



## **From Community to Conversation - and Back: Generic use of second person pronouns in Danish**

Fosgerau, Christina Fogtmann; Jensen, Torben Juel; Nielsen, Søren Beck

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# ABSTRACTS

Sociolinguistics Symposium 17  
Amsterdam 3–5 April 2008



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## SS17: MICRO AND MACRO CONNECTIONS

The 17th edition of 'The Sociolinguistic Symposium', Europe's leading international conference on language in society, will be held in Amsterdam from 3-5 April 2008. The chairing Institute is The Meertens Institute (Department of Language Variation). The theme of this conference is Micro and Macro Connections. The conference will be held at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (VU).

Sociolinguistics is about the relationship between language and society. By proposing Micro and Macro connections as the conference's theme, we want to invite researchers who generate insights into the interplay between language and society by examining the ways social structure is oriented to and affected by verbal practices. Language does not just reflect social facts. The connections between language and social organization are multi-layered, dynamic and reflexive and they are accomplished at many different levels of language use. When people use language, they are actors engaging in some interactional project that defines the ground for the ways parameters such as identity, community and culture are shaped. Therefore, we have welcomed in particular proposals that explore the ways verbal practices display and contribute to social organization.

### *About the Sociolinguistics Symposia*

The Sociolinguistics Symposia are organized bi-annually since the 1970s by a group of sociolinguists who recognized the need for a forum for discussing research findings and for debating theoretical and methodological issues concerning language in society. Until 2000, most participants came from within the UK, but ever since the symposium has developed into the leading international conference on language in society in Europe, attracting 400-500 participants on average. The first symposium on the continent was organized in April 2002 by the University of Ghent and from then on the intention has been to alternate between the UK or Ireland and a continental venue.

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The abstracts in this book have been included in the exact way they were submitted. Please note, however, that the abstracts that were too long were abbreviated and that a number of diacritics might have gone wrong in the process of multiple conversions of files. We also took the liberty of removing all references to keep the size of the book within limits. References can easily be obtained from the authors, whose details can be found in the program book and in ConfTool: the conference's webtool for managing the conference program.

The abstracts that have been cancelled after the printer's proof was ready, have been crossed out.

For the production of this book of abstracts, the hard work and commitment of our colleague Ineke Meijer (Meertens Institute) was indispensable.

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### Scholarships

The Sociolinguistics Symposium 17 Committee has awarded 14 scholarships. 12 Were made possible by registration fees of all participants of SS17. The University of Limerick (host of SS16) awarded the other 2.



# Abstracts

*Plenary speakers*



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## PLENARY SPEAKERS

### **Jasone Cenoz**

University of the Basque Country

*Multilingual education for minorities: research methods and achievements*

Traditionally there has been a division between elitist bi/multilingualism understood as foreign language learning at bi/multilingual schools and different types of bilingual education for minority languages. This plenary address looks at the relationship between these two types of education by focusing on multilingual education for minorities. Multilingual education is understood as going beyond bilingual education by teaching more than two languages in the school curriculum and aiming at the development of multilingualism.

The first part of the paper explores the nature of the relationship between multilingual education and society. Multilingual education is a real-life dynamic laboratory of language acquisition, language contact and language use. These characteristics of multilingual education will be represented in the 'Continua of Multilingual Education' model which highlights the relationship between schools and their sociolinguistic context.

The second part of the paper will provide a critical review of research in multilingual education. This review will focus on the limitations of the theoretical approaches and research methodologies and will analyse the results achieved so far. The paper will end by proposing a research agenda for addressing crucial gaps in the study of multilingual education.

### **Charles Goodwin**

Applied Linguistics, UCLA, United States of America

*The categories speaker and hearer as interactive processes*

The mutual orientation of speaker to hearer constitutes a central point of departure for investigation of the social life of language. The speaker-hearer relationship is intrinsically social in that it requires the coordinated actions of multiple participants, is pervasive in language practice, and creates the environment where language structure, in the form of endogenous utterances, emerges in the natural world. However, frequently this relationship, in which consequential differences between participants are central, is flattened into a homogeneous unity, as in Chomsky's (1965:4) notion of an ideal "speaker-hearer", and being a speaker is reduced to being able to construct complex grammatical syntactic structures. On the other hand many discourse approaches to language organization implicitly treat speaker and hearer as separate, analytically distinct individuals. Thus, even a scholar as exquisitely tuned to the nuances of human interaction as Erving Goffman, developed in "Footing" a powerful framework in which the speaker was described with one analytic system, while hearers were investigated with a completely different one. A focus on discrete individuals and their mental lives obscures the way in which the complementary positions of speaker and hearer both emerge within, and continuously structure, a dynamically unfolding interactive field constructed through ongoing public semiosis. The public structure of this field, and the way in which it is organized through situated action, makes it possible for even someone left with a three word vocabulary because of a stroke to nonetheless act as a powerful speaker. As he does so the notion that what constitutes a speaker can be equated with the ability to produce complex syntax, or identified with a single body, is called into question. Here I will focus on the practices through which speakers and hearers mutually constitute and continuously reshape each other, within dynamically unfolding interaction. While much of what speakers do is talk, hearers are largely, though not completely, silent. The way in which speakers systematically take into account the visual displays of the hearer's body requires that analysis not be restricted to phenomena within the stream of speech, but instead focus on a dynamic interactive field structured through

ongoing interlocking multimodal semiosis. Through their bodies, actors continuously build and change interactive frameworks within which other kinds of sign-exchange processes, including utterances, become possible. Data for this talk will consist of videotapes of events in a number of settings, including the daily lives of families in Los Angeles, archaeological excavations, and interaction in the home of a man with severe aphasia.

### **Helen Kelly-Holmes**

University of Limerick, Ireland

*Language in de marketing domain: macro and micro connections*

Marketing is widely understood as equating to the sum total of everything a company is, as described or experienced by the customer. Extending this definition, language in the marketing domain would encompass everything a company is 'linguistically' as described or experienced by the customer. This represents the sum total of language policies, discourses and practices that occur in the process of selling a product. How these policies, discourses and practices are experienced in the marketing domain is an integral part of the consumption 'experience', and that consumption experience is in turn inseparable from its sociolinguistic setting, the norms of which may be reinforced or challenged by this marketing language.

This paper explores language in the marketing domain, particularly in relation to the theme of the conference, namely macro-micro connections. Using a number of contrasting case studies I will analyse marketing language in a range of contexts from global brands to local shops to show the connections between micro level practices and macro level structures and processes in this domain.

### **William Labov**

University of Pennsylvania

*The cognitive status of sociolinguistic variables. Cognitive capacities of the sociolinguistic monitor*

The cognitive process involved in sociolinguistic variation is the capacity to detect and respond to patterns that are general to the speech community. Minimal awareness is found for new sound changes in progress such as the Northern Cities Shift of North America, with uniform patterns of speech production across the speech community. Maximal sensitivity is found for stable sociolinguistic variables such as English (ING), which exhibit fine-grained social and stylistic stratification in production.

Recent experiments on listeners' sensitivity to frequency investigated the properties of the sociolinguistic monitor which extracts and evaluates social information from speech production. Subjects heard a series of trials for a broadcasting position, with frequencies of the nonstandard varying from 0 to 100%, and were asked to rate the speaker on a scale of professional competence. For (ING), subjects exhibited a precise logarithmic function in which the effect of each deviation from the expected norm is the proportional increase in the sum total of deviations. This function is independent of the gender, ethnicity and region of speakers and judges. However, younger (adolescent) subjects show less precise responses, conforming to earlier finding that the uniform cognitive response characteristic of the adult community is acquired gradually with age and in proportion to social class status. Sociolinguistic variables which are less stable and less strongly marked, like the vocalization of /r/, exhibit less precise conformity to the logarithmic function.

There is reason to believe that information in the sociolinguistic monitor is stored independently of lexical and morphological information. Lower levels of sensitivity are shown in responses to the experimental reversal of the grammatical constraints characteristic of speech production. This is also evident in non-stochastic variables like the T/V pronouns, where each occurrence is separately evaluated. Although information on this sociolinguistic choice is dependent on morphological and syntactic analysis, the long-term history of the THOU/YOU alternation in English shows no effect of syntax and morphology on the decline of the alternation over several centuries.

**Pieter Muysken**

Radboud Universiteit, The Netherlands

*Endangered language documentation and sociolinguistics: the case of Bolivia*

In the last ten years we have witnessed a rapidly growing international research effort in the field of the documentation of endangered languages, following reports in the 1990s which sounded the alarm bell. There are the large funding programs of the Volkswagen Stiftung and the Rausing Foundation, as well as a number of smaller foundations and national research agencies. This research has profound implications for, and is triggering major innovations in, the fields of language typology, historical linguistics and geolinguistics. However, much of this work touches upon concerns that traditionally have been the research focus of sociolinguists. In this talk I will outline some of these points of contact, the ensuing dilemma's and further research issues. I will illustrate my talk with a number of vignettes, small case studies, drawn from ongoing research on the Amerindian languages of Bolivia.





*Papers*



## PAPERS

**Finn Aarsæther, Ingvild Nistov, Toril Opsahl and Bente Ailin Svendsen**

Department of education, Oslo University College, Department of linguistic, literary and aesthetic studies, University of Bergen and University of Oslo, Department of linguistics and Scandinavian studies, Norway  
*Negotiation of social categories through the use of multiethnolect*

"He is Norwegian, but pretends being a foreigner. He speaks street language, you know. He is the one you should talk to!"

This statement, directed to us as linguists in the field, from a fourteen year old girl with migrant background in Oslo, Norway, leads us right to the essence of our talk: How do adolescents in multiethnic milieus negotiate social categories like age, gender and ethnicity in interaction? More specifically, what role does the variety referred to as "street language" or what we prefer to call multiethnolect, play in such negotiations?

The data we are reporting on come from an ongoing study of linguistic practices among adolescents in multicultural parts of Oslo, a city where more than 120 different languages are represented, and where the migrant population constitutes 24 percent of the total population of 550 000. Our data consist of questionnaires, video-taped peer conversations, self-recorded conversations, and interviews with 48 respondents of migrant and non-migrant descent.

Our analyses so far show that the adolescents do not confine themselves to the identities, social groups or ethnic categories normally ascribed to them. By focusing on the interplay between some structural aspects - such as violation of the V2 constraint - and macro factors like socio-cultural background and minority status, we highlight language practices like crossing and stylisation as ways of expressing new plural identities. Our data show that the use of linguistic features belonging to what we would label a multiethnic variety is optional and dependent on context for the great majority of our informants; that is, they are able to switch between a multiethnolectal edition of Norwegian and a more standardised version. This is strongly indicated by our comparative analyses of the semi-structured interviews, the peer conversations, and the conversations recorded by the adolescents themselves.

**Rian Aarts and Serpil Demir**

Tilburg University, The Netherlands

*Features of school language use in the input of caretakers to Turkish children in first and second language*

Adequate development of children's language abilities depends on many factors, one being the input they receive (Tomasello, 2000; Huttenlocher et al., 2002). The effect of the kind of input children are exposed to seems to be largest in specific registers of language use like academic or school language. This register involves the use of language for cognitively complex, explicit and decontextualized communication. When children enter school, they are expected to participate in situations where this kind of language use is demanded. Some children may be well prepared for this, since they have had experiences with this register in their home environment, while others are not.

Studies investigating bilingual settings in which the home language of the children is not the language of schooling, generally focused on children's abilities in the second language and explained problems by means of inadequate exposure to the majority language in the preschool period. Exposure to the school language register in the native language at home and similarities and differences between the language experiences of children at home and school regarding this register is yet to be explored.

In this paper we report on a part of a longitudinal research project focusing on the development of academic language of Dutch, Moroccan-Berber and Turkish three- to six-year-old children in the Netherlands. We focus on the language input to Turkish four-year old children in two contexts and in two languages: their home environment that offers input in their mother tongue (Turkish) and the school environment offering input in their second language (Dutch).

We will deal with three aspects of school language, each exemplifying one of the general characteristics of the academic register (Schleppegrell, 2004): level of abstraction (decontextualization), reference to time and space (explicitness), and clause combining (complexity). These characteristics will be compared in the two different languages under investigation, Turkish and Dutch.

Data of ten Turkish children participating in a book-reading task at home and in school will be explored. The input of mothers and teachers will be analysed using the measures of reference to time and space, abstraction level and clause combining. Therefore, the research questions are:

1. Can decontextualization, explicitness and complexity, as characteristics of academic language, be found in the first language input of mothers at home and are there differences between mothers in the use of these features?
2. Can these characteristics be found in the second language input of teachers in school and are there differences between teachers in the use of these features?
3. What are similarities and differences in the first language input of mothers and the second language input of teachers?

### Aria Adli

Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft (ZAS), Berlin, Germany

*Gradience and Variation: How to Integrate Social Variation into the Grammar Model?*

Variation at the level of syntax is still an understudied field in variationist sociolinguistics. This is due to important methodological and conceptual challenges: (i) While syntactic theory works with judgments, sociolinguists often consider this data source as unreliable and focus on speech production. However, a solid definition of a linguistic variable in the sense of Labov (1966) must rely on formal-syntactic arguments. (ii) Syntactic theory assumes all speakers of a dialect to have the same underlying rule system.

This paper shows that the key to this problem lies in a *gradient* treatment of judgments and a corresponding extension of the formal theory. We will show that a careful experimental approach can provide us with gradient judgments that fulfill both criteria of statistical reliability and construct validity: They show high Cronbach's  $\alpha$ -values, and they do map systematic social variation. Furthermore, gradient judgments enable direct comparisons with frequency data from speech production on a metrical scale.

We studied the issue of variation at the level of syntax with data from French *wh*-questions. They show a high number of possible structural variants and are therefore a suitable linguistic variable. 102 French native speakers from Paris participated in a specially designed gradient grammaticality judgment test. The sentences distinguish between 2 types of *wh*-words (*wh*-adjunct vs. *wh*-NP) and 6 different structural *wh*-variants (complex inversion, subject-clitic inversion, *est-ce que*, Q S V order, *wh*-in-situ, and clefts). We calculated a series of 3-way variance analysis with the syntax-related variables A 'wh-word', and B 'structural wh-variant', as well as with the social variable C. C covers socio-demographic (e.g. gender, age), socio-economic (e.g. income, housing, etc.), and socio-cultural (lifestyle) factors that were collected with a questionnaire. The results show significant patterns of social variation with the variables housing density and lifestyle, in particular for those *wh*-variants which are at opposite regions of the register continuum, namely *wh*-in-situ vs. subject-clitic inversion.

This paper then turns to the initial question to what extent the systematic variation in the judgments amount to *inter*-individual differences in the grammar itself. As a preliminary step, we need to "enrich" the formal-syntactic framework with the concept of gradience. We build on previous work in which we proposed a distinction between *well-formedness constraints* - core principles of syntax, whose violation results in ungrammaticality, and *preference constraints* - principles that realize the interaction with other components of language, and whose violation lowers the degree of grammaticality, but without necessarily causing ungrammaticality. Given that preference constraints correlate with non-syntactic components of language, the integration of social variation into grammar becomes now straightforward. The basic idea is that inter-group social differences correspond to systematic patterns of variation in the *violation costs* of preference constraints. The well-formedness constraints are the same for all speakers. We therefore do not have different grammars but different *uses* of the (same) gram-

mar. This model also accounts for language change which is explained by the transformation of a preference constraint into a well-formedness constraint.

**Elise S. Ahn**

University of Illinois, Urbana - Champaign, United States of America

*The institutionalization of multilingualism:*

*A comparative look at university foreign language education in the U.K., the Netherlands, and Turkey*

The European Union's (EU) language policies can be categorized into institutional and non-institutional language policies, where its non-institutional language policy (NILP) essentially concerns the EU's foreign language education learning/teaching policies. (Van Els 2005; 2006) The focus of this paper is the impact of increased EU intervention in a policy domain that has traditionally been within nation-state purview. The United Kingdom (U.K.), the Netherlands, and Turkey are the three Member States chosen for the comparative case studies. The U.K., with its experience of devolution and varying language policies within its devolved states, is still a predominantly Anglophone, has seen recent increasing public discussion about compulsory foreign language education in lower schools. The Netherlands has traditionally offered a wide range of languages and has compulsory foreign language education from elementary school, but recently has been scaling back the range of language courses available. And Turkey, with its continued pursuit of EU membership, and subsequent re-aligning of different education policies, is the third country. This paper then specifically looks at these issues by focusing on language learning shifts that are taking place among university-aged students, who studied (or are studying) in other EU Member States to learn another language with ERASMUS MUNDUS program framework funds.

A critical discourse analytic framework (Wodak and Chilton 2005) is used to show policy discourse shifts from the 1980s through the present. What is noticeable is the shift away from the value of language as a part of diversity and identity towards an increasing linking of language capacity with economic mobility, particularly with the development of the 2000 (revised 2004) Lisbon Strategy. EURYDICE (Information Network on Education in Europe) data provides the quantitative backdrop establishing patterns of university-aged student movement in the three case study countries, in order to measure the impact of EU policy and funding intervention. Both the discourse analysis and EURYDICE data reflect a particular type of multilingualism being shaped in EU Member States, and raise some philosophically challenging questions about the legitimacy of these processes, without trying to undermine the complex relationship between human agency within institutions and their policy production processes.

**Mahmoud Al-Khatib and Enaq Sabbah**

University of Science & Technology, Jordan

*Language choice on mobile text messages among Jordanian university students*

Text messages via mobiles are considered as one mode of computer mediated communication (CMC). In Jordanian society, English and Arabic are used alternatively in exchanging messages. The process can be seen as "code switching" (Scotton, 1993). The purpose of this study has been to investigate language-switching in text messaging via mobiles as used by Jordanian university students. Another aim of the study is to see what sociological factors may affect the process of switching between Arabic and English. The messages were collected from 49 male and female undergraduate and post-graduate students enrolled in different departments at the university of Science and technology. Furthermore, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the students, the purpose of which is to elicit the underlying motivations that make students use either language in writing their messages. Qualitative as well as quantitative analyses were carried out by the researchers. The major findings of the study reveal that English and a new form of Romanized Jordanian Arabic are used in writing mobile text messages. Furthermore, the results indicate that Arabic and English were used to serve different communicative functions, and that the process appears to be conditioned by the sex of the writer. In conclusion, one may claim that globalization and technology are framing out the choices made by people when using this particular medium of communication.

**Carolina P. Amador-Moreno**

Universidad de Extremadura, Spain

*The Irish in Argentina: Irish English transported*

The legacy of Irish English (IrE) in Newfoundland, Australia, the United States and the Caribbean has been dealt with in various studies since the '80s (Clarke 1986, 1997, Bailey 1982, Rickford 1986, Montgomery and Kirk 1996, Engel and Ritz 2000, etc). Hickey's volume (2004) highlights the interest that has arisen in the transportation of different varieties of English and explores the role of British dialects in both the genesis and subsequent history of postcolonial Englishes. However, an important omission in the context of IrE so far has been the Latin-American scene.

During the nineteenth century, 40-45,000 persons born in Ireland emigrated to Argentina. Most of them settled in the Argentine pampas and worked primarily as shepherds and sheep-farmers. They started families and became the largest Irish community in the Spanish-speaking world (Murray 2004). Their descendants' use of English still displays Irish English features.

My paper will analyse the survival of IrE in oral and written narratives by the Irish-Argentines. It will examine phonological, syntactic and lexical features of IrE in a set of documents produced by Radio Televisión Éireann between 1987 and 1997, as well as in the novels of Irish-Argentine writers such as Kathleen Nevin and William Bulfin. This study will reflect upon the transportation and preservation of dialectal features through generations of Irish English speakers whose contact with Ireland was, in many cases, non-existent. The paper will explore the linguistic consequences of emigration and language contact in a Spanish speaking context.

**Muhammad Hasan Amara**

Beit Berl College, Israel

*Hebrew-Arabic Bilingual Education in the Conflict-Ridden Israeli Society:  
Language Ideologies, Policies and Practices*

According to the general Israeli language education policy, the mother tongue is learned first for several years, after that the second language is studied (English for Jews and Hebrew for Arabs), and this is followed by a third language, English for Arabs and Arabic or French for Jews. This model of language education seems to suit the Israeli reality in the context of the Israeli-Arab conflict, the definition and perception of Israel as a Jewish-Zionist state, and the complex Jewish-Arab relations within the state of Israel.

In 1997, The Hand in Hand: Center for Jewish-Arab Education in Israel (henceforth Hand in Hand) initiated a new model of Hebrew-Arabic bilingual education in the Israeli landscape, assuming that direct contact between Arab and Jewish pupils would bring about far-reaching changes in the conflict-ridden Israeli society. Currently, three schools have adopted the new model.

Several studies of the new model have been conducted, providing rich information, mainly about the educational, cultural and national issues (Amara, 2005; Amara et al 2007; Bekerman, 2003, 2005; Bekerman & Maoz, 2005;; Mor-Sommerfeld et al 2007). So far, however, no systematic study has focused on the implementation of bilingual education in the schools. In other words, less emphasis has been placed on actual language practices in the classroom and the entire school environment in relation to ideology and policy. This paper is an attempt to address this issue, focusing on the interaction between Hebrew and Arabic in a location which, in its conception, places the two languages on equal footing.

Various methods of data collection were employed including observations in the classroom and the school environment and structured interviews with the teachers, principals, and co-directors of Hand in Hand. In addition, a questionnaire was filled out by 109 parents of pupils attending the schools. The findings reveal that both Hebrew and Arabic are used on many occasions in the various environments, with Hebrew more dominant and salient. Arabic is used most often for educational purposes in obligatory contexts. However, when language is used for social and expressive functions, Hebrew is the more dominant language. The attempt to sustain full symmetry in the use of Arabic and Hebrew has not yet been achieved.

### Jenny Amos, David Britain and Juliette Spurling

University of Essex, United Kingdom

*Yod dropping on the East Anglian periphery*

It has been widely reported that a number of varieties of English (e.g. in parts of Canada (Clarke 1993, Chambers 1998), the US (Clifton 1959, Pitts 1986), and England (Przedlacka 2002)) do not realise the palatal glide /j/ when it occurs before /u:/ and after coronals (see examples 1-3).

1. tune [tu:n]
2. duke [du:k]
3. news [nu:z]

However, varieties of English in East Anglia, and to some extent the East Midlands, omit the glide after all consonants (e.g. 4-10) and only feature /j/ in syllable onsets when the glide is not preceded by another consonant (e.g. 11) (Trudgill 1974, 2004, Foulkes and Docherty 2007).

4. music [mu:zɪk]
5. beauty [bu:ʔi]
6. few [fu:]
7. cute [ku:ʔ]
8. view [vu:]
9. puke [pu:k]
10. huge [hu:dʒ]
11. ewe [ju:]

Wells claims yod dropping in East Anglia is ‘very widespread’ (1982: 338) and this feature is often highlighted as one of the principal defining and differentiating characteristics of this variety (e.g. McArthur 2002: 66). However, given the influence that varieties of South-East England are beginning to have on East Anglian English (see Trudgill 1983, 1986, Britain 2005), it is not surprising perhaps that yod dropping has become a candidate for attrition, especially at the margins of the core East Anglian dialect region.

In addition, a relatively recent change labelled by Wells as “yod coalescence” (1982: 247-248; see also Altendorf and Watt, 2004; Przedlacka 2002; Ryfa *fc*), is affecting some of the contexts in which yod dropping can be found in East Anglia, causing preceding /t d n/ and /h/ + /j/ to palatalise (e.g. 12-15).

12. tune [tʃu:n]
13. duke [dʒu:k]
14. news [nju:z]
15. huge [çu:dʒ]

In this paper, we examine change in the use of yod dropping and yod coalescence across apparent time in three locations in the East Anglian periphery. These are the Fens in the north-west of East Anglia, along with the urban centre of Ipswich and the rural community of Mersea Island in the south-east. Our aims are to investigate:

- a) to what extent yod dropping is undergoing attrition;
- b) the extent to which coalescence has penetrated these communities; and
- c) the social and linguistic constraints on the variation in each location.

Our results show that, while in the south-eastern communities of Ipswich and Mersea Island, yod dropping is indeed undergoing rapid attrition, it is highly maintained in the Fens, even among younger speakers. Coalescence is relatively infrequent in the Fens, but has been making major inroads, in the relevant linguistic environments, into the urban and rural south-east.

### Jo Angouri

University of Essex, United Kingdom

*“hmm yea exactly my point!”*

*Is facilitative overlapping talk (OT) perceived as facilitative by workplace interactants?*

This paper reports some of the findings of a recently completed study on the characteristics of overlapping talk and its functions in business meetings. Ethnographic techniques were used, featuring interviews and observations; while a corpus of real life data was also collected. We established an ongoing relationship with the companies and collaborated with the participants not only in the collection but also in the interpretation of the



data and we adopted the participatory model as devised by the Wellington Language in the Workplace Project. On a theoretical level, we take the stance that workplaces constitute constellations of Communities of Practice (CofPs) with specific discourse repertoires. As pointed out by Daly et al., “the linguistic manifestations of a shared repertoire provide a basis for describing how a distinctive workplace ‘culture’ is constructed through interaction” (2004:947). We studied employees interacting in different CofPs in their workplace, paying special attention to the functions of facilitative overlapping talk (OT).

Specifically, data drawn from a sample of meetings in seven multinational companies in Europe are examined. The discussion is focused on what the literature would classify as *facilitative instances of OT* and discusses how the interactants perceive its function and account for their intentions. We discuss excerpts of data featuring the same employees interacting in various CofPs and we analyse how they vary their choices, with respect to facilitative OT, according to the norms of each CofP they participate in. Special attention is also paid to the (in)adequacy of the widely used dichotomy (i.e. facilitative vs. interruptive) to capture the functions of OT in conversation. And a model which is based on the semantic content of the propositions and the participants’ corroboration is suggested.

Our findings show that facilitative OT varies with regard to its degree of a) facilitativeness; b) visibility; and c) function in each CofP. We show that certain instances of facilitative OT are perceived as facilitative by the interactants while others are not. Accordingly, this paper will close by arguing that a) instances of OT can be placed on a continuum ranging from maximally facilitative to maximally interruptive. Hence there are instances of OT in between the two extremes that ‘move the business along,’ but are distinct from maximally facilitative OT. As suggested by Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris, instances of OT can be simply “part of the process of reaching agreement” (1997:193) in a goal-oriented meeting. And b) the functions and features of OT constitute another characteristic of the shared discourse repertoire of the various CofPs throughout the companies.

### **Umberto Ansaldo and Lisa Lim**

University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

*Micro or macro connections? Language choice and identity alignment in the Sri Lanka Malay community*

This paper presents a comparative study of the language choices and identity negotiations in two Sri Lanka Malay communities - the urban community of the capital Colombo, and the rural community of Kirinda - in which different political-economic contexts result in different linguistic attitudes. While the shift observed in the former is a result of identity realignment following from the metropolitan context which calls for more macro connections via a global, rather than local, Malay identity for purposes of representation, such a need is not felt - nor justifiable - in the periphery, where instead, maintenance of local ethnolinguistic and economic alignments is primary.

The Sri Lanka Malays were settled on the island from their Southeast Asian origins during the Dutch and British colonial periods, and have as their vernacular a unique variety of Malay, Sri Lanka Malay (SLM), which is radically restructured through extended intimate contact with Sinhala and Tamil (Ansaldo 2005, 2007). In recent decades however, two significant shifts in linguistic practices have been observed in the urban Colombo community, both to larger, more ‘global’ languages (Ansaldo & Lim 2006; Lim & Ansaldo 2006). (1) The first shift (the root of SLM endangerment) is to English in the home domain - increasingly the *de facto* language of commerce and education worldwide. (2) The second and more recent shift is to Standard Malay (StdM) of Malaysia, a ‘global’ target for small Malay diasporas in their attempt, not only to achieve what they believe is the ‘revitalisation’ of their endangered linguistic variety, but also to gain stronger ethnic recognition and increased economic capital in a larger linguistic market.

What is additionally crucial is that the shifts stem from the circumstances in the urban community. A more rural/ peripheral community as Kirinda who still shows strong vitality in SLM is nonetheless also affected by this discourse of ‘revitalisation’ using StdM. We suggest that, as is typical of peripheral environments with lack of higher education, economic mobility and political representation, it is doubtful that a shift to a more global linguistic variety is desirable, as success and survival lies in the vitality of more micro connections and local alliances. In contrast, the urban community does indeed stand to benefit from acquiring StdM which, combined with their higher education and degree of integration in mainstream society, may well provide macro connections and broaden their engagement with a wider Malay cultural, political and economic discourse.

In sum, we will show first that, rather than viewing these linguistic practices as shifts that result from external imposition, resulting in a loss of the vernacular, these trends may be attributed to speakers' agency in constructing their linguistic identity, resulting in 'identity alignment' (Lim & Ansaldo 2007). However, as evident in the comparison between the communities, we will argue that, while empowerment through alignment with a more global Malay identity via certain linguistic choices is an option in urban environments, it is not a viable option (yet) for rural communities, marginalised as they are in the socio-political periphery.

**Argiris Archakis and Dimitris Papazachariou**

University of Patras, Greece

*Differentiating gender and authority representations via prosodic differentiations:  
Evidence from Greek young women conversational narratives*

In this paper we investigate the role of prosodic means in the construction of social identity. For this purpose, we examine the prosodic devices with which young women in Greece construct their identities in the course of their conversations. Drawing on the broader framework of Discourse Analysis and Sociolinguistics as well as on recent developments on the theory of prosody and on the social constructionist paradigm, our paper follows the line of research that focuses on situated analysis of identities (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2003; Couper-Kuhlen, 2001; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996; among others). We illustrate our points using data from a corpus based on a large-scale research project on everyday interactions among youth groups in Patras, Greece.

Our data consist of five conversations of about one hour each. We have extracted about 80 narratives recounted by 9 girls where 301 direct speech intonation phrases were isolated and measured for speed and intensity with the Praat software. *Speed* refers to the tempo of speech production and, for the purposes of the present study, it was calculated by dividing the time of every intonation phrase by the number of syllables uttered (see Crystal 1997). Time was calculated in milliseconds (msecs). *Intensity* refers to the average loudness of each intonation phrase and is measured in dbs.

According to the results of our analysis, we argue that prosodic differentiation in speed and intensity correlate with the way gender and authority is represented within direct speech quotations. By analysing both quantitatively and qualitatively the discourse functions of the prosodic features of speed and intensity, which act as contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982), we aim to stress the dynamic nature of identity construction in narrative context.

**Matthew Armand, Wendy Baker, David Bowie, Mariana Chao and Catie Fry**

University of Central Florida, United States of America and Brigham Young University, United States of America

*The sociophonetic effects of religious affiliation in Utah County, Utah, USA*

Utah is located in the western United States, and is demographically notable for being one of only two US states where more than half the population claims the same religious affiliation - over 60% of Utah's population is made up of self-identified members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (better known as the Mormon church), and the figure is much higher in some jurisdictions within Utah.

Local conventional wisdom holds that Mormons and non-Mormons in Utah tend to inhabit largely non-overlapping social networks. If this is the case, then these separate social networks would likely lead to linguistic differences that can be defined in terms of religious affiliation, similar to the linguistic effects of religious affiliation found in Northern Ireland (for example, McCafferty, 2001; Todd, 1984).

We conducted an initial exploratory investigation of this question by conducting short, focused sociolinguistic interviews with twenty-eight individuals from Utah County, Utah (evenly divided between people who self-identified as Mormon and non-Mormon). We obtained words containing 15 vowels that have been shown to be of interest in previous studies of Utah English (Bowie, 2003; Di Paolo and Faber, 1990; Di Paolo, 1992; Lillie, 1998). The speakers produced 959 tokens of the vowels studied (for an average of about 42 tokens of each vowel).

These words were then presented to a panel made up of three individuals who had not had any previous experience with Utah English. The rating panel rated each utterance along a 4-point scale with clearly defined

endpoints that differed for each vowel under analysis. The rating panel was not told what the sounds that they were rating were, to eliminate any bias from expectations about what something “should” sound like.

Based on the panel’s ratings, there are several clear differences between Mormons’ and non-Mormons’ vowels in Utah County, Utah. Significant differences were found in the production of pre-lateral /e/, /u/, and /ʊ/; pre-nasal /ɪ/; and pre-obstruent /æ/, /a/, and /ɔ/. Further, testing for effect size found that none of these significant religiously-correlated differences was a small effect, and some of them were exceptionally large. This linguistic effect lends credence to the conventional wisdom that social networks in that region are based at least in part on religious lines.

### **Ilkka Arminen and Piia Poikus**

University of Tampere, Finland

*Reconfiguring User - On the Appropriation of a Travel Management System*

The case study concerns the appropriation of a travel management system in a public research institute in Finland. It is based on documents, ethnography and videotaping of the usage of a newly acquired system. Our approach on computer supported co-operative work applies interactional sociolinguistics, ethnomethodological ethnography and science and technology studies. We focus on linguistic key factors, including registers, situational variation, the context of talk-and-action-in-interaction, and translation processes.

The appropriation of a system poses a challenge for end-users to learn new registers and contexts. New technologies involve jargons, the appropriate management of which is prerequisite for competent usage. Jargons include cryptolexis particularly if the installation of system has been supported only with limited education and time. These factors enlarge the challenge and may open resistance and weaken the empowerment of end-users.

Our analysis addresses the user configuration, that is, the ways in which media-and-technologies-in-use define, enable and constrain the user. The changes in socio-technical workscape accordingly reconfigure the user; they alter the constellation of language, environment, body and action in work practices. Through the alternations in the mode of communication new linguistic and semiotic fields are opened for action. This change in the contextual configuration of action also tends to affect the participants and their relationships, and does not leave without traces the subject matter of the discourse. Generally, the technical ideology neglects the social aspects of the appropriation of technology. For instance, the marketing texts of travel management system promise “more efficiency”, “easiness of use” and “saving of time” (and money), but they do not take up the issue of organizational embeddedness of technical systems that poses the kinds of complications our analysis opens up.

The reconfiguring of the user has at least two aspects. First, the travel management system employs the administrative vocabulary that reconfigures the end-user to a part of the administrative personnel. It shifts the actor’s position in the network demanding new registers and contexts of communication. Second, the technical vocabulary of the system sets the end-user to a technical context. Competence is an understanding of the contexts and vocabularies. We analyze the ways in which end-users try to decode the operative language to grasp whether the terms used belong to the administrative language family or to the technical one? Failures may lead the end-user getting lost in virtual space. The reconfiguration of user is a challenge that has risks worth paying attention to.

### **Larissa Aronin and David Singleton**

University of Haifa, Israel and Trinity College, Dublin

*The dynamics of micro and macro connections in today’s multilingual communities*

We are currently experiencing a headlong rush away from traditional and stable social patterns towards an acceptance of radical changes of many kinds - including significant changes in the linguistic/sociolinguistic sphere (cf. Aronin & Singleton forthcoming). The topology of social structure (local communities, groups, states) is being replaced and added to by the fluid social topology of network (Friedman 1999; Urry 2000). Traditional divisions of society are thus increasingly out of step with world developments, while other categories of societal organization are evolving in a manner more consistent with the new reality.

In this paper we wish to discuss one type of social unit which has come to especial prominence in recent times, namely, the multilingual sociolinguistic community. Unlike language-related communities focused on in

many earlier treatments - e.g. the “speech community”, usually understood as comprised of populations who share the habitual use of a single language - the kind of sociolinguistic community we have in mind revolves primarily around a set of languages, as well as typically sharing certain ethnic/social/economic features (cf. Aronin & Singleton in preparation). Sociolinguistic communities of this type, according to our understanding, possess distinct characteristics, and are increasingly widespread across the globe in a variety of countries and urban centres. They are to be seen as fuzzy, complex and transient, that is, always in a process of flux (Blommaert 2003).

The paper will approach the topic of such communities in the light of the decades-old discussion of speech communities in general (cf. the works of Weinreich, Gumperz, Labov, Hymes, Kerswill, Romaine, Fasold, Dorian, Eckert and many others) as well as in the light of very recent developments in the world. The paper will provide arguments for considering such newly evolved collectivities as primarily sociolinguistically defined. It will sketch a description of their structure, will trace their global and local connections, and will provide illustrative examples of their nature.

### **Yoshiyuki Asahi**

The National Institute for Japanese Language, Japan

*On the stability of a New Town Koine*

Studies in dialect transplantation (Trudgill 1986) have investigated the dynamism of contact-induced linguistic changes in various kinds of community. One of the examples of this study is New Town. New towns are established, under the urban planning policy, mainly in the suburbs of large cities, and accommodate a number of residents with varieties of dialectal backgrounds. Interestingly enough, the notion of new town was ‘transplanted’ into different parts of the world, including Japan.

New town studies especially in relation to koine-formation such as Kerswill and Williams (2000) and Omdal (1976), successfully showed that different types of linguistic changes occurred as a result of dialect contact. It goes without saying that these studies brought a number of contributions to sociolinguistics.

On the other hand, a nature of new town as a highly urban and mobile community provides another research interest regarding to what extent this koine is stable as a new language variety. Main purpose of this paper lies in the attempt to discuss the stability of a new town koine by raising one of the Japanese new towns in Kobe, called ‘Seishin New Town.’ For the discussion of its stability, *nabo-opposisjon* (neighbour opposition in English) (Larsen 1917) in Norwegian dialectology will be raised to consider. This paper will raise two sets of survey results, one of which is 13-hour spontaneous speech by two generation speakers in Seishin New Town, and three generation speakers in Hazetani Town, a neighbouring community. Two linguistic variables (verb negation and complementizer) will be focused. The other survey result is from a perceptual dialectological survey under the framework by Preston (1989). Data of 144 new town residents are used for the analyses, and their perceptual maps are used for the discussion.

The results show that whilst a first generation demonstrated a dominant use of common Japanese features in both variables, which do not belong to any regional varieties. In their perception level, they have a strong sense of differences with their neighbouring communities. The second generation, on the other hand, showed a different picture. They maintain the strong sense to differentiate their perception from other neighbouring communities although their linguistic feature favours pan-regional common features in central Kansai area. Based on the analyses, this paper will propose that a new town koine is not necessarily stable. A certain amount of face-to-face interactions amongst the new town residents, the expansion of the mobility area, and the influence of Kansai dialect would affect to this koine-formation with varying extent.

### **Paola Attolino**

University of Salerno, Italy

*And they'll call him "Teresa": Homosexuality-related discourse in Italian pop songs*

Pop songs have often addressed questions of collective interest while expressing an individual image of the world very close to the universal voice of poetry (Groves and McBain 1972). As lyrics may have a strong power of suggestion, their analysis can offer helpful insights into the cultural values and the social attitudes of a given historical period (Frith 1988). Numerous studies in the sociology of music (Frith 1988; Bennett et al. 1993;

Longhurst 1995; Starr and Waterman 2003) demonstrate that, like any form of art, music cannot be considered independent from everyday social relations.

The reflexive nature of songs - mirroring, echoing and amplifying ferments of social unrest and clumps of acquiescence - proves particularly revealing when dealing with such delicate issues and often taboo subjects as homosexuality. In this perspective, popular music's considerable potential for social insights can be conveniently exploited in an attempt to trace the evolution of homosexuality-related discourse across years.

The present paper aims at analysing the way the issue of homosexuality is represented (or misrepresented) in a corpus of Italian pop songs composed in the last decades, in order to investigate to what extent changes in discourse, style and lexicon mirror the changes occurred in Italian society, and vice versa, in particular the gradual passage from a "don't ask - don't tell" climate to the still ongoing debate about gay rights, legislation and society.

The pragmatic analysis, which is also reliant on a language software application, aims to highlight how the use of rhetorical strategies, modals, lexical choices and personal pronouns, combined with the mode of narration oscillating between objectivity and subjectivity, can create narrative slots meant to problematise the issue involving emotively the recipients and contributing to a gradual conceptualization of homosexuality as an identity rather than a "deviant behaviour".

### Holly R. Cashman

Arizona State University, United States of America

*The other F word: A comparison of two public apology incidents*

Apologies have been studied extensively in the field of linguistic politeness, from crosscultural pragmatics (cf. Márquez-Reiter 2000, Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989) to interlanguage pragmatics (cf. Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin 2005) to the realization of apologies in individual languages and cultures (cf. Wouk 2006). The type of apologies studied are traditionally apologies between individuals aimed at repairing a social relationship rather than a *public apology* by individuals or organizations that aim to restore public trust or repair the public image of a figure. Although public apologies have a long, rich history, the last two decades, it seems, have seen a rise in public scandals followed by public apologies in the United States and elsewhere, starting perhaps with Jimmy Swaggart's tearful public admission to his wife that "I have sinned against you and I beg your forgiveness" from his 'apology sermon' almost twenty years ago (21 February 1988). This trend has encompassed the worlds of politics, big business and entertainment, as political leaders, businessmen and women, sports figures, and entertainers are first involved in scandals that cause damage to their public image and then seek to repair that image via the public apology (Hearit 2006).

This paper compares two recent public apology incidents in the U.S., both involving the public use of the word "fag(got)"; it examines speakers' apologies, others' apologies or accounts on behalf of the speakers and public reaction to the apologies within the context of the *discursive struggle* (Locher and Watts 2005) around the acceptability of the word "faggot", the use of cultural background or pragmatic failure as an excuse in the public apology, and the obligatory content and intent of the public apology.

The first incident involves the use of the word "fag" by Ozzie Guillén, manager of the Chicago White Sox baseball team, to describe Jay Mariotti, a columnist from the *Chicago Sun-Times*, in June 2006. The second, more recent, incident involves the public denial of the alleged use of the word "faggot" by actor Isaiah Washington to describe his fellow actor and *Grey's Anatomy* cast member T.R. Knight in January 2007. Both apologies, either by the speakers themselves or by others on behalf of the speaker, invoked inter-cultural misunderstandings as possible explanations of the behavior of Guillén, a Venezuelan, and Washington, an African-American.

### Cecilia Castillo Ayometzi and Guy F. Shroyer

Georgetown University, Washington D.C., USA and Urbana University, USA

*Veterans Day Patriotism: Design, Production and Textual Chains*

This paper examines evidence for the reproduction of militarized national identity through textual chains (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001) derived from multiple fields of action concerned with USA Veterans Day observations. Linked texts, originating in material produced by the US Department of Veterans Affairs and identified through



linguistic tokens and themes, are appropriated in public ceremonies, and then re-appropriated in public school classroom activity. Veterans Day observations take place annually on November 11 in the United States, and serve a unique function in that they highlight, through community-produced ritualistic spectacle, the mass participation in, and support for, the US armed forces. The participants in these ceremonial events appropriate symbols, narratives, music, costume, and choreographed movement in the process of constructing a discourse of honor, sacrifice, heroism and defense of freedom attributed to military veterans. The linkage between the design and production (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001) of these annual observance activities and a consequent understanding of the nature of patriotism is revealed through an analysis of the intertextual recurrence of language features observed in essays written by student participants asked to reflect on the “meaning and importance” of Veterans Day. In order to clarify the centrality of Veterans Day ceremonies for the enactment and reproduction of national identity, the paper initially provides a brief discussion of the origin of the celebration in the United States and its appearance at a time when the US had become a global military superpower in the context of the Cold War. Following this, the Veterans Day textual chain is traced, beginning with the US Department of Veterans Affairs design for Veterans Day community observations, including suggestions for activities, rituals and the mediational means (Scollon, 2001) for public performance. An examination of the actual community observance produced on the basis of the Veterans Administration design then traces the chain from government institution to community practice. Finally, an analysis of linguistic tokens and discursive themes embedded in the essays produced by students after participating in the community event provides evidence for the textual chain linking design and production of Veterans Day activities to the students’ national identity and understanding of American patriotism.

#### **Emmanuel Babalola and Rotimi Babalola**

Department of English, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

*The English Language and Code-switching/Code-mixing:*

*A Case Study of the Phenomena in Contemporary Nigerian Hip Hop Music*

The co-existence of English with Nigerian languages has produced some sociolinguistic consequences. The most widely reported consequence of this language contact situation is language interlarding, which features as interference, borrowing, loaning, code-switching/code-mixing. This study will focus on code-switching/code-mixing. Several Nigerian scholars have examined these concepts in conversation and in literary language. This study is a departure from the focus of looking at the phenomena in natural conversation or literary writing to a critical examination of their use in contemporary Nigerian hip-hop music. It is a reality that in spite of the fact that most Nigerian hip-hop singers sing in English, they still try to identify with their roots by mixing English with their indigenous languages. The growing influence of some major Nigerian languages, particularly Yoruba (the indigenous language predominantly spoken in the Southwestern Nigeria) is observed to be the motivation for these musicians. Yoruba is becoming increasingly popular not only in Nigeria but also in the Diaspora. In the same vein, the hip-hop music genre has almost taken over the Nigerian music scene with commendable innovations and creativity of the young singers. The innovation is best exemplified in the dexterous use of language in the emergent synthesis. This work will examine the switch from English to Yoruba and *vice versa* in the music of five Nigerian hip-hop musicians/musical groups, namely: Sunny Nneji, Lagbaja, D'Banj, Hazardous and Style Plus. The objectives are: to examine the nature of these phenomena, to find out the extent of this practice, to examine the reasons for this practice, to discuss the stylistic effects of this trend, and to discuss the implications of the practice for communication in/ through music across the globe.

#### **Sophie Babault and Laurent Puren**

Université Lille 3 - UMR 8163 STL, France and Université de la Réunion - EA 2288 DILTEC, France

*Language and Identity in Multilingual Settings: The Case of Cross-Border Schooling*

The aim of our paper is to analyze in a sociolinguistic perspective the phenomenon of cross-border schooling, which is practised by a number of families living in border areas throughout Europe. In this presentation, we focus on those cases in which the pupils study in a language other than the one which is generally used in the schools of the country in which they live.

In such cases, the families' choices are sometimes driven by identity concerns, especially when the borders between nations separate populations which originally spoke the same dialect. Identity is more likely to be a key motivation when this dialect is related to an official language of the receiving country but in danger of disappearing in the sending country. We can also see this identity motivation in dual-language couples, in which one of the partners is from the neighbouring country and sees cross-border schooling as a way of better transmitting his or her language and culture to his or her children. Other families, for more practical reasons, want their children to benefit from the early learning of a second language, whether or not they have any relation to this language. As we will show, regardless of the intentions of the parents, cross-border schooling often leads to a transformation of the entire family's sense of identity.

Following E. Marc (2005), we define the concept of identity as "the product of social interactions and interpersonal relationships, resituated in an institutional and group context". Focusing our research on the border area of the "Nord departement" (France), the northwest of Wallonia, and the province of West Flanders (Belgium), we analyze the processes by which those social and language practices which are linked to cross-border schooling bring into play the various levels of identity positioning. At the family level, the specificities of the child or children's bilingual development have a demonstrable impact on the negotiation of identities by all family members. At the community level, the choice of cross-border schooling causes the whole family to have one foot in each of the two cultures and in each of the two languages. Since these two linguistic spaces have macrosociolinguistic characteristics which cannot simply be juxtaposed, the situation requires each family member to adopt a new identity position and to accept their categorisation in each sphere (Kaufmann, 2004).

We base our paper on a qualitative analysis of about fifty semi-directive interviews carried out between 2005 and 2007 with families - both French and Dutch-speaking - who had made the choice of cross-border schooling in the area under consideration.

#### **Peter Backhaus**

German Institute for Japanese Studies, Tokyo  
*Communication in Institutional Elderly Care in Japan*

This paper deals with linguistic interaction between residents and staff in a Japanese caring facility for elderly people. It is based on empirical research conducted in autumn 2007 in a nursing home north of Tokyo. Borrowing methodology from previous research (Grainger 1993, Sachweh 2000), the study concentrates on morning care activities. The study sample consists of around 120 recorded conversations. Actions performed during these conversations include waking the residents and getting them up, exchange of diapers, dressing, and toilet support.

The paper takes a closer look at the data with regard to two points: (1) the unequal power relations between residents and staff and how they are linguistically expressed and negotiated; and (2) the linguistic strategies adopted by the interactants to deal with embarrassing and potentially face-threatening situations as they inevitably occur in institutional elderly care.

#### **Carla Bagna, Monica Barni and Massimo Vedovelli**

Università per Stranieri di Siena, Italy  
*How immigrant languages change cities: an Italian case study*

This speech presents the results of a series of studies conducted within The Excellence Center of Research - Permanent Language Observatory for the diffusion of the Italian Language among foreigners and the immigrant languages in Italy of the University for Foreigners of Siena. The research of these studies aims to describe and to propose interpretive models of new phenomena that characterize the language situation in Italy.

The Italian linguistic space, during the period starting from the political unification of the Italy (XIX century) until the middle of the fifties of the twentieth century, has been traditionally characterized by a tripolar situation: a) the pole of Italian and its varieties, b) the pole of Italian dialects and their varieties, c) the pole of minority languages of historic settlement.

Starting from the end of this period onwards, an extremely rapid process of the diffusion of Italian spoken commonly by the vast majority of the population began to take place, involving an actual linguistic revolution which has led to the birth of an effectively common and shared language.

In recent years a second linguistic revolution has swept across Italian society and continues to do so: on account of the flow of immigration from abroad, Italy, once before a country of emigrants, has witnessed the entry of languages and cultures of immigrants as well. They amount to 3.5 million people (5.6% of the population) with at least 600,000 young people present in the educational system. These new immigrants speak at least 130 different languages. The immigrant groups who have settled across the country (in big and small cities) have implanted their languages in local communities, creating immigrant languages in the national linguistic space and in local linguistic spaces.

Such immigrant languages are not only present in domestic contexts, but also in public ones. Languages leave behind traces in urban linguistic landscapes through street and store signs, posters, and other public writings, creating a plurilingual environment where mixed language texts have taken significant space.

The purpose of this report aims to provide a model of sociolinguistic analysis used in order to describe the situation which has been created; it deals with a factor of

Neoplurilingualism along which is added the traditional language dynamics in this new perspective.

One can compare the presence of immigrant languages, their solidity, vitality and visibility with the attitude of Italians, whose language insecurity does not only concern competence in widespread foreign languages, but also Italian as well.

The data gathered in these studies, points out how the vitality and the visibility of immigrant languages non only depends on the presence, the social implantation and the attitude of foreigners towards their languages, but also on the social and linguistic space in which they are entering.

The data analysis allows for the description of forms, ways and dynamics of plurilingual and traditional Italian, permitting the elaboration of hypotheses concerning its evolution in relation to profound social change which characterize Italy today.

### **Dominika Baran and Peter L. Patrick**

University of Essex, United Kingdom

*Aspiring to be local: Language ideology, practice, and variation in a Taiwan high school*

This study demonstrates through quantitative analysis how speakers use Taiwan Mandarin features to construct identities complying with or resisting dominant social structures (Bourdieu 1982, Eckert 1989, 2000). The data comes from sociolinguistic interviews conducted with 18 students at a Taipei County high school. The participants study in college-preparatory and vocational tracks, which in Taiwan's highly structured educational system places them in rigid career trajectories, and in tightly linked communities who share most of the day together in one classroom.

Taiwan Mandarin has developed over the past 60 years since Chiang-Kai-Shek's Kuomintang government took over Taiwan, imposing Mandarin as the official variety while suppressing local Chinese varieties such as Taiwanese (aka Southern Min). Taiwan Mandarin has developed from the influence of Taiwanese phonology and grammar on local learners' acquisition, as well as from non-standard Mandarin features already present in the speech of many new Mainlander settlers who did not speak the standard Beijing variety.

Because Mandarin is associated with academic success, and Taiwanese with local networks and working-class occupations, vocational students are viewed as Taiwanese-speakers, and are simultaneously marginalized for it. This study shows that students in blue-collar training tracks (electronics) are much more likely to use Taiwan Mandarin features than students in college-preparatory tracks, although both speak Mandarin and Taiwanese natively. However, students in vocational tracks who do plan college education are *least* likely to use Taiwan Mandarin features. This social distribution of Taiwan Mandarin suggests that in institutional settings which promote Mandarin, the use of Taiwan Mandarin features claims a voice in the linguistic marketplace by "localizing" the dominant variety, thus making it a vehicle for expressing identities associated with speaking Taiwanese and being "local," as opposed to those linked with school norms and values (Eckert 2000).

Of existing studies of Taiwan Mandarin, some treat it as "unsuccessfully" acquired Mandarin, analyzing "errors" made by local speakers (Lin 1983, Lin 1986). Others see it as a separate, natively spoken variety, but provide only descriptive lists of features (Cheng 1984, Kubler 1986). Variationist analyses have focused on the social distribution of de-retroflexion, but without interpreting their results using social theory (Rau and Li 1994, Li 1994), or on de-retroflexion (Kuo 2005) and the final [n~ŋ] merger (Li 1992) as changes in progress. Studies analyzing Taiwan Mandarin as a resource in accomplishing goals such as identity construction (Chung



2006) and performance of social roles (Su 2005) rely chiefly on anecdotal evidence, or treat Taiwan Mandarin as a uniform abstracted stereotype.

The present study demonstrates how local linguistic practice reproduces and challenges dominant ideologies transmitted through institutions such as the school. The study compares two features: de-retroflexion of sibilant initial [ʃ] and deletion of prenuclear glide [w] in words like [wɔ], [kwɔ] and [ʃwɔ], the latter not previously researched. Their different social distribution among students suggests that they index different social meanings and argues against treating Taiwan Mandarin as a uniform category (cf. Kubler 1986, Feifel 1994).

### **Montserrat Barrera, Darren Paffey and Dick Vigers**

Katholieke Universiteit Brussel, Belgium and University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*Migrant Attitudes to Language and Citizenship Policies: contrasting case studies from Spain and the UK*

This research is part of the LINEE (Languages in a Network of European Excellence, [www.linee.info](http://www.linee.info)) project, funded by the European Commission, which is investigating linguistic diversity in Europe. This group's focus is framed by interacting and overlapping issues of language policy, migration and citizenship (Castles & Davidson 2000, Hampshire 2005). We situate these within the context of increasing mobility of labour for EU citizens in recent years, and the migratory flows which have been witnessed within and beyond these enlarged EU borders. Such substantial transnational movements of people have repercussions for notions of language and policy, particularly in receiving countries as they seek to deal with issues of 'integration' and 'cohesion'.

As part of this ongoing research, the paper will examine two case studies in detail which explore the notion that national and regional language policies can exist in a spectrum from 'no policy' to 'explicit policy'. We show how evidence from the case studies - Barcelona/Castellón in Spain and Southampton in the UK - locates countries at different points of this spectrum, tracking the emergence of the distinct policies (or lack of), as well as critically analysing the public debates around cultural integration, translation services and language acquisition for migrants. We explore how far national language policies - and their local implementations - may affect migrant populations and their aspirations to become citizens of host countries.

Of particular interest are migrants' perceptions and attitudes that arise from the debates and policies in each of these differing locations and circumstances. We present quantitative and qualitative data in order to examine attitudes towards host-country migrant language acquisition and its role in citizenship as well as changing attitudes to language acquisition in transnational settings in both host and migrant communities. Our research questions include: Does the existence of a language policy (e.g. in Spain) make migrants think differently about acquiring (or not) the 'host' country's language? What about in multilingual situations? Where there is little or no explicit policy (e.g. the UK), does this produce different attitudes in migrants? Do migrants perceive the language policy - or where this is lacking, a policy on citizenship - as designed to 'naturalise' them into 'being British/Spanish/Catalan/etc'? And how might these differences relate to 'Europe' as a cohesive unit with converging policies on language and citizenship?

### **Rusty Barrett**

University of Kentucky, United States of America

*Towards a typology of crossing*

The last decade has seen a great deal of sociolinguistic research on various forms of *crossing* (Rampton 1995), or the use of a language variety that is anomalously "other" for a given speaker (Rampton 1999). This paper proposes a typology of forms of crossing that suggests a relationship between macro variables related to speaker identity and micro variables in linguistic structure. The typology divides forms of crossing into four broad categories: outsider native speaker (e.g. Sweetland 2002), second language learners (or attempts to acquire in-group status) (e.g. LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985, Piller 2002), appropriation (e.g. Barrett 1998, Cutler 1999, Bucholtz 1999, Chun 2001, Reyes 2005), and mocking (e.g. Hill 1995, 1998, Ronkin and Karn 1999, Mesthrie 2002, Chun 2004, Meek 2006). An analysis of various cases of these four types, suggests that these categories of crossing are correlated with distinct linguistic forms. As native speakers and second language/dialect learners would be expected to display distinct linguistic patterns, the paper emphasizes the structural distinctions between forms of appropriation and forms of mocking.

Research on appropriation and cases of mocking typically assumes that the distinction between appropriation and mocking is primarily a question of speaker intent, with forms classified as mocking primarily when speakers intentionally convey a pejorative or derogatory message. Analysis of these cases suggests that these two forms of crossing operate at different levels of indexical order (Silverstein 2003) with corresponding differences in linguistic form. The distinction is demonstrated by comparing previous research on the appropriation of a 'white woman' style of speaking by African American drag queens (Barrett 1995, 1998, 1999) with the speech of Charles Knipp, a white drag queen who performs a (mocked) African American character (Shirley Q. Liquor) in blackface. Although the communicative intent (at least as expressed by the speakers themselves) of both Knipp and the African American drag queens is the same, the two cases show quite distinct linguistic patterns. While African American drag queens generally produce stereotyped representations of white speech, they use forms that actually occur in the English of white Americans. In addition, the use of a 'white woman' style always occurs in a context of code-switching with other styles (typically African American English). In contrast, Knipp uses forms that are not found in African American English, such as intervocalic r-insertion ("doing" as [dɔ̃rɪŋ]) and triply-marked past tense morphology ("sweldded" for the past tense of "swell"). Knipp's use of Mock African American English is also uninterrupted, with no code-switching into other varieties. These structural differences are tied to differences in indexical order, with the appropriation indexing social attributes associated with an identity category (in this case attributes of sophistication and glamour that the drag queens associate with white women) and mocking directly indexing a social category (in Knipp's case African American women). The results are used to explore the possibility that previous research on forms of crossing might be classified in terms of linguistic form (rather than speaker intent or social context).

### Csilla Bartha

Research Institute for Linguistics, HAS and Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary

*Language shift in Romani-speaking communities in Hungary - Combining macro and micro interpretations*

Large-scale representative surveys or census data linguistically doubted by sociolinguists working with linguistic minorities do not seem to be sufficient. Macro-sociological factors are in fact important in explaining language shift, but as Fasold (1984: 217; Kulick 1992: 8) points out: 'there has been little success in using any combination of [them] to predict when language shift will occur'.

Until recently, sociolinguistic research on linguistic practices or language shift patterns of linguistic minorities, especially the Roma, the largest and extremely marginalized ethnic group has been a barely studied scientific area in Hungary.

Between 2001 and 2004 the author conducted the first sociolinguistic survey on linguistic and social change in two Romani-speaking communities in Northern Hungary focusing on local models of language shift. Our research (101 informants) combines theories and methods of quantitative sociolinguistics, linguistic ethnography and the language ideology approach. Among the main objectives were to develop powerful multidisciplinary research tools, which have predictive power with respect to future linguistic assimilation processes. Other objectives included giving a detailed analysis of the dynamics of language shift focusing on the process as well as studying the architecture of "ethnic identity" and the role of the minority language in construction and negotiation of identities.

The first part of the paper provides an overview of the current situation of autochthonous communities in Hungary with a special focus on the Roma. After an introduction of a socio-demographic and linguistic profile, the paper will briefly discuss the extremely complex state of Roma population in Hungary, linguistically divided into at least three, completely separate groups. Special attention has been paid to the existing discrepancies between minority rights and their implementation in the educational practices, as well as to the mainstream attitudes (prejudice, racism) which have negative consequences on the future of Romani language maintenance in Hungary. Sources of evidence come from the ongoing *FP6 SSA DILING* project and the *Budapest Sociolinguistic Interview (BSI Version II)* corpus.

The second part focuses on some results of the research on community-specific as well as common tendencies in linguistic practices, attitudes, ideologies and identity negotiation within the local Romani-speaking communities. Even though data demonstrate a gradual decrease in the use of the Romani language, the present study revealed that the speed of the process is much slower, more complex, and each community has its own local interpretations and beliefs about the new political-economic and ideological context.

Analysis also highlights that macro-social factors do not directly weaken language retention efforts: they correlate strongly with other factors like attitudes towards the minority language and with ideologies constructed by the community members.

The paper attempts to clear out that comparative multilevel analysis not only broadens our understanding of the dynamics of language shift, but it also makes it easier to determine the appropriate techniques and technologies proposed to decelerate the process.

**Elisa Battisti, Adalberto Ajara Dornelles Filho, João Ignacio Pires Lucas, Nínive Magdiel Peter Bovo**

Universidade de Caxias do Sul, Brazil

*Dental stops palatalization as social practice*

Dental stops palatalization in Antônio Prado, a small southern Brazilian city founded by Italian immigrants in the end of the 19th century, applies at a 29% frequency rate. Considering different varieties of Portuguese spoken in Brazil, such a rate is moderate and generally attributed (Bisol, 1991; Almeida, 2000) to the contact between Italian and Portuguese languages which by its turn keeps vowel reduction of unstressed /e/ to [i] (a process that feeds palatalization) low in Antônio Prado. Aiming at investigating dental stops palatalization as social practice (Eckert, 2000), variable rule analysis (Labov, 1972, 1994, 2001) and informants' social network analysis (Milroy, 1980; Milroy and Milroy, 1992) were carried out, combined with an ethnographic study in the community.

The variable rule analysis of 26.598 tokens collected from the interviews of 48 BDSer (Banco de Dados de Fala da Serra Gaúcha, UCS) informants showed that palatalization is favoured by young people who live in the city's urban area and by phonological /i/. The analysis of the informants social network was made in its density and plexity, the last one measured considering degrees of relationship of the informants (Blake and Josey, 2003). In both rural and urban areas the network is dense, the difference lies in the ties which connect the informants: the ones living in the urban area are connected by less intimate ties, while rural informants connect to each other by more intimate ties, which reinforce the more conservative non-palatalized alternant. Ethnography in Antônio Prado focused on young people's (15 to 30 years old) practices, which show traces of the local old (Italian settlers) traditions. Living in the urban or rural area, young people's attitudes towards the city can be said to be positive and can be related to the group's frequency rate of palatalization, which hasn't increased from the prior age group (31 to 50 years old).

The results of both variable rule and social network analysis, combined with ethnography in Antônio Prado, indicate that palatalization is not change in progress in the community, but tends to be stabilized in the system at moderate rates.

**Katrin Beermann and Jan D. ten Thije**

University of Tilburg, The Netherlands and University of Utrecht, The Netherlands

*Intercultural understanding by cultural perspectivising.*

*An analysis of biographical interviews about the famous East German (or GDR) car 'der TRABI'*

This paper challenges traditional presumptions in the field of intercultural communication: the focus on intercultural misunderstanding. In contrast, the analytical purpose of this paper concerns the reconstruction of intercultural *understanding* linguistically (Bührig & ten Thije, 2006). Linguistic research on intercultural discourse that focuses on *beyond misunderstanding* reflects on the questions as to what extent different linguistic means and processes contribute to intercultural understanding as they enable the interlocutors to reflect on ongoing intercultural discourse and to deal with potential conflicts or to benefit from the synergy of the language and cultural contact (ten Thije, 2003).

Ten Thije (2006) proposes a three-step strategy of perspectivising: 1) *generalizing*, 2) *perspectivising* and 3) *contrasting cultures* that reproduces the process of taking into account the communicative expectations in intercultural discourse. These three steps can be determined as follows: by *generalising*, an interactant considers his speech action as a standard solution; by *perspectivising*, he locates his speech actions in the actual speech situation taking into account standards of the other. By *contrasting cultures*, the speaker enables the hearer to compare the speaker's cultural standards with his own and attain an adequate interpretation of the discourse.

In this paper, we will use the three-step strategy model to study perspectivising in more detail. The objective is to relate the phenomenon of perspectivising to factors as age-difference, expert-knowledge and L1-L2 constellations. It will be shown that the three-step model of verbalizing propositional content can be applied to these differences as well. Moreover, the analysis will put forwards questions if and how the three-step model has to be adjusted if it is used for the linguistic action of perspectivising in general. Examples originate from a research project on biographical stories about the East German car the *Trabi*. The data were collected in biographical interviews with East and West German informants.

### **Bettina Beinhoff**

University of Cambridge, Research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics, United Kingdom

*Accent and identity - Are some non-native speaker accents of English 'better' than others?*

A person's identity is determined not only by personal but also by social identity. Social identity includes ethnic identity and originates from group membership which is established by self-categorisation (Tajfel 1978; Turner 1987). Accent and language are considered to be major determinants of social identity although recent research raises doubts as to whether NNS *always* regard their accent to be part of their identity (Derwing 2003).

There has been a lot of research on the expression of social identity through people's native speaker (NS) accents and their attitudes towards other NS accents (e.g. Coupland & Bishop 2007; Hiraga 2005). Research on attitudes of non-native speakers (NNS) of English towards their own (ingroup) NNS accent and other (outgroup) accents of English has been largely neglected. Due to the spread of English as the global lingua franca it is increasingly used for communication among NNS; and NNS of English outnumber NS of English by far. In this lingua franca context NNS of English need to establish their social identity through the medium of their L2.

The present study looks at attitudes towards accents, with particular interest in the solidarity dimension (i.e. how much a person identifies with an accent) and status dimension (i.e. how much prestige is assigned to an accent). In a perception task German and Greek NNS of English and southern English NS of English rate German and Greek NNS accents (using accents with stronger and weaker L1 influence for each accent) and southern English and Scottish NS accents of English with respect to the above two dimensions. The speech samples have been constructed so that they highlight specific linguistic traits such as the pronunciation of certain consonants.

The results of this study suggest that there is no straightforward answer as to whether NNS of English identify with their own NNS accent of English. NNS' attitudes towards accents of English seem to be much more an issue of status rather than of identity, i.e. NNS of English do not necessarily identify with their own cultural group through their L1 accent in English but they rather assign a high status to southern English accents and to some of the NNS accents of English that show a weaker L1 influence. These results explain issues related to linguistic stereotypes and autostereotypes within the context of English as a global language and are the basis for my further research into matters concerning the acceptability of NNS accents.

### **Allan Bell and Andy Gibson**

AUT University, Auckland, New Zealand

*Pasifika English and community identity in New Zealand*

In this paper we examine the relationship between Pasifika English speakers' linguistic performance and their self-reported ethnic orientations and identifications. We draw on a corpus of 30 interviews with young Pasifika New Zealanders which include questionnaire responses on ethnic community involvement and orientation as well as actual linguistic production in English.

New Zealand has some 250,000 people whose families immigrated from the South Pacific islands, making up 7 percent of the New Zealand population. The majority of these people come from four main islands or groups: Samoa, Cook Islands, Tonga and Niue. The first generation immigrants are second language speakers of English, with their first languages being the Polynesian language of their country of origin. New Zealand born members of the community are often dominant in English rather than their community language. This leads to a complex situation of language contact which seems to be resulting in the emergence of a Pasifika New Zealand English ethnolect in the younger members of these communities.

Interviews were conducted in English with a sample of young Pasifika people from four language backgrounds - Samoan, Cook Islands Maori, Tongan and Niuean. We present findings on four consonant features which distinguish their variety of speech from that of mainstream New Zealand English:

- stopping of (DH) - *these, their*
- fronting of (TH) - *something, thanks*
- non-use of linking /r/ - *share of, stare at*
- use of non-prevocalic /r/ after the NURSE vowel - *girl, shirt*

Our previous study of Pasifika characters in the animated television comedy *bro'Town* indicates that these features operate as variables in Pasifika NZ English. Some are also found in Maori English, leading us to the interpretation that substrate effects from Polynesian languages are likely to be operating (the fricative pronunciations of /dh/ and /th/ do not occur in Polynesian languages). The non-use of linking /r/ may be related to the metrical structure of the variety, which appears to be more syllable-timed than mainstream NZE.

We relate quantitative and qualitative analysis of these linguistic features to the qualitative information we elicited on these speakers in order to understand the social context and motivations of their linguistic positionings. We examine especially the relation between speakers' degree of active integration with their ethnic community and their language choices and production.

### **Brian P. Bennett**

Niagara University, United States of America

*Abecedarian Ideologies: The Old Orthography in the New Russia*

This paper considers the social symbolic significance of the so-called old orthography in post-Soviet Russia. Russian Cyrillic orthography has been reformed several times over the past three centuries (Grigor'eva 2004). The last major reform occurred in 1918 in conjunction with the start of Bolshevik culture. Being associated with the *ancien régime*, the old or pre-revolutionary orthography was meanwhile maintained by different émigré (monarchist, Orthodox) groups. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, it made a symbolic comeback. Several leading intellectuals, including Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Dmitrii Likhachev, had spoken in favor of the old orthography, and their views received renewed attention in the early 1990s. The old orthography also started to make an appearance in various right-wing publications. It was endorsed by the National-Patriotic Front "Pamyat" ("Memory"), the most visible ultra-nationalist group of the post-Soviet period. The first edition of Pamyat's eponymous broadsheet (1991) contains a clerical manifesto promoting the old orthography. The group's "Black Hundred" ideology (Lacquer 1993) is further spelled out, as it were, in a series of articles constructed along the lines of *Az buki vedi glagol' dobro* (the traditional abecedarian mnemonic), the spiritual and political resurgence of Russia being linked to the rectification of letters. This study attempts to situate these orthographic ideologies in relation to each other, to the broader sociolinguistic context of post-communist Russia, and to comparable cases elsewhere (Sebba 2007).

