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**Sri Lankan Tamil experiences of the home-land and host-land:
the interaction between language and diasporic identity**

Abstract

This paper takes an empirical approach to investigate how diasporic identification with the home-land and host-land *interacts* with language in a mutually influencing dynamic interplay, giving rise to new language ideologies and identities. Since scholars are increasingly of the opinion that the processes of dislocation and re-settlement create multi-layered connections with the 'home-land' and 'host-land' (David, 2012:377), it is crucial we recognise that that the relationship between fixed geographical territories and communities, and the cultural-linguistic practices associated with them, need to be denaturalised (Rosa & Trivedi, 2017:331). In doing so, it is possible to re-theorise diasporic identity as a socio-cultural process. Attention to language can help shift diasporic phenomena away from being defined as 'bounded, territorialised, static and homogeneous' (Canagarajah & Silberstein 2012:82). Examining Sri Lankan Tamil diasporic experiences of the 'home-land' and 'host-land' and their relationship with language will promote such an agenda. (145 words)

Key Words: diaspora, space, home-land, host-land

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I. INTRODUCTION

Identity research has been of interest in the social sciences for a long time but has been studied mostly in terms of relatively stable group categories such as social class, gender, ethnicity, religion etc. (Edwards 2009). It has become a more complex issue in recent years, however, mainly because of the 'mobility and diversity that has arisen in the social worlds of the physical and digital due to the processes of globalization in late modernity' (Preece 2016:3). In fact, 'the complexity embedded in identities in mobility ... is unprecedented in its scale, multiplicity, and inherent contradictions [and]... people on the move have made it a prerequisite to see this level of complexity as the norm rather than an exception' (Zhu Hua 2017:120). In this paper, I contribute to the studies of identities-in-mobility, focusing on the diasporic identities of Sri Lankan Tamils (SLT), people with a long and changing history of migration.

Spatial images have traditionally defined many early works on identity and migration. Old certainties, such that there is an immutable link between cultures, people, or identities and specific places, still influence modern governing concepts of nations and cultures (Lavie & Swednburg 2001:1), but they need to be recognized as being essentialist, requiring 're-theorizations about the concepts of space and place and their relations with identities' (De Fina 2016:165). In most applied linguistics research, the concepts of *place* and *space* are often conflated, but De Certeau (1984), considers that there is an important difference between the two; a *place* is the result of physical considerations and institutional orders, while *space* is the ongoing construction of human activity and practices (Higgins, 2017:102,103). In other words, 'space is a practiced place' (De Certeau, 1984:117). Higgins (2017:102) points out that

this view has important implications for the study of migration and language because it questions the static view of spaces as inherently associated with languages and emphasises the need to study how spaces are *produced* through the intersection of human activity, ethnicities, religions, genders and languages.

Such a dynamic interpretation of space is compatible with the recent shift of how identity is being conceptualised, with many studies currently adopting a social constructivist perspective, conceiving identity as being a discursive performance, constructed and negotiated through language interactions (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998; De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg 2006) (in Zhu Hua, 2017:117). An approach to analysing identities-in-mobility that *combines* these two theorisations of *space* and *identity* allows us to examine how highly mobile populations such as the SLTs, experience space; specifically, how they conceive of home-land and host-land spaces through language. This view thus eschews the idea that there is a territorial basis for diasporic identities and is compatible with the SLT diasporic condition.

The civil war in Sri Lanka led to the forcible mass migration of SLTs causing the formation of a diaspora of around one million people (Orjuela 2012) (Fuglerud 1999; Venugopal 2006) (David 2012:377). Issues of resettlement, relocation and dislocation continue to feature powerfully in their lives. My ethnographic research carried out with SLTs in London tries to understand how their experiences have impacted on their identities, bearing in mind that many of them have had to relocate to multiple new homes as a part of their migration process.

In this paper, I begin with a brief overview of the SLT migratory patterns to the UK, followed by a discussion of how the new focus on identities-in-mobility feeds into the wider debate surrounding how *space* and *territory* have been conceptualised within various definitions of diaspora. I also briefly describe how I carried out my fieldwork, before analysing the multi-layered ways in which the SLT diaspora in London identify with the notions of 'home-land' and 'host-land'. Crucially, I aim to show how home-land and host-land experiences, diasporic identities and language practices shape one another and how their dynamic interaction brings new language ideologies and identities to the fore. By using such a theoretic lens, I hope to be able to denaturalise the stereotypical associations between a home-land or host-land, a particular population and the languages they use (Rosa & Trivedi, 2017:332).

II. The Sri Lankan Tamil diaspora

SLTs have been migrating from Sri Lanka since the mid 1950s. Soon after Sri Lanka gained independence from the British in 1948, tensions between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority on the island began to grow. This led to the first wave of migration of SLTs to Britain, especially after 1956 when Sinhala was made the official language of Sri Lanka, a move that was opposed by the Tamil-speaking minority (David 2012:376-377). These new settlers in Britain were high-caste student and professional migrants with proficient linguistic skills who came to take up university places or practice as doctors, accountants or lawyers. However, migration to Britain in the late 1960s and early 1970s began to increase as discrimination against Tamils intensified, gradually leading to an established SLT community in Greater London. The 1977 riots in Sri Lanka contributed to the growing number of young men fleeing the country, but as their English-speaking skills and educational qualifications

were not as advanced as their predecessors, they weren't able to gain employment in Britain as easily (*ibid*). Overall, migration to the West was seen to be mostly voluntary pre-1983 and was due to the experience of institutionalised discrimination and denial of educational and professional opportunities in Sri Lanka, as a result of being ethnically Tamil (Daniel & Thangaraj 1995:241).

The most-large scale exodus of Tamils from Sri Lanka, however, was triggered by the onset of the civil war beginning in 1983. By then, the ethnic tensions between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority had escalated leading to the formation of the LTTE – the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (broadly known as the Tamil Tigers), who began a guerrilla campaign to try and achieve an independent Tamil state known as '*Tamil Eelam*'. The civil war lasted for more than a quarter of a century ending in May 2009 when the Sri Lankan government armed forces declared the defeat of the Tamil Tigers (Canagarajah 2008:146) (David 2012:377). But 'the grievances that led to this conflict remain unresolved, and Tamils continue to leave the country' (Canagarajah 2013:133).

