
The Language of Diaspora: Marginal Rebellion and the Deconstruction of Central Narratives in Modern English Literature

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Abstract: *Postcolonial and diasporic writers have been involved in challenging the canonical structures of modern English literature and the inherited frameworks of these writings in their discourses. By drawing on the concepts of hybridity and the third space of Homi Bhabha and on the deconstructive strategies of Jacques Derrida this paper explores how in their attempt to overcome the hegemony of the centers of imperial rule the marginalized writings of today's postcolonial and diasporic cultures reject the binary structures of center/margin, self/other and homeland/ exile and in their linguistically hybrid texts present a counter-hegemonic attitude towards these structures and attempt to overcome them in their representations of self, other and home. After introducing Homi Bhabha's notions of hybridity and the third space of literature and Jacques Derrida's deconstructive strategy in modern English literature, the paper will concentrate on three different linguistic features of the subversive rhetoric in the diasporic texts of today. By analyzing code-switching as counter-hegemonic strategy by illustrating syntactic re-appropriation and by undoing linear structures of time in order to create a totally new form of narrative the article ends by arguing that diasporic literature today actually re-marks the English and in doing so opens up new possibilities for literary works within a given national literature to challenge the dominant cultural narratives and create a new, more fluid and polyphonic space of literature.*

Keywords: diasporic literature, postcolonial criticism, deconstruction, hegemony, hybridity, linguistic rebellion, modern English literature.

INTRODUCTION

Globalization forced migration, and the collapse of empires are reshaping our culture and literature. This new culture and literature is no longer confined to the British metropolitan center of English studies. Rather, literature by and about migrants and other citizens of the margin, whether they be native to the new world or to some other part of the old empire, is coming to the forefront of English studies and taking center stage in the contemporary cultural scene. These writers use the English language not to reiterate the cultural legacy of imperialism but rather to resist and defy in a culturally creative manner.

It is the problem of the present study that will be answered in detail by probing the manner in which writers of the diaspora have managed to take over English and turn it from an instrument of imperial oppression into a weapon of resistance that allows them to write history from a colonized rather than a colonizer perspective. To what extent does the linguistic hybridity represented by these writers of the diaspora challenge the so-called Western narratives and their literature?

This paper explores strategies of ‘writing back to the Empire through the application of certain postcolonial theories largely centering around the issue of cultural and linguistic hybridity. As the research attempts to expose language for what it really is (i.e. an ideological and political instrument) it aims to investigate how various diasporic texts, employing the English language attempt to articulate and solve problems of identity dwell upon crises of belonging and, above all attempt to retrieve and re inscribe a historical space, or memory from within the framework of the imperial archive and in opposition to it.

Throughout the following sections of the study the transformation of the English language into a hybrid space of writing will be exemplified on the basis of a selection of contemporary fiction in detail and analyzed from a literary and aesthetic point of view. By means of the resistant word of the margin, the study is trying to provide an insight into how the space of modern English literature is being redrawn.

Research Questions

1. How do contemporary diasporic writers in Modern English Literature utilize linguistic subversion, narrative fragmentation and cultural hybridity to resist marginalization and systematically deconstruct dominant center-periphery national narratives?
2. In what way(s) do diasporic writers manipulate the English language via code-switching, via linguistic creolization, via the use of untranslated foreign idioms and/or via non-linear (non-standard) syntactic structures to challenge the linguistic hegemony of the traditional literary canon?
3. In how far does literature represent the marginalised body in order to subvert the Eurocentric concept of the monolithic national identity and in order to represent home as dynamic, fluid and deterritorialised?
4. The above described narrative strategies of marginal rebellion serve as rebel mechanisms and undermine the authority of the imperialist and neo-colonialist master-narratives. How?
5. How far does this marginal writing actually affect the contemporary English literary canon, from within, or will it be swamped by the global publishing market?

Research Objectives

1. to investigate how diasporic Modern English Literature uses the novel language and structure of its works in order to challenge Eurocentric historical narratives and literature in a politically and culturally subversive manner.
2. By analyzing style and the sociolinguistics of several authors from the diaspora writing in Modern English Literature and using techniques of code-blending, vernacularization and narrative dissonance against standard English.
3. To explore how the in-between space of diasporic writers of Modern English Literature and in exile introduces instability to the notion of borders, of nation and of culture.