### **Eliezer Ben-Rafael and Miriam Ben-Rafael**

University of Tel-Aviv, Israel and Alon College

*From Macro to Micro and vice-versa: Transnationalism in Linguistic Landscapes  
French Jews from Sarcelles to Natanya*

Israel's residents know tens of languages but despite this multilingualism, this society has succeeded to make Hebrew a national language practiced by the wide majority. Though, in some groups - Arabs, ultra-Orthodox, Ethiopians or ex-Soviet immigrants - many individuals continue to speak their languages of origin among themselves. These groups are also "transnational diasporas" bound to communities in the outside. Recent French immigrants belong to this category but differ from them at major respects while at the same time, they also illustrate a kind of francophonie that did not exist in Israel before regarding the French language. They indeed tend to show an unprecedented determination in their public use of French, up to making the language a major element in some cities' linguistic landscape (LL). This French is not an enclave language but appears on LL items together with Hebrew and English (the semi-official language of the country), and eventually Russian or Arabic. Some findings indicate that it is spoken of a French that signals that these people see themselves both here and



in France - a kind of concretization of “dual homeness”. This is shown quite precisely by our LL investigation in Natanya where many of these new immigrants concentrate. It reveals the complexity of the relations intertwining between linguistic elements referring to macro-level (Hebrew) national ideologies and policies, and to micro-level (French) collective-identity aspirations of individual actors. In a further step, the researchers went, in France, for a systematic comparison with the linguistic landscape of one of the major concentration of Jews in that country, Sarcelles, from where no few immigrants set out yearly for Israel. We wanted to know if one finds there an equivalent, nay even a symmetrical, intertwining of macro (French) and micro (Hebrew/Jewish) elements of linguistic activity. This two-phase investigation shows that the places present differences that are, as such, of theoretical significance regarding the notion of transnational diaspora and the uses of LL analysis in this respect. Though, and all the differences notwithstanding, findings justify entitling this paper: From Macro to micro, and vice-versa.

**Anna Christina Bentes and Vivian Cristina Rio**

Unicamp, Campinas, Brazil

*Habitus and its influence on reception of media narratives*

Following the perspective according to which media products viewers actively construct social and subjective meanings to what they watch in TV (Martin-Barbero, 2002), this work aims to analyze and compare the joint construction of social meanings for Brazilian television narratives performed in sociolinguistic interviews with two different social groups which *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977) are distinct.

We assume interactional sociolinguistic and cultural anthropology perspectives, which claim that cognition and language are affected by social and cultural forces (Gumperz, 1982). It's important to say that macro structural factors never determine completely interactional usage of language (Gumperz, 1982, 1996) because each speaker enters in interaction with a biography constructed by past interactions (Goffman, 1981), moreover there is a complex network that influences social interaction - situational features, speaker's beliefs and attitudes, joint knowledge, mutual expectation, sociocultural norms (Koch, 1997).

In this way, the concept of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977:73) is useful because it is defined by “the actual outcome of identical or interchangeable past practices, which coincides with their own outcome to the extent (and only to the extent) that the objective structures of which they are product are prolonged in the structures within they function.” *Habitus*, therefore, is related to the reproduction of practical regularities and is explained by social embodiment and by the fact that speakers are socially constituted by and relatively stable ways of acting, which includes verbal actions as the production and interpretation of texts (Hanks, 1989)

The sociolinguistic interviews were performed with members of two different social groups: one (Group A) composed by 12 university students of a public institution (Unicamp), whose familiar income is more than three thousand reais; these students have never worked and are dedicated to class activities during the whole day; they live in their family houses or with roommates; the other group (Group B) was composed by 12 university students of a private institution (Faculdade Zumbi de Palmares), whose familiar income is lower than three thousand reais; they work during the day and study at night, they live with their families (parents or husbands/wives).

We have done 08 sociolinguistic interviews with groups composed by 3 persons of the same social group. The interview was organized in the following way: we asked the group to watch a short television narrative, then we started the sociolinguistic interview, recorded by a video camera. According to Schiffrin (1994), in this kind of interview both - interviewer and interviewee - introduce subjects based on a semi-structured agenda.

We observed that a distinct *habitus* have influenced the way the interaction between these subjects: members of Group A showed a verbal behavior characterized by dispute and interruption of each other's turn; the members of the other group (Group B) act more formally and use more gestures in order to mark the turn taking. Besides, the focus of the discussion between the viewers is different: the discussion performed by Group A is centered in narrative's format and its elements; while Group 2 centers the discussion on narrative themes.

### **Vivek Madhusudan Bhat and Milind Malshe**

Indian Institute of Technology (I.I.T.), Bombay, India

*How Konkani Won the Battle for 'Languagehood'*

The language situation in India is quite complex with over a billion people, twenty official languages and hundreds of spoken varieties. In spite of such linguistic diversity, however, the country has always been culturally united and multilingualism has been a norm, not a deviation.

After India's independence in 1947, the process of formation of linguistic states was started as it was thought that people, through their own language, can educate and equip themselves better to deal with the lower levels of administration and judiciary. This, however, led to a controversy as to what constitutes a language and how it is to be distinguished from dialects. Speakers of many dialects wanted to emphasize their identity as speakers of independent languages.

Speakers of Konkani were in the forefront of such agitations. Konkani was since long considered to be a dialect of Marathi - a dominant language spoken in one of the largest states of India viz. Maharashtra. The total number of Konkani speakers was comparatively very small and it was not a majority language in any of the states. Voices of the few Konkani protagonists therefore had remained subdued for a long time.

After liberation of Goa from the Portuguese rule in 1961, there was a proposal to merge Goa with the neighboring state of Maharashtra. A large section of the Goan population justified it saying that Konkani was only a dialect of Marathi and states in India were anyway organized on a linguistic basis. 'Marathists' relied on mutual intelligibility, similar vocabulary and grammatical structure of the two languages as also the fact that Konkani was rarely used in writing. Those opposed to merger joined the issue saying that Konkani had developed quite independently from the middle Indo-Aryan languages and mere paucity of literature cannot deprive a language of its status. Merits of the arguments apart, the problem could not be solved by linguistic considerations. Therefore in 1967 a referendum was held in Goa and it went against the merger proposal.

Once the status of Goa as an independent entity was established, the Konkani protagonists made conscious, institutionalized efforts for development of Konkani and to promote writing in Konkani. *Sabitya Akademi* (Academy of letters) recognized Konkani as one of the literary languages of India (1976). Konkani was introduced as an elective language in schools and at the University. In 1987, Goa was accorded the status of a full-fledged state of the Indian Union and Konkani was accepted as the official state language. In 1992, Konkani was included in the eighth schedule of Indian constitution as one of India's national languages.

The people's wish thus triumphed. The exciting journey of Konkani to 'languagehood' was complete. The present paper proposes to trace that journey.

### **Michele Bishop and Sherry Hicks**

Santa Rosa Junior College

*Hearing, native signers: identity formation through code-blending of ASL and English*

CODA-TALK<sup>1</sup>: The interplay between sign and spoken language in establishing a third identity for hearing people from deaf families

Many hearing people from deaf families (Coda or children of deaf adults) develop a "third language" as a way to express an identity that reflects both hearing and deaf worlds but which combines to form a third and separate identity. This spoken and signed variation incorporates American Sign Language (ASL) grammar, the aural input from deaf family members (deaf voice imitation)<sup>2</sup> and lexicon and limited grammatical structures from English. This study researches the language patterns found in both written and spoken data to determine how English and ASL come together structurally in a bimodal bilingual as well as the sociolinguistic factors behind this unique type of code-blending.

The findings indicate that in Coda-only environments or forums, many grammatical structures of their native sign language appear using English as the vehicle for written and spoken expression. For spoken communication, this includes using English words that follow ASL grammatical structures. Some of those features are:

- a. an absence of overt subjects
- b. the absence of English determiners
- c. no copulas
- d. an absence of overt objects

- e. a lack of prepositions
- f. altering the verb inflections in a non-English like manner

The dual modality bilingualism of a hearing person from a deaf family creates the potential for unique language usage due to the ability to sign and speak at the same time and for language play<sup>3</sup> due to the two modalities of expression (oral and manual). Very little work has been done to examine what adults are doing when they draw from both languages simultaneously or the importance of this code-blending in the establishment of an identity that reflects both deaf and hearing cultural and linguistic identities.

#### Endnotes

- <sup>1</sup> Coda-talk is the name created by people from deaf families to describe their own speech patterns that are a combination of English and American Sign Language. "Coda" stands for hearing Children Of Deaf Adults.
- <sup>2</sup> Many Codas use "deaf voice" while speaking and will do so with or without signing. This is the purposeful imitation of the speech patterns of deaf parents. Most hearing people are aware that many deaf people have unclear speech and a nasal quality to the speech
- <sup>3</sup> There is also evidence of "back translation" and the creation of novel lexicon in English that is the direct result of knowledge of American Sign Language.

#### Lukas Bleichenbacher and Adrian Pablé

Universität Zürich, Englisch Seminar, Switzerland and Section d'anglais, Université de Lausanne, Switzerland  
*"America government for shit - Amerikas Regierung ist Scheisse":  
 Hollywood's 'broken English' and its dubbed versions*

How well do second language users of English perform in Hollywood representations of multilingual interaction? What are the stylistic and ideological correlates of heavily marked interlanguage? How is 'broken' English rendered in dubbed versions of Hollywood movies?

Our approach to the Hollywood representation of 'broken' English is informed by Irvine and Gal's (2000) theorization of language ideology, especially by the notion of *fractal recursivity*. Our hypothesis is that the contrast between positive and negative attributes of characterization is projected onto the opposition between fluent and 'broken' use of English as a second language. The hypothesis is tested on a corpus of utterances in English as a second language, both in the original and in dubbed versions, from recent mainstream Hollywood movies.

The analysis shows that in general, characters with a non-English first language display much higher degrees of multilingual proficiency than English L1 characters using second languages. Moreover, the characters' use of marked interlanguage features often appears motivated, in a reasonably realistic way, by the micro context of the speech situation, rather than by macro processes of stereotyping. In fact, some characters speak 'worse' English the more emotionally agitated, or indeed the more hostile they are towards English L1 speakers and their backgrounds - as in the Bosnian character's line from *Behind Enemy Lines* (2001) quoted in the title. However, there exist interesting differences between the 'broken' varieties in different dubbed versions, which show the extent to which language ideologies are culture-specific.

In a next step, we discuss the depiction of interlanguage on the level of pragmatics. It is only in very rare cases that speakers appear as pragmatically incompetent in that they unknowingly violate Gricean maxims or conventions of linguistic politeness. Instead, breakdown in situations of intercultural communication typically occurs because the speakers are being impolite on purpose, and most often, their impoliteness is performed in perfectly fluent English, and rendered accordingly in the dubbed versions. The picture the movies paint is an all too rosy one of unproblematic worldwide communication in English, where the blame for communicative breakdown, if not escalation, is put on the non-L1 speakers: not because of their 'broken' English, but because of their rejection of American values.

#### Anna Borbély

Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, Hungary  
*Can dialect features survive as socio-stylistic variants?  
 Studying two verbal forms in the Budapest Sociolinguistic Interview (BSI) corpus*

As the evidence accumulated in Harlig and Pléh (1995) shows, in most East European, formerly socialist countries one common denominator of language policy - as well as an obstacle for the advent of modern, value-free



sociolinguistics - was and remains the omnipresent centralized language cultivation. Profound social changes in the 20th centuries in Hungary (e.g. urbanization) and the spread of standard Hungarian by school, media, etc., are considered as factors of loss of importance and prestige of Hungarian regional dialects. What are the destinies of the stigmatized Hungarian dialectal variants: do they remain as variants used only by old rural people and will pass away with them simultaneously, or will they survive as sociolinguistic and/or stylistic variants? In Hungarian the verb forms as *jöszöök* ('you-pl. come'), and *tudnák* ('I would know') are labelled as stigmatized dialectal forms. In our paper using data collected by field methods of sociolinguistic interview (see Labov 1984), we will study sociolinguistic and stylistic variation of these two verbs in Hungarian spoken in Budapest.

The inter-speaker and the intra-speaker variation of the variables we will examine using the 50 pilot interviews. These were conducted in 1987 with a quota sample of ten teachers over 50 years of age, ten university students, ten blue-collar workers, ten sales clerks, and ten vocational trainees aged 15-16 (see Kontra 1990). The itemized data will be analyzed statistically from the following tasks of the BSI version 2 corpus: oral sentence completion, judgement: "same or different", reading test (slow-fast), and also in the guided conversations stratified by different modules for at least thirty minutes (see in detail <http://www.nytud.hu/buszi/wp4/manual.html>).

Budapest is a melting pot with lots of in-migrants. According to our analysis on spoken Hungarian from Budapest the dialectal variants of the studied verbs can not pass away together with old rural people, they will survive them primarily as sociolinguistic variables.

#### **Marie-Nicole Bossart and Patrik Fischli**

Zurich University of Teacher Education, Switzerland

*"You have to listen carefully and then get it ... and then write it down"*

*Multilingualism, Identity, Language Learning and Communication in Swiss Language Classrooms*

Swiss language policy makers, politicians, educators and parents are faced with the question as to what kind of multilingualism can and should be developed through schooling. The role of language in building personal identities of children is evident in the acquisition and elaboration of the first language and early literacy. Language competence in several languages develops in an interplay with various facets of identities such as gender and ethnicity as well as family and peer-group relations (Piller, 2004).

The paper is part of a National Science Foundation project which studies the ways in which English and French are taught in a rural and an urban school community at different grades in German-speaking Switzerland. The main research focus is on the impact social representations and foreign language learning have on identity building as well as on the discourse practices of teachers and pupils in the classrooms.

Findings are based on recorded observations in language classes, pupils' and teachers' language biographies and narrative interviews with pupils and teachers in grade 6 and grade 8. Classroom observations, all participants' language biographies and their personal comments in interviews are interpreted within the field of sociolinguistic ethnography (Heller, 1999; Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001).

In this paper, we focus on interconnections between learners' representations of 'their' languages and pragmatic aspects of interaction in the classroom. Discourse-analytic and ethnomethodological methods are used to explore the borders between foreign languages taught as subjects and the potential for synergy in the parallel teaching of two foreign languages.

It is one of our prime interests to study how pupils tap their multilingual resources in their process of defining their roles as participants within a school community of practice. We understand emerging "cross-cultural" communications as valuable, if not to say indispensable moments for negotiations over group membership and identity. It must be highlighted that we equally place a considerable research focus on what it actually entails to be "multilingual" and how pupils' representations of such a concept manifest themselves in actual language discourse.

To conclude, it is especially the currently passionate debate on foreign language learning and the legitimation of English in particular and French in multilingual Switzerland that provides an excellent opportunity to study the broader issue of what role foreign language learning plays in identity building among children and adolescents.

**Natalie Braber**

Nottingham Trent University, United Kingdom

*Performing Glaswegian identity/identities?*

Coupland (2001) comments that sociolinguistics has over-invested in 'authentic speech' and that stylized language should also be used to examine linguistic features. Schilling-Estes (1998) states that performance speech can be used for display purposes and that such language use shows patterning in variation which is similar to 'normal' language usage. This paper explores language usage in a series of comic sketches which 'perform' Glaswegian identities.

The concept of a 'Scottish' identity has been shown to be very important to Scottish people, more so than the equivalent identities in other areas of the United Kingdom (Kiely et al. 2001, 2005; McCrone 2002; Rosie et al. 2005). Furthermore, an investigation carried out by the author extended these investigations of Scottish identity and considered the existence of a sense of local identity in one specific locale: Glasgow. Results from this investigation suggest that a strong sense of Glaswegian identity often co-occurs with an equally strong sense of Scottish identity (xxx and xxx, under review), with many inhabitants of Glasgow keen to mark out their distinctiveness as 'Glaswegians'.

The existence of this sense of community in Glasgow is not altogether surprising. Although heavily stigmatised as a city by outsiders, the inhabitants have retained a strong sense of belonging. This stigmatization has led to Glaswegian being branded as 'slovenly' and 'degenerate' (Andersson and Trudgill 1990), and previous research (xxx and xxx, under review) has shown that Glaswegian is seen as unattractive, even by many of its speakers. Research in recent years (e.g. Stuart-Smith et al. 2007), shows that this variety is undergoing a process of change, with some 'typical' language features moving away from varieties traditionally used in Glasgow. This research suggests that working-class adolescents in particular are using the greatest amount of non-local features (loss of rhoticity, th-fronting) to distinguish themselves from middle-class speakers. However, this variety is still treated by these speakers as being typical of Glasgow.

By examining comedy sketches about Glasgow, this paper observes how different Glaswegian identities are portrayed through the use of language, and investigates whether this usage reflects the changes currently found in 'normal' language use.

**Julie Margaret Bradshaw**

Monash University, Australia

*The ageing of immigrant communities in Australia*

Data from the Australian census (2001, 2006) show different age profiles of immigrant communities. The Southern European immigrants of the post-war period are reaching a life stage where medical needs are increasing at a time when language skills may be diminishing. These demographic changes have implications for planning of services such as translation and interpreting for those with limited English skills, particularly in the medical domain. Communication in medical settings was reported by focus groups from a number of immigrant communities as particularly problematic, and Italian-Australian focus group participants identified the future of the ageing population as the primary problem facing the Italian community in Australia. This paper examines data from the State of Victoria, reports on the needs of community groups in the face of changing age profiles and discusses the implications for service provision and language support, particularly in the medical domain.

**Carla Maria Breidenbach**

College of Charleston, United States of America

*Deconstructing Mock Spanish: A Multidisciplinary Analysis of Mock Spanish as Racism, Humor, or Insult*

Racism\* is "a belief in, or set of implicit assumptions about, the superiority of one's own race or ethnic group, often accompanied by prejudice against members of an ethnic group different from one's own." Many social scientists believe that today, even though overt forms of racism are falling by the wayside, racism still exists as "an unconscious attitude in many individuals and societies, based on a stereotype or preconceived idea about differ-

ent ethnic groups, which is damaging to individuals (both perpetrators and victims) and to society as a whole”\*, This paper examines the macrostructure of racism as it relates to a specific manifestation of covert racism in the United States: Mock Spanish (e.g. *el cheapo*) (Hill (1995a, 1995b, 1999, 2001a, 2001b).

This work analyzes Mock Spanish from a multidisciplinary perspective to examine whether Mock Spanish is racist in all contexts or are there contexts in which Mock Spanish might have a different interpretation such as humorous or insulting, and what makes Mock Spanish racist. These questions inform the research and analyses presented in this dissertation in order to gain insight into the culture that permits such Mock Spanish to be used without hesitation.

Based on my previous research (Breidenbach 2002, unpublished study), I argue that there are four important factors that contribute to a more complete understanding of the interpretation of Mock Spanish as a form of covert racism: 1) the ability and willingness to consciously acknowledge the past and present socio-historical context of the Hispanic American experience, 2) the relationship between participants involved in the Mock Spanish exchanges or discourses, 3) the ideological frameworks hidden behind the utterance, and 4) the intentionality of the source.

The multidisciplinary approaches and analyses of racism as a macrostructure offer insights and explanations into how people arrive at conclusions about Mock Spanish as a form of covert racism. In contrast to Hill's analysis, drawing on the work of Foucault, Hall, Bakhtin, and Fenigsen, I demonstrate that the racism of Mock Spanish is “floating” (Hall 1997), always open to interpretation, but can be specifically identified as racist in instances when framed within “broader structural relations of inequality” (Fenigsen) such as hegemonic power struggles or the ‘strategic altering’ of the ‘Other’ (Kingsolver 2001) occur. My position is supported by approaches that allow that racism and meaning are not fixed but can be “frozen” by broader structures such as power, knowledge, and ideologies (Hall 1997, Foucault). This idea is exemplified by van Dijk's (2005) definition of racism whereby racism is “the social system of domination of one group over other groups where the Others are defined as being ‘different’ from ‘us’ and that mainstream racist ideologies today are framed in terms of cultural differences, or in terms of priorities. ‘We’ have priority in the country, city or company, because we were ‘first’ and this is ‘our’ country”. (Van Dijk 2-7) As van Dijk suggests, this is why racism often also has a nationalist dimension (e.g., the Minutemen protecting the borders in the name of legal American citizens).

#### Endnote

\* (source: <http://encyclopedia.farlex.com/Racism>)

#### **Anna Breilkopf**

Helsinki University, Finland

*Interaction in a bilingual nursery school: Repetition as a way of exploring the language*

In the time of globalization, the number of families bringing up their children bilingually steadily increases. Supporting child bilingualism and biculturalism is no longer considered to be only a domain of parents - it also becomes an issue of the society and its institutions (Rehbein/Griesshaber 1996). One of the means of supporting early bilingualism and biculturalism at the institutional level is early bilingual education. Bilingual nursery schools, using the well-established approach “One person - one language”, aim to submit sufficient input in two languages in order to develop high competence in both languages spoken by children.

In many cases, young bilingual children have unequal competence in the languages spoken. Usually, one of the languages tends to develop to a dominant one due to the unbalanced input, for example, in the family (Yip/Mathews 2006). Such unequal state can be easily observed during the every-day interaction in a bilingual nursery school through the language choice, compensatory strategies, interferences and learner varieties of children.

Learner varieties can be explained both through the language dominance and through some special features of the language system (Kupisch 2007). However, not all learner varieties produced by bilingual children result from the cross-linguistic influence. In some cases, they might arise from the context of interaction. As pointed out in Tomasello's work (2003), child's tendency towards imitation or mimicry plays important role in language acquisition. This tendency to imitation can be carried out as immediate repetitions or as production of unanalyzed chunks heard some time before.

In this paper, I would argue that in some cases learner varieties produced by bilingual children are not necessarily due to the language dominance or to the influence of the language system but can be explained through repeti-

tion of certain syntactic patterns occurring in child-child or child-adult interaction. The data analyzed are audio and video recordings of the every-day interaction in a bilingual German-Russian nursery school in Germany.

**Vanessa Bretxa and F. Xavier Vila i Moreno**

Universitat de Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain

*Irrelevant limits?*

*Some data about the role of ethnolinguistic boundaries in group formation in a non polarized society*

Macro sociolinguistic research, both from sociological and variationist perspectives, tends to take the relevance of ethnolinguistic boundaries for granted. Yet, ethnolinguistic divisions, even when they are apparent to every member of the community – as it is the case in plurilingual communities –, need not be the most salient basis for social classification and group formation. In societies where ethnolinguistic separation/segregation is heavily discouraged, other characteristics – gender, social class, neighbourhood, etc. – may prevail over ethnolinguistic affiliation, and explain to a great deal the configuration of social networks, and even the nature of conflicts connected to sociolinguistic diversity as well.

In Catalonia, as in most of Spain, the educational system is designed in first place to prevent ethnolinguistic separation (Vila 2005). In this paper, we will be presenting some recent data (2007) from a research initiative aiming at understanding to what extent the language practices, language competence and language ideologies of teenagers from various descent, both native and immigrant, in a widely bilingualized community in Catalonia, do change – or not – when pupils switch from primary to secondary education. In our paper we will contrast the awareness of ethnolinguistic divisions as recorded by our macro research, with its salience for group formation according to our micro, qualitative data, and we will explore how linguist diversity is managed in plurilingual peer groups. To conclude, we will try to draw some lesson for language-in-education policies in multilingual societies.

**Katharina Brizic**

Institute for Linguistics, University of Vienna, Austria

*Educational Success through Language Death? New Challenges for (Linguistic) Migration Research*

Which languages are *actually* transmitted in immigrant families? This is a crucial point in the present fierce debate on family-language use and immigrant pupils' linguistic/ educational success - since quantitative sociology often arrives at the conclusion that maintaining immigrant-family languages is counterproductive to children's success, while qualitative linguistics mainly reveals a positive maintenance effect on children's school-language proficiency.

Why such inconsistencies? A planned Austrian project is dedicated to this question, tied to an explorative study's results and to the hypotheses of a new socio-linguistic explanatory model (Brizic 2006), saying:

(a) Familial language use, transmission and proficiency highly depend on *socio-political macro conditions* (language planning, educational and language policies). On the example of Turkey, among other *countries of origin*, repressive linguistic minority policy, together with far-reaching linguistic marginalisation of the rural majority population, are known to highly impede family-language as well as school-language acquisition. (b) In the *countries of immigration* first-generation immigrants' language proficiency and behaviour still mirror these experiences, often being compounded by further stigmatisation. Thus on the *parental meso-level* language shift is a common phenomenon (e.g. from Kurdish to Turkish or even to German, in our case), with relatively low parental proficiency in the newly acquired "L1". (c) Language shift in turn means a rather weak "starting position" for *immigrant children's (school) language acquisition* on the *individual micro-level*. However, the planned study will focus not only on the importance of spoken and silenced family languages for children's linguistic achievement, but also on the relevance of this achievement for (Austrian) education and labour-market policies.

The sample will consist of children attending the fourth grade of school and thus being close to the transition from primary to secondary school. The schools will be located in the country of immigration (Austria/ Vienna) as well as in the country of origin (in our case: Turkey/ Istanbul), in each case in districts with a high proportion of (international or intra-national) migrants.

How will data be collected? On the children's level *L1 and school-language proficiency* will be tested, as well as a further proficiency (e.g. mathematics) and other *variables being relevant for educational success*. On the parental

level, language use/ transmission behaviour will be investigated (1) *quantitatively* and (2) in *time-consuming in-depth interviews* with the parents (in the languages parents know best, as far as possible), since our methodical hypotheses say (a) that the inconsistent findings (see above) result from fundamentally differing data-collection methods; (b) that language shift or stigmatised languages can only be detected through a highly sensitive approach; and that (c) if language-use patterns/ language shift remain undetected, their (dis)advantages cannot be named. On the macro-level information will be collected by *intensive literature research, mainly comprising sociological and political-science literature* on the societies of immigration and emigration. We will thus try to overcome the quantitative-qualitative gap innovatively by *interdisciplinary methods* as well as theory.

**Peter Broeder and Peter Plueddemann**

Babylon, Tilburg University, The Netherlands and Praesa, Capetown University, South Africa

*Language and literacy for educational policy realisation*

For most learners in South Africa, use of the home language is a necessary (if insufficient) condition for success at school, particularly in low-literacy contexts that are often synonymous with poverty. We contend that in South Africa, academic performance at school and economic development depend in no small measure on the extended use of African languages at school, on new literacy orientations, and on local ‘ownership’ of school language policy.

In this paper we report on the rationale for and results of a SANPAD-funded research and development project into language and literacy for language policy realisation in an educational district in Cape Town. The study comes against the background of the large-scale economically driven in-migration into the Western Cape of Xhosa-speaking people from the Eastern Cape, the valorisation of English in schools at the expense of home languages by people who speak an African language (including Afrikaans) first, low literacy levels in Xhosa-dominant schools, and the absence of a culture of reading amongst learners and teachers alike.

The main aim of the study is to develop a model of language policy realisation ‘from above’ and ‘from below’ at district level that is theory-driven and simultaneously informed by local particularities of school language policy, demography, social-class stratification and language attitudes. It aims to do so by developing a linguistic profile of primary schools; by documenting teachers’ language proficiencies and reading habits; by improving reading and writing in selected primary schools and in the process fostering a new South African linguistic citizenship; and by promoting multilingualism through informed language planning at school and district level.

**Kris Bruyninckx and Dorien Van De Mieroop**

Lessius Hogeschool, Belgium

*Shifting positions parallel with the changing historical context - The case of a context-integrating interview with a Second World War resistance member*

Retelling personal experiences are a typical way in which human beings make sense of their lives. By narrating events from the past in which they were involved, people can look back and reflect on what happened from a certain distance, depending of course on the amount of time that passed between the time of the narrated and the time of narrating. This reflexivity ‘creates the occasion for self regard and editing’ (Linde 1993: 105). Furthermore, life stories are strongly embedded in their contexts (De Fina 2000: 133). ‘Knowledge accrued from numerous “pasts” and continuing “presents” creates complex, nonlinear relationships between what we think of as “past” and what we view as “present”’ (Schiffrin 2002: 315). Typical contextual elements that can have an influence on life stories are social and political changes that have taken place between the time of the narrated and the present.

We study the life story of a Second World War Resistance member by means of an interview in which the interviewer explicitly inserts the historical context by selecting the topics of discussion and asking critical questions. The interview deals with three periods: the Wartime period, the First Repression Wave and the Second Repression Wave in Belgium. After going into the historical background of these events, we focus on the discourse-analytical study of the interviewee’s positionings (Harré and Van Langenhove 1999), mostly by means of his pronoun usage, since pronouns can be insightful tokens of alignment with a group, of contrastive positionings against other groups and they can also be used as membership categories (Leudar et al. 2004:



245). The interviewee's positionings seem to shift along with changes in historical period and they mirror the general historical image of the Resistance. These three different positionings are in themselves highly consistent and this consistency is also present on a macro-level of the interview, because of the interviewee's fairly muted style of narrating, by which blatant inconsistencies between these three positionings are avoided and a general, 'good' identity is constructed. This is not surprising, since people tend to have a preference for the construction of 'a good self, and a self that is perceived as good by others' (Linde 1993: 122). So by means of this context-integrating interview style, the general historical context was explicitly brought into the data and this was clearly reflected in the interviewee's positionings.

**Isabelle Buchstaller, Karen Patrice Corrigan and Anders Holmberg**

Newcastle University, United Kingdom

*Towards a Syntactic Atlas of Northern England:*

*Micro and Macro Aspects of the interplay between Grammar, Geography and Gender*

This paper reports on two pilot studies for a large-scale research project ultimately aiming to:

- (i) Systematically collect a corpus of British dialect grammars for the creation of a web-based Atlas for modelling geosyntactic variation across the linguistic North. The resulting 'Syntactic Atlas of Northern England' (SANE) will be constructed from interviews and a battery of native speaker judgement tasks along similar lines to those of current European digital atlas projects ('Syntactic Atlas of Netherlands' Dialects' (SAND) and the 'Atlas of Northern Italian Dialects' (ASIS));
- (ii) Establish sophisticated methodologies for the collection, digital storage/manipulation and multivariate analyses of such data.

The research reported here aimed at testing the strengths/weaknesses of methods commonly used to measure syntactic variability (see Cornips & Corrigan 2005, Cornips & Poletto 2005, Hollmann & Siewierska 2006). We have focused, in particular, on the following:

1. Pictorial tasks
2. Indirect judgments
3. Direct judgments
4. Reformulations
5. Magnitude estimation tasks.

Three communities in an urban conurbation in the North East of England were targeted, namely Newcastle, Gateshead and Sunderland. Data was collected from 20 older WC speakers, stratified by location and gender in two consecutive years (2006 and 2007), using a friend-of-a-friend approach.

The constructions that were targeted to investigate the interplay between grammar, geography and gender were features that have been demonstrated to be subject to both internal and external variation elsewhere, as well as doubling phenomena and prototypical northern English features.

Using statistical tests, we assessed the extent of test internal consistency as well as the comparability of results across different tasks, finding that:

- (i) Reformulation tests are highly problematic since the informants refrained from using vernacular variants;
- (ii) Even with more successful testing instruments, there were some important differences as well as consistencies across the tests (interspeaker as well as intraspeaker);
- (iii) Results seem most consistent for Magnitude Estimation tasks allowing us to investigate how speaker groups differed in interesting ways regarding the acceptability of constructions. Thus, Newcastle and male informants were more inclined to be permissive than their Gateshead/female peers;
- (iv) Interview data and elicited judgement data corresponded and diverged in a number of respects.

This research promises to refine methods for investigating morphosyntactic variation across social/temporal/geographical space and therefore makes an important contribution to the establishment of good practice for the creation of digital dialect atlases as advocated in Kretzschmar et al. 2006.

### Jörg Bücker

Department of German University of Muenster, Germany

*Pragmaticalization and Syntactic Change - the Diachronic Rise of the New Quotative "von wegen" in German*

In present-day German the causal preposition *von wegen* + NP<sub>Gen/Dat</sub> 'because of' is replaced nearly completely by the shorter form *wegen* + NP<sub>Gen/Dat</sub>. If we have a look at authentic data from the spoken and the written language, we nevertheless find quite a lot of instances of *von wegen*. In many of these cases *von wegen* is not being used as a causal preposition but as a metalinguistic discourse marker. Especially in the spoken language it often projects the following of direct speech. This brings up the question how the older prepositional construction with causal meaning could have changed into a non-causal discourse marker.

In my paper I will at first describe the present-day use of *von wegen* as a discourse marker mainly on the basis of spoken language data. I will show that *von wegen* often accomplishes conversational tasks such as to contextualize scenic direct speech (by means of the notion "scenic" I would like to characterize it as direct speech which has noticeable rhetorical functions and does not merely aim at exact reproduction).

After that I will go into the diachronic development of *von wegen*. I will take the view that in the course of Early Modern High German *von wegen* as a discourse marker developed from the old causal circumposition *von* + NP<sub>Gen</sub> + *wegen* by means of syntactic reduction, word-class change and pragmaticalization (cf. Günthner/Mutz 2004, Barth/Couper-Kuhlen 2002 and Lima 2002, for example). Therefore I am of the opinion that the emergence of the new quotative "*von wegen*" needs to be analyzed in the framework of historical pragmatics (cf. Traugott 1995, for example).

I will show that certain syntactically reduced forms of the old circumposition were used as causal subordinations and conjunctions temporarily but then got displaced by the more frequent causal conjunctions and subordinations "denn", "da" and "weil". Subsequently *von wegen* as a subjunction disappeared whereas *von wegen* as a conjunction lost its causal meaning and its grammatical function. It finally pragmaticalized into a discourse marker with merely conversational functions.

### Gabriele Budach

Frankfurt University, Germany

*Trajectories of knowledge and situated learning in a bilingual German school*

This talk investigates learning as a situated socio-cultural practice in a multilingual classroom in contemporary Germany. Embedded in a dual language program learning takes place in two languages, Italian and German, and curriculum is delivered through team-teaching by a German and an Italian teacher. In an attempt to create a bilingual curriculum languages, texts and pedagogic cultures from two different contexts merge. This talk examines the processes through which bilingual curriculum creation takes place. In particular, it looks at the ways in which knowledge from different curricular and pedagogic cultures is redistributed and reinvested within the German curricular tradition. This process is achieved through the collaboration of two teachers who due to their education and life experience belong to different discourse communities. Their collaboration represents a platform where language use, content and ways of representing knowledge is discussed in the attempt to create meaningful learning opportunities for children with different sociolinguistic backgrounds.

Methodologically, this entails an ethnographic study and a multi-sited approach that follows specific curricular contexts and their moving through different contexts. In particular, this talk investigates contents that are rooted in the Italian tradition, and that become part of the bilingual curriculum in a German school. Integrating both cultures implies discovery, explanation, and reflection on the other's culture. As an outcome teachers negotiate modification of content, genre, modes of representation and teaching strategies. This process involves different steps that are documented and analysed using different kinds of data. These include printed texts (from Italian and German textbooks), mixed-genre texts (working sheets) developed collaboratively by the teachers that integrate both languages, contents and teaching cultures. Furthermore, the analysis includes recordings of classroom interaction where bilingual teaching is enacted and data from retrospective interviews where teachers reflect on their collaborative practice.

This research aims at understanding better the conditions under which culturally situated knowledge is mediated and redistributed across different contexts. It thereby also investigates the underlying social conditions, actors and networks through which this mediation is achieved.

### Judith Buendgens-Kosten

Aachen University, Germany

*Does contact with linguistics influence language attitudes?*

*An analysis of factors influencing the attitudes toward African American Vernacular English*

According to the 'Pygmalion effect' (or 'Rosenthal effect') assumption, the attitudes<sup>1</sup> teachers have toward their students - including their students' language - can influence teacher expectations and, in the long run, students' educational chances. This is especially critical in the context of basilectal languages and language varieties, which might lead to lowered expectations in teachers with negative attitudes toward these languages and language varieties.

A number of linguists have suggested programs in linguistics as a 'remedy' for negative attitudes. Some have stressed the role of linguistics for attitude change rather strongly (e.g. Isma'il Abdul-Hakim and Gail Y. Okawa<sup>2</sup>), others have suggested it as only one measure out of a whole catalog of suggestions, or recommended it regardless of its (assumed) limited effectiveness (e.g. Orlando Taylor, Roger W. Shuy, Robert L. Bowie and Carole L. Bond, John Baugh).

Though the claim of a relationship between language attitudes and linguistic knowledge as communicated in a e.g. an introductory lecture or an in-service teacher training course has frequently been made, it has not been tested as frequently. Additionally, those studies that did test this assumption have produced contradictory results. Bowie 1994 found a relationship between attitudes toward AAVE and contact with linguistics, while Blake 2003 and Abdul-Hakim 2002 did not. These mixed results show a demand for further research on this question.

In this study, I correlate attitudes toward AAVE and contact with linguistic using an ex-post-facto format. The attitudes of American teachers are measured using a Thurstone scale questionnaire. Contact with linguistics is measured via guided self-assessment.

If no relationship between contact with linguistics and language attitudes can be found, this will either imply that contact with linguistics does not influence language attitudes, or that traditional formats of teaching linguistics do not influence language attitudes. In both cases, a re-evaluation of existing teacher training models might be rewarding. If a relationship will be found, this will be strong support for the continuation and intensification of existing programs.

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> In this context, I define attitudes as tendency for evaluative behavior, realized by cognitive, affective and/or behavioral responses toward attitude objects.

<sup>2</sup> Walt Wolfram urges the establishment of dialect awareness programs, but centers his argumentation for them more on the presence of beliefs than on those of attitudes. Strictly speaking, therefore, he does not belong in this category, though being closely related to it.

### Talia Bugel

Indiana-Purdue University, Fort Wayne, United States of America

*Language and dialect variation in the Spanish FL classroom in Brazil*

This paper presents the interface of a macro study of attitudes towards two varieties of Spanish and a micro study of the language variety found in six classrooms where Spanish is taught as a foreign language in Brazil.

In South-Eastern Brazil (including the states of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro), the Peninsular and the *Rio-platense* varieties of Spanish are predominantly present in the foreign language classroom, used by the teachers. The choice of one variety or a combination of them carries significantly different meanings regarding the identity and culture of the different Spanish-speaking communities, and how these are pictured by Brazilians. These meanings are grounded on notions such as the "originality" and "purity" of the Peninsular variety and the "derived" and "mixed" character of the *Rio-platense* variety. These notions stem from extralinguistic macro factors, linked both to the age-old cultural prestige of Spain and to its current symbolic wealth as a member of the European Union, among other factors.

The study uses a matched guise survey of attitudes towards these two Spanish varieties and a descriptive analysis of phonological and morphological features of the speech used by teachers in class. Results show that the extralinguistic macro factors have a strong influence on the identity parameter of the native *Rio-platense* Spanish speakers acting as foreign language teachers in the area. Such an influence is manifested in their self-



monitoring of their speech inside the classroom, in order to avoid some of the characteristic features of their *Rioplatense* native variety.

The analysis of such an interface of macro and micro-sociolinguistic factors unfolds an example of how social structures affect verbal practices. These, in turn, contribute to the reproduction of the current social and political status of language varieties at different levels of prestige. This study shows how such diverse levels of prestige play a role in the patterns of spread of Spanish varieties.

### **Laurence Buson and Aurélie Nardy**

France Laboratoire LIDILEM, France

*Sociolinguistic development: when the social differences merge into the social networks*

A lot of sociolinguistic studies have shown that the speakers' linguistic uses were socially stratified according to macro factors such as social background, gender, etc. This tendency has been established for adults from the first sociolinguistic studies (Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974) and more recently in children (Roberts, 1997; Chevrot, Beaud & Varga, 2000). Other studies have been interested in micro factors such as the social network, the status, and the density and multiplexity of the relationships within the peer groups (Milroy, 1980). The latter have taken into account interpersonal relationships whereas the former have considered more global categories.

The aim of our paper is to observe how macro and micro approaches can complement one another as far as sociolinguistic development is concerned. First, we will focus on the children's sociolinguistic uses between two to six years old. Second, we will look at the stylistic variation awareness in preadolescents.

We conducted a transversal study with 185 children born into two contrasted social backgrounds, and aged between two to six. We also carried out a longitudinal survey in a kindergarten classroom of children aged between 4;7 and 5;7. We will present results from the analysis of children's uses of sociolinguistic French variables: the optional liaison and the variable deletion of the final postconsonantal /R/ and /l/ in the clitic pronouns *il(s)* and *elle(s)* ('he', 'she', 'they'). From two to six years of age, we observe a progressive divergence of the sociolinguistic uses between upper-class and lower-class children whereas at a more local level, we note that uses converge after one year in the classroom.

Concerning stylistic variation awareness, we collected information about social representations in individual interviews. One hundred and ninety six preadolescents aged between nine and eleven years have participated. They were asked to react after listening different stylistic varieties through a semi-directive interview, a questionnaire and role-plays.

In this study, as for the previous one, we noticed an effect of the social background. Nevertheless, this effect must be balanced by the micro analysis. Indeed, we noted that the social mix of the friendship pairs (determined with the social diversity between the child and his best friend) influence the representations on the stylistic variation. We noticed that preadolescents from lower-class, involved in mixed pairs, present representations similar to those of upper-class.

In conclusion, we will discuss the macro and the micro approaches: to what extent the macro and micro analysis can be complementary approaches? And what are the methodological issues at stake for sociolinguistic researches?

### **Julie Sue Byrd Clark**

University of Toronto, Canada

*Voices of Canadian Youth: Investing in Discourses of Multilingualism and Citizenship*

What does it mean to be multilingual and multicultural? This sociolinguistic and interdisciplinary work critically looks at the social constructions of multilingualism and citizenship specifically through the voices of self-identified multi-generational Italian Canadian youth participating in French language learning and teacher education programs in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). While considering present-day discourses on pluralism and trans-nationalism, I examine how 4 Italian Canadian youth socially construct their identities and invest in language learning in an urban globalized world.

Drawing upon multiple field methods (both audio and video/film recorded interviews, classroom and participant observations, popular culture sources, identity narratives, and focus groups), from a 2 year critical eth-

nographic study combined with reflexivity and discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995), I highlight the different conceptions of what being Italian Canadian, multilingual and multicultural means to these youth and the ways in which they position themselves vis-à-vis the acquisition of French as an official language. In doing so, I demonstrate how some of their lived social and linguistic investments problematize social categories, illustrating the multiple voices, exercises of agency, and shifting, contradictory positions of the youth as they manage, negotiate, and challenge discourses of language, power, and representation across different discourse sites.

While my findings underscore different language learning experiences and negotiations of identities, they also produce an emerging discourse on the linguistic, cultural, economic, and symbolic value of French as well as positioning French/English bilingualism as an identity marker of what counts as a multilingual and multicultural Canadian citizen locally, globally, and trans-nationally. At the same time they reveal the problematic social realities of the value of certain kinds of linguistic varieties over others, and the different dimensions of constraints, opportunities and outcomes in the attainment, continued investment, and maintenance of such symbolic capital. Thus, this presentation not only reveals the contradictions of who counts as an Italian Canadian, but more importantly, it sheds light on the processes of inclusion and exclusion by looking at who can claim the 'right' forms of cultural and linguistic capital and in which discursive spaces (Bourdieu, 1982; Byrd Clark, 2007; Heller & Labrie, 2003) to be considered a multilingual and multicultural Canadian in the new globalized economy. Lastly, this work demonstrates the need to recognize the importance of new discursive spaces not only in managing the tensions between the macro and micro, but also for overlapping identities and symbolic investments, which could possibly challenge the status quo, crossing social frames in Canada and beyond.

### **Brian Hok-Shing Chan**

Department of English, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Macau  
*English in Hong Kong Cantopop: Discourse construction of alternative identities*

In Hong Kong Cantonese popular songs (Cantopop), there has been a trend to put the "punch-lines" in English where the voice expresses his/her emotions and desires with first and second person pronouns in English. Here, English is used in a way that defies its "macro" status and functions in Hong Kong, i.e., English as a second language, a workplace language, a "High Variety" (Ferguson/Fishman), a language of communication rather than identification (House 2003), a "they-code" rather than "we-code" (Gumperz 1982). Put it in another way, in everyday interaction, Cantonese instead of English is the symbol of ethnolinguistic identity among Hong Kong Chinese, that is, the default language people use to communicate their inner feelings. Looking into a corpus of Cantopop data from 1970's to 2000's, it is found that the representation of self in English did not exist in early songs, but it has arisen only in the 1980's and 1990's. The beginning of this use appears to be formulaic phrases repeated in many different songs, such as "*I love you*", where English arguably still serves as a "they-code" reducing the "weight" of emotional expressions conveyed otherwise in Cantonese. Nonetheless, *elaboration* of that use has rendered English more and more in the role of a "*we-code*". Unlike other recent works which treat code-switching in pop songs as an instrument of "crossing" (Rampton 2005, Jamie Lee 2006) or "globalization" (Bentahila and Davis 2002), this paper explains it as a result of *instability* of the "macro" status of English and functions, *reflexivity*, that is, *varying* the original usage pattern and taking different *stances* towards it, and the pressure of *genre*, namely, pop songs highlight emotions/feelings of the voice and portray alternative, "individual" identities (Jamie Lee 2004). Implications of this analysis on code-switching, English in Hong Kong and the role of genre in macro-micro connections will be explored towards the end of this paper.

### **Yuet Hung Cecilia Chan**

City University of Hong Kong, People's Republic of China  
*Micro and macro causes of phonological variation and change: An investigation of the merging of syllable-initial /n-/ with /l-/ in Cantonese, English and Standard Mandarin by Cantonese speakers in Hong Kong*

This study investigated the causes of the phonological variation and change, focusing on the merging of syllable-initial /n-/ with /l-/ in Cantonese, English and Standard Mandarin by Cantonese speakers in Hong Kong. This study adopted Labov's (1972) and Tarone's (1983, 1988) research methodology. It included female and male children, teenagers and young adults from primary school, secondary school and university in Hong Kong

respectively. Four oral tasks in each of the three language varieties were designed for collecting data. These tasks were: free conversation, informal interview, passage reading and word reading. Follow-up interviews were conducted with informants to find out their awareness of, and attitudes toward, the merging of /n-/ and /l-/ in Cantonese, English and Standard Mandarin. The results show that the occurrences of the merging of /n-/ with /l-/ vary in terms of language varieties, oral tasks, educational levels and language attitudes of the informants. The findings of this study suggest that the causes of phonological variation and change are at both micro and macro levels (Labov 1994, 2001, Coulmas 1997, Aitchison 2001, Silverman 2006). The micro factors include the writing system of the language in focus, sound articulation and stylistic variation. The macro factors are related to social and socio-psychological variables. This study calls for further investigation of language variation and change from both micro and macro perspectives.

### **Peikai Cheng and Jackie Xiu Yan**

City University of Hong Kong, People's Republic of China

*Identity, Chinese culture learning and Putonghua anxiety: A comparison of Hong Kong and Mainland college students*

It has been 20 years since Hong Kong returned to the Chinese sovereignty in 1997, there have been great changes in people's sense of self-identity and their affective response towards Putonghua, which is considered as a marker of Chinese identity. Besides, since the Hong Kong government adopted the language policy of "Trilingualism and Bilingualism," Putonghua and Chinese culture have become compulsory courses in many university programs.

Numerous studies have established the importance of culture, identity and affective factors in influencing language learning (see for example, Byram and Morgan, 1994; Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986; Kramsch, 1993; Murphy, 1988; Norton, 2000; Yan & Wang, 2001), but only few studies have investigated the relationships among these variables. This study, funded by a university research committee, intends to explore the inter-relationships among students' sense of self-identity, Chinese culture learning and Putonghua learning anxiety in Hong Kong, and to compare the cultural identity and cultural learning issues between Hong Kong and Chinese Mainland. The research questions are: 1) How do Chinese cultural learning, students' self-sense of identity and language anxiety interact with each other in affecting Putonghua learning? 2) What are the differences between Hong Kong and Mainland students in Chinese cultural learning and self-sense of cultural identity? 3) What are the factors underlying the concept of Chinese cultural identity? The subjects are students enrolled in Chinese culture and Putonghua courses in a University in Hong Kong, and students from different disciplines in a university in China Mainland. Questionnaires on students' sense of self-identity and language anxiety, a test on Chinese culture knowledge have been administered to students. Statistical analysis involves correlational analysis, t-tests, ANOVA and factor analysis.

The results show significant correlations among Chinese cultural knowledge, self-sense of Chinese identity, Putonghua learning anxiety and self-perceived Putonghua proficiency; differences are found among students from different gender, grade level and regional groups; parental factors play a role in influencing students' cultural identity and language learning anxiety; most students consider that they are Hong Kong Chinese - they identify with Chinese culture, but they are different from Chinese who are from other regions in China; the Mainland students get much higher scores in both the Chinese cultural knowledge test and the Chinese cultural identity scale; three factors are identified underlying the concept of Chinese cultural identity: ambience, participation, and learning. The long-term impact and implications of this study will be discussed.

### **Joon-Beom Chu**

University of Arizona, United States of America

*University of Arizona, United States of America*

This paper examines the patterns of grammatical and "pseudo" tag questions used by student-attorneys in a mock trial classroom in a US law school. I analyze how student-attorneys use tag questions in their direct- and cross-examination of witnesses, and examine whether consistent discursive features accompany those patterns. I then discuss how these features are related to the institutional dynamics of a legal trial, where attorneys and witnesses discursively negotiate conflicting accounts of determinative "facts."

This paper focuses in particular on “pseudo-tags” (Lowndes 2003). Several scholars studying attorney-witness interaction in legal trials have labeled, as grammatical tags, tag-like structures that do not fall within the established grammatical parameters of a tag question. An example of such tag-like constructs, which attorneys frequently use in their interrogation of witnesses, include “[Declarative statement], is(n’t) that right?” These constructs follow stricter linguistic constraints than grammatical tag questions. For example, they must include the auxiliary verb “be”; the demonstrative pronouns “that,” “it,” or “this”; and a predicative adjective that expresses factuality, such as “correct,” “right,” “true,” “accurate,” “fair.” Because such pseudo-tags are rarely found in everyday conversation, the trial setting provides a unique opportunity to further explore their linguistic features and performative significance.

The paper examines the context and frequency in which student-attorneys use grammatical and pseudo tags in their cross- and direct-examination of witnesses and determine whether both tag forms serve similar performative objectives in a legal trial context. The observation of these performative patterns in a real-time institutional context raises new, compelling questions of how language use impacts the determination and distribution of power, justice and truth in contemporary US legal institutions. A related issue is the central role that US legal pedagogy plays in the reproduction and perpetuation of the institutional-linguistic status quo.

### Brian Clancy

Mary Immaculate College/University of Limerick, Ireland

*‘You’d be safer now to just go away and leave me alone.’ Hedging in Irish Traveller and Settled Family Discourse*

The data for this study comprises two mini corpora representing spoken language in the intimate genre collected in the home/family environment: one from a middle class Irish family and one from a family belonging to the Irish Travelling community, an ethnic minority group accounting for less than 1% of the Irish population (often referred to as gypsies outside of Ireland). This paper will examine politeness from a sociolinguistic perspective through an analysis of hedging. It will be shown that some hedges, for example, *I think* and *just*, occur considerably less frequently in Traveller family data than in settled family data, whereas others such as *kind of/sort of* occur with comparable frequencies in both datasets. As this paper proposes to examine the use of hedges across two different subgroups within one culture, linguistic variation is thereby interpreted at a micro level, however it will be posited that politeness strategies like hedging also have important implications for the Travelling community at a macro level in terms of social capital when Travellers come into contact with mainstream ‘settled’ society.

### Lynn Clark

University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

*The social meaning of th-fronting in east-central Scotland*

Th-fronting is one of several consonantal changes taking place in non-standard varieties of British English. A number of studies (e.g. Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2006; Kerswill 2003) have correlated the use of the incoming labiodental variant of (th) with ‘macro’ social factors such as age, gender and social class. These studies typically show that th-fronting is being led by working class male adolescents. However, while these ‘first wave’ methods (Eckert 2005) provide the ability to describe the social distribution of th-fronting across a number of communities, none of these approaches have accounted for the variation that continues to exist within these pre-determined social categories. This paper therefore takes a ‘third wave’ approach to the examination of this phenomenon in an effort to better understand the distribution and social meaning of th-fronting at the ‘micro’ level in a community in east-central Scotland.

The data presented here are taken from a corpus of 38 hours of conversation (roughly 370,000 words), compiled over a two year period using the ethnographic technique of participant observation. The 54 speakers in the sample play together in two interrelated pipe bands. They belong to the same institution but there is little cohesion within the larger social structure. Instead smaller communities of practice exist within the larger structure and combined they form a ‘constellation of communities of practice’ (Wenger 1998:126).

The first part of this paper discusses the results of a varbrul analysis of th-fronting in this community. The analysis codes for 12 independent social and linguistic variables and finds that the factor group ‘community of practice membership’ substantially outranks all other constraints on this variation.

The paper then discusses the interpretation of these data within a (third wave) community of practice framework. Following Eckert (2005) and Moore (2003), this paper employs the community of practice construct in an effort to explain the ways in which social meaning becomes associated with linguistic variables. Eckert (2005) argues that linguistic variables may be associated with fairly abstract social meanings that then take on more specific social meanings associated with the practices of a particular community of practice. In light of this claim, I explore the relationship between the reported supra-local meaning of th-fronting (i.e. 'youth-norm', Docherty and Foulkes 1999: 15) and the different local social meanings that th-fronting has acquired for these speakers.

Finally, I explain why the existence of variation in social meaning at a local level is entirely predictable within a usage-based model of language-structure such as Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1991), highlighting the potential for a greater synthesis between sociolinguistic and cognitive linguistic accounts of meaning.

### **Simon Coffey**

King's College London, United Kingdom

*Language learning autobiographies: a narrative analysis*

First person narratives of language learning are being increasingly cited in SLA research literature as a means of deepening our understanding of the experience of language learning and how this can change over time. This tendency broadens the definition of learner from 'recipient' of input (either naturalistic or pedagogically structured) to that of social actor who enacts a range of complex interpersonal identities, both in and out of the classroom. This reframing of the way experience is described reflects developments in theories of narrative inquiry which position identities as contingent upon the interplay between sites of personal agency and the social structures which shape it. In this paper I present my ongoing PhD work for which I developed a narrative framework combined with an ethnographic perspective, I analyse a set of language learning autobiographies. The personal stories told, elicited as both written and spoken (interview) accounts, signal a range of discursive identities that learners draw on to explain their sustained engagement with language learning over time. Citing examples from two participant case studies, I show how different rhetorical strategies and story telling devices enable participants to 'perform' specific narrative identities. Through telling their narratives, participants in my study, invoked recognisable cultural worlds (of institutions, social class, otherness) which both reinforced shared narrative positions and, at the same time, provided insights into how agency is structured by individual subjectivities.

### **Llorenç Comajoan and Eva Gomàriz**

Universitat de Barcelona, Spain and Universitat de Vic, Spain

*Language attitudes toward Catalan, Spanish, and English: relationship between language attitude, competence, and immigrant status*

Language attitude in sociolinguistic research has become a widely studied topic for several reasons (Baker, 1992; Oskamp, 1991): Attitude can be an indicator of thoughts and beliefs about language within a community, it is a concept that has been widely studied in social psychology (it has some psychological validity), attitude can become the cause of some behavior of the individual (e.g., language use), and it is an interdisciplinary concept.

In sociolinguistic environments with two or more languages, the study of language attitudes becomes even more important because attitude towards a language may explain certain behaviors such as language choice and use. In the case of Catalonia, the recent arrival of immigrants adds a new dimension to the sociolinguistic and attitudinal outlook of Catalan society. Thus, recent studies (Huguet & Janés, 2005) have argued that immigrant youths in secondary schools in Catalonia show mostly favorable attitudes toward Catalan and Spanish, but there is a pattern depending on the immigrants' origin (less favorable attitudes toward Catalan by Latin American youths).

Taking previous research and recent demographic changes in Catalonia (increase of immigrant children in schools), the present study examines language attitude toward Catalan, Spanish, and English and their relationship to language competence (in Catalan, Spanish, and English) and immigrant status (immigrant, nonimmigrant to Catalonia). More specifically, the study addresses the two following questions:

- 1) What are the language attitudes toward Catalan, Spanish, and English of 12-year-old schoolchildren?
- 2) What is the relationship between language attitudes, language use, and immigrant status?

The data for this study come from a sociolinguistic survey that was distributed among all students in sixth-grade



in nine schools in Vic (Catalonia). A total of 342 students answered the survey. The attitude and language competence data come from items with graded answers (Likert-scales and yes-no answers) used in previous studies (e.g., Huguet & Janés, 2005).

Out of the 342 participants in the study, 83.6% were born in Catalonia, 1.4% were born outside Catalonia but in Spain, and 14.8% were born outside Spain (6.1% from Morocco; 6.4% from Latin American; and 2.3% from elsewhere).

The data regarding language competence show that competence in Catalan is higher than in Spanish (76.9% declare they speak Catalan very well, cf. 38.6% for Spanish and 3.8% for English).

Regarding language attitudes, the results show that most participants have a favorable attitude toward Catalan and Spanish and a neutral attitude toward English. Statistical tests show that there are significant differences for attitude toward Catalan and English, but not Spanish. Finally, a correlation analysis shows that language competence and attitude are correlated in general but in different patterns in the three languages.

In the last section of the paper we discuss these results focusing on issues related to language attitude and age, educational policy, and research methodology.

### **Jennifer Cramer and Jill Ward**

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, United States of America

*From Chi-Town to the Dirty-Dirty: Regional identity markers in U.S. Hip Hop*

Long considered a form of rebellion to both mainstream music and ideology, hip hop has emerged as a powerful construct of social identity. Hip hop has been argued to be a vehicle for the “global spread of authenticity” (Pennycook 2007: 14); however, authenticity here involves “being true to the local, [...] telling it like it is” (ibid.), making hip hop simultaneously a strong index of regional affiliation. This paper reinforces this seemingly contradictory statement by showing how hip hop perpetuates local indices of identity on an international scale, at the same time maintaining roots of solidarity within the local communities of origin. Lexical choices in hip hop establish in-group solidarity, while marginalizing those unaffiliated with the region. In the US, these regional markers of identity follow a natural progression from the East Coast-West Coast rivalry prevalent in the 1990s, and are now inclusive of the Midwestern and Southern United States. By exploring the same questions posed by LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) in their seminal work on acts of identity, this paper aims to discover how these new indices of identity are currently under development along the lines of regional affiliation.

As artists from these regions emerged on the hip hop scene, local identity markers for those regions also emerged. For example, St. Louis’ Nelly spoke of local experiences: “Cheifn rollin deeper than any mon/ through Jennings mon/ Through U-City back up to Kingsland” (Nelly 2000). Ludacris sampled “Georgia on My Mind” to reflect a more complicated Georgia: “GA, the peach state...Georgia/ Pecan country like catfish with grits/ Candy yams and chitlins” (Ludacris 2005). Lil Wayne addressed the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina: “We from a town where everybody drowned/ Everybody died but baby I’m still praying wit’ cha/ Everybody cryin’ but ain’t nobody tryin’/ there’s no doubt on my mind it was...Bush!” (Lil Wayne 2006).

Regional identity is indexed by mention of local foods, town names, and other lexical items to effectively convey in-group solidarity and out-group marginalization (cf. Morgan 2001). In this paper, we examine the tactics used by hip hop artists in different regions of the United States to identify with groups in their communities. We argue that particular uses of the lexicon aid these artists in their attempts at in-group solidarity and successful identity construction.

### **Onno Crasborn**

Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

*Language attitudes among deaf people in the Netherlands*

The linguistic situation for sign language in the Netherlands has seen rapid changes in the past decades, and new radical changes are foreseen in the near future. This paper sketches the situation in the Netherlands, and reports on opinions of deaf people on the standardisation that has been taking place since 1998.

After the increasing linguistic recognition of sign language as a natural language in the 1980s, sign language and signing deaf teachers started making their way into the schools, offering adult language models to deaf chil-

dren of all ages. The deaf community became more visible to the general society, both by the increasing availability and use of sign language interpreters and by the organisation of large events for deaf and hearing people. In the past five years, Internet and communication technologies allowed for the use of videophones, video chat, and sharing video recordings. In 1997, a special report was written for the national government indicating what would be needed for the further emancipation and development of deaf people, including the recommendation to recognise NGT as one of the official languages of the Netherlands.

By 2007, NGT has not yet received any formal status, and the rapid development of a medical technology called 'cochlear implants' (CI) is starting to have a major impact. This sophisticated hearing aid is now used with the majority of newborn deaf children around the age of 12 months. Although long-term results are not yet available, it seems that the average child is changed from deaf to hard-of-hearing, allowing for the acquisition of spoken Dutch. Ever fewer parents choose to send their children to deaf schools, and deaf institutes continue their trend to focus on children with a wide variety of communicative and other handicaps.

What do deaf people think of the increasing use of CI and of the concomitant changes in the use of sign language? This paper aims to begin answering this question by looking at the discussions in the *Corpus NGT*, a video corpus that is currently being developed, containing discussions of around 45 minutes for each of 50 pairs of signers.

This paper reports some initial results on what deaf people think of the standardisation of the lexicon that has been undertaken in recent years, which the government has demanded as a prerequisite for the recognition of sign language. It turns out that many signers have fairly negative opinions on the standardisation project, although from the discussions it becomes clear that not everyone is fully informed about the exact nature of the standardisation procedure.

I propose an explanation of these results involving two main sociolinguistic factors: firstly, the unwritten nature of languages and the absence of a culture of literacy, and secondly, the strong disbalance in the country between native Deaf NGT signers and hearing L2 users of NGT and other forms of signing.

### **Onno Crasborn and Inge Zwitterlood**

Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

*Just in time? The importance of creating sign language archives*

Sociolinguistic studies of sign language variation were among the first using large sets of data (corpora) including many different signers (Lucas et al. 1998 on ASL, Johnston & Schembri 2006 for Auslan). A similar corpus is currently being compiled in the Netherlands for NGT (Sign Language of the Netherlands). The project aims to record over 75 hours of monologues and dialogues of Deaf native signers, which will receive a voice-over interpretation into Dutch. A subset of the data will receive a gloss annotation. A key difference with previous corpora is that the *Corpus NGT* will be published online with unlimited access. The open access publication of the corpus is in line with the broader trend within the humanities to share data online (cf. the ECHO initiative, Creative Commons licenses, and the Berlin Declaration). We discuss four important avenues opened by this publication.

First of all, the recording of utterances by a substantial number of NGT signers comes at a particularly crucial time given the expected rapid changes in the Deaf community. Only very few native signers will be growing up in the coming decades due to the rise of medical technologies such as cochlear implants. In the coming decades, we expect to see an increased use of signs by hard-of-hearing people using Dutch as their primary language, and an increased use of code mixing between Dutch and NGT. The study of such communication forms will only be possible with reference to NGT as one of its sources. The corpus will therefore act as a reference point for studies of NGT and other forms of visual communication.

Secondly, from the scientific point of view, studies of NGT have been restricted to a few signers per study and variation has in general been neglected. This corpus, however, encourages studies on variation by including data from men and women of different age groups from all regions,

Thirdly, the corpus will form a much-needed resource for second language learners of NGT. As the size of this group is estimated to be much larger than the number of native signers, adequate resources for learning sign language are needed. At present, little is available beyond the scant course materials: there is no TV channel broadcasting in NGT, and the number of commercially available DVDs is highly limited and often targeted at (young) children.

Last but not least, the corpus may start to function in a similar way as text documents within the Deaf community, lacking a writing system.

With its publication in April 2008, we offer a basic version of the corpus that will be of interest to linguists, sociologists and anthropologists. One of the promising developments in the near future is that users can add linguistic and other annotations following a wiki-type model. As the movies are also available for the general public, we hope that dedicated web sites will be created using selected clips to educate Deaf children, their parents, interpreters, or other people learning NGT or studying Deaf culture.

**Jakob Cromdal, Karin Osvaldsson and Daniel Persson-Thunqvist**

Linköping University, Sweden

*Managing diagnostic formulations in emergency calls with children*

A call to a dispatch centre comprises the first step in an emergency response. A crucial concern for the operator is therefore to efficiently collect relevant and accurate information so that response priority can be set. Yet, callers reporting on emergencies may be facing acute circumstances and are typically unfamiliar with the operator's agenda and other organisational features of the interrogation. Considering the potentially devastating consequences of misunderstandings in emergency calls, the interactional work through which the parties jointly produce an actionable description of the emergency event merits some attention.

In calls that report on personal injury, illness or other medical conditions, callers frequently use various diagnostic formulations as part of their description of the emergency event. Drawing on a collection of some 100 real-life calls to a Swedish 112 SOS-Alarm centre, this study examines how such formulations are delivered and dealt with by the operator in the subsequent interaction. Through in-depth analysis of the sequential organization (cf. Sacks, 1992) of such exchanges, we argue that diagnostic formulations comprise a generally dispreferred format for callers' reports, and we show how the operators typically direct subsequent talk towards listing, describing or otherwise reporting observable symptoms.

Furthermore, we show that there are some interesting differences in how children's diagnostic formulations are handled compared to those of adult callers - differences that may reflect operators' orientation to children callers as potentially less knowledgeable in the field of paramedic diagnostics compared to adult callers. Our analysis also shows that children deliver their diagnostic formulations differently from adults, often resorting to such means as softeners, hesitation markers and other mitigating devices, etc. For this reason, we argue that it would be too simplistic to treat the operators' differential receipt of diagnostic formulations as a result of their appealing to commonsense conceptions of children as less knowledgeable, experienced or skilled. Rather, we propose that the relationship between "micro" and "macro" may be found in the *in situ* organisation of participants' actions and that it may be discovered analytically by attending to the interactional *ethno-* methods through which they go about producing an institutionally relevant description of an emergency incident.

Along these lines, we argue that if the distinction between "micro" and "macro" is to be entertained at all in discourse and sociological studies, its local anchoring within the interactional exchanges - which it traditionally glosses over - must be demonstrated through analysis of the participants' conduct.

**Juan Antonio Cutillas-Espinosa, Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy and Natalie Schilling-Estes**

University of Murcia, Spain and Georgetown University, USA

*Performative Approaches to Style-Shifting: Beyond Audience Design*

Increasingly, researchers have moved from viewing stylistic variation as a primarily reactive phenomenon, conditioned by matters external to speakers such as audience and formality, to more proactive approaches, in which speakers use stylistic resources to project and create identity, as well as to accomplish conversational and longer-term goals. In the present study, we extend this constructivist approach to style shifting by demonstrating that even in seemingly highly constrained stylistic contexts, namely publicly broadcast political speech, people make personal, strategic, and sometimes quite surprising, stylistic choices.

The paper focuses on the unexpected (and controversial) use of many features of the local dialect by a female former President of the Local Government of Murcia, in southeastern Spain. The Murcian dialect is stigmatized within Spain but also carries covert prestige for Murcians as a marker of local identity and solidarity. The



comparison of the President's broadcast speech with that of other local speakers shows, surprisingly, that she has higher usage levels for dialect features than any of the other groups. Her hyper-use of Murcian dialect features indicates that she is *not* shifting her speech in reaction to formality, or even in accommodation to the many Murcians in her audience. Rather, she is purposely designing her speech to project an image that highlights her Murcian identity and her socialist ideals.

The fact the even prominent politicians use stylistic resources in ways that are most fully explicated by appealing to speaker-internal as well as speaker-external, situational factors lends further support for viewing style as a matter of 'Speaker Design'.

### **Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain and Grit Liebscher**

University of Alberta, Canada and University of Waterloo, Canada

*German-Canadian language attitudes and identity in discourse*

In this paper, we focus on the relationship between the attitudes of German speakers in Canada towards different varieties used by these speakers and the construction of their identities. Among the many immigrant groups in Canada, one of the largest is the Germans (Prokop & Bassler, 2004). These immigrants come from every part of the German-speaking world, bringing with them not only a wide range of varieties of German, but also different attitudes toward their own and other varieties. Once in Canada, however, they are conceptualized both by a government (e.g., in the census) and by a local community (e.g., in schools, clubs, and other institutions) as homogeneously German-Canadian in their language and culture. Linguists, too, have tended to neglect the diversity of German in Canada, focusing either broadly on language policy issues, or narrowly on the grammatical and lexical features that indicate a shift toward English.

Our data is drawn from a large-scale investigation of language use and identity in two urban German-Canadian communities: Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario and Edmonton, Alberta. In conversational interviews with approximately fifty German-speaking immigrants and their direct descendants in each community, different aspects of language use and attitudes are discussed: varieties they speak, under which circumstances, and why; what attitudes they hold toward the different varieties that exist in their communities, and where they draw linguistic boundaries of and within their communities. Focusing largely on language attitudes employing a framework for qualitative attitude research (Garrett et al., 2003; Winter, 1992), we use tools from interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis to study in-depth how speakers directly (in answers to questions) and indirectly (in language use) express those attitudes, often contradicting the attitudes they mention directly. We are further interested in language attitudes figure into the negotiation of identities among German-Canadians and, more particular, the negotiation of the periphery and center (Giampapa, 2004).

Through this analysis, we address the following research question: What tensions exist between standard German and other German varieties in the construction of a "German-Canadian identity" in this multilingual setting, in terms of both individual membership, the drawing of community boundaries and, ultimately, the construction and negotiation of identity/-ies for this group?

### **Agata Maria Daleszyska**

Edinburgh University, United Kingdom

*Standardisation meets Anglicisation:*

*Changes in the written language of Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*

Previous studies of the linguistic situation in the 16th century Scotland have shown that contact between Scots and English led to major changes in the use of Scots and English in various text types. This paper (i) corroborates earlier findings, illustrating language change in textual corpora, and (ii) addresses questions which have so far remained unanswered. Through analysis of stylistic variation in samples from the period, I explore the attitudes of Scottish people towards 16th century language change, and suggest that these continue to have reflexes in the present day language of Scotland.