During the forced migration period between 1983-91, approximately 200,000 SLTs fled to Western Europe, including 17,000 to Britain (McDowell 1996). More recently it has been estimated that the SLT community in the UK numbers around 180,000 (ICG 2010; Orjuela 2012). But, as Britain's immigration laws became gradually stricter, there were changes to SLT migration patterns. There seems to have been a decline in asylum migration but an increase in the regrouping and relocating of family groups, particularly of SLTs from Europe to Britain. (David 2012:377-378). This has been mainly motivated by the desire of SLT parents in Europe to give their children an English language education. The support of a well-established,

significant British-based Tamil community, as well as the introduction of UK's 'open-borders' policy to the EU in 2004, further facilitated this 'secondary' migration. (*ibid*)

The SLTs in the UK are thus socially diverse, with professionals long established in the UK, refugees and secondary migrants from Europe all intermingled within the British diaspora. They are divided by differences of caste, class, village of origin, education, religion, date of migration, reason for migration, legal status in the countries of destination etc. (Burgio 2016:113). In terms of language, the community's social diversity is reflected *inter alia* in standard British, educated Sri Lankan English, vernacular London English, and second language learner styles, with the advent of adults and children from mainland Europe introducing languages like Dutch, French and German as well. Tamil varieties such as Jaffna Tamil, Colombo Tamil and Batticaloa Tamil are well recognized by first-generation migrants, whereas their children speak Tamil varieties that are more hybrid (Canagarajah 2013).

Given that the social positioning and communicative repertoires of British SLTs are complex, dynamic and unevenly spread across generations and migration histories, it seems a very apposite group for the investigation of diasporic identities in increasing conditions of superdiversity (Blommaert & Rampton 2011:14). However, so far there has been very little research on the sociolinguistic practices and language attitudes that emerge here.

III. The conception of space and territory in the theorization of diasporic identities

Political scientist William Safran (1991:83-84) offers a definition of diaspora where they or their ancestors have been dispersed from a specific original 'centre' to foreign regions. In

other words, diasporas are comprised of migrants and their descendants who share a common history or collective memory of an actual or mythological home-land to which they aspire to return, due to discrimination and persecution experienced in the host society. They share a commitment to the maintenance/restoration of their home-land and their continued ties to this home-land contributes to an ethno-communal consciousness amongst them. Safran¹'s definition thus importantly links diasporas to the home-land as well as to host-lands, emphasising the diaspora's relationship to particular *territories*. This definition, however, has been criticised for essentialising identities as place²-bounded, encouraging conceptions of exclusivist and homogeneous communities, which neglects to take into account ambivalences about return and attachment to the land, as well as hybridities (Clifford 1997:247).

Alternative theorizations contextualise diaspora within post-modernity and argue for diaspora being a socio-cultural process with a focus on *identity formations*. In this approach, diasporic identities can be fluid, hybrid or 'creolized' (Clifford 1994; Hall 1990; Gilroy 1997;), emphasizing that diasporic identities go through a process of continual identification and differentiation (Clifford 1997; Gilroy 1991; Hall 1992a). They are formed negatively through differentiation towards the countries of settlement and positively through identification with the home-lands, but these identities can be internally heterogeneous and divided along lines of class, gender, sexuality, age etc. Thus, each of these categories and each individual in the diaspora are said to negotiate their relationship to the majority of society differently (Alinia 2004:104) (Hall 1992a:228) where, for instance, they 'maintain identifications outside the national time/space in order to live inside, with a difference' (Clifford 1997:251). Gilroy calls this *double consciousness*, which flows from 'being both inside and outside the West' (Gilroy 1991:4). He describes space as not being territorial, but which is 'beyond the imaginary³ of

the nation, of the territory with frontiers' (Gilroy 2003: 50). These theorizations of diasporic identity strongly oppose essentialist notions of culture and identity that naturalise the relations between identity and territory. Rather than considering identity to be a fixed essence as described in Safran's (1991) and Cohen's (1997) definitions, identity should perhaps be seen as a process of '*becoming*', incorporating mobility and movement.

In this paper, I use this latter definition of diasporic identity to explore the SLT diaspora's relationship to the home-land and host-land, demonstrating that it is necessarily complex and contradictory.

IV. Fieldwork

Drawing from my own long-standing involvement in the SLT community, I carried out my fieldwork with participants who were mostly from the London boroughs of Harrow, Ealing, Redbridge and Kingston-upon-Thames where there are concentrated Tamil populations. Participants were selected through snowball sampling, as many of the early participants belonged to my own family and friendship networks. It was possible for me to avoid 'going native'⁴ (Gold, 1958:220), however, as although I speak Tamil⁵, I am not a member of the SLT community.

My fieldwork was carried out within a two-year period, between October 2015-2017, where I carried out semi-structured interviews and oral questionnaires in English and/or Tamil with forty-two participants. I also gave out audio recorders to selected participants to record themselves interacting in various contexts. In addition, I participated in and carried out

ethnographic observations in various family, community and university Tamil-society events.

Fieldwork participants represented a range of migration histories (as spouses, students, refugees, elderly parents; arriving solo or with family from Sri Lanka and Europe). They also varied in terms of their length of stay in the UK; i.e. newcomers who had lived in the UK for less than 10 years, first generation SLTs who had been living in the UK for at least 25 years and second generation Tamils who had either been born in the UK or who had arrived as children.

During the semi-structured interviews, I included topics such as biographies, aspirations, routines, beliefs, experiences as newcomers to the UK/Europe, language ideologies and civil war experiences. The oral questionnaires involved asking participants about their language practices and linguistic repertoires in both face-to-face and mediated communication, their local & transnational networks, media preferences as well as new media experiences.

The data thus included semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, self-recorded data and participant observation, but only the interview data was coded using the NVivo software programme according to the following broad themes: community inclusion and insecurity within the UK; the revivification of Sri Lankan experience and heritage; plans to sojourn or to settle; changes in economic position/class/caste status resulting from migration; the different kinds of relationships that newcomers build with first, second and third generation SLTs in Britain. In the following sections, I bring the fieldwork data into dialogue with potentially new ways of conceptualising 'home-land' and 'host-land' identities.

V. 'Home-land' identities

The notion of 'home-land' features in various definitions of diasporic identity. The following sections (a)- (d) will discuss how it is conceived by diasporic SLTs to reveal its multi-layered complexity.

(a) Home-land – Tamil Eelam

For many, 'home' is '*Tamil Eelam*'; areas in the north and east of Sri Lanka that represent the imaginary and utopian Tamil home-land, the independent Tamil state that was the object of Tamil insurgency. Eelam was originally used to refer to a prehistoric Dravidian home-land, which, based on vague textual references and controversial archaeological evidence, is thought to date to the sixth century B.C.E., prior to Sinhalese- Buddhist migration from North India (Arudpragasam 1996).