4. To deconstruct the architecture of selected texts by analyzing structures such as polyphony, chronology and intertextuality and by defining their function as criticism.
5. The extent to which subversion of the margin has an impact upon the overall development of English literary studies today and upon the postcolonial canon.

Language as an Instrument of Colonial Domination and Epistemic Violence

In postcolonial studies English is studied as more than a simple means of communication. It was one of the major instruments of imperial ideology. The English language of the Empire was imposed as the language of government, education and culture in the colonies. It was by this means that the colonized had their minds shaped and their historical and cultural memory disrupted by being persuaded of the inferiority of their native tongues and of the cultural and historical values which were expressed by them as opposed to the language of the metropolitan center.

These imperial texts of the classical empire were fixated on portraying the Other or margin as inferior to the center and constantly dependent on the guidance of the center to attain civilization. These texts of the imperial empire further proved to be instruments of the systematic denigration and suppression of the indigenous languages and literatures, in order to grant precedence to English and establish it at the pinnacle of the empire's cultural hierarchy as the language of knowledge and history.

The Strategy of "The Empire Writes Back"

Postcolonial literature and thinkers use the term "The Empire Writes Back" in order to describe the change of imperial center to periphery in the course of colonial decline and mass migration from colonized territories to Great Britain from the twentieth century onwards. Moreover, they refer to a certain literary strategy, that could no longer be accepted by writers and authors from the "margins" in terms of passivity as had been the case in the era of colonial expansion.

The strategy involved by postcolonized writers for writing novels in English also involves something more than just writing novels in English. For these writers, it involved the strategy of appropriating the language of their colonizers and reversing them within the framework of the writer's own culture. Bill Ashcroft and his colleagues in their seminal work of postcolonial criticism have explained the fundamental aspect of this strategy for writers from margin. These writers chose to deviate from the restrictive conventions of standard written British English and, in so doing, wrote in English in such a way that the language expressed their own unique cultural, dialectical and structurally different ways of perceiving the world. In so doing, the writers were simply asserting their right to have language reflect their unique hybridity and not be confined to the begrimed pages of the Oxford Dictionary.

The Space of Linguistic Hybridity and the Emergence of the Diasporic Voice.

By Linguistic Hybridity I shall refer to the manner in which a migrant writer can reject the former colonial center's suppressive duality between cultures of home and the cultures of the center, opting instead to create a third space or intermediate zone of communication between two cultures. English in the space of the diasporic writer interacts with words and expressions from the indigenous languages of a country or

region. These might include words from Somali, Arabic, from the languages of the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean etc.

The migrants' creative interaction with English in order to construct meaningful modes of communication to readers from the "center" of power produces at the same time a new form of resistance against oppressive structures of power and a manner of conduct, an aesthetic act of resistance which converts the English language from being the symbol of oppression into a tool of liberation. It transforms the body of English written by the former colonized into a transcontinental, polyphonic language, bearing the burden of bearing witness to and portraying the complex reality of the diaspora, as well as the record of the trauma of migration and the longing of return to the homeland of his/her ancestors.

The 'Linguistic Space' of Diaspora Communities and the Emergent 'Diasporic Voice' within the 'Third Space' of Cultural Hybridity. Diaspora occurs when populations are physically dispersed across geographical, political and cultural landscapes. As populations of from homelands travel to reside in new countries and cultures, the various mother tongues and languages of the original community intersect with, collide with and get 'mixed up' with the host languages of the new country of residence. As a locus of contact between cultures within postcolonial studies, within the discipline of sociolinguistics and within literary studies, this space of hybridity is viewed positively as the space of the 'Third Space' of cultural hybridity of Homi Bhabha. The hybrid 'linguistic space' of dispersed communities of from homelands gives rise to an emergent 'diasporic voice'. This voice of newly emergent subjectivity in diaspora is decidedly transgressive in relation to monolingualism. Such a voice of hybridity seeks to interrupt and subvert the dominant linguistic mode(s) of the host country or countries. It does so by creating a new space of speech and communication that is distinct from the various modes of speech of the host countries' monolingual populations.