Despite their common Germanic root, English and Scots coexisted in the contiguous territories of present day England and Scotland until the 16th century, both undergoing a gradual process of standardisation. Eventually, Scots, spoken in the Scottish Lowlands became a distinctive, socially and politically prestigious language

of the Scottish Kingdom, widely used in speech as well as in various official and informal writing (Corbett 2003: 9). Nevertheless, from the early 16th century we can observe an increase in variation in the majority of Scottish text types (from personal letters to Acts of Parliament), which seems to reflect an influx of English lexical and grammatical forms into Scots. This process of gradual replacement of the indigenous Scots forms with English alternatives is referred to as Anglicisation.

This paper discusses the socio-political motivations behind Anglicisation. In addition, drawing on new data from the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots, I replicate Devitt's earlier enquiry into Anglicisation and confirm the trends reported earlier for three variables. By examining the frequency with which English morphological and spelling forms occur in Scottish writings between the years of 1533-1661, I show that there has been a change from a semi-standardised form of language into an increasingly anglicised one. In addition to illustrating variation and diachronic language change in Scottish writings in the 16th and 17th centuries, this paper discusses the sociolinguistic implications of these findings.

First, the paradoxical position of written Scots. Having reached high status as a national, but *uncodified* language of the Scottish Kingdom, I suggest that written Scots was vulnerable to gradual replacement with Anglicisation. Second, this unstable position of Anglicisation across domains. Not all written registers or domains were equally susceptible to the incursion of Anglicisation, with personal letters showing a lower rate than legal documents. We can infer strong positive attitudes towards the local variety, and the variable distribution of forms observed in my corpus suggest that Scots and English must have existed in a diglossic relationship, the traces of which have been preserved until this day.

### **Jet van Dam van Isselt**

University of Amsterdam (UvA), ACLC, The Netherlands

*Plurilingual practices in the margins of educational encounters: a learners' school diary*

Research findings in educational settings are often presented as characteristic for multilingual communities or culturally mixed learner populations, while the implied norm - the (non)occurrence of the same phenomena in linguistically and culturally more homogeneous communities - is left unexplored. The data I will discuss to illustrate this point are taken from a two volume school diary (518 pages) that was co-authored in real time by two teenage girls over the course of four years in the 1970s. The diary data shows that spontaneous instances of code switching and language mixing not unlike those reported in e.g. Rampton (1995) occur on a regular basis in a setting that, by traditional sociolinguistic criteria, would be classified as monolingual. The authors, our informants, frequently use and mix (or report the use of) words, phrases and sentences from all of the languages in the school curriculum, especially in verbal play and power contests with teachers or rival peer groups. Ritual formulaic phrases taught in the language classroom come alive as authentic speech acts in jocular peer abuse in school corridors and playgrounds. These plurilingual practices in the margins of educational encounters suggest that learners assemble a polyphonic self (Sidorkin 1999) by incorporating in their private linguistic repertoire elements of all the codes they are exposed to in this so-called monolingual, formal institutional context. These extraordinary insiders' data suggest that distinctions between naturalistic and formal environments (as those between monolingual and multilingual settings) may have to be re-assessed as gradient along a continuum rather than categorical. I will discuss to what extent sociolinguistic identity is the outcome of discursive practices, emergent and complex rather than a priori given (O'Driscoll 2001). In my analyses of the relevant journal entries I will zoom in on the discourse contexts and interactional roles associated with code switches and mixed-code utterances in multiparty situations - and their implications for further research.

### **Bethan Lyn Davies**

University of Leeds, United Kingdom

*Racist, classist or 'just' ignorant: media constructions of problematic language*

In January 2007, a media storm erupted after language used in the UK TV reality show *Big Brother* was alleged to be racist. An ideological debate quickly arose around what 'counts' as racist language, and this became the focus of both reportage and feature articles in quality and red-top UK newspapers. Using a small corpus of these articles from a range of newspapers, this research will use a critical discourse analytic approach to examine how

different representations of the alleged 'racist language' constructed the same event as racist, classist or ignorant bullying. In particular it will examine:

- The admission or denial of racism, and whether or not evidence was offered to support the view given;
- The reduction of racism to 'only' issues of class or ignorance;
- The reduction of racism to issues of colour, rather than a broader view of ethnicity.

The implications of the discursive struggle played out in this media debate will then be linked to wider debates about discriminatory language, 'moral panics' and political correctness.

### **Kathryn A. Davis**

University of Hawai'i at Manoa, United States of America

*Language and Gender Revisited: Exploring the Borderlands of Local and Global Praxis*

Recent language and gender publications reflect changing philosophical, theoretical, and research approaches in the field (e.g. Cameron, 2004; Davis & Skilton-Sylvester, 2004; Norton & Pavlenko, 2004, Pavlenko & Pillar, 2001). Scholarship has generally shifted from viewing language and gender relationships as predictable and universal towards understanding gender as socially constructed within specific cultural, societal, and political contexts (e.g. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992). Subsequently, language and gender studies have increasingly involved situation-specific discourse analyses, narrative studies, and ethnographies (Goldstein, 2001; Lin et al., 2004). Language and gender scholars also tend to situate micro studies within macro analyses of political discourses and public policies (Lin & Luk, 2005). These research trends provide invaluable insight into complex interrelationships of gender and sociolinguistic concerns. Yet, this current investigative era also calls for sociolinguistic action, reflecting earlier successful unveiling of language-associated gender inequities and advocacy for gender neutral terminology (Cameron, 1995; Nichols, 1999). This paper intends to explore next steps towards addressing gender inequities realized at the macro and micro intersection of dominant discourses, public silence, and discrimination.

The paper begins with examining the promise of critical discourse analyses and ethnographic approaches for addressing gender inequity by disrupting ideological common sense, everyday language use, and discourse power by dominant groups (Luke, 2002; Fairclough, 2003). I specifically discuss sociolinguistic calls for situated gender-related investigations of intersecting identity, power relations, and linguistic practices (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1998). This discussion also acknowledges the need for cross-disciplinary collaborations among sociolinguists, psychology, anthropology, philosophy, law, sociology, and women's studies to inform gender research (e.g. Davis & Skilton-Sylvester, 2004; Freed 1995). However, the primary focus of the paper is on Appadurai's (2006) call for the right of local citizens to do research on issues of critical concern to them. He suggests that full citizenship in a global society requires local citizens to make strategic inquiries and gain strategic knowledge on a continuous basis across a range of areas such as labor market shifts, AIDS, migration paths, prisons, and law. Thus, Appadurai's *rights-perspective* suggests alternative sociolinguistic roles in supporting women's control over interdisciplinary investigations of personal experiences and local solutions for issues such as sexual harassment, domestic violence, sexual assault, AIDS, education, and human trafficking. I suggest here ways in which local girls, women, transgendered individuals, and others can utilize sociolinguistics tools, such as critical discourses analysis (Fairclough, 2003; Lakoff, 2004) and narrative studies (Vitanova, 2005), to counter Discourses of power and silence that promote psychological and physical harm to gendered and sexualized populations across social, cultural, geographic, institutional, and political settings.

Appadurai (2006) suggests that a rights-based perspective can "force us to take some distance from the normal, professionalized view of research, and derive some benefit from regarding research as a much more universal, elementary and improvable capacity" (p. 168). This paper argues for local ownership of research on gender issues that moves towards substantive and sustainable equity. It also suggests praxis, the interrelationship between theories and practice, that allows local research to inform sociolinguistic theories on language and gender.

### Mirjana N. Dedaic

Georgetown University, United States of America

*Micro marker for macro conclusions: The pragmatics of the Croatian discourse marker dakle*

This paper examines the Croatian discourse marker *dakle* considering its similarities with reformulation markers in other languages. Thus, this paper attempts to answer the questions posed by Schourup (1999) whether generalizations that have been made about English discourse markers can be carried over to other languages. Are there functions that have been overlooked in discourse markers research because of over-dependence on English?

To that aim, I analyze more than three thousand examples containing the marker *dakle* ('consequently', 'therefore', 'well', 'so', 'in other words', 'that is', 'I beg your pardon!//really [now]!', 'it seems') collected from conversation events, media talk shows and reports, various written material, and from the Croatian National Corpus, which includes journalistic texts, essays, and fiction. I identify four principal functions of *dakle*: reformulational, interactional, rhetorical and the conclusional.

Reformulators are multidimensional devices whose common feature is the ability to relate the host sentence (S2) to the previous discourse (S1) in terms of representation. However, the definition and examples given for reformulations in literature suggest that reformulations frequently include the notion of conclusivity. Such a notion is manifest in either "logical or contextual implications" of S1, or a reinterpretation of the previous utterance which is not said just 'in other words', but rather in stronger, more concise, pointed, or specific words. This claim introduces the possibility that reformulations contribute to the illocutionary strength of the utterance. Thus, replacing *dakle* by, for example, *drugim riječima* ('in other words') or omitting the marker altogether lowers the saliency of the causal-resultive implication.

However, in the case of *dakle*, it is the conclusional function that is overarching, which brings into question even its formal classification among reformulation markers. To investigate its conclusional function, it is important to analyze segments (S1 and S2) that *dakle* relates. In connecting two discursive units, *dakle* makes it clear that the host utterance is a conclusion of S1. Furthermore, it seems that, in the case of empty S1 and S2, the marker has the capacity to convey to the hearer not only how to process the information, but also additional information about the speaker's feelings and attitudes regarding that information.

*Dakle* also signals the manipulatory nature of reasoning in that it presents a conclusion as following logically from what is commonly manifest - which, in fact, might not be very 'common' or 'manifest' at all or only partly so. Given the ability to suggest the conclusion to the hearer, *dakle* is a proper rhetorical and argumentation marker, with frequent appearance in scholarly and legal(istic) discourses.

Finally, we can answer the question that instigated this analysis: *dakle* shows many common features with reformulation markers from other languages, but it combines those features with some additional ones in a unique way that reflects its use in specific discourses born in a specific society.

### Annick De Houwer, Aline Remael and Reinhild Vandekerckhove

University of Antwerp, Belgium and University college Antwerp, Belgium

*Intralingual subtitling of Dutch on Flemish television: contradictory evaluations of the linguistic scene in Flanders*

Flemings are exposed to several varieties of Dutch when watching Flemish television programmes. Although Dutch is the native language for most Flemings, subtitling of Dutch has become a common practice in recent years. An extensive analysis of a corpus of 798 Dutch television programmes broadcast on Flemish television reveals both the linguistic and extra-linguistic determinants of intralingual subtitling practice. One of the major findings is that some regional and supra-regional varieties have more chance of being subtitled than others. Apparently this practice is based on certain assumptions about Flemish viewers' comprehension of several varieties of Dutch. In order to find out whether actual subtitling practice really meets viewer needs, we conducted a stimulus-based viewer survey. 453 Flemish adult respondents, all of them native speakers of Dutch, viewed a number of subtitled and non-subtitled fragments of Dutch television programmes. They were asked various questions about their understanding of the fragments, about the need for subtitling support and their appreciation of it. In some respects the respondents' comprehension ratings corroborate subtitling practice, while in other respects they question it. The latter holds especially for the unequal 'treatment' of some regional varieties.

A remarkable consensus can be found in viewers' responses with regard to Netherlandic Dutch: Flemish viewers increasingly appear to have lost touch with Netherlandic Dutch and report low comprehension and a

high need of subtitling. Viewers' needs are met within fiction programmes (but not within non-fiction!) where Netherlandic Dutch is systematically subtitled. Thus, subtitling practice within fiction programming mirrors present day language evolutions in Flanders.

The results raise questions about the relation between language attitudes and language comprehension and about the impact of subtitling: is intralingual subtitling simply an answer to changing needs, or does it reinforce existing linguistic developmental trends?

### **Marjolein Deunk**

University of Groningen, The Netherlands

*Early academic discourse practices during puzzle and arts activities in preschool*

The way children talk in formal school settings is different from the way they talk in non-school contexts. School requires children to be involved in *educational discourse*, which is about how you talk when you are a pupil in class, and in *educated discourse*, which is about how you use language to think and to communicate (Mercer, 1995). Mastering these *academic discourse practices* (for example establishing common ground, checking agreement, engaging in joint, explicit and collaborative reasoning) is important for cognitive development and for children's performance at school (Blum-Kulka & Snow, 2002; Mercer, Wegerif, & Dawes, 1999).

In this paper I explore how early forms of academic discourse practices are used in preschool. I study how children get opportunities for using academic language in preschool during puzzle tasks and teacher initiated arts tasks. These activities are of interest because they have a correct end product: the puzzle should be solved and the arts task should match the teacher's example or explanation. Puzzle and arts tasks can create a context for talking about abstract, complex ideas outside the immediate here and now. When children are creating a puzzle or an art task, they are working towards a more or less fixed end product. Children need to keep the end goal in mind and need to form a strategy or plan to complete the assignment. In this respect, puzzle and arts tasks could be settings for children to practice using language to talk about abstract things and to share knowledge (Aukrust, 2004; Smith & Dickinson, 1994; Tulviste, 2001).

The data I use is a collection of natural teacher-child and peer interactions during puzzle and arts activities of children between 2;6 and 4;0 years old in Dutch preschools. The interactions are qualitatively analyzed for forms of (early academic) discourse practices that children and teachers use during the tasks.

### **Manuel Diaz-Campos and Mary Carmen Ruiz-Sanchez**

Indiana University

*A usage-based account of sociophonetic variation: The case of syllable-final /r/ deletion in two Spanish varieties*

Sociolinguistic studies have traditionally included multiple linguistic factors in their efforts to find patterns of language variation, but they have neglected for the most part the role of lexical frequency in such variation. The results of some recent investigations, however, reveal that the inclusion of lexical frequency as an additional linguistic factor can help achieve a better understanding of the forces behind variation and language change (Bybee 2002, Brown 2004, Alba 2005, Díaz-Campos 2005, 2006, Ruiz-Sánchez 2006). The goal of this paper is to present a usage-based account of syllable-final /r/ in two varieties of Spanish to compare the development of the change in these dialects. Specifically, we examine the patterns of lexical diffusion in each variety to determine similarities and differences.

The current paper investigates the variable phonological phenomenon of /-r/ deletion in two regions of the Spanish-speaking world: Andalusia (Spain) and Caribbean (Venezuela), taking into account the effect of the following linguistic factors: following phonetic context, grammatical category, following morphemic unit, and lexical frequency. A total of over 13,000 tokens taken from the corpora of the two language varieties were examined. The Andalusian corpus consists of 36 sociolinguistic-style interviews conducted with native speakers from the Andalusian town of Alcalá de Guadaíra in summer 2006, who were evenly grouped in terms of education (elementary, high school, and college/university), age (21-34, 35-55, and 56 and older), and sex (male and female). On the other hand, 36 speakers were selected from the corpus *Estudio Sociolingüístico del Habla de Caracas* (1987) with equal representation of socioeconomic levels (upper class, middle class, and working class), ages (14-29, 30-45, and 61 and older), and sex (male and female). The data were statistically analyzed with



Goldvarb 2001 in order to determine the relative effect of the factors influencing /-r/ deletion in either language variety. Our prediction is that patterns of lexical diffusion could provide us with an indication of the change stage in each variety. On the one hand, the same paradigms could be affected by this change in both varieties, so that the change is at a similar stage. On the other hand, language usage could reveal particular spreading patterns to each variety indicating differences in the development of the change.

The results indicate that deletion of /-r/ tend to occur in similar phonetic contexts in both Andalusian and Caribbean Spanish. Additionally, the analysis of the linguistic factor group “grammatical category” points to an analogous behavior of infinitives with respect to /-r/ deletion. These similarities reveal that the change seems to be advancing at the same pace in both dialects. In other words, lexical frequency was found to display parallel patterns in both dialects as deletion of /-r/ is more likely to affect high-frequency words than low-frequency ones. These findings prove the advantages of including word frequency as an additional linguistic factor in determining the spreading of the change when comparing the same phenomenon in different dialects.

**Gerry Docherty, Paul Foulkes, Ghada Khattab and Malcah Yaeger-Dror**

University of York, UK, University of Newcastle, UK and University of Arizona, USA

*Sound judgements: perception of indexical features in children's speech*

Several recent studies (e.g. Hawkins 2003, Pierrehumbert 2002) have suggested that rich, substance-based lexical representations, as proposed by the advocates of exemplar models, may provide a plausible framework within which to account for the systematic social-indexical patterns found abundantly within speakers' performance. One feature of such models is the assumption that, as a result of experience, individuals develop an implicit awareness of the variability associated with a lexical item and of the social meaning associated with that variability. In this paper we describe an experiment which investigates the extent to which individuals' performance in a perceptual task reflects their awareness of aspects of social-indexical variability.

In Newcastle English (t) is a particularly complex sociolinguistic variable. In word-medial contexts (*water*) glottalised variants and plain [t] are the dominant forms, but the latter is significantly more frequent in female speech. In pre-pausal context (*cat#*) the dominant variant is plain [t] in male speech, but pre-aspirated [ht] in women's speech. Our experiment sought to ascertain whether these gender-correlated variants contribute to listeners' ability to identify a speaker's gender. It is likely, of course, that many phonetic cues contribute to gender identification, most notably fundamental frequency (f<sub>0</sub>). We therefore constructed our test using children's speech, which is inherently androgynous with respect to f<sub>0</sub>. 67 single-word items containing medial or final (t) were extracted from recordings of three boys and three girls aged 3;0-4;1. The items were played to a group of 20 listeners from Newcastle, who we predicted might show awareness of the gendered (t) patterns on account of their experience of the dialect. The samples were also played to two control groups who were predicted not to be aware of the patterning (35 listeners from elsewhere in the UK and 114 Americans). The instructions to the listeners were simply to identify the speaker of each stimulus as a boy or a girl.

Overall there was, as anticipated, considerable variability in the responses. The number of correct responses was around 50% for all listener groups, while certain stimuli generated a strong consensus as to the sex of the child. Several factors made a contribution to gender identification, including f<sub>0</sub>, voice quality, amplitude and tempo. Tokens were coded for these factors as well as sociolinguistic variants. Regression analysis confirmed that all factors were significant in accounting for the responses. For example, breathy voice quality and low amplitude tokens elicited significantly more 'girl' responses. Such findings were apparent for all three listener groups.

However, the sociolinguistic variants elicited different responses from the listener groups. With medial (t), Newcastle listeners gave significantly fewer 'girl' responses to stimuli containing glottal forms than the other groups did. For final (t) the Newcastle listeners gave significantly more 'girl' responses to pre-aspirated tokens than the control groups. Both findings were predicted on the basis of the distribution of these variants in Newcastle English. They suggest that the Newcastle listeners are indeed able to exploit sociolinguistic variables for gender identification, in turn supporting those models of lexical structure which encompass fine phonetic detail.

### Rias van den Doel

Utrecht University, The Netherlands

*Similarity between L1 regional variation and L2 deviation, and its implications for the language learner*

Pronunciation training for non-native learners of English has until recently been based firmly on the standard models of RP (Received Pronunciation, also termed Standard Southern British English) and GA (General American, also termed 'Network American'). It is noteworthy that certain frequent non-native deviations from these standard models may actually be within the range of acceptability for other national, regional or local varieties of English. One such is the substitution of the dental fricatives /θ ð/ by dental or alveolar stops, which is characteristic not only of L2 varieties, but also of a number of native Englishes, for example Irish English and Caribbean English. This phenomenon has inspired the proposition that dental fricatives should no longer be regarded as mandatory for non-native learners - since such non-native variation can be regarded as equivalent to acceptable regional variation (see Jenkins 2000).

A recent (2006) study examined 20 pronunciation errors commonly produced by Dutch-speaking learners of English which happen to have close equivalents in regionally distinctive native Englishes. The L2 errors were then embedded in otherwise non-deviant English and subsequently presented to a large number (545) of native-speaker judges drawn from all over the English-speaking world. It was expected that judges would evaluate errors more leniently if these happened to be similar to features of their own accents, but surprisingly this is not in fact what transpired. Instead, there were instances where such an effect was not found, or even where the reverse was the case - possibly as a result of the strong stigmatisation of certain pronunciation phenomena within the judges' own linguistic communities.

These findings will be enlarged upon in this paper, and it will be proposed that:

- L1 stigmatisation has a potential effect on the assessments of L2 speech by native speakers;
- non-native learners should be circumspect in imitating regional pronunciation features which deviate markedly from standard models.

This research also indicates severe limitations to Jenkins's (2000: 27) suggestion that L2 variation is "on a par" with native-speaker regional variation.

### Elli Doukanari

Intercollege, Cyprus

*Cyprus Verbal Dueling: The Best Singer and Pallikarin (Brave Lad)*

This paper demonstrates how Greek-Cypriots display a superior masculine identity through rhyming improvisations called *chattista*. In this type of verbal dueling, men create a conflict situation and use skillful arguments to top their opponent and gain the admiration and approval of the audience. An interactional discourse analysis is used as a methodology, by which discourse is viewed as a socially and culturally defined way of speaking, dynamically created by participants in an interaction (e. g. Doukanari 2007, Gumperz 1982, Schiffrin 1994, Tannen 1984). The data consist of videotaped and tape-recorded *chattista* performances. Supportive evidence is also elicited from ordinary conversations. The results of the study indicate that the superior masculine self is primarily displayed as the best singer and *pallikarin* (brave lad). These two notions of masculine superiority are implicitly or explicitly proclaimed by the folk singers as one and the same. The analysis reveals two meanings entailed in the best singer/*pallikarin*. On the surface level of discourse, an aspect of the best singer/*pallikarin* becomes obvious. This is an antagonistic masculine identity, which is brave and unbeatable in terms of artistic expression, wits, and physical strength. However, on the deep level of discourse, a cooperative aspect of manhood unfolds, which is spiritually and morally powerful. This aspect of the best singer/*pallikarin* carries social values, is respectful to others and cooperates even when there is competition. Herzfeld's (1985) notion of *self regard* as a social rather than a psychological phenomenon becomes central in this study. That is, in order to be given meaning, social worth and respect by the society, the Greek-Cypriot man must display himself as the man with self regard. He must show superiority based on differentiation and inequality. More importantly, this study further demonstrates that just as his antagonistic aspect shows self-regard, the singer's cooperative self must also balance his self-regard based on grounds of equality and solidarity. Therefore, to be accorded respect and social worth, the Cypriot man faces the challenge of displaying self-regard while simultaneously balancing his self-regard. Thus, the best singer/*pallikarin* entails an oppositional-complementary identity, which is simultaneously

antagonistic and cooperative, aggressive and friendly. Through the interplay of verbal and non-verbal devices (e.g. figures of speech, imperatives, negation, posture and gestures) Cypriots skillfully define and delineate the expected ideal male and diagram the social structure of the Greek-Cypriot society. At the same time, they project to the community its reality. That is, they remind the society, in an extreme way, of its highly demanding expectations as to how men should display themselves both as ideal “antagonistic men” and as “solidary human beings”.

### **Mercedes Durham and Jennifer Smith**

University of Glasgow, United Kingdom

*‘The dialect doesn’t seem to be very cool’: Language Attitudes in young Shetland speakers*

Until recently, the Shetland Islands (and its distinctive variety of Scots) were isolated from the UK mainland; the discovery of oil in the North Seas in the mid seventies, however, and the construction of Sullom Voe, an oil terminal on the main island, has provided a steady influx of incomers to Shetland (Shetland in Statistics 2005). These incomers tend to speak more mainstream varieties of English, leading some researchers (Tait 2001:8, van Leyden 2004:18) to comment that the Shetland dialect is rapidly dying out in the youngest generations of native Shetlanders.

Recent research (Smith 2007-2008) into three generations of speakers in Lerwick, the main town, suggests that the actual situation is more complicated however. Although the youngest group of speakers comprise a homogeneous group both socially and demographically and in a number of cases belong to the same social networks, they can be divided into two groups on linguistic grounds. Roughly half of the young speakers still use proportions of dialectal features comparable to the older groups while the other young speakers have for the most part moved away from the dialect and use Standard Scottish English. How can we account for such differences in a homogeneous group?

This paper attempts to address this issue by considering linguistic and attitudinal factors together and examining whether attitudes towards the dialect (and the Shetland way of life) can help us understand the speakers’ use of a number of Shetland features: the maintenance of a T/V distinction (1); *be/have* variation as perfect auxiliaries (2) and strategies of demonstrative use (3).

1. a. if **you** were gonna replace **your** peerie car I would recommend a Vauxhall Corsa.  
b. Mam was lyke ‘**du** ‘s no to spend **dy** money on all this shopping’.
2. a. I’ **m** no got a middle name.  
b. I’ **ve** got one pair of football boots.
3. a. I got **yon** job when I was in lyke the second year.  
b. At **that** time I wanted to learn more about politics.  
c. I got **this** band together.

Correlating attitudinal factors with actual linguistic usage will allow us to investigate differences found in otherwise very similar speakers. This will help us understand the role of the individual within community-wide linguistic change and perhaps why extreme intra-community variability is often found in isolated communities when the dialect is obsolescing (Dorian, 1994).

### **Loulou Edelman**

University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

*The languages of signs in Dutch shopping centres*

In public space much written language can be found: on shop signs, street signs, posters, etc. For “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs”, Landry & Bourhis (1997: 23) used the term ‘linguistic landscape’. They observe that the linguistic landscape has a symbolic function in that the presence or absence of a language on signs can symbolize the strength or weakness of an ethnolinguistic group relative to other language communities.

In the Netherlands in addition to the national language Dutch, many minority languages are spoken: immigrant languages such as Turkish, Arabic and Sranan, and the indigenous language Frisian, for example. The question addressed in the present study is how this language diversity is expressed in the linguistic landscape.



This paper is based on a quantitative investigation of the linguistic landscape in ten shopping centres: five in Amsterdam, the capital city where immigration and tourism lead to a diverse population, and five in the province of Friesland, where both Dutch and Frisian are official languages. These locations were chosen as they differ maximally in their ethnolinguistic composition, so locations where many immigrants live are included as well as locations where few immigrants live. All the signs in the survey areas, a few thousand in total, were photographed and coded according to non-linguistic features (e.g., government or private sign, commercial domain) and linguistic features (e.g., languages and scripts used).

The results show that in both Amsterdam and Friesland Dutch is the most common language in the linguistic landscape, followed by English. Minority languages are seldom used, even in areas where these languages are widely spoken. In comparison to other immigrant languages, Turkish is well represented despite the fact that the Turks were not the largest minority in the investigated areas.

The relative importance of language as a symbol of identity differs per ethnic group (Smolicz, 1981). Turks seem to attach more value to their own language than other groups of immigrants, and Extra et al. (2002) report that in the Netherlands the Turkish language is very vigorous. This is expressed in the linguistic landscape. Thus, the presence of Turkish on signs symbolizes the relative strength of the Turkish immigrants as an ethnolinguistic group in the Netherlands.

### **Hanna Eichmann**

University of Central Lancashire, United Kingdom

*Leave my language alone! - Perspectives on Sign Language Standardisation*

This paper presents an investigation of the views on sign language standardisation (SLS) among Deaf signers in two European countries, Germany and the UK.

In light of the absence of a codified standard variety in most sign languages, there have been repeated calls for the standardisation of sign languages primarily from outside the Deaf community (Deuchar, 1985). The development of a standard variety has been suggested to facilitate the establishment of a linguistic norm which could enable all members of that linguistic group to gain equal access to education, administration and commerce (Brandhoff 2005).

Although frequently labelled as sociolinguistic enquiry, much of the standardisation and language planning literature displays a certain bias towards investigating the linguistic rather than the social aspects of language (cf. Milroy, 2001). Explicit mentioning of epistemological and sociological-theoretical perspectives is scarce. Taking into account that language teachers fulfil a particular role in the context of language standardisation as they embody the role of 'norm transmitters' (cf. Davies and Langer 2006) this study focuses on the 'socio' aspect of the subject matter by investigating SLS as a concept from the perspective of Deaf sign language tutors.

My research findings based on in-depths interviews conducted in Germany and the UK and analysed using grounded theory methods (Charmaz, 2006) indicate that in both countries SLS carries different connotations from spoken language standardisation with regard to the conceptualisation of SLS and its socio-political implications. Within the British Deaf community there is a strong resistance to the notion of BSL-standardisation based on the understanding that SLS poses a threat to the language by eradicating regional variation, a highly cherished feature of British Sign Language (BSL). In contrast, the subject matter is looked at much more favourably in Germany, where SLS is generally perceived as a natural, ongoing process accelerated by a number of external factors (e.g. modern communication technologies) and where notions of language purism based on the assumption that a standard variety of DGS will facilitate the development of a more 'pure' German Sign Language (Deutsche Gebärdensprache, DGS) devoid of spoken language influences, surface in the context of the SLS-debate. In both countries, however, the concept of SLS is perceived as controversial and socio-politically charged, embodying hearing people's hegemony in the area of sign language studies, which warrants an exploration of SLS with particular reference to socio-political factors and a problematisation of established language standardisation theory.

### Tamas Eitler

ELTE University Budapest, Hungary

*Managing emergent identities in a workplace community of practice*

In order to track the dynamics of identity, the talk tries to integrate the notions of emergent style (Eckert 2007), indeterminacy in the social meaning of variables (Chun and Podesva 2007) and emergent network (Watts 1991).

The paper presents and discusses some results of a longitudinal, participant observation-based study conducted at the Hungarian branch of a transnational company. The original aim of the research was to find various identity management strategies by mapping the dynamism of interpersonal accommodation and speaker design within a Hungarian-speaking team collaborating in an open-plan office. Accommodation and speaker design were both found to be multidimensional as the different indirect connotations and projected images of the reference groups resulted in different adjustment patterns and strategic moves, reflecting the complex agenda of the speakers. Although accommodation was found to correlate with network position and strength, the strength of the correlation proved to be different for the examined variables, suggesting considerable complexity in identity construction and an emergent distribution of network positions within the team.

Next, through some in-depth case studies of various team members, it was found that the ongoing redistribution of network positions can be brought in line with the emergent nature of identity management, which is compatible with Chun and Podesva's (2007) model. They argue for the indeterminacy in the social meaning of variables. This indeterminacy can be regarded as a strategic resource which can always be called into action: e.g., it can be resolved or left unresolved when a given style is constructed out of a combination of variables, each with a distinct yet somewhat indeterminate meaning. It will be pointed out that the management of this process is accomplished dynamically, during the ongoing interaction and through the various stages of group formation. Consequently, style itself can be conceptualised as emergent, which is what Eckert (2007) arrives at for the age cohort of (pre)adolescents. The talk concludes by proposing to view emergentism as a universal tendency, e.g., part and parcel of group formation in any context.

### Mohamed Embarki and Ali Hussein Hajji

Praxiling UMR 5267, France

*Urban and Bedouin features: A pilot study of phonological variation within a diwaniyya in Kuwait*

Our study is about the use of the language within a social network made up within a *diwaniyya* this one being a space, contiguous or separated from the main home, intended to receive guests, neighbours, friends or members of the family, almost exclusively of male sex.

Our approach, purely linguistic, mobilizes on the one hand sociolinguistic aspects, because it is based on the concept of social network, as defined by Labov (1978), Milroy and Milroy (1980) and Milroy and Gordon (2002), and in particular the differences between "dense" network and "loose" network. The idea is to know whether the structure of the *diwaniyya* can have an influence on the linguistic production of the speakers who gather in the *diwaniyya* and if they are brought to be influenced by each other. We also observe the reasons and analyze how this influence concretely appears and if the chief of the *diwaniyya*, in the center of the social network, exerts an influence on his brothers and his friends, having an effect on their way of speaking. Our study is interested in the linguistic production within a popular *diwaniyya*, that of Al Azmi, one of the greatest Bedouin families originating from North East of Arabia.

In addition, dialectological aspects are mobilized here because the attention is paid on the rural speeches and Bedouin speeches, on their similarities and their differences.

We try to analyze the realization of the two phonemes /qaf/ and /ġim/ according to the social belonging of the speakers and to the pressure exerted within the social network on the choice of phonological variables.

Our corpus is made up of spontaneous recordings collected within the *diwaniyya*. Nine informants, including six Bedouin speakers and three urban speakers took part in these recordings. Among the six Bedouins, four are brothers and one of them is the elder brother, chief of the *diwaniyya*. This *diwaniyya*, although belonging to Al Azmi family, thus receives men from different horizons and origins. Their ages varies between 27 and 39 years. We questioned the informants about subjects of society related to them, thus promoting spontaneous answers allowing us to have a relevant corpus, representative of reality. Recordings took place within the *diwaniyya*, in the

form of group discussions during which all the speakers had the possibility of taking part very freely in the topic of discussion, according to their desires. Each one of them spoke in turn, feeling involved in the subject.

Our results show that the phonological variation is structured. The *diwaniyya* represents a microcosm of the Kuwaiti society, a space where all populations of all social origins, backgrounds and occupations can mix. Several dialectal varieties coexist, based on religious and/or regional or ethnic criteria. The *diwaniyya* manages to join together all the dialectal varieties which exist in Kuwait and mainly the Bedouin and urban varieties.

### **Stefan Engelberg**

Institut für Deutsche Sprache (Mannheim)

*Language Politics and Language Contact in the German Colonies in the South Pacific*

With the arrival of German traders and settlers in the South Pacific from the mid 19th century on, the German language came into contact with languages spoken in the area. From 1884 until World War I the German empire claimed large areas of Western Oceania as protectorates. This attracted more German settlers and missionaries. Due to the presence of speakers of German, a number of contact-induced phenomena of language change were underway around the turn of the century: (i) There was a certain - albeit small - influence of German on the lexicon of the indigenous languages spoken in the German protectorates that differed considerably from language to language. (ii) The local German varieties of settlers and planters underwent a heavy influence from English and English-based pidgins. (iii) Some of the indigenous languages had a certain effect on German settler varieties. (iv) English-based pidgins spread considerably during German rule.

The aim of this talk is to show how an investigation of language politics and language attitudes can account for the distribution of these language contact phenomena. Questions of colonial language politics became an issue in colonial circles in Berlin from the 1880s on. The discussion about the intended role of German in the colonies was surprisingly diverse. Yet, finally, political decisionmakers in Berlin favoured the spread of German as a lingua franca in the colonies. However, actual political decisions and measures were sparse. All the more important were those measures taken by the local governors that supported the spread of German to varying degrees. On a local level, they were confronted with other interest groups such as settlers, trading companies, missionaries, and the indigenous elites who often opted for other languages as a means of cross-cultural communication.

The attitude towards German, English, and the local languages as exhibited by German traders, planters, missionaries, and government officials as well as by the native population and the missionaries from non-German missions differed considerably across and also partly within these groups. The German traders showed a clear preference for English. In contact with the indigenous population, English-based pidgins were often used, in particular since the labour trade in the Pacific promoted pidgins as the primary means of communication on the plantations and in the German phosphate mines. Not only the missionaries but also some government officials were at pains to master the indigenous languages and were involved in documenting and describing the languages. The attitude of the missionaries towards the introduction of German into the curricula of the local schools as forced by the German government varied widely. Since most schools were run by the missions, this proved to be a crucial factor for the spread of German. Finally, German and English competed as foreign languages among the indigenous population that showed varying preferences at different places and times. These attitudes and the role the different groups of German immigrants played in the island societies account for the overall tendencies in the contact-induced changes as well as for the local differences observed.

### **Titus Ensink**

University of Groningen, The Netherlands

*Arguing on the internet as a public forum*

During the last two decades the enormous growth of the internet *as a medium* has given rise to a number of developments in both private and public forms of communication and communicative practices. In this paper I will focus on one such development. Many existing 'traditional' newspapers started during the last few years a website next to their daily paper edition. Readers' reactions to newspaper's articles have always been possible via letters-to-the-editor. In that case, the newspaper's editors decide on which reactions to make public. But in

many internet newspapers there is a possibility of putting reactions online, without the newspaper's editors as a 'gatekeeper' in between writing and publishing: any reader who decides to upload his/her reaction is able to make that reaction accessible to the whole world. In many cases one can see the first readers' reactions appear within minutes after publication of some information on the newspaper's website. It seems at first sight that readers are much less prone to serious argumentation, and often do not much more than putting forward claims or even condemnations and insults to other contributors, or to persons referred to in the newspaper's article. It is easy to dismiss these reactions as some form of twaddle which without the public medium of the internet would have been only perceptible (and confined!) to immediate bystanders. From a sociolinguistic, particularly discourse analytic, point of view, however, these reactions are interesting in several respects. First, they are difficult to characterize as a *genre* of language use. In a sense, they should be considered a new genre which has characteristics intermediate between spoken and written interaction. Second, from a general point of view, these reactions appear as a *clash between discourses* ('discourse' in the sense of expression of a world view, not in the more common sense of a situated text). The clash does not appear as a formal discussion (such as argumentation theory would have it in the case of 'traditional' argumentative genres of language use) but as a coexistence of several incompatible utterances within the same 'textual space'.

In this paper, I will discuss two questions on the basis of a corpus of several lists of readers' reactions from a number of different (mainly Dutch) websites:

1. Which are the genre characteristics of the readers' reactions on newspaper sites?
2. How can readers' reactions be used as a source of information about prevalent discourses in society on a certain point in time?

### **Eva M. Eppler**

Roehampton University, United Kingdom

*A syntactic variationist study of a German/English mixed code*

This paper presents the grammar of a German/English mixed code. It demonstrates that this code can be adequately and appropriately described with a text-friendly grammatical model that allows a completely surface analysis, i.e. Word Grammar. It shows that the notion of a matrix language as suggested by some researchers (Joshi 1985 & Myers-Scotton 1993) is not tenable in the light of the data this paper is based on. Based on the grammatical analysis it demonstrates that the principles guiding code-switching are probabilistic (rather than universal) but nonetheless interesting and valuable for structural linguistics for several reasons. First, consistent properties of mixed corpora provide us with a rich source of information for identifying grammatical regularities across languages. Second, they give us insights into bilingual processing and production, and third, they throw light on interfaces, how various linguistic (and non-linguistic) factors interact. The paper concludes that the blueprint is not a red herring, i.e. a detailed grammatical analysis of a mixed code does not divert attention from the real question. Mixed corpora, like all corpora, may initially worsen the theoretical problem of limiting hypotheses (because they provide large infinities of things to calculate), but they do contain the information for identifying grammatical regularities.

### **Yahya Erramdani and Mohammadi Laghzaoui**

Tilburg University, Netherlands

*Telling stories to young children: Developing school-register skills beyond the here-and-now*

The present paper reports on part of a longitudinal study on the acquisition and learning of school register at home and at school. School register is used in more cognitively complex demanding situations, and thus requiring different language skills than informal daily conversations (Halliday 1994, Schleppegrell 2004). One of the characteristics of school register is the high degree of abstractness, the subject matter of this paper.

The study investigates how mothers and teachers differ with respect to performing the activity of storytelling from a picture book, and more specifically how far they manage to move from the concrete context of the book to an abstract context beyond it. Degree of abstractness as measured in this study follows the categorization of Blank et al. (1978), distinguishing between 4 levels, ranging from the basic levels of matching and selection to re-ordering and reasoning as higher levels, by going beyond the concrete context of the activity. The target

group of the study is 10 Moroccan mothers and 10 first grade primary school teachers in the Netherlands, performing the task to the same children, aged around 4. Mothers spoke Berber during the task, and teachers spoke Dutch.

The results show that the mothers were acting at the basic level of matching, by naming objects or describing activities. They made little use of selective strategy by stating colour names, numbers or other attributes of the objects, persons or events. At an individual level, a pair of mothers had recourse sporadically to higher abstract levels of re-ordering and reasoning, by making associations with objects or events beyond the book story. Teachers were performing on all levels of abstractness. Moving from one level to another took place gradually. Opening a new event was done at the basic level of matching by introducing the event, followed by describing its characteristics (selective level). Moving out of the context of the book was attested when asking children for the meaning of words (re-ordering), or encouraging them to make predictions about what would be/ could happen (reasoning) for instance. The two groups differed also in their reading strategies; while the teachers were engaging in a dialog, mothers were leading mostly a monolog, leaving the child with a passive role.

In the course of the presentation, we will elaborate on the results, providing more details on the degree of abstractness during the story telling and book reading activity, the strategies followed by each group, as well as the reactions of the children. The overall discussion of the results will bear on the contribution of presenting the children with a high degree of abstractness to their success in learning the school register.

### **Rania Essa and Michal Tannenbaum**

Tel Aviv University, Israel

*The complex impact of closeness: Studying Arab adolescents in Israel*

This paper explores the relationship between language and identity in the Israeli conflictual context, focusing on the attitudes of Israeli-Arab adolescents to bilingualism (Arabic-Hebrew) and to the culture of the Israeli Jewish majority, and on its association with personal and collective identity. Whereas research has generally approached the 'Arab' community in Israel as one, the present study compares these dimensions in two groups of Arab adolescents - one living in a mixed city (Jewish-Arab) and one in a homogenous Arab town, which provide different models of interaction with the Jewish majority.

Each group included 86 participants from grades 10-12, who completed items in a 6-point Likert scale related to the use of Arabic and Hebrew; attitudes toward Arabic and Hebrew; sense of belonging to the majority and to the minority, and personal and group identity.

Results showed no differences between the groups with regard to Arabic use or attitudes toward Arabic, but participants in the mixed city reported using Hebrew more extensively, and having more positive attitudes toward it. Although both groups were positive toward the majority culture, both reported a low sense of belonging to the majority. Significant positive correlations also emerged between identity and linguistic aspects - a greater sense of belonging to the minority or majority cultures correlated with positive attitudes toward Arabic or Hebrew, respectively, and with greater use. The mixed city residents, however, reported a significantly higher sense of belonging to the minority group, a higher sense of Arab identity, and a significantly more frequent self-perception as 'Palestinians' and less as 'Israelis' when compared with their counterparts. Findings showed that adolescents from a mixed city, who are more extensively exposed to Hebrew and to Jewish culture, develop a stronger sense of 'Arab' identity, while adolescents from an Arab homogenous town use Hebrew less but have a lower sense of aversion toward it and a lower sense of Arab group identity.

The findings highlight the impact of the context of living variable in circumstances of a conflictual reality, posing interesting questions concerning the contribution of contact to the promotion of closeness. The group highly exposed to Jewish culture and language showed stronger aversion toward it, including the development of a stronger 'minority identity,' than the group living more 'protectedly' in a homogeneous setting, where they may feel more secure to develop their own identity. The discussion of the findings touches on their implications for the Israeli context specifically and for adolescents growing up in conflictual contexts in general.



**Eduardo Daniel Faingold**

University of Tulsa, Oklahoma, USA

*Language rights in the US Constitution*

This paper analyzes the Fourteenth Amendment of the US Constitution and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for language that defines the linguistic obligations of the US and the language rights of persons in the US, arguing that neither the US Constitution nor the Civil Rights Act of 1964 define the *de jure* obligations of the US towards members of language minorities. The paper argues that the US should explicitly recognize certain language rights of minority groups in the US. In addition, the paper aims to provide expert advice about language policy to aid political decision-makers of the US in interpreting existing legislation and drafting new legislation to help solve linguistic conflicts arising among speakers of majority and minority languages (Faingold 2004, 2007). Future interpretations of existing laws and statutes and new legislation addressing the rights of speakers of minority languages to Equal Protection status under the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are more likely to help solve conflicts by defining legally the status of speakers of such languages (Del Valle 2003, Faingold 2006).

**Fernand Fehlen**

University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

*Negotiating legitimate language competence in Luxembourg*

The conceptual framework of Bourdieu's major works, including his *Language and Symbolic Power*, is the nation-state. This is also true for the definition of the *legitimate language* he introduced for the monolingual French context. Confronted with Luxembourg's multilingual and plural society, the legitimate language - as yardstick to determine the value of the linguistic capital - needs to be replaced by a *legitimate multilingual language competence* requiring a subtle understanding of Lëtzebuergesch, French and German, the three languages officially in use in Luxembourg. As financial centre, Luxembourg is in the heart of globalization and its labour market has become largely transnational. Subsequently besides the traditional national linguistic market others - more or less superposed - are developing.

The goal of my paper is to describe some changes the *multilingual language competence* underwent on the national linguistic market during the two last decades. The investigation will focus on "discourse as subject to a layered simultaneity" (Blommaert 2005) drawing on participant observation as well as the analysis of print media. The principal outcomes: Lëtzebuergesch has been valorised especially as written language and French is challenged by English as prestige language. The status of German being rather ambivalent: stigmatized as competitor and antagonist of Lëtzebuergesch, it remains - at least in print media - the most used written language.

What in a micro perspective seems to be a bargaining to find a common language of understanding can be analyzed on a macro-level as symbolic struggles over the power to produce and to impose the legitimate vision of Luxembourg. My paper will discuss the different actors of this symbolic struggle and explain why the largely spread official image of the Grand-Duchy as a multilingual country based on trilingualism, "the real mother tongue of Luxembourgers", is more and more openly challenged.

**Gibson Ferguson**

University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

*Complementary schools as agents for language maintenance and identity management:  
a study of a Yemeni school in the UK*

Once rather neglected as research sites, complementary schools, teaching ethnic community languages outside the state school sector, have begun to attract increased attention from sociolinguists interested in how such schools function as agents of language maintenance and how the linguistic practices found in these educational settings serve to construct, support, or undermine the multicultural and ethnic identities of pupils (see Martin et al 2004).

In line with this trend, this paper reports on a study of a Yemeni complementary school in Sheffield that teaches Arabic to British-born pupils of Yemeni origin. The school is of particular interest not just because

it teaches Arabic, a major world language with a significant presence in electronic and broadcast media, but because pupils attending the school find themselves navigating a path between various overlapping, sometimes competing identities - at once but also variably - British, Yemeni, Arab and Muslim. Charting how these various identities are constructed, negotiated and reflected in the language and literacy practices of the school, inclusive of codeswitching and the varieties of Arabic taught, encouraged and used, is a central aim of this paper. We also, however, address two supplementary and related questions: (i) the role of Arabic language satellite broadcast media in the lives of pupils and community members and (ii) the extent of the impact of the all too often negative public discourses around migrants, Islam and Arabic language speakers on the school and on the management of linguistic/ethnic identities. In keeping with these aims, the principal research instruments are observations combined with ethnographic interviews with teachers, pupils, and parents, an important purpose of which is to explore whether the linguistic and cultural identities the school and parents seek to project onto pupils are in fact taken up or resisted. In concluding the paper we briefly consider the extent to which the experiences of Yemeni pupils in Sheffield may or may not be similar to those of bilingual Arabic-speaking young people in other western European countries.

### Markku Johannes Filppula

Queen's University of Belfast, United Kingdom and University of Joensuu, Finland

*In Search of 'True' Vernacular Universals*

The concept of 'vernacular universals' (VUs) has attracted a great deal of attention among variationist linguists in recent years. As conceived of by Jack Chambers, who launched this term, VUs are phonological and grammatical processes shared by vernaculars of all kinds: (nonstandard) social and regional dialects, child language, pidgins, creoles and interlanguage varieties. As such, they represent 'natural' features of the human language faculty, which are by no means limited to English (Chambers 2004: 128 f.). As good candidates for VUs, Chambers mentions morpheme-final consonant cluster simplification (*pos' office, han'ful*), conjugation regularization (*Mary heared the good news*), subject-verb nonconcord (*They was the last ones*), and multiple negation or negative concord (*He didn't see nothing*) (*ibid.*). While Chambers places VUs at the non-standard end of the standard - nonstandard (vernacular) continuum, there are alternative accounts that see the proper *locus* of VUs in varieties which have developed in second-language acquisition settings. 'L2 varieties', such as creoles or various 'colonial' Englishes, are in many ways different from nonstandard 'L1' varieties, such as the traditional rural dialects of England, for example (see, e.g. Mair 2003; Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004). A suggested reason for these differences is the degree to which L1 and L2 varieties enter into contact with other varieties or languages.

In this paper I discuss a feature of English that is shared by (most kinds of) nonstandard varieties irrespective of their sociohistorical genesis as either L1 or L2 varieties and also irrespective of their levels of contact with other varieties or languages. The case at issue is the **absence of plural marking with nouns of measurement**, such as *pound /foot /stone/mile/year* etc. (as in *two pound of flour; three mile away; ten year ago*). Spoken language data collected from several varieties of English both in the British Isles and beyond show that absence of plural marking with measurement nouns is characteristic of both traditional 'low-contact' dialects of England and those which have emerged in different kinds of language contact or L2 settings (i.e. 'high-contact' varieties). There is also evidence to suggest that absence of plural marking is cross-linguistically widespread and can be explained by functional considerations. The existence of this kind of a universal adds an interesting new perspective to the ongoing debate on VUs.

### Mercia Santana Flannery

University of Pennsylvania, United States of America

*Reference and identity in narratives of racial discrimination*

This paper examines the role of references - pronouns, metaphors, skin color and racial designations - to the process of identity construction in narratives of racial discrimination. These oral narratives, collected in Brazil through sociolinguistic interviews, comprise instances in which individuals recount being mistreated - overtly insulted or denied service - due to racial prejudice.



Narrative discourse favors the study of how identity is linguistically constructed both because it allows the narrators to portray characters in their relationship with others (Schiffrin, 1996), and because of the interactional context in which they originate. Specifically, some facets of one's identity emergent in narrative are a function of the interactional positioning created in the context of the sociolinguistic interview (Wortham, 2001; Schiffrin, 2006), relating to how an individual wants to be perceived by others and to the images of self that she conveys (Goffman, 1959); others, as perceived through the representation of relationships in the narrative, evoke broader social categories, such as gender, class and ethnicity. Both facets of one's identity are latent, and can be uncovered, in one's linguistic uses (De Fina, 2006).

The references made to identify self and other in a narrative of discrimination have significant functions on two levels: 1) in connection with the performance of the verbal actions of insult and denial of a request, these references mark the roles of victim and perpetrator of discrimination, and thereby, 2) broach the nature of racial prejudice in the tellers' society for, by relying on these references, narrators reveal who is likely to discriminate against whom, in which circumstances and why. This is accomplished as the social actors (van Leeuwen, 1996) are portrayed as blacks and whites; as authors, figures and animators (Goffman, 1981); as more or less agentive or passive; through first or second singular and plural pronouns.

Stories of racial discrimination also allude to widespread discourses on race and racism in their authors' communities. The categories that the narrators of such stories employ to assign roles and positions to themselves and to the characters peopling their accounts provide a rich milieu through which to understand the role of language for the construction of identity. This paper adds to the body of studies pertaining to narrative and identity, contributing with an analysis of stories told in Brazilian Portuguese, and to the understanding of the interrelationship of language, race and identity.

### **Christina Fogtmann, Torben Juul Jensen and Søren Beck Nielsen**

Lanchart, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

*From Community to Conversation - and Back: Generic use of second person pronouns in Danish*

In modern Danish, a handful of pronouns can be used to refer to a generic referent, i.e. to a group of persons not further defined, in some cases mankind in general. In Standard Danish, the most frequently used pronoun with generic reference is *man*, developed from the noun *man(d)* ( $\approx$  English *man*). In recent decades, though, the second person singular pronoun *du* has gained ground, in parallel to similar recent developments in other languages.

A large scale study based on recordings from four different geographical locations (including the capital Copenhagen) of the same speakers recorded in the 1970ies or 1980ies and again in 2005/06 has documented a rise in the use of generic *du*. The study indicates that the increased use has spread from the Copenhagen area and outwards to the rest of the Danish speech community, and that the use is correlated with the gender and social class of the speaker. But a quantitative study alone is not sufficient to uncover *why* speakers of Danish have been increasing their use of generic *du* during the period studied. In order to understand this increased use the paper suggests exploring social meanings of generic *du*.

One way of exploring social meanings of variants - which we will use the case of generic *du* to demonstrate - is to combine the quantitative analysis with a qualitative approach. This happens through the following three steps:

1. The results of the quantitative survey are used for selecting speakers (conversations) for further analysis, and quantitative analysis of these conversations is used for identifying passages with relatively high frequencies of a particular variant.
2. By means of an interaction analytic approach, the passages are analyzed qualitatively. Firstly, the use of *du* and *man* is analysed when they vary within the same passage. Secondly, the use of *du* and *man* respectively is analysed in passages where the variants do not appear in the same surroundings. Hereby, it is possible to understand central aspects of the social meaning of generic *du*: The use of *du* in regulating the social relations between interlocutors, the use of *du* to convey a particular stance toward the current topic of the conversation and, relatedly, the use of *du* as a resource for construing identities.
3. The results of the quantitative analysis are reinterpreted in the light of both the results of the qualitative analysis and sociological theories of societal changes in late modernity.

### Maximiliane Frobenius

Universität des Saarlandes, Germany

*Identity in video-blog mediated narratives*

In this paper, I explore the construction of identity in narratives by bloggers on the video platform “youtube”.

This genre-bound investigation aims at the particular features involved in speech on video blogs (vlogs). Most vloggers film themselves with no one else around. Later this footage is uploaded to the internet, free for anyone to watch. Since there is no real time communication (as is the case in chat/video-chat), most vlogs are characterized by their monologic nature. Identity is therefore not elicited in a joint production in conversation, but in a one person performance - planned beforehand to an unknown degree.

My paper explores examples like the one below, where the speaker interrupts the story to address his viewers directly and correct a detail about the choice of vocabulary in a particular social setting.

- (1) Zipster: and we're still like  
 you frikkin asshole  
 you frikkin-  
 ah we weren't even saying frikking  
 cause hello  
 it's rock'n'roll  
 uh  
 yeah (and then)  
 they actually pulled Iggy off

The (mock-) reproachful “hello” alludes to the (viewers’) expected socio-cultural knowledge about the language of the rock’n’roll milieu in the mid seventies. This self-correction, which Zipster uses to take a stance, aligns him with the rock’n’roll scene. With no direct, spoken viewer response expected by the speaker, the identification with the setting extends over to the audience: by addressing the audience, Zipster acts as if this point could be challenged, though it is perfectly clear to him that it can’t.

In another example the speaker again addresses the viewers directly, this time making assumptions about the reactions he expects in the (written) comments below the video.

- (2) Zipster: and he's all about you know you superficial a-hole and  
 which hello I know I'm gonna get a lot of comments saying  
 yeah you're a superficial a-hole  
 <but I went off my nut>

Zipster hypothetically disaligns himself from this not yet existant reaction, defending his position in the continuation of the story, creating the image of someone who stands by what he did over 30 years ago. Interestingly, this reaction he claims to expect is not realistic - neither now that the comments actually exist, nor was it ever realistic to expect them to be critical (I am judging from a range of earlier videos by this user and the comments that were made by viewers). Thus, making assumptions about these comments must be part of a scheme for Zipster to disalign himself in the first place.

My paper investigates bloggers’ construction of identity with respect to their audiences, paying particular attention to the technical restriction of this computer mediated genre as opposed to face to face communication. As bloggers deliberately choose to videotape stories and make this material available to the whole world, thus engaging in a form of communication that forces them to present themselves in a certain way, identity is a salient issue in the investigation of narratives in video blogs.

### Joseph Gafaranga

The University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

*Towards an interactional model for language maintenance in immigrant contexts*

Language shift has often been said to take place ‘out of sight and out of mind’. On the other hand, language shift is talked into being, i.e. takes place through actual language choices that community members make in everyday interaction. That is to say, members of a community faced with language shift may be aware of the general sociolinguistic situation in their community, but they are often unaware of the actual processes through which on-going language shift is taking place. This situation raises the issue of how communities faced with

the threat of language shift can be helped to resist it. In this context, current theoretical models for resisting language shift such as Fishman's (1991, 2001) *Reversing Language Shift* might not be particularly useful as they do not address the details of actual interaction. In this paper, an alternative approach to the issue is proposed. This is the Applied Linguistics perspective of Description-Informed Action (Richards, 2005). This perspective is usually recommended in order to assist professionals who have to deal with communication problems in work places. In this paper, I will argue that the same perspective can be adopted in order to assist communities which are faced with the problem of language shift. Thus a three-step methodology is proposed: (1) identify and describe in detail language choice patterns observable in the community, (2) examine those patterns in order to separate those which mediate language shift and those which enhance language maintenance, and (3) sensitise community members to their language choice patterns and their consequences for language maintenance/shift. The data for this paper comes from a recent ESRC-funded project on language shift and maintenance in the Rwandan community in Belgium (RES-000-22-1165).

### **Dariusz Galasinski**

University of Wolverhampton, United Kingdom

*Failed men. Depression and the dominant model of masculinity*

In this paper I am interested in the relationship between masculinity and depression. More specifically, I shall explore how men diagnosed with depressive episode construct themselves in gender terms and how they locate themselves in relation to the dominant model of masculinity. The data upon which the paper (anchored in the constructionist view of discourse) is based comes from 25 semi-structured interviews with men in non-residential care in two university psychiatry clinics in the south of Poland. All the informants were diagnosed with depressive episode (ICD F32 or F33).

I shall show that depression is constructed as inherently interlinked with the informants' masculinity as well as, more generally, with the gender model itself. The illness is invariably constructed as an assault on masculinity - the social expectations of what it means to be a man, his role at work or the family. Thus, on the one hand, depression undermines masculinity and depressed men are constructed as lesser men, and, on the other, depression disturbs masculinity, making it impossible to execute it and thus for men in depression to be 'real men'. At the same time the dominant model of masculinity is a constant point of reference and aspiration for my interlocutors.

In the process I shall not only argue that depression and its experience are gendered, but that they must be seen in relation to the socially dominant model of masculinity both in research as well as in clinical practice.

### **Penelope Gardner-Chloros**

Birkbeck, University of London, United Kingdom

*Intra-individual variation: The Cinderella of Code-switching*

Evidence shows that when code-switching, individuals combine their languages in a variety of different ways depending on circumstances. Two aspects of this variation are explored in this paper, both relatively neglected in the CS literature:

The first reason why individuals code-switch differently in different circumstances is connected with the accommodative function of CS. Communicative competence - of which CS is a part - follows the principles of 'Audience Design' (Bell 1984; 2001). In plurilingual settings, audience design often means adapting to an interlocutor whose competence in the relevant varieties differs from the speaker's. Although this has been recognized for some time, e.g. by Myers-Scotton, who has talked of CS as an exploratory choice and also as a compromise choice, overall the accommodative aspect of code-switching has received relatively little systematic attention in the literature. Moreover, the social psychological literature tends to deal with larger units of language choice rather than code-switching as an inter- and intra-sentential phenomenon (Lawson and Sachdev 2000). This is partly for methodological reasons, since the quantitative methods employed demand that there should be clear, countable categories, to which complex code-switching does not easily lend itself.

Secondly, the way in which individuals code-switch is part of the way in which they present themselves as speakers, i.e. it is part of what has been called 'styling the self'. For example, among the many variables which have been studied, personality variables affecting the amount and type of code-switching have on the whole been omitted. It is tempting to apply the same methods to studying intra-individual variation which have been

used to study non-standard v. standard forms, i.e. to correlate code-switching with a range of sociolinguistic factors including gender, generation, context, topic, etc. But as in the case of non-standard forms, CS is in fact best understood in relation to specific aspects of discourse rather than as a simple function of belonging to a sociolinguistic category. For example, no general pattern has been found as to whether women or men are more prolific code-switchers (Cheshire and Gardner-Chloros 1998) - this depends on which functions CS is fulfilling in specific contexts. The less necessary CS is for accommodation purposes, the more it is likely to be serving subtle discourse functions and to be characteristic of the individual speaker and their personality. Therefore these two aspects of individual variation in CS can be seen as complementary.

**Maria Rosa Garrido and Melissa Greer Moyer**

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

*Ideologies and Practices of Multilingualism in an Immigrant Support Organization: Micro-Macro Connections*

Globalization and the movement of persons across national borders have brought about new sociolinguistic situations that require a macro theoretical framework (Blommaert 2000) that can account for the new multilingual practices and the ideologies that sustain these practices at an NGO dedicated to providing support to immigrants recently arrived to a town in the outskirts of Barcelona.

The present study examines the multilingual practices at a non-governmental organization in order to show how the everyday language choices and interactions that are carried out sometimes relate to conflicting ideologies between individual language use and the stated goals of the institution. The relatively recent arrival of immigrants to the bilingual community of Catalonia has brought a new multilingual diversity that has reorganized the pre-existing linguistic hierarchies where local (Spanish and Catalan) and international languages (English and French) come into play. Furthermore, the relocation of people in this context brings about new indexicalities that are locally based. English and French play a key role for intercultural communication and it is observed that African and Asian varieties of English lose their original indexicality which can be understood in a global world context and they are dismissed as inappropriate, often by institutional actors whose competence is at best equivalent or in many cases virtually nonexistent. In addition, the new immigration has reinforced the tension between the local languages, Catalan and Spanish. The government's policy of Catalan immersion education and free Catalan classes for adults in addition to campaigns addressed to promote the use of Catalan as the welcoming language do not correspond to the actual practices observed in society nor in the NGO. Spanish is the lingua franca used with outsiders relegating Catalan to members of the Catalan-speaking community.

The results of the present study are based on ethnographic fieldwork carried out over a two month period at an NGO dedicated to providing housing, language courses and other social support to newly arrived immigrants. The data analyzed come from observations, interviews, and recordings of detailed interactions from language classes and institutional documents in different languages produced by the NGO.

**Renata Geld and Anđel Starčević**

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Croatia (Hrvatska)

*Nouns as Premodifiers: Syntactic Changes in Modern-Day Croatian*

The structure of the Croatian noun phrase traditionally allows two basic types of modification: adjectives as premodifiers, before the head of the noun phrase, (eg. stara olovka) and nouns in oblique cases as postmodifiers, in post-head position, (eg. putovanje autobusom) (Barić et al., 2003). However, due to the overwhelming exposure of native Croatian speakers to the anglophone media and especially to the language of advertising, employing nouns as premodifiers in the noun phrase (eg. internet stranica) has become a widespread phenomenon. This development is in line with the general theory of languages in contact and the introduction of new phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and other patterns (Filipović, 1986; Crystal, 1997).

This paper puts a special emphasis on the changing patterns governing the noun phrase. More specifically, it presents the results of native speakers' judgements on the new pattern with nouns as premodifiers. We have previously discussed the above-mentioned changes and found that there are several strong reasons why the new pattern with premodifying nouns has been adopted and spread so rapidly even in standard usage, eg. due to the historical influence of Turkish and German on Croatian and the fact that the new patterns are often very

practical and produce a more powerful advertising effect (Starčević, 2006). We have also dealt with the dangers of extreme purism occasionally found in some Croatian prescriptive authors (Babić, 2004; Opačić, 2006).

The aim of our research was to analyse the factors which influence the current acceptance of nouns as pre-modifiers among the general population of Croatia (N=284). Our results demonstrate that there is considerable variation in the way ordinary speakers of Croatian regard examples of the new pattern, which is a reliable indication that a syntactic change is in progress (Aitchison, 1981/2001).

Firstly, it has been found that factors such as age or sex seem to play no role in the acceptance of nouns in pre-head position. However, there is a strong correlation between the speakers' level of education and the rejection of the new pattern. Furthermore, it has been proven as statistically relevant that speakers are consistent in preferring examples of one pattern, either the traditional or the new one. Finally, speakers with a knowledge of English or German seem to be better at recognizing the source language of the change and often nominally reject the new pattern while in reality they might use it themselves.

### **Ronald Geluykens**

University of Oldenburg, Germany

*Methodological Issues in Sociolinguistics: A Comparison of Data Elicitation Methods*

This paper highlights the enormous methodological difficulties in pragmatics research, where the bulge of the data is still elicited exclusively through questionnaires and role plays. While there is no doubt that these methods can yield interesting and valid results, it seems important to complement them with naturally occurring speech (see also Beebe, 1996; Golato, 2003; Hartford & Bardovi-Harlig, 1992; Kasper, 2000; Yuan, 2001).

The paper deals with the realization of complaints in native British English and compares a variety of data collection methods. The corpus under scrutiny here consists of elicited complaints (production questionnaires; role play interactions) and naturally occurring complaints (telephone conversations; material from a fly-on-the-wall documentary).

The main research questions include:

- To what extent do elicited complaints differ from natural complaining behaviour?
- Is it possible to draw conclusions about speech behaviour from elicited data?
- Do role plays resemble naturally occurring speech in terms of turn-taking mechanisms and emotional involvement?
- Quantitative and qualitative analysis - how can pragmatics research benefit from a combination of different methodologies?

A comparison of the four different data gathering methods used here served to highlight the complexity of the speech act complaint. Its realization is dependent on a multitude of variables, such as the situational context, the severity of the offence, the role relationship of speaker and hearer, and the interlocutors' temperaments. The elicitation of data allows the researcher to control these variables, which is especially useful for cross-cultural comparisons on a large scale. Complaining usually involves a high degree of emotional involvement for the interlocutors. We found that this aspect was not represented realistically enough in the elicited material. Whereas test subjects seemed to be aware of the emotional component, their anger seemed artificial (or was absent) and the reactions of people who the complains were addressed to lacked the kind of involvement that was found in the naturally occurring complaints. However, the role plays were very similar in reference to turn-taking, with only one significant difference, a significantly lower occurrence of overlaps.

From our analysis we conclude that a combination of role plays (where variables can be controlled through-out) for quantitative analysis and naturally occurring data for qualitative analysis can yield the best results.

### **Marianthi Georgalidou**

Aegean University, Greece

*Negotiating identities through narrative in the bilingual in Greek and Turkish muslim community of Rhodes, Greece*

The aim of this paper is to discuss narrative contributions to conversations and life story interviews with members of the bilingual in Greek and Turkish Muslim community of Rhodes. It is based on research conducted

in an ethnographic framework and aims at discussing the construction of minority identity through the verbal and non-verbal action presented in the narratives. The questions addressed concern the structure of narratives, their position within conversational sequences, and the linguistic choices made by the participants ([2], [3], [4], [5]).

Muslims of Rhodes are people of Turkish origin who have become Greek citizens after the annexation of the Dodecanese islands in the aftermath of World War II. The community is divided into two sub-groups, one residing in rural and the other in urban settings. Also, a considerable number of Rodian Muslims have moved to Turkey where they live permanently. Data for the present analysis was obtained during ethnographic observations of all three groups, which have been going on for about four years. It comprises of recordings produced during “coffee-time” conversations with and between members of the community, both in Rhodes and Turkey ([1]). The goal of the present study is to discuss narratives produced within life story interviews and unstructured conversations, as far as their structure, their position within conversational sequences, and the linguistic choices made by the participants are concerned. More specifically, we investigate the variability of narrative structures found in the data, with special reference to *minimal narrative* contributions to conversations referring to repeated incidents in the life of the participants. Also, the phenomena examined involve the linguistic construction and positioning of self and other through referring terms, and reported and direct reported speech.

Based on the analysis, it will be shown, a) that the narration of episodes in the life of the informants has an explicative function as, through reference to action -verbal or non verbal- produced by members of both communities, the speaker highlights contradictory identities and attitudes towards aspects of the minority identity, and b) linguistic choice and conversational integration of narrative contributions further contributes to the construction of minority identities through the juxtaposition of reference terms and verbal action.

### **Vasiliki Georgiou**

University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*Debating language in Cyprus: language varieties, language ideologies and identity positions*

This paper is part of a larger project on language ideologies and the politics of language and identity in Cyprus, and takes a special interest in the Cypriot Greek variety and its role in the construction of collective identity. Drawing on work within the traditions of linguistic anthropology (Schieffelin *et al.*, 1998; Kroskrity, 2000; Jaffe, 1999; Blommaert, 1999; Gal & Woolard, 2001) and Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989; Wodak *et al.*, 1999; Reisigl & Wodak, 2000) and on work which attempts to combine them (Meinhof, 2005), this paper discusses the relationship between language varieties, language ideologies and identity positions as this emerges from the analysis of a corpus of newspaper texts produced during a public language debate in Cyprus in the 1990's. I argue that language ideologies act as the mediating link between language varieties and the identity positions that existing discourses on identity in Cyprus offer, and that they make some identity positions more possible than others.

At the same time, language in this paper is conceptualised not only as a *means* through which group identity is constructed, but also as a *topic* in itself; something people talk and argue about, and a *stake*, since definitions of the nature, value and function of a language variety may have consequences for its speakers. Insights and concepts from work on language ideologies are especially relevant here. The focus here then is equally on contents, linguistic resources and the implications of these as to the way speakers position themselves against wider discourses in the public sphere and the identity positions these provide. The key question then is: how do the discourse topics that emerge, and the linguistic resources that are used at the ‘micro’ level of individual texts, relate to ‘macro’ social, political, economic and linguistic processes in Cyprus?

### **Cornelia Gerhardt**

Saarland University, Germany

*More than wallpaper: the television during football live matches*

The television in people's living room has often been assigned a function similar to wallpaper: “unanalysed and unattended background decoration.” (Scollon 1998:151) In the ATTAC-Corpus, however, the participants gathered explicitly for the purpose of watching football, and the television holds a central role in their interaction.



Their talk is mainly “fernsehbegleitend” (Holly et al. 2001), i.e. it accompanies the television text. The paper will delimit verbal as well as para- and extra-verbal strategies which the television viewers at home use to negotiate meaning and identities in this particular setting.

One strategy moulded by the reception situation is to intertwine the talk at home with the football commentary on television. This allows the viewers to participate actively in the media text. Simple back-channelling as signals of consent to the commentators’ opinion can serve this function. However, the participants also construct adjacency pairs together with the commentators by skillfully weaving their talk into the ongoing TV text. A coherent mutual conversation between the broadcasters and their audience is apparently constructed. This practice is based on the conversational style in the primary media text.

Another practice consists of the expression of feelings which mirror the stance of the viewers against the media text. The full array of human expressiveness comes to the fore here with verbal, para-verbal (e.g. increase in volume) and extra-verbal means (facial expressions, gestures, and body movements): the participants jump up and down, clap, shout, distort their faces, or make sounds (including those which are not part of the English phonetic inventory).