Sri Lankan Tamil nationalists argue that the remnants of Eelam's ancient glory lies in the purity of the Tamil language, which has been preserved in the northern Jaffna province, from ancient times to the present (Das 2016:179,180). In their search for a realistic home-land with verifiable boundaries in the present day, the prosperous medieval Hindu Kingdom of Jaffna, demonstrating resilience in having survived multiple military assaults between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, admirably suited the purpose. SLT nationalist discourse thus began constructing a chronotope⁶, challenging scientific conceptions of time and space, linking the people and languages of prehistoric Eelam with medieval Jaffna, contemporary Jaffna and the future sovereign territory of Eelam (*ibid*).

Due to the defeat of the LTTE in 2009, Eelam was never realized in geo-spatial terms but wartime Sri Lanka had instead validated the existence of a sovereign Eelam state by arguing for the territory's antiquity and its inhabitants' linguistic and racial purity (Das 2016:46). Many second generation Tamils growing up in the West, who have never even visited Sri Lanka, hold on to this concept of 'home' (O'Neill 2015:128). Cohen (2008) refers to this 'home' as an "imagined home-land", a powerful conceptualization which has the potential to unite transnational Tamil diaspora living around the world and influences their linguistic, cultural and political practices.

Below are extracts taken from the participant data, showing how some of my informants orient to Eelam as 'home'. Ram (19yrs, Male) and Girija (19 yrs, Female) were both born in France and moved to London when they were between 10-11 years old. Avneet (26 yrs, Male) came to London from Sri Lanka when he was an infant. He and his cousin, Anush (24 yrs, Male), whom he talks about in extract (3) grew up together in the same London neighbourhood.

(1) Ram: It's the same goal...people still want Tamil Eelam

(2) Girija: I always tell my mum like I would always (xxx).. I would only go back when Tamil Eelam has been established. I'm not going back.

(3) Avneet: Anush's team, I don't know if he told you about this, so he plays for a football team. They called (TET) Tamil Eelam Team and they play with the kit. Their kit is..um so think

of the map of Sri Lanka.. what is highlighted are the Tamil states. So like in the north they will have that and that is what is on their t-shirt.

The data above can be analysed using the notion of 'chronotope', which has been developed by Blommaert and De Fina (2016) to better understand narratives of migration. It also links with Das's (2016:179,180) chronotopic interpretation of SLT nationalist discourse (see above) in that it illustrates how SLT migrants navigate multiple spaces (Blommaert, 2016:2). Mobility re-configures the participants' views of Tamil Eelam and we observe the shift between time; i.e. the past, present and future, and between spaces, i.e. the home-land and host-land.

(b) Home-land – '*conta ür*' (ancestral village)

Daniel and Thangaraj (1995:63; cited in Das 2016:147) posits that 'one of the most important relationships to a Tamil is that which exists between a person and the soil of his *ür*'. To many Tamils, 'home' is that of their '*conta ür*' (loosely translated as ancestral or native village) (*ibid*), a place that is primordial and which was home to their ancestors (Daniel 1987:67).

The term *ür* is, in fact, a multivalent concept which can be defined as 'a named territory that is (a) inhabited by human beings who are believed to share in the substance of the soil of that territory; and (b) a territory to which a Tamil cognitively orients himself at any given time' (Daniel & Thangaraj 1995:63; cited in Das 2016:147). However, the *ür*'s character is said to be determined not only by the soil's composition, but also by local caste hierarchies where 'social relations of dominance are embedded in the spatial rendering of the *ür*' (Das 2016:148). Going by the latter description, it follows that the *ür* is not just a spatio-territorial concept but

also represents a 'person-centric view of reality' mediated by the material properties of both human and non-human inhabitants (Daniel 1987:70).

Thirangama (2011), however, cautions against relying on too abstract notions of the *ür* (Das 2016:148) and recommends paying attention to ideas of 'home-town' in the context of practical life as an everyday language of love, affection, sentiment and memory" (Thirangama 2011:19). She proposes that to the SLT diaspora, their '*conta ür*' represents a social and spatial identification that was their original 'home' where they grew up and enjoyed social relationships (Thirangama 2011:8).

(4) Sinthu: But I'll miss that community relationship... which we had... was very extremely nice environment. Say like if you having a function... two weeks, three weeks before everyone started to come to our house... around two o'clock to three er- around two o'clock three o'clock.. the house started to get.. very.. you know loud sounds and everything because everyone comes and talk and they help each other, they start to make er snacks and that sort of things. So that kind of environment you are not going to have it here. So.. I miss that relationship. You know, you are having money here... I'm not denying that. Yes, you are getting whatever you want to get but you are not getting the love.

Sinthu (46 yrs, Female) arrived in London when she was 21 years old as an asylum seeker. Her conception of home in (4) and (5) is also in a sense 'imagined' in that it conjures up a feeling of nostalgia for a time when home was experienced through occasions of familial conviviality.

(5) Sinthu: But still now in our village no one is there, everyone is displaced. Everyone is displaced. So if they can put the same situation back, if they can bring all my cousins back.. exactly the same and if you ask me whether I want to stay here or go back.. no question. I'll be back.. I will go back. Because the lo- happiness I had.. I'm feeling very sorry for my children, they are not having it.

According to Hall (1992a:236), sentiments such as Sinthu's recreate 'the endless desire to return to 'lost origins', to be one again with the mother, to go back to the beginning' and is a recurrent way of reaffirming identity and a sense of belonging. It mobilises the fact of being 'home-less' to garner the idea of community (Alinia 2004:119). Participants referring to this concept of 'home' are aware that neither they nor their children are ever likely to visit or experience their *conta ür* again because it has ceased to exist.

One could argue, however, that the notion of *ür* could be expanded if we consider SLT migrants who, through leaving their '*conta ür*' (ancestral village), build imitations of them in their western host-lands. Burgio describes this as the creation of 'Tamil districts' within countries of destination (Burgio 2016:112) where the 'Tamilization' of the urban environment produces a little Eelam'. Burgio analyses these 'Little Eelam' districts as a 'sort of decompression chamber, an intersection between Sri Lanka and host-lands, where some of the social characteristics of the motherland are played out' (Burgio, 2016:113).