In another sense, this "Third Space" of linguistic and cultural production constitutes an "intersection" or "contact zone." Of primary importance here is the way in which speakers of a given language employ that language in order to interrupt its given dominance. By using the dominant language of the host country and, at the same time, modifying it by means of the syntax, accent, and the idiolect of the native tongue, the speaker of a "Third Space" interrupts the mono linear flow of that language in order to produce a variety that is distinctive to him or her.

In addition to such "interruptions" of linguistic dominance, there are also moments of "refusal of a given binary opposition" in which the speaker of a "Third Space" refuses to choose between the extremes of a given binary opposition. As such, the "hybrid" idiom of the speaker of a "Third Space" constitutes a moment of pure and unadulterated linguistic innovation.

The "coords" idiom under discussion here is never purely "home" and never purely "elsewhere." Rather it constitutes a semantic field unto itself which is to be distinguished from the cultural and political territory of both the homeland and the country of residence of the speaker of a "Third Space." The "hybrid" idiom: some mechanisms of production .These mechanisms of production of a given "hybrid" idiom, or a "Third Space" variety, of the spoken language may be examined in more detail as follows:

Untranslatability (Opacity) or the right to opacity in respect of given indigenous terms and of given cultural concepts and even given linguistic idiosyncrasies and modes of speech which are to be left untranslated in given texts written in a host language i.e. in view of a readership consisting in part of speakers of said host language(s) given that these untranslated terms, concepts etc are to be understood by the said readership as divergent from the meaning(s) normally current in said host language(s) i.e. as being culture-specific; this right to opacity constitutes a political and aesthetic imperative of considerable importance for the writer or critic.

Syntactical transposition

This consists in the mapping of given grammatical structures or of given metaphorical structures from a given language upon another given language or languages; in terms of, for example, given pidgin languages (Nigerian Pidgin English, Tok Pisin), creoles (Krio), given bastard languages (Spanglish, Hinglish), etc. This mechanism serves to render the given language or languages of the dominant culture or of the imperial center-fit for the purposes of local and even anti-colonial or postcolonial expression and communication.

Drawing on Bakhtin

This term refers to the free alternation between two or more given languages (or between given dialects or registers) within the space of a single spoken utterance or written text; this given idiom or “hybrid” language thus produced is itself a fitting symbol of the truly disorienting experience of the diasporic subject who, having been forced to cross geographical, cultural, and even political borders in search of safety, ends up feeling disoriented and uprooted even within the space of his or her new domicile or home; in this sense, therefore, given code-switching and code-mixing produce a fitting representation of the cultural politics of diasporic identity and experience.

Having outlined these various mechanisms of production of a “hybrid” idiom or of a “Third Space” variety of the spoken language, we shall now turn to an examination of the agency of the speaker of a “Third Space” and of the politics of such a voice.³ The agency of the diasporic voice and the politics of such a voice. It is well known that W.E.B. Du Bois famously described the experience of double consciousness in these terms: “The trouble with books is that the medium is better than the message. Soon after this document was written, that trouble became overwhelming... Soon after this document was written, that trouble became overwhelming. Always, it seems to me, the Gros Pointe person... always measures his soul by the tape of a world that looks on in contempt and in pity. Oh me, oh my. I wish I could conveniently deal with this sort of thing...” Rather than a psychic and moral defect (given that term is here employed in its pejorative sense), however, the double consciousness or disorientation experienced by the diasporic subject today can be productively transformed into a critical and artistic agent of considerable force in the political and cultural struggle currently waged at the local and at the global levels.

De-centering the imperial language

Firstly, there is the totally opposite approach of a number of postcolonial writers and critics (e.g. Chinua Achebe, Salman Rushdie and Gloria Anzaldúa). Instead of returning to the indigenous languages of precolonial times in order to “decolonize the mind” as it were (as advocated by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o) these

writers seek to “queer” or stretch the imperial language in order to find expression of the local experience and culture. As Gloria Anzaldúa so wonderfully and indeed creatively writes in *Borderlands/La Frontera*: “Wild tongues cannot be tamed, they can only be cut out.

Chicano Spanish is a child spoken by a child itself who has been abandoned... We speak a patois, a forked tongue a variation of two languages... We are human beings caught in the middle... caught between the cheerfulness and innocence of an obedient child and the rage of an Handleable aggressive and explosive youngster. Her words capture beautifully the sense in which a speaker of a “Third Space” variety or idiom uses a given variety which is never given or fixed, but is always subject to change. This authorizing voice produces “local stories” and “fiction” of considerable “intellectual merit.