Furthermore, strategies like e.g. “conversational lecturing” (Kotthoff 1997) are employed by the participants to display their expertise in the field of football.

Finally, the gaze behaviour of the television viewers is also distinctive since it is affected by their position facing the television, instead of facing their co-interlocutors, as in conversation in general (according to Goodwin 1980.)

The study represents an inquiry into the media reception situation. It describes how a mass medium is appropriated in everyday talk-in-interaction by using methods of interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis. The analyses are based on transcriptions of the conversation of English families or groups of friends watching live football matches on television.

### **Kareen Gervasi**

Department of World Languages and Literatures, California State University, San Bernardino,  
United States of America

*Spanish reported speech and freedom of the press*

Previous research has focused on the functions of direct discourse (DD) and indirect discourse (ID) in reported speech in oral communication (Labov 1972, Polyani 1985, Vincent and Perrin (1999) among others). In Spanish language journalistic discourse, the correlation between DD and ID and the ideological message of the speech has been analyzed by Betancourt and Bolívar (2002).

The use of DD is a strategy which conveys objectivity and disclaims the reporter’s responsibility for the content of what was said, whereas the reporter’s use of ID, paraphrasing the original speech, reflects his/her own interpretation and subjectivity (García de Paredes 1999) and endorses the views of the person whose speech is reported.

In this paper I investigate the use of DD and ID in two Spanish language newspapers: Granma (official newspaper of the ruling Cuban Communist Party) and El Nuevo Herald (a Miami-based newspaper that caters to the Cuban-American community).

The statistical results (SPSS cross tabulations) reveal that both newspapers show a strong tendency to quote individuals who typically have a higher degree of access to the media in their respective societies.

However, I claim that there is a correlation between the type of function of DD and ID in news reports and the ideological perspective of the journalists. The more frequent use of ID in Granma to report opinions reflects the publication’s official endorsement of the Cuban government. In El Nuevo Herald, the higher use of DD may be influenced by the reporters’ freedom to endorse or not endorse the reported opinion. These results suggest a relationship between the extent of press freedom and the journalist’s use of reported speech.

### **Frances Giampapa**

Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol, United Kingdom

*Authenticity, legitimacy and power: Discourses of Italianità and the Politics of Identities*

As sociolinguistic researchers our attention in recent years has focused on the politics of identity in connection to the effects of globalization and the emergence of a new economy (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999; Giddens



1991; Quell 2000). In a globalizing world, the negotiation of identities is no longer geo-spatially bound (see Keith & Pile 1993). As individuals become part of what Hall & du Gay (1996) refer to as this “free migration”, negotiating identities at the micro-level of interaction are fraught with tensions and contradictions, over who defines what it means to be and become Italian Canadian. These are tied to macro-discourses of legitimacy, authenticity, power and the spaces in which *italianità* is performed.

Framed within a post-modern discourse, this paper draws from critical ethnographic research (Giampapa, 2004) that examines the macro and micro discourses of *italianità* (i.e., representations of Italianness. For Italian Canadian youth, what it means to be and become Italian Canadian is tied to the discursive practices of *italianità* that function to include some and exclude others. These discursive struggles intertwine notions of authenticity, legitimacy, power, and the spaces of identities in which *italianità* is debated.

Expanding Giddens’ (1984) notion of the centre and the periphery, I examine how those at the Italian Canadian and Italian centre(s) (e.g., Italian Canadian media representatives, politicians, academics, institutional organizational representatives, Italian government representatives) (re)produce discourses of *italianità* through debates over what counts as valued forms of linguistic and cultural capital, and the ‘legitimate’ spaces in which this takes place.

Those at the periphery (e.g., Italian Canadian youth) are considered, by those controlling the centre(s), as potential linguistic and cultural consumers (see Labrie 1999, 2001). However, Italian Canadian youth at the micro-level of interactions across diverse discursive spaces (i.e., home, university, peer group, workplace) manage, negotiate and resist centre discourses that exclude and discriminate.

Using critical ethnography and critical discourse analysis, I draw on individual and group interviews, specialized-themed interviews with Italian Canadian youth participants. I will also draw from newspaper documentation, specifically a newspaper series that highlights the macro-discourses of *italianità* debated across the Italian Canadian centre(s). This is juxtaposed with other interviews involving, for example, Italian Canadian media representations, and Italian Canadian youth groups.

What this paper shows is how discourses of authenticity, legitimacy, and power play out within and across the Italian Canadian world at the macro-level and micro-level interactions. I show how individuals have many more choices and positions to claim in order to access and control symbolic and material resources. Italian Canadian youth are at the heart of these discursive struggles over being and becoming Italian Canadian and how this is represented, performed and produced within and across the Italian Canadian world.

### **Martin Gill**

Åbo Akademi University, Finland

*Authenticity, language and ideology: what is at stake and why it matters*

A number of recent studies have highlighted the problematic status of authenticity in sociolinguistics (e.g. Bucholtz 2003; Coupland 2001, 2003). Where earlier work, particularly in the variationist tradition, went in search of authentic speakers, speech communities, performances, texts, etc., whose unselfconscious vernacular formed a basis on which to theorize the relation between language and social structure, research from a post-modern perspective has generally rejected the essentialism of this enterprise, and turned instead to the nature of authenticity claims themselves as discursive constructions, and how these emerge within locally relevant practices.

Paradoxically, the social conditions of late modernity have increasingly tended to foreground issues of identity, so that for many language users the need to establish authenticity - categorically, non-negotiably - has become more rather than less urgent. As a result, the term still manages to exert a powerful, if tacit, essentialist influence, one that may be lost sight of in the discourse of minority language rights, self-realization, etc. One of its most striking features is that the boundary it draws between the authentic and its opposite is absolute and can be imposed on contexts where no such boundary existed, to legitimize certain speakers, identities, forms of speech, etc. and exclude others. Much then depends on the individuals, groups or institutions who have authority to draw this boundary, which can become a focal point for conflict in the struggle for legitimacy between mainstream and marginal groups.

This paper will examine the often complex implications of these issues for research in sociolinguistics. Building on the work referred to, it will attempt to show how modernist assumptions about authenticity have helped to shape concepts and approaches still influential in the field, and how these interact with the more recent

emergence of authenticity both as an ideological issue, claimed or contested between communities, and as an object of reflexive awareness among sociolinguists.

### **Ewa Anna Glapka**

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland

*The role of gender stereotypes in language perception - a contrastive analysis*

The paper discusses the ways in which gender stereotypes organize one's linguistic awareness around rigid gender oppositions. The relations between gender stereotyping and common beliefs concerning gender-based differences in the patterns of language use were examined in a contrastive English-Polish study conducted for the purpose of the presentation.

Gender is firmly embedded in the structure and functioning of culture and society. The presence of the category of gender in these two realms is especially evident in the process of gender polarization in which gender similarities are effaced while differences emphasized and exaggerated (Eckert - McConnell-Ginet 2003). Importantly, this polarizing inclination leads to "the organizing of social life around the male-female distinction, the forging of a cultural connection between sex and virtually every other aspect of human experience" (Bem 1993: 192). What seems intriguing from a sociolinguistic point of view, is whether (and how) this dichotomous gender order is reflected in language. In the current presentation, it is maintained that language is indeed profoundly influenced by the common beliefs pertaining to gender. First, these complex interdependencies between language and gender are discussed in reference to disparate theories of the language and gender interplay: social-cognitive approaches and social constructionism. It is demonstrated that the former tend to perpetuate gender stereotypes inherent in language use and perception, whereas in the latter language and gender stereotypes are often ignored. Next, the discussion centers on the ways in which these conceptualizations of language and gender refer to the actual influence of gender stereotypes on language perception examined in the study. In the survey, informants, presented with pieces of authentic language, were asked to identify the sex of the authors and justify their opinions. Next, they read contrived texts unambiguously departing from normative genderlects and evaluated their authors. Finally, they enumerated features which they considered masculine, feminine or gender-neutral. The aim of this investigation was to examine whether there are explicit gender dichotomies in the social and linguistic awareness of the speakers of both languages and whether there are any social implications of gender non-stereotypical linguistic expression. In the analysis of the results of this piece of research, special attention is given to the stereotypical gender binarities in people's linguistic and social awareness. Overlaps in the responses provided by the informants of the two divergent cultures and languages are presented as indicative of the fact that gender polarization is reflected in both global and local patterns of language perception. The paper discusses also some local differences in the respondents' perception of language and in their social interpretation of language cues provided. The elucidation of the social and cultural background of the abovementioned findings is provided. Finally, an alternative theoretical approach to the matter at hand is proposed.

### **Charlotte Gooskens and Sebastian Kürschner**

University of Groningen, The Netherlands

*Swedish-Danish word intelligibility*

At the moment, a large word intelligibility test is being carried out at the University of Groningen via the Internet. The aim is to investigate how well high school children with different mother tongues (Dutch, Frisian, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish) can understand closely related languages (Dutch, Frisian, High German, Low German, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish) in their spoken and written form. Our objective is to investigate the intelligibility of closely related languages in a first-contact situation.

Some of the questions that we would like to answer by means of the investigation are the following:

1. What is the difference between written and spoken word intelligibility?
2. Which role do linguistic distances play for word intelligibility?
3. Which role does word length play for word intelligibility?
4. Which role do 'false friends' play for word intelligibility?
5. How well do the subjects understand cognates compared to non-cognates?

#### 6. How well are loan words (of different origin) understood compared with native words?

In our talk, we will first give a short overview of the aim and the design of the whole investigation. Next we will present the Swedish-Danish part of the investigation. These two languages are so closely related that they are in principle mutually intelligible. However, Swedish-Danish communication is not always unproblematic. In particular, the Swedes have difficulties understanding Danish. A number of previous investigations have been carried out in order to investigate how well Scandinavians understand each other (Maurud 1976, Bø, Börestam, Delsing & Lundin Åkesson 2005). The asymmetric intelligibility has mostly been explained by extra-linguistic factors such as contact and attitude. In our investigation, we will carry out an analysis of the lexical differences between Danish and Swedish in order to gain a greater understanding of which factors contribute to the mutual intelligibility between Swedes and Danes at the lexical level.

#### **Durk Gorter and Marieke Hanenburg**

Fryske Akademy, The Netherlands

*Linguistic Landscape: Language Diversity, Awareness and Attitudes*

As part of a larger study into the economic value of the linguistic landscape (Cenoz & Gorter, to appear), we study language diversity and the awareness and attitudes of tourists and locals in the city of Leeuwarden/Ljouwert, the capital of the bilingual province of Friesland in the north of the Netherlands. In this city Dutch is the predominant written language on the signs in public space. The use of the minority language Frisian and the presence of English and other languages are also taken into consideration. The paper consists of two parts.

First, in the line with previous research (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006), a detailed look is taken at the distribution of the languages that are being used on the signs based on taking digital pictures of all signs in a number of central shopping streets. These pictures are analyzed using an existing coding scheme which was further elaborated. The scheme includes variables such as the type of sign, top-down vs. bottom up signs, amount of information, number of languages, composition and size of languages on bilingual and multilingual signs.

Second, we asked people about their awareness of the linguistic landscape and their opinion about their preferences: which languages should be used in the signs? Standardized questionnaires were used during short street interviews with a sample of locals and a sample of tourists. Primarily we have been considering the attitudes towards the use of different languages (how many and which ones) in signage. The following factors are considered: origin, first language, multilingualism, age and gender.

The results of our study give an ecolinguistic view (Hult, 2003) of the linguistic landscape of the city of Leeuwarden/Ljouwert. In that way an indication of the degree of language diversity is established. Compared to a few years ago, we observe an increase in the number of bilingual and multilingual signs (especially signs with Dutch in combination with English). The results also show a slight decrease in the use of Frisian on the signs.

From the questionnaires it becomes clear that people often are not aware of the linguistic landscape that surrounds them ("no idea"). An additional difficulty for foreign tourists is to distinguish between the different languages Dutch, Frisian or German. Many respondents share the opinion that at least two (Dutch and Frisian) or three languages (Dutch, Frisian and English) should be used in the linguistic landscape. The outcomes of the study have applied value for the development of language policy (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).

#### **Luisa Granato and Alejandro Parini**

Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Argentina and Universidad de Belgrano, Argentina

*Social and local meanings in casual argumentative discourses: a sociopragmatic approach*

This paper presents a critical exploration of how meanings, both local and social, are constructed through the production of casual argumentative discourses. The empirical evidence comes from the analysis of a corpus which consists of twenty four informal conversations among university students, between 20 and 26 years of age. The conversations are analyzed from a sociopragmatic perspective to find out whether meanings and social identities can arise from articulating individual participations in social groupings which may not meet the necessary constitutive requirements of related constructs such as the community of practice, the speech community, social networks and intergroup theory. We argue that interaction in these groupings with no specific pre-established shared aim or even previous knowledge of the participants, constitutes a social practice in which

meaning can be accounted for in terms of both the age and the specific activity of the interactants. The results obtained show that the parameters considered provide an adequate and special setting for the social negotiations of the speakers in which the role of language highlights the dynamism of identity management as individuals position themselves in allegiance with, or opposition to one another, and to various groups that populate their social landscape.

### **Frans Gregersen**

The LANCHART Centre, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

*Bridging the gap - from Macro-macro sociolinguistic analyses to variationist analyses and beyond*

Macro-sociolinguistics is concerned with societies and their various uses of linguistic resources. Variationist sociolinguistics is concerned with speech communities (however defined) characterized through the use of linguistic resources by (socially defined) individuals. The ultimate aim of any sociolinguistic theory must be to integrate the two. This means that macro-perspectives and macro-results must be brought in line with the results of variationist analyses of differences between groups of 'informants'. This has to happen both synchronically and diachronically. A useful strategy may be to start with diachrony. What has to be integrated, then, is history, more specifically, the study of those historical societal processes which may be expected to have linguistic consequences in order to try out hypotheses on their relationships with the patterns revealed by variationist analyses.

In this paper, I attempt to bridge the gap by integrating analyses of historical processes defining the nation state Denmark in parallel and contrast to other Western European societies with the results of an analysis of the use of three phonetic variables by two generations of informants. 44 Copenhagen informants from the generations of 25-40 year olds and 15-24 year olds respectively were recorded in sociolinguistic interviews first in the mid 80ies and then again in 2005-07. This panel study will be supplemented by interviews with 14-16 year olds in 2007.

Copenhagen is first analyzed from the point of view of demography, urbanization, cultural centrality, as a state of mind, and as the centre of linguistic influence. The historical analysis shows that contrary to other Nordic nations Denmark is a monocentric society. Tore Kristiansen's results from the nationwide language attitudes study at the LANCHART centre lend strong support to this view (Kristiansen 2007). This leads to the hypothesis that all changes spread from the centre or are introduced in opposition to the centre, i.e. Copenhagen. Preliminary results from a dialect levelling study by Inge Lise Pedersen and Signe Schøning (Pedersen and Schøning 2007) support this.

One recent historical process which may be supposed to have linguistic consequences, however, sets Denmark apart from a number of European societies: institutionalization of socialization has progressed maximally in Denmark. Already in 1997 89% of the 3-6 year olds were enrolled in some form of day care. What influence does this have on the linguistic development of the new generations and hence on the patterns of variation in Copenhagen? The results of the LANCHART Copenhagen study and the results of a study by Marie Maegaard (2007) will be interpreted from this point of view: Can we e.g. find evidence of more age grading and less evidence of social background influence? And how could regular age grading be a part of the modified Labov model of linguistic change, (Labov 1994, Meyerhoff 2006, G. Sankoff 2005).

### **Anna Gunnarsdotter Grönberg**

Institute for Language and Folklore: Dept of Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research in Gothenburg, Sweden

*Linking lifestyle with language: [R] as a marker*

The project "Dialect levelling in West Sweden" explores linguistic change after 1950 in the vicinity of Gothenburg, the second biggest city in Sweden. In this area there is an interesting situation with even the dialect of Gothenburg having an impact on surrounding dialects, and not only Standard Swedish as in most parts of the country. Eight urban and rural communities are studied, representing various degrees of expansion, migration, access to higher education, attitudes towards Gothenburg etc.

Interviews with teenagers were carried out in 2007. The recordings are compared with archive material from the fifties. At a later stage interviews with 40-50-year olds will be made in order to make comparisons between the youth and their parents' generation. Results displaying linguistic stability or change in different directions (towards Standard, Gothenburg, regionalization or something else), will be discussed in terms of regional/local identity, traditionalism/modernity, urbanity/rurality, networks, and lifestyle.

This paper's main focus is on connections between the variable /r/ and lifestyle. In some West Swedish dialects there is a combinatory distribution of front and back /r/, as opposed to use of either variant in Standard and South Swedish dialects. Uvular /r/ is mainly used word initially and after short vowels: *rar* [Rɑ:r] 'nice', *barr* [baR:] 'pine needle' (Standard: [ra:r], [bar:], South: [Rɑ:R], [baR:]).

Few young West Swedes use [R] today (Lindh 2006, Svahn 2007). There is an ongoing change where [R] may be reallocating from a position as an indicator of local belonging to becoming a marker of certain lifestyle choices. A small minority of our interviewees use [R] frequently and a somewhat larger minority use it sporadically in word initial position. However, when correlating /r/-frequency with social background data (gender, education, parents' occupation, home town) there seems to be no expected or clear pattern. Explanations of connections between /r/ variants and social identity need to be sought for in other ways.

The interviewees filled out a questionnaire on lifestyle and values, concerning clothing, music, leisure, ties to the local community, plans for the future etc. Lifestyles have then been analyzed in a compound way by using questionnaire answers, attitudes expressed in the interviews and facts about the teenagers' home communities. The method is inspired by models which are constructed for marketing analysis by commercial companies, but essentially originate from human geography and Bourdieu's (1984) theories on taste. A similar analysis was made in Grönberg (2004) and within the project we continue developing models for sociolinguistic lifestyle analysis. This paper argues that exploring social identity through different layers of lifestyle on an individual and a societal level, can be a valuable complement to the study of relations between language and society.

### **Connie Haham**

University of Texas at Austin

*Linguistic Complexity within the World of Hindi Cinema*

Hindi cinema or "Bollywood" represents one of the binding forces culturally and linguistically across South Asia and in the Diaspora. It might appear paradoxical then that Hindi is but one of the languages in use in the making of any film. Interviews with various people within the film industry provided insights into issues such as the difficulty of naming languages, the perceived limits to multilingualism, a tolerance for partial understanding and an easy acceptance of codeswitching. Feelings for the traditional Urdu based language of cinema sometimes but not always rested easily alongside enthusiasm for modern varieties such as "Bombaya" or "Hinglish." Exploring language in the context of Hindi cinema brings to the fore broader issues faced by a society in rapid flux. Globalization, history and geopolitics, financial considerations, demographics and education patterns can meet with art in affecting lexical choices in dialogue and lyric writing.

### **Mia Halonen**

Institute for Educational Research, University of Jyväskylä, Finland Research Institute for the Languages of Finland, Finland

*The relationship between background factors and non-native children's proficiency test results in formal Finnish*

In my presentation I will discuss how background factors might explain details of non-native children's proficiency suggested by a proficiency test. I will focus on different types of factors, like the mother tongue, the time lived in Finland, school grades and certain culture-specific phenomena, e.g. a high appreciation of oral language skills in Somali culture. The study is part of a project "The roles of the first and second language to achieve bilingualism in Finnish elementary schools", funded by the Academy of Finland. We are currently investigating the children's proficiency in formal, mainly written Finnish and the relationship between the test results and the background information.

The data of the study consist of language proficiency tests of 61 approximately 12 years old pupils in the 6th grade from 4 Finnish elementary schools. The test used in the study is called Kike, "Kielellisen kehityksen di-



agnosoiva tehtäväsarja”, which could be paraphrased as ‘Series of exercises for diagnosing language proficiency’. It was published in 2005 by the Finnish National Board of Education. It consists of six parts: grammar, vocabulary, comprehension, reading, writing and speaking. The test is accommodated to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, and it contains tests for levels A1, A2 and B1. The guidelines for the National core curriculum for basic education state that non-native Finnish speakers at the 6th grade should be approximately on level A2.

The background of the informants varies much regarding e.g. the country they come from, the mother tongue and the reason for the immigration. The diversity reflects the character of immigrant situation in Finland more generally; the immigrant population in Finland is still small, in 2006 approximately 150 000 (the total population being a little over 5 million). The three biggest groups quantified by mother tongue are Russians (40 000), Estonians (15 000) and Somali speakers (9000). In my data most of the informants are Russian and Somali speaking. They are often second generation immigrants, born in Finland. The rest are speakers of many different languages: Estonian, Kurdish, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, Tagalog, Thai, Vietnamese, Ibo or English. These children were more often born outside of Finland.

As a macro-level analysis, I will first present the quantitative test results of the entire group of the pupils studied. I will then move to the micro-level analysis of the results of individuals and show how the profiles of the pupils differ from each other. The pupils with the same over-all quantitative proficiency level may differ from each other when a specific area of language is looked into. For example, especially some Somali speaking informants showed extremely high proficiency in listening comprehension as compared to the other areas and to the average proficiency of the non-natives. I will discuss phenomena such as this in the light of the knowledge we have of the background of the children.

### **Hans Harmsen and Ludwien Meeuwesen**

Erasmus University, Medical Centre, Rotterdam, The Netherlands and Interdisciplinary Social Science Department, Utrecht University, The Netherlands

#### *Juvenile interpreters in health care: An ethical dilemma*

Although the use of children or teenagers as interpreters is controversial, and broadly regarded as non-ethical, it is daily practice that adult immigrant patients are frequently accompanied by one of their children (Green et al., 2004). From a sociolinguistic point of view it is interesting to investigate how juvenile interpreters present themselves in the medical interview, and which role they prefer. How do they wrestle with the role switch of parents and children? Now, the parents are dependent on their children instead of the other way round. Are the juvenile interpreters mainly facilitating, or do they also succeed in some kind of mediation?

The aim of our study was to gain more insight into the ways children present themselves in the medical interaction. Which role does a juvenile interpreter prefer? Does this role meet with the expectations of the patient and the physician? Are they linguistically prepared to perform the interpreting work adequately?

From a theoretical point of view, the role of interpreter is regarded in an interactional way: it is the result of a three party interaction in a medical institutional context. This medical context prescribes specific competencies necessary for good interpreting, e.g. knowledge of the medical discourse frame, and the ability to anticipate the various phases of the medical interview (Bolden, 2000).

Transcripts and videos of medical interviews in Dutch general practices, of Turkish immigrant adult patients, accompanied by a child as interpreter, were analysed qualitatively, focusing on the different roles interpreters may play. Based on discourse analytic concepts, the roles and identities of the interpreters in the several medical phases (medical history, physical examination, conclusion) were analysed at micro level.

Results show that children/ teenagers mainly stick to the role of ‘facilitator’, and not so much to that of mediator. Although there is as much miscommunication and/or confusion compared with adult informal interpreters, the interaction seems more transparent for the physician. Physicians do recognize the miscommunication better and are able to restore. From this point of view, juvenile interpreters do a better job than adult informal interpreters.

The results will be discussed in terms of the needs for good communication in a bilingual medical context, with an emphasis on the specific interests of the three parties involved.

### **Sander van der Harst, Roeland van Hout and Hans van de Velde**

Utrecht University, The Netherlands

*Regional Variation in Standard Dutch Vowels*

This paper has a threefold aim: (1) describe regional variation within and between Standard Dutch as spoken in The Netherlands (Northern Standard Dutch) and in Belgium (Southern Standard Dutch); (2) interpret these patterns in terms of convergence/divergence and (de)standardization; (3) investigate whether the use of dynamic spectral features of vowels instead of steady state measurements results in a clearer discrimination of regional varieties.

The participants of this study are 160 speakers of standard Dutch, stratified for nationality, region, gender and age. The data are selected from a word list containing more than 300 words. All selected vowel tokens carry primary word stress and are followed by /s/. Duration, the fundamental frequency and - at 7 different points - F1, F2, F3 of the vowels are measured with Praat.

It is expected that vowel variation will be larger in these word list data than in the logatoms used in Adank et al. (2007) and that regional differences become more outspoken. But the acoustic space of the individual speakers is likely to be reduced in this word list in comparison with the more monitored reading task used in Adank et al. (see Van Berghem 1995). This might be a problem for the normalization procedures as proposed by Adank (2004) and could result in a more difficult discrimination between speakers and regions. Therefore, we want to test whether a discrimination of speakers/regions on the basis of formant dynamics is more successful than those on the basis of steady state measurements. McDougall & Nolan (2007) have shown for one vowel that the discrimination of speakers on the basis of formant dynamics can be successful.

### **Aniko Hatoss**

University of Southern Queensland, Australia

*Macro and micro connections in minority language planning: The case of Dinka speakers in Australia*

This paper reports the findings of a sociolinguistic study which examined the language attitudes, acculturation strategies of the Dinka-speaking community in a regional Australian settlement. The paper is positioned in the context of language policy and planning both on the macro (official national) and micro (community-based) levels.

This project is set in a highly unique multilingual setting with sharp differences in the structure, corpus, status, and power features of each language represented. The Sudanese community, mainly from Southern Sudan, represents 4 separate Dinka language groups with 4 separate dialects: Dinka Bhar Al Gazel, Dinka Bor, Neur and Dinka Ngok. The majority of Dinka in Toowoomba are from the Dinka Bor group, but they are highly multilingual and use Arabic, Acholi and Kiswahili as local lingue franca. These 'low-status' codes are in sharp contrast with the 'powerful' host language, English. Given these sharp differences and the complexity of multilinguality, it is crucial to explore whether 'status-seeking behaviour' (Ager, 2001) will shape the future of the less prestigious languages.

The regional Australian context is significant from two main perspectives. Firstly, there is increased policy focus on refugee settlement in regional and rural areas as they offer the 'highest degree of community support' (DIMIA, 2003 p. 27). The government recommends that 'humanitarian entrants settle in regional areas to enhance their prospects of early employment and help meet regional economies' demand for semi-skilled workers' (DIMIA, 2003 p. 27). With this long-term strategic plan, the settlement of refugees in regional areas will be a high research priority from policy perspectives. Secondly, the regional context (as opposed to major urban) is a strong factor in language shift studies. It is well documented in the literature that regional and rural communities have different language maintenance shift patterns due to the demographic characteristics.

The paper, firstly, gives a brief overview of current immigration, language and settlement policies in Australia. Then, the paper reports the survey data collected from 67 Dinka speakers in 8 schools and the main findings of the interview data conducted in 10 households. Attitudes and motivations for the maintenance for the Dinka language will be discussed and contrasted with attitudes to Arabic and Kiswahili as well as the the explicit desires of the community to exit the refugee identity and fit-into the mainstream Australian community. Findings of this study are applicable to other communities and have strong implications for building better links between macro- and micro-level language planning.



### **Wilbert Heeringa and Frans Hinskens**

Meertens Instituut, The Netherlands

*Sound change in Dutch dialects: 1874 versus 1996*

In 1874 Johan Winkler published his *Algemeen Nederduitsch en Friesch dialecticon*, a book in two parts which contains 186 translations of the parable of 'the prodigal son' into Dutch dialects of the Netherlands, northern Belgium and western Germany. In 1996 Harrie Scholtmeijer repeated the work by Winkler. He collected 81 translations of the parable of 'the prodigal son' of dialects in the Netherlands. 74 varieties also occur in the Winkler source. In 2000 Heeringa & Nerbonne used the material of Winkler and Scholtmeijer in order to measure dialect change, and to establish convergence and divergence among dialects (Auer et alii 2005). From the 74 varieties which occur in both the Winkler and the Scholtmeijer source they choose 42 - including Standard Dutch and Standard Frisian - and converted the orthographic transcriptions to - relatively broad - phonetic transcriptions. They measured pronunciation distances among dialects and with respect to the standard language. Pronunciation distances were measured using Levenshtein distance, a string edit distance measure.

The way in which dialect change can affect the verbal repertoires is extensively discussed by Hoppenbrouwers (1990): being influenced by standard Dutch and by each other, dialects often become less differentiated and fuse to larger wholes: 'regiolects'. This may give rise to at least four questions. First, which dialects converge to standard Dutch? This question has already been answered by Heeringa & Nerbonne (2000). Second, which dialects converged to other neighbouring dialects, thus leading to the development of regiolects? We will answer this question and try to explain why particular dialects strongly converge to other dialects, while others do not. Third, does the 1996 data suggest larger dialect areas than the 1874 data? Dialects are classified into different groups so that similar dialects are in the same group. For both the 1874 and the 1996 measurements we will determine the natural number of groups (clusters) by using the 'elbow criterion'. With this statistical technique the number of clusters is chosen so that adding another cluster does not add significant information. Fourth, what are the most frequent sound changes leading to convergence in either direction? We will make an inventory of the most frequent sound changes; insofar as they are vowel changes, we will examine whether they agree with the principles suggested by Labov (1994).

### **Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy**

University of Murcia, Spain

*Overt and Covert Prestige in Late Middle English: A Case Study in East Anglia*

The preservation of some collections of late fifteenth century private correspondence - like the Paston letters, the Cely letters or the Stonor letters - involving writers of different sex, age, social extraction, personal circumstances and geographical location, offers a very useful corpus to carry out quantitative sociolinguistic analysis. The historical and philological interest of these documents is outstanding, not only because they offer data on the political and domestic history of fifteenth century England, but also because they were composed at a crucial period in the development of the English language (during the expansion of the Chancery English variety). In the *Paston Letters*, William Paston II represents the social manifestation of the development of the awareness of a well-established standard with his 'Memorandum on French Grammar' (Letter 82), written between 1450 and 1455. This is an exceptional document that provides us with a description of the English language of the late ME period by a user of that time too and written with non-standard traits, which highlights the cover versus overt prestige motivations in his contradictory sociolinguistic behaviour and social psychology of that late Middle English speech community and society.

### **Susana de los Heros**

University of Rhode Island, United States of America

*Peruvian teachers' ideologies about standard Spanish: preliminary results*

Even though standard Spanish is not clearly defined, it is generally accepted that there is a standard variety of Spanish which can be found in grammars, dictionaries and is spoken only by knowledgeable speakers. People's perceptions, conceptualizations and definitions of what standard Spanish is are part of language ideologies. It

is important to study language ideologies because these can affect language educational policies and teaching practices. For example, due to ideologies teachers may neglect or even marginalize students of perceived non-standard varieties in their classrooms.

Here, I will discuss the preliminary results on teachers' ideologies of standard Spanish, i.e. the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs that educators have about the use and value of standard Spanish and other Spanish varieties spoken in Peru.

The sample consisted of 83 high school and college teachers. The school teachers work in public schools where there is a high concentration of non-native Spanish speakers.

To collect information about language ideologies the researchers used variety of methods. First, subjects were asked to complete the first part of a two-part questionnaire with a total of 12 items (specifically developed for this task). Second, the subjects viewed a documentary about Spanish. Following the film, the subjects were asked to complete part two of the questionnaire. Finally, the subjects discussed the use and value of different varieties of Spanish in society in focus groups.

The main purpose of the questionnaire was to determine what people's perceptions about standard Spanish and regional varieties was (i.e. if they think standard Spanish exists, and if so, to define it and determine who uses it). Then, they watched the documentary *Los Castellanos del Perú* 'Spanish varieties in Peru' which promotes language awareness on multiculturalism and language variation and diversity. Then, the second set of questions was administered in order to see whether their reactions towards regional varieties changed after viewing the film. The intent was to determine if teachers' views would become more tolerant of language variation after viewing the film. Finally, teachers were asked to discuss these topics in focus groups in a less open ended way.

To better frame the discussion, I will review language ideologies as related to education (Siegel 2006) and also the debate about standard Spanish in particular (del Valle and Steeman 2004). I will then present a preliminary view on teachers' ideologies about standard Spanish. These results show that many teachers are not sure of what standard Spanish is, but still believe it exists. Also shows teachers believe students should learn standard Spanish because they think dialects of Spanish do not promote communication.

### **Amanda Mary Hilmarsson-Dunn**

University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*The impact of English on language education policy in Iceland*

Iceland is a small country of 300,000 inhabitants. Its language, Icelandic, has a long and stable history and has changed little in 1000 years. Iceland's policies for its language are underpinned by a protectionist and purist ideology which aims to maintain Icelandic as it has been for a thousand years, and also to modernise Icelandic in order that it functions in the modern world. Because of its isolation, Icelanders have always recognised the need to learn foreign languages. Up until 1999 the first compulsory foreign language taught in schools was Danish, as Iceland was part of Denmark for five hundred years and shares a common Nordic culture and values. However, globalisation has brought with it the spread of English. Daily contact with English, through, for example, television, pop music and the internet, means that many children have obtained considerable knowledge of the language before they start learning it formally at school. Other foreign languages lack this out-of-school support and hence the decision was taken to replace Danish with English as the first foreign language (Gunnlaugsdóttir, 2005). Danish is still a compulsory subject but most pupils have no desire to learn it, as they perceive there is no benefit for them, although the policy makers consider it important as a language of communication with the other Nordic countries.

In higher education, policy is to teach through Icelandic. However, mobility has been promoted by the Bologna process, the Erasmus programme in particular, which has encouraged an increasing number of exchange students to Iceland each year. While policy dictates the use of Icelandic, in practice there is great flexibility: for example, students may write their exams in English, individual lecturers may teach through English. However, any change in the policy would be met with great resistance by Icelanders. Attitudes are that English is a valuable language that is necessary to acquire, but that it is also necessary to keep Icelandic intact and fully functioning in this domain. However, global trends and the situation in the other Nordic countries suggest that Iceland is likely to wish to benefit from the market for students worldwide and offer more courses taught through English. The education domain may then shift to English.

Drawing on research carried out with policy makers and students in Iceland, this paper seeks to investigate whether Iceland's policies for education can be maintained in practice.

**Nanna Haug Hilton**

University of York, United Kingdom

*The Variation and Social Meaning of Stress Assignment in Hønefoss Norwegian*

In East Norwegian dialects there are two ways of assigning stress to loan words of non-Germanic origin. A loan word has stress as an idiosyncratic property of the lexicon, and stress can thus be assigned on the same syllable as in the language from which it was borrowed. Alternatively, a loan word can be subject to the *Initial Primary Stress Rule* (IPSR) (Kristoffersen 2000), a rule which moves stress from the 'borrowed' position to the initial.

While the geographical extent of the two forms of stress assignment has been studied carefully, the relationship between other external constraints and the variable has not been examined to the same degree. Studies have shown that the IPSR is hardly ever used by speakers of the Oslo dialect (Jahnsen 2001) and that stressing loan words on the initial syllable is seen as an unattractive feature by informants in major urban centres in East Norway (Kristiansen 1995; Røyneland 2005). Røyneland (2005) suggests that stress assignment conveys social meaning, and calls for more research from different areas of East Norway.

The current study is a rare one to focus on supra-segmental variation but unique to investigate in depth the variation found in stress assignment to loan words in Norwegian. The data used for the investigation was collected from 43 speakers native to the town of Hønefoss, an urban centre in close geographical proximity to Oslo in South East Norway. South East Norway is an area currently experiencing regional dialect levelling (Skjekkeland 2005) which means that speakers of the Hønefoss dialect have a choice to stick with their traditional local dialect, where the IPSR has been the main way of assigning stress to loan words, or to abandon such stigmatised features in order to level their language with the regional dialect. My results indicate which members of the community are the driving force behind the change to the 'borrowed' way of assigning stress and which are the members sticking to the traditional form of stressing loan words on the initial syllable. It is found that the degree of change is tied to a subject's relative status in society and that the social meaning of stress assignment in Hønefoss Norwegian is strongly linked to education and occupational status.

**Jim Hlavac**

Monash University, Australia

*Use of Croatian across domains: language maintenance and shift amongst Croatian-speakers in Australia*

This paper firstly gives a brief statistical overview of the number of Croatian-speakers in Australia in relation to other ethnic or community languages and concentrates on aspects of language use amongst second-generation Croatian-Australians. Second-generation members are generally English-dominant in terms of proficiency. Croatian is the unmarked choice with informants' parents and with others members of the first generation. Language maintenance or shift factors are framed within an examination of language use within Fishman's (1965) sociolinguistic domains: home/family; personal/intimate; leisure/social life/religion; media; workplace/shopping/neighbourhood; education; spouse/partner; (future) children and a value cluster of overt language attitudes.

Use of Croatian is generation-specific to members of the first generation, currently the home/family domain for most informants. However, the language variety Croatian and English is used in a number of situations such as leisure, religious activities and sometimes even the workplace. Employing a framework which also examines informants' social networks (cf. Gibbons and Ramirez, 2004) a language variety within the leisure/social life/religion domain characterised by frequent and unmarked code-switching is discernable (cf. Hlavac, 2003).

Further, Croatian and English are frequently used in the personal and media domains. Few informants have children and therefore projections about language use with the succeeding, 'third' generation remain hypothetical. An existing Croatian schooling system and informants' positive attitudes to language maintenance appear promising as a basis for transmission to the next generation. However, examining the position of Croatian in Melbourne according to Fishman's (1991) stages of Reversing Language Shift (RLS) shows that an intergenerationally and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood domain does not exist as a stable basis for mother tongue transmission.

### **Pamela Hobbs**

University of California, Los Angeles, United States of America

*Judging by what you're saying: Judges' questioning of lawyers as interactive interpretation*

Much of the study of courtroom questioning in the fields of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis has focused upon lawyers' questioning of witnesses on direct and cross-examination at trial. These studies have examined the discursive strategies by which lawyers shape these exchanges in order to control the evidence and impressions that are produced. However, another form of courtroom questioning - the questioning of lawyers by judges - has seldom been explored. Yet judges' questioning of lawyers is both ubiquitous and consequential in courtroom settings, for through this questioning judges seek lawyers' input, not only in the framing of the issues and the furnishing of authority (activities which are formally acknowledged to be the province of the lawyer and not the court), but also in their formulations of the interpretations by which they apply the law to the specific facts and issues that are before them. This chapter describes four questioning strategies that judges use to engage lawyers in interactive interpretation of the issues presented: taking candidate positions on the facts or law; displaying confidence or doubt in their own interpretations; posing 'exam' questions that engage lawyers in Socratic dialogue; and using humor or displays of virtuosity to challenge lawyers' interpretations. Through the analysis of examples of judges' questioning of lawyers in trial and appellate courts, I demonstrate how judges use these strategies to both clarify and challenge lawyers' positions, and to resolve questions relating to those positions prior to making their rulings.

### **Michol Hoffman**

York University, Canada

*Ethnic Identity and Linguistic Variation in a Multicultural Context: English in Toronto*

The interaction of language and ethnic identity has long preoccupied the study of language variation and change (Labov 1963), but such studies have tended to define ethnicity using 'external' characteristics, such as race, religion or lineal descent. Given the inherently internal or subjective nature of ethnic identity, such definitions may be unrevealing of social organization and linguistic practice. This paper draws on ongoing research on Toronto English to address the study of ethnic identity in sociolinguistic research.

Toronto features a high degree of contact among speakers of various minority languages in an English-dominant context. However, ethnic groups tend to settle in different neighborhoods ('ethnic enclaves') in which it is possible to function almost entirely in the minority language. Such enclaves have been argued to promote "ethnolects" (Carlock & Wölck 1981) that may eventually alter the nature of Canadian English. In the first phase of a large-scale systematic attempt to address the effects of language contact in Toronto, we interviewed 80 residents of Toronto of Italian, Chinese and British descent, stratified according to generation and enclave status, coupling sociolinguistic interviews with responses to an ethnic orientation (EO) questionnaire adapted from social psychology (Keefe & Padilla 1987).

Our analysis reveals stark contrasts between and within ethnic groups. While Chinese speakers have higher EO scores across all generations, Italians have a greater range of scores. These differences are reflected in the analysis of two linguistic variables ((t/d)-deletion, the Canadian Vowel Shift), in which Chinese speakers pattern least like the British control group and second-generation enclave Italians mark their orientation toward their ethnic-enclave status via elevated use of one component of the vowel shift. Our results offer evidence for linguistic transfer in the first generation, but differences between generations suggest that such transfer does not persist. The results for the vowel shift suggest that some speakers make use of ongoing linguistic changes to express their ethnic identity. We explain differences between the communities by their different patterns of settlement: Italian immigration began in earnest after the Second World War, while large-scale Chinese immigration is more recent. Thus, it appears that speakers in the more established ethnic community (Italian) have a greater range of ethnic orientations, and this range is reflected in their linguistic behavior.

Unfolding in a multi-ethnic urban context, this study and its results not only increase our understanding of the development of (Canadian) English, but also allow us to better understand the context in which ethnic identities develop. Furthermore, we suggest that combining different approaches to sociolinguistics provides us with a better means of examining the ways in which linguistic practice not only reflects but also contributes to social organization.

**Michael Hornsby**

Southampton University, United Kingdom

*The thwarting of the linguistic subordination norm: Whom does it serve?*

The principle of linguistic subordination, in which language varieties associated with socially subordinate groups are viewed as linguistic deficits rather than neutral linguistic differences (Lippi-Green 1997), gives rise to the so called 'linguistic subordination norm'. In many situations of linguistic minoritisation, the speaker of the minority language is required to switch to the majority language when conversing with, or speaking in front of, a speaker of the majority language. Such behaviour finds its basis in ideologies of national identity, linguistic standardization and the legitimacy of monolingualism.

In some situations, however, this subordination norm is thwarted by militant members of the linguistic minority in question and new rules of interaction have to be negotiated as a result. Such behaviour, I would argue, is concerned less with the claiming back of the minority's linguistic rights but more with the direct mirroring of the language ideologies of the majority community. As a consequence, most minority language rights movements are framed by hegemonic nationalist constructions that inhibit alternative, more permissive visions. Such behaviour is exemplified in one situation of linguistic minoritisation, that of Breton, where some revivalist (or 'neo') speakers insist on and militate for an idealised form of Breton monolingualism in their daily lives, to compensate for the overwhelmingly Francophone environment they inhabit. In this paper, such linguistic behaviour is documented, critically analysed and contrasted with alternative behaviour by other *néo-bretonnants* who, like Franco-Ontarians, 'act out their bilingual experience of life, their bilingual identities and the value they place on bilingualism by performing bilingualism' (Heller, 1999: 139). Material is drawn not only from the literature (e.g. Morvan, 2002) but also from fieldwork I undertook in Brittany among adult learners of Breton over the past few years.

**Fleur van der Houwen**

Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

*Co-narrating in informal dispute resolution*

This study examines the co-narration of litigants' stories by both a litigant and the judge in televised informal dispute resolution. In informal dispute resolution lay people may represent themselves and tell their version of events in their own words. Judges, unaided by lawyers representing the litigants, must themselves extract the relevant matter from the stories litigants tell. These stories may not always be oriented to what a legal professional needs to know in order to make a judgment. While judges are interested in the 'rule-oriented' aspects of a case, such as contracts or pictures, litigants tend to focus on 'relational' aspects of a case, such as personal relations between the opposing parties (Conley and O'Barr 1990). Because, generally, these informal disputes must be decided in at most 15 minutes, some judges may take an active role in the elicitation of a litigant's story and involve themselves with its construction (NCSC 1978). This active role may take various forms and can be examined at the micro level, such as 'gatekeeping' or reformulating parts of a litigant's story (van der Houwen, 2005). A special form of reformulating a litigant's version of event is formulating part of the story for them. It is this particular interactional move that this paper analyzes.

The data used for this study come from transcripts of 40 cases that have been decided on American televised small claims courts. These televised courts have active judges and aim to entertain an audience. Yet, 40.5 percent of respondents to a survey carried out by The National Center for State Courts (1999), indicated that they rely 'sometimes' or 'regularly' on televised small claims courts for information about the U.S. legal system. This suggests the shows may serve an educational function as well and possibly mold lay views of the judicial system.

While the interactions are locally produced, they are 'consumed' by a large overhearing audience of television viewers. Through the micro level activities performed by litigants and judge, macro level activities of informal dispute resolution as well as societal norms and values are being enacted as well as reshaped. It is precisely in the interaction between the judge and litigants in 'co-narrating' what happened that we may see what institutional as well as societal values are being confirmed or challenged.



### Chia-Ling Hsieh

National Taipei University of Technology, Taiwan

*A Sociopragmatic Analysis on Chinese Internet Request*

Computer-mediated communication (CMC) has gained importance as a vehicle for human interaction since the advance of network technology. (Herring, 1996; Flanagin, 2001; Barnes, 2003). To date the major interest of research on CMC language has been in the characteristics of online exchange as compared with other communication media (e.g., Barry, 1993; Ludlow, 1996; Baron, 1998; Gruber, 2000; Kong, 2001; Park et al., 2005). However, little attention has been paid to the requestive behavior frequently observed in CMC discourse. From a sociopragmatic perspective, this study aims to explore the effect of situational factors on the performance of request via public and asynchronous Internet interface. The data were taken from requests for information made on three text-based Chinese websites: *Yahoo Knowledge Discussion Group*, *Amarylliss Travel & Living Blog*, and *Soil & Water Conservation Bureau Message Board*. Data obtained indicate requests via World Wide Web as typically concise, addressee-oriented, and pragmatically efficient. Statistical comparisons also show that requestive operations vary by interlocutor power and specificity. Requests to addressees of dominant status or definite identity display heavier use of politeness strategies. This can be attested in the selection of address terms (deference 'you'), opening moves ('excuse me'), head acts ('please tell me'), optionally elaborated supportive moves such as gratitude ('many thanks'), compliments ('your blog is impressive'), and altruistic expressions ('it is alright if you can't'), sequential organizations, minimal utterance length, and paralinguistic features such as emoticons ('@@' to denote vexation). However, requests in reverse situations also exhibit significantly higher level of politeness demonstrated by more occurrence of various lexical and syntactic upgraders and downgraders such as attention getters ('HELP!'), modal devices ('can', 'possibly'), duplications ('Urgent! Urgent!'), and self-degrading markers ('I am a beginner'), as well as fewer impolite interrogations ('What on earth can I do?') and informal texting languages that are universal ('Orz') or Chinese-specific ('3Q'). The unexpected occurring frequencies of politeness strategies can be attributed to requesters' endeavor to seek help in the dynamic Internet world. The common politeness principles as confirmed in previous literature on face-to-face request (e.g. Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Trosborg, 1995; Hong, 1998; Fukushima, 2000) appear to be overridden by a number of contextual considerations, particularly the awareness of requestee's lack of obligation to comply and the psychological effect of participant mutual anonymity that are often understood as privacy and security. Requesters thus give priority to the conversational principle of clarity and infringe that of quantity and quality to solicit potential requestees to opt 'in'. The results suggest that interactional strategies of online request operate by pragmatic regularities that carry social implications. The findings also indicate effects of the medium itself and participant variables on politeness realization and interpersonal communication. The conclusions also support the view that Internet constitutes a unique interactive medium that should be studied in its own right as a social phenomenon.

### Hui-ju Hsu

Chung Yuan Christian University, Taiwan

*The One-step Tonal-range Leveling of Mandarin among Waishengren in Taiwan*

Hsu (2006) investigated the leveling of Taiwan Mandarin between *Waishengren* and *Holo*<sup>1</sup> in two generations - those born between 1951-1960 and between 1981-1990. The former is the second contact generation (henceforth "second generation") and the latter the third (henceforth "third generation"). The results showed that the leveling started in the second generation. Among the four examined variables, tonal range was the only one that was not leveled until the third generation.

However, the *Waishengren* in Hsu's study only included those from Mandarin areas, both standard and non-standard (Figure 1). The current study aims to investigate the speech of second generation non-Mandarin speaking *Waishengren* (hereafter "non-Mandarin *Waishengren*") to explore whether a leveled *Waishengren* Mandarin had ever formed in Taiwan before the Mandarin *Waishengren* - *Holo* leveling (Figure 2).

36 second generation *Waishengren* (Mandarin and non-Mandarin), including those from *Waishengren* - *Holo* intermarriage families, were recruited. The informants were subcategorized into 5 subgroups by their parents' ethnicities (Table 1); their tonal ranges were examined. Tonal system is one salient distinguishing feature between Mandarin and non-Mandarin Chinese dialects. The former usually have four tones while the latter six to eight. Furthermore, in Hsu (2006), tonal range was the only unlevelled variable in the second generation.

Each informant read 83 sentences in Mandarin, each consisting of eight or nine syllables with at least one tone4 (T4) syllable at either the initial or middle position, with 101 T4 syllables in total. Tonal ranges of these syllables were measured. It was assumed that T4, the high-falling tone in Mandarin, covers the majority, if not complete, of one's tonal range; the highest pitch point is realized at onset and the lowest at offset (Figure 3). Lin (1989) also showed that T4 covered the full pitch range of a Mandarin speaker.

A one-way ANOVA on tonal range revealed no significant differences among the five Waishengren subgroups, ( $F(4, 3198) = 2.107, p > .05$ ). The tonal heterogeneity of the first generation Waishengren's native languages did not seem to pass on to their children's tonal range realization.

Three factors are proposed to interpret this one-step Waishengren tonal range leveling: (1) Mandarin being manipulated as an identifier of Chinese, the identity the demographically minor but politically predominant Waishengren intended to impose on non-Waishengren Taiwanese people; (2) the long-term Mandarin-only policy, which established standard Mandarin as a target for children to model after; (3) the veteran villages, or *Juan4cun1*, the self-contained residential areas exclusively for the families of Waishengren veterans.

#### Endnote

<sup>1</sup> "Waishengren" refers to the Chinese immigrants to Taiwan after World War II, mainly between 1945 and 1949, and their descendants. Holo (also known as Southern Min, Hoklo) refers to the descendants of the Chinese immigrants in the 17th century from Fujian Province in China. Holo, natively speaking Holo language, is demographically predominant, while Waishengren is politically predominant in Taiwan. Mandarin, due to political factors, has been considered the language of Waishengren, though merely a small number of them are native speakers of standard Mandarin.

#### Erica Huls and Jasper Varwijk

University of Tilburg, The Netherlands

*Interviewers' Use of Verbal Means of Power in News Interviews with Politicians Differing in Political Orientation*

News interviews have become one of the most important ways for politicians to present themselves and their ideology in public. With the capacity to reach and potentially influence mass audiences, the news interview has surpassed other more traditional means of political communication (Elliott and Bull, 1996). However, it differs from traditional political platforms, in which politicians are in total control of content and process. In their institutional role as talk managers, interviewers ask the questions, select who speaks and decide when a question is answered sufficiently. Furthermore, many studies show that interviewers have become increasingly aggressive and adversarial in their behavior towards political interviewees (a.o., Clayman and Heritage, 2002). This raises questions about the influence interviewers have on how politicians are presented.

Neutrality is considered to be an important condition for accomplishing good journalism (Schudson, 1978). The necessity for objectivity is laid down in professional rules of conduct. Nevertheless, there are signs that there is an increasing lack of neutrality in Dutch journalism. Politicians and supporters of small right-wing parties in particular complain about the so-called 'left-wing bias' of the media. Journalists are suspected to use the power they have as manager of the conversation and approach left-wing politicians more positively than their right-wing colleagues. On the other hand, most left-wing politicians, politicians of the large right-wing parties, and journalists themselves deny this. The aim of this study is to contribute empirically to this discussion by means of a comparative analysis of interviewers' approaches in news interviews with right-wing politicians and left-wing politicians, focusing on the use of linguistic means of power wielding.

The analysis builds on the five measures of aggressiveness in questioning (initiative, directness, assertiveness, adversarialness, accountability) proposed by Clayman and Heritage (2007), adding persistence as a sixth measure. All six measures are operationalized in features of turn-design. The data consists of 12 50-minute clips from Dutch late night talkshow Pauw & Witteman: 4 clips featuring a left-wing politician, 4 featuring a right-wing politician, and 4 featuring politicians in the political centre. Results focus on differences in the aggressiveness of the interviewers and possible explanatory conditions for the found differences.



### Matthias Hüning and Ulrike Vogl

Freie Universitaet Berlin, Inst. f. Deutsche & Niederlaendische Philologie, Germany

*Why Dutch? How to account for changes in language use over time*

One attempt to explain internal language change is Keller's invisible-hand theory of language change. Keller (1994) argues that changes in the structure of a certain language are the non-intended causal consequence of the sum of intentional actions of different members of its speech community. In Middle Dutch for example, the second person pronoun *du* was gradually replaced by the pronoun *gij* and at a later stage by *jij*. According to Keller's theory, none of the speakers of Middle Dutch intended to replace *du* by *gij* or *jij*. Instead they sought to be polite or to gain prestige by selecting one of them. The sum of these choices ultimately brought about the loss of *du*.

When describing the *external* history of a language or the linguistic history of a certain region we also seek to discover why changes occurred. For example, to explain the development of today's standard languages in the Low Countries we would, according to Keller's theory, need to identify the actors who played an important role in the selection process and to investigate their motives to choose a certain language variety over another. A printer from the sixteenth-century Low Countries might have chosen a certain language variety for its intelligibility whereas an immigrant from the Southern Netherlands settling in Amsterdam might have retained his own language variety in order to preserve his identity. An inhabitant of sixteenth-century Friesland, on the other hand, possibly tried to speak a Dutch dialect instead of Frisian in order to gain prestige. The sum of these (and other) motives has finally, under specific conditions (for example the leading economic position of the county of Holland), led up to the present linguistic situation (cf. Van der Sijs, 2004 & Burke, 2004).

In our presentation we will further explore the suitability of Keller's approach to explain external language change by applying it to examples of changes in language use in the history of the Low Countries. We aim to demonstrate that Keller's theory lends itself to capturing the interplay between society and its ever-changing linguistic repertoires. Our paper is part of a research project within the framework of DYLAN, a EU funded integrated project ([www.dylan-project.org](http://www.dylan-project.org)). One objective of our research is to identify (a set of) factors which proved to be most relevant in the process of language selection in different European contexts through history.

### Noraini Ibrahim

School of Languages and Linguistics, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

*Language(s) in the Malaysian Judicial Process: Tempering Justice with Mercy*

When Malaya achieved independence in 1957, a bilingual language policy was designed to achieve nationalism and nationism (Asmah Omar 1992). Clause 1 and 2 of Article 152 of the Federal Constitution, otherwise known as the Language Act, deem that *Bahasa Malaysia* is the national language, and English is an official language up to 10 years. When Malaysia was formed in 1963, there was the continued use of English in courts for various practical reasons, foremost of which was the nature of the multi-racial society. In 1980, Bahasa Malaysia was fully implemented in the legal service and the judiciary. Against this backdrop it is thus expected that legal and courtroom discourse is in Bahasa Malaysia. This paper, which is based on a prolonged *in-situ* ethnographic investigation carried out in a Kuala Lumpur criminal court, would firstly, present findings on the use of language and secondly, offer suggestions as to the continued use of languages other than *Bahasa Malaysia* in the Malaysian courtroom. But the issue that remains is, will the current practice hamper our nation's effort to mould a *Bangsa Malaysia*?

### Taru Hannele Ijäs

Dept. Sociology and Social Psychology and Institute for Social Research, both University of Tampere, Finland

*Doctors' orientation to patients' problem presentation in primary care -*

*Implications to overall structure of medical consultation*

This presentation focuses on the interactional consequences of the ways in which patients formulate their initial problem presentations in the medical consultation. It will be examined how doctors orientate to patients' and parents' problem presentations and how such orientation shapes the conduct and the overall structure of medical encounters.

We will present preliminary results of an analysis in which we have compared different types of patients' problem presentations to each other. We will show how doctors, through their practices of talk-in-interaction, both acknowledge the agenda that the patients set in their problem presentation and use the conventional, overall structure of medical consultation as their interactional resource in doing so. The results of the study contribute to the discussion on patient participation and doctor- vs. patient-centredness as actual, clinical practices and interactional phenomena: the analysis shows how social organization of medical consultation is achieved and constructed as a result of both context-shaped and context-renewing practices of interaction and suggests that the institutional relationship between a doctor and a patient is primarily reflexive in its character.

The analysis is a part of Ijäs' doctoral dissertation "Negotiation on treatment decision in primary care". The data consist of 90 primary care acute visits with adult and child patients suffering from upper respiratory tract infections and is collected from 11 physicians in municipal health care in Finland in the years 2005-6. The method of the study is conversation analysis.

### Leen Impe

University of Leuven, Belgium

*Mutual intelligibility of Dutch language varieties: linguistic and extra-linguistic determinants*

Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch are very closely related languages from a diachronic as well as a synchronic point of view, which implicates that these language varieties are to a great extent mutually comprehensible. Nevertheless, as is illustrated by the subtitling of several TV programmes, certain differences exist between the Dutch language varieties in both countries. Additionally, the same holds for the different regiolects *within* (especially) Flanders and the Netherlands (Van Bezooijen, R. & R. van den Berg 1999).

Recently, much descriptive work has been done on these existing linguistic distances, as well as on the role of some extra-linguistic factors which can predict the success of mutual communication (Gooskens 2006). However, for the Dutch situation previous research has exclusively examined this topic by means of subjective introspection by informants; no research exists that carries out statistically supported measurements to investigate intelligibility. Therefore, this study is innovative in the field: it measures every (extra)linguistic factor by a specifically developed method.

In this project, the linguistic variance of the Low Countries is well represented. Although it does not focus on dialects (as was always the case in previous studies), it includes a Netherlandic and Belgian realisation of standard language as well as four more peripheral, colloquial varieties from both countries. All of these varieties are evaluated by secondary school students through a computer-controlled spoken lexical decision task. The informants heard 'real' as well as 'pseudo'-words in various Dutch varieties, after which they had to decide as quickly as possible whether the presented words were existing Dutch words or not. The faster their reaction, the better the intelligibility.

We selected the words via a Stable Lexical Marker analysis on three corpora (blogs - footballfora - CGN). This analysis highlighted the typical lexical items of each (sub)corpus. We selected *binational* words (which only differ phonetically between the different varieties), *national* words (which are typically Flemish or Dutch) and regional words (which are lexically specific for a certain region).

Furthermore, this experiment will shed light on the precise correlation and impact of the parameters *linguistic distance*, *language attitudes* and *familiarity* on mutual intelligibility. Phonetic distance will be measured by the Levenshtein distance (Kessler 1995), which is an algorithm that expresses phonetic similarity in one number. Lexical distance will be measured by profile-based uniformity (Geeraerts, Grondelaers & Speelman 1999), which compares the words that speakers of different language varieties use for a wide range of concepts. Finally, language attitudes will be measured by attitudinal scales and familiarity by questionnaires.

### Jermay Jamsu

Georgetown University, United States of America

*Identity in Transition: Language Attitudes Among Amdo Tibetans*

The "othering" of minority groups in China has played a pivotal role in the construction of the Han Chinese majority and the ongoing formulation of the Chinese 'nation' itself (Gladney, 1994). As China reimagines itself

as a unified multiethnic nation, it reconfigures the identities of ethnic minorities in part by reconfiguring their language ideologies (Hillman and Henfry, 2006). One example of this reconfiguration is the hierarchical arrangement of varieties of Tibetan in Chinese state discourse - Lhasa as the most prestigious and dominant variety (Dwyer, 1998). With a combination of both qualitative and quantitative approaches, this study investigates Amdo Tibetan speakers' ideologies about linguistic diversity and its relationship to ethnic Tibetan identity in China. I examine how minorities in China (Amdo Tibetans) claim their own linguistic and ethnic identities in relation to other Tibetan groups (Kham and Lhasa Tibetans) while discrediting the identity configured by the Han Chinese state.

Initial data were collected by means of a web-based survey containing 50 questions divided into attitude and comprehension sections. The attitude section contained 38 questions exploring participants' ideological positions on Tibetan language varieties and their relationship to the experience of being Tibetan. It also included questions asking participants to rate varieties of Tibetan (Amdo, Kham, and Lhasa, corresponding to the three main provinces of Tibet) using a number of positive and negative adjectives such as "beautiful, authentic, ugly" (Martinez, 2003; Sachdev and Hanlon, 2001). Additionally, one important and unresolved issue in Tibetan scholarship is whether these varieties are mutually intelligible. Accordingly, a comprehension section including three short news clips in each variety was designed, with the accuracy of respondents' answers to comprehension questions taken as a measure of intelligibility. 18 Amdo listeners participated in the initial phase of data collection; additional data from 60 participants were collected over the summer and are now being analyzed.

Preliminary results show that on average Amdo participants understand the Kham news clip with only 65% accuracy, and the Lhasa clip with only 71% accuracy, compared to 92% for the Amdo clip. Their self-reported intelligibility level of the Kham and Lhasa varieties was even lower, at 55%. Despite this low level of intelligibility, however, the great majority of respondents believe that all varieties of Tibetan are equally important (27%) and authentic. Though the participants indicate their awareness about the historical significance of the Lhasa variety, an overwhelming majority (17 out of 18) do not perceive these Tibetan varieties to be hierarchically ordered. The varieties are more egalitarian. For these participants, part of being Tibetan is being able to speak any variety of Tibetan. Amdo Tibetans are becoming more conscious of their ethnic identity, and by identifying with all Tibetans in spite of linguistic differences, they are contesting state discourse about minorities. I argue that this new emerging Tibetan identity represents the transition of Tibetan people from a nationality to an ethnicity in a rapidly changing economic and socio-political landscape. This study thus has implications regarding the extent to which the state discourse and policy affect the identity of minority populations.

### **Mathilde Jansen**

Meertens Instituut, The Netherlands

*Dialect levelling on the island of Ameland*

When dialects are levelling they converge to neighbour varieties in the first place, which is also the case for the two dialect varieties spoken on the island of Ameland. Although the islanders are very much aware of the geographically determined differences within their dialect, most of the distinctive features have disappeared among the youngest generations. However, hardly no convergence takes place between the Ameland dialect and Frisian mainland dialects, which is mainly caused by the geographical boundaries. Another characteristic of dialect levelling is the change in the direction of a dominant language, mostly the standard language. The influence of the surrounding standard languages is very strong on the island thanks to education, the mass media etcetera. A central question in this PhD study is whether the Ameland dialect changes towards the Frisian or Dutch standard. The results show us that the Dutch language is the most influential one in the case of the Ameland dialect, especially in the speech of young female speakers. Male speakers on the other hand prefer more local variants and develop even stronger dialectal features for which the old western male speakers, who can be considered as the NORM (non-mobile; old; rural and male) speakers, serve as a reference group. All these different behaviours will be explained in terms of the speakers' identity and speakers' attitudes towards surrounding languages.

**Rudi Janssens**

Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

*Bilingual and multilingual families in an urban setting: transitional or irreversible*

This presentation focuses on language use within families. Although Brussels is considered as a bilingual city with two language communities, there have always been bilingual families speaking both languages as well. Apart from the traditional language groups, global migration has brought people with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds into Brussels adapting to the local language or languages. In a multilingual urban environment with a young population, relationships with partners with a different linguistic background are a common fact. The mixture of traditional and new bilingual/multilingual families makes Brussels an interesting linguistic laboratory. First of all this study tries to discern the different types of bilingual or multilingual families: what is the background of partners forming traditional Dutch/French bilingual families, how do immigrant languages survive in this new environment, when partners have a different linguistic background when do they prefer to speak both languages and when do they use only one, are there differences according to the languages spoken by the partners or do other factors influence their linguistic choices... Secondly we will describe the different moments of transition where families make decisions about the languages they speak: is it a matter of time, what role do children play, ... Finally we will describe the way different home languages are passed on to the next generation. The data used in this paper originate from two language surveys held in 2000 and in 2006, so that apart from the description also the evolution of these types of families over time can be studied. Does the current evolution lead to bilingual/multilingual families as the dominant family type in urban areas or is this bilingualism/multilingualism an intermediate position in an evolution towards the use of the lingua franca as the single home language of the next generation.

**Johanna Mikaela Jansson**

Åbo Akademi University, Finland

*Investigating language practices in an Old Order Amish community*

Research among the Old Order Amish (OOA) gives us valuable opportunities to investigate the interplay between language and society. The language practices of the OOA serve to mark their identity, and shape the Old Order community and culture.

This paper will report on an on-going research project into language maintenance and shift among the OOA. Drawing on data gathered by means of participant observation, interviews and language journals during extended periods of residence in an Old Order community in Michigan, it will explore the language practices of this most traditional group of Amish. It will examine how the OOA use their three languages - Pennsylvania Deitsch (PD), English and High German - in different domains, such as the home and community, the school, and religious settings. PD is the language of the home and community; English is the written language, and the language used in school and for communication with outsiders; High German is the religious language. This paper will also discuss approaches to the methodological difficulties that confront researchers attempting such work in a highly closed community of this kind.

My research suggests that the social organization of the OOA is shaped by their language practices, as well as by tradition and religion. While in general it appears that being Old Order Amish means using PD, and that they maintain their mother tongue in order to exclude worldly influences, perhaps also because change itself is considered harmful, it remains that members of this community have no objection to using the English language per se, but rather to its use in certain contexts. All three languages have their specific domains, and overlapping is minimized.

It is not only interesting but highly important to study this aspect of the OOA, because it shows how a minority group has been able to preserve a minority language and a different way of life against the odds, for nearly 300 years in North America.

**Yan Jiang and Zhu Hua**

Birkbeck, University of London, United Kingdom

*Children's Intercultural Interactions at an International Summer Camp*

In the past twenty years, intercultural communication has been studied by the researchers from different disciplines: cultural anthropologists (cf. Hofstede, 2001), cross-cultural and social psychologists (cf. Berry, 2000) and sociolinguists (cf. Scollon and Scollon, 2001). However, very few studies have investigated children's intercultural experience and their development of intercultural communicative competence (cf. Watson, 2003). As part of a larger research project that examines the short-term and long-term impact of children's experience in a multi-cultural summer camp on their intercultural communicative competence, this study seeks to address the research question that what communicative strategies children from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds use to communicate with each other when there is disparity in the proficiency of their shared language (in this case, English). Naturally occurring child-child and child-adult interaction data was videotaped in an international children's summer camp held in UK. The camp participants, 40 children in total and aged 11, came from 10 different countries including Japan, UK, Jordan, Philippines, U.S.A., Netherlands, Portugal, Norway, Spain and Germany. In this paper we focus on the children's multi-party interactions in the games and activities organized by the camp. The analysis of the data shows that children employ a range of communicative strategies (e.g. code-switching, gestures, translation) to understand the rules of the activities and negotiate and achieve agreement on action despite the diversity in their language competence. Meanwhile, we conclude that multi-modality is an important feature in children's intercultural interactions (Goodwin, Goodwin and Yaeger-Dror, 2002). Furthermore, this study sheds some light on how children negotiate and construct their roles and identities during their interactions in the multi-cultural setting.

**David Cassels Johnson**

Texas A&M University, US

*Language Policy Ethnography*

While various macro-level frameworks have been proposed to account for national language planning and other research has addressed language planning and policy from the bottom up, Ricento (2000) points out that language policy research has tended to fall short of fully accounting for precisely how micro-level interaction relates to the macro-levels of social organization. Davis (1999) argues that ethnographic research can capture how local actors interpret and implement language policies and Hornberger and Johnson (2007) propose the "ethnography of language policy" as a research method that examines the relationships between micro and macro language policy processes.

While theories of language policy have become increasingly rich, clearly delineated methodologies of language policy are still scant. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to further articulate what is meant by an ethnography of language policy - the goals and methodology associated with this research design. Drawing on data collected in a 3-year ethnographic study in the School District of Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) that examined the creation, interpretation, and implementation of language policy across multiple levels and contexts, this paper will highlight data collection and analysis methods associated with the ethnography of language policy.

I propose that multi-sited ethnographic data collection combined with Critical Discourse Analysis can intertextually link various macro-level language policy texts with localized processes of language policy creation, interpretation, and implementation. Specifically, this paper illuminates how bilingual educators in the School District of Philadelphia interpreted and implemented Title III of the No Child Let Behind Act in varied ways while creating their own language policies. I argue that, even though macro-level language policies like Title III can set boundaries on what is allowed and/or what is considered "normal" language education, local educators can pry open implementational spaces in Title III while fostering local ideological spaces which cultivate the growth of developmental bilingual programs in a school district. On the other hand, if bilingual educators interpret Title III as a monolithic educational doctrine - instead of the ideologically inconsistent document that it is - they can shut down implementational and ideological spaces for bilingual education. The hope is that ethnographies of language policies can help provide a foundation for multilingual language education practice and policy development around the world.



**Sally Johnson, Tommaso M. Milani and Clive Upton**

University of Leeds, United Kingdom

*Voice, stance and expertise on the BBC Voices website*

In 2003 the editor of BBC Wales New Media Department put forward a proposal for a project on language in the UK that aimed to build on previous successes such as Robert McCrum's *The Story of English* and Melvyn Bragg's *The Routes of English*. The upshot of this proposal - subsequently known as the *Voices* project - can undoubtedly be described as a major success for the BBC in 2005. Working in close consultation with one of the paper's authors, the project began with a survey of English around the UK led by a team of BBC broadcast journalists, the results of which then provided the basis for a range of media outputs, including a number of TV and radio broadcasts in mid 2005. The project has also mounted, and maintained, an interactive website ([www.bbc.co.uk/voices](http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices)), which offers access to i) samples of more than 300 professional recordings of different varieties of English; ii) some 50,000 public responses to a range of language-related themes; and iii) an archive of language-related news items broadcast by the BBC in 2005/6.

The aim of this paper is to provide a detailed analysis of the homepage of the BBC Voices project by drawing on recent insights into the structure and function of interactional websites more generally (see e.g. Boardman, 2005). At the same time, we will show how the analysis of such web discourse provides new challenges for the ongoing theorisation of 'voice' (Blommaert, 2005), 'stance' (Shenk, 2007) and 'expertise' (Johnson, 2001; Milani, in press) - theoretical constructs that are typically explored in relation to verbal and/or written discourse. In doing so, we will also be addressing the main themes of the conference, namely social structure at the *macro* level, with a focus on the BBC as what Silverstein (1998: 404) refers to as a 'centring institution'. At the same time, we will be looking at the ways in which the (authoritative) voice of that institution is relayed at the *micro* level, that is, in the multi-media context constituted by the *Voices* homepage. It is here, of course, that the voice of the BBC is situated alongside a range of other voices, namely those of other participants - both represented and actual - all of whom have something to say about the function and/or nature of language.