Social relations in the *ür* of the host-land have always drawn on transnational migrant networks of patrilineal kin and caste members. SLTs migrating abroad rely on familial, caste and other social networks to check the compatibility between caste and their final

destinations. (Das 2016: 149) Daniel explains that ‘this attempt to locate one’s own people in a new *ūr* is not motivated by any desire to establish ties of friendship or even acquaintance with [their] people. Rather, it is based on the assumption that if the new *ūr* is compatible with one of one’s own, there is a good chance that it will also be compatible with oneself’ (Daniel 1987:82). Ravi’s comment below highlights the relationship between Tamil people and their *ūr*; how such a relationship is not easily renounced even with migration. Ravi (68 yrs, Male) arrived in the UK in his mid-thirties, before the out-break of the civil war, to further his professional qualifications.

(6) Ravi: I’m talking about the parents and grand-parents and great-grandparents. They’ve brought their mentality, their ways of life, their habits along with them. And they will never change. It is known- the famous word in Tamil is ‘*mann vaasanai*’. *Mann vaasanai* means ..I can’t literally- I can’t translate properly.. this is er.. this is er.. ‘*ways of the land*’. For centuries they have been like this.. they have grown up like that. They will never change.

(c) Home-land – Ever-changing landscapes

In example (6), Ravi describes the transposition of the *conta ūr* onto host-land cities, positing that people’s way of life will remain the same in their new migrant locations. Landscapes and demographics, however, are ever-changing, whether in the home-land or host-land. In the home-land, people’s *conta ūr* have been under siege by the Sri Lankan army for decades, and their churches, temples, shrines and memorials are still being destroyed (Das 2016:175). Thus, diasporic Tamils who visit ‘home’ can observe the borders of their villages/towns being encroached by the Sinhalese armed forces and witness the gradual Sinhalization of their

village/town landscapes (conversation with Dr. Friedman⁷). They take back a very different image of 'home' when they return to their host-countries so you could argue that the home that they imagine is more susceptible to change and is a less stable concept than for their diasporic counter-parts who cannot visit⁸ Sri Lanka or who haven't been back in a long time.

(7) Girija: I rem- when my mum went back she- she said how.. all the Tamil area have now- now've got- it goes Sinhalese, English, Tamil now

LS: Oh, in that order?

G: In that order.

LS⁹: Interesting..ok...signs..

G: And these area are predominantly Tamils

The exchange in (7) provides an example of how Tamil areas are becoming Sinhalesized through changes in sign-posting. Rather than being identified by their original names in the Tamil language, area names have been translated or transliterated into Sinhalese and English, with the Tamil name being designated as the least important in the hierarchy of signs. This illustrates how the *ūr* can be understood as a living sign where, through written signage, the *ūr* can 'speak' to proclaim its greater compatibility with a particular social group (Das 2016:148-149) (Daniel 1987:190).

(d) Home-land – Tamil Nadu

Tamil Nadu state in South India has always been connected to Sri Lanka through sharing a common literary heritage and even a common territory. *Tamilagam* – the 'Land of Tamils',

was a territory inherited by the Pandyan, Chola and Chera empires ruling South India and Sri Lanka from the third Tamil Sangam period (ca. 100 B.C.E. – C.E. 300) to the fifteenth century (Das 2016:179). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Tamil nationalists circulated cartographic images of *Tamilagam* to legitimate the idea of a sovereign nation that was *Dravida Nadu* (Dravidian country), suggesting that prehistoric *Tamilagam* extended from Tirupathi Hills in the north all the way south to Sri Lanka. Thus, there is already a pre-existing discourse that establishes Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu as a unified Tamil territory. Conveniently, '*Tamilagam's* hazy boundaries allowed for this home-land to grow or shrink in scale, unconstrained by actual geographical factors and geopolitical limits, to suit the imagination' (Das 2016:179), making it clear that this 'home-land' territory lacks specific boundaries.

The links between Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka are also characterised through Tamil cultural elements i.e. literature, cinema, dance, music and the Tamil language. According to Burgio (2016:108-110), these cultural elements were born in Tamil Nadu and characterise a global Tamil identity that the SLT diaspora orient to at different levels of identification. This is illustrated in example 8 below.

(8) Sinthu: But I think now we are more connected to South India, we are getting more connection with South India..we are more tend to follow the South Indian culture than.. Sri Lankan culture because.. that is our main hold... that is.. Tamil. That- that- that is our main-land anyway.. main hold. So we tend to go to India a lot rather than Sri Lanka a lot... So we tend to follow that culture because what we are seeing on the television only we are trying to follow..

It may also be possible that Sri Lanka is gradually being *replaced* by Tamil Nadu as 'home', especially by SLTs who cannot or do not return to their original birthplace.

(9) Ravi: I love my language and heritage and culture. I don't know why. Maybe it's one of the oldest languages in the world. There's so much, thousands and thousands of years. So I travel in Tamil Nadu extensively.. wherever you spea- go in Tamil Nadu they speak my language. And you feel happy. And I feel that I belong.. to... that part.

In these examples, it is clear that the desire for 'home' is conflated with the desire for a 'home-land'. Territoriality and return are notions associated with home-land, but often for diasporic SLTs abroad, returning to Sri Lanka is not always an option. For some, this is because of the traumatic memories conjured up by the civil war. Girija, for instance claims:

(10) Girija: For me, going back to Sri Lanka is just..for me it's not good like, it's just going to bring back like my mum's memories, my grandma's memories, my family's memories, like the things I saw on TV. That's all I see..for me.

For such members of the diaspora, the 'home-land' concept is connected with feelings of home-lessness and trauma, so much so that it acquires meaning beyond just a territorial place. The SLT experience of 'home-land' in the context of politics and the civil war is so significant that it has dominated SLT diasporic research agendas till date (Jones 2013). Historian Wickramasinghe, in her account of the contested identities of SLTs in the diaspora, states that 'in fashioning a Tamilness in the diaspora, history and collective memory play a crucial role. The dominant separatist group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), has

succeeded in its objectives of radicalising the Sri Lankan Tamils overseas' (2006:266). Her analysis may largely account for why the concept of 'home-land' is so cherished by the SLT diaspora.

VI. 'Host-land' identities

Canagarajah and Silberstein (2012:81) suggest that it is unlikely that 'all diaspora subjects always held a return to their home-land as their ultimate goal'. In light of this statement, it is therefore important to examine the diaspora's relationship with their host-lands, which is what the following sections (a)-(c) will do.

