous community (and the Amazon Cooperation Network) to strongly oppose the decision.

All in all, a sociosemiotic approach that fuses a language contact perspective with a notion for discussing how Yoruba linguistic practices become socially significant within local cultural schemas in Salvador and Brazil and, in turn, inform and become informed by the local practice of the language, offers an interdisciplinary, empirical and well-grounded account of Yoruba language learning in northeastern Brazil and of the social context that supports this sociolinguistic situation. It has provided a model for understanding the changing form and function of other African-based language varieties and nondominant linguistic practices in the Americas as well as for explaining other cases of languages in contact, language learning and, more generally, language as a social practice anywhere.

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