**Lucy Jones**

University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

*Language and identity in a Lesbian Group: a Sociocultural Linguistics approach*

This paper explores recent developments in the study of language and identity, specifically constructionist approaches which consider language to be a stylistic tool in the production and projection of self. The research presented here applies the new framework of Sociocultural Linguistics, a subfield of sociolinguistics developed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), to a lesbian walking group. This approach views identity as primarily social and contextually-specific, but also accounts for the ideologies which underpin and constrain the behaviour of individuals and groups. It is argued that, whilst the sexual orientation of the women under study defines their engagement, the social identity under production is emergent through the women's interaction. Whilst the women's joint identity construction is in part a mutual negotiation of their sexuality, it is the activity in which the group engages that shapes their most dominant values and their subsequent linguistic styles.

Through discourse analysis of a range of recorded interactions, it will be shown that the women's language reflects prevalent ideologies of lesbianism (such as distinguishing between 'butch' and 'femme' gendered identities) in order to mutually orient themselves to the social category 'lesbian'. This leads to a joint concept of what it means to be a gay woman in that context through, for example, the stylistic production of the group's ideology that 'butch is best'. Such local values are constructed indexically, by drawing on discourse features and lexis choice ideologically associated with masculinity. Additional stances are made towards other aspects of the group's identity, however - many of which exist irrespective of the shared sexual orientation of the group. Though the women's linguistic style to some extent ties them into a dominant conception of 'the lesbian community', their interaction is specific to their shared activity. In this sense, any aspect of their mutual identity is shaped by what it means to be a member of that walking group, as well as what it means to be a lesbian in that context. The ethos of this particular group is one of politeness, respect and (of most cultural importance to the group) a love of the outdoors and of nature. These philosophies are expressed through discourse choices (such as the use of facilitative and expressive interactive styles) which ostensibly appear to index femininity but which, more importantly, reproduce the ethos of the group.

This research supports recent advocates for the recognition of style as marked on an ideological or macro level but as meaningful for an *individual's* identity only in light of their contextually-informed interpretation and production of it (cf. Eckert and Rickford 2001). Within this particular group, both ideologically masculine and feminine styles are reworked in the construction of a 'lesbian walker' identity.

### **Mari Catrin Jones**

Peterhouse, University of Cambridge

*Creation or preservation? The interplay between identity and language planning on Jersey*

Despite its long history on the Island, the Norman dialect of Jersey (Jèrriais) is now obsolescent. This paper will examine some of the corpus and status planning initiatives which have been prompted by its decline in fortune and which, devoid of state support, lie in the hands of small, non linguistically trained, groups of enthusiasts. It will be demonstrated that the revitalisation of Jèrriais incorporates large-scale identity planning, yielding a somewhat paradoxical situation whereby the dialect is currently being fostered as a quintessential part of Island identity, despite the fact that, at present, it is only spoken by some 3% of the population of Jersey. The success of the revitalisation movement will be discussed, including issues such as the need to 'sell' the linguistic component of Jèrriais identity to Xmen via Yish, as will the changing nature of Jèrriais linguistic identity.

### **Rodney Hale Jones**

City University of Hong Kong

*Rewriting the City: Discourses of Hong Kong Skateboarders*

Skateboarding is an excellent example of a 'global youth-subculture', promoting particular attitudes, values and forms of discourse across a wide range of cultural and geographic boundaries. At the same time, it is also a 'localized sub-culture', in that it inevitably develops special features as a result of the socio-cultural and physical environments in which develops. It thus provides a unique opportunity to study the tension between 'globalization' and 'localization' as they interact in what Pennycook (2007) calls 'glocal flows' of discourse.

This paper explores the social meaning making practices of skateboarders in Hong Kong as an example of the ways global and local discourses interact in contemporary youth cultures. The data come from a year-long participatory ethnographic study of urban skateboarders in Hong Kong in which participants made a documentary video presenting their perspectives on the language and culture of local skateboarding. The participants' product as well as interviews and video data of their interaction during production are analyzed using principles from mediated discourse analysis and multimodal discourse analysis.

The discussion focuses on three aspects of Hong Kong skateboarders' discourse. The first is the interaction between global and local flows of discourse, not just in the language skaters use, but also in multimodal forms of meaning making like music, fashion, skateboard stickers, and of course, the physical performance of skating itself. The second is the way various social groups interact around skateboarding in Hong Kong, individuals from a wide range ethnolinguistic and socioeconomic groups coming together to produce an fertile environment for 'language crossing' (Rampton 1995). Finally, it focuses on the way skateboarders in Hong Kong interact with their physical environment, the compositional and representational mode of skateboarding in which participants strategically appropriate aspects of time and space from their urban surroundings and inscribe their own socio-spatial rhythms upon them, a process of using time and space to both 're-write' the city and to compose their own socio-cultural identities within it.

### **Henna Jousmäki, Leila Kääntä, Heidi Koskela, Samu Kytölä, Salla Lähdesmäki, Sirpa Leppänen, Tarja Nikula, Terhi Paakkinen, Päivi Pahta, Marianne Toriseva and Tiina Virkkula**

University of Jyväskylä, Finland/Research Unit for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English

*Uses and functions of English in Finland: a national survey*

The complexities and consequences of the international spread of English in L2 and post-colonial contexts have been investigated in great detail, but there is relatively little research-based information on these phenomena in



countries traditionally seen as EFL contexts. However, due to globalization, new information and communication technologies, transnational cultural flows and the growing internationalization of the labour market, the role of English in these countries has undergone considerable changes. An apt case in point is Finland, where people increasingly encounter English both at work and during their free time and where the spread of English has significant consequences for society at large.

As elsewhere, the growing influence of English in Finland has been accompanied by controversies and heat, often emotionally loaded, debates. Yet there has been relatively little research on how English is in reality, used by Finns in various social and situational contexts. To fill this gap, our team has in recent years conducted systematic research on the uses and functions of English in different social domains - those of the media, education and everyday life in particular. To complement these qualitative studies with a more comprehensive understanding of the impact of English, it is also necessary to explore the issue at the level of the whole society. To this end, the Jyväskylä unit of the Centre of Excellence for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English has conducted a national survey of English in Finland in 2007.

This large-scale survey (n = 3,000) provides up-to-date information about the status, influence and functional range of English within Finnish society. It is unique both nationally and internationally: unlike other surveys on uses of and attitudes to English among non-Anglophone speakers, it is not limited to a specific social group but, instead, looks at the uses and views of English of a whole nation. The survey covers respondents' contacts with and uses of English, their attitudes both to English and to emergent language mixing, their identities as (non-)users of English, and the way they perceive the role of English in Finland in the future.

This presentation reports on the first results of the survey. It also investigates connections between the micro and the macro by describing how the quantitative nation-level survey findings relate to the close qualitative empirical analyses of the uses of English in specific contexts and settings.

Together these findings give a nuanced picture of the current sociolinguistic situation in Finland and of its future directions. This has important implications for other countries traditionally regarded as EFL contexts, which, similarly to Finland, need to account for the global spread of English when making decisions relating to local policies and practices.

### **Damir Kalogjera**

University of Zagreb, Croatia (Hrvatska)

*Orthographic reform between ideology, status quo and individuals' vested interest*

In orthography planning two models have been envisaged: *the autonomous model* whereby orthographic choices are seen as ideologically neutral, phonemically accurate, learnable and utility motivated, and *the ideological model* where "orthography can be seen as the sight of potentially intense struggles over identity and power... and orthographic characters (say, letters of the alphabet) may be imbued with symbolic meaning that make their phonemic symbolism and learnability of secondary importance." (Sebba 1998:20). The pure autonomous model of orthography, free of extra-linguistic impacts, are rather rare." It seems that politics and other vested interest just cannot be left out of consideration where writing reform is at issue." (Coulmas 2004: 237). However, we suggest that the ideological model may include *graded varieties* in that how much, in the reform or modification of orthography, the ideological motivation is prepared to concede to learnability, utility and the entrenched status quo.

A case of such graded varieties of the ideological model is the subject of our critical consideration in connection with the peculiar death in the 1990s of Serbo-Croatian, the polycentric standard that generations were taught to see as a single language, the re-standardisation of the successor varieties and the orthographic struggles caused thereby.

Orthographic reforms have been proved most successful at the time of major societal tremors (cf. American English, Turkish, Russian, etc. Coulmas 2004:238). The dissolution of Yugoslavia seemed to offer such an opportunity, and, indeed, the Serbian and especially Croatian nationalist elites intensified their ausbau activities towards the abstand status for the two successor standards. The radical part of the Croatian elite believed that the time was right for further visual differentiation of written Croatian and Serbian and argued for the introduction of morphological spelling instead of phonological, characteristic for Serbo-Croatian and now also for Serbian. That proposal divided the Croatian elite and the philological establishment resulting with three different orthographical handbooks on the market.

The paper critically examines the political and linguistic evidence produced for and against the proposed morphologically based system, as well as for the proposed modified phonological orthography, meant to pacify the radicals. The analysis of this orthographic controversy ought to contribute to a wider understanding of the symbolism of spelling reforms and of the constraints on *ausbau*.

### **Martin Kaltenbacher**

University of Salzburg, Austria

*Micro and macro connections and style: cultural identity versus global needs*

In Introduction to Discourse Studies, Ian Renkema (2004) argues that style can be theorised as “a choice of specific patterns” and that this choice is “partially dependent on the situation”. According to this definition style is closely related to what in sociolinguistics is conceptualised as register, being determined by the peculiarities of the field, the tenor and the mode. In this paper I will argue that the cultural identity of an author can explain variation in the use of certain stylistic features much better than traditional register based approaches. For substantiating this claim, the qualitative analysis of a few selected texts is insufficient. Rather than that, I will suggest methods for quantitative analysis that allow us to make claims about register that bear out over large collections of text. For this purpose an Austrian, an American and a Scottish corpus of tourism web-sites will be analysed for their exploitation of modal verbs of obligation (e.g. *may, should, must*). All texts in the three corpora share the same macro connections, i.e., they want to sell a certain proposition (the beauty of a country and the desire to go there) to the prospective readers. The most important aspect in which they differ is that they are written by authors belonging to and socialised in different cultural backgrounds. In other words, while the texts in these three corpora are identical in respect to the variables field, tenor, and mode, they exhibit considerable variation in terms of stylistic features, such the use of hidden commands or of prohibitive language. These differences can only be explained with the cultural identity of the authors, which influences the degree of directness that the authors - knowingly or not - employ.

Studies on culture dependent discursive preferences, e.g., Juliane House (1996), have suggested that native speakers of German use more direct language than native speakers of English. Contrary to that, I will show that while differences are indeed grounded in the authors’ cultural backgrounds, quantitative corpus analysis does not support House’s findings. In fact, American and Scottish tourism web-sites contain significantly more and stronger forms of obligation than similar Austrian texts. The only possible explanation for this is that the stylistic patterns in a text are not dependent on the connections between the language and the overall purpose of the text (the macro connections) but on the cultural socialisation of the writer (a micro connection).

### **Dimitra Karoulla-Vrikki**

Cyprus College, Cypru

*Language planning and identity in Cyprus: The case of English*

The paper presents language-planning strategies (e.g. discussion of bills, enactments of laws, Council of Ministers’ decisions and educational policies) that have aimed at either promoting or rejecting English in Cyprus. The investigation focuses on the Greek-Cypriots to show that language planning has been associated with identity preferences such as Cyprocentrism and Hellenocentrism (which reflect civic-nationalist concepts and ethnonationalist concepts respectively), as well as new identity orientations, such as the European Union identity. The study first explores the role of English during the British colonial rule on the island (1878-1959) and the concerns of the Cypriots about the maintenance of their ethnic language and identity. It then examines the enhanced status and functions of English in the law courts and civil service after the proclamation of Cyprus as an independent state in 1960. The paper continues with a discussion of the language-planning processes of the late 1980s and mid-1990s that aimed at decreasing the power of English and gradually reversing its dominant role in favour of Greek. The language education policy/planning and its effects on English after 1960 is also discussed. The paper finally examines English as a second language (or first foreign language) on the island from the mid-1990s to the accession of Cyprus to the European Union in 2004 and thereafter.

**Martha Sif Karrebæk**

Copenhagen University, Denmark

*Recycling, socialization and formulae use in kindergarten: A longitudinal case-study*

In this paper I present a longitudinal study on the recycling behaviour (Čekaite & Aronsson 2004) or repetition and use of idiomatic formulae by a novice kindergartner. Among other things, recycling facilitates participation, communication (Pallotti 2001) and acquisition (Wong-Fillmore 1976; Lightbown & Spada 2003), it ensures discourse coherence (Tannen 1987), it underlines group solidarity, and it defies the authorities (Rampton 2006; Björk-Willén 2006). The same seems to be true about the use of formulae recognized within a community (Wray 2002).

In this case-study I demonstrate that there are close relations between the gradual socialization of the novice child, his use of language, and his recycling behaviour. During his first months, his doing being a participant depends much on the use of non-verbal recyclings and culturally highly significant formulae. This ensures him participation although it proves itself to be insufficient for extended participation. Over time the child starts relying more on verbal recycling and on several different formulae, and this with relative success in terms of peer group integration and central play participation. By the last recordings he has almost given up the use of recycling and of kindergarten idiomatic expressions. Although this change of strategy may seem to point towards successful language acquisition and socialization, it is shown to be a sign of quite the contrary. By the end of the study, the child is less socially integrated, and he even speaks less than in earlier phases. The less socially oriented behaviour, thus, is clearly reflected linguistically, communicatively, and strategically.

The empirical basis of the study consists of 33 hours of video recordings of child-child interaction. These were collected during a 9 months long fieldwork in a Danish kindergarten among 3-6 years old children of mixed ethnic descent. The analytic methodology is inspired by Conversation Analysis.

**Paul Kerswill, Arfaan Khan and Eivind Torgersen**

Lancaster University, Queen Mary, University of London and Lancaster University, United Kingdom

*Multicultural London English and linguistic innovation*

Our previous large-scale variationist study of the English of London teenagers demonstrated effects of ethnicity and geographical location on the realisation of phonetic and grammatical variables (Cheshire & Fox, 2006; Cheshire et al., in prep.; Torgersen et al., to appear). That study was concerned to test Wells' (1982) assertion that London is the source of innovation in British English speech. Linguistic innovation was indeed found among young inner-city "non-Anglo" speakers specifically and among inner-city speakers with dense multi-ethnic friendship networks generally. We found convergence in parts of the vowel systems between inner and outer city, e.g. the anti-clockwise short vowel shift (Torgersen & Kerswill, 2004). Some features were found to be spreading to London's hinterland, such as reduced H-dropping (Cheshire et al., in prep.) and reversal of diphthong shift (Torgersen et al., to appear). This supports the claim that London is the centre at least of accent innovation in the south-east. However, certain features were not found to be diffusing, especially near-monophthongal qualities in the vowels of FACE and GOAT, DH-stopping and the innovative quotative *this is me* (Cheshire et al., in prep.). These new features were only found in inner London. There was also reduced *was/were* levelling there (Cheshire & Fox, 2006) and non-Anglo speakers also had less *was/were* levelling than young Anglo speakers.

Because the set of innovative features were shared by many young inner-city speakers, regardless of ethnicity, we elected to refer to this apparently new variety, or rather set of varieties, as Multicultural London English (MLE). The linguistic, sociolinguistic and sociodemographic characteristics of MLE, as well as its acquisition, are the subject of our second large-scale London study, which extends the age range down to 4 and up to 40 years of age. In our paper, we summarise the findings of the earlier project and present new findings regarding the acquisition, diffusion and maintenance of the features across the lifespan. We conclude that the continued use of the features into adulthood is the key to understanding the influence of multicultural speech on British speech more widely.

### **Agnieszka Kielkiewicz-Janowiak**

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland

*Discursive construction of age-identity in the context of modern technology in Poland: universal and local dimensions*

The paper presents the findings of a sociolinguistic project on age-identity marking in (the Polish) language. From the viewpoint of social constructionism, the following questions are addressed: (1) how is age-identity discursively constructed and managed? (2) does the topic of modern technology make age-identity salient? (3) how is age identity marking culture-specific?

The study is based on two data-sets, in which modern technology is a common topic:

1. posts from internet forums for seniors
  2. interviews with middle-aged and elderly respondents about their attitudes to and use of modern technology.
- The data have been examined for age-identifying discourse markers and discursive strategies, age-related themes (positive and negative), and self-categorisation of the middle-aged and the elderly in the context a topic which is potentially age-sensitive (modern technology). In fact, one of the themes constructing a positive age-identity is that of becoming/being a member of the community of internet users.

Additionally, on the basis of interviews with elderly respondents about issues of old age and telling age, the locally defined criteria for classifying someone as 'elderly' or 'old' have also been explored as well as the culture-specific rules about age disclosure.

The study brings about a picture of ambivalent attitudes towards (own and others') older age. To protect their self-image, people often dissociate their own identity from that of their age-group. Ultimately, however, the individual presentations of (older) age may be understood as people's private construction of their identity but also as their contribution to social knowledge and social practices. The conclusions provide an interesting comparison with the findings of relevant Western European and U.S. research.

### **Remco Knooihuizen**

University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

*The interplay of language shift and new-dialect formation: the development of Shetland Scots*

In recent years, much theoretic work has been done on the question of how migrants from different areas negotiate their new dialect, e.g. Kerswill & Williams 2000 on Milton Keynes or Trudgill 2004 on New Zealand English. Crucially however, these theories presuppose a 'tabula rasa' situation, where no speakers of the language were present in the area before, or where the original speakers are vastly outnumbered by the migrants. But how does new-dialect formation work in situations where the migrants have to negotiate their new dialect not just with themselves, but with other groups as well?

The Scottish archipelago of Shetland presents us with such a case. A 16th-century migration of Scots speakers into the area triggered a rapid language shift away from the islands' Scandinavian vernacular Norn, while the Scottish immigrants were still negotiating their new dialect.

I will present data on early Shetland Scots, based on historical documents, meta-linguistic comments and linguistic reconstruction, and compare these to the migrants' original Lowland Scots varieties and to Norn. Following Trudgill's theory of new-dialect formation, and looking at the socio-historical background and the mutual interference of L1 and L2 in second-language acquisition, I argue the data suggest that new-dialect formation in Shetland proceeded according to Trudgill's model, and that the native Shetlanders' L2 variety of Scots participated as an input variety in this process. This implies that the Scandinavian influence on Shetland Scots may have been transferred indirectly via the L2 variety.

I support this hypothesis with data from a similar situation: the French of the formerly Dutch-speaking Westhoek in Northern France.

**Karin Jóhanna L. Knudsen**

Center for Local and Regional Development, Faroe Islands

*Language Attitudes among Schoolchildren in Post-colonial Situations*

The Faroe Islands, a small group of islands in the middle of the North Atlantic, were officially incorporated into the Kingdom of Denmark in the mid-1800s. Since 1948, the Faroes have had home rule within the Kingdom.

The official language of the islands is Faroese. Some 60,000 people are estimated to have Faroese as their mother tongue. The Home Rule Act states Faroese as the principal language of the country; yet Danish has to be learned thoroughly. Faroese became a school subject only in the 1920s, and became the language of instruction only in the 1930s. At that time, Danish was the dominant and official language in the public domain. Yet, Faroese has never lost its dominance as a home language. Almost every Faroe Islander speaks, reads, and writes at least two languages. At school, pupils must learn two socially active languages - i.e. Faroese and Danish - plus another, this latter being English.

To the present day, Faroese language policy has been dominated by lexical and selective purism. Much effort has been used to create Faroese equivalents for foreign words and to opposing Danish influence in particular and English to some extent. Nevertheless, school still find it necessary to use several Danish textbooks, and most dictionaries, grammars and reference books are in Danish.

The relationship between Danish and Faroese is manifested in many ways in everyday language usage. Some scholars express concern that people often use a Danish-Faroese dictionary to check whether a word or expression is "authentic" or "good enough" Faroese. Another "alarming" observation is that people are very preoccupied with assessing the quality of their own as well as other people's Faroese.

The Faroes' post-colonial situation exhibits a special kind of bilingualism with no significant numbers of L1 speakers of Danish present on the islands, while the indigenous language, Faroese, and the colonial language, Danish, coexist with English as an additive language in the educational system.

In the light of this situation, the aim of the study is to elucidate and detect any differences in attitude to the languages Faroese, Danish and English, and how the attitudes may vary according to age, gender, social-economic background, and rural/urban location.

The study is under way and the first results will be presented at the symposium. A questionnaire successfully implemented in other areas has been adapted and is being applied to a sample of 715 pupils in 64 schools across the islands. The sample consists of pupils in lower-secondary education aged 13-14 years (grade 7). Hence, age will be controlled. The questionnaire is divided into sections for biographical information, self-reported language usage, the participants' beliefs and the affective dimensions of their attitudes to language use.

Faroese is usually considered a positive example of a revitalization of a minority language. The results are not only important for the Faroe Islands, but the experience of the Faroese is also extremely important for international educational language planning. The forthcoming results can be compared to results from post-colonial and revitalization situations elsewhere.

**Veronika Koller**

Lancaster University, United Kingdom

*Analysing collective identity in discourse: combining discourse-historical and socio-cognitive approaches*

This paper presents an approach to the study of collective identity that combines the discourse-historical (Reisigl & Wodak 2001, Wodak 2001) with the socio-cognitive (van Dijk 2003, 2006) strand in Critical Discourse Analysis. Collective identities are understood as cognitive models of the group self, including its attributes, relational behaviour, goals and values, which are both constituted and negotiated by the interactions within a discourse community. Both discourse, as instantiated in textual interaction at the micro-level, as well as the models of collective identity that are engendered and negotiated in discourse, are shaped by meso-level contexts of text production, distribution and reception, which are in turn linked to the changing socio-political context at the macro-level. Combining discourse-historical with socio-cognitive analysis of discourse thus enables the researcher to investigate what models of collective identities are salient in a discourse community at a given historical moment, how changes in those models can be traced in concrete texts and to discuss why these changes have taken place.



Following from these theoretical considerations, the linguistic analysis at the micro-level addresses parameters such as actor roles and evaluation, process types and modality, intertextuality and interdiscursivity as well as metaphor. Textual analysis along these lines shows what attributes and behaviours are allocated to the collective self, what values and beliefs are ascribed to it and what concepts it is aligned with and demarcated from.

The theoretical and methodological approach is illustrated with textual data from British and American lesbian communities after 1970 (Koller 2008). The analysis of the data samples shows that in many cases, out-group construction is much more differentiated than cognitive models of the in-group across parameters. However, shifts towards a more affirmative model of collective identity can be observed over time, which is explained as an effect of the changing socio-political context and the increasing number of options for text production, distribution and reception that have become available to lesbians in the UK and the US.

Beyond the case study, the theoretical and methodological aspects of the study could act as a model for the discourse-historical and socio-cognitive analysis of collective identity in discourse more generally.

### **Miklós Kontra**

Linguistics Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary

*Linguistic prejudice in Budapest and its correlates*

In the English literature, both popular and scholarly, much has been written about prejudice concerning linguistic matters. As regards Hungary and Hungarians, few are the empirical studies that deal with the various kinds of prejudiced views and their social distribution. This paper attempts to fill this gap, to some extent, by reporting on the findings of a study conducted in 2005 with a random stratified sample (N=200) in Budapest. Grammaticality judgments and oral sentence-completion data were gathered in a way that replicated a 1988 study across Hungary. Two questions were asked: (1) When you turn on the radio and hear an unknown person speak for about two minutes, can you judge how smart or intelligent the person is? (2) When you turn on the radio and hear an unknown person speak for about two minutes, can you judge how trustworthy or honest the person is? Answers were given on a 5-point scale. The data on prejudice will be analyzed vis-à-vis 35 grammaticality judgments and 16 oral sentence-completion tasks. The aim of this exploratory study is to establish what (if any) correlations exist between speakers' degree of linguistic prejudice and their grammaticality judgments and oral sentence-completion data.

### **Eveline van Kooij and Kutlay Yagmur**

Tilburg University, The Netherlands

*Language maintenance and shift patterns of Dutch immigrants in Turkey*

This paper presents the findings of research investigating first language attrition, language maintenance, and shift patterns of Dutch speakers in Turkey. It examines the relationship between societal factors and individual's perception of language contact situation as reflected in their speech behavior. In total, 31 informants from various cities in Turkey took part in the study. In order to document first language attrition, language maintenance and shift patterns of Dutch speakers, a number of instruments have been utilized. By means of language use, and choice questionnaire (LUCQ), language use, attitudes, choice, preference and socio-cultural orientation of informants were measured. By using self-rating scales, lexical naming task and narration task, Dutch language skills were tested to see the degree of language attrition. Completing the same language tests, namely self-rating scales, lexical naming task and narration task, 21 informants acted as a reference group in the Netherlands. In order to provide complementary evidence to the data, an in-depth interview was carried out with 12 informants. Dutch speakers are well known for their fast shift to the mainstream language in English-dominant contexts. The findings of this study provide counter evidence for language use patterns of Dutch abroad. First of all, language shift to Turkish is very limited and Dutch speakers are keen on maintaining their Dutch and transmitting it to the younger generations. Results of lexical naming and narration task show no evidence for language loss. Slight differences are found between the immigrant group and speakers in the Dutch context. Compared to the outcomes of other research on Dutch speakers in English-dominant contexts, the Dutch immigrants in Turkey show strong language maintenance and they have fundamentally different socio-cultural orientation, the reasons of which will be explained on the basis of the interview data.



**Ely Kozminsky, Mark Leikin and Mila Schwartz**

Department of Education Ben-Gurion University Beer-Sheva and Department of Learning Disabilities,  
University of Haifa

*Exploring the Relationship between Family Language Policy and Heritage Language Knowledge  
among Second Generation of Russian-Jewish Immigrants in Israel*

The family unit and home domain have been and remain important in heritage language maintenance efforts (De Houwer, 1999; Fishman, 1991; Okita, 2002). There may be complex relationships between parental language attitudes, their application in everyday language management activities, and the children's knowledge of home language vocabulary. The present large-scale study examined the family policy factors affecting first language (L1) maintenance among second generation Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel in light of Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy.

Participants in the study were 70 Russian-Hebrew speaking children with a mean age of 7,2 (years, months). After investigating the factors that influence Russian vocabulary knowledge, I constructed a composite measure of Russian lexical knowledge. In addition, a parents' and children's structured questionnaires were developed to collect data on language policy at home. The results attest to the crucial role of teaching literate L1 in both family and non-formal educational settings and of the children's positive approach toward home language acquisition in home language retention. A range of non-linguistic factors (demographic, social, and cultural) creates a favorable background for the survival of the heritage language among emigrants. At the same time, the data reveal inconsistencies in language policy at home as well as a tendency toward the co-existence of the first and second languages.

**Karoline H. Kuehl**

Universität Flensburg, Germany

*Different types of contact phenomena as a way of reacting to linguistic pressure*

Contact phenomena differ in their visibility: Whereas the alternational type of code-switching is clearly visible, as it includes a change of language on the surface level, convergence is 'invisible' as there is no obvious change of the language spoken on the surface level. The aim of this paper is to show that these differing contact phenomena are used to create 'linguistic sabotage' against monolingual linguistic pressure but also to submit to the imposed monolingual norm. The data presented are recordings of 76 participants (12-14 year old) in three different minority schools, which have been collected as a part of the project 'Divergierender bilingualer Sprachgebrauch bei Jugendlichen' funded by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. The settings were the Danish and German minorities on each side of the Danish-German border. Both minorities have their own schools in which the official norms for language use is that languages should not be mixed, and that the minority language should be the main medium of communication. Typically, though, the minority language (Standard Danish and German, respectively) is the L2 of the children attending the minority schools. In most cases the L1 will be the majority language, German and the Danish dialect South Jutish, respectively.

In the German minority schools in Southern Denmark, the 'visible' alternational kind of codeswitching - for reasons like lexical gaps - between German and South Jutish is accepted by the teachers. Switches to South Jutish are accepted too, at least in more informal contexts. So it seems like there is almost no linguistic pressure working here. Accordingly, the recordings show that 'visible' code-switching is used a lot, in average an insertion every 50 seconds. Compared to this, 'invisible' convergences are rarely used (every 7 minutes and 30 seconds).

In the Danish minority schools in Northern Germany the 'visible' alternational kind of code-switching or a switch to German (L1) are definitely not an accepted verbal practice. Teachers will correct the students, more or less harshly, if they do. A quantitative analysis of the recordings from these schools shows an accordingly quite different use of code-switching: In average, insertions are produced every 2 minutes and 30 seconds, while convergences are produced every 3 minutes. The two minorities compared, it becomes clear that the students of the Danish minority produce a lot more 'invisible' contact phenomena. It seems like they use the convergences to get over lexical gaps without violating the norm that languages should not be mixed - the monolingual surface makes this practice supposedly acceptable. On the other hand, we find many more cases of intentionally used 'extreme' bilingual speech, which seems to be a kind of 'linguistic sabotage' against the monolingual norms.

The talk will present a model of this correlation between types of contact phenomena and linguistic norms.

### Sai-hua Kuo

National Tsing Hua University, Taiwan

*Conversationalization of TV news reporting in Taiwan*

Fairclough (1992, 1995) identifies conversationalization, which models public discourse upon the discursive practice of ordinary life, as a major tendency of contemporary media. Other researchers (Kress 1986, Fowler 1988) have also observed that media discourse is taking on an increasingly conversational character marked by a shift to informality of language.

Adopting Fairclough's multidimensional approach, which is a synthesis of socially- and linguistically-oriented views of discourse, this study aims to explore, both qualitatively and quantitatively, conversationalization in Taiwan's television news. Data were taken from 24 hours of videotaped television news by 4 male news readers and 4 female news readers. The analyzed linguistic features which are associated with informality and conversationalization include (1) personal pronouns *we* and *you*, (2) questions, (3) direct quotations, (4) the mixing of local dialects, and (5) interjections and utterance-final particles.

My preliminary analysis shows that these conversational features tend to appear in soft news, which focuses on leisure, style, sports, and other human interest subjects. In fact, with the dominance of 'soft' news and the marginalization/trivialization of 'hard' news, conversationalization has become a pervasive feature in the news I analyzed. Another interesting finding is that female news readers are much more likely to adopt conversational features in news reporting than their male counterparts. This result not only conforms to previous studies (e.g. Tannen 1990) which indicate that women's communicative style is more involving and interactional but also lends further support to 'feminization' of television news presentation (van Zoonen 1991).

Finally, echoing Fairclough (1995), I argue that this trend of conversationalization is closely linked to the increasing commercialization and marketization of media discourse. To compete for the attention of potential audiences, the entertainment values and emotional qualities of news are stressed and a more intimate, feminine, and conversational mode of speech is adopted by TV journalism.

### Sofia Lampropoulou

Lancaster University, United Kingdom

*Constructing identities through speech representation: the case of direct speech in oral narratives*

This paper is concerned with the study of direct speech in conversational narratives produced by Greek adolescents. More specifically, I examine the use of direct speech as a feature of narrative that contributes to the construction of people's social identities.

In terms of theoretical framework, this paper follows the line of research that deals with the narrative construction of social identities (c.f. Schiffrin, 1996; Chesire, 2000; De Fina, 2003). In particular, under the scope of the social constructionist paradigm, language is viewed as a social practice and has a central role in the construction of social identities. In a similar vein, identities are not fixed properties that reside in people's minds but emerge through discourse where they are dynamically recreated (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998). On these grounds, people construct their identities via selecting specific forms of verbal behaviour.

My data consist of 265 spontaneous told narratives that have emerged from Greek adolescents' ongoing social interactions. Additionally, I focus on 940 direct speech instances included in the adolescent's conversational narratives. This paper involves both a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data.

As part of the quantitative analysis, I consider every direct speech instance included in terms of the following different elements of variation: represented speaker, represented addressee, status and gender of represented speaker and addressee, represented speech act. Based on the codification of these elements of variation and on their processing with the SPSS statistical programme, I provide with frequencies of occurrence of every different aspect of variation in relation to my different narrative producers.

The qualitative analysis includes the in-depth analysis of specific narrative extracts. In particular, combining relevant theories on speech representation (Bakhtin, 1981) and narrative and identity, I discuss the way my adolescents present themselves as interactional protagonists and display aspects of their identities via the employment of direct speech.

Taking into consideration both the quantitative and qualitative results, I argue that the presentation of my adolescents through direct speech in narrative seems to reflect their own microcosms (Pujolar, 2003) where

many elements of social relations, ideologies and identities are represented. Additionally, I discuss that the different social relations represented in the adolescents' narrative worlds, might reflect the norms and stereotypes that define their everyday social worlds. Therefore, the identities displayed by my informants seems to be affected by these stereotypes. Taking into consideration the issue of "constructedness" of direct speech (Tannen, 1989), I conclude that the adolescents in the present data, via their selection of specific elements of variation of direct speech, select to conform to some extent to the current norms and stereotypes.

### **Keith Langston and Anita Peti-Stantić**

Faculty of Arts Zagreb, Croatia (Hrvatska) and Georgia University

*Language restandardization in Croatia: Problems and perspectives*

In this paper the authors treat language policies in Croatia in the period since 1991 as an example of *restandardization*, within a theoretical framework which takes into account the intersecting roles of nationalist ideology, rhetoric, and language myths in contemporary Croatian society. The analysis is based on published sources and data from text corpora and two surveys of language attitudes among teachers.

The term 'restandardization', in contrast to other possible labels such as 'corpus planning' or 'language reform', presupposes the existence of a standardized Croatian language prior to the period in question. We have chosen this term to emphasize that changes to this standard have been proposed for purely symbolic purposes, rather than to meet any functional needs.

Given the fact that the existence of an explicitly codified norm is arguably the most important defining feature of a standard language, the current Croatian situation is particularly problematic, due to the fact that there is no single generally accepted authority on linguistic issues. Current debates on language have led to a situation where educated native speakers of the language doubt their own linguistic competence. The problem is particularly acute within the Croatian educational system, where uncertainties about what is "correct" cause difficulties for both teachers and students, and have led to demands for the establishment of unambiguous standards.

As a result, we argue that examples such as Croatian indicate a need to reexamine the position of standard languages in contemporary societies. In the conclusion we will shed new light on the questions of the scope and acceptance of language planning (surveys of published sources show that there is much more acceptance of proposed new solutions in the formal written standard, as in texts written in the administrative style, than in the informal spoken/written standard). This leads to a proposal of a new hierarchy of social and functional styles and their influence on the standard language as a whole.

### **Betty Fay Lanteigne**

American University of Sharjah

*Stylistic Variation within the Religious Register*

A particular social variation of language use is that different registers are used for different social settings (Denison, 1997; Biber, 1995), and even within registers there are variations. Of specific interest to this study is the religious register, one aspect of which has been identified as preacher talk (Wright, 1977), sermonic discourse (Hillis, 1989; Dzameshie, 1995), and public address (Wuthnow, 1988; Szuchewycz, 1994). Trudgill (1995) and Beebe (1985) discuss stylistic variations that occur in response to social context changes, and within the religious register, it has been demonstrated that there is stylistic variation within individual religious services, Christian services in particular (Wright, 1977; Clark, 1977). In a more specific investigation of formal/informal stylistic manifestations, Levin and Garrett (1990) researched the use of left-, center-, and right-branching sentence structure and found that both left-branching and center-branching sentences occurred more frequently in formal speaking contexts and right-branching sentence structure was used more often in informal speaking contexts. This study investigated how different Christian churches vary in the degree of formality used by priests/ministers in their sermons, as evidenced by left-, center-, or right-branching sentence structure. Transcripts of seven Sunday morning sermons given by Caucasian male priests/ministers in Catholic, Episcopal, United Methodist, Wesleyan Methodist, and Assembly of God churches in Pennsylvania and Missouri and on a national broadcast were analyzed in terms of sentence branching structure, and it was found that the more formal the church setting, the more formal the sentence-branching structure.

### Robert George Lawson

University of Glasgow, United Kingdom

*A Violent Vernacular?: Unpacking the Associations between Language and Violence in Glasgow*

Glasgow has been long identified as a place where violence is a prevalent and destructive aspect of life in the city (Macaulay 1977: 94), and recent years have witnessed an emergence of stereotypical linguistic practices which are associated with violent and criminal adolescents, including nasalization and tense vowel production. This association of working-class language with violence has the effect that even working-class Glaswegian adolescents who are not engaged in violent or anti-social practices are often met with a degree of suspicion and mistrust. Thus, particular linguistic features have the potential to marginalise adolescents via an association with anti-social practices. Such negative views of adolescents continue to be propagated by tabloid and televised media outlets, reinforcing local stereotypes and prejudices.

Most recent research on working-class adolescent language in Glasgow, however, has generally fallen under the rubric of quantitative sociolinguistics, focusing particularly on the ongoing processes of linguistic change (e.g. Lawson & Stuart-Smith 1999). While these studies provide a detailed description of the linguistic landscape of Glasgow, there is usually no analytical focus on how the localised social meanings of linguistic variation are constructed within particular communities (a notable exception is Stuart-Smith 2007).

There is, ultimately, a shortage of research on Glaswegian which focuses on how urban adolescents use social and linguistic practices to negotiate and construct their social identity, and since it is through social and linguistic practices that such speakers are marginalised, analysis of the dynamics behind the linguistic and social practices of Glaswegian urban adolescents is vital to our understanding of how Glaswegian adolescents construct themselves as social beings.

From data collected from 25 working-class adolescent males ( $\approx$  30 hours of spoken data) over the course of a three-year ethnographic study of a local high school in Glasgow (Banister Academy), approximately 100 tokens per speaker of (a) and (t) were extracted from the dataset and analysed acoustically using PRAAT. For the consonantal variable, ( $\theta$ ), every token was auditorily transcribed and then tabulated using Microsoft Excel. In order to investigate if violent social practices interacted with linguistic practices across four distinct communities of practice within Banister Academy, the variables which occurred in 'non-violent' stretches of discourse were then quantitatively compared with those variables which occurred in 'violent' stretches of discourse.

I argue that orientation towards violent social practices are an implicit part of how the adolescents in this study construct their social identities, and that this orientation may not always be mediated through phonetic variation, calling into question the stereotypical associations between working-class adolescent language and violence in Glasgow.

### Jamie Shinhee Lee

Univ. of Michigan-Dearborn, United States of America

*English Education Marketing in South Korea: "Creating Global Koreans!"*

Globalization has generated various scholastic discourses (see, e.g. Appadurai 1996, Blommaert 2003, Flowerdew 2002, Heller 2003, Waters 1995). In particular, its relevance to the spread of English and the tension between the global influence of English and its local manifestations have been discussed in sociolinguistics (see, e.g., Bambose 2001, Park 2004, Pennycook 2007, Shin 2004).

The project *English Village* in South Korea is a prime example of the interconnectivity between globalization and English. The main goal of this project is to provide English speaking spaces *within* Korea to create "global Koreans" ([http://english.village.gg.go.kr/eng/aboutgecf/vod\\_pr.jsp](http://english.village.gg.go.kr/eng/aboutgecf/vod_pr.jsp)). Ideological constructs embedded in its public relations material are based on the following discourses: (1) globalization (e.g., creating "global Koreans") (2) economy (e.g. "the affordable English world in Korea") (3) English education reform (e.g., "living and breathing" English) (Lee 2007). Yoo (2006) argues that since the early 1990s the South Korean government has initiated a national globalization project called "Segyehwa" and promoted English as a necessity to enhance Korea's competitiveness in the world.

This study examines 100 randomly selected texts on the Internet to investigate how the macro discourse of globalization is locally manifested in various Korean micro texts including homepages of English language teaching institutes, book promotional materials, and personal blogs. The findings of the study suggest that

speaking English and “being global” are often treated as synonymous in these Korean texts. The ability to speak English is viewed as the most essential quality required for “global Koreans” in order to be economically competitive in the international market, indicating that the South Korean public recognizes a trinity of globalization, English, and economy.

### **Jennifer Leeman and Gabriella Modan**

George Mason University, Fairfax VA, US and Ohio State University, Columbus OH, US

*Selling the city: The symbolic economy of linguistic landscapes*

The framework of linguistic landscape analyzes the material manifestations of language - street signs, shop windows, billboards, etc. - in a geographic area (e.g., Landry & Bourhis 1997, Ben-Rafael et al. 2006, Backhaus 2006). This approach often conceptualizes both speech communities and spaces as static entities. Further, linguistic landscape research often assumes a one-to-one mapping between languages and people, with more frequent material manifestations said to reflect or promote greater status or ‘ethnolinguistic vitality’. In this paper, we rethink this approach by promoting a contextualized, historicized and spatialized perspective which highlights that landscapes are not simply physical spaces but are instead ideologically charged constructions. We draw from cultural geography and urban anthropology theory to analyze how written language interacts with other features of the built environment to construct commodified urban places - cities for sale. Specifically, we examine the linguistic landscape of Washington DC’s newly gentrified Chinatown, where recently established commercial establishments, consisting primarily of non-Chinese owned national and international chains, use Chinese language signs as design features targeted towards people who neither speak nor have ethnic ties to that language.

Along the lines of Malinowski’s (1923) concepts of *context of situation* and *context of culture*, we link micro-level analysis of individual Chinese-language signs to macro-level socio-geographic processes of spatial commodification. In the old Chinatown, businesses used Chinese to convey ideational content to readers of Chinese or to sell Chinese products. In the new Chinatown, ethnicity is indexed by Chinese writing and commodified as a conveyor of distinction (cf. Urciuoli 2003). Like other features of the built environment, Chinese writing is used in public/private redevelopment initiatives to create a unique neighborhood ‘brand’ to draw tourists and consumers. The language of the Other is used to convey an air of exoticism and cosmopolitanism, to sell brand name cosmetics, clothing and cuisine. Thus, rather than a marker of Chinese ethnolinguistic vitality, Chinese writing in Chinatown’s landscape is appropriated by powerful groups and commodified to benefit large corporations, the neighborhood’s primary business owners.

DC’s Chinatown demonstrates the importance of attending to the specific situational and cultural contexts where material manifestations of language occur. Although examining the relative frequency of different languages in the landscape may provide some insights, it must be accompanied by an analysis of their use, function, and history. Only by considering these factors can we truly understand the larger sociopolitical meanings of linguistic landscapes.

### **Adrian Leemann**

University of Berne, Department of Linguistics, Switzerland

*Intonation as an Identity Marker in Swiss-German*

As soon as a person starts speaking, he/she not only communicates semantically meaningful units but also a great deal about himself/herself. Swiss-German dialects always convey aspects of the speakers’ regional background (Werlen 2005). Our dialects are used by all Swiss-German speakers in virtually every communicative context, which is one of the reasons why on most linguistic levels they have been described fairly well. Yet, a profound description of the dialects’ suprasegmentals is missing; thus, one aspect of dialect as an identity marker has not been examined. Our *Swiss National Science Foundation* project tries to fill exactly this gap: in recording two Alpine and two Midland dialects, we work out a gross geolinguistic model that reveals the main prosodic features of these dialects. We collected material from two dialectal regions: Berne (BE), which represents a Midland dialect, and Brig (in the Canton of Valais, VS), which represents an Alpine variety. The data was collected via spontaneous interviews with Gymnasium students.



In following a predominantly phonetic approach (Fujisaki 1983), we obtained first results regarding the intonational structuring of the two dialects. It was hypothesized that WS speakers generally produce more local accents, put more local accents on unstressed syllables as well as on grammatical words; and, finally, their pitch range was assumed generally higher (Leemann and Siebenhaar 2007). The insight we attained from our analyses, however, turned out somewhat different. Results show that the WS indeed produced more local accents on an absolute level - yet, relatively speaking, due to their faster articulation rate, they can produce a higher number of local accents. In addition, the WS turn out not to set more local accents on unstressed syllables or on grammatical words. As for the last point, the higher pitch range, we confirmed that the WS demonstrate significantly higher pitch variations on a local as well as on a global level.

These results indicate that, on a micro level, phonetically motivated differences in intonation exist between the two dialects - which, on a macro level, can be viewed as one aspect of identity marking through language that is different between the two groups. In terms of intonation, it is primarily the higher pitch range of the WS group that accounts for the productive differences of the two dialects. As a group, the Swiss research subjects distinguish themselves in structuring intonation largely through local accents, as opposed to Standard German where global accents are in the foreground. These analyses shed a new light on differences in dialectal prosody that are not phonologically but phonetically motivated.

### **Duanduan Li**

The University of British Columbia, Canada

*Pragmatic Socialization in a Second Language*

Pragmatic socialization is defined as “the ways in which [people] are socialized to use language in context in socially and culturally appropriate ways” (Blum-Kulka, 1997). Research done within the framework of pragmatic socialization reflects a more social, contextual, and cultural orientation in comparison with cognitive or psychological approaches to first and second-language pragmatics (Ochs, 1996; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986).

Interlanguage (second-language/L2) pragmatics research has traditionally relied mainly on quantitative approaches to data collection and analysis (Kasper, 2001). Although these methods have contributed to fruitful theoretical and methodological developments in applied linguistics, they have inherent underlying limitations by using role-plays or written questionnaires to elicit L2 learners’ responses in rather contrived situations. A powerful contribution that the *language socialization* paradigm makes to an understanding of language development is its close attention to the linguistic forms that are used to socialize learners into expected roles and behaviors in particular cultural contexts (Kasper, 2001).

In this paper, I provide an overview of L2 pragmatic socialization research, including its theoretical underpinnings, methodological advancements, and some of the key themes in studies conducted to date. I also exemplify the approach with research conducted with Chinese-American women learning English in order to gain employment and to integrate within American society. Using a multiple-case study approach, I describe the trajectories of the woman as crucially related to their effectiveness in being able to make requests successfully in their L2, English, particularly in high-stakes contexts. I conclude that, by examining pragmatic behaviors in authentic contexts of use - with their own historical antecedents, interpersonal negotiations, and personal and societal significance, researchers can contextualize the study of pragmatics in a changing, multilingual world in illuminating new ways (Li, 2007).

### **Holger Limberg**

Carl von Ossietzky University Oldenburg, Germany

*Discursive Practices in Academic Office Hours: The Case of Establishing Students’ Matters*

University office hours offer a platform for students who want to consult with faculty members outside the classroom. It is here that students can address and discuss a variety of academic matters with their teachers. Although in general, office hours serve to provide students with the opportunity to ask questions and receive help with problems, they also serve to make students feel welcome in academia. Office hours are therefore not only geared towards the transmission of information, but they also fulfill an important social (i.e. relational) function (cf. Carpenter 1983).



The following study investigates this academic practice to explore how students and teachers negotiate academic 'business' at the outset of this talk (i.e. what S wishes to talk about). In the opening part a topic or an action is put on the agenda, which then receives attention for the rest of the consultation. Students' matters may include, amongst others, term papers, class work, or a simple signature on a form. Based on empirical data from office hour interactions at German universities, this study seeks to find out how both participants locally manage the opening phase of office hours. More specifically, the focus is set on students' strategies for establishing 'talkable' items by means of different types of sequence organization (e.g. pre-sequences, preference organization; cf. Schegloff 2007).

Several practices can be found on a micro level of this academic interaction. They are used in this context both to get the message across as well as to orient to the interpersonal level of talk. Finally, possible effects of such practices on the rapport between teachers and students are discussed and subsequently evaluated with respect to the significance of this talk within the institution at large.

### **Cheng-wen Lin**

The University of York, United Kingdom

*Language and Politics: Metaphors as Linguistic Strategies in the Political Corruption Issue in Taiwan*

It has generally been held that metaphors have significant rhetorical uses in political communication. In particular, studies have increasingly centred on the use of metaphor in politics, since Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) seminal work provides an account of metaphor which can contribute to the construction and comprehension of social and political reality. In election campaigns, politicians use metaphors to evoke emotions, reinforce specific platform, attack opponents, and manipulate the electorate (Beer & De Landtsheer 2004; Wilson 1990). In this respect, this study is concerned with how politicians manage metaphors in current Taiwanese political discourse, focusing on the issue with particular reference to political corruption, especially so-called "black-gold politics" (money politics or the connection between criminals with money and politicians) during the 2004 presidential election campaign in Taiwan. The aim of this study is to address the following questions: (1) What are the metaphors that are deployed by politicians during the 2004 presidential election campaign in Taiwan? (2) What are the functions of these metaphors? (3) How do these metaphors work to help communicate effectively? (4) How do politicians respond to their opponents' metaphors, especially for discussing contentious political issues? Finally, by examining the linguistic strategies, the analysis is intended to help better comprehend political communication and the sociopolitical context in current Taiwan society.

### **Carmen Llamas and Dominic Watt**

University of York, United Kingdom

*Rhoticity in four Scottish/English border localities*

In this paper we examine the variable use of postvocalic /r/ and variation in /r/ pronunciation in four towns located close to the Scottish/English border (Berwick, Eyemouth, Carlisle, Gretna). An earlier study of /r/ production in Berwick English (Watt 2006) found correlations between speaker age and degree of rhotacism (although postvocalic /r/ was overall rare) and between age and the use of alveolar taps, which were used frequently only by older speakers and negligibly by younger ones. The latter heavily favoured alveolar approximants, and there were indications that the labiodental approximant was also being adopted by Berwick teenagers. In the light of Glauser's (2000) categorisation of the tap as 'Scottish' /r/ and the alveolar approximant as 'English' /r/, it could be argued on the basis of the data in Watt (2006) that Berwick English is increasingly convergent with other non-rhotic English varieties in northern England, and increasingly divergent from Scottish varieties with which it has traditionally shared numerous properties. We extend the study of rhoticity in the border area to Eyemouth, just to the north of Berwick on the Scottish side of the border, and to Carlisle (England) and Gretna (Scotland) at its western end. Preliminary data from wordlist readings are presented by way of further illuminating the role of this variable in marking 'Scottishness' and 'Englishness' in this transitional region.

### **Laura Llobet**

University Autonomie of Barcelona, Spain

*Challenging textbooks.*

*The use of story lives, interviews and group discussions in content and language integrated learning projects*

This paper presents the analysis of a teaching project - based on content and language learning integrated approach - which was carried out in collaboration between members of our research group and primary school teachers throughout 2005 and 2006 in Barcelona (Spain). The subjects of the study were a group of twelve-year-old students who were in their last year of primary education. The heterogeneity of the group - due to first and additional languages, origins, background knowledge and learning abilities - was one of the main challenges of the project during its design as well as its implementation. This project aimed at the fact that students, by means of the study of biographies, consulting and searching other information sources and the elaboration, preparation and carrying out of interviews, could reach to understand that an historical event so complex such as the Spanish Civil War is more than learning facts and dates.

The challenge of the kind of content which was chosen was an important one since most of the students were of a different origin other than Spain, but as well since most of them had not recent experiences and contact with their grandparents' generation, fact that in our project was one of the main sources of information since their life stories were validated as historical sources.

Nevertheless, the linguistic challenge was of relevance as well. The language of the school is Catalan, which was not most of the students' first or habitual language, in spite of the fact that some of the students were from Barcelona. However, it is important to state that not only is our conception of the language that of an object of study or means of communication and learning, but also the means to express oneself as an individual as well as a member of the learning community, composed by the group-class. Language is necessary in order to learn, but as well to autorepresent/autocategorise as well as represent and categorise others. The relationship between learning, language, identity and community will be explored throughout the paper.

In order to do so, the paper presents first, the social context of the project. Secondly, it exposes the theoretical and methodological framework as well as a description of the project including some of its main tasks. After, this introduction, the collected data and the analysis framework will be another part of the paper. And finally, some evidences of historical and linguistic learning will be described in addition to the description of the relationship between learning, language, identity and community membership with the help of the teacher's diary and other data.

### **Beatriz P. Lorente**

Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

*The script of servitude: maid agencies in Singapore and the positioning of English-speaking 'products'*

Recent theoretical work on language and globalization has called attention to the active role of mediating institutions such as the music industry, international English training programs and tourism and service industries in globalized flows. As intermediate nodal points between global and local contexts, between the macro-level of the world system and the micro-level of individual subjects, mediating institutions designate new and niched functions to sociolinguistic items and accomplish specific goals with them (Blommaert, 2003).

This paper focuses on a particular mediating institution - transnational maid agencies in Singapore. Maid agencies which specialize in the recruitment and placement of migrant domestic workers are key gatekeeping institutions in labor migration. They take care of the nitty-gritty details related to the recruitment, deployment and employment of migrants; they also do much of the semiotic work of 'packaging' migrant women into marketable 'products' for prospective employers. In this regard, this paper looks at how transnational maid agencies position English-speaking Filipino domestic workers in the labor market for transnational domestic workers in Singapore. It analyzes the mechanisms they employ to style the English language skills and verbal behavior of migrant Filipinas according to the script of servitude, a discourse that positions and socializes migrant women into their subordinate roles as domestic workers. In particular, this paper examines the processes by which maid agencies: (1) script the prospective domestic worker's performance in video-taped interviews; and (2) 'coach' and require the domestic worker to display linguistic deference in pre-employment 'training' sessions. Through these mechanisms, maid agencies re-assign the functions of particular speech acts, address terms and politeness formu-

lae, and re-signify the meanings and values of English in order to establish a singular linguistic repertoire that indexes the subordinate position of domestic workers and turns the migrant women into marketable 'products'.

**Ceil Bayley Lucas and Carolyn Robert McCaskill**

Gallaudet University, United States of America and University of California, Davis, United States of America

*Black ASL: the socio-historical foundations*

This paper reports on the socio-historical foundations of a variety of American Sign Language (ASL) commonly referred to as Black ASL, described by Hairston and Smith (1983) as "a Black way of signing used by Black people in their own cultural milieu among families and friends, in social gatherings, and in deaf clubs." While the American School for the Deaf (ASD) was established for white students in 1817 in Hartford, Connecticut, no attempt was made to provide education for Black deaf students until the 1850s, although some states did not provide such education until much later. North Carolina established the first school for Black deaf children in 1869. Louisiana had no state school for Black children until 1938. In the early 1950s, thirteen states still had segregated schools for Black deaf children and as late as 1963, eight states still did. In addition, in several states, programs for Black deaf children were established independently from the state schools. As part of the foundation for an on-going study of the phonological, syntactic and lexical structure of Black ASL, this paper will review the history of education for Black deaf children and discuss the implications of this history for the structure and use of Black ASL.

**Suen Caesar Lun**

City University of Hong Kong, China

*The Road of Jyutping (Cantonese Romanization) in Hong Kong and Its Social Implications and Applications*

There have been several Cantonese Romanization Schemes for Cantonese, e.g. Wade-Giles, Yale, Wong Shek Ling's, etc. but none has been taken seriously to represent Cantonese in daily applications (Sze 2002). Some have been used for transcribing names and the adoption is usually unsystematic and ad-hoc. Many are just restricted to the transcription of Chinese (including native Cantonese characters) in dictionaries and are not well known to the general public who seldom care for looking up Chinese characters. In 1993, the Linguistic Society of Hong Kong (LSHK) gathered some member linguists to devise a comprehensive scheme based on ASCII codes only that incorporates the advantages of many existing systems after long heated debates for a year and eventually announced formally in the Fourth International Conference on Cantonese and other Yue Dialects in December 1994, the so-called LSHK Jyutping Scheme. Since then, Jyutping has had a long road to go to get to the educational sector, the Hong Kong governments (both the British-Hong Kong Government and the HKSAR Government) and the private sector. More than ten years have passed and some results have been seen.

However, to the advocates, there is still not enough break-through in Jyutping's exposure to the general public. Ordinary citizens usually have a vague idea of representing Cantonese using 'English letters'. It is evident that the codification of Cantonese making use of Jyutping is both needed for the mother-tongue education promoted by the HKSAR government for it should facilitate the learning of Putonghua and English through a conscious contrast and comparison with Cantonese, the dominant vernacular in the street, which is a dialect of Southern Chinese so that negative interference can be avoided. Though some progress has been seen, it is far from enough. Moreover, confronted with the telecommunications and IT needs of the modern world, a standard way to represent the language phonemically and phonetically is most needed for daily applications. However, not enough effort has been seen in this direction and there is still a long road to go for Cantonese Jyutping to succeed in all walks of life. Considering that Jyutping is not on the high priority list of the government and not an extremely profitable endeavor for the private sector which looks to the north for business opportunities, the long march of Jyutping is going to be tough. This paper will try to describe and discuss the roadmap for the Jyutping Scheme to get the popularity it deserves and thus it can serve as the standard Romanization Scheme to represent Cantonese in all walks of life.

### **Heikki Mannila, Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg**

University of Helsinki, Finland

*The diffusion of linguistic changes in real time: leaders, laggards, and the in-betweens*

The aim of this paper is to trace general diffusion patterns for linguistic changes by examining the behaviour of three groups of speakers: leaders, laggards, and the in-betweens or 'average' speakers, for over two centuries. The six processes we have analysed involve morphological and syntactic changes that were in progress in English between c. 1450 and 1700.

In recent years, the discussion of the diffusion of linguistic changes has largely focused on the most progressive speakers, e.g. in Labov (2001), the "movers and shakers" in the community. We would like to extend the analysis to conservative individuals and those who cannot be characterized as either progressive or conservative. Our paper provides the overall patterns and distributions of the different types of language user during the various phases of a change in progress on the macro level, and gives a background analysis of the people involved on the micro level.

The material for this study stems from the 2.7-million-word Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC; c. 1410-1680), created at the University of Helsinki for research in historical sociolinguistics (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003; Raumolin-Brunberg & Nevalainen 2007). The changes studied include (1) loss of the nasal in first- and second-person possessives (*mine enemy* → *my enemy*), (2) the replacement of the second person subject pronoun by the object form (*ye* → *you*), (3) change in the third-person singular indicative suffix (*she goeth* → *she goes*), (4) loss of the preposition of in the object of the gerund (*writing of the letter* → *writing the letter*), (5) change in the form of the relative pronoun *which* (*the which* → *which*), (6) loss of multiple negation (*we cannot see nothing* → *we cannot see anything*).

The computational methods developed for this study include Bayesian and bootstrap techniques. For methodological comparisons, see Hinneburg et al. (2007).

### **Helen Marriott**

Monash University, Australia

*The management of academic discourse acquisition*

Learning how to participate appropriately in a new academic discourse community is all the more challenging for non-native speakers of that language and sociocultural background. Drawing upon the Language Management Theory (Neustupny and Nekvapil 2003; Neustupny 2004) in conjunction with the notion of communities of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998), this paper will consider how, at the micro level, students engage in simple management to draft and edit their written academic texts. The role played by organised management at the institutional level, and the ways in which the design of adjustment programs matches the needs of students is also discussed.

While differences in power, status and expertise characterise different participants (e.g., students, teachers, language advisors, university academic and administrative planners) in the academic community, also present are various ideological stances that impact on the ways in which student participants engage in oral and written practices. Amongst these are notions of plagiarism, collusion, and individual learning which at times seem to impinge on the ways in which novice participants acquire appropriate norms of interaction.

The paper draws on a previous study of Japanese students enrolled at an Australian university (Marriott 2000, 2003, 2004) and will be expanded to consider some of the larger macro societal issues which intersect with micro-level language management.

### **Stefania Marzo**

Hogeschool Gent / K.U.Leuven, Belgium

*Social practice in language variation: the spread of linguistic elements in ethnolects*

Research into linguistic variation rarely focuses on gaining insight into the way in which variation comes about (Marshall 2004: 5). The purpose of this paper is to respond to this lack of studies, by examining the underlying

dynamics of variation; in particular, by answering the following questions: (1) *why do people vary their language?* (2) *how are new linguistic elements introduced and adopted by others?*

In order to answer these theoretical questions, I will start from an empirical study on *citétaal* (“language spoken in the *cités*”), an ethnolect, spoken by youngsters in Belgium. It is a variety that is used in the former ghettoized mining areas of Limburg and that hasn’t received any scientific attention yet, unlike other “youth languages” or “steet languages” in multiethnic neighbourhoods in Belgium and the Netherlands (Appel & Schoonen 2005; Jaspers 2005). *Citétaal* is characterized by typical ethnolectal features, o.a. morphological over-generalization and borrowing, particularly from Italian. Furthermore, this variety is used both by immigrant and non-immigrant youngsters, so that it can hardly be called a minority language.

The main question of this presentation is: *why and how do youngsters, and particularly non-immigrants, decide to use these linguistic forms?* In analyzing this problem, I will decompose the notions of social meaning and identity, by focusing on the multiple factors that play a role during linguistic interaction. This will be done within a theoretical framework that considers language and linguistic variation as a dynamic social practice (Clark 1996; Eckert 2000) and speakers as agents who influence each other by their language use. In this perspective, variation emerges when two or more linguistic forms are in competition (Tomasello 2006): in every linguistic interaction, a variety of linguistic phenomena is offered and the interlocutor can choose the form he wants to adopt. His choice will depend on a series of factors that determine the importance of the form within the linguistic practice (the person that offers the form, the setting, ...).

On the basis of data gathered during a fieldwork (participant observation, interviewing and group recordings) in two neighbourhoods in Belgian Limburg, I will elaborate this theoretical framework, in order to develop a model that can shed more light on the processes of variation, in particular on the practice of lending and spreading linguistic elements.

### **Mayouf Ali Mayouf and Li Wei**

English Department, Faculty of Arts, Sebha University, Libya Arab Jamahiriya and School of Languages, Linguistics & Culture Birkbeck, University of London

*Pejorative references as positive politeness in parents and their babies interaction and communication in Libya*

Pejorative references, as shown in the phrase *my ugly, dirty, stinky and doggy baby daughter/son* is commonplace in Libyan (and possibly all Arab and most East Asian countries) language culture. They are used by the speaker to refer to themselves, their family and close friends in specific contexts, and are usually used as a sign of love, belongingness and intimacy. Such references, particularly references to persons other than the speaker (the speaker’s baby daughter/son in this research), are often seen by those unfamiliar with the Arabic language cultures as insulting or at least negative in intent. In fact, it is hard to imagine such references could be acceptable at all in post-modern feminist societies. However, we wish to argue in this paper that pejorative references to family and friends are expressions of positive politeness. We will examine in detail the specific contexts in which Libyan parents use pejorative references when amusingly interact and communicate with their baby daughters/sons. The data employed in this research comes from ethnographic observation and interviews. The pejorative phrases produced by the parents (subjects) were naturally recorded. The investigation will help us to understand the concept of self in the Libyan culture, which in our view may differ in several important dimensions from that in other cultures, and on the other hand, may look very similar to pejorative references practiced in other cultures, e.g. East Asian. Nevertheless, dichotomies such as individualism and collectivism cannot fully account for the differences. We will also argue, from a methodological perspective, that linguistic practices play an essential role in the construction of culture and cultural values.

### **Justin McCubbin**

University of Limerick, Ireland

*Irish-Speaking Immigrants in Ireland: A Discursive Analysis of Identity and Language Ideology*

With non-nationals constituting roughly 10% of the Irish population according to the National Census of 2006, Ireland is undergoing a social transformation unparalleled in its modern history<sup>1</sup>. Questions of multiculturalism and social integration are of central importance and present a number of unique challenges for Irish society. Determining the roles that the Irish language should play in contemporary Ireland is one such challenge.



This has been a topic of debate since well before the arrival of substantial numbers of immigrants, of course, but it is due to these demographic changes that the role of Irish has become a subject of even greater contention and increased complexity. Can the Irish language be maintained and promoted while simultaneously encouraging multiculturalism and integration of immigrants into an English-speaking mainstream? What role, if any, can immigrants play in promoting native Irish culture?

This paper will address these issues by means of a discursive analysis of identity and language ideology among a particular segment of Ireland's immigrant population: those who have chosen to learn and speak Irish. I will examine their beliefs about the role of language in their own identities and contrast this to the way in which certain discourses in mainstream Irish society perpetuate contrary ideologies, forming covert language policies. It is my intention to show that the act of identifying oneself and being identified by others as belonging to the Gaelic ethnoculture is in many ways a discursive practice rather than one based upon ethnicity<sup>2</sup>. If the challenges created by rapid demographic change in Ireland are approached from a more humanistic perspective on language and identity, social integration could be achieved in a way that does not threaten the viability of the native Gaelic ethnoculture.

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Central Statistics Office of Ireland. 2007: Census 2006.

Available at: [http://www.cso.ie/census/Census2006\\_Principal\\_Demographic\\_Results.htm](http://www.cso.ie/census/Census2006_Principal_Demographic_Results.htm)

<sup>2</sup> Johnstone, B. 2002: Discourse Analysis. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

#### Robert M. McKenzie

The Language Centre, University of Glasgow

*The Influence of Variety Recognition on Non-Native Attitudes towards English Speech varieties: A Japanese Case Study*

Despite the enormous amount of valuable research which has been undertaken in the field of psycholinguistics to understand the complex ways in which individuals perceive, process and encode spoken language, until recently, much of the knowledge gained has largely been ignored by sociolinguists (Clopper and Pisoni, 2005). For instance, sociolinguists and social psychologist conducting language attitude studies have traditionally tended to assume that informants who listen to and evaluate speech stimuli are able to identify with consistent accuracy the varieties of English in question. However, misidentification could reduce the validity of any results obtained, particularly when it involves the evaluations of non-native English speaking informants, who are likely to have had less exposure to varieties of English speech.

This talk details the findings of an in-depth quantitative study investigating the perceptions of 558 Japanese university students of six varieties of English speech. The results indicated that whilst evaluations of speakers of UK and US English were particularly positive in terms of status, a Japanese speaker of heavily-accented English was rated most favourably in terms of social attractiveness. Moreover, analysis of the data collected from an additional dialect recognition question demonstrated that accurate identification had a significant positive effect upon the perceived status of native varieties of English, suggesting a tendency amongst the informants to look to native speakers to provide 'notions of correctness'. The results also imply that Japanese learners retain representations of varieties of English speech and draw upon this resource, whether consciously or unconsciously, in order to identify and evaluate (speakers of) these speech varieties.

#### Carolyn McKinney

University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa

*Language, Identity and (Subverting) Assimilation in a desegregated South African Girls' school*

This paper discusses data drawn from a larger research project which explores the relationship between language, identity and conditions for learning in four urban, racially desegregated schools in Johannesburg, South Africa. Data were collected over two school terms using an ethnographic approach: non-participant observation in the classroom as well as participant observation and semi-structured group and individual interviews were conducted. The previously white suburban secondary schools that are the focus of this study are typically positioned on the elite end of the continuum that represents South African public schooling. While in all four



schools, English is the official medium of instruction and is hegemonic in the school environment, the learners themselves are typically multilingual with few learners speaking English as a first or home language.

The paper focuses on a girls' school, and explores how African girls are positioned within the school both by discourses within and outside of the formal learning context. Recent research on school desegregation in South Africa has convincingly uncovered a dominant assimilationist approach (Soudien, 2004), which suggests that learners from subordinate groups give up certain cultural resources or ways of being and take on those that are dominant. However, while assimilation implies that learners adapt to a 'superior' culture, the paper aims to uncover the extent to which learners are transforming those cultural resources and constructing new identities. In doing so, it particularly focuses on the learners' language practices as a productive site for the exploration of their contradictory positioning (Weedon, 1997) and of the processes in which they both resist and accede to the assimilationist project.

### **Wilson McLeod and John Walsh**

University of Edinburgh, Scotland, United Kingdom and National University of Ireland Galway, Ireland

*An overcoat wrapped around an invisible man?*

*Language legislation and community language revitalisation in Ireland and Scotland*

New legislation in Ireland and Scotland is expected to stimulate a significant increase in the provision of public services in Irish and Gaelic in coming years. This paper considers the implications of these enactments for community language revitalisation, by examining the measures which public bodies are expected to implement in order to increase their bilingual service provision. Drawing on Strubell's 'Catherine Wheel' language planning framework, it identifies weaknesses in the measures and suggests ways of overcoming them. It is argued that, for this legislation to have a significant linguistic impact, careful strategies are needed to equip speakers of Irish and Gaelic to use their languages in relation to public services, given the dominance of English in these domains. In particular, strategies are needed to recruit and deploy bilingual staff in an effective manner. Without careful planning, there is a risk that these enactments will not bring about meaningful changes in language practice and may become largely symbolic rather than functional.

### **Miriam Meyerhoff and James A. Walker**

University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom and York University, Canada

*On the Social Saliency of Grammatical Variation: Existentials in Bequia (St Vincent & the Grenadines)*

An ongoing question in the study of linguistic variation and change is the extent to which speakers are aware of variation above the level of phonology and make use of such variation in reflecting and constructing social identity. In our ongoing study of the varieties of English spoken on Bequia (St Vincent and the Grenadines), we find two salient points of variation in the form of existential (or presentational) sentences. First is the choice of expletive subject (*it* vs. *there*), a feature shared with other varieties of Caribbean English. Second is number agreement on the verb ('singular agreement' vs. 'plural agreement'), a feature found in existential constructions in varieties of English more generally.

*There is/are NP*

Yeah, there is so jokes when you're in school you know. (BQ.2003.005:621)

*It has/have NP*

I like it being alone and it have all kind of book I coulda read (BQ.2003.020:542)

*It got NP*

Because it got several spirits out there. (BQ.2005.303:1197)

In this paper, we examine the distribution and conditioning of these three variants in recordings made with speakers from three villages on Bequia. We focus in particular on individuals we refer to as 'urban sojourners' (Meyerhoff & Walker 2007), who have migrated to large cities for work at some time in their past but have since returned to Bequia and their home village. In previous work, we found their patterns of BE absence to mirror that of their stay-at-home peers, despite a noticeable shift in relative frequencies among the urban sojourners. From these results we infer that there has been no fundamental change to their underlying grammar and BE absence operates below the level of speaker awareness.