(a) 'Host-land', 'country of destination' and/or 'country of settlement'

In the literature (e.g. Burgio 2016), 'host-land' is often used interchangeably with terms such as 'countries of destination' or 'countries of settlement'. This can be problematic as each of these terms raises different empirical issues. The term 'country of destination', for instance, needs to take into account the fact that many SLTs escaping from Sri Lanka had to take long and convoluted migratory routes to reach a place where they were finally granted asylum. Some had to sojourn in different countries along the way (e.g. Saudi Arabia, East Germany, West Germany, France etc.) and took years before arriving finally at their 'country of destination'. In the event that they would have had to live in a particular country for a period of time before continuing on their way, that country would have become their 'country of settlement'. In other words, the term 'country of destination' has connotations of a '*goal to reach*' whereas 'country of settlement' seems to refer to either a temporary or permanent

residence. Interestingly, nearly half of the participants in my study (20/42) sojourned in a country between a few months to several years before migrating to the UK. Some of them say that they may not even settle permanently in the UK either, but may return to the country that they had previously been living in. In the extract below, for instance, Ayappa (Male, 26 years old) talks about how he hopes to move back to Germany, where he was born.

(11) Ayappa: I loved it. I loved living in Germany. One of my dreams, when I did move down here was always to go back to Germany once I finished my studies. The dream's still there. I do travel there every year. I go.. I go once or twice a year. I got family members, I got friends there. I got.. quite a lot of people that I know come from Berlin basically.. I got family all over. But being- being a Sri Lankan Tamil you tend to have.. family all over the world. I've got- half my family live in Berlin though.

In the example above, Ayappa relates to Germany as a place which he feels strongly attached to, where he still has friends and family members whom he communicates with and visits regularly. His dream to return to Germany one day supports the description of the diasporic condition of wanting to return 'home' when conditions are appropriate (Safran 1991:83-84). Whether Germany is the 'home-land' or 'host-land' in Ayappa's case is hard to identify, however. In addition, terms such as 'host-country' and 'country of settlement' are rather ambiguous. As mentioned earlier, the term 'settlement' could refer to either temporary or permanent occupancy. The term 'host country' is therefore more accurately used in this instance as a country is 'host' to a migrant as long as they reside in it and make use of its facilities. We therefore need to be careful when using the terms 'country of destination' and 'country of settlement' as they are much more difficult to delineate.

(b) 'Living-in-mobility'

Ayappa's narrative in (11) highlights how living in a place, does not necessarily imply stativity. The reality for most SLT migrants living in the diaspora is quite the opposite, one of constant mobility. Burgio's depiction of SLTs as transnational migrants constantly 'living-in-mobility' (Goreau-Poncheaud 2012:27); cited in Burgio 2016:111) and who occupy the 'in-between space between the poles *home-land* and *host-land*' (p. 120) chimes with this reality of SLTs. In fact, during the course of my fieldwork, I've come across anecdotes of SLTs who cannot even claim association with any particular 'host' country because they are living between countries to gain benefit money from different sources. The following vignette is from Thevarasa (65 yrs, Male) who confirms this practice.

(12) Thevarasa: So that's what they do. They go country to country, register themselves, hang around there for a little while to collect pensions...benefits and the same thing with my... brother-in-law's people, they were taking benefits in Germany plus take benefits here.

Another participant, Vasuki, (49 yrs, Female), describes how complex her lived experience is, travelling between London and France so regularly that it is difficult to be certain as to which to call her host-country. Vasuki came as a refugee to France when she was 22 years old and lived there for sixteen years. She acquired French citizenship and soon after, when she was 38, relocated to London. She visits France almost every week to visit her mother, but also to attend various functions that are held by her relatives.

(13) Vasuki: *'amma inga thaan irunthaanga. Enguuda thaan iruppaanga. Six month-kku orukka anga poy visa-vai eduthuttu varuvaanga... engalukku thaan [French] citizen avangalukku French- refugee passport amma. Appo avangalukku six month thaan inge stay pannalaam.. thiruppi poy visa eduthuttu thiruppi varuvaanga. Appadi thaan ippo oru nine years-aa irunthaanga. Inga thaan irunthaanga, enguuda.. intha viitile thaan. Ippo avangalukku konja kaal ellaam nadakkamaattaanga, eyilaameirunthuttu. Appo antha government- antha passport thaanemaa, appo ange irukkiruaanga. Enga therinja oru family viitille irukkiraanga. Avanga paarthikkuraanga. Poona vaaram- appadi naa- vaaram vaaram poovom.. husband orukka poovaaru, brother poovar. Poona vaaram cousin-da mahallukku registration. Approm ellarum poy vanthom. Next week naan pooven-ma. Ivangallukku holiday vanthavudanai naan poyduven. Approm two- two days, three days appadi poyttu poy ammavai paarthuttu varen.'*

Gloss: 'Mother used to stay here [with her in London] only. She used to stay with us only. Every six months she would go there [France], get the visa and return. Only we are French citizens. Mother has a French refugee passport, which means she can only stay with us for six months. Then she would go, get her visa and come back again. That's how she has been for the past nine years. She used to stay only here, with me, in this house only. Now her legs are [bad].. she doesn't walk. She doesn't feel well. Since she belongs to that government and has their passport, she stays there now. She is living in a house belonging to a family known to us. They are looking after her. Last week- we go regularly every week- my husband goes sometimes, my brother goes. Last week was my cousin's daughter's registration. So, we all went and came back. I'll be going next week. As soon as they [her children] begin their holidays I will be going. I will go for two to three days, see my mother and return'.

SLTs like Vasuki who engage in regular crossings between the UK and Europe would be hard-pressed to identify whether the UK or France is their host-land. Her experience would thus challenge the traditionally conceived concept of 'host-land'.

(c) Changing identification with the host-lands

If SLTs are indeed transnational and 'living-in-mobility' as Burgio states (2016:118-120) and my data suggests, then surely the 'home-land'/'host-land' distinction becomes less distinct? What about when there is a blurring of boundaries between the two for migrants who have lived so long in their host-countries, that it ceases to be a 'foreign' region (Safran 1991:83-84). In the example below, for instance, Omila (23 yrs, Female), a second generation Tamil, talks about how the notion of 'home' has undergone a change for her mother.

(14) Omila: No, I think their [my parents'] understanding of home is very different. It's like.. it's just really um.. I think they're very nostalgic about like Jaffna and all that kind of stuff but like it's not- that's not where home is. My mum would be like- oh she'll never move back, she prefers here.. she's like her life's here.