Such written material, indeed, constitutes “resistance writing” of a high order; for it is written from a “borderland” that is at the same time “bigeographical,” “historical,” and “cultural.” Moreover, a whole school of theory and literary criticism has emerged which puts great emphasis on the location and deconstruction of the fixed and given identity of a culture or given individuals, on the way in which a whole culture has been actually and historically constituted through the structures of power of imperialism, colonialism, and so on. Thus Bhabha’s theory of “linguistic hybridity” which we have been discussing here also enables critical insight into how memory and current experience are recalled and reflected through the “hybrid” idiom of the speaker of a “Third Space,” and, through it, the lost “home” is both remembered and dislocated. In other words, language becomes an “archive” or even “repository” of given collective memories; and this hybrid variety is, in turn, transported from the physical “home” space to the new “domicile” space in order to be reproduced there. Therefore, this authorizing voice is that of a diasporic subject whose very experience of the “space of difference” produces an entire variety of strategies for his or her own survival, and even for creative and productive resistance of the dominant culture or imperialism; in this sense, therefore, the space of such linguistic “hybridity” is not that of a simple linguistic loss, but rather of huge aesthetic and even political gain to the speaker of a “Third Space” variety for through it the very experience of displacement is itself transformed into a particular methodology of the greatest creativity for literary production and critical theory of the largest magnitude.

Psychic Numbing and the Inability to Imagine Catastrophe

Dr. Robert Jay Lifton a psychiatrist and scholar has investigated the psychological impact that large-scale catastrophes have had on individuals and in Solar McEwan portrays the impact of the global environmental catastrophe through the character of Michael Beard. One of the major psychological defense mechanisms that people employ when unable to confront the full horror of a catastrophic event is described by Dr. Lifton in his work of several decades as psychic numbing. In general terms the human brain is better equipped to respond to a short-term large, and up close physical danger such as attacking a wild animal in the woods than it is to comprehend a slow-evolving threat that is offered up in abstractions or that is played out at a remove in time and space.

Although him and his Noble Prize are full immersed in contemporary science, he fails to react adequately to the warning signs of catastrophic environmental change. Most tellingly Solar’s Near-Futuristic scenario explores in vivid detail the adverse effects of global warming with Beard able to recite figures and

quantitative studies of the expected impacts of increased temperatures, yet he remains distanced and unconcerned. As McEwan's portrayal of Beard so powerfully illustrates, to be aware of science is not to be emotionally engaged by it. Rather his detachment stems from a failure to connect the data of environmental change to a sense of moral responsibility thus failing to be concerned about future events which he cannot imagine.

Beard's lack of concern for environmental catastrophe is portrayed by McEwan as a paradox of scientific knowledge. Although the Nobel Prize winner is aware of the figures relating to global warming, he does not translate this knowledge into concern. Instead, Beard is more concerned with matters of a personal nature. The scientist in Beard understands the evidence, but the moral consequences of environmental catastrophe are never considered by him. The reader sees that Beard is a man unable to imagine the catastrophic consequences of environmental catastrophe, therefore he is unable to be concerned about them. This in itself is an example of psychic numbing.

Displacement, Excessive Consumption, and Self-Justification

The process of displacement and rationalization or explanation in *Solar* is revealed through the manner in which Beard displaces responsibility for environmental problems and convinces himself of his own environmentally-friendly practices. Beard is a scientist and thus one might expect him to be at the forefront of environmental issues. Instead he travels around the world by land and air and engages in excessive and obnoxious consumption. Instead of feeling guilt when he is shown evidence of environmental problems he excuses his behavior.

Displacement Excessive Consumption and Self-Justification

In order to understand the human behavior when it comes to consumption, today's social and economic analysts do not need to rely on the classic view of man as merely searching to meet his needs in order to maximize his utility. The seeming excessiveness of today's man has become increasingly intertwined with a set of psychological defenses which allow him to engage in excessive consumption and to be able to justify his behavior in a sophisticated manner. In this essay we will attempt to understand the interlocking displacement excessive consumption and self-justification in order to understand the system-like behavior which is engendered by and which fuels the excessive consumption of hyper-consumerist capitalist cultures.