However, although existentials also involve predicational BE, their patterns are very different. First, the urban sojourners have systematised their preference for existentials, focusing either on English *there is/are* pattern or on creole *it have*. Second, in the latter case, this focusing results in a loss of agreement characteristic of the speech of stay-at-home peers in the village. Both these facts suggest that existentials are a form of grammatical variation that operates above the level of speaker awareness, and thus may in fact be more lexical than grammatical, necessitating a review of previous work on BE absence and existentials (Walker 2007; Walker & Meyerhoff 2005).

### **Eleni Michalopoulou**

Lancaster University, United Kingdom

*A framework for analysing adolescent immigrant speech beyond the micro-vs.-macro dichotomy*

The controversy between micro- and macro-approaches to speech analysis has developed over the years into two separate and, most of the times, irreconcilable schools. Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 8-9) arrange a number of approaches moving gradually from those which rely on the text they analyse excluding context (e.g., Conversation Analysis) to those for which the analysis is not complete unless context is considered (e.g., Critical Discourse Analysis). But even within traditional CA, context proves to be a negotiable issue as long as it is made relevant in the conversation (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998: 4), it is 'brought about' and not 'brought along' in interaction (Li Wei, 1998: 170), or it serves 'the contextualisation of the linguistic activity under investigation' (Lytra, 2003: 50).

In the present paper, I will discuss the efforts of Tiger and his sister (Hara) to communicate verbally their preferences to each other. The speakers are the children of an immigrant family and are bilingual in Albanian (minority language) and Greek (second language). In the extract, Tiger uses both codes while Hara sticks to Greek throughout. I suggest that it is not enough to draw on the turn-by-turn construction of meaning by the two interlocutors (micro-approach ushered by CA principles). If we did, we would say that Tiger is asking his sister to turn the TV off and she refuses every time. Code-alternation cannot be merely explained by saying that it foregrounds divergence (which reflects the siblings' disagreement) or Hara would always choose the language opposite to the one currently used by her brother. Equally, addressing ethnographic information (macro-analysis) is inadequate. Tiger is older and, therefore, a more experienced speaker but Hara gets her way in the end. In addition, their language choice is dictated by a sort of 'family policy' regarding the reinforcement of the acquisition of the second language to prepare Hara for school. But this is defied by Tiger as he oscillates between the two languages.

The analytic framework comprises the discourse identities of each participant in the interactional episode (Zimmerman, 1998), as well as the content and the means (i.e., the language(s)) by which this is communicated.

### **Marlene Miglbauer**

Vienna University of Economics and Business Administration, Austria

*Constructing and presenting identities in interviews*

Since the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989, Eastern and South-Eastern European countries have entered a phase of transformation, which affected and altered state institutions and consequently people's lives. Rejecting everything that was connected with Socialism, considerable changes have occurred in the areas of the economy, politics and institutions in general impacting on people's everyday life.

This paper focuses on the construction of identities and the shifts of identity orientation of South-Eastern employees using English as their dominant work language in an interview setting. By drawing on gender identities, professional identities and collective identities, this paper tries to analyse the shifts of identity constructions in interaction by putting them into the context of the phase of transformation in postsocialist Croatia and Serbia since the end of the war in 1995. Relevant changes of the transitional phase include new work settings, economic ties to Western and Central European countries and the (official) discourse of gender equality. Additionally, communicating in a foreign language in the workplace may also be contributing to new arrangements of one's own identity constructions at work.

Applying the theoretical concepts of Butler's (1990) fluid and performative identities and Zimmerman's (1998) concept of orientation to various kinds of identities in interaction, semi-structured interviews are ana-

lysed according to how the interviewees structure their accounts and how they relate and orient to different kinds of identities. Special consideration is also given to the interview setting and its influence on the construction of and orientation to identities.

### **Emma Moore and Robert J. Podesva**

University of Sheffield, United Kingdom and Georgetown University, USA

*"You wouldn't even have expected an answer, then, would you?": Exploring the stylistic function of tag questions*

The last decade has seen two significant changes in the role style plays in our exploration of the social meaning of linguistic variation. Firstly, sociolinguists have demonstrated that social meanings are most effectively revealed via 'multi-modal' stylistic analysis - the analysis of spoken language in combination with practice, behaviour and activity (Bucholtz 1999, Eckert 2000, Zhang 2005). Secondly, and more recently, researchers have considered how the social meaning of language is better understood when language features are considered in their full linguistic context, as indices operating across grammar, sound and/or discourse (Campbell-Kibler et al. 2006).

This study brings together researchers working on disparate areas of the grammar (discourse, morphosyntax, and phonology) in order to demonstrate how the social meaning of tag questions is best understood when examined relative to the full social and linguistic contexts in which they occur. Drawing upon ethnographic data from a community of high school girls in northwest England, we examine 40 hours of conversational data (comprising 261,880 words) and consider the use of tag questions among four different social groups (the Townies, the Populars, the Geeks and the Eden Village girls).

Our data demonstrate that whilst tag questions exhibit common linguistic properties and pragmatic functions, these can be stylised to construct different nuances of social meaning. A quantitative analysis of 800 tokens reveals that tags are stylised by virtue of the surrounding discourse context (e.g. whether speech overlaps, whether the interlocutor responds). Moreover, members of the four groups differentiate themselves from girls belonging to other groups through their use of syntactic and phonological variables in tags as well as their choice to change or sustain conversation topics.

We argue that, whilst frequency plays a role in assigning social meaning, it does not explain how linguistic features tie to identities. A qualitative analysis of the discourse indicates that tag questions are used to express particular stances/alignments, which then track recursively outwards, connecting in subtly different ways to communities via a process of stance accretion (Du Bois 2002, Rauniomaa 2003). Whilst these communities connect to ideological instantiations of larger social categories such as gender (see, for instance, Holmes 1984, 1995 for an examination of the correlation between gender and tag questions), the flexibility of tag questions as a resource means that they need not always do so in prototypical ways. Consequently, we show that the 'same' linguistic feature comes to mean different things when incorporated into the style of the four communities we study.

### **Marta Morgade, David Poveda and Laura Pulido**

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

*Multimodal storytelling, sign language interpreters and children's participation in literature socialization events*

Programming storytelling events in libraries and children's bookstores in which a sign language interpreter is also present has become in Spain a common strategy for the Deaf community to enhance Deaf children's participation in these social settings. Also, for many hearing children this is one of the most important spaces where they come into contact with sign language and Deaf children. In this presentation we examine results of a qualitative research project that, among other things, gathered video recordings of children's storytelling sessions in a library and a bookstore in Madrid (Spain) in which the main storyteller was accompanied by an interpreter and a visible segment of the audience was composed by Deaf children and their families - as part of the project we have also interviewed storytellers, the interpreter, some of the attending children and families and collected a variety of documents from these settings.

In our analysis of these events we have developed a model that considers these sessions rich multimodal storytelling episodes (Norris, 2004; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001) in which the discourses of the main storyteller and the interpreter produce a complex narrative, where features of sign language, gesture, orality and other

modes/media interact with each other. The effects of these interrelationships for hearing and Deaf children are varied but previous analysis of the data suggest that, overall, Deaf children face more challenges to access the main narrative and experience a number of discursive configurations in which elements of the story are lost for them (Authors; accepted for publication).

In this presentation we focus in detail in the multimodal unfolding of a fragment of a version of the “*Sleeping Beauty*” story as an analytically revealing counter-example of this general pattern. Within the corpus of video recordings it is one of the episodes in which Deaf children have a more active role and, in fact, seem to be ahead of hearing children in their understanding of the story. Also, the narrative sequence itself centers on the display of different communicative modes and media (aural, visual and kinesic) and makes explicit within the story itself the properties of different communicative channels, serving as meta-commentary on modality in itself. Finally, since children’s responses during the episode are relatively high and contingent the sequence provides some access to their on-line interpretation of the narrative during storytelling events – something that is, generally, methodologically complicated to access via video-recordings of public performances. This micro-analysis helps raise questions in relation to Deaf children’s access to cultural public institutions and more generally the complexity of forms in which literature is delivered to children in modern urban contexts.

### **Mairead Moriarty**

University of Limerick, Ireland

*Minority Language Television as an Effective Mechanism of Language Policy*

Minority language media are often considered to be an important element in the revitalisation and survival of minority languages. As a visible and widely used part of contemporary life, media are seen to have the potential to expand domains for small languages, to increase awareness of them and to enhance means and motivation to use these languages (Cutter 2001; Hale 2001). In the context of European minority languages the affect of the process of globalisation on the presence of minority languages on the media has been phenomenal. There has been a dramatic increase in the presence of such languages on the television medium in particular. This presentation provides an original comparative insight in to the role of minority language television in minority language revitalisation amongst third-level students in Ireland and the Basque Autonomous Community. By showing that language revitalisation via the educational system can only have a limited effect, when these efforts are not coupled with an increase in the level of contact with these languages, this paper aims to make the case for television as an alternative milieu in which minority language planners and policy makers can focus more of their attention.

Drawing on quantitative and qualitative data from fieldwork undertaken amongst non-first language speaking university students between 18-25 years old, the paper shows that minority language television is a hugely important tool in language revival efforts. The value of minority language television in expanding the domains in which students come in contact with minority languages is also highlighted. The data demonstrates that minority language television in Irish and Basque has enhanced the perception of these languages amongst university students, thus identifying minority language television as an important de-facto mechanism of language policy.

### **Malka Muchnik**

Bar-Ilan University, Israel

*“Smart Bomb” and “Friendly Fire”: Hidden Violence behind Words*

It is commonly thought that languages reflect the spirit of the society by which they are spoken. In a belligerent society we can expect to find a wide lexicon related to war (Chilton, 1987). Military expressions may be found not only in the vocabulary attributed to the army, but in very different areas. Indeed, many metaphorical expressions used in Modern Hebrew were taken from the military world. Among them we can find slang expressions, and even personal compliments, like *ptsatsa* (‘bomb’), *totah* (‘cannon’) or *pagaz* (‘cannon shell’).

Unlike this, in many instances the Army itself refrains from using expressions that remind war. The reason for this is that they deliberately try to avoid negative and threatening connotations. One way of mitigating and softening people’s feelings about war is the use of positive words to indicate violent events and the weapons

designated for this purpose. This usage is ubiquitous to different languages and societies, yet in a society, like the Israeli society, living in conflict and violence this phenomenon is much more pronounced.

In this lecture I will describe the use of a unique lexicon in the Israeli army and show many expressions carrying a positive connotation, especially metaphoric, to hide and soften the real meaning of the facts. One of the most salient semantic fields in this kind of usage is the use of expressions taken from nature. Thus, for example, weapons are named by animal names, like *shu'alit* ('little fox'), *dolphin* or *yanshuf* ('owl'); some combatant units are called by fruit names, like *duvdevan* ('cherry'), *haruv* ('carob') or *shaked* ('almond'), and military operations are called by pleasant nature phenomena like *dimdume boker* ('morning twilight'), *hanets habama* ('sunrise') or *keshet be'anani* ('rainbow').

A very ironical use can be found when attributing positive human characteristics to destructive military matters, such as *ptsatsa baxama* ('smart bomb') or *esh yedidutit* ('friendly fire'). Although these expressions are loan translations, the widespread use of them in the Israeli society emphasizes the euphemistic use of language in a violent environment. This is an intentional mean of moderating the threatening feelings that people may experience.

The goal of this lecture is to disclose linguistic devices used by official entities, such as the government, the army and the press, in order to minimize military facts, and present them in a more positive light. The special language used for the camouflage of military violence will be described following methods of critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis (Chilton, 1985; Fairclough, 1995; Fowler, 1996).

### **Helena Ní Ghearáin**

Ollscoil Luimnigh / University of Limerick, Ireland

*An Empirical Study of Acceptance in Irish Terminology Planning*

This paper explores the issue of acceptance in terminology planning, drawing on a discussion of acceptance and evaluation in language planning more generally, and using data from an empirical study on Irish terminology planning to illustrate how acceptance may be investigated and how the data from this investigation may be used to inform future terminology planning.

Irish language planning is well-known for its status planning initiatives, in the pursuit of both language maintenance and revival. Understandably, the corpus planning effort has been overshadowed by the priority afforded status planning. Corpus planning, however, can facilitate status planning initiatives and in some instances, even achieve status planning aims (Fishman 2000). Corpus planning played an important role in the language planning effort in Ireland throughout the twentieth century. Examples include the efforts of early language revivalists who collected and coined new terms in order to prepare the language for its new uses and later, the governmental interventions in orthographical simplification, grammatical standardisation and terminological elaboration. Terminological elaboration was carried out by various terminology committees established by the government from the 1920s onwards; an official permanent committee was established in 1968. However, despite the long tradition of official terminology planning, there is a dearth of research in this area. This is detrimental to terminology planning in two principal ways: 1. the terminology committee must function in the absence of essential data on the terminological practices and ideologies of the community and 2. there is no evaluation of the terminology planning carried out and therefore little possibility for improvement. The empirical study which I carried out in 2007 aims to address these gaps in the research.

Success in terminology planning, and in language planning more generally, implies acceptance on the part of the language community. To evaluate language planning, one must engage with the concept of acceptance, a concept which is difficult to define and therefore difficult to measure. My understanding of acceptance in language planning encompasses three components: 1. the acceptance of the language planning products, e.g. planned terminology, 2. the acceptance of the authority of the language planning agents and 3. the acceptance of the need to engage in language planning in the first place. This understanding of acceptance underpins the design of the study. The study provides data on the terminological practices and ideologies of habitual Irish speakers living and working in traditionally Irish-speaking areas. This data comprises quantitative data on the terms known/used and qualitative data on attitudes towards the importance of new terminology in Irish, the official planning of such, and the authorities involved in this work. Such data may be used to further inform future efforts in Irish terminology planning.



### Jenny Nilsson and Margareta Svahn

The Institute for Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research (SOFI), Sweden

*Context influence on intra-individual dialect variation: the case of [r] and [R] in West Swedish teenager conversation*

In some West Swedish dialects two different r:s are used: [r] and [R]. Traditionally [R] is used in certain positions, mainly word initial, as compared to [r] in all positions in Standard Swedish. Recordings made in 2007 within the project “Dialect levelling in West Sweden” confirm that there is an ongoing change regarding the use of [R]; among the younger generation [R] is no longer a common feature. The data consist of interviews and self made recordings with teenagers in both rural and urban settings. Only occasionally, [R] is used consistently by a speaker in a recording, and most speakers do not use [R] at all. We suggest that [R] is a highly salient feature.

Dialect speakers often display intra-individual variation depending on the social context, i.e. in a certain context one speaker might use [r] and in another [R]. However, in our data, some informants interestingly enough switch between [r] and [R] within the same social context. This is exemplified in the extract below where a group of informants are asked whether anyone ever commented on their dialect ([R] is marked).

1 A: inte [R]ätt upp i ansiktet

*not [R]ight to your face*

(three lines with agreements omitted)

2 B: inte så direkt [R]ätt upp i ansiktet men man ha ju hört de eller så

*not directly [R]ight to your face but you've heard it so to speak*

In the first line, A, who uses [R] throughout the recording, answers the interviewer's question and uses [R]. In line 2, B, who usually uses [r] in the recording, reuses the phrase that A used in line 1. In doing this he also uses [R]. We suggest that this is due to the fact that A just used this salient feature and that this “triggers” B to use it as well.

In this paper we will present patterns of switching between [r] and [R] in conversation. We also argue that intra-individual variation can be the result of the immediate phonological, lexical as well as the conversational context (Coupland 2001, Lindström 2003). By doing a sequential analysis of extracts where [r] and [R] occurs we have surveyed the pattern of [r] and [R] in a given context. We argue further that a sequential data analysis (Sacks et al 1974) reveals that the use of certain dialect features is not random, but follows patterns that can be explained by the context in which they occur.

### Eva Ogiermann

Carl von Ossietzky Universität Oldenburg, Germany

*Some (more) insights into cross-cultural speech act realisations patterns*

The present paper offers a contrastive analysis of three speech acts (requests, apologies, and complaints) in four languages (English, German, Polish, and Russian). Whereas English and German speech act realisation has received ample attention in previous research, there are only a few studies investigating Polish and / or Russian apologies (e.g. Pisarek 1995, Rathmayr 1996, Marcjanik 1997, Lubecka 2000) and requests (e.g. Mills 1992, Marcjanik 1997, Lubecka 2000, Betsch 2003, Larina 2003).

German, Polish and Russian interactional styles have been described as more direct than Anglo-Saxon communicative styles, and it has been shown that speakers of these languages tend to be perceived as impolite when communicating in English (e.g. House 2005, Lubecka 2000, Larina 2003). There are, however, no contrastive analyses of speech act strategies typically employed in these languages, allowing for comparisons of the ways in which directness is manifested in them. The present paper offers such an analysis while focusing on requests, apologies and complaints.

The analysis of requests best illustrates cross-cultural differences in the overall level of directness, as evidenced by the distribution of imperative and interrogative constructions. Further interesting differences arise in connection with the choice of modal verbs, supportive moves and politeness markers. The examined apologies differ in the preferences for formulaic apology expressions, their intensification, and the use of indirect apology strategies. The comparison of complaints, in contrast, shows varying frequencies of direct and indirect accusations, requests for repair and forbearance, as well as culture-specific forms of humour.

In contrast to requests, apologies and complaints are reactive speech acts and are generally preceded by an offence. The analysis, therefore, also covers responses in which the speakers avoid an apology by denying responsi-



bility, but also responses in which they refrain from complaining by opting out or using minimising strategies.

The data underlying the study were collected by means of a discourse completion test. Three scenarios were selected from a larger questionnaire, each of them aiming at eliciting one of the speech acts under investigation. Thus, the corpus comprises 100 responses to three scenarios in each of the languages, resulting in a total of 1200 speech acts.

### **Conchúr Ó Giollagáin**

Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland

*Language Abilities, Attitudes and Usage among Young Gaeltacht Residents: interpreting the 'Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht'*

This paper seeks to identify and discuss the range of challenges faced by the various Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking) communities which have been identified in the most comprehensive survey conducted to date on the language abilities, attitudes and patterns of language use among young Gaeltacht residents. This survey was undertaken as part of the recently submitted (November 2006) research report on the linguistic vitality of the Gaeltacht as a designated linguistic region, the 'Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht'.

The aim of the survey, conducted using a very detailed questionnaire which was distributed among final year students in all of the Gaeltacht secondary schools in early 2005, was to gather in-depth information regarding the language background, ability and attitudes to Irish of Gaeltacht youth as well as their self-reported use of the Irish language.

In presenting the findings of this survey, the paper will highlight the young peoples' positive attitudes towards Irish and their relatively high levels of ability in Irish despite the increasingly marginal use of Irish in their own social networks in the Gaeltacht. It will also shed light on the evidence relating to weak intergenerational transmission of the language. An analysis of the role of the education system in the Gaeltacht suggests that attendance at Irish-medium Gaeltacht schools appears, incongruously, to be fostering the use of English among the young because of the English-dominated socialisation processes they encounter at school.

This paper will attempt to identify language planning measures which could be adopted in the Gaeltacht community and education system to counteract these threats to the vitality of Irish as a spoken communal language.

### **Tadhg Ó hIfearnáin**

University of Limerick, Ireland

*Aligning micro and macro Irish language management: Speech community and agency in Gaeilge 2010*

Language planning and policy in Ireland since 1922 have been predominantly national in focus, at corpus and status level, and in acquisition and prestige planning. The macro planning of the language itself and attribution of new roles to it in administration, education and in the public space are typical of what Baldauf (2006: 148-9) describes as "future-oriented systematic-change of language code, use and/or speaking, most visibly taken by government." The Irish case is unusual, though not unique, in international LPP context in that it was founded on planning a language revival for the majority of the population who are a post-language shift speech community, people whose forbears spoke Irish but for whom it is now a second language. The concentration on macro level language policy, planning for the perceived needs and goals of the national community, has had many far-reaching consequences for the residual groups of speakers who use Irish as their main community language, or as one of the languages in bilingual communities.

Although 42% of the population claim to be able to speak Irish (2006 Census), only 85,076 speak it every day outside the education system. There are speakers in all parts of the country, but the main speech communities are in the Gaeltacht, where only just over a quarter of these daily speakers live. Macro language management for over four million people targeting the language of such a small group inevitably produces mismatches. Defined for *national* language policy purposes, Gaeltacht education and administration was to be carried out exclusively in Irish aiming to provide (a) a source of speakers to fulfil functions in the state apparatus and (b) a region for language learners to improve their skills. It has been argued that macro policies of this nature in favour of Irish can actually have the opposite effect in the language community at the micro level (Ó hIfearnáin 2007). Irish has continued to decline in these regions. After generations of institutional language management,

many in the Gaeltacht in effect do not support Irish-only policies for home, school and administration believing that it harms their children's acquisition of English, and potential for bilingualism.

Language policy, being made up of (a) beliefs about language, (b) language practices and (c) how these are managed (Spolsky 2004 & Shohamy 2006), is not just the preserve of politics, but of speech communities, which may have covert, implicit but nevertheless very forceful language policies of their own. This paper will analyse qualitative information gathered by questionnaire from 10,000 Gaeltacht households during 2007 as part of an investigation of micro, in-group, linguistic goals and agency in the formation of local language development plans for Údarás na Gaeltachta's *Gaeilge 2010* initiative, reconciling macro and micro Irish language management.

### **Tope Omoniyi**

Roehampton University, United Kingdom

*Nollywood and the continentalization of Nigerian English*

My purpose in this presentation is to return to the Pan-Africanism debates of the sixties and seventies to revisit what seems to have been one of the most significant strands in those discussions; the need for a common African language to facilitate the actualisation of a notion of Africa and a pan-African identity probably conceptually similar to Europe and European identity. A session was dedicated to the subject at the Black and African Festival of Arts and Cultures (FESTAC) in Lagos in February 1977. A core argument then was that Africa's underdevelopment may be linked to the extensive cultural and linguistic diversity of its component nation-states and the resultant ethnic conflicts, a direct consequence of European colonisation. Ideas were mooted at the time about and around the promotion of Swahili as a common language for a United States of Africa considering the fact that it was already an established multinational language throughout Eastern and parts of Southern Africa. In the closing decade of the 20th Century and beginning of the 21st, where economics and politics seemed to have failed, the media has become a conduit for south-south culture flow thus feathering pan-Africanism's nest; Music Television (MTV) and the Nigerian Video Film industry 'Nollywood' provide convincing illustrations of this. In this paper I shall attempt to tease out the micro and macro connections between Pan-Africanism, media, language and identity. To do this I shall explore the language aspect of the sociocultural dimensions of the pan-African ideology and demonstrate how Nollywood as both media and cultural phenomenon may be pushing the Pan-Africanism agenda forward through the continentalization of Nigerian English. Continentalization will be theorized in relation to existing frameworks of globalization. I shall draw upon data elicited as part of a Ferguson Centre for African and Asian Studies (Open University) sponsored on-going research project on Nollywood and the African Diaspora in the United Kingdom.

### **Pádraig O Riagáin**

University of Dublin, Trinity College, Ireland

*Modernisation, Cultural Change and Language Attitudes: Tracking long-term shifts in Language Attitudes*

The central claim of modernization theory is that socioeconomic development is linked with coherent and relatively predictable changes in culture. Classic modernization theorists argued that religion and ethnic traditions would decline, and be replaced by 'modern' values. However, while cultural traditions have indeed changed, they have also proved to be remarkably persistent, and contemporary theories of modernization are more nuanced and qualified. Inglehart & Baker (2000) argue that the empirical evidence 'demonstrates both massive cultural changes and the persistence of distinctive traditional values.... Modernisation is probabilistic, not deterministic. Economic development tends to transform a given society in a predictable direction, but the process and path are not inevitable. Many factors are involved, so any prediction must be contingent on the historical and cultural context of the society in question'. (see also Inglehart & Welzel 2005).

This body of theoretical and empirical research provides the framework for an analysis of long term shifts in language attitudes in Ireland. Diachronic research is, relatively speaking, a neglected area in language attitude studies, and the data for the study of long-term trends is frequently not available. Ireland is relatively well-endowed in this regard, as language survey research extends to the mid-1960s.

The paper proposes to examine changes in language attitudes between 1964 and 2004 in Ireland, and relate

shifts in attitudes to social changes that occurred over the same period. Data will be drawn from national language surveys conducted in 1964, 1973, 1983, 1993, 2001 and 2004.

### **Mathilde Østergaard and Pia Quist**

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

*Pink and Gangsta Blue - co-construction of gender in conversations*

Drawing on Butler, among others, Søndergaard (2005: 191) contends that gender is “produced, reproduced, negotiated and reshaped through all kinds of discursive practices - all of which involve humans being read and identified as belonging to a specific sex/gender category depending on (interpretations of) the signs on their bodies”. In this paper we want to demonstrate how such discursive practices operate interactionally in conversations. Through an in-depth analysis of a conversation between three girls and two boys we shall show how specific gender positions are produced and reproduced *relationally* in the course of a conversation. We shall show that the ‘reading’ and ‘identification’ of a person’s belongingness to a gender category is a continuous relational process which involves active interactional cooperation between the participants.

As Stewart Hall (1996: 4) argues, identity is “constituted within, not outside of representation, within, not outside, discourse, and constructed through, not outside, difference”. Representations, discourses and differences take very concrete (*material*, one might say) forms in conversations where participants make themselves and each other readable through the exchange and deployment of linguistic-discursive signs. We shall demonstrate how different signs such as colours, teaming up, laughter etc. are being used actively by participants to constitute differences that can be read as gendered. These signs are deployed through relational performances where both boys and girls play their co-dependent parts. Hence, the main aim of this paper is to demonstrate how gender as a “collaborative” (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 31) works in actual concrete interactions.

We will concentrate our analysis on one conversation which took place between five high school students in September 2002. The conversation is taken from a larger corpus of recordings from a study of linguistic variation at a multi ethnic high school in Copenhagen (Quist 2005).

### **Cajsa Lena Ottesjö**

The Department of Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research in Gothenburg, Sweden

*The West Swedish traditional discourse particle 'la' is still alive.*

This paper deals with the West Swedish discourse particle *la*. Even though it seems to be less used than before, the particle *la* is still in use among younger people in West Sweden. *Väl* ('like'), *nog* ('enough') and *förmodligen* ('presumably') are its counterparts in standard Swedish. *La* is a modifying focal particle that can move rather freely in the clause. It is also common as a part of the existential construction<sup>1</sup> *de (e) la* (det är la 'it's la').

The study is a part of the project "Dialect levelling in West Sweden" (DUV <http://www.sofi.se/1995>). The material consists of recordings made in senior highschools in five town districts encircling the second biggest city in Sweden, Gothenburg: Borås, Kinna, Vara, Trollhättan and Uddevalla. They are not in the closest vicinity of Gothenburg but at a distance of 60 km or more from the City.

*La* has been widely spread over the western parts of south Sweden (Västergötland, Bohuslän and Halland) and is one of the characteristics for the dialect of Gothenburg. Grönberg (2004), in her study of highschoolers in Alingsås (a town close to Gothenburg), describes it as a "local discourse particle". In both Grönberg's study and the recordings in our study (DUV) this particle cooccurs with other features of the regional dialect. Grönberg's study indicates that a decline is going on starting in the regional city and going outwards. In our study, although not all of the interviewees use the particle *la*, there are speakers of *la* in all of the above-mentioned towns.

In my paper I discuss the particle *la* from an interactional point of view and relate the occurrence of it to the locally constructed identity of the speaker. The different functions of *la* and the standard variant *väl* are also discussed.

The following example shows the use of these particles in the same sequence (*la* on line 4, *väl* (with a short vowel) on line 1. The interviewer JN asks a group of four girls if they speak with a dialect. J gives a short answer followed by a more elaborated one from L. (Eng. transl. word-by-word.)

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- 1 J: ja de gör man **väll** hh  
(yes it do one **prt** hh)
- 2 L: de gör man **ju** men inte: så grovt som kanske gamla gör [---]  
(it do one **prt** but not that thick like maybe old folks do)
- 3 JN: ja vilka ord då  
(yes what words then)
- 4 L: nä man säje **la** att de e gött å [sånt  
(no one say **prt** that it is good an' [such)
- 5 X: [(laughter)]

L (on line 4) answers JN's follow-up question and gives an example of how one can speak: *de e gött*. By using *la* instead of *väll* L displays a local identity unlike J (line 1) who uses the standard variant.

#### Endnote

<sup>1</sup> *Det är* ('it is') is the by far most frequent collocation in spoken Swedish, often pronounced as an enclitic [de]. *De e ju* is the most frequent triple, *de e väl* is the eight most frequent (Allwood 2000).

#### Darren Paffey

University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*Globalising standard Spanish - the promotion of panhispanism in the Spanish press*

In the context of debates on global languages, this paper takes a 'top-down' perspective in exploring the emergence of current panhispanic language policies, led by the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language (RAE) and involving other Spanish government agencies. I argue that these policies are rooted in - and fuel - widespread language ideological debates about standardisation and language unity which are frequently played out in the Spanish (and Latin American) press.

In this paper, I use CDA to firstly analyse a selection of news media articles in which the RAE's panhispanic language policy is presented and discussed. I also examine the frequent press coverage of collaborative projects between the RAE and other cultural, commercial and governmental agencies, situating this media discourse in the wider processes of standardisation. A third and particularly interesting focus is the series of International Spanish Language Conferences and their important role in policy development and promotion.

This paper poses questions about how institutional language ideologies drive Spanish language spread in the global context of a linguistic 'market'. It also aims to show how the media is used as a discursive site in which the RAE reinforces various aspects of a 'global standard Spanish' language ideology. I argue that this ideology of panhispanism has become, in part, a response to what the RAE perceives to be the 'threats' of globalisation to the continuing spread of Spanish.

As well as exploring the above themes, I hope to stimulate necessary discussion about Academies - as well as other agents of institutional language ideologies - and their contribution to and direction of public debates on standard language varieties.

#### Sergio Pasquandrea

Università per Stranieri di Perugia, Italy

*Language preference as a displaying of identity:*

*code-switching and identity negotiation during family meals in Italian-American families*

Identity is a key concept in the study of the relationships between micro- and macro-dimensions of sociolinguistics, because it can be connected both with macro- (race, ethnicity, power) and micro- factors (context, negotiation, conversational structures, local actions).

This paper aims to examine the relationship between language alternation and identity negotiation during first-time encounters among Italian researchers and families of Italian immigrants in English-speaking countries.

The data I will analyze were collected during a research project that involved six Italian-Australian and four Italian-American families. The interactions were video-recorded in the family environment, during meals in

which different generations of the same family interacted simultaneously. The methodology I use is based on conversation analysis, enriched with similar approaches such as interpretive sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982a, 1982b) and symbolic interactionism (Goffman 1974).

I will focus on what Auer (1984) called “language negotiation sequences”, i.e. sequences where the base-code of the interaction is locally negotiated. This kind of sequences have been pointed out as privileged loci for the displaying of social and ethnic identities (Gafaranga 2001, Torras & Gafaranga 2002, Cashman 2005). I argue that, in such sequences, language preference can be regarded as a device for the co-construction of one’s own image of “italianity” and “ethnic membership”.

Thus, identity emerges an accomplishment that interactants achieve through a fine-grained work of negotiation and can vary according to changes in the conversational activities being performed (cfr. Antaki & Widdicombe 1998). The association between macro-level constructs, such as social and ethnic identities, and micro-level conversational structures (code-switching, language preference) is not to be taken for granted, but instead must be demonstrated to be relevant to the participants themselves through a close analysis of talk in context.

### **Adriana Patiño**

University Autonoma of Madrid, Spain

*Narrating the conflict: Latino students in Madrid*

The Spanish Educational System currently hosts students from different countries, especially from Latin America. Integration for these students would be expected to be an easy process considering that they share the same language, Spanish. However, contrary to this commonsensical idea, the study of interactional practices, in a high school that concentrates Latino students, has shown us problematic relationships between local teachers and their new students (Martín Rojo, et al. 2003-2007). Conflicts in the classroom, as well as representations of practices done by participants, are seen as hints of transformations in an educational system that was not prepared to receive newcomers.

Our purpose in this communication is to explore the ways in which Latino teenagers narrate their experiences of confrontation, giving their own perspective and explanation of the related events. Their “imposed” and “adopted” identities (Hamann, et al. 2001), as well as the categorization practice they engage in about other’s identities and actions allows us to reflect about the impact of these discourses over the statistics of school failure in this educational centre.

These narrative practices will be explained following Critical Sociolinguistics (Heller, 2001; Rampton, 1995, Martín Rojo, 2006), which involves ethnographic observations, analysis of interaction and discursive/narrative practices. We will take into account interrelated orders: (i) interactional, in which agents produce and reproduce the rituals of schools and classrooms and the ways they understand their own practices (Goffman, 1974); (ii) social, taking into account the migratory context in Spain and the educational policies for dealing with diversity, as well as the consequences these policies have brought for educational practice; and (iii) institutional which shapes what is said and how it is said, according to who counts as a good student and what is considered legitimate knowledge.

### **Marianna Patrona**

Hellenic Military Academy, Greece

*‘a mess’ and ‘rows’: evaluation in prime-time TV news discourse and the shaping of public opinion*

Taking Hunston’s model of evaluation in written academic discourse as a point of departure, this paper examines the discourse evaluation of news events and news makers by journalists in the central (prime-time) news broadcasts of national private television in Greece. Following a growing research interest in the discourse processes that give rise to contemporary media practices, it is argued that the conversational format of prime-time news, which has recently replaced the ‘one-way’ dissemination of news on Greek private television, serves as a vehicle for evaluation, allowing the anchorpersons and journalist panels greater ‘frame space’, i.e. more freedom to express value judgements and voice concrete views. More specifically, prime-time news is generally cast in terms of two major sub-genres, namely the debate and the structured panel discussion. These sub-genres particularly lend themselves to the performance of acts of evaluation by TV journalists. Far from merely reporting



events, journalists display no caution in showing that their main task is to jointly *interpret* reality (news events and the actions of news makers) on behalf of the viewer audience. They set about this task by explicitly encoding their attitudes in the course of conversation, as well as expressing their commitment to the reliability of their talk as authoritative sources of information. It is argued that, in so doing, media personalities in effect shape audience opinions and alignments. By strategically manipulating high modality, lexical choices and register shifts to informal or colloquial language, journalists employ a recognizable public idiom to challenge and control government spokespersons and policies. The data attest to an increasing empowerment of media actors and media institutions, and illustrate the ways in which conversational processes shape and bring into being the continuously evolving public sphere in contemporary Greece.

### **Anna F. Pauwels**

The University of Western Australia, Australia

*Multilingualism and language maintenance in the 'new' Australian diaspora: Dutch-Australian case studies*

Australia is predominantly known as an immigrant society and as a destination for migration rather than a source country for migration. Yet Australia has a growing 'diaspora' which is highly educated and ethnolinguistically diverse. Almost 5% of Australia's population resides overseas on a permanent or long term basis often in non-English speaking countries in Europe and Asia. There is some indication that a substantial proportion of this Australian diaspora is made up of children of postwar immigrants who 'return' to their parents' home country. Yet there is also evidence that many of these Australians eventually return to live in Australia.

To date the linguistic capital and language potential of Australians abroad and returning home are largely unknown and therefore untapped in terms of social, cultural and economic benefits for Australia. What are the language skills of Australians living abroad? Do bilingual returnees continue to use their language skills? How does Australia benefit from these skills? To what extent have 20 years of language policy in Australia impacted on the language abilities of these Australians? Do these Australians living in non-English speaking countries act as agents in the spread of English? Do Australian bilingual returnees have a positive impact on the maintenance and learning of languages other than English by other Australians? These questions form the core of a pioneering sociolinguistic study of the Australian (returning) diaspora. The main purpose of this study is to assess the impact of language policies on this group's language behaviour in and outside of Australia. In addition it also aims to examine to what extent such Australians affect the use of English in non-English language communities and hence to assess the role of the diaspora in the spread of English. The study is made up of several in depth case studies involving Dutch-Australians, Greek-Australians, Chinese-Australians and German-Australians. In this paper I will report on two such case studies which focus on the Dutch-Australian diaspora - Australian-born children of Dutch immigrants to Australia who grew up in Australia, moved to the Netherlands and then back to Australia.

### **Inge Lise Pedersen**

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

*Two processes of de-dialectalisation - and a historical explanation for both*

Denmark used to be a dialect speaking community like the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Germany, but today the Danish speech community is characterised by de-dialectalisation to a larger extent than any one of these countries.

To understand this difference between the uses of the sociolinguistic resources, I shall integrate an analysis of the historical processes characterising the Danish nation state in parallel and contrast to the neighbouring countries with the results of an analysis of the use of two morphological variables. The informants come from two (former) dialect speaking communities in East (Odder) and West (Vinderup) Jutland respectively, and the study is part of the LANCHART project. Recordings from 1978 and re-recordings with the same speakers in 2006 have been analysed, and so have recordings with a younger age cohort, also from 2006.

Historical analyses show that the Danish country people were more modern than their immediate neighbours about 1900 (Christiansen 2004). The rural districts still had a numerical increase of population, with the growth of new rural towns, and with considerable wealth among the farmers. Their way of organising the



market conditions in cooperative societies made them less locally oriented than is usual among villagers, and this was accompanied by substantial dialect levelling during the first half of the 20th century, yet with geographically conditioned differences (Pedersen 2005).

A second wave of modernisation of the agricultural economy started about 1960, and the result is that we are left now with much fewer but much larger farms. This led to a decrease of the population in the rural districts, later on to newcomers from the towns, and more heterogeneous local communities. In the same period, the socialisation of pre-school children was institutionalised, as a consequence of the fact that a very large number of married women entered the labour market. One figure is illustrative: close to 90% of the 3-6 years olds were enrolled in some form of public or private day care outside the home already by 1997.

My hypothesis is that there are crucial differences between the dialect levelling processes in the two periods. While horizontal levelling in the form of regionalisation (Auer and Hinskens 1996) might have taken place in the early 20th century, the contemporary changes must be seen as part of a standardisation or a metropolisation process spreading from the metropolitan area of Copenhagen.

The hypothesis seems to be confirmed by a comparison between the two local communities under study, the East Jutland community of Odder, where the dialect levelling is far more advanced, seems to have more regional variants not belonging to traditional local dialects, than is the case in the West Jutland community, where especially the young speakers tend to adopt the standard variants wholesale directly, while more local usage seems to be restricted to certain masculine communities of practice only (Pedersen and Schøning 2007).

### **Catharina Fernanda Peersman**

FWO-Vlaanderen, Belgium and K.U.Leuven, Belgium

*“Litteris vulgariter in lingua romana expositis”:*

*the use of Old French in the charters of the abbey of Ninove (1137-1350)*

The former abbey of Ninove, situated in the south of the Dutch-speaking area of Flanders, near the linguistic border, left us a well preserved collection of medieval charters. Within this charter corpus, we examine the circumstances of the rise and use of Old French from the foundation of the abbey (1137) to the end of the Old French period (1350). Our case-study combines, for the first time, a scriptological<sup>1</sup> dialect analysis with a sociolinguistic variation study.

Once all charters and their contemporaneous copies, whether they are written in Latin, Old French or Middle Dutch, have been described in a socio-historic profile based on their content, the Old French charters are subjected to a detailed scriptological analysis in which every dialectal characteristic - e.g. Picardian, Walloon, Norman, Flemish - is inventoried. These two phases allow the combination of socio-historic and linguistic data (content and form) of the charters and thus create various research possibilities.

From a more general perspective, the socio-historic conditions for the rise of the written vernaculars in the corpus can then be analysed. More specifically within the use of written Old French, it is possible to examine to which degree certain dialect variants are linked with socio-historic variables.

For instance, between 1250 and 1350, written Old French first appears next to Latin. Afterwards the *lingua romana* is joined and then completely dominated by Middle Dutch, the spoken language of the region. Are the different stages of the rise of the written vernacular marked by a new institution, a legal theme or social circumstances? Which factors encouraged the use of written French? Which particular varieties of French are used? How do we measure the contrast between big landowners, such as the counts of Flanders, and local landlords, who use clearly distinct dialect variants of Old French?

### *Endnote*

<sup>1</sup> Scriptology has been a popular method for French dialect analysis of medieval documents (Gossen 1967). It helped to locate anonymous literary texts and allowed Dees (1980) to create an atlas of 13th century French word forms and constructions in charters. Since then, however, scriptology has been nothing more.

### Elizabeth Peterson

Helsinki University, Finland

*The "invasion" of English? Variation of discourse markers in Finnish*

Recent work on language contact situations has illustrated that discourse markers are a prime location of borrowing and variability, with the "pragmatically dominant" language determining the direction of influence (Matras 1998). Such a phenomenon is also evident with regard to English and native languages, in situations where English serves as a foreign or second language (Sharp 2001). In Finland, for example, the incorporation of English discourse markers such as *all right*, *jees* 'yes', *enivei* 'anyway', *cool*, and even *pliiis* 'please' in Finnish discourse is well attested. This paper reports on speech act data and conversation data from native speakers of Finnish in Helsinki. The results show that, while there is evidence of variation with regard to discourse markers (variants include both Finnish and English discourse markers), with younger people using the English forms at a higher rate than older speakers, these forms do not appear to be supplanting the native Finnish discourse markers. Rather, it is argued that the English-source forms offer a stylistic variation in Finnish, with some forms being so entrenched that they are no longer considered non-native (see Meyerhoff and Niedzielski 2003). A more invasive outcome of the contact between discourse markers, it is argued, occurs with variability in the function of an existing native form, such as Finnish *kiitos* 'please' or *tyyliin* 'in the style of; like,' which, more than offering a means of stylistic variation, can lead to innovations in the Finnish grammar. While relatively little documentation exists at this point regarding the measurable outcome of contact between English and native languages, this paper offers one vantage point of the influence of English in its role as a contact language in the age of globalization.

### John Petrovic

The University of Alabama, United States of America

*Toward a Post-Liberal Theory of Language Policy*

Over the past several decades, the debates between political modernists and post-modernists have become increasingly interesting. Liberals have criticized post-modernism as nihilistic, condemning its proponents to moral silence (Cf. Howe, 1997). Nevertheless, post-modernists have provided relevant critiques of modernist political ideals, including liberalism.

Chet Bowers (1987) draws on Foucault to provide a critique of liberalism. Given the connection between language (discourse) and power, it is in fact modernist liberalism, not postmodernism, that leads to nihilism by seeking continuously to enhance individual autonomy. Further, discourse, and liberal discourse specifically as Bowers' work is concerned, guides the possibilities of conduct and puts in order the possible outcomes. While liberalism seeks to ratchet up individual autonomy, people cannot be responsible only to the dictates of their individual judgment.

Bowers' next move is to draw on communitarianism to address what he sees as an uncritical pursuit of individualism. His goal is to find a balance in the social ecology that recognizes human connections, cultural embeddedness, and the social responsibility that these generate. Will Kymlicka (1995) similarly draws on communitarianism to save liberalism.

This discussion suggests that a new species of political liberalism is required that recognizes and balances the beliefs that individual freedom can neither be totalized nor abandoned. It cannot be totalized given the socio-cultural embeddedness of the human condition and the predictable decline in social (communitarian) responsibility. It cannot be abandoned since the liberal faith in reason and individualism is necessary to break through the discursive field to ensure a moral voice. In short, post-liberalism is a liberalism that takes both the communitarian and postmodern analyses of society and critiques of liberalism seriously.

A post-liberal frame has direct implications for language policy. In this paper, I explore these implications by looking at three increasingly specific language policy issues: official, national languages; bilingual education; and uses of language varieties within classrooms. Working toward a post-liberal analysis, I argue that

- 1) official languages are slippery slope toward a betrayal of some fundamental tenets of liberalism;
- 2) denying bilingual education denies a commitment to the ideal of community and our socio-cultural embeddedness; and

3) instructional practices that assume the superiority of certain language forms or varieties ignore the postmodern critique of the arbitrary regimes of truth that are socially constructed around “language.”

I employ various foils to develop these arguments. First, I draw on English-only legislation and the rhetoric of its supporters in the United States. Second, I consider the important work of Will Kymlicka and other liberal-communitarians who wrongly abandon the communitarian position at crucial moments in their analyses. Third, I review the arguments of linguistic human rightists, such as Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, whose framework a postmodern analysis reveals to be unworkable at the classroom level.

### **Anne Pitkänen-Huhta**

University of Jyväskylä/Research Unit for the Study of Variation, Contacts and Change in English, Finland

*Discursive constructions of learner identities as foreign language users*

In recent years, the English language has become an important linguistic resource for people who do not speak it as their first language. In Finland, young people’s everyday lives are currently saturated with English, but at the same time they are also learners of English in the institutional setting of the school. This paper focuses on Finnish teenagers’ accounts of learning English in their out-of-school lives. The study reported here is part of a larger project on English in Finnish teenagers’ everyday practises. In general terms, our project draws on discursive views of language and literacy, and makes use of methods inspired by ethnographic approaches. The project is based on the general assumption that language and literacy are inherently social and that people make sense of and construct their social realities in discursive practices; people draw on these macro-level social, cultural and historical practices in constructing their identities as micro-level users of language and literacy.

The participants in our study were four girls, aged 14-15 and three boys, aged 15-16. Following ethnographic approaches, we kept sustained contact with these young people for 16 months. In the course of our study we used multiple methods in order to give the participants various possibilities and multimodal means to tackle the complex and abstract phenomenon of language use and language learning. The methods included photographs taken by the participants themselves, visualization tasks, group discussions and individual interviews. The combination of different methods made it possible to approach the meanings attached to English from both micro and macro perspectives. For example, it became evident in the analysis that the local constructions of identities in specific discourse practices indexed the values, attitudes and practices related to English prevalent in Finnish society at large. Moreover, even though the methods used triggered accounts of informal language learning outside the school contexts in particular, the participants were able to unravel the multiple layers of their learner identities in skilfully reflecting over the complex contacts between school (formal) and everyday (informal) learning. Teenagers’ own understandings of these contacts provide useful insights into how their language learner and language user identities are intertwined.

### **Sian Preece**

University of Westminster, United Kingdom

*When “posh” and “slang” collide: issues of language and gender among non-elite British Asian undergraduates*

In this paper, I explore ways in which young British Asian undergraduate students from nonelite family backgrounds manage talk on academic language and literacy practices at the micro level of an academic writing classroom, established to improve the prospects of students from non-elite backgrounds in a higher education institution in London. The students are primarily from South Asian families who have settled in London (Preece, 2006). They are also multilingual in that their language repertoires embrace English and one of the community languages common in urban areas of Britain. However, similarly to their school-aged counterparts discussed in other research (Harris, 2006, Leung et al., 1997, Rampton, 2005, 2006), these students’ greatest expertise is in the local English vernacular, which they frequently refer to as “slang”, rather than the community languages of their elders. I discuss how these students perform gender as they talk about language and literacy practices favoured by the peer group, home and academic community, viewed as ‘communities of practice’ (Lave and Wenger, 1991). The students consistently characterise learning academic English as talking and acting “posh” and as “other” to their performances of youthful, culturally hybrid British lads and ladettes (Jackson, 2006, Whelehan, 2000). Despite recognising the potential advantages of improving expertise in academic English, the

students frequently give the impression of walking a tightrope in which they must balance peer-group practices with those of the academic community. I argue that developing expertise in the language and literacy practices of the academic community is not simply a matter of acquiring skills but a more complex and subtle process involving acts of identity, in which interactions in the classroom are shaped and influenced by the macro, in this case the practices of the institution and the discursive subject positions (Weedon, 1997) that the students need to negotiate as young British Asian men and women.

### **Aida Premilovac**

Independent Scholar, Bosnia and Herzegovina

*Discourses of Identity in Public Obituaries*

This paper examines public obituaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a form of discursive practice in which not only language but also physical emplacement and visual composition of the obituaries help to construct different ethnic, national, political, and religious identities. These death notices are displayed in municipally designated places (obituary stands) or simply any place where they are deemed visible (telephone or electric poles, trees, apartment buildings etc.). While their primary function is to publicly announce someone's death and funeral services, this analysis shows that public obituaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina also reflect and create particular identities and ideologies, informed by the socio-political trends prior to and after the 1991-1995 war and ethnic cleansing in the country.

The following types of discourse structure in public obituaries, displayed in different communities, will be examined: (1) language choice, (2) physical emplacement, and (3) visual composition. Considering Scollon and Scollon's (2003: 160) finding that an adequate understanding of visual semiotic systems needs to rely on "an ethnographic understanding of the meanings of these systems within specific communities of practice," this analysis of discourses of identity in public obituaries will be supplemented by an ethnographic study of the communities in question.

### **Anne Elizabeth Preston**

University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*Doing 'motivation' in the Foreign Language classroom: Findings from the chalkface*

The foreign language (FL) classroom is an institutional setting whose 'social structure': its social formations, organisations and constitutive practices (Schegloff, 1992), can be probed through an examination of the relationships between talk to setting. This paper reports on how my on-going doctoral research, a longitudinal observational study of a French FL classroom in the UK, engages with these reflexive relationships and in doing so, uses them as an inroad into investigating the situated and temporal nature of second language learning (L2) motivation.

Traditionally, L2 motivation has been viewed as a psychological construct, as a 'product' related to students' beliefs or perceptions of their classroom experiences or of the target language itself. While such approaches have contributed widely to the development of the field, they have also been the subject of debate. Included in these discussions are issues relating to the dearth of empirical evidence and methodological advance concerning the temporal nature of L2 motivation in the moment-to-moment dynamics of FL classroom learning and teaching practices (Dörnyei and Otto, 1998).

In my research, I focus on the formulation of a transversal methodology for exploring L2 motivation as a socially constructed phenomenon rooted in classroom processes, from the point of view talk-in-interaction. I am interested in how L2 motivation gets activated, displayed, negotiated and processed in situated experience.

Working within the frame of Conversation Analysis and more specifically its application to 'institutional talk' (Drew and Heritage, 1992), in the first part of my paper I demonstrate how a range of interactional resources are used and re-specified by participants as a means for achieving the specific goals of their FL learning activities. These are taken from transcripts of episodes in a corpus of year-long video-recordings.

In the second part, I discuss how it is possible to move from such context-sensitive descriptions to talk more specifically about 'motivating' and L2 motivation. I show how they are collaboratively achieved and locally occasioned in ways that the participants co-construct and negotiate their roles and relationships in discourse prac-

tices. I focus particularly on the emergence of otherwise underdeveloped concepts in L2 motivation classroom research such as identity and ‘face’ (Goffman, 1963).

My research engages with the wider challenges concerning the tensions between the micro-macro dimensions which surround L2 motivation work. It attempts build on a growing body of recent research which is more specifically concerned with the interplay of immediate contextual factors such as the ‘teacher’ and the ‘student group’- categories ultimately embedded in the ‘social structure’ of the FL classroom.

### **Robin Queen**

University of Michigan, United States of America

*“Why are hoomans so stupid?”: Written linguistic variation and blogging as the family dog*

Despite significant interest in how written linguistic variation provides insights into various kinds of sociolinguistic processes (Preston 1985; Jaffe and Walton 2000; Preston 2000; Johnstone 2004; Nguyen 2005; Androutopoulos 2000; Baron 2004; Herring and Paolillo 2006), the assumption has generally been that written variation represents writers’ ideologies concerning spoken variation and its associations with particular social characteristics. However, it is also possible to use written variation to denote social relations that have no clear antecedent in the spoken language. For instance, written variation has been used since at least the 19th century to represent beings who do not normally use language, such as family pets (Grier 2006). Unsurprisingly, there has been little previous attention paid to this kind of variation; however, focusing on the ways people construct the voice of a non-human animal opens a potentially important window into how social meaning generally becomes connected to, and manipulated by, linguistic variation. This is particularly true in the case of family dogs since dogs constitute an undeniable social “other” while at the same time constituting an intimate social interactant often considered to be a “member of the family.”

In this paper, I focus on data from weblogs written in the voice of the family dog, relying on a corpus of 20 blogs (422 posts; 88771 words) randomly selected from the Dogs with Blogs index (<http://www.dogswithblogs.com.au>). Specifically, I show that the use of phonetic respellings and other non-standard orthographic and grammatical elements represents a complex set of meanings tied to the representation of social difference on the one hand and social affiliation on the other. The linguistic elements include colloquial respellings (e.g. *gonna*); phonetic respellings (e.g. *wuz*), prosodic respellings (e.g. *SOOOOO*), graphic substitutions (e.g. *4* for “for”), non-standard grammar (e.g. *it’s hards*), novel pronouns (e.g. *anydog*) and kinship terminology (e.g. *my human brother*). I show that the dog’s voice depends on creatively using written variation to represent the social affiliation that humans typically have with their companion animals (e.g. *Mom gave me her chicken skin jus cuz she luvz me*) while simultaneously representing the unquestionable social (and essential) differences between dogs and humans (e.g. *my peepol are always doing the wierdest stuff. i will never unnerstand them.*) Because a focus on voicing non-human animals forces the examination of linguistic variation independently of human social configurations, such as gender, ethnicity or social class, it necessarily turns attention to a more generalized model of the relationship between linguistic variation and social meaning based more broadly on social differentiation and affiliation. By examining a practice such as dog blogging, this study provides new insights into exactly these meanings and heeds a recent call by Kohn (2007) to explore the semiotic processes that emerge out of human entanglements with other living beings, especially companion animals.

### **Heinrich Ramisch**

University of Bamberg, Germany

*The Northern Subject Rule and its ‘northernness’ - A geolinguistic perspective*

Regional varieties of English are characteristically marked by different types of verbal concord. A particularly interesting pattern is the so-called Northern Subject Rule, which has been discussed in a number of fields, namely in historical linguistics, English dialectology, contact linguistics and language typology. The rule states that the Standard English contrast between the verbal *-s* ending in the 3rd person singular and zero endings for all other persons only holds true if the adjacent subject is a simple personal pronoun: *he/she/it works* vs. *It/you/we/they work*. With all other subjects an *-s* ending may occur in Northern varieties of English: *the men works hard*. The *-s* ending may even appear if the pronoun does not directly precede or follow the verb: *They really works hard*.



This pattern of variation has existed in Northern English at least since Middle English times (Mustanoja 1960: 481-482). The Northern Subject Rule implies an intricate system of concord that does not exclusively rely on features of person and number, but also on morphological characteristics and syntactic position of the subject. There has been some discussion among linguists about the origin of the rule. Klemola (2000) suggests that it is based on a substrate influence from Brythonic, whereas Pietsch (2005) in a detailed study argues in favour of language-internal developments and draws attention to the range of variability connected with the pattern.

After a critical assessment of these approaches, the paper will examine old and new geolinguistic data (that is dialectological data in its widest sense) from Northern English varieties. Therefore, it will be the aim of the paper to contribute to a broader empirical basis for the analysis of the Northern Subject Rule. It will also be attempted to combine the regional and the historical perspectives by systematically analysing the information included in Wright (1898-1905), which covers the regional variation in English in the period between 1650 and 1900. Here again, it will become evident that geolinguistic data frequently provide interesting insights into the history of a language and can advance our knowledge of (socio-)linguistic change.

### **Meilute Ramoniene**

Vilnius University, Lithuania

*Age and Language Choice in Multilingual Settings of Lithuania*

Since the restoration of independence in 1990, Lithuania, like other Baltic countries, have witnessed socio-political transformation leading to radical changes in sociolinguistic situation. The new language policy influenced, in particular, linguistic attitudes and behaviour of ethnic minorities, comprising about 16 per cent of Lithuania's population. Poles and Russians, the largest ethnic groups in Lithuania, who knew little or no Lithuanian before the restoration of independence, have modified their language practices which also influenced their language choice. It should be emphasized that former monolingual speakers of Russian (mainly Poles, Russians and other nationalities in Soviet times) have increasingly become bilingual or multilingual. Moreover, the use of Lithuanian in public and private spheres has become much more frequent.

The paper aims to explore the impact of age on the choice of language practices in the changed sociolinguistic situation. The research is based on the data from two major surveys on local language use and attitudes carried out in 2002 and 2004 in the densely multilingual settings of capital Vilnius and south-eastern Lithuania and newly acquired qualitative data. The paper investigates how different ethnic minorities and different age groups for public and private use choose between Lithuanian as a state language and other languages (Russian, Polish). Particular attention is paid to the choice of the local spoken vernacular 'po-prostu' ('simple language') used by Lithuanian Poles in different age groups. This language variety has low overt prestige among older people; however, it is becoming more prestigious and is being used more often as a marker of Polish identity among younger Polish population. Finally, the paper analyzes the language chosen for home use by primary school children. The analysis of this aspect draws on the pilot research of home language in the largest cities of Lithuania carried out in 2006.

### **Sebastian M. Rasinger**

Anglia Ruskin University, United Kingdom

*Second language proficiency and identity construction: evidence from personal narratives*

In this paper, we analyse the relationship between L2 proficiency and usage, and ethnic identity from a qualitative angle, using a poststructural framework as proposed by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), and, more specifically, methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 1988; 1992).

Over the last decade, research on second language acquisition (SLA) has started to acknowledge the influence of social factors on the acquisition process, and research has increasingly focused on the impact learner-external factors have onto this process. Birdsong and Molis (2001) in their discussion of a Critical Period in L2 acquisition suggest that exogenous, that is, social factors may also have a considerable impact; similarly, Moyer (2004) and Rasinger (2007; forthcoming) have illustrated the substantial contribution socio-cultural factors play in the acquisition of a second language, particularly in migration contexts where the L2 is acquired in the target-language country. Even earlier, Schumann's (1978) Acculturation Model provided a first systematic attempt to



integrate social factors into a model of SLA - particularly geared towards SLA in migrant groups. Other research has increasingly focused on the issue of (ethnic) identity and its impact on L2 acquisition in immigrant settings. Svanes (1988) established a clear link between cultural distance and L2 skills; similarly, Gatboton et al (2005) suggest a relationship between ethnic group affiliation and L2 pronunciation accuracy. The majority of studies are quantitative in nature.

Personal narratives were collected from 6 Bangladeshi migrants living in London's East End, all of whom have English as their L2, through semi-structured interviews. Respondents had been living in Britain for between 2 and 20 years; all respondents are post-pubescent immigrants and L2 English speakers. In addition, data from two respondents who arrived in Britain at the age of 6 and 8 years, respectively, was analysed. All respondents showed different levels of spoken English language proficiency, measured by means of a proficiency score as discussed in Unsworth (2002) and Rasinger (2007).

The analysis shows that across the sample, the issue L2 proficiency is closely linked to both ingroup and outgroup attitudes and perceptions. More specifically, two recurring themes can be identified throughout the dataset. First, L2 proficiency, or lack thereof, is perceived negatively by all respondents (*'I like the English language but not speaking very good.'*), clearly highlighting the second language as a social or cultural 'capital' (Bourdieu, 1991). Second, close-knit Bangladeshi networks in the borough (see, e.g., Eade et al 1996) receive considerably negative evaluation, in particular with regard to lack of interaction with other ethnic groups (*'This area is too much Bengali. [...] No English friend.'*). Yet, 'Bangladeshi-ness' as a social practice is clearly distinguished from language use: *'What does integration mean, and what does assimilation mean? [...] I would integrate with my own identity, I should not compromise with my identity.'*

We suggest that SLA entails the acquisition of L2 as a social practice (Gatbonton et al., 2005), and that L2ers negotiate 'diverse identity options' (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004), leading to a complex interplay between proficiency and identity.

### **Martin Reisigl**

Department of Linguistics, University of Vienna, Austria

*Discourse analysis and sociolinguistics - An intricate relationship*

The sub-disciplinary status of discourse analysis within linguistics is less clear than it may appear. This will be demonstrated and discussed in my paper, looking at the relationship between discourse analysis and sociolinguistics. My contrastive overview will take into account the history of the two linguistic "branches" developed out of differing scientific traditions in various areas of the world, especially in Europe and the United States. A selective synopsis of relevant linguistic handbooks, textbooks and specialised literature will be given that outcrops a variety of mutual relationships of inclusion, subordination and intersection with respect to the connection of discourse analysis to sociolinguistics. Some of these inner-linguistic localisations are performed as one-sided subsumptions from a mono-centric disciplinary perspective that lacks solid acquaintance with the subsumed "branch" or "subbranch". Nevertheless, such a problematic positioning has a great influence on future generations of linguists, if presented in well-known publishing media by recognised authorities. Young linguists may run the risk of accepting as ascertained knowledge what has sometimes been uttered ad hoc in the hustle and bustle of academic publication endeavours.

All in all, the relationship between discourse analysis and sociolinguistics - being far from clarification - is historically dynamic, science culture-dependent and mutually fecundating. This will, among other things, be explicated in the paper by a look at the theoretical and methodical role of sociolinguistic concepts or variables in discourse analysis on the one side, and by an examination of the significance of discourse-related concepts and methods in sociolinguistics on the other side. Within this context, it will be most insightful to focus on "context" and its operational breakdown into various macro-, meso- and micro-dimensions, particularly taking into consideration developments in "interactional" or "interpretative sociolinguistics", "discourse sociolinguistics", "critical sociolinguistics" and "critical discourse analysis".

My discussion of various answers to the question of the inner-linguistic relationship between sociolinguistics and discourse analysis will be concluded by a heuristic proposal that relies on Wittgenstein's idea of "family resemblance".

### Ana Maria Relaño Pastor

Department of Linguistics, Universidad Autonoma de Madrid, Spain  
*'Fitting in' small narratives in Madrid multilingual schools*

Narrative research distinguishes between canonical narratives or those narratives of past personal experiences elicited in interviews (Labov, 1972), and *small* stories (Georgakopolou, 2006; Bamberg and Georgakopolou, 2005; Bamberg, 2004) or non-canonical narratives commonly found in everyday conversational activity. The latter have been approached following the dimensional narrative perspective proposed by Ochs and Capps (2001), which covers a range of possibilities having to do with "tellership, tellability, embeddedness, linearity and moral stance" (p. 18) to highlight the cognitive and discursive complexity involved in narrative activity. This paper analyzes a group of *small* 'fitting in' narratives among immigrant background adolescents in Madrid multilingual schools. Narrative data is part of a critical sociolinguistic ethnography conducted at four schools in Madrid by Martín Rojo's research team during 2003-2006. Two focus group discussions with students from Morocco, China, Rumania, Colombia, Byelorussia, Equatorial Guinea, Brazil and Colombia were carried out to know about how these students are 'fitting in' within the Spanish educational system. Despite the range of Spanish proficiency (from low to intermediate-advanced conversational Spanish) these students presented, the analysis of *small* stories in focus groups indicate shared experiences of adaptation and transformation as newcomers in Madrid schools. These students co-narrate these experiences with their peers and the two researchers who conducted the focus groups in unpredictable interactional terms (from one active teller to co-tellership; from low to high tellability; from less to more embedded narrative events; and from linear to circular temporal and causal organization-following Ochs and Capps' explanation of narrative dimensions-). Results indicate that, despite the "chaotic" order displayed in their narratives, the moral stance dimension of these 'fitting in' *small* narratives provide coherence to their personal experiences of schooling, and position themselves as moral agents of this process (De Fina 2003; Relaño Pastor & De Fina, 2005). 'Fitting in' *small* narratives open a window of understanding to the challenges faced by immigrant youth in the Spanish educational system.

### Alex Riemersma

Mercator: European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning, The Netherlands  
*The Development of Minimum Standards on Language Education in Regional and Minority Languages*

In theory language learning policies and activities include national language(s), minority and immigrant languages as well as foreign languages. In practice, however, most of the studies and projects are focused on the teaching and learning of foreign languages and some of them on the learning and teaching of the mother-tongue(s). Only few projects are focused on the learning and teaching of regional or minority languages. This study aims to provide a description of minimum conditions and minimum provisions required to establish common standards for education of regional and minority languages. The conditions and provisions are described in terms of time investment (both teaching in and teaching of languages), teaching materials, teacher qualifications, educational models and finally control mechanisms employed by the inspectorate. The description country by country, language by language can be considered as a more detailed analysis of the ratification levels mentioned in article 8 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe 1992 / 1998; (ETS 148). From the comparison of levels of ratification and legal measures with regard to several languages in different member states, a general overview can be given of legal status and educational measures which treaty parties have in common. The implementation of these measures in educational practice is analysed in national periodic reports and evaluated by the Committee of Experts of the European Charter.

This study contains a comparative description of the various positions held by the regional or minority languages. For this study 8 countries and 10 languages were selected: Austria (Croatian, Slovene), Germany (Upper and Lower Sorbian), the Netherlands (Frisian), Slovakia (Hungarian), Slovenia (Italian), Spain (Catalan), Sweden (Sami) and the United Kingdom (Welsh).

For each minority language, the descriptions concern:

- the level of ratification;
- the number of users of the minority language;
- education goals; & educational models;
- time investment (subject and medium of instruction);

- teaching materials;
- teacher qualifications; & teacher training;
- the legal position and authority within the respective country.

Basic information was gathered from the national periodic reports, evaluation reports by the Committee of Experts, reports of the Council of Europe to the member states and also from relevant Regional Dossiers of Mercator Education and the Euromosaic project. Additional information was collected from internal Council of Europe publications. From all these documents minimum standards can be derived.

Further perspective On the basis of the result of this study which is concentrated mainly on the conditions for “good education”, a next step in research can be taken with regard to the common goals of education of regional and minority languages. An instrument of great help for this study is the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR).

Since the CEFR was first implemented several attempts have been made to adapt it for mother-tongue education as well as for second language teaching. As a result of various projects and initiatives, concrete descriptions are now available in terms of “can-do” statements for several minority languages. These descriptions can be used for further analysis and also for the description of quality requirements with regard to the education *of and in* regional and minority languages.

### **Verna Robertson Rieschild and Jan Tent**

Macquarie University, Australia

*Bilinguality, gender, and religion as influences on Arabic-Heritage Australian youths' attitudes to their ambient languages and cultures*

Opinions in the public arena that represent Arabic-heritage Australians as an internal threat to national and social cohesion rely on the myths of an identifiable mainstream Australian core and a homogeneous Arabic-heritage group. Like members of other minority groups, Arabic-heritage Australians are encouraged to “integrate” - a refashioned “assimilation” promoted to remedy multiculturalism’s perceived negative impact on social cohesion. Calls for integration include explicit promotion of English as the national language with no similarly strong calls for maintenance of the languages of minority groups. This paper will present some of the findings from our study of young Arabic-heritage Australians’ language attitudes and use. Bilinguality, religion, and gender are shown to have different important influences on the individuals’ attitudes to the ambient languages, to their perceived status within a pluralistic society, and to their cultural identity. Being Muslim and being literate in Arabic was associated with the most positive attitudes to the ambient languages, blended identities, and perceptions of intergroup attitudes. Religion was more relevant than gender for perceptions of whether mainstream-Australians respect Arabic-heritage Australians, while gender was more relevant than religion for being happy to be called Australian. Frequent use of Arabic as an adult and as a child appears to associate with positive attitudes to the home culture and to blended identities. The findings, then, suggest that being bilingual in the home and mainstream language is potentially positive for developing blended identities that work towards not against social cohesion.

### **Ulrikke Rindal**

University of York, United Kingdom

*Constructing identity with L2: pronunciation and attitudes among Norwegian learners of English*

Previous studies have shown that speakers use language to signal identity, group affiliation and self-image. They construct social meaning by exploiting linguistic alternatives, selecting forms which index social categories. The majority of research in this field has focussed on the choices made by speakers in their native languages. In this paper we report a study that investigates the relationship between language and identity in L2 (cf. van der Haagen 1998). We examine patterns of linguistic usage by Norwegian speakers of English, investigating their choices of American and British phonological variants and assessing how these choices relate to the speakers’ reports of their own identities.

The participants were a class of 23 students aged 17-18, who had studied English for 7 years. They were recorded reading a wordlist, and in paired conversational dyads for 10-12 minutes. Variant use was investigated in

four variables: rhoticity, intervocalic /t/, GOAT, and LOT. A questionnaire was administered to establish information about academic commitment, career aims, and interests, as well as exposure to American and British media. Participants were asked which L2 accent they preferred when speaking English. A matched guise listening test assessed the students' attitudes towards British and American accents.

Results from the matched guise test showed that the participants demonstrated different evaluations of British and American accents. For example, British English was considered more formal and educated, whereas American English was considered more likeable and popular. Results from the questionnaires revealed close connections between these evaluations and the speakers' own lifestyles and ambitions: speakers who preferred British English associated themselves with formality and education, while the speakers who targeted American English used it as a symbol of 'coolness'. Finally, the speakers' phonological choices for all four variables were closely correlated with their lifestyle orientations: speakers with a positive evaluation of British English used significantly more British variants than those speakers who were oriented to American English.

The study shows that speakers are able to use linguistic resources to establish identity and self-image, not only in their native language but also in an L2.