Omila's mother in (14) no longer relates to Jaffna as 'home' as she might have once done. This speaks back to Hall's (1992a) point about how the boundaries which constitute diasporic identities are continually being repositioned in relation to different points of reference. It is not the case, therefore, that diasporic identities are always formed positively through identification with the home-lands and negatively through differentiation towards the host-countries. The creation of 'home-like' Tamil districts within the host-land, drawing on Burgio's

description of 'little-Eelam' territories, and Das's (2016) analysis of Sri Lankan Tamil neighbourhoods in Montréal, further supports the idea that the concept of 'home' does not necessarily refer to a territorial 'home' and that a 'home-coming' does not necessarily mean returning to a territorial *place*. The concept of 'home' can refer to a sense of total identification with and belongingness to a *space* or a community in the host-land, or to sometimes even to both.

This echoes De Fina and Perrino's (2013:512) questioning the practice of describing identities-in-mobility in terms of binary dichotomies such as 'the national and the transnational, the rooted and the routed, the territorial and the deterritorialised'. Equally problematic are other dichotomies; 'minority vs. majority, immigrant vs. local, outsider vs. insider' (Zhu Hua, 2017:120). Perhaps we now ought to include the 'home-land' vs. 'host-land' dichotomy to this list.

To summarise, the participant data make clear that the notions of 'home-land' and 'host-land' go beyond territorial locations. Land is no longer seen as central to diasporic identities and the concepts of 'home-land' and 'host-land' are more appropriately associated with multi-faceted symbolic references, rather than being seen as dichotomous. Further, in a world that is becoming more and more diasporic (Burgio 2016:121), it is imperative that any analysis of diasporic identities should focus on the 'situatedness' of diasporas (Brah 1996:182) – the people, their movements and their particular historicities.

In the following sections, I demonstrate how SLT diasporic identities are shaped by language practices, but also how language practices themselves are influenced by SLT diasporic experiences of the home-land and host-land.

VII. The interaction between language and diasporic identities

As discussed above, non-essentialised views of diasporic identities are more compellingly analysed by post-structuralist and social constructivist theoretical perspectives (Preece 2016:3), which involve a rethinking of terms like 'home-land' and 'host-land'. Work on identity has also led to an interest in looking at the relationship identity has with language (Preece 2016:4) and the paradigm shift away from an essentialist position coincides with a move away from reifying named languages as constituting separate entities that mark the ethnic, cultural and/or national identities of particular groups of people to viewing language as part of a repertoire consisting of linguistic and other multimodal resources for communicative and identity work (Preece 2016:5) (Blommaert & Backus 2011). Identities-in-mobility research, therefore, emphasises that people use and acquire various language resources along their migratory journeys and construct identities through interaction. Mobility doesn't just refer to the movement of people, but also to the movement of languages (Blommaert 2010). The interaction between mobile language resources and people's experiences of mobility, re-configures language ideologies from the home-land and host-land, creating new diasporic identities in the process.

(a) Tamil popular media as a resource for identity

Canagarajah's (2013;2012) analysis of SLT diasporic youth language practices re-evaluates the relationship language has with identity. He proposes that 'resources from diverse languages are able to index new values and represent new identities in mobility' (Canagarajah 2013:148). One important resource that has not been considered by Canagarajah, however, is Tamil popular media. Tamil cinema has only recently recognised the potential offered by markets outside South Asia¹⁰ and has become 'highly significant in the reproduction of culture, tradition and identity in the context of diaspora' (Velayutham 2008:173-84). The vast majority of Tamil films are produced in the Tamil 'Kollywood'¹¹ film industry in Tamil Nadu. These films have an Indian setting and protagonists which enable a 'vision of a Tamil homeland' to be depicted through a 'Tamil Nadu version of Tamilness' (Jones 2013:44) (Velayutham 2008:184-5). Tamil films are distributed world-wide through official and informal networks and are consumed globally, being easily accessed through satellite television, the proliferation of digital affordances and various online platforms such as 'You Tube'. Tamil cinema provide a rich resource for language practices in the SLT diaspora and SLTs who are familiar with Kollywood films draw on their insider knowledge to stylise and construct new diasporic identities. Below are examples from my data that illustrate the kinds of practices observed amongst the SLT diasporic youth when they engage with Tamil cinema.

(15) D: I feel like I've learnt a lot of Tamil and I actually speak better than my friends, but.. I speak- because I learnt through the elder generation, my Tamil is different from my friends' Tamil.

LS: Huh that's so interesting. How is it different?

D: It's very like, their's is much more like [a mix of English] and Tamil=

A: [swag]

D: =and with swag as well yeah.

LS: s- with with what?

A: [Slang- or slang]

D: [Swag.. slang]

LS: °slang°.. [°ok°]

D: [yeah] where they kind of use it more as a jokey.. kind of Tamil.

LS: Jokey.. [ok].

D: [em::] so I struggle to do that now. [Cos when I speak]

LS: [What kind of- can you give me] that jokey..

w- you mustn't be familiar with that.. Is it-

A: - I don't know, it's more like movie quotes. [whatever]

LS: [quotes]

D: [yeah] it's a lot of quotes they kind of bring in
and they repeat and they.. put on like an English.. take on it.

In example (15) Dinesh (D) (25yrs, Male) and Akshaya (A) (30yrs, Female) differentiate the youth way of speaking Tamil from the older generation's, claiming that SLT youth tend to mix English with SLT varieties, while sometimes also borrowing language resources from Kollywood cinema. They characterise this style of speaking as 'swag'/'slang', depicting it as being more informal than the older generation's Tamil. Example (16) supports the points made in (15), but also illustrates *how* SLT youth incorporate Tamil cinema quotes into their interactions.

(16) Girjia: I don't, but I do hear my friends have it yeah um .. it's just things like from movies and they would just like repeat like some dialogues... Sometimes I just look at them like "what are you talking about" cos I'm not in sync with them. But er yeah they do things like- they would say something and then they would- I think that- that dialogue was in a movie and they would just kind of continue with it and they just have banter.. they are really up-to-date with recent movies.

Crucially, the examples highlight how the use of Tamil is evolving where migration creates different kinds of Tamil identifications within diasporic inter-generational contexts. Shanker (2004:313) argues that 'connections between media and diaspora focus on imagination, nostalgia, nationalism and connections to the home-land'. This reminds us that diasporic identities are constructed not just through home-land and host-land language influences, but also through resources found in the intersection between them, which are 'no longer located in a definable territory, but in the deterritorialized world of late modern communication' (Jacquemet 2005:5). By drawing on the voices of characters in Tamil popular media, diasporic SLTs are thus able to produce deterritorialized identities, rooted in modern communication and technology (Rosa & Trivedi, 2017:334).