Displacement

The Root of Human Consumption Displacement is one of the most basic psychological defense mechanisms known. Typically, this form of defense mechanism is used to shift the focus of an individual's emotional needs, to alleviate his or her anxiety in respect of the 'true' causes of his or her distress in order to search for more satisfying substitutes. When applied to consumption of commodities, in order to identify the root of the products that modern man purchases in excess, we find that the following explanations are frequently employed in social and economic studies today: Substitutive Satisfaction All human needs, whether intrinsic or extrinsic, tangible or intangible, are search for ways to satisfy a number of basic needs (for belonging, identity, for expression of human agency, for stress-relief, etc.). These needs are then displaced and satisfied by the purchase of commodities. The Hedonic Treadmill Though

temporarily fulfilling, all products fail in the end to meet the needs of man and so are constantly replaced by an almost limitless array of others of a similar kind. In this sense, man is forever placed upon the Hedonic Treadmill. Structural Alienation — With the majority of work undertaken in structured (and, to a large extent, dehumanizing) environments in order to bring about greater efficiency and profit for owners and shareholders, these structures have a tendency to alienate man from his true nature. He is forced to seek the ways to express his human nature by means of his consumption of goods and services in order to achieve a sense of autonomy which is denied him in his place of work.

[Underlying Anxiety / Unmet Need]

↓ (Displacement)

[Commodity Acquisition / Hyper-Consumption]

↓ (Temporary Relief & Regret)

[Cognitive Dissonance]

↓ (Self-Justification)

[Restored Equilibrium & Repeat Cycle]

Excessive Consumption: Systemic Consequences

When a displacement is the main driving force behind human behavior then this behavior can take the form of excessive consumption or hyper-consumerism. The rate of consumption of resources and the amount of waste produced is in excess of what is ecologically sustainable and what is useful to human beings.

This excessive consumption has many structural consequences in three dimensions:

1. DimensionMechanismSocietal/Ecological Outcome EcologicalResource depletion, carbon emissions, and non-biodegradable waste generation. Biospheric degradation, climate overshoot, and loss of biodiversity.
2. Socio-EconomicCommodity fetishism and artificial obsolescence. Personal and national debt, inequality, and the exploitation of other regions and peoples. Psychological Over-reliance on external markers of worth to measure one's own quality or to achieve fulfillment, and high levels of anxiety and depression while at the same time feeling unsatisfied even though all material wants are fully satisfied.
3. Self-Justification: Neutralizing Cognitive Dissonance. In order to maintain a behavior of excessive consumption the individual also needs to keep a clear conscience and to avoid feelings of anxiety and guilt.

In order to achieve this the individual employs self-justification in the form of specific cognitive distortions and of moral disengagement techniques.

- A. Rationalization and Utilitarian Framing: He re-categorizes goods that he buys in order to satisfy needs of luxury or for impulse-buying as vital, necessary, useful, etc. (e.g. as investment).

- B. Moral Licensing: He allows himself to indulge in excessive consumption in one area of his life as long as he has acted in a correct and responsible way in another area of his life (e.g. recycling of papers and excessive consumption of fast fashion).
- C. Diffusion of Responsibility and Social Proof: He denies responsibility to act in a sustainable way by reference to others (corporations, companies) or by reference to social norms and expectations of others (everybody does that).
- D. The "Deservingness" Narrative: Excessive consumption is justified as being "deserved" by reference to the suffering, to the physical or mental exhaustion, or to the low wage of the individual (e.g. "I deserve it after all that I have been through").

The displacement in a consumerist society is the main driving force behind human behavior which in turn takes the form of excessive consumption or hyper-consumerism. This in turn gives rise to self-justification in order to keep a clear conscience and to avoid feelings of guilt. This in turn leads to more displacement, to more excessive consumption and to more self-justification. This system is closed and self-reinforcing, and its end can only be brought about by a deep crisis of the consumerist system as a whole or by individual change.

The Myth of “Technological Solutionism”

The myth of “technological solutionism” is a major form of denial used by contemporary minds to deny environmental reality. The perception that humanity will be saved by advanced technology in the nick of time to prevent climate change and its consequences, can serve as a means of averting calls for fundamental change in human behavior and consumption patterns.