### **Celeste Rodriguez Louro**

University of Melbourne, Australia

*Linguistic-external forces on language change:*

*The Preterit and the Present Perfect in Argentinian River Plate Spanish*

This paper investigates the relation between the use of the Preterit (e.g. *Juan llegó* 'Juan arrived') and the Present Perfect (PP) (e.g. *Juan ha llegado* 'Juan has arrived') and a set of sociolinguistic variables in Argentinian River Plate Spanish (ARPS). It also challenges the established Saussurean position in linguistics that "internal analysis is the serious business while external factors are of no central concern" (Milroy 2001: 552). Previous cross-linguistic studies have noted the prevailing use of the PP to encode perfective (i.e. finished) situations in the past in various languages including French, German, Northern Italian and Spanish (Comrie 1976; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994; Schwenter 1994). However, ARPS does not fit the proposed historical development for Spanish. Moreover, these proposals do not account for the ways in which linguistic-external factors influence language change. The present paper analyzes 10 hours of casual conversation (24 speakers), written questionnaires (100 speakers), and 21 newspaper articles. The Preterit prevails over the PP throughout (e.g. 4.8% PP versus 85.4% Preterit in newspaper data). A statistical analysis of the interaction between linguistic variables (e.g. presence of temporal/frequency adverbials e.g. *hoy* 'today' and *ya* 'already'), and the sociolinguistic variables of style, age, education, and gender was utilized. Findings suggest that (1) contrary to claims by Dahl (1985), time and frequency adverbials do not trigger PP usage; (2) the PP is used more frequently in formal styles; (3) university-educated informants and women employ the PP more often. This sociolinguistic distribution indicates that the PP is a conservative linguistic variable in this dialect and that its use is favored by educated (female) speakers in formal styles (cf. Labov 2001). It is suggested that the low percentage of occurrence of the PP hinders its grammaticalization into a perfective form, as high frequency of use is a prerequisite for automation of language structure (Bybee 2003). I conclude by discussing language use as a mirror to the social realities of a given speech community, and ground this in the all-important role of speakers in steering the direction of language change.

### **Sergio Francisco Romero**

Vanderbilt University, United States of America

*Dialectal homogenization and social meaning of differences: The Rise of New Dialects of Q'eqchi'*

This paper will be a comparative study of new dialect formation in Mayan focusing on the rise of a new dialect of Q'eqchi' in the northern lowlands of Guatemala, which only 40 years ago were uninhabited rain forest. Based on participant observation and the quantitative analysis of 36 monolingual interviews in Q'eqchi' with speakers from the counties of Coban, Carcha, Chisec and Sayaxche, I will show that in situations in which migrants from different dialect areas whose prestige and social status are equivalent, language ideologies, and not just internal linguistic factors, drive the crystallization of new dialects by virtue of social and cultural differences between the settlers and the first generation of speakers born in the new settlements.

There are at least two different dialects in the original Q'eqchi' heartland in the highlands of Alta Verapaz: Eastern (counties of Cahabon, Lanquin, Senahu, parts of Carcha) and Western (counties of Coban, Carcha, Chamelco). The variables that distinguish them are phonological (palatalization of obstruents, fortition of /w/), morphological (completive aspect marking) and lexical. The differences are systematic, consistent and function as linguistic stereotypes. However, in areas recently settled by Q'eqchi' migrants, the first generation born in the new settlements has crystallized a new variety devoid of the features stereotyped as regional emblems in the highlands. The new variety shares most of the forms common to the majority of dialects minus the stereotypes. Lowland speakers avoid palatalized consonants, even those whose parents use them in their speech. For example, the use of palatalized [a:tʃin] 'word' instead of the widespread form [a:tin] is highly stigmatized and semi-consonants that have not undergone fortition [w > kw] are rare, unlike the first settlers' speech. Regarding social prestige of the various settler dialects, the picture is similar to that described in Trudgill (2004) for New Zealand English in the middle and late 19th century, since none of the dialects spoken by the original settlers is more 'prestigious', hegemonic or a standardized form. However, I will show contra Trudgill that social practices and language ideologies, especially among the youth of the second generation, are driving this dialectal genesis. The attitudes of speakers born in the highlands and speakers born in the new territories differ in their evaluation of highland dialects. For first generation migrants, their native dialect is an emblem of their regional and cultural identity, which they value and maintain. For the second generation, it indexes a new identity and social networks independent from their parents'. No extraneous linguistic ideology or institutional pressure is necessary as the enregisterment of the new dialect as linguistic emblem of a new social and cultural identity. Peer-pressure through joking and teasing is the mechanism through which the first generation is enforcing this new variety. Adolescence is the critical period in which the new dialectal identity is finally acquired.

### **Vincent A. de Rooij**

University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

*Codeswitching and stereotyping on Moroccan-Dutch webforums*

On popular Moroccan-Dutch websites such as Maroc.nl or Marokko.nl, storytelling by young women is a popular feature. The stories analyzed in this paper are told in installments; they evoke many enthusiastic reactions, and may 'run' for many consecutive months.

The language varieties used in these stories range from standard Dutch to youth varieties of Dutch often labelled 'street language' with insertional codeswitching from Dutch to Moroccan Arabic, Berber, and English. Dealing with problems faced by young Moroccan-Dutch women, such as forced marriage and male-female inequality, these stories rely heavily on codeswitching as a means of giving shape to various social actors in a stereotypical way.

The paper shows how storytellers construct and make use of indexical and iconic relations between language varieties and speakers/actors that play a role in the stories told by posters to webforums. Switches to Arabic and Berber are quite consistently linked to older generation actors and 'home' settings whereas switches to 'youth language' mostly occur in the quoted speech of 'players' and young people outside the domain of parental control in general.

### **Mary Rose**

Department of Linguistics, Ohio State University, United States of America

*Articulating 'old' among peers: Sociophonetics of aging voices*

This paper argues for a sociophonetics of aging that characterizes older voices within the social contexts in which they become meaningful to listeners. While traditional sociolinguistic variables tend to be stable across a speaker's adulthood, phonetic research has shown that our voices change as we age, and that these changes are perceptually salient (Ramig and Ringel 1983; Nagao 2006; Xue & Deliyski 2001). This paper is based on an ethnographic study of sociolinguistic variation at the Senior Citizens' Center in Portsmouth, a small town in rural eastern Wisconsin. I combine a quantitative analysis of four phonetic variables - degree of creak, vowel space dispersion, f<sub>0</sub> standard deviation (f<sub>0</sub>SD), and vowel segment duration - with an ethnographic analysis of social practices locally associated with old age. Among older speakers in Portsmouth these phonetic variables



index not chronological age, but an ideology, widely held yet locally specific, of old age as social, financial and physical dependence.

All four phonetic variables have previously been shown to distinguish old and young speakers both acoustically and perceptually (Xue & Hao 2003; Linville & Fisher 1985, Gorham-Rowan et al 2002, 2006, Watson & Munson 2007, Ramig and Ringel 1983). In studies comparing older (70+) with younger (below 50) speakers, older voices are creakier, with less stable  $f_0$  (i.e., higher  $f_0SD$ ), smaller vowel spaces, and longer vowel segments. The 36 speakers in this study ranged in age from 66 to 99 years. Variables were calculated, using Praat, over a 30-minute segment of each interview. Creakiness was defined as the proportion of intonational phrases (IP) containing creak, identified perceptually. Vowel space dispersion was calculated by speaker using the point vowels (Bradlow et al 1996). Duration of /i, u, a, e, o/ segments (in ms, analyzed by vowel), and  $f_0SD$  were also calculated for each speaker.

Each phonetic variable was analyzed using multiple regression in relation to three social factors: gender, chronological age, and daily participation in the County-subsidized lunch service, a practice that many study participants associated with being 'poor,' 'old,' or socially isolated. The analysis showed that men and speakers who lunch at the Center have significantly smaller vowel spaces. Daily lunchers also showed significantly higher values for  $f_0SD$  and durations of /i/, /a/ and /u/. Early analyses suggest that creakiness is associated with women and chronological age over 85.

While these acoustic characteristics may have their basis in physiological decline of the vocal tract, their connection to the social distinction of 'being old' is that speakers with these vocal characteristics also tend to use walkers or canes, eat lunch at the Center, rely on the Center exclusively for age-peer socializing, and engage in other practices which locally mark them as 'old.' In later life, vocal changes may constitute challenges to identity performance, since they are salient to listeners as marking old age. This study shows that phonetic properties of vocal aging also have social consequences; they are among the practices which mark speakers as 'old' via their ideological association with physical and social dependence.

### **Charley Rowe and Stephanie Schnurr**

University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R., China

*Workplace cultures and email practices: An interplay between macro- and micro level influences*

Electronic communication in the workplace is increasingly gaining significance. This seems to be particularly true for email, which has already replaced other media of communication in this environment (Waldvogel 2007). In many workplaces, email is the preferred medium not only for communicating transactional or work-related topics, but also for performing a range of relational functions. However, the extent to which organisational members draw on email and the specific ways in which they achieve these goals depend on a number of social factors.

Pursuing an interactional discourse analytical approach and drawing on a corpus of about 250 emails collected in three different Hong Kong organisations (a corporate business, a non-profit agency, and a higher educational institution), we explore the impact of a range of social factors on the distinctive discourse features that characterise the email practices in these workplaces. Particular focus is placed on the ways in which the domains of transactional (predominantly work-related) and more relationally oriented discourses are integrated with each other.

Our findings indicate that the ways in which members of diverse organisations combine the (sometimes competing) domains of transactional and relational workplace discourse in their email communication are crucially influenced by a number of social variables that interact with each other on different levels. On the macro-level, the participants' email discourse is influenced by the linguistic conventions that characterise what we call the "professional email culture", as well as by norms specifically developed in the participating organisations, which constitute individual communities of practice (as in e.g. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2007, Holmes and Stubbe 2003). On the micro-level, however, substantial differences in the emails written by members of the same organisation must be explained by a range of personal and interpersonal factors. We will show that in their email discourse, organisational members constantly negotiate and re-negotiate the differential demands of both the macro- and the micro-levels in tandem.



### Stephanie Inge Rudwick

University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

IsiHlonipho: *gender dynamics of a South African politeness register*

*IsiHlonipho*, a linguistic politeness register which is exhibited primarily among the speakers of the Nguni language cluster in South Africa but also exists among other African language speakers, is a linguistic custom that, until recently, remained empirically understudied in reference to isiZulu-speakers. This paucity of research was addressed in a post-doctoral research project of which this paper emerges by focusing on the gender aspects that the usage of the variety involves. In broad terms, the register is a linguistic strategy primarily, but not only practiced by married Zulu women who, in order to linguistically demonstrate respect, avoid the use of syllables occurring in the names of relatives in their speech, most importantly the husband's siblings. One of the facets thus far ignored is that the usage of isiHlonipho lexical items is not an exclusively female practice. Irvine and Gal aptly criticize that European scholars, who worked on *isiHlonipho* described it as 'women's speech' and "entirely ignored its political dimension and its usage by men" (2000: 47). This one-dimensional exploration of the gender dynamics involved in the politeness register shall be addressed here in reference to isiZulu-speakers in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Through interdisciplinary, qualitative research in both urban and rural areas of the province I explore and interrogate whether, in how far and in which contexts and circumstances the usage of the register is a male and/or female practice and in what way it perpetuates constructions of femininity and/or masculinity. While relying on postmodern paradigms I examine in how far isiHlonipho determines gendered power relations and associated identities within the context of the construction of a Zulu ethnic identity, i.e. 'Zuluness'. It is argued, among other things, that a profound understanding of the traditional politeness register and the cultural system of respect (hlonipha) still provides 'traditional' isiZulu-speakers with much desired recognition and with a sense of being "seen" in Sennett's (2003) terminology. Furthermore, the paper discusses the urban decline of isiHlonipho in South Africa in comparison to the demise of other indigenous politeness registers in the world.

### Maria Sabate Dalmau

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

*Ideologies on bilingualism in a rural school managing diversity:*

*"it is very enriching, but it doesn't help the persistence of Catalan"*

This paper analyses ideologies on bilingualism by the Catalan educational agents of the only rural school located in a Catalan-speaking town which is undergoing a series of social changes linked to the new economy (Pujolar 2007). I also examine circulating models of categorisation and newer processes of othering along Catalan-non Catalan (Barthian 1969) ethnic lines. Finally, I analyse why educators invest in a Catalan monolingual monocultural space, and attempt to describe the institutional treatment of bilingualism and the teachers' management of diversity.

This semi-rural town has 1,400 inhabitants and it is navigating between twenty-first century globalisation processes - (im)migration flows, demise of industry, intensification of nationalist feelings (Giddens 2001)- and fourteen-century ancestral homes as well as strong ties of kinship. The school under study has 13 teachers and 105 students: a majority of Catalans, 3 students from Armenia, 2 from Morocco, 2 from Latin-America, and some newly arrived Spanish-speakers from urban Barcelona. It is using a provisional accommodation block due to the increase of registrations, although the average of children per class is 12. The school cannot request a welcoming class yet. The director of the only kindergarten, with 18 students, will also need a new classroom for 41 kids by 2008.

The data includes ethnographic material from these two discursive spaces (students' compositions, webpages, legal documents) and six interviews conducted with the directors, the students, and representative members of the community who have links to the school.

There are three main findings. Firstly, bilingualism is never mentioned, and students' linguistic knowledge is viewed as a matter of two parallel monolingualisms (Heller 1999). Secondly, linguistic practices are front-staged (Goffman 1959) as Catalan, which figures as the legitimate language of the school (Bourdieu 1991). Instances of language contact or hybridity are hidden and presented as temporary. Finally, the treatment of Spanish is carried out by using discourses on the virtues of elite multiculturalism, and it is taught as an L2. Teachers also employ notions of bilingualism-as-cultural-deficit (Jaffe 2007).

Some of these ideologies stem from the fact that they defend a Catalan space where the linguistic market was secured as Catalan and has now more Spanish in circulation. Schooling in Catalan is experienced as the achievement of the anti-francoist Catalan nation-building project which a minority language cannot risk losing. Besides, these informants show discomfort with co-officiality, which, for them, presents Spanish as the official in Catalonia, and Catalan as the natural language (Woolard 2003, Atkinson 2000). Teachers conduct militancy against linguistic convergence to Spanish (Boix 1993) by Catalan students, and against the 'post-post-Franco hangover' - diminished interest in the defence of Catalan (Woolard 2006).

Despite their efforts to conduct civic nationalism (Keating 1997), a non-Catalan-speaking other seems to be in the making in ways that go hand in hand with globalisation processes. Catalan/non-Catalan polarisation seems to be perpetuated, and inequality is reproduced (Heller & Martin-Jones 2001). A twenty-first-century (im)migration wave and complex struggles for local resources have become the grounds from which the use of Catalan and Spanish is (re)-set in motion both for boundary-making and -maintaining.

### **Julia Margaret Sallabank**

School of Oriental and African Studies, London, United Kingdom

*Endangered language maintenance and social networks*

The connection between macro social pressures and micro linguistic practice is at its most acute in the area of language shift.

Intergenerational transmission is seen by sociolinguists such as Fishman (1991) and Romaine (2002) as key to maintaining endangered languages, but relatively few studies investigate the processes of how it ceases (exceptions include Lyon, 1991; Bankston and Henry, 1998; Ferrer, 2004). Yet why some people maintain their ancestral language and transmit it to their children, while others abandon it, is a major issue in language planning. In this paper I examine individuals' responses to societal pressures to shift to the dominant language and obstacles to intergenerational transmission, both ideological and physical (e.g. evacuation of children), as well as factors which might support language maintenance. Most native speakers, and many non-natives and non-speakers, express strong affective attachment to the indigenous language, but few have passed it to their children.

The study focuses on Guernesiais, the endangered indigenous language of Guernsey, Channel Islands. Baseline data were collected using a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews; ethnographic methods then shed light on ideologies, attitudes, and the processes of language shift.

The maintenance of social networks (Milroy, 1987) emerges as a major factor in language maintenance. Availability of interlocutors correlates strongly with fluency, for both native speakers and learners, but is not always under their control. Parents found themselves under strong pressure to abandon the indigenous language. The increasing age and linguistic isolation of many native speakers contributes to both individual and societal language loss. A number of former locations for speaking and hearing Guernesiais are disappearing due to redevelopment and lifestyle changes. To date language planning in Guernsey has not fully succeeded in replacing traditional networks with measures designed to provide opportunities to speak. Options for supporting language maintenance are examined.

### **Srikant Sarangi**

Cardiff University, United Kingdom

*Mutations of self-other relations in genetic counseling discourse*

In this presentation I begin with a proposal that the notions of 'self' and 'other' can be understood at a relational level along three possible configurations - 'self-as-other', 'self-and-other' and 'self-vs-other'. At the theoretical level I draw upon the seminal work of George Herbert Mead to underscore how the 'self' is conceptualised as a socially situated reflexive process, which is made possible through the perception of alterity. I then move to the counselling and therapeutic settings which, with their narrative and reflection orientation, give primacy to the 'presentation' and 'performance' of the 'self', as can be argued from a Goffmanian dramaturgical perspective. My empirical data site is genetic counselling where the notions of 'self' and 'other' take a particular mutation by foregrounding different relational configurations because of the familial basis of genetic conditions. This means that decisions to test and decisions to disclose test procedures/results have to be other-oriented. As far as an in-

dividual's genetic status is concerned, the 'carrier' status of a family member may necessitate a different self-other orientation when compared with someone's 'affected' and 'at-risk' status. Because a 'carrier' will remain healthy but can pass on the faulty gene to their children, thus potentially causing illness in others, the carrier status can be considered other-orientation *par excellence*.

Based on my analysis of transcribed audio-recorded genetic counselling sessions, I suggest that different familial lines are drawn along self-other categorisations, reflecting not only the genetic status of the individual concerned but also the trajectories of past and present familial relations. Moreover, the counsellors' explicit elicitations of 'other' perspectives warrant other-oriented aligned responses on the clients' part. In conclusion, I argue that in genetic counselling, both counsellors and clients have to be other-oriented by 'decentering the self' while balancing self-other relations which take into account situated differences and contingencies. Such a stance conflates, following Mead, the 'self-as-other' and 'self-and-other' positions.

### Christoph Sauer

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Letteren, CIW, The Netherlands

*Argumentative practices in documentary films: the linking of verbal and visual arguments*

According to Bill Nichols' definition of documentary as a form of social representation, documentaries "give a sense of what we understand reality itself to have been, of what it is now, or of what it may become. These films also convey truths if we decide they do. We must assess their claims and assertions, their perspectives and arguments in relation to the world as we know it and decide whether they are worthy of our belief. Documentaries of social representation offer us new views of our common world to explore and understand". From now on, I focus on the practice of argumentation in modern documentaries and TV films, being interested in the way these documentaries urge the viewers to assess their claims, assertions and arguments. Very often, documentaries show *experts* in different settings who present their views of a specific problem or argue for specific solutions. Normally, also experts from the other side are shown, so that TV or film viewers are enabled to compare good and bad arguments. It depends also on the voice-over and other verbal sources whether the viewers hear enough arguments, claims and assertions in order to assess them or to reject them. But viewers do not only hear the arguments, they also see them in visual representations. Typical sequences in documentaries with expert settings show the experts in 'talking head' style, but by turns also pictures that more or less present parts of the same line of argumentation, e.g. disasters, places, landscapes, machines, accidents, scientific laboratories, libraries etc. In short: states, actions, and events. Some of these visual representations refer clearly to the argumentative line's content, some others not. They portray the interview setting or represent the context of science, in short: the actors in their professional context. It turns out then that the way the verbal and visual arguments are *linked* influences the assessment of the claims or its rejection. Since in documentaries the power of arguments partly depends on *anecdotal* or *statistical evidence*, the visualization of statistics or the picturing of anecdotes may play a decisive role too.

The basis of my contribution is a corpus analysis of some sequences from different documentaries that present experts and their argumentations. I make use of the model of 'information linking' that is proposed by Theo van Leeuwen in his book *Introducing Social Semiotics* (2005). That means that the multimodal quality of documentaries, in general, and their argumentative strings, in particular, has to be analyzed in terms of *verbal linking*, *visual linking* as well as *verbal-visual linking*. What is more, *sound* and *music* also have to be approached in order to accentuate specific elements of that linking process. The combination of visual states or events, verbal arguments, sound effects and musical structures is expected to bring about the power of argumentation, rather than verbal arguments alone. It is thus multimodality that is asked for.

### Dave Sayers

University of Essex, United Kingdom

*(Re)defining linguistic diversity: what is being protected by language policy?*

Modern language policy embodies a growing reflexivity about the effects of modernity and globalisation on linguistic diversity. The predominant aim is to standardise minority languages, forcefully elevating them into the discourse of modernity, so that they might survive. This, it is explicitly and repeatedly claimed, will 'protect linguistic diversity'.

In this paper I explore what linguistic diversity actually is, whether such legislation can protect it, and thus what are the limits of linguistic pluralism. I take as an example the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, and its implementation in the UK. This document excludes immigrant or non-native languages, and requires standardisation of any languages it does recognise. I report on my own ethnographic fieldwork in 2005 with Cornish language activists, at a time when the revival was stalled pending agreement over standardisation; and how that debate has since been resolved by agreeing on a standard form. I compare this to the supposedly 'successful' Welsh language revival, which has increased its number of speakers but at the expense of much of its dialectal diversity.

I compare these official macro language planning efforts to a more recent, grass-roots, micro language planning project in England, 'Friends of Norfolk Dialect'. This group, according to their website, aims to "campaign for the recognition and teaching of "Norfolk" as an authentic English regional dialect and to assist film and TV Producers to achieve the correct accent in drama productions set in Norfolk", and "to introduce an understanding and appreciation of Norfolk Dialect as a subject for study in the county's schools". Three overarching themes pervade these micro and macro areas of language planning: firstly, the explicit selection of which minority language/dialect to protect, necessarily excluding others; secondly, establishing a 'correct' way to produce it; and thirdly, its normative propagation across the language community, primarily through education. As such, 'linguistic diversity' is posited as a set of static outcomes that can be 'reached', rather than as a generative set of dynamic processes that must be encouraged, and that escapes control.

As a theoretical contribution to the language policy debate, I am distinguishing 'protecting minority languages/dialects' from 'protecting linguistic diversity'. The former is essentially a human rights mission to allow specific groups to express themselves in a chosen way. The latter is something far more abstract, transcending boundaries between language varieties, and may in fact be damaged by rationalised programmes of standardisation and reinforcement. This opens up a logical paradox, suggesting that 'linguistic diversity' may ultimately belong outside the rhetoric of language policy.

### **Tamara van Schilt-Mol**

IVA - Tilburg University, The Netherlands and Babylon (Centre for Studies of the Multicultural Society), Tilburg University

*Avoiding unintentionally difficult test items for immigrant minority students*

Previous research into the Dutch 'Final Test of Primary Education' has shown that this test contains a number of unintentionally and therefore unwanted, difficult test items for immigrant minority students whose parents speak Turkish or Arabic/Berber at home.

These extra-difficult test items are known as differential Item Functioning (DIF). DIF occurs when students of different subgroups (in the present study, native Dutch students and students whose parents speak Turkish or Arabic/Berber at home) do not have the same chances of answering a given item correctly, even though they are equally skilled in the construct to be measured, and thus have a comparable achievement level in a particular subject matter area. When the source of DIF is irrelevant to the construct to be measured, i.e., if answering the item correctly requires skills and/or knowledge other than those intended to be measured, there is a case of item bias (van Schilt-Mol, 2007). Knowledge of sources of DIF and item bias are necessary for test constructors to avoid DIF and item bias in future tests as much as possible.

In this study two statistical procedures, Mantel-Haenszel (MH) and One Parameter Logistic Model (OPLM), have been used in order to identify DIF items in the 'Final Test of Primary Education 1997'. Subsequently, five experiments have been conducted to detect possible sources of DIF, using three different research procedures: a Content-Response-Code procedure, a Think-Aloud procedure and a Rewrite procedure. On the basis of the results of these experiments, predictions were formulated concerning the possible sources of DIF to the disadvantage and advantage of Turkish and Moroccan students.

These predictions have been used in order to manipulate original DIF items into intentionally DIF-free items. These manipulated items were statistically analyzed with MH and OPLM again. Interpretation of the statistical results lead to the conclusion that five predictions about the sources of DIF could be confirmed. These predictions are: items specific characters, and the use of standard answer possibilities and difficult language can be sources of DIF to the disadvantage of Turkish/Moroccan students, questions concerning identifying spelling errors in verbs and questions concerning religion related subjects can be sources of DIF to the advantage of these

students. Finally, the decision has been made whether the possible source of DIF was relevant to the construct that the test claimed to measure. Content analysis showed that nine items contained item bias (out of the 26 items for which the cause of DIF was confirmed). The remaining 17 items only had DIF. Analysis of these 17 items showed that five items contained 'pitfalls'. Therefore, the advice is formulated to adapt or remove these five items as well as the item bias items.

In the presentation the results of the study will be presented. Also, recommendations will be given to detect and avoid DIF items.

### **Erik Schlee**

University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

*Discourses around national identity and citizenship in British, American and German newspapers*

Previous research on the discursive construction of the nation in media discourse has shown again and again that the media tends to construct an ideologically and culturally homogenous nation (van Dijk 1993, Blommaert & Verschueren 1998, Wodak 1999, Blackledge 2002, Bishop & Jaworski 2003, Ricento 2003). Although the specifics of such constructions may vary *within* a nation, they nonetheless tend to be visions of homogeneity. This presentation pursues the question of variability *between* nations, with a particular focus on the discursive construction of the nation in relation to immigration. It aims to detect the elements of nation and citizenship discourses by investigating nations with very different histories of immigration - the US, the UK and Germany.

The data for this project derive from American, British and German 'quality' newspaper articles on a new citizenship test in each of those countries the day after such a test was announced. The presentation focuses on a content analysis, elements of discursive evaluation of the test and the role of the immigrants in these articles. Analysis suggests that in all three countries homogenous nations are constructed in particular in relation to society and values, history, language and geographic territory. However, evaluative comments and the inclusion of the immigrants varies from country to country. It is argued that this is a reflection of personal and constructed histories as well as experiences with the idea of immigration which allows much more assimilationist discourses to emerge in US newspapers, while British and German newspaper articles are centered respectively on a discussion of Britishness and Germanness.

### **Monika Edith Schulz**

Freiburg University, Germany

*Past possession and past obligation in traditional British English dialects: the case of had got to*

This paper investigates the connections between possessive HAVE GOT and obligational HAVE GOT TO in spoken traditional British English dialects. The data is comprised of four subcorpora of 180,000 words each from the Freiburg Corpus of English dialects (FRED), representing the Southeast, the Southwest, the North and the Midlands. It will be argued that the non-standard past tense obligation marker *had got to* found in the dialect data cannot be explained as an extension of present tense *have got to* but developed independently as an extension of the subcategorization frame of the possessive past tense construction *had got*.

The development of the strong obligation marker HAVE GOT TO in English has been explained as an extension of the subcategorization frame of possessive HAVE GOT from nominal to infinitival complements. The extension is motivated by an analogy of the subcategorization frame of HAVE GOT to that of HAVE, where HAVE + NP and HAVE + **infinitive** yield possessive and obligational meaning respectively (Groenemeyer 1999: 34; Krug 2000: 64).

HAVE GOT TO is restricted to the present tense in Standard English (Krug 2000: 108; Coates 1983: 54). While the Southwest and the North share this restriction, the Midlands and the Southeast allow for non-standard *had got to* which competes with *had to* and accounts for 30% and 15% of all past tense obligation contexts respectively.

At first glance, *had got to* might be interpreted as an extension of *have got to* to past tense contexts. Evidence from the dialect data, however, suggests that *had got to* developed independently of *have got to*.

While the presence of obligational *had got to* correlates with the presence of possessive *had got* in the Midlands and the Southeast, neither of the two can be found in the North and the Southwest material, where past



tense possession and past tense obligation are rendered by *had* and *had to* exclusively. An account postulating a simple extension of *have got to* to past tense contexts fails to capture the obvious correlation of occurrence between *had got* and *had got to*.

It is argued here that *had got to* developed as an extension of the subcategorization frame of *had got* from nominal to infinitival complements in the same way that its present tense counterpart *have got to* developed as an extension of the subcategorization frame of *have got*. This account provides a principled explanation of the correlation between the presence of possessive *had got* and obligational *had got to* in the dialect data and allows a unified account of the use of HAVE GOT TO in both Standard and non-standard varieties of British English.

### **Christian Schwarz and Tobias Streck**

University of Freiburg, Germany

*New Approaches to Describing Phonological Change*

As in almost all European speech communities, the constellation of dialect and standard in the repertoires has changed immensely within the German speaking area (Auer 2005: 22 ff.). The old diglossic constellations have almost disappeared (with the exception of the German speaking part of Switzerland) and turned into diaglossic (i.e., continuous) repertoires. Crucial in this sense is the gradual disappearance of rural dialects, which are substituted by regional varieties of the standard language. Although this development is well known, hardly any systematic and geographically wide ranging analysis of phonological dialect change has been undertaken so far in Germany (see Ruoff 1992).

The research project which we will report from (funded by the *German Research Foundation* since June 2006) investigates geographically distributed phonological data covering a time span of approximately 100 years in real time in the Southwest of Germany, mainly data from the 1880s (*Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs* initiated by Georg Wenker) and 1970/80s (*Südwestdeutscher Sprachatlas* (Steger 1989 ff.)). The latter include not only knowledge based data (questionnaires, dialect translations) but also tape recordings of spontaneously produced speech. A comparison in two steps is carried out:

- 1) a real-time-comparison of Wenker's questionnaire data with those of the *Südwestdeutscher Sprachatlas*
- 2) an apparent-time-comparison of questionnaire data of the *Südwestdeutscher Sprachatlas* with spontaneous speech of mostly the same informants

Due to an extraordinarily rich data base and innovative computer technologies we are able to describe phonological change on a large quantitative and geographical scale. Thus we are able to separate relic areas (little dialect change) from dynamic areas (intensive dialect change). For certain phonological variables one such relic area could e.g. be identified in the very southwestern part of the area under investigation. Within dynamic areas the effects of neighbouring dialects (horizontal change) vs. regiolects / Standard German (vertical change) on dialect change is investigated in detail. Our results show that in some cases especially the Swabian dialects exert a stronger influence on the neighbouring Middle Alemannic dialect than Standard German does.

The analysis also includes language-internal factors that have an impact on phonological change, such as morphological contexts: It will be shown that phonological substitution of dialect by standard features occurs more frequently within morphologically complex constructions like compounds and derived words and only to a relatively low extent within simplicia. Beyond morphological contexts the role of token frequency and phonological persistence is taken into account (Szmrecsanyi 2005) - an effect that might lead to variation and thus to phonological change.

### **Peter Giffard Sercombe**

Newcastle University, United Kingdom

*The National and the Local in the Language Ecology of Multilingual Societies: the Case of the Penan in Borneo*

In a multilingual state (especially one in which there is a diverse number of minority ethnolinguistic groups) the official or national language(s) model advocated by a government may, for example, aspire to use of a single or restricted set of (officially endorsed) languages that are promoted through national institutions, including the law, media and, in particular, state education. Furthermore, state language education policy planning can frequently take little account of students who come from minority language backgrounds. These models and



policies can differ markedly from patterns of community language knowledge and use (notwithstanding patterns of knowledge and use among individuals), according to a range of social and cultural factors.

The Penan in Borneo are small in number and were, until relatively recently, hunter-gatherers and had not previously lived directly under the yoke of a national government. In the twenty-first century, there is unlikely to be a hunting and gathering community anywhere that has not, to a large degree, been affected by the rise of the nation state, and its frequent inclination towards national uniformity or even homogeneity.

Penan children's entry into formal education influences and is influenced by their language environment. These children, from an ethnolinguistic minority, are under pressure to be multilingual and acquire sufficient command of the national media of education, if they are to progress academically, as well as in other aspects of their lives, and be allowed a degree of social and economic mobility.

This paper provides a case study of the Penan's sociolinguistic position, based on primary research conducted in Brunei school classrooms and domestic settings, as well as in neighbouring Sarawak (in Malaysia). It considers the tensions, and consequences, that arise from national language and language education policies in relation to local language ecology contexts. In particular, this article describes challenges faced by Penan, in the light of state policies, while also considering the demands faced by policy makers; and how these, sometimes opposed (national and local), positions might better complement and support each other.

### **Elana Shohamy**

Tel Aviv University, Israel

*Methods and costs of language revitalization: Data from Hebrew in the 30's*

The need to prevent languages from 'dying' or 'sleeping' and take steps to maintain, sustain revive and re-vitalize languages following a plan for 'reversing language shifts' (RLS) (Fishman, 1991, 2000) is embedded nowadays in arguments surrounding 'the ecological debate' (Romaine/Nettle, 2000; Pennycook, 2005). Within this debate the phenomenon of the vernacularization of spoken Hebrew is viewed as a successful case of RLS, demonstrating that language re-vitalization is possible, feasible and successful. This paper will focus on the methods and mechanisms used, and the costs paid for reviving the spoken variety of Hebrew and to constructing it as a symbolic and hegemonic language for Jews migrating to Palestine in the period of 1930-40. It contextualizes the phenomenon within a framework of language policy consisting of ideology, policy and practice (Spolsky 2004) but emphasizing the expansion of this framework to include the very mechanisms used and the costs and consequences involved in carrying out such language policy (Shohamy, 2006).

Two sets of data were collected for providing insight into this complex phenomenon: a. archival materials located in one town in Israel where newly arrived immigrants spoke a variety of languages but were forced into Hebrew at home and in the public space. The data consisted of public documents, municipal correspondence acting as mediators between key political figures in Palestine, members of activist organization, public organizations and individual 'citizens' stipulating codes and rules of language behaviors. Methods included, among others, language proficiency tests, sanctions about employment, limiting publication of 'foreign' newspapers, threat letters, violent public activities in the public domain, language monitoring activities, directed especially against the two widely spoken languages of Jews in Palestine at the time: Yiddish and German; b. interviews conducted with people, now in their 80's, reporting on their own language biographies with a special focus on coping strategies and accommodations and effects on their identities while responding to demands for language shifts. The results of the analyses will be contextualized within the need to gain deeper understanding of the processes and costs of perpetuating national language ideologies, the strategies of responding and the personal costs paid of the individuals at whom the policies are directed, especially in the situations of the impossibilities of reaching ideal norms. A major point raised will be the extent to which Hebrew represents a unique case or is rather similar to other contexts where language ideologies are imposed on immigrants and indigenous groups; also of interest will be the ways in which these type of data can be incorporated into a broader theory of language policy.

**Jitka Slezakova**

Faculty of humanities, Charles University Prague, Czech Republic

*Unity and variation in Vietnamese Czech*

Vietnamese Czech is a language variety spoken by Vietnamese merchants - one of the largest foreign minorities in the Czech Republic - in transcultural communication since the 80's. It has been subject to my research focused on linguistic analysis as well as on socio-cultural background of the contact situation. Language use has been examined in two settings: in Czech-Vietnamese communication and in communication within the Vietnamese community. The study started within the context of a project launched by Research center for identity and personality development in Prague and it continues as a part of a grant concerning the topic "Contacts and conflicts - their roots in the continuity and discontinuity of communication".

First, the linguistic outcome of intercultural contact was analyzed at different levels (morphological, syntactic and phonetic - including suprasegmental features) and several unifying interlanguage-characteristics were detected. These arise from source languages, from processes known in pidginization and SLA research and from patterns common in spontaneous spoken texts (especially in trade communication).

Second, the sociolinguistic variation among Vietnamese speakers was examined aiming at connections between their language proficiency and language attitude on one hand and their footing in the minority community as well as in the host society on the other hand. The data are based on a survey conducted among the Vietnamese merchants in three Czech cities with large residing Vietnamese communities. In one of them the entire minority community was mapped, including Vietnamese elites as well as ordinary members. For assessing language proficiency a functional-typological theory of SLA worked out by Givón was applied. Its interpretation in Sato (1990) had to be slightly modified with respect to language specifics of the corpus. Root causes of the various proficiency levels were examined from the sociopsychological viewpoint.

In my contribution I will show how the (relative) uniformity and (for an ordinary member of the majority population hidden) variability of Vietnamese Czech ranging from basilectal to acrolectal varieties determine the general perception of Vietnamese speakers by the host society as opposed to their position in the minority community itself. In this regard, Vietnamese mediators and second generation deserve special attention. I would like to discuss issues related not only to migrant workers' contact situation (e.g. project *Gastarbeiterdeutsch* by Jäger) and natural SLA but also several methodological questions concerning possible trends in my research.

**Ute Smit**

University of Vienna, Austria

*English as a lingua franca as medium of instruction: globalisation and higher education*

Globalisation has had lasting effects on communication, one of which is the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF), as has been documented for a growing range of settings (e.g. Knapp & Meierkord 2002, Seidlhofer 2004, Seidlhofer et al. 2006). Higher education, however, has been sidelined so far despite the attested increase in educational programmes undertaken in English as international language (cf. Graddol 2006). In an attempt to remedy this oversight this talk will focus on a specific higher educational programme and attempt to explicate in how far ELF can function as classroom language and what this entails for the discourse in this evolving community of practice as well as the contingent learning processes in preparation of entering a professional discourse community.

The discussion is based on a longitudinal, qualitative research project investigating an intensive, 4-semester course in hotel management offered by a tourism centre in Vienna, Austria. As the programme is designed for, and attended by, students from all over the world, the choice of English as sole medium of instruction reflects practical necessities. The group of 28 students accompanied in the quasi ethnographic study reported on here spoke more than 15 different L1s and relied on English as their only shared language - their lingua franca (House 2003). Furthermore, observations in more than 120 lessons and approx. 50 interviews with all students and teachers revealed that, without paying attention to (L1) language norms, they were guided by one goal only, namely to achieve shared understanding. With the lingua franca nature of the classroom language thus established, classroom talk of more than 30 lessons has been analysed as regards three pedagogically relevant interactional processes: repairing, asking and answering questions, and explaining terms and concepts. Apart from leading to a description of ELF discursive patterns in the classroom, these analyses allow for speculative extrapolations of what educational practices in a lingua franca might mean for higher education more generally.

**Julia Snell**

University of Leeds, United Kingdom

*'Pass us it...I need it': a sociopragmatic account of children's directives in two school-based communities of practice*

Children endeavour to make sense of the verbal practices appropriate to each of the communities they belong to. This involves learning what is expected of them by adults and by other children. In learning and then adopting these practices, children participate in the social processes that define and redefine the identity of the community. This paper presents an analysis of how 10-year-old children in Teesside, in the north-east of England, formulate directives. The analysis is based on a corpus of radio-microphone recordings collected during fifteen months of ethnographic fieldwork in two primary schools. Using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, this study explores the strategies that are available to these children for giving orders or requests, and then investigates how the choices the children make relate to their place in the social organisation of the school and the wider community.

The two schools which form the basis of this study are differentiated in terms of the socio-economic profile of the areas they serve and, by implication, the social background and experiences of the students. The schools therefore represent quite different communities of practice (Eckert 2000), each a product of how the school, its staff and its students have adapted to the social situation they find themselves in. While certain strategies are shared by children in both communities of practice, others, like the use of *us* for the objective singular in imperatives such as 'give us it', are dominant in just one, in this case, the school serving a socially deprived area. While quantitative analysis delineates the pool of linguistic resources available for formulating directives in each community of practice, a closer qualitative analysis of the way such directives function within the children's interactions allows for an interpretation of the pragmatic motivations behind the choices that speakers make. The specific situation, the goals of the interaction, and the social relationships between interlocutors, as well as the speaker's own social trajectory, influence the choice of directive, and ethnographic information is often crucial to an understanding of how all of these factors work together.

**Ana Souza**

Goldsmiths College, University of London, United Kingdom

*The micro-macro connections of children's code-switch*

The Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993) and the Rational Choice Model (Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai 2001) have made a major contribution to the study of code-switching for enabling a combination of both the macro and the micro perspectives in the analysis of language choice. However, there seems to be a link missing between these two perspectives: the participants' views on language and identity issues. I argue that, in order to understand the interactional meaning of the use of different languages by the speakers, it is necessary to have information about their views, beliefs and values.

In this paper, I examine two short extracts of oral interaction between a focal child and his family and friends in London, UK. These extracts are part of a larger study which focuses on language and identity issues within the Brazilian community in London, in which thirteen families (where the mother is Brazilian and the father is of another nationality) with children aged between 5 and 12 years old participated. I adopt a qualitative approach to this study and conduct 'playful' interviews with the children as well as recordings of oral interactions 'at home'.

I combine macro and micro levels of analysis to demonstrate the relationship between language and identity. More precisely, I introduce a 'brought from within' interpretation of language choice to the Markedness Model of Code Switching. In other words, I argue that the internal factors guiding the socio-psychological associations unconsciously made by the speakers when making language choices need to be addressed overtly so proper judgement can be made of the participants' assumptions of the influence of their language choices on their interactive goals. With this purpose, I developed a set of methods in order to allow the speakers' usually unconscious associations to be 'brought from within'. These methods are explained in this paper and evidence of the child's and his mother's views on language and identity is provided as a link between the macro and the micro perspectives in the analysis of the language choices they make.

### **Tereza Spilioti**

King's College London, United Kingdom

*Sociability through inter-related activities: orienting to time and location in Greek text-messaging*

A shared assumption among users of text-messaging is that the setting in which each participant sends or receives a message cannot be predicted with certainty. This lack of knowledge regarding the other's context of being and acting creates an asymmetry in communication via text-messaging. In other words, one party in interaction always has little or no information regarding the activities in which the other party is involved and the spatio-temporal context in which these activities unfold. This paper explores how text-messaging interacts with the participants' ongoing social activities. The study focuses on empirical data collected from three young peer-groups in Athens, Greece. These case-studies follow an ethnographic perspective and concern the recording of temporally-ordered sequences of SMS-interactions, together with participant observation and informal interviews.

Although previous studies (Schegloff 2002; Weilenmann 2003) have touched upon the issue of interlocking parallel activities in interaction, the discussion has been mainly restricted to locational references in mobile phone conversations. Approaching individual messages as texts-in-interaction (Antaki et al. 2005), this study employs methods of conversation analysis to investigate such issues in Greek text-messaging. In particular, I will explore how text-messaging interacts with simultaneously unfolding activities by looking at a common practice among users of text-messaging, i.e. the topicalization of their current location and ongoing activities (Hutchby & Barnett 2005). The analytic focus will be on the linguistic practices that my participants employ in order to orient to each other's immediate setting, such as the formulaic expressions 'where are you' and 'what's up', and the use of place and time indexicals. Furthermore, I will show how these references to the immediate setting capitalize on the lived experience and interactional practices that my participants have accumulated through close and prolonged interaction via text-messaging or other media. The discussion suggests that the practice of topicalizing current location and activities serves the co-ordination of other - ongoing and imminent - social activities. At the same time, I argue that emphasis to each other's here-and-now allows the co-participants to feel 'present' in the other party's everyday life, even though they are physically distant. This mutual sense of 'co-presence at a distance' (Hutchby, 2001) is shown to be paramount for the close and intimate type of relationship that holds between the participants in my case-studies.

### **Lauren Marie Squires**

University of Michigan, United States of America

*Keeping it offline: the metadiscursive erasure of Standard English from the internet*

The semiotic process of erasure has proven a useful tool in understanding how language ideologies emerge and are maintained in various sociolinguistic settings (Irvine and Gal 2000). Erasure is a process whereby some aspect of a linguistic situation - whether a social group, linguistic feature, or style/variety - is rendered invisible to speakers, creating the image of a situation that is consistent with speakers' language ideologies. Typically, the practices or existence of *subordinate groups* have been those shown to be the objects of erasure. As Bucholtz (2001) has noted, we have not commonly seen in-depth discussion of *dominant* languages, linguistic features, or sociolinguistic groups made to seem absent or irrelevant. Such erasure may happen in different ways, or for different ideological reasons, than the erasure of non-dominant language aspects.

This project addresses this kind of erasure through an analysis of metadiscourse about language and the internet. I examine a pair of public comment threads from the internet, both representing readers' responses to a published college newspaper column about the internet's negative effects on the English language. Examining the metadiscursive construction of "Netspeak" (Crystal 2001) as a language variety, I focus on how Netspeak is conceived by speakers as related to English, written English, and Standard (in folk terms, "correct" or "good") English. My paper will home in on two main aspects of the discourse in the data. First, Netspeak is framed as a distinct variety that is used online, which is also negatively valued in juxtaposition to Standard English (echoing Thurlow's [2006] findings about mass media reports on computer-mediated communication). Second, while Netspeak is generally looked down upon, commenters often claim that it is acceptable so long as it is contained in the online sphere and does not leak into other domains of linguistic practice, including formal writing or spoken language.

I argue that such discourse erases any association of the internet with Standard English, and I suggest that what enables this erasure is the very existence of “Netspeak” as a linguistic artifact (after Preston 1996). The concept of “Netspeak” equates the variety strictly with online discourse: Netspeak happens *online*, and conversely, Standard English happens *offline*. The dominant ideology that values Standard English (see Milroy 2001) is reinforced by Standard English’s erasure from a specific field of discourse, protecting “good English” from the internet. I discuss the intersection of two sets of relevant ideologies: ideologies about language, wherein Standard English is to be valued and change is seen as socially threatening, and ideologies about the internet, which is considered a frightening or anomalous social space (Paradis 2005). This intersection is locatable in metadiscourse, a crucial mechanism in processes of erasure and ideological production.

### **Inge Stockburger**

Georgetown University, United States of America

*Narrating self, narrating community: Zine discovery narratives in sociolinguistic interviews*

Zines are self-published homemade booklets created, produced, and distributed by the writers themselves. Zines come in a variety of shapes, styles, and subjects, but what they share is a sense of opposition to mainstream culture. Zines have recently moved into the sociolinguistic spotlight with studies of language use in zines (Sutton 1999, Androutsopoulos 2001). Here, I depart from the study of language *in* zines and analyze how writers *talk about* their experience with zines. Duncombe (1997) suggests that producing a zine is as much about participating in a community as it is about personal expression. Yet we know little about how, or whether, this community is discursively constructed in stories zine writers tell about zines.

The data set for this paper is culled from narratives that emerge in sociolinguistic interviews with 10 zine writers in Chicago, Illinois. Using discourse analysis, I analyze a central narrative that emerged in each interview, what I call the “zine discovery” narrative. Zine writers often construct the first time they heard about or saw a zine as a liberating discovery of an underground, more authentic world which, upon discovery, they felt compelled to join. I analyze structural and evaluative consistencies among the writers’ zine discovery narratives. For example, two zine writers describe the actual moment of learning about zines for the first time in similar ways.

(1) LB: so I was like “I have to make my own cause I gotta do it”

(a) Alex: and I’m like “who:a these are really cool, this is really cool,  
I can do this” y’know?

Through presentation of an inner voice, both speakers construct a sense of immediacy and compulsion to produce a zine themselves. The use of constructed dialogue to display this crucial evaluation is one of the core ingredients of the zine discovery narrative.

Research on the role of shared stories in institutions (Linde 2000) and among Holocaust survivors (Schiff et al 2006) has shown how the stories of others can provide shared schemas or blueprints to interpret, organize, and narrate one’s own personal experiences. Since zine communities are not centralized like institutions or grounded in shared experience of trauma, it is interesting to still find collective narratives underlying personal accounts. This research thus contributes to our understanding of how speakers from dispersed and scattered communities draw from shared stories to construct their autobiographies.

### **Katharina Strassl**

Karman Center for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Bern, Switzerland

*L1, Standard German and local dialect:*

*Language choice of immigrant children in the German-speaking part of Switzerland*

In the German-speaking part of Switzerland immigrant children are faced with a special challenge in the course of the acquisition of German as a second language. In this region, a distinct dialect coexists with the standard variety. Knowledge of the standard variety is utterly needed for educational achievement, while the use and knowledge of the local dialect is important for social inclusion.

This situation can entail a number of difficulties for immigrant children: There are some structural differences between Standard German and the local dialect: apart from dissimilarities at the morphological and syntactic levels, there are major differences at the phonological levels (Rash 1998). Hence, on the one hand, knowledge



of the dialect can be used for positive transfer, but on the other hand, the differences between the two varieties can also result in interferences. More importantly, however, the children have to position themselves in society and establish their own identity between different cultures and different languages, namely their L1, Standard German, and the local dialect. It is this aspect around which this presentation will evolve.

Immigrant children have to learn and speak the language of the surrounding community because linguistic knowledge is the key factor for social integration (Beisenherz 2006:40). As mentioned above, children in Switzerland should be able to cope with both varieties, Standard German and the local dialect.

The presentation will show how immigrant children make use of the different varieties and languages in their everyday life. Chesire declares "The way we use our language reveals our sense of 'who we are' - our personal and social identities." (Chesire 2002:19).

The presentation is based on written and oral data that was collected in the ongoing project "German as a Second Language in a Dialect-Speaking Environment", which is primarily concerned with the acquisition of German as a second language in Switzerland. Apart from an analysis of the data on a morphosyntactic level, data drawn from the project, particularly with regard to the coherence between language and identity and language and society, will be pointed out.

The examination of the language use of immigrant children provides an useful insight into how language competence and language use are integral aspects of society in terms of inclusion and exclusion.

### **Dina Strong**

University of Latvia, Latvia

*SLA Theory and Erasmus Students' Realities in Latvia*

Much of the earlier research has claimed that immersion in the Target Language (TL) is invaluable to the SLA and the degree of contact with the TL speakers is the key factor in acquiring the sociolinguistic and sociocultural knowledge. The aim of this study was to investigate how much communication takes place outside the L2 classroom with the TL speakers, how this interaction is socially constructed and how learners respond to these constructs to use, resist or create the opportunities to practice their L2. Profound understanding of what the L2 learner faces outside the classroom and how the language learning is socially determined is essential for successful language acquisition. SLA is a new, underresearched and undervalued field of study in Latvia. This study was inspired by the range of research conducted in other countries on the linguistic experiences of Erasmus students in study abroad contexts, recurring discussions of Latvian as an L2 instructors facing the challenges of teaching Erasmus undergraduate students as well as the researcher's wish to test some of the existing SLA theories. The primary source of data for this qualitative study was obtained from the diary entries of the students followed by meetings and interviews. The data was cross-collated on basis of different sites in which each student had opportunities to practice Latvian and individual profiles were written up. This approach provides a deep understanding of how language practices function in different sites and the individual students' experiences change across time, offering different opportunities and putting constraints on the practice of the TL. The research findings indicate that TL speakers are often unwilling to engage in the negotiation of meaning with the students, who already are isolated from the TL because of living together with other Erasmus students at the student accommodation and at the university where all the exchange students are grouped together for their classes. The students felt intimidated by the strangers (NSs) and were most comfortable speaking Latvian in familiar, friendly, unthreatening environment. Also, their language learning experiences were marked by unequal relations of power, where the students' contact with the NSs was determined by their gender and ethnicity. The experiences of the students in this research neither concur with what Spolsky defines as "natural language learning", nor do they comply with the abstract linguistic notion of competence. The research concludes that learning of an L2 is not just a skill but a complex social practice that involves the identities of the language learners in ways that have not received sufficient attention in SLA or by the L2 instructors, who tend to ignore what "the right to speak" may imply for their students.



### Hsi-Yao Su

National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei, Taiwan

*Cities, cultural places, and identity:*

*Linguistic and discursive construction of regional differences in multilingual Taiwan*

This study investigates the discursive and linguistic means through which Taipei and Tainan - two cities in Taiwan often considered representative of the North and the South and respectively noted as the most modern, cosmopolitan city and the birthplace of traditional Han culture in Taiwan - are constructed as distinct cultural places (Relph, 1976; Johnstone, 1999) in interview contexts. It examines the role language plays in the construction of regional differences in multilingual Taiwan and explores how individual identities are simultaneously constituted and shaped through the processes of rendering particular locations socially meaningful. Drawing data from two interviews whose interviewees come from Taipei and Tainan respectively, this study focuses on the dynamic nature of identity construction and investigates how ideologies concerning language and region are constantly contested and reshaped in on-going interaction during the interviews. The research questions I seek to answer are:

- (1) In what ways are Taipei and Tainan discursively constructed as two distinct cultural places in the two interviews? What roles do common linguistic varieties in Taiwan, such as Mandarin, Taiwanese, and Taiwanese Mandarin play in the construction of regional differences?
- (2) In what ways does the construction of regional differences interact with the two interviewees' construction of self?
- (3) Is there any correlation between levels of discursive consciousness of regional differences and linguistic practices at the levels of phonological variation and code-switching?

An analysis of the two interviews reveals that the two interviewees align themselves with the two cities and construct their self images in drastically different ways. It also shows that language is among one of the most frequently invoked resources in the interviewees' respective discursive construction of regional and self identities. In addition to an analysis of the two interviewees' discursive practices, this study also compares their linguistic practices on the levels of phonological variation and code-switching. The results show that there is a noticeable connection between levels of discursive consciousness of regional differences and micro-level linguistic practices. The study also illustrates how the two interviewees as social agents present themselves in interview contexts and how the agents' identities and the social meanings of the languages and places in question are constantly negotiated and constructed.

This study is related to the conference theme, micro and macro connections, in at least two different senses. Firstly, it shows how the local construction of self in the interview narratives is deeply intertwined with the cultural discourses circulating in the society concerning the symbolic meanings of the two cities. Secondly, it demonstrates how micro-level linguistic practices, such as phonological variation and code-switching, are parallel to discursive construction of place and self identities, and in turn, both provide a window through which ideologies concerning common language varieties in Taiwan and the larger social structure can be observed.

### Matthew Sung

University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

*Representing Men's and Women's Leadership Styles in Popular Culture: A Discursive Approach*

In this paper, I explore the representations of men's and women's leadership styles in the debut season of the US reality television show *The Apprentice*, where sixteen contestants compete against each other in a variety of tasks designed to test their commercial shrewdness in the hope of vying for a top position at Donald Trump's companies. Drawing on the methods of discourse analysis, I examine the leadership styles that male and female contestants employ in 'doing leadership', with particular attention to the linguistic devices and discursive strategies that make up their leadership styles. The key questions addressed in this paper include: (a) whether or not men or women are represented and cast more favorably in 'doing leadership' as the project managers in the TV program; (b) whether there is a tendency to represent men and women as using masculine and feminine leadership styles respectively; and (c) whether masculine or feminine leadership style is presented as the preferred way of 'doing leadership'.

The analysis reveals that on the whole the men's leadership styles are represented and portrayed more positively than the women's leadership styles in *The Apprentice*. This portrayal is not only reflected in the selection of

particular scenes to be shown in the TV program, but it is also manifested in the comments made by individual participants during the interviews and in the boardroom meetings. It is observed that even though men and women are represented as using stereotypically masculine and feminine speech styles respectively in some situations, such kind of representation is limited to same-sex interactions. There is, however, no tendency to portray men and women as using sex-preferential styles in mixed-sex interactions. This suggests that the use of stereotypically gendered styles is shown to be context-dependent, rather than based on the gender of the speakers. It is also argued that the preferred way of 'doing leadership' as shown in the TV show is the use of a 'wide-verbal-repertoire style' (Case 1995; Holmes 2000), integrating discursive features from both masculine and feminine speech styles, and that neither the exclusive use of masculine or feminine style is considered the most effective. This seems to de-mystify the conventional association of leadership with masculinity, and re-cast the feminine speech style in a more positive light. It is hoped that the analysis can provide insights into the under-investigated area of the representations of gender and leadership in popular culture, and shed light on the analysis of gender ideology in the workplace, as reflected in the mass media.

### **Robert C. Swieringa**

Grand Valley State University, United States of America

*Making Progress: Constituting Identity via Interaction*

Routine interaction among actors may be considered a form of social organization in that the interlocking moves of its participants provide organization for the joint undertaking of mutually relevant actions. As Schegloff notes, such a consideration warrants considering conversational interaction not solely as micro-level phenomena but as a type of context itself for those actions undertaken by participants (Schegloff, 1987). Conversation represents a space in which interactants, by the nature and fit of their contributions, constitute a frame of reference for instantiating a mutually recognizable setting for undertaking those goals and identities sustained as relevant.

Institutional communities present members with a complex field in which to enact and dynamically create identities. Within those settings involving judgments of "productive work," presentations of oneself as a productive member and successful participant of the community may be routine and important, particularly during interactions in which one must account for past activities. As part of a two-year longitudinal study of participation, membership and activity within the institutional setting of a university life sciences laboratory, this current project examines the joint discursive creation of "progress" between students and their professor during weekly laboratory meetings.

The weekly meetings, as a speech situation (Hymes, 1986), call forth a particular, expected, and named discourse on the part of its student participants: weekly "reports." These reports are co-constructed by the (current) reporting student and the professor, presenting the recent past and the projected activities of the student. This discursive activity takes on generic qualities and expectations as the student and professor negotiate its construction as a representation of the student's work. As such, a reporting exists as a contested discourse space in which at least two individuals create an account of the actions of one.

As members of an institutional community - the life sciences laboratory - students recognize the institutional expectations of "making progress" toward completion of their degrees and research projects, as they move along a trajectory of participation within the community (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Reportings are recognized within the community as opportunities for assistance (for overcoming problems, e.g.,) and for enacting one's membership within the community. These interactions mark moments within the activity of the lab in which individuals are called upon to enact their identities as successful participants of the laboratory. Drawing on ethnographic and interaction analysis methods, the routine community discourse of "reporting" is examined as a site for interactants' joint creation of relevant community identities via the display of past and projected activities.

### **Susan L Tamasi**

Emory University, United States of America

*Linguistic Accommodation in Medical Communication*

This paper addresses the roles of language variation and linguistic accommodation within medical communication. Even though health communication research is a growing field in medicine, linguistics, and medical

sociology, the effects of dialectal variation have previously been overlooked. However, research has found that inadequate or unsatisfactory physician-patient communication is the most common reason for low patient satisfaction and regularly leads to decreased patient compliance (Hagstrom 2004). In fact, Mischler (1984) goes so far as to say that the physician and patient actually have two distinctly different “voices” or discourse styles. Discrepancies in physician/patient communication not only lead to potential miscommunication, but they also reflect and maintain the social discrepancies between the two groups, especially with regard to status and education.

One strategy patients and physicians may use to promote better communication, which may also help to diminish such strong social differences, is through linguistic accommodation. For example, the physician may choose to use more general words instead of biomedical jargon. However, incorrect or overextended accommodation may be detrimental to the interaction. The use of more “simple” words by the physician could be viewed as condescending by the patient, or the incorrect use of medical terminology could lead the physician to perceive the patient as uneducated.

This paper reports on research conducted at a US public hospital which supports mostly minority and indigent patients. Eighty-six patient-participants were audio recorded as they met with a physician during scheduled clinic hours (approximately 20-45 minutes). The audio recordings were analyzed for use of phonological and morphological dialect features, with a focus on two minority dialects, African American English (AAE) and Southern American English (SAE), as well as the use of medical jargon. AAE and SAE are the varieties of English most commonly used by the patients at this particular hospital, but which are not generally used by the physicians.

Each physician/patient interaction was further examined for linguistic accommodation. The type of accommodation (phonological, lexical) was noted, as was the person who actively changed his/her speech (physician, patient, or both). Interactions were also coded for the direction of the accommodation (convergence or divergence). One interesting finding was that a few of the physicians would accommodate to the speech of their patients during one-on-one interactions, but would actually diverge and become more standard and use more medical jargon in front of another health care professional or when a patient’s family member was present.

### **Marina Terkourafi**

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, United States of America

*Turning the tables: Hip hop past, present and future*

Frequently in recent years the press and media have accused hip-hop artists of disseminating patterns of violence and discrimination (typically against women). Most recently, the Imus and *Big Brother’s* Emily incidents in the US and UK respectively prompted a surge of calls on the hip-hop music industry to “clean up its act.” Both involved lexical items purported to be current among members of black communities in the two countries, but taboo-ed if used by outsiders. Hip-hop, in this context, is accused of popularizing, or even idealizing, similar expressions and images, making the boundaries between their legitimate (when, by whom, to whom) and illegitimate use increasingly hard to discern. This paper considers two related questions: Is this a just accusation? Concomitantly, *can* hip-hop reform itself without changing its distinct identity as a genre? The answer to both will be a qualified ‘no’.

To answer the first question, one must consider the cultural roots of hip-hop in African American and Creole ‘sounding’ practices (Labov 1972, Garrett 2005). ‘Sounding’ consists in associating a canonical form (e.g., “T(B) is so X that P,” where T[arget] is a relative of B, X may be justly attributed, and *P is obviously untrue*) with a canonical function, that of ritual (contrary to personal) insults. ‘Sounds’ are immediately and overtly evaluated by the audience and typically elicit a response by B (e.g., “T(A) is so X’ that P”). The highly elaborated form that sounds can take requires a homologous habitus in order to be recognized, evaluated and responded to. In this way, sounding effectuates both in-group belonging and outsider exclusion. Moreover, it represents an opportunity to display culturally desirable skills, transforming the exchange into an arena where cultural capital may be gained.

The worlds of hip-hop, and of the ‘sounding’ practices in which it is partly rooted, are thus predicated on the notion of performance, understood as “a specially marked mode of action, one that sets up or represents a special interpretative frame within which the act of communication is to be understood” (Bauman 1992: 44). Through performance, a *non-literal* representation of the world is constructed. Parallel to what Aristotle’s defini-

tion of tragedy in *Poetics* predicts, in hip-hop too, stakes, passions and their outcomes are magnified, and serve to provide, through the audience's empathy with the actors, an outlet for the audience's own emotions.

This situation becomes problematic if the link between the performance and the habitus that can generate, recognize and evaluate it, is lost. This is occurring today with hip-hop as it spreads both into mainstream US culture and globally. New audiences lack the familiarity with the cultural practices that both shaped, and allowed it to fulfil, its functions until now. Brought about by its own success, hip-hop is under pressure to reform. It remains to be seen whether its original functions of solidarity-building, exclusion, and cultural capital accrual, will be abandoned and replaced by others, or discursively re-cast to meet the needs of these new audiences. In either case, a new genre of global hip-hop is emerging.

### **Irene Theodoropoulou**

King's College London, United Kingdom

*Social Class Construction Through Speech Style: Evidence From Modern Greek*

The basic aim of this paper is to contribute towards the stylistic research in languages other than English through the investigation of the ways the pivotal construction of speech style (Rickford & Eckert 2001: 1) is used by people in their middle twenties to construct Kifisia-ness, an upper-middle and upper social class identity found in suburban Athens, Greece.

Social class identity (Bourdieu 1984, Rampton 2006, Bucholtz forthcoming), like every other type of identity, is a feature, which belongs to individuals as well as to groups, and so does speech style, especially if treated as persona management (Coupland 1985, 2001, 2007), where there is a close correlation between the individual and the social; individual stylistic choices create group norms, and group norms are the framework, where stylistic variation becomes meaningful. In order to show how young adult people, who are at the beginning of their professional life, construct Kifisia identity, I am using conversational data from three native Kifisia people, whom I have researched ethnographically (Wolfram 2007, Bucholtz 2007).

In this study in progress, their data are analyzed in the light of interactional sociolinguistics (Schiffrin 1994: 97-136), an approach which allows us to capture the nuanced meanings of Kifisia identity at the micro-level, with a particular focus on multiple linguistic resources, such as prosody, labels, presuppositions and implicatures, phonological and grammatical variables. In order to bridge the gap between the micro-level of the actual discussion data coming from just three people and the macro-level of what is projected as Kifisia identity in the wider social sphere, I back up my findings from the conversational data about what Kifisia speech style consist of and how it constructs Kifisia identity with data stemming from Kifisia identity representations on the greek popular media (TV series, literary texts and song lyrics).

### **Ching-Yi Tien**

I-Shou University, Taiwan

*From Classrooms to Societies: A Case in Taiwan*

The perceptions of education held by most parents and teachers in Taiwan is deeply influenced by the Chinese traditional philosophy that through education, people become knowledgeable and well-trained and are thereby useful to society. The definition of a 'good learner', also influenced by Confucianism, is that good students listen quietly in class and do whatever the instructor demands. Fewer questions are asked by students in classroom interaction, and the teacher-student relationship is perhaps more formal than that of other cultures. This paper investigates three English language classes in primary schools in southern Taiwan by analysing transcripts of audio/video data and field notes collected from three classroom contexts: urban, suburban and rural. The study will explore how teachers and students engage in discourse by applying the IRE (initiate, response, and feedback) model to analyze their interactions and interpreting teachers and students' intentions. More specifically, this study focuses on how the classroom talks relate to the societies they live in. Implications and suggestions for bridging the gap between urban and suburban differences are made based on the findings of the data analysis.

### **Thuc-Anh Ton-Nu**

Bielefeld University, Germany

*Homogeneity in Vietnamese Talk Shows*

Sociolinguistic studies about Vietnamese in terms of the macro and micro connections have dealt mainly with historical language policies and language standardization, whereas Vietnamese and its use have considerably changed together with the change of the socio-cultural condition in Vietnam. The emergence of talk shows is a reflection of this, which has not been comprehensively researched. My research, which analyses talk shows on Hue Vietnam Television (HVTV) both at the micro and macro levels, therefore contributes to bridging this gap.

Critical discourse analysis, which considers “language as a form of social practice” (Fairclough 1989:15), analyses discourses in order to “map three forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of (spoken or written) language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of social cultural practice” (Fairclough 1995:2). Based on this approach, my research seeks to answer the following two questions: (1) how do social facts and the selection of talk show themes and guests interact? (2) how do the linguistic discussion strategies and the organisational structures of the Vietnamese mass media interplay as they must by law function and operate under the government direction? The research data is the recordings of talk shows broadcast for the talk show programme *Van Hoa Ung Xu - Behaviour Culture* on HVTV in 2005. Research findings have revealed that the talk show making ranged from the selection of discussion topics and guests, the moderation and the production processes to the final show represent partly the existing social issues and the topics are discussed in such a way to guide people to behave corresponding to the social norms. An example is the show *Me chong Nang dau - Mother-in-law and Daughter-in-law*, broadcast on October 3rd, 2005, which is considered to be in the wedding season. The discussion touches upon the everlasting problems emerged between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law: the generation gap and the love for the same man when they are supposed to live under the same roof. The guests are divided into two groups: experts (Th and T), whose roles are to give advice to the audience and good role models of mothers-in-law (O) and daughters-in-law (C). Both guest categories come from a socially respected background as they are or used to be government officials. The topic discussion is divided into six episodes and each episode proceeds as a sequence of questions and answers of the host and guests. It is introduced by a video clip of an interview, a documentary film, a poem recital praising the daughter’s good attitude towards her mother-in-law or a switch to another guest or a combination of them. The host poses questions to each guest and the guest gives the answer. The guests’ answers modify and complement each other; counter-arguments are not found.

The research results provide evidence to the fact that homogeneity is the key characteristics of the Vietnamese culture in both the mass media structure and the linguistic strategies used in public discussion.

### **Anna Marie Trester**

Georgetown University, United States of America

*Intertextuality and the performance of group identity*

Within sociolinguistics, there is growing interest in data taken from performance contexts as a valuable site for observing the role of language in the production of cultural meaning (c.f. Coupland forthcoming, 2001; Schilling-Estes, 1998). The present investigation uses discourse analysis to consider interactions among a community of performers of improvisational theater (improv), focusing on three conversations offstage that feature a shift into performance. Fine-grained analysis of the language made salient during these performances yields insight into how this group uses intertextuality to index broader social meaning including identity and ideology.

The data analyzed in this paper are drawn from an ethnography conducted with an improv community in Washington, DC, focusing on three conversations that shift into the playing of highly structured and elaborate group games. Identifying intertextuality as a central component of these games, I consider the different source texts which are evoked and the particular kinds of intertextual reshaping which occur, suggesting that choices about WHAT source texts are evoked and HOW they are transformed are illustrative of processes of community reaffirmation, community building, and member socialization. Given Becker’s (1994) observation that “social groups seem to be bound primarily by a shared repertoire of prior texts” (165), I consider how an observed game move like “Mr. Questions, okay, I’ll inhabit that character tonight” evokes shared knowledge of the “rules



of improv” and indexes shared values of group members including the importance of listening, acceptance, and agreement in interaction.

Additionally, these games require a developed ability to actively track and utilize intertextuality in interaction, which not only is highly valued as an improv skill, is an important aspect of their style, but also is of crucial importance for being a fully participating member of the group. Members use the playing of these games as a resource for reaffirming community. Thus, I consider how these games develop intertextual ability, illustrating how the achievement of these games depends on the mechanisms of intertextuality identified by Bauman and Briggs (1990) entextualization, decontextualization, and recontextualization.

This study contributes to our understanding of intertextuality by identifying how these two aspects of intertextuality (WHICH source texts are evoked and HOW they are transformed) are implicated in the performance of group identity. This work broadens the scope of intertextuality research by considering performance contexts and contributes to the conceptualization of intertextuality as a unit including how to operationalize it and use it for analysis.

### **Villy Tsakona**

University of Athens, Greece

*Creativity in parliamentary discourse: Pragmatic goals and institutional affordances*

Recent approaches to linguistic creativity (Carter 2004, Goodman & O’Halloran 2006, Maybin & Swann 2006) suggest that creativity is not only a characteristic of literary texts, but also a pervasive phenomenon in everyday interaction and surfaces in a variety of formal, informal and non-literary genres. Creative elements, such as repetitions, parallelisms, puns, neologisms, hyperboles, metaphors, idioms, and proverbs have been basic ingredients of informal conversation before becoming part of formal and literary genres.

The aim of the present study is to investigate linguistic creativity in Greek parliamentary discourse. Parliamentarians often resort to creative language so as to attract the attention of the wider audience and involve them in the decoding of the political messages conveyed (Tsakona 2007). They also aim at fostering a more personalized and conversationalised context, thus providing the audience with the illusion of involvement in the political decision-making process (Alvarez-Cáccamo & Prego-Vásquez 2003). Moreover, linguistic creativity often seems to be a means of evaluation and criticism towards the opponent, as well as a way to perform a perspective shift on the political issues discussed (Carter 2004).

It is, furthermore, argued that linguistic creativity in Greek parliamentary discourse may be related to the degree of polarization of the topic discussed and to specific institutional parameters such as the consensus/competitive democracy, the presidential/parliamentary political system, the possibility/impossibility of public access to parliamentary sessions (Steiner et al. 2004). In particular, the political importance of specific debates, their broadcasting by the media, as well as the competitive parliamentary political system in Greece seem to favour the use of creative linguistic means in parliamentary discourse.