(b) Secondary migration and language practices

New patterns of migration complicate the traditional ways in which we analyse diasporic identities because no longer is diasporic identity based on a reference to just *one* home-land or host-land. Amongst my forty-two research participants, twelve are secondary migrants and of the twelve, four were previously living in Tamil Nadu while the remaining eight were

previously living in mainland Europe. Another five research participants, whom I've not included in my count of secondary migrants¹², are also from Europe. They belong to the second generation and grew up in Europe before migrating to the UK. Migrants from Europe are a significant group because they have changed the profile of SLTs in the UK and have introduced a variety of new language resources that are currently being used in everyday communication. Their communicative practices in the UK context have not been analysed thus far in any study.

In the following example, Ayappa (26 yrs, Male) talks about how he communicates with his family. He came to London from Germany when he was seven years old and mixes three language resources when interacting, which supports the argument that it is problematic to portray languages as separate entities (Preece 2016:5).

(17) Ayappa: If you- If you- If you see at home, I speak Tamil to my mum.. German to my dad.. and in English to my brother and sister... and if we're all having conversations we.. we tend to change languages all the time.

In example (18), Karthik (30 yrs, Male), discusses how he values being able to communicate in Danish. Having spent nearly all his life in Denmark, he moved to London just a year ago and currently lives with his British Tamil spouse and parents in London. He treats language as a multi-modal resource and tries to teach Danish, accompanied by gestures, to his wife who has been brought up in London.

(18) Karthik: She- [spouse's name] has.. she has some skills like she.. based on my.. gestures and topics and stuff erm she picks it up somehow. She picks it up somehow so that's what I notice and that's why I sometimes force her.. just switch over to Danish and keep talking talking. And she knows.. even though as a subject I could have taught in..while like doing the dishes or something I er I ask her to get me a glass or something whatever, she knows by the body language what I'm meaning, so I know she can pick that up.. so I said "ah ok, she picks that up so why not just speak in Danish" and then she can associate the different words with what I act- ask her to do and then.. somehow, she might learn.

Examples (17) and (18) clearly show how different resources are being used in everyday communicative practices. But migrants from main-land Europe such as Ayappa and Karthik maintain their linguistic competence in German or Danish also because they visit Germany/Denmark regularly. Their frequent travels highlight the transnational nature of their existence. Furthermore, Ayappa talks about how his cousins from Germany are mostly responsible for his Tamil language maintenance and for improving his knowledge of Tamil popular culture by introducing him to the latest Tamil film songs and teaching him '*kuuthu*'¹³ dance moves.

(19) Ayappa: When my cousins- they showed me what '*kuuthu*' dance is, I really liked it cos it's a lot of energy and a lot of.. my cousins from Berlin.. every time they- yeah that's the thing.. every time they do come back that's when they introduce me to new Tamil songs which I've never heard of in my life which maybe five years old but it's brand new to me... They always introduce the culture to me.

Canagarajah's (2008:171) claim that 'diaspora communities not only negotiate home and migrant locations, but lateral relationship[s] with Tamils in other migrant locations', chimes with evidence from my fieldwork. Such transnational negotiations generate new language ideologies that promote heritage language maintenance and European language learning, constantly re-negotiating SLT identities whilst doing so.

(c) Re-configuring 'home-land' and 'host-land' language ideologies

If mobility involves the movement of people and languages, it also follows that it involves the movement of language ideologies. During the civil war in Sri Lanka, the Tamil areas developed 'Tamil Only' and 'Pure Tamil' ideologies in reaction to Sinhalese nationalism and to demonstrate support for the LTTE (Canagarajah 2012:269-270). However, SLT nationalists also ranked the different Tamil vernaculars spoken on the island and considered the Jaffna Tamil variety as being the purest and most ancient of Tamil varieties, because Jaffna symbolises the heart and soul of the Tamil Eelam nation. For SLT asylum seekers searching for a safe and secure home-land abroad, the purist virtues and classical provenance of Jaffna Tamil helped reinforce the primordialist version of Tamil Eelam. (Das 2016:44-45, 206). This language ideology, exported from the home-land, is pervasive even today.

Within the 'host-land' (UK in this instance), British public concern about language, culture and global mobility manifests itself by propagating a monolingualist discourse where multilingualism is often seen as a 'problem' (Hogan-Brun, Mar-Molinero & Stevenson 2009). This ideological stance is evident in debates ranging across a range of issues, including immigration policy (Maryns 2006). Although the world is obviously not divided up into

monolingual states (Blommaert 2006), the modernist dogma of ‘one nation one language’ persists across Western governments (Cooke & Simpson 2012:120). This ideology seems to have filtered down to the SLT diaspora and is demonstrated in SLT youth discourse. Currently there seems to be a conflict between the ‘host-land’ English monolingual ideology and the ‘home-land’ ideology of speaking ‘Pure Tamil/Only Tamil’ and is made evident in the way SLT diasporic youth link language use with a ‘freshie’ or ‘coconut’ diasporic identity.

Being ‘fresh’/‘fresh off the boat’/ ‘FOB’ is a term widely used in Asian diasporas (especially in the context of post-1965 Asian migration) to differentiate new arrivals from those who have learned the requisite cultural and linguistic codes (Chiang-Hom 2004) (Shanker 2008). This term has been circulating in the South Asian diaspora for at least thirty years. In the following extract, Nithya (20 yrs, Female, 2nd generation), who was born and brought up in London, talks about how she is called ‘fresh’ by her peers when she speaks Tamil.

(20) N: if I speak Tamil someone’s going to judge me that I don’t know how to speak English or.. I’m too cultured or.. I don’t- I feel like-

LS: Do you think it bothers a lot of people your age? That sort of thing?

N: I think it bothers.. it bothers me definitely if- because.. like em.. in groups I get teased of being fresh because I .. speak to some people- I speak to Tamil people back in Tamil. And at that point, I just do not care because at the end of the day, I’m speaking the language that I’m supposed to speak so=

LS: =so funny yeah.

N: um.. I don’t care.

LS: So people your age would tease you “oh you speak Tamil so you’re fresh”=

N: yeah

Such examples show that SLT diasporic youth feel that their language practices and identities are being evaluated in monolingual terms, where speaking Tamil implies that you must not therefore be able to speak English. Since English is the dominant language in Britain as well as the language that has higher prestige, being called a 'freshie' is perceived as an insult.