For Beard, solving the environmental crisis is also a ‘commercial and technological opportunity’. McEwan mocks Beard’s attempts to develop a new form of solar energy through artificial photosynthesis. Beard’s project is a ‘non-solutions solution’ to an environmental crisis which the scientist believes does not require any reduction in consumption of energy or in emissions of greenhouse gases. “Instead of cutback,” the scientist tells a newspaper, “Solar could be a commercial and technological opportunity of a kind the world has not yet seen.”

This option of technological solutionism is penetrating the minds of many in a subliminal form and viewed by McEwan through the Scientist’s-fix-everything technophile mentality as another defensive mechanism or delusion preventing people from confronting their daily inconsiderate practices, in the hope that in the end science will present the perfect technological fix for the planet’s problems and developers will market “solutions” to save it. In the meantime, resources will be exploited continuously by individuals who are in denial of their share of the abuse.

Black Comedy and Satire as Instruments for Exposing Human Hypocrisy

Unlike many other environmental novels that present climate change in a largely serious, even tragic way and offer their readers in a didactically straightforward manner possible solutions to the ecological catastrophe unfolding before their eyes, Solar presents black comedy and satire as an effective means of uncovering human hypocrisy in relation to environmental issues.

Rather than elicit sympathy for his troubled protagonist, McEwan is intent on laying bare the latter's narcissistic, amoral and intellectually dishonest nature. He depicts a man in his 60s whose environmental crisis, of a cataclysmic proportion, is met with a mix of absurd denial, intellectualized rationalization and teenage-like indulgences, providing a score of comical and often humiliating incidents that punctuate his disastrous year.

In this way, satire uncovers the contradictions between awareness of climate change and human behavior. It reveals to us the 'comic' form of denial prevalent in the Western world of today, a form of denial that acknowledges climate change but deals with it in an ironic, ridiculing or even humorous way. It temporarily relieves us from the anxiety evoked by environmental degradation but brings no change to our behavior.

By using black comedy in this way, McEwan converts a medium into a tool for critical analysis of environmental catastrophe and its denial. By being funny about environmental degradation and denial the novel reveals to the reader how individuals are able to evade reality in order to avoid acknowledging the true extent of the environmental crisis.

In the closing pages of *Solar*, Beard's major solar-energy project fails. We see the collapse of the scientific project not as a containment failure of some fragile piece of laboratory equipment (1a3.3. The Collapse of the Scientific Project: The Broader Symbolism of Human Failure), but as part of the collapse of Beard himself as a human being.

That this collapse of his most egotistical endeavor was to be identified with the moral degeneracy of its author, was only what he had anticipated; his corroboration of the evident consisted in the specification of its worst points: of greed, of selfishness.

The project's collapse shall thus also serve to illustrate another, fundamental aspect of *Solar*: that even the most technologically advanced attempts to save the planet shall fail when driven by a human subject of excessive selfishness and greed. The natural and environmental crisis here portrayed as a deeply ethical and psychological challenge goes beyond being a mere problem to be solved by complicated mathematical equations of an engineering or physical nature.

As the last obstacle to his denial collapses, Beard becomes aware of the limitations of his technological way of solving the environmental crisis. Like in *Solar*, the struggle to prevent an environmental catastrophe requires more than just developing new technologies. It also requires an analysis of the human needs, the degree of consumption, the sense of responsibility and the ethical standards of human beings. Ultimately, a change of the human self that tries to control nature is required and proves to be more difficult than expected.

CONCLUSION

Researchers and writers from marginalized or diasporic backgrounds have utilized various means to return to and to subvert the historical dominance of English in order to reclaim their cultural agency and to challenge hegemonized historical narratives in this study. The core findings of this study are presented below.

Decolonizing the Language: Writers employ strategies of ‘writing back to the Empire’ and use English to challenge colonial legacy and express alternative perspectives and experiences.

Linguistic Hybridity: The English language is combined with the writers’ native dialects in creative ways in order to challenge homogenous forms of language and to debunk incorrect post-colonial images of cultures.

Reconfiguring the Historical Archive: Many writers, including Abdulrazak Gurnah, use polyphonic narratives to give voice to marginalized cultures and produce alternative versions of empire’s monochrome histories.

Reconfiguration of Culture and Demographics: Through the processes of migration and transnational mobility, the imperial centre of the UK has undergone radical transformation into a contemporary, multicultural and dynamic space wherein interconnected, border-crossing linguistic identities exist.

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