The data of the present study consist of the budget speeches delivered by the Greek Prime Minister and the Greek Leader of the Opposition from 2004 to 2006. The methodology proposed combines a microanalysis of parliamentary discourse by examining the pragmatic functions of creative language therein, with a macroanalysis considering linguistic creativity to be a result of the particularities of the Greek political system and the topic discussed in these debates.

### **Sione Twilt**

Utrecht University, The Netherlands and Erasmus University MC Rotterdam, The Netherlands

*The role of the non-professional interpreter in medical conversation*

While there is much written about the use of interpreters in medical care, very little is known about the actual communication patterns in this form of triadic medical interaction, especially in the case of ad hoc or informal (family members, friends) interpreters.

The aim of our study is to gain more insight into the quality of the communication of intercultural three party talk consultations in general practice, where an informal interpreter is involved. Which role does the inter-



preter play? In what way does the miscommunication may be observed? To what degree is miscommunication recognized by the participants and repaired?

Data of 16 transcripts of video-registered medical interviews of Turkish immigrant patients in Dutch general practices were analysed (8 interviews with good mutual understanding between patient and doctor, and 8 interviews with poor mutual understanding). Different strategies of discourse analysis were applied, focused on 1) information management; 2) miscommunication (well or not recognized; well or not commented on); 3) quality of the interpretation (e.g. reductions, omissions, revisions); 4) role taking behaviour of interpreter (perspective doctor, perspective patient or 'neutral').

Results show substantial differences between the two groups. In the case of poor mutual understanding, the number of misunderstandings far outweighed that of the number of the 'good mutual understanding' group (more misunderstandings of all types; confusion about role behaviour, etc.). Interview fragments will illustrate the main findings. The practice implications for physicians, patients and interpreters will be discussed.

### **Jef Van der Aa**

University of Toronto, Belgium

*"I'm Proud to be a Bajan": Embedding the Storied Self*

In how far are narratives embedded in surrounding discourse and social activity? To answer such a question would require a dimensional approach to narrative itself. Ochs and Capps distinguish the embeddedness of narratives as one of these dimensions and argue that degrees of embeddedness can be identified at certain points of continua. (2001:35) Other dimensions of narratives include tellership, tellability, linearity and moral stance.

In this paper, I will focus on the dimension of embeddedness and analyze a recording of a classroom activity on the Caribbean island of Barbados around Independence day. Children had been singing songs about their nation all morning. In that context, several personal narratives and "voices" took shape. Walking freely around the classroom and talking to the kids, I was able to record snippets of these conversations.

My aim is to show the relative embeddedness of these personal narratives in the larger context of nationhood and banal nationalism in Barbados, but especially prevalent around Independence Day. (Billig 1995) I will argue that in this context, "embedded narratives are thematically relevant to a topic under discussion and that they take on discourse features of the surrounding discourse" (Ochs & Capps 2001:37). The recording was made in November 2004, in Cyprian's Boys School, a private school in Barbados' Garrison area.

### **Maria Vanderpie**

University of Applebee, UK

*The Theory of Apple Pie*

In this paper I would like to elaborate on how I analyzed the Apple Pie Theory. First, I started with the crust; a pre-made one can be used, but I have designed one myself. A basic crust design is prone to a number of variables, among which white flour, sugar, salt, cold butter and water. I measured the flour, sugar and salt together. Then I stirred to combine. I added the chilled butter pieces and shortening to the bowl. I cut them in with a pastry cutter. I added the water. I mixed until the dough held together. I turned the dough onto a lightly floured surface, kneaded it together, then divided it in half. I flattened each half into a disk, wrapped it in a saran wrap and chilled it for at least half an hour. I rolled out one of the disks on a lightly floured surface until you have a circle that's about 12 inches in diameter. I put the circle in a 9" pie plate, trimming any extra dough from the edges with a sharp knife.

Once the crust design was ready, I proceeded to construct the filling. The most important factors for filling are sugar, flour ground nutmeg, ground cinnamon, salt, 8 medium sized apples and margarine. The combination of all these factors was then have to be added to the crust design.

Finally, I baked the crust-filling combination, also called Pie, in a pre-heated oven (425 degrees). After about an hour, I asked 8 subjects to test the result. I am still waiting on the results.

### **Mieke Van Herreweghe and Myriam Vermeerbergen**

Ghent University, Belgium, Research Foundation-Flanders, Belgium and  
University of the Free State, South Africa

*The Deaf Community in Flanders and South Africa: an Ethnographic Analysis*

Schein (1989) proposes a theory of Deaf Community development and hypothesizes five factors which account for “the unique social-psychological behavior of Deaf people that resulted in the development of the phenomenon called the Deaf community” (p. 200): demography, alienation, affiliation, education, and milieu. In this paper we shall apply Schein’s theory to the Deaf communities in Flanders and South Africa and also Ladd (2003)’s conceptual framework about colonialism and Deaf communities.

In Flanders the Deaf community has a long established tradition (Van Herreweghe & Vermeerbergen, 1998). The 25 to 30 currently active Deaf clubs are among the oldest societies in Belgium, but today we can see a decline in membership and attendance of Deaf clubs, especially by younger Deaf people. In order to try and find out what causes the decline we interviewed a number of young Deaf people through Flemish Sign Language. This paper will draw on these ethnographic interviews and confront them with Schein’s and Ladd’s theories.

The situation in South Africa is quite different. The South African National Council for the Deaf was founded in 1929 (SANCD, 1979). However, throughout its lifetime the focus of the SANCD seemed biased towards white Afrikaners as opposed to coloured and black South Africans. In 1995, SANCD was replaced by DeafSA (Deaf Federation of South Africa). Today, DeafSA is a coordinating national umbrella organisation, but has only five provincial offices; in the other provinces DeafSA is not very strong. Hence, there are many “grass-roots” organisations where Deaf people gather on an informal basis. This can range from “hearing” pubs which are frequented by Deaf people to chat and drink, to completely Deaf sport clubs, etc. These informal gatherings seem to be the precursors of Deaf clubs. In many places we can witness an emergent Deaf community. In order to understand how this works a large scale ethnographic research project into the life worlds of the Deaf communities in South Africa was set up in which Deaf people were interviewed by Deaf interviewers through South African Sign Language. Deaf interviewers were given a list of topics to use as guidelines for the interviews. Apart from some personal (anonymised) information all the questions concentrated on communication in different domains. Next, we also interviewed two people who hold high positions in DeafSA, i.e. Wilma Druchen, a Deaf MP (for the ANC) and Chairperson of DeafSA and Bruno Druchen, National Director of DeafSA. For the purposes of this paper, we will limit ourselves to an analysis of what people have told us about Deaf clubs in South Africa and again confront this with Schein’s and Ladd’s theories.

### **Luk Van Mensel**

Université de Namur, Belgium

*Parental school choice and the interplay between language, ethnicity and socio-economic background*

Over the past decades, the officially bilingual (French-Dutch) city of Brussels has turned into a multicultural and multilingual society in which the majority language (i.e. French) is unable to dominate all linguistic domains. Different languages are used in different circumstances and the traditional definition of a French-speaking majority versus a Dutch-speaking minority is by now an untenable one. Furthermore, recent survey research (Janssens, 2001) confirms the general feeling among the majority of citizens who, regardless of their linguistic background, witness the increasing influence of both English and Dutch.

The process of redefining linguistic borders and, more specifically, the apparent revaluation of the Dutch linguistic capital on the Brussels linguistic market has led many non-Dutch-speaking parents to cross the linguistic border and send their children to Dutch-speaking schools. Given the specific organization of the educational system in Brussels, this is one of the most common ways to raise children as bilinguals. Results from previous survey research (Van Mensel, 2007) suggest that the motivation(s) to attend school in Dutch may differ considerably between French-speaking families and other language groups (mostly ethnic minorities). However, the distinction between both groups is not always a clear cut one as both ethnicity and socio-economic background seem to affect parental motivation(s) and (school) language choice in varied ways.

In an attempt to gain further insight into the interplay between these different factors and its effect on school (and therefore language) choice, a follow-up study was carried out with a small number of parents from various backgrounds. Using the findings from our previous survey as a starting point, we conducted semi-structured

interviews and discussed among other things group membership and linguistic identity. This paper sheds greater light on the redefinition of linguistic borders in Brussels and how we might observe this phenomenon on a micro-level.

**Luk Van Mensel and Laurence Mettwie**

University of Namur (FUNDP), Belgium

*The economic value of language(s): a comparison across different European contexts*

In today's global economy, language(s) can be considered a form of economic capital in a market of supply and demand (Grin 2003). The knowledge of more than one language constitutes therefore a skill that can be valorized economically just as any other competence in the business world. Similarly, the lack of multilingual competences of staff members can generate costs and a financial or competitive loss.

In this presentation, we compare the results of various studies exploring the economic value of language(s) in a number of different European contexts. Special attention will be dedicated to the influence of various macro variables on language use and language needs within private companies at a micro level. It is argued that (linguistic) parameters which operate on a societal level such as official language(s) of the region, geographic situation, market orientation and language educational policy generate different linguistic needs for businesses and thereby influence language power relationships.

Our starting point is recent research carried out in Brussels (Mettwie, Van Mensel & Belang 2006), an officially bilingual (French-Dutch) city that hosts a large number of international companies and institutions. For this study, two types of data were collected: survey data obtained by a web questionnaire (n = 350) and a qualitative analysis of structured interviews with human resource managers and recruitment experts of some 45 private companies and recruitment centers. The data from Brussels will be confronted with results from Switzerland (Grin & Ströbel 2001), the Netherlands, Denmark, Catalonia (Hagen 1992) and Scotland (Hall 2000). The comparison highlights the interdependence of business, market orientation and language education in providing - or not - linguistically competitive staff.

**Swathi Vanniarajan**

San Jose State University, United States of America

*Tamil Language Maintenance in the Bay Area Tamil Community*

The maintenance of language minority children's first language is often a desired outcome, but previous research has illustrated the difficulties of maintaining this language at home, especially when the language is not supported in the social and educational environment. In such situations, research (Fishman 1991, Heath 1986, Li 1996) suggests that the role of parents, specifically their attitudes and perceptions, is crucial since it can greatly influence their children's way of looking at their native languages. Li (1999) adds that "children's attitude toward, and the maintenance of their L1 depend mostly on how we parents look upon our L1, when, how often, and with whom we communicate in L1, and with what we associate L1, especially when our L1 is marginalized in the new culture" (p.115). Fishman (1991) also argues that the role of parents is as significant as the role of schools in acquiring and maintaining children's native language. The goals of the study presented here are two-fold: The first goal is to understand primarily from children aged 10 to 18 born to Tamil-speaking Indian immigrants settled in the Bay area of Northern California and secondarily from the Tamil speaking Indian immigrant parents themselves whether the children's attitude and parents' attitude toward the importance of maintaining the home language match with one another; the second goal is to study how and to what extent Tamil language is maintained in the bay area households of new immigrants from Tamil Nadu, India.

Data were collected by administering questionnaires to 20 children and 10 parents and through interviews with 5 children and 5 parents who had been living in the United States for 15 years or less. The study was designed to investigate the parental and the children's perceptions about the importance of maintaining the language at home and the language environment in which young Tamil speaking Indian Americans grew up and how their parents incorporated language use experiences in their lives.

The following were the major findings: 1. Parental and children's attitudes toward the importance of maintaining the home language in the household correlated with each other. 2. Children's perceived levels of im-

portance of maintaining the home language correlated with their self-perceived levels of proficiency in the language. 3. The informant-children's active use of the language in communicating with the siblings and parents played a major role in the maintenance of the language at home. 4. Other supporting variables such as watching Tamil movies on the video with parents and relatives, parental preference to mingle only with Tamil speaking families, parental attitude to discourage children from having friends from other cultures, chatting with relatives in India on the internet in Tamil, and once a year visit to India contributed to active bilingualism at home. The findings are in agreement with Schecter, Sharken, and Bayle's (1996) claim that dual language maintenance cannot be achieved without a strong commitment on the part of the home.

### **Natxo Sorolla Vidal**

Xarxa CRUSCAT - Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Spain

*The relationship between face-to-face sociolinguistic interaction and macro structure: social network analysis, sociolinguistics, and the micro-meso-macro relationship*

The relationship between social structure and face-to-face interaction has been widely discussed but it has not been settled yet. Traditionally, in the social sciences, holistic theories have considered that social structure limits the individual's action, and more recently these theories have argued that in addition to limiting the individual's action, social structure also prevents action from developing. Thus, structure is seen as a way for the individual's action to become possible, but within some limits imposed by the social structure. On the other hand, from atomistic perspectives, the focus is on the individual, interactions and rational choice.

Recently, these opposed views have been superseded by a new framework that studies human behavior integrating both perspectives. New developments in network analysis have allowed to further study individuals, their interactions, and their relationships to structure. This view allows for the interrelationship of the individual level (micro) and the set of more or less structured relationships that the individual establishes with other individuals of his or her network (meso). This relationship is constricted since the structure and the position of the network nodes constrict the individuals' actions. However, at the same time, the reproduction and innovation of individual action within the network transform the structures of the network itself (meso).

In addition, the widest structures of the institutional context (macro) restrict the behavior of the networks (meso). Finally, even though the individual and his or her action cannot easily intervene at the macro level, some individuals in key positions within the network (or groups of individuals) can impact on the macro system.

This paper applies network analysis theory to analyze the relationship between the micro and macro levels in language choice among speakers of different languages. More specifically, it analyzes language choice among preadolescents of primary school in two areas of contact between Spanish and Catalan: 1) Noguera, a rural area in western Catalonia, where schooling is entirely done in Catalan, and 2) Franja, a Catalan-speaking area where schooling is done in Spanish. Language choice norms among Catalan-speaking and Spanish-speaking students of one classroom in different areas which have different linguistic convergence norms (one converges toward Catalan, and the other toward Spanish) are studied. The social network analysis studies the historic convergence toward Spanish in the linguistic interaction between Spanish-speaking and Catalan-speaking students, which is valid in Franja (with plenty of Catalan-speaking students and education in Spanish), but less solid in Noguera, with a similar percentage of Catalan-speaking students and education in Catalan.

### **Dick Vigers**

University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*Minority language as a tool for integration: the Romanians and Valencian Catalan*

Migration is leading to hitherto unexpected and unlikely contacts for minority language speakers throughout Europe. Lesser-used languages have tended to lose ground when areas undergo economic growth, and their survival in marginal districts (often geographically remote and undeveloped) is challenged by the expansion of tourism. Economic growth increases demands for labour, which in western Europe has exercised a consequent attractive effect for workers from former Communist countries, North Africa and Latin America.

Nevertheless where minority languages have a territorial base, the increasing devolution of central power has equipped autonomies with the legislative and financial means to attempt to redress status inequality between

regional languages and a national official language. Spain is currently experiencing the impact of these two energies; autonomies have renegotiated statutes with increased powers in 2006 on the one hand and, on the other, the integration of migrants: 'one of the most important challenges that currently confronting Spanish society at the moment'. (p. 7, *Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010*)

Patterns of migration have changed as a mobile workforce reacts to the volatility of globalised markets. Migrants follow circular trajectories, continuing on to third or fourth destinations, and setting limits to migration for specific projects. (Sandu 2005, 2006, Viruela 2006; Potot 2000) The commitment to engage with other community identities, for which language is one key, is compromised by objectives that are more short-term than in the past. However, some regional governments have grasped at minority languages as a tool of integration unavailable to monolingual areas. With circular migration there is little room for some migrants to participate in a hybrid 'regio-genesis' as described by Dietz (2004) or conventional sub-national ethnogenesis and since social and welfare rights are linked now to residence rather than citizenship, there is less incentive to naturalisation.

Drawing on recent fieldwork, this paper focuses on the Romanian community in the Valencian autonomous region (*Generalitat Valenciana*) to explore how new migratory patterns effect language ideologies, shaping attitudes to host-society language acquisition including the regional language. If transnational models of migration constrain the investment of social capital in language acquisition, are they compensated in the Romanian case by perceptions of a shared Latin origin (*Latinidad/Latinitate*), present in public and individual discourse among both Castilian and Valencian, and Romanian communities, which might find echoes in the official discourse on the reciprocal nature of integration from the receiving community as encouraged by national, regional and local plans?

### Susanne Wagner

University of Freiburg, Germany

*Frequencies, quality and quantity - how best to analyse null subjects in English*

While it is well-known that (pronominal) subjects can be omitted not only in pro-drop languages such as Russian or Italian, but also in certain registers of English (e.g. diaries), non-overt subjects in casual spoken English have not (yet) received any substantial attention in the literature. One of the reasons for this is certainly the overall low frequency of null subjects in colloquial English, averaging a mere 5%.

Those studies that include data from English have generally reduced the total of overt subjects to a more manageable total by using an extraction procedure for overt subjects that created an artificial distribution of 1 to 2 of null to overt subjects (e.g. Harvie 1998; Leroux & Jarmasz 2006). While extraction and coding is greatly simplified by this, side effects of such a procedure are immediate and should be carefully assessed.

This paper presents results from a study of all first person null and overt subjects in a corpus of 280,000 words of conversational Canadian English collected in 2006, some 10,000 tokens overall. A number of current statistical tools (primarily GoldVarb X and SPSS 13) were used to analyse the influence of 15 different (socio) linguistic factor groups on the dependent variable.

Clear results can be obtained in several areas. For example, the presence/absence of pronouns is not solely dependent on factors previously discussed in literature on pro-drop languages. Rather, features such as VP length which are known to have an impact on subject realisation in first language acquisition (cf. e.g. Bloom 1990) should also be taken into consideration. It be shown that complexity in one part of the sentence, such as a complex multi-word/multi-morpheme verb phrase, favours simplicity such as the use of a null subject in another part. Moreover, the data show possible persistence effects to be at work, with one null subject triggering another in the next subject slot. It can also be shown that certain (groups of) lexical items favour deletion.

Statistical regression analyses also show, however, that GoldVarb in particular might not be the ideal tool when handling data with a 5% - 95% distribution. Results indicate interaction effects between factor groups which cannot be accounted for outside of GoldVarb, and low cell counts are a general problem. In addition, the proposed factors only account for about 20% of the overall variation encountered in the data, suggesting that the current explanatory value of the hypothesis is not very high., Given the ratio of variation overall, however, this result should not be underestimated.



### Alastair G.H. Walker

Nordfriesische Wörterbuchstelle, Universität Kiel, Germany

*The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and Frisian in Germany:  
From Macro to Micro and Back*

The Council of Europe's (CoE) "European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages" came into force in 1998 and aims at protecting and promoting the indigenous linguistic diversity in Europe. States which ratify the Charter agree to take certain measures to promote the indigenous languages on their territory. The monitoring mechanism is by means of reports which the states themselves submit to the CoE every three years and which are subsequently examined by a committee of experts who in turn compile reports for the CoE with recommendations. The European Charter has aroused considerable interest and various attempts have already been made to evaluate its progress.<sup>1</sup>

Germany ratified the Charter in 1998 and submitted its third state report in February 2007. Taking primarily North and Sater Frisian as examples at the micro level here, I shall in this paper analyse experience gained hitherto, examining certain aspects to see what light they shed on the success of the Charter and its underlying goal at the macro level. These include the following points:

- a) The state reports as political documents tend to concentrate on the situation of the languages at the time of writing, thus making it difficult to monitor developments, especially negative ones. It is partly left to the experts to pinpoint such trends.
- b) There may sometimes be some misunderstanding between the committee of experts and the authorities concerned as witnessed by the discussion on North Frisian in education. Whereas the authorities emphasise the quantitative aspect of education, e.g. the number of schools and pupils involved in teaching Frisian, the committee of experts is also interested in qualitative aspects, e.g. methods, evaluation and results. Views differ as to the need to publish regularly a report on developments within Frisian at school.
- c) If it is established that certain obligations are not or only inadequately being fulfilled, the question arises as to what strategy a language community can adopt if the state or the *Land* concerned fails to implement the expert committee's recommendations. One particular case is the situation of Frisian and Low German in tertiary education in Lower Saxony.
- d) The effectiveness of the on-the-spot discussions the experts have with the language communities will depend to a certain degree on whether the language communities themselves have developed a concept of language planning.

The evaluation of such experience can lead to proposals refining strategies in connection with the European Charter, as Mercator has shown.<sup>2</sup> Thus experience gained at the micro level over the past decade can contribute to the further development of the European Charter as an instrument at the macro level.

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See for example: Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, Leena Huss, Stefan Oeter and Alastair Walker (eds.), *International Obligations and National Debates: Minorities around the Baltic Sea*. Mariehamn: Åland Islands Peace Institute 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Bernadet de Jager and Cor van der Meer, *The Development of Minimum Standards on Language Education in Regional and Minority Languages*. Ljouwert/Leeuwarden: Mercator 2007

### Theodore M. Way

University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*The Public Commodification of Personal Trauma in Küba*

From 18 January to 24 February 2007, Southampton City Council hosted *Küba*, a traveling multimedia exhibit. The exhibit was commissioned by Artangel, an organization based in London that is committed to "producing work that people really want to see and for which they often travel miles to experience" (Artangel). In the words of the exhibit's propaganda, *Küba* "reveals the lives of forty residents in one of Istanbul's most impenetrable ghettos" (Southampton City Council).

In this paper, I will look at the public display of *Küba* in Southampton, UK. Based on entries in the visitors' comments book and on my own observation of the exhibit, I will analyze this from a critical discourse analysis perspective in order to answer the following questions (based on questions posed by Hesford (1999) in examining the film *Rape Stories*):



- What cultural knowledge do visitors display of their understanding of the exhibit in their comments?
- What rôles or stances does the exhibit elicit from visitors as evidenced in their comments?
  - o Did the exhibit elicit an empathetic stance?
    - ...a stance of identification?
    - ...the rôle of bearing witness?
- What social and cultural expectations have the narrators internalized as seen in the 40 exhibits?
- What cultural scripts do the narrators reproduce or contest through the act of self-representation?

I hope to place this exhibit within larger discourses in sociolinguistics on trauma and transnationalism and, in doing so, to contribute to a further understanding of “the discursive and cultural mechanisms that survivors inflect in representing trauma” (Hesford 204).

### Jaroslav Weckwerth

School of English, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, Poland

*Distance from a model accent as a correlate of perceived “non-nativeness”*

This paper presents the results of one in a series of surveys exploring accent perceptions and attitudes in Polish learners of English. A methodology generally similar to that used by Gooskens and Heeringa (2004) was used to study the correlation between the learners’ perceptions of “nativeness” and phonetic distance between the speech samples used and a model accent.

Reading passage samples of native Australian, New Zealand and South African English were played to a panel of Polish judges, along with samples of L2 English from speakers of Polish, Afrikaans, Thai and Mandarin Chinese. The judges - students of “English philology” at a Polish university after an advanced two-year pronunciation course using a standard British English model - assessed their “nativeness” and attractiveness. Importantly: (1) there were no samples of the model accent spoken by speakers who could be traditionally construed as “native”; (2) two of the non-native samples could be (impressionistically) considered close to the model; (3) the native-accent samples contained salient features differentiating them from the model; (4) the remaining non-native samples also contained salient non-standard features.

The resulting Likert-scale scores were subjected to a clustering analysis, and the mean scores were compared. The two non-native accents closest to the model scored highest both on the “nativeness” and attractiveness scales, and clustered together. The “strong” native accents occupied the “middle ground”, also clustering together. The “strong” non-native ones received the lowest ratings.

A measure of phonetic distance from the model, based on the Levenshtein distance, as used in dialectometry research (cf. e.g. Heeringa 2004; Gooskens and Heeringa 2004), was computed for each sample. This was also subjected to a cluster analysis, and the clusterings proved generally similar to those obtained from the “nativeness” and attractiveness scales. For most of the speakers, there was a good correlation between the two sets of results.

It seems that the Levenshtein distance can be used as a measure of accent distance for non-native speakers of a language as well as native ones; and that the perception of “nativeness” in EFL learners is based on the distance of a speaker’s accent from the model accent used in teaching.

### Jennifer Meei Yau Wei

English Department, Soochow University, Taipei, Taiwan and Center for Chinese Studies, UC Berkeley, USA

*A Hybrid Chinese for the 21st Century*

This paper aims to point out the many forces and counter forces at work in Taiwan’s choice of language and national identity. We argue that our construction and perceptions of language and identity parallel socio-political transformations, and that language and identity crises arise during power transitions. Under these premises language and identity are never well-defined or well-bounded. Instead, they are pristine political symbols subject to manipulation and exploitation during socio-historical upheavals. By adopting CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis), we are able to reveal the intricacies of the socio-political conditions at play in constructing and sustaining the many nationalistic discourses. Furthermore, by taking a historical journey through the ontology of Taiwan’s nationalistic discourses, we are able to see the rise and demise of a national consciousness, the similarities and differences among various discourses which are not necessarily competing against each other in a polyphonic

hyper-modern era, but projecting pluralistic political possibilities in a democratizing context. Last, alternative ways to conceptualize language and identity are suggested by first deconstructing the blood and soil metaphors and the familial allusions describing language varieties in the Chinese communities and then by looking into the concepts of concentric and marginality for a more realistic description in the post-modern context.

### **Goodith White**

University of Leeds, United Kingdom

*Using small and large corpora to investigate pragmatic markers in Irish English*

The paper will explore the differences in occurrences of the pragmatic markers 'like', 'so' and 'now' in a small (31,000 word) corpus of spoken English collected in Cork and Kerry and a much larger (1 million word) corpus, ICE-Ireland, collected at roughly the same time. The larger corpus included examples of spoken language from both the north and south of Ireland, and a wider range of spoken genres. In the Cork/Kerry corpus, 'like', and 'so' in clause final position and 'now' and 'so' in clause initial position appear to serve functions of topic management and hedging/politeness which do not occur in the ICE-GB corpus and may therefore be a distinctive feature of Irish English. A preliminary analysis of the ICE-Ireland corpus suggests that the markers are not confined to spontaneous conversation but also found in more formal genres such as lectures, and that they are found over a wide geographical area but are possibly more frequent in the speech of informants in the south-west of Ireland. In comparing results from different corpora, the problems of corpus size, design and reliability will be discussed. There may be advantages as well as disadvantages connected to smaller corpora such as the Cork/Kerry one in that the corpus has often been collected by one person who may have insights and contextual knowledge about the circumstances in which the language was produced. Larger corpora tend to provide the researcher with more limited information about context. Distinctive features may be easier to spot in a smaller corpus, which can then be tested in the larger corpus. The two corpora in this study have been collected using the same methodology and for the same aim, i.e. to establish what is standard usage in Irish English, and a very small amount of the Cork/ Kerry corpus has been incorporated into the ICE-Ireland. corpus Using the two corpora in tandem enables the researcher to combine intuition with a more mass observation of linguistic features, with the smaller corpus (the 'micro') providing clues and hints for investigation of the larger corpus (the 'macro').

### **Angela Williams**

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, United States of America

*Talkin' Street in the Middle East: An Analysis of Egyptian Arabic Hip-Hop Nation Language*

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) have defined a community of practice as "an aggregate of people who come together around some enterprise... That endeavor develops a life of its own as local practices develop around it." Hip-hop is one of the largest cultural exports today. Having originated in America as an expression of resistance to status quo and racist regime, the music has become a movement mediated by global communications and adopted into youth culture around the world. This study looks at the music of two Egyptian hip-hop artists, *Sai-fullah* and *Getto Pharaoh*, to examine their usage of Hip Hop Nation Language (HHNL) in English. The methodology is adopted from Androutsopoulos (2006), who establishes a framework for the analysis of lyrics. I analyze the discourse in the lyrics under two perspectives: *verbal action* and *cultural reference*, as qualitative research, as well as quantify the HHNL and Egyptian Arabic usage in each of the artists' songs. It is seen that the syntax, phonology, and lexicon of HHNL, which adopts forms from African American Vernacular English (AAVE), marks the lyrical discourse as being one of resistance and political struggle, while the local forms of Egyptian Arabic are used in the discourse as a reinforcement of identity and cultural/religious expressions. Syntactic features of AAVE relevant to the study are copular deletion ('*we Ø on top*'), habitual/invariant be (*The media be lying*), and multiple negation (*Ain't no reason for that*). Certain phonological features of AAVE, such as final /r/ deletion (*evuh, nevuh*) are also prevalent in the discourse. Examples of pragmatic functions are self-referential speech and metaphors of popular American icons in rock music and action films. Furthermore, the artists use lexical items (i.e. *ill, sick, represent, cat*.) that are characteristic of the hip-hop community and thus give themselves authenticity as users of the code of resistance. The use of Egyptian Arabic on the other hand expresses local, social issues and religious metaphor (يقول المهدي المنظر للمزيكة في وقتنه Translation: *They say the awaited musical messiah*

is in his time; and نسيجات أرتجالات معايا كلمات لكل الطبقات Translation: *I have words for all social classes weaved in free style*). I conclude that, while in the American context, it may be proposed that the use of HHNL in hip-hop music can be explained within a community of practice (CofP) approach, due to mutual engagement, learning and a shared goal (Eckert 1999), globalized hip-hop is less a situation of direct interaction and mutual influence, making the CofP framework rather weak in this respect. Alternatively, these adopted usages may be described as invested with the potential to express resistance at the macro-level, enabling the artists to discursively construct their identities and realities as members of the hip-hop community through adopting them.

### **Qing Zhang**

University of Texas at Austin, United States of America

*An Innovative Linguistic Style for a New Lifestyle: A Case Study of a Chinese Television Program*

Numerous sociolinguistic studies have demonstrated that linguistic variation does not merely mirror macro-level social formations and transformations but constitutes a key resource in effecting social distinctiveness. However, research in this area, largely concerned with Western industrialized societies, has not paid much attention to the ways in which linguistic innovation is employed to effect new social distinctions. As a country undergoing rapid socioeconomic restructuring, China provides a dynamic site for research on the constitutive role that linguistic innovation plays in socioeconomic transformations. This paper presents a case study of the linguistic practices of two hosts in a Mandarin Chinese television program that promotes a new cosmopolitan lifestyle through consumption.

Based on 16 recorded episodes of the program “S Information Station,” the study finds that the two hosts, both native speakers of Tianjin Mandarin, a Northern Mandarin variety, employ a range of innovative linguistic features to form an innovative Mandarin style. These features include new lexical items, English expressions, and two sound features, namely, the limited use of rhotacization of the syllable rhyme and the frequent use of a full tone in a neutral tone environment. Both rhotacization and neutral tone are salient features associated with northern Mandarin varieties, including Tianjin Mandarin and the Beijing Mandarin-based standard variety of Mainland China, i.e. *Putonghua*. The use of the alternative variants of the two features, non-rhotacization and full tone, by Northern Mandarin speakers is found to be indicative of the influence of non-Mainland Mandarin varieties on standard *Putonghua* (Anonymous 2005).

Regarding the new lexical items and English expressions, a majority of them are found to have counterparts in the conservative variety of *Putonghua*. Analysis of the two sound features reveals that among 526 potential environments for rhotacization, the hosts “de-rhotacize” at a high rate of 97%; and among 121 cases where a neutral tone is obligatory in standard *Putonghua*, they use a full tone at a frequency of 12%. The results show that the hosts’ linguistic practices counter the mounting government efforts to make the Beijing Mandarin-based standard *Putonghua* the single legitimate Mandarin variety in the broadcasting media. In stark contrast to standard *Putonghua* which is conventional and regional (i.e. Mainland China), their innovative linguistic style is non-conventional and trans-local.

Analysis of the discourse of the hosts demonstrates that on the one hand, the new Mandarin style is used to index their cool, trendy and cosmopolitan persona. On the other hand, and more importantly, features of the new linguistic style are found to merge with the content of their talk about new consumer products/services, urban trends, and new lifestyle practices. Thus the new linguistic style and its constitutive features are employed as part of the semiotic resources in the construction of the distinctiveness of a new cosmopolitan lifestyle and its associated personae. This study demonstrates that micro-level analysis of innovative linguistic practice is crucial in revealing the constitutive role of linguistic innovation in macro-level social transformations.

### **Alexander Ziem**

University Basel, Switzerland

*Analyzing micro-macro connections in meaning construction:*

*Are social “stereotypes”, “prejudices” and “attitudes” cognitive phenomena?*

Due to the overwhelming influence of the generative paradigm, cognitive and sociolinguistic approaches became fairly estranged to one another. In the last decade, however, usage-based approaches, such as “Cognitive

Grammar" (R. Langacker et al.) and "Construction Grammar" (C. Fillmore, G. Lakoff et al.), start up from the very premise that not only semantic but also grammatical structures are essentially embodied entities. Following this view, cognition is both social in nature and grounded in human interaction. As a result, there is no clear-cut boundary between cognitive and social structures.

In this talk, I will focus on some interconnections between "micro" structures (cognition) and "macro" structures (social structures). Addressing the question in how far sociolinguistics and cognitive linguistics may profit from one another, I will argue that one of the most interesting interconnections concerns semantic issues, such as the relationship between social "stereotypes", "prejudices", and "attitudes" on the one hand (van Dijk 1988, Roth 2005, Spitzmüller 2005) and cognitive representation structures such as "mental spaces" (G. Fauconnier), "frames" (C. Fillmore), and "domains" (R. Langacker) on the other. From a sociolinguistic point of view, the question whether "stereotypes" etc. need a cognitive-linguistic revision still remains unanswered. From a cognitive-semantic point of view, in turn, the semantically relevant impact of social factors, such as adherence to a certain group, on meaning constructions is tackled quite hesitantly (cf. Croft to appear). How is meaning grounded in human interaction? In how far do social factors affect the rise of cognitive models? Are "stereotypes", "attitudes" and "prejudices" cognitive categories? These issues challenge both cognitive and sociolinguistics. The answers I will offer will be based on some results of a corpus-based metaphor study (Ziem to appear).

### Cala Ann Zubair

Georgetown University, United States of America

*The Interplay of Stylization and Genre in The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*

Originating from Bakhtin (1981), stylization is characterized as multi-voiced utterances in which the speaker challenges the set of discourses voiced by means of conscious use of style. Coupland (2001) has elaborated on stylization in a study on dialect stylization in radio talk, where specific phonological and discourse features are shown to be a metacommunicative mode that draws attention to its own conscious deployment of stylized versions of registers expected in particular genres. This self-attentiveness of stylization can serve as a means of parody and deauthentication in some cases mixing genres to create a hybridity which becomes a new forum for a certain type of discourse or opinion. In the present study, I consider both stylization and genre, considering how stylization creates a hybridized genre in *The Daily Show* with Jon Stewart, a nightly news/comedy show focusing on politics. Specifically, I analyze how stylized linguistic and extralinguistic elements, as well as the hybridized genres stylization engenders, work to convey humorous social commentary in a way previously unrealized in news casting.

First, I uncover elements of stylization in Stewart's speech that serve as a way for him to create doubt concerning the political viewpoints he is voicing. I look specifically at a skit Stewart performs concerning Donald Rumsfeld's response to public concern regarding the Iraq War. I consider the use of such features as referring terms ('Donny' vs. 'Rumsfeld') and variables considered casual, for example 'in vs. *ing* (I was only *lyin'*) and *doncha* vs. *don't you*, as in the following excerpt from Stewart's version of Rumsfeld's speech:

*Stewart*: Don-don-don-**doncha** see? (audience laughter) **Doncha** get it? (audience laughter) I was only *lyin'* (laughter) for my own good.'

Stewart's informal speech contrasts markedly with the formal contextual norms of news broadcasts, and is both a device for humor and a means of stylization such that Stewart's criticism of Rumsfeld becomes apparent simply by the way Stewart speaks.

To consider more in depth how the show becomes a hybrid genre of comedy, commentary, and news through stylization, I turn to frameworks of genre with the idea that the norms of a text and the misuse of these norms are important for the study of style and stylization. In addition to Stewart's speech, I focus attention on extralinguistic means in which *The Daily Show* models itself after other news shows; the opening credits, the presence of an anchor desk with notes and pen, graphics to accompany the newscaster, and paper shuffling. I note that these features associated with mainstream news casting also contribute to the comic effect of the show in that they are highly stylized. This method of creating humor through stylizing news casting as well as through speech stylization is how *The Daily Show* creates a hybrid genre of news, commentary, and comedy.

This hybrid genre is a new space in the news media for simultaneous reporting of the news and social evaluation of the political issues Stewart reports on.

*Posters*





## POSTERS

**Myriam Abouzaid**

LIDILEM, Université Stendhal, Grenoble 3, France

*Practice, discourse and representations of the standardized Amazigh language in Morocco*

Morocco officially acknowledged its linguistic diversity six years ago. Until then, the only official language, standard Arabic, coexisted with Moroccan Arabic and Amazigh (Berber) in a situation of diglossia with bilingualism. Amazigh, spoken by an estimated 35% to 55% of the Moroccan population, is now a national language and it is slowly entering the educational system as a compulsory subject. It consists of many different varieties of which three major vernaculars can be identified: Tarifit (Northern Morocco), Tamazight (Central) and Tachelhit (Southern). In 2001, the IRCAM (Institut Royal de la Culture Amazighe) was created in order to concretize the requested language planning. In this institute, the linguists in charge of the corpus planning have worked (and still are) on a standardized Amazigh language. They claim that the methodology employed for this project is democratic. In other words, standard Amazigh should be a *koiné* (or a unified language) which should be common to the “main” vernaculars.

In light of this specific and new situation, I would like to discuss how social organization can be displayed by verbal practices, as well as the relevance of discourse practice on the same topic. In this sense, observing the epilinguistic, and more generally the sociolinguistic representations, can assist us to understand the way standardized Amazigh is currently received by the Moroccan population.

My presentation will explore the discourse practices and more specifically the normative practices expressed by Amazigh speakers. In this study, my informants are primary school teachers who now teach standardized Amazigh to their pupils. I will show how the Arabic diglossia paves the way to a scheme in which this standard Amazigh might find its legitimacy as it enters the educational system.

**Bagila Akhatova**

Kazakh University of International Relations and World Languages, Kazakhstan

*Language and ethnic identity*

This paper is focused on results of research of social-political factors (political situation, social factors, life conditions and mentality) and their influence on language using in Kazakhstan political discourse.

Up-to-date language situation in Kazakhstan is analyzed in the light of vitality of Kazakh language and the consequent development of Russian-Kazakh bilingualism as well (Suleimenova 2001). Bilingualism is the integral and necessary part of language policy in Kazakhstan.

In multinational Kazakhstan almost all the population knows and uses Russian as the language of international communication. The level of knowledge of the mother tongue is different: some respondents didn't mention their native language as the dominant one, although they identify themselves with their ethnic group. Belonging to some or other ethnos doesn't depend on knowing mother tongue. The language situation in Kazakhstan can be characterized as bilingualism and as result of it, as biculturalism. The language consciousness of Russian speakers (who stated Russian as their native and/or dominant language) and Kazakh speakers (who stated Kazakh as their native and/or dominant language) has been surveyed.

Although the consciousness of Russian speaking respondents has been mediated by Russian culture, they can't be identified as representatives of exceptionally Russian culture. It means that language consciousness of representatives of ethnic culture forms during the process of enculturation and acculturation, so the process of adopting of cultural norms, values, traditions and customs of the native culture and the culture of other nation (as a result of intercommunication of these nations).

The differences in language consciousness of Kazakh speaking and Russian speaking Kazakh people (found out in the process of analysis of language consciousness kernel of the respondents prove the different reflection of surrounding reality in their consciousness). For encouraging the ethnic identity Russian speaking Kazakhs need profound studying and knowledge of their mother tongue because language is a tool for discovering the world of native culture.

### **Stéphanie Audrit**

Centre de recherche VALIBEL - Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium

*Analysis of a non standard phonetic variant among Moroccan immigrated adolescents in Brussels*

#### *1. General description of the research*

Most of the time, non standard productions of the immigrant youth people are interpreted as the reflect of their lack of knowledge of the norm of French. However, it seems that this lack of knowledge is not the only factor that can explain non standard productions.

A second cause that could be taken into account is the identity function played by these non standard productions. Speakers who are able to produce standard forms can choose to produce non standard ones, because these ones have become symbols of their belonging to the peer group.

My research aims at (i) describing phonetically a few non standard features specific to the youth immigrated people in Brussels and (ii) showing how the speakers use them according to the context and to their attitude towards the school institution and the official norm in general.

#### *2. Social and demographic context in Brussels*

The two most important immigrated non European populations in Brussels are the Moroccan and the Turkish people. Furthermore, these two groups live in areas where the unemployment rate and the number of bad quality lodging are the highest in the Belgian capital.

These adolescents are twice stigmatized, both by their immigrated origins and by their precarious economical situation. Therefore I postulate that these youth immigrated people consider themselves and are perceived as a social group and consequently develop specific practices, both linguistic and non linguistic (Eckert 2000).

#### *3. Data*

The present research belongs to the ethnographic paradigm. The data was collected during a one-year survey in two Brussels schools. The corpus is made on one side of spontaneous interactions recorded during courses, breaks, extra-scholastic activities and trainings and on the other side of semi-directed individual or group interviews.

#### *4. Phonetic variants and analysing*

The three phonetic variants I consider are the followings:

1. the back realization or *posteriorization* of the phoneme /a/;
2. the reduction of the vowels;
3. several variants of the phoneme /r/.

In the present paper, I focus on the back realization of /a/. This pronunciation is considered by several authors as typical of the working class and of the youth immigrated Moroccan people in different areas of France (Calvet 1994, Jamin 2005). I observe how speakers adapt their use of that variant and how they construct social meaning by analyzing their use of the two variants in contrasting contexts. I aim to highlight the role of non standard variants, not only as reflecting an incomplete knowledge of language, but also as a stylistic resource.

### **Michael L. Bakalinsky**

Zaporizhya National University, Ukraine and "ZIGMU" University of Humanities, Zaporizhya, Ukraine

*Status of U.S. underworld dialect in context of American English: sociolinguistic aspect*

The issue of the underworld and its dialect or "cant" has been addressed by sociolinguists both in the Soviet/post-Soviet and Western countries (L. Cole, M. Halliday, A. Schweitzer, A. Khomjakov, L. Stavits'ka etc.). The

author of the article stands on the position that the goal of the U.S. underworld dialect is not only to conceal information. Using the language analysis and operating R. Jakobson's theory of language functions, the author carries on polemics with the works on the underworld dialect available and proves that the dialect does not have only the esoteric and metalingual functions.

Further on, the status of the U.S. underworld language is analyzed. The scientists mentioned consider the underworld and its dialect solid homogeneous entities. The research conducted has revealed that the U.S. underworld is structured by numerous criminal groups, with each one having its own social dialect. E.g., rat and hitman lexemes belong to different part of the U.S. underworld dialect: rat belongs to general lexicon of the underworld, whereas hitman is a part of the Mobspeak, La Cosa Nostra dialect. According to A. Grimshaw's theory of social and language structures isomorphism, the U.S. underworld system is verbalized in its dialect. Based on the data received, the author proposes that the U.S. underworld dialect should be considered a language not a dialect because, as any other language, it has the core (language units peculiar to all the outlaws) and the periphery levels (language units incorporated into the use of various criminal groups). Having analyzed works in philosophy, cultural anthropology and linguistics, the author proposes to designate the U.S. underworld language as the system within Standard Colloquial English, which in its turn structures the Standard American English system, i.e. in the pattern of "SYSTEM IN SYSTEM". This hypothesis is based on L. Cole's conception saying that "dialects should be seen as rule-governed linguistic systems".

The author analyzes the U.S. underworld conceptual world mapping and demonstrates that it differs from the conceptual world mapping of various criminal groups (e.g., La Cosa Nostra).

**Céline Bourquin, Patrice Guex, Alexei Prikhodkine, Manuel Schaffter, Pascal Singy and Brenda Spencer**  
CHUV-University Lausanne, Switzerland

*AIDS Prevention: Consensus and dissension regarding the meaning of messages*

**Aim:** In Western Europe, HIV/AIDS prevention has been based on the provision of information intended to lead the public to voluntarily adapt their behaviour so as to avoid the risk of virus transmission. Whether conveyed in a written or oral form, the messages of prevention are essentially verbal. Sociolinguistic research confirms that, even within a given culture, the meaning attributed to lexical items varies. It was hypothesised that understandings of the terms used in HIV/AIDS prevention in French-speaking Switzerland would vary, and research was undertaken to identify the level and nature of this variation both between and among those who transmit (prevention providers) and those who receive (the public) the messages.

**Method/issue:** All HIV/AIDS prevention material available in French-speaking Switzerland in 2004 was assembled and a corpus of 50 key documents identified. Two series of lexical items were generated from this corpus: one composed of technical terms potentially difficult to understand, and the other, of terms used in everyday language with implicit, and therefore potentially variable, meaning. The two lists of terms were investigated in qualitative interviews in stratified purposive samples of the general public (n=60) and prevention providers (n=30), using standard socio-linguistic methodology. A further quantitative study (CATI) in the general population (17 - 49 yrs.; n=500) investigated understandings of 15 key prevention terms found in the qualitative research to have been associated with high levels of dissension.

**Results/comments:** Selected aspects of the results will be presented. In illustration: meanings attributed to the different terms in both the public and the providers varied. For example, when a relationship is described as "stable", this may be understood as implying exclusive sexual relations or long duration, with an interaction between the two traits; the term "sexual intercourse" may or may not be used to refer to oral sex; "making love" may or may not necessarily include an act of penetration; the pre-ejaculate is qualified by some as sperm, and by others not... Understanding of frequently used "technical" terms in prevention was far from universal; for example, around only a half of respondents understood the meaning of "safer sex". Degree of understanding of these terms was linked to education, whereas variability in meaning in everyday language was not linked to socio-economic variables.

**Discussion:** Findings indicate the need for more awareness regarding the heterogeneity of meaning around the terms regularly used in prevention. Greater attention should be paid to the formulation of prevention messages, and providers should take precautions to ensure that the meanings they wish to convey are those perceived by the receivers of their messages. Wherever possible, terms used should be defined and meanings rendered explicit.

**Céline Bourquin, Pascal Singy and Friedrich Stiefel, Brikela Sulstarova**

CHUV, University of Lausanne, Switzerland

*Communication skills training in oncology: a sociolinguistic approach (work in progress)*

\*Aim\*: Communication has been proved to be a key element in oncology. Since 1999, the Swiss Cancer League organizes Communication Skills Trainings (CST) based on videotaped interviews with simulated patients, case-discussions and role-playing exercises. The training is completed by individual supervisions of participants during a six-month period and a second video-taped interview with a simulated patient. It is known that clinicians participating in CST significantly improve different aspects of communication, such as increase of patient speaking time, use of open questions, investigation of patient concerns and empathic response. Little is known, however, about the underlying mechanisms of this improvement.

A linguistic approach aims to establish an inventory of oncology clinicians communication characteristics observed in interviews pre and post CST. The main hypothesis is that CST also generates positive modifications of linguistic aspects of communication. These modifications will be assessed by the means of a quantitative (LaComm software) and a qualitative analysis (discourse analysis).

Method/Issue: Transcribed videos of 60 participants of the French-speaking CST (60 videos pre and 60 videos post CST) are compared to a control group of 60 oncology clinicians who are video-taped conducting two interviews with a six months interval with the same simulated patients and the same scenarios used in CST.

The specific objective is to identify various linguistic indicators of change regarding communicational practices and competences of oncology clinicians by assessing how the linguistic form and content of the recorded consultations are modified by CST. Furthermore, the data will also be evaluated with regard to sociolinguistic links between language and social identities, such as age, gender and socio-professional background (physicians, nurses).

In oncology, several linguistic aspects are relevant for the evaluation of the communicational competence of clinicians. The most important linguistic elements are the way how clinicians choose their lexicon (use of jargon, metaphoric expressions, etc.), how they respond to topics introduced by the patients (e.g. elusion), how they reduced the asymmetrical character of clinician/patient interactions (interruptions, directivity of counselling, etc.) and how they position themselves as professionals and human beings (e.g. inclusive or exclusive pronouns).

**Thorsten Brato**

University of Giessen, Germany

*T-glottaling in adolescents in Aberdeen*

The glottal stop as a variant for /t/ in British English is well documented (cf. e.g. Foulkes and Docherty (eds.) 1999). It has long been a feature of Glaswegian (Stuart-Smith 1999) and is now also well-established in younger speakers in rural north-east Scotland (Marshall 2003). This poster presents some of the preliminary findings for the variable (t) from a study on accent variation in Aberdeen. The speech of 85 adolescents (aged 8-10 and 13-15) from three socially different backgrounds has been analysed in word list style (WLS) and reading style (RS).

In WLS the glottal stop occurs only very sporadically in all sets of younger speakers and the older middle class groups. Older speakers of the mixed area groups show considerable more glottaling, but it is only the older working class (WC) speakers who clearly favour [ʔ], although much less so than their Glasgow counterparts (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007: 238). Pre-aspirated [ʰt] is found frequently in MC speakers. [ʔt] is found very regularly in younger WC speakers and can also be found in all other sets. In RS, glottaling increases in all groups at the expense of all other variables. Still, the standard variant is still prevalent in all groups apart from WC older speakers.

The underlying patterns of this variation are not yet completely clear. As we would expect the MC speakers tend towards a Scottish Standard English model in which the glottal stop is not favoured. WC speakers on the other hand have high frequencies of glottalised variants. Since t-glottaling is considered to be a general feature of Urban Scots we would assume to find it frequently in WC Aberdonian as well, but as Millar (2007: 63) points out it is more common in rural north-eastern speech than in Aberdeen City. On the other hand the high figures for [ʔt] might indicate a change in progress that would most likely be due to the influence of the many incomers from the Central Belt and England who have settled in and around Aberdeen since the 1970s. This would in turn support Milroy et al. (1994) and Kerswill (2003).

### Martin Bridge

The University of York, United Kingdom

*"It's not always like this!" - Examining the UK's Negative/Auxiliary-Contraction strategies*

This paper is a study of internal constraints on Negative/Auxiliary-Contraction in the English of Derby, a city in the Northern Midlands of England. Variable Negative/Auxiliary-Contraction is found in most varieties of British English, exhibited in the cliticisation of finite auxiliary forms of *be*, *have* and *are* in negative declaratives. Several of these forms - with some cross-dialectal exceptions - variably contract with a preceding subject (AUX-contraction), or a following negative morpheme (NEG-contraction), as in (1) and (2), respectively:

(1) **He's** not going today. (AUX-contraction)

(2) He **isn't** going today. (NEG-contraction)

The traditional view of this variable is summed up by Trudgill's claim that AUX-contraction increased "the further North one goes" (1978:13). Nevertheless, in their quantitative study of Negative/Auxiliary-Contraction in eight speech communities around the UK, Tagliamonte and Smith (2003) find little support for a North-South divide in AUX-Contraction. They do not discuss UK Midlands dialects in detail, but based on data from a smaller speech sample from two Midlands dialects tentatively posit the Midlands as a possible "focal area for NEG-Contraction," suggesting that the dialectal patterning of AUX/NEG-Contraction is perhaps closer to "centre-periphery."

This paper adds a crucial piece to the dialectal jigsaw of AUX/NEG contraction in the UK. The data used in this study were collated from transcriptions of conversations gathered for the project *Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken British English* (Milroy, Milroy and Docherty 1997) and supplemented with data from the British National Corpus. Following Tagliamonte and Smith's procedure, only older, native speakers of the dialect were included in the sample. These data produced a total of 291 tokens (from 18 speakers) and were analysed using Goldvarb X.

The results are notable in two main ways regarding Tagliamonte and Smith's (2003) findings. Firstly, the Derby data show a higher rate of AUX-Contraction (57%) than any of Tagliamonte and Smith's communities, which appears contrary to the latter's suggestion that Midland varieties would favour NEG-contraction, but suggesting instead that Derby may be a focal point for AUX-contraction. Secondly, the internal constraints' effects appears unlike those from Tagliamonte and Smith's data, as preceding subject type -Pro vs. DP vs. Existential There- is shown to have a stronger effect on contraction than preceding phonological environment. Only the former is selected as significant in this study with preceding pro-forms favouring AUX-contraction (.66) and preceding DPs strongly disfavouring it (.11). Furthermore, the significance of voicing of the preceding consonant strongly favouring AUX-Contraction suggests a complex cross-dialectal difference regarding internal constraints, particularly those preceding the variable site, affecting the variable realisation of Negative/Auxiliary-Contraction in the UK.

### Albano Calvo, Pilar Cucalón, Clara Herrero, Manuel Palomares-Valera, Carlos Peláez, Ana Rivas and Paula Sánchez

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain & Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain

*Adolescent's out of school literacy practices:*

*a survey study of some relationships between literacy, schooling, family background and culture*

Work drawing on a view of literacy as social practice argues that educational success is tied to familiarity with and mastering of certain official school-type literacies. More broadly, certain sociological approaches have understood this relationship in terms of school 'culture' versus out-of-school 'cultures', in which a key element in the configuration of these cultural fields is a particular orientation to print and literacy. Both traditions consider that the educational system favors a particular conception of literacy with which only some students are initially familiar thanks to their out-of-school experiences. In other words, from this perspective family and other out-of-school contexts provide literacy experiences that play a key role in student's educational trajectories and, more broadly, in the reproduction of socio-educational inequalities. Consequently, research has turned its attention to student's out-of-school literacy experiences and contrary to more traditional sociolinguistic approaches, this work has found that there are multiple non-formal literacy practices children and adolescents engage in and that



these: (a) can have a complex relationship with school literacy and academic success; (b) are not easily correlated and reducible to student's social-class or ethnic background.

Most of the above is based on ethnographic and qualitative studies. From these studies several hypothesis about the relationship between literacy practices, academic trajectories and family background can be formulated and explored through large-scale survey data and quantitative analysis. In this poster we present the results of a survey study of adolescent's reported literacy practices, based on broad list of reading and writing practices documented in the existing literature. The survey also contained questions about the respondent's educational experiences, academic aspirations and achievements and different family background variables. We collected approximately 2400 surveys from students enrolled in each of the four years of Spanish compulsory secondary education (ESO), when students are between 12-16 years of age, from a representative sample of 30 Madrid (Spain) secondary schools - the sites were selected to represent the variability in Madrid's schools in terms of percentage of immigrants students enrolled in the school, the school's public or private charter and the different districts that compose the city. Our analysis focuses on three research problems: (1) to identify the range of literacy practices the adolescents in our sample claim to engage in; (2) to identify types/clusters of students based of the particular configurations of their literacy practices; (3) to examine potential relationships between these literacy practices, groups of students, their family background and their academic profiles. Through factor analysis we have identified eight factors that group various domains of non-academic literacy practices and a cluster analysis has identified three groups of students characterized by engaging in different types of literacy practices. The final analysis will attempt to explore relationships between these clusters, student's background variables and their academic profiles. Our results will be discussed in relation to: (a) a view of literacy as a diverse social practice tied to different levels of the institutional and social system; (b) the relationship between our type of findings and analysis and ethnographic research on the same topic.

### **Tessa Cyrina van Charldorp**

Vrije Universiteit, The Netherlands

*Intertextuality in police interrogations*

This poster presentation aims to display some differences between the spoken interaction in Dutch police interrogations and the written records drawn up from these interrogations. Two types of major differences between the interrogation and the record can be distinguished: A) information given in the police record that cannot be literally traced back to the interrogation; B) information given in the interrogation that is not found in the police record.

Written police records are constructed by police officers while verbally interrogating the suspect. One can speak of an 'on-line' construction of a written document with little time for editing. While the police officer is engaging in a verbal dialogue, the officer needs to create an on-line written monologue written from the suspect's perspective. This is in line with the legal requirement that the suspect's statement should be recorded in the police record as much as possible in the suspect's own words. It is inevitable that changes such as deletion, addition, selection and transformation occur when moving from the verbal interrogation to the written record (Komter, 2002/3).

Furthermore, the police officer anticipates the future use of the police record by professionals in the criminal law process, to serve as a piece of evidence in a criminal case (Jönsson & Linell, 1991; Komter, 2001). Therefore the police officer's task consists of multiple commitments. Not only does the police record look backward, reconstructing the story according to the suspect's perspective, but it also looks forward, anticipating the future use of the record by legal professionals (Komter, 2002/3).

Data from 20 police interrogations and their police records demonstrate that differences between the verbal interrogation and the written record occur. This poster presentation will show some typical examples of differences by using one specific interrogation and its police record. Examples of changes include the following: dialogue to monologue, word choice, additions to information and summaries of information.

This research is part of the research program 'intertextuality in judicial settings: the interrelations between talk and written documents in police interrogations and criminal trials.'



**Hui-Chun (Claire) Chen**

University of Manchester, UK

*Interactional implications of code-switching in Mandarin-Taiwanese bilingual conversation*

This paper aims to examine the loci of code-switching and their relationship with the contextual configurations. Based on the performance-based surveys of each participant on TV, it is argued that code-switching has been employed as an alternative strategy other than paralinguistic features to amplify an underlying message, to change a current state, to contrast two meanings and/or to differentiate internal structuring of narratives. In agreement with Gumperz (1982), Auer (1984) and Myers-Scotton (1993), this paper also proposes three types of code-switching: discourse-related, participant-related and code-related, which explicitly identifies the role of code-switching in communication and how it may orientate the direction of the ongoing conversation. Inspired by the analysis of 'how' CS works with contexts, it is then argued that Mandarin-Taiwanese code-switching may carry several interactional implications: contextualization, problem-solving, meta-level highlighting, communicative effectiveness and participation. Therefore, such phenomenon as CS should be considered at an underlying level rather than at a superficial level for the purposes of constraining potential meanings. Differing from what have been done in the realm of CS research so far, this study intends to provide a more detailed analysis of 'where' and 'how' CS functions, through which the intentionality of 'why' speakers choose to alternate two languages at their disposal in the same exchange episode can thus possibly be tackled.

**Galina Chirsheva**

Cherepovets State University, Russian Federation

*Code-switching for entertainment*

The reasons for code-switching in bilingual conversation have been studied in a number of works (Auer 1995; 2003; Appel and Muysken 1987; Gumperz 1982; Jorgensen 2003; Li Wei 1998; Myers-Scotton 1997; 2002; 2006; Poplack 1980, among others), but little has been written about code-switches for entertainment and humour (Moyer 2003; Rampton 2003; Woolard 1988).

Code-switches from Russian to other languages are often used by Russian people for different reasons. One can hear new foreign words or phrases everywhere: at home, in public places, on the radio, on TV, etc. Inserted into Russian sentences in certain situations, they can produce humorous effect felt by those who are competent in the interacting languages. Such code-switching is among the sources for puns and jokes in comedians' performances.

The main objective of the paper is to show how structural characteristics of code-switches, of the CPs in which they are inserted, and the parameters of the situations in which the bilingual utterances occur, are combined to achieve humorous effect. Partly, this effect can be explained by some typological characteristics of interacting languages, which will also be taken into consideration. The structure of code-switches will be analyzed within the framework of the Matrix Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton 1993, 1995, 1997, 2002, 2006, etc.).

When young people wish to express their ideas and emotions in an unusual way and to produce humorous effect, they switch to units of other codes. Especially popular such code-switching is among those students who learn foreign languages. They enjoy using code-switches in order to relax and improve their mood. When they are tired or nervous after University classes they make each other feel better by inserting code-switches of certain structures into a Russian morphosyntactic frame.

University teachers (lecturers and professors) at Foreign languages Department also code-switch from Russian to English or German at lectures or classes to make everybody relax. Besides, teachers of English or German use code-switches for fun in their informal conversations with each other.

The data for the research (more than 400 utterances) have been extracted from the speech of senior students (n = 50) and teachers (n = 20) of English and German languages departments of a Russian University. The speech was tape-recorded or written down immediately after it had been fixed at least once a week (for about one hour) for six semesters at classes and from informal conversations of students and teachers in the University building and outside. Besides, those students who attended lectures and seminars on bilingual speech were given the task to collect utterances with code-switches at home and in public places. They analyzed and discussed code-switches and explained why and how they were used for fun. Their own bilingual puns and jokes invented to illustrate the humorous effect achieved by code-switches will also be analyzed.

### **Bethan L. Davies and Andrew John Merrison**

York St John University, UK, University of Leeds, UK

*Getting stuff done: Institutional requests in UK higher education e-mail*

In this paper we present an analysis of a corpus of student e-mail requests sent to one of the authors in their institutional roles as educator and head of programme. These were collected at a university in Northern England over a one-year period.

Rather than consider requests as context-free head (main) acts, we recognise - and indeed value - the fundamental importance of the situated nature of their production. Specifically, analysis of the data has led us to focus on linguistic material which supports and/or modifies these head acts. This appears to manifest itself in two distinct ways: support may occur both externally to the request as well as internally.

Internal modification often takes the form of conventionalised lexis - for example that which functions as minimisers (*just, quick, a little*), conditionality (*wondering, if*), issues of deontic/epistemic modality (*possible, perhaps, may*) as well as lexis relating to ingratiation and gratitude (*please, thanks*).

It is, however, the nature of *external* support for the requests in our data which is the main focus for our analyses. This includes the use of accounts, preparators and the provision of additional information. Perhaps more interestingly, though, what we very often find is manipulation of (and/or appeal to) common ground.

The concepts of equity and equilibrium are used to explicate this usage: such support appears to be employed to decrease the social distance between student and staff member within this institutional relationship and thereby minimise the potential adverse affects of making a (face-threatening) request. Strategies focusing on various types of self-disclosure allow the student opportunities to construct their identity as an *equal* rather than being constrained by their (more unmarked) institutional role of *student*.

The overall story of this paper, then, is that the situated nature of student e-mail requests can have a great bearing on the discursive construction of student identities within academic institutions and this, in turn, has a bearing on how things get done!

### **Jelske Dijkstra**

Fryske Akademy, The Netherlands

*F-TARSP: assessing and treating young Frisian speaking children in their native language*

In Friesland, a bilingual province in the north of the Netherlands, speech and language therapists experience great difficulties when a young native speaker of Frisian needs to be assessed. There are no language instruments developed for Frisian speaking children, so these children can only be examined in Dutch. Since it is important to assess a bilingual child in both languages as far as possible, assessing in Dutch only gives insufficient information. Furthermore, speech and language therapists lack accurate knowledge about language development of Frisian children. Such information is highly necessary to set up a treatment plan for the child. Until now, little research has been done on the subject.

Currently, a Frisian version of the Dutch language instrument TARSP (Language Assessment Remediation and Screening Procedure) is developed. This Dutch TARSP (Schlichting, 2005) is based on the well known English LARSP (Crystal et al., 1976). Its profile chart shows the order in which morpho-syntactic language structures are developed by children. Speech and language therapists can use this instrument to measure the child's developmental stage as well as use the chart itself as a guideline for treatment.

The Frisian TARSP, called F-TARSP, is based on spontaneous speech samples. Sound recordings were made of 100 native speakers of Frisian aged between 1;9-4;2 years old at home during play. The children are equally divided over five age groups with ranges of six months each. Also sex and two levels of socio-economic status (SES) are taken into account. Each speech sample contains 200 transcribed and analysed utterances. Dealing with Frisian instead of Dutch, naturally resulted in several interesting linguistic problems. These had to be dealt with as well during the analysis. All children were assigned to one of seven developmental stages, depending on the number of elements he or she used in the utterances. The profile chart was developed by assigning all morphologic and syntactic structures to a particular stage. This was done based on a 50%-s rule: when 50% of all children used a particular structure, the structure belonged to that stage. In this way the profile chart gives an exact overview of the order in which the child learns Frisian morpho-syntactic structures.

**Katie Siobhan Finnegan**

University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

*Phonological Variation, Local Identity and Linguistic Ideologies in Sheffield, England*

My research is an investigation of patterns of phonological variation in a northern urban variety of British English, Sheffield English. In keeping with other recent variationist studies (Llamas 2001; Dyer 2002; Milroy 2004), this research takes a language ideology approach towards linguistic variation. This involves instantiations of second-order indexicality (Silverstein 1992), such as attitudinal and perceptual data about language and place, being analysed alongside the linguistic data. This enables researchers to gain access to the social and linguistic ideologies which may influence speakers' selection of phonological variants, and may help to explain the social meanings attached to particular variants.

A major aim of my research is to investigate whether a speaker's locality within Sheffield is reflected in linguistic usage, with particular variants being favoured and disfavoured in different areas of the city. In order to study this, Sheffield has been divided into four sectors (north-west, south-west, north-east and south-east) along electoral ward boundaries, with an equal number of speakers being sampled in each area. Another aim is to investigate the extent to which geographical mobility may affect speakers' usage of phonological variants. A further area of interest is to investigate whether local identity and linguistic ideologies play a prominent role in sociolinguistic variation.

Fieldwork has been carried out using the Survey of Regional English (SuRE) method of data elicitation (Llamas 2001) which enables the elicitation of both linguistic data and data relating to local identity and linguistic ideologies. In this poster presentation, preliminary phonological results will be presented from a subset of sixteen speakers, focusing on the /e:/ and /o:/ vocalic variables. Attitudinal and perceptual data on language and place will also be presented.

**José Antonio Flores Farfán**

CIESAS, Mexico

*Indigenous Languages Revitalization. The Contribution of Collaborative Sociolinguistic Work*

Investigating endangered languages has raised awareness on the demise of linguistic and cultural heritages. Today it is a common place among specialists that in a few generations most or at least several languages worldwide will fade away. The call to take urgent action to reverse language shift, reinforcing and empowering language and cultural survival meets many challenges which are still in the phase of being formulated. In other words, we are reasonably well informed on the inroads of language shift, such as processes of migration and urbanization, colonial exploitation and discrimination, economic deprivation and social mobility, not to speak of direct demographic genocide. In contrast, we are still ill-prepared on how to effectively reverse language shift, upholding and stabilizing endangered languages. The call to seize one of the worlds on going catastrophes has probably, at least in specific cases of moribund languages, arrived too late. It is telling that available current resources in the field of threatened languages are aimed at what is labeled 'salvage' or 'documentary linguistics', a museum-oriented stance of languages. Although in most cases of moribund languages only the last records on them can be achieved, language endangerment comprises a wide spectrum of cases, ranging from moribund to still vital languages. Regarding such viable languages which are yet endangered and swiftly experiencing shift, there are few if any efforts along the lines of what has been termed 'reversing language shift', 'preventive', 'peace' or 'sustainable linguistics' (cf. Fishman 1991, Bastardas 2004, Crystal 2000, 2004, Mari 2004).

The present poster reports on what in my experience at least potentially conforms to successfully reversing language shift. For this aim, I will present illustrations of materials utilized in pilot interventions with Mexican indigenous groups, especially with children. Based on the idea of intercultural co-authorships and interactive workshops to empower the use of endangered languages, our from-the-bottom-up approach develops a co-participatory, empowering methodology. Interventions at the community level are sustained recovering culturally-sensitive pedagogies, recasting vivid indigenous oral genres (such as legends and riddles) supported by their own visual means (such as the *amate*, "painted bark wood paper"), recreating them in attractive high tech media such as DVD animation and three dimensional videos. Such high quality formats provide status to the indigenous language and culture, triggering interest and opposing wellentrenched stigmas, practices and ideologies.

On special occasions, such as communities' festivities, children are invited to a special movie, presented as a surprise invitation. After the movies have been shown, the audience is invited to actively participate. Participation constitutes a prerogative of the audience, and those participants who spontaneously guess or provide new riddles, other tales, or comments in the indigenous tongue are granted materials such as audio-books, allowing the distribution of a revitalizing corpus. Stimulating spontaneous participation and disseminating the materials through an informal and playful model, have shown to upgrade the value attributed to children's and their parents own knowledge, thus reinforcing the practices linked to their linguistic and cultural heritage. This runs counter to the received Mexican state's official language policy - historically an assimilationist, top-down approach, which restricts language planning to schooling and writing down indigenous languages. The poster will cover the above mentioned aspects, especially highlighting the value of producing materials and opening up new spaces and relationships for the recreation and empowerment of indigenous languages and cultures.

### **Mi-Cha Flubacher**

University of Berne, Department of Linguistics, Switzerland and

LINEE (Languages in a Network of European Excellence)

*An Analysis of Discourses on Integration through Language of the National and Cantonal Levels in Switzerland*

If immigrants wish to be naturalised in Switzerland, they need to be proficient in the official language of their resident canton. However, due to recent legal changes on the national level linguistic integration has become a condition even for residence permits. Following the national example, the canton of Basel passed an integration law in parliament this spring, in which it is stated that a serious effort in language courses can possibly be treated as a prerequisite for the granting or renewing of residence permits. Language has thus become one of the key indicators for measuring the integration of immigrants.

In this context, my poster presentation addresses the discourses surrounding questions of integration through language, i.e. language policies and their implementation. This perspective is embedded in the larger context of LINEE (Languages in a Network of European Excellence), a EU research project. One of the core aims of LINEE is to investigate multilingualism and linguistic diversity in Europe. In further detail my project deals with the conflicting discourses on language as an integrative instrument in Swiss integration policy in general, and in the new integration law of the canton of Basel in particular. I intend to concentrate on two discourses of the microstructure relating to the integration law of Basel and its language policy. These are the discourses on integration versus assimilation (D'Amato/ Fibbi 2006: 81) and the discourses on inclusion/ opportunity versus exclusion. They both influence and feed each other, and in both cases the perspectives of the immigrant population affected by the new law are significant to the analysis.

The Swiss national policies under investigation form the macrostructure that influences the local microstructure (van Dijk 1980: v) of Basel. Conversely the language policy-planning processes on the local microstructure, the canton of Basel, can have an impact on the language policy-planning discourse of the macrostructure. The intertextuality between the discourses on the macro- and microstructure accentuates the processual character of language policy-planning pertaining, in the case of Switzerland, to policy-planning in the spheres of integration, migration and naturalisation. In the light of the interconnections between the different structures, my research is aimed at establishing possible overlaps as well as contrastive elements between the macro- and microstructure and the policy-planning discourses pertaining to