On the other side of the coin, being called a 'coconut' – i.e. 'being brown on the outside and white on the inside' (as one of my younger SLT participants colourfully put it), is also not very complimentary. The term refers to anyone who tries to fit in with western culture and who doesn't engage with their own heritage language/culture. In example (21), Belan (B) (40yrs, Male, second generation), who was born and brought up in London, discusses his sister, who has married a white Englishman, with his wife Susheela (S) (43 yrs, Female).

(21) B: yeah my sister's not really very...

S: Sri Lankan

B: yeah. I- If I'm a coconut then she's just the inside of the coconut. {laughter}

S: yeah she's not er..

B: She has a very polished English accent. She er aspires to.. live.. as- [as middle-class] as possible.

S: [English white]

Being a 'coconut' implies that not only are you a monolingual English speaker, but that your English speaking skills are so honed that you are able to fit into the British class system, which,

traditionally, migrants are excluded from. Interestingly, the terms 'freshie' and 'coconut', like 'home-land' and 'host-land', seem to be constructed in opposition to each other when actually, many SLT youth feel that they don't slot neatly into one category or another. The example below demonstrates this clearly.

(22) O: You can never win being like.. like an ethnic minority here in the UK. Do you know what you mean, like you're either fresh or you're a coconut, like there is no..

LS: there is no in-between. [there's no nice balance]

O: [Well I feel like] there should be an in-between because- it's just really weird. Some people are like "Oh you're really 'fresh'.. um but you're so not 'fresh' at the same time". And I feel like it's because they think "Oh"- they look at me and they be like "Oh, you can speak Tamil but the way you speak English is really posh". Does that make sense? And like, I can speak it well. So they'll be like "Oh yeah" as in they excuse it.

Here, Omila (23yrs, Female – second generation) expresses irritation at being simultaneously judged based on the two opposing language ideologies of the home-land and host-land. According to the host-land 'monolingual English' ideology, she is considered a 'freshie' for being able to speak Tamil. However, going by the home-land 'Tamil only'/ 'Pure Tamil' ideology, she is considered a 'coconut' as she not only speaks English well, but is able to speak it in a 'posh' manner, demonstrating that she has the linguistic competence to be able to claim a position in the British class hierarchy. Examples (20-22) emphasise the extent to which 'home-land' and 'host-land' language ideologies are in tension with each other in diasporic spaces, giving rise to complex identities such as 'freshie' and 'coconut'.

VIII. Conclusion

In this paper, I analyse how SLT diasporic identities are being constructed in our current epoch of hyper-mobility. Using data from my fieldwork, I have demonstrated that an empirical approach facilitates the recognition that 'home-land' and 'host-land' concepts are not rigid and static, marking particular territories, but are fluid and multiple. Understanding the relationship that diaspora has with the 'home-land'/'host-land' is crucial in studying the complexity of their identities. But, to achieve a multi-layered analysis, we need to push the notions of 'home-land' and 'host-land' beyond purely spatial interpretations.

This points to a general shift towards anti-essentialism not only in the understanding of space, but in the theorization that diasporic identities should be conceived as a socio-cultural process. Such a shift also corresponds with a move away from the idea that there is a one-to-one connection between language and identity. Language is now increasingly being viewed as part of a repertoire of various communicative resources and I argue that the interaction between communicative resources and how the SLT diaspora identifies with the 'home-land' and 'host-land' is mutually shaping. To demonstrate this, I discuss how (i) Tamil popular media is being exported to the rest of the world via the 'Kollywood' film industry and is exploited as a communicative resource to construct new identities; (ii) secondary migration from Europe has led to an increase in the number and type language resources used amongst the SLT diaspora to give rise to new ideologies of language maintenance and learning; and (iii) home-land and host-land language ideologies get reconfigured through diasporic language practices to produce complex 'freshie' and 'coconut' identities.

In summary, examining the interaction between language and diasporic identity is a useful way toward 'denaturalizing stereotypes that equate linguistic patterns, social categories, and geographical contexts' (Rosa & Trivedi, 2017:341). Given that multiple migration is increasingly becoming common in globalization processes, the recent change in the SLT migratory trend is important for the theorizing of factors related to how diasporic communities provide cultural and linguistic resources to help shape transnational identities.

NOTES

¹ Sociologist, Robin Cohen's (2008[1997]) definition of diaspora mirrors Safran's in the sense that it also posits diasporic identity as having a territorial basis. However, Cohen argues for a slightly broader definition, emphasising that diasporic experiences are more diverse and heterogeneous than united.

² Here I follow the distinction made by De Certeau (1984:117) between 'space' and 'place' as discussed in the introduction.

³ The 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991) of nations are ideological nationalist constructions seeking to provide a link between self-defined cultural groups and the state.

⁴ Through-out the ethnographic process I kept diaries to record my participant observations. I would also periodically discuss these observations and any fieldwork challenges I would encounter with Professor Ben Rampton (the PI of the project) which helped me to maintain my primary role as an observer.

⁵ Being of South Indian origin, I grew up speaking the standard variety of Tamil spoken in Tamil Nadu, India.

⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) uses the concept 'chronotope' to refer to the intrinsic blending of space and time in any event in the real world. He developed it as an instrument to build a fundamentally historical semiotics. (Blommaert, 2015:2)

⁷ Dr. Friedmann (Senior Lecturer of International Relations in the Department of War Studies, King's College London) was the Principle Investigator of a two-year ESRC funded grant project entitled 'Hidden voices and social healing: lived experiences in the face of militarization and protracted conflict'. The project examined gendered experiences of marginalization and recovery in Sri Lanka and Columbia. <https://gtr.ukri.org/projects?ref=ES%2FN017986%2F1>

⁸ This could be for numerous reasons. Some don't return because there is a very real danger of them being arrested for suspicion of LTTE related activity. Others don't because there is no one there for them anymore or because it brings back too many painful memories related to the war.

⁹ 'LS' refers to myself.

¹⁰ Unlike 'Bollywood' which has catered to a globally-dispersed audience for several decades (Jones 2013:44)

¹¹ It refers to the Tamil film industry based in the Kodambakkam neighbourhood in Chennai, Tamil Nadu. 'Kollywood' is a colloquium term used to describe this industry, the word being a portmanteau of Kodambakkam and Hollywood. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamil_cinema)

¹² The reason for this is because they were born in a European country (of migrant parents) and their migration to the UK did not involve a series of locational changes.

¹³ Refers to a traditional Tamil folk-dance with an informal structure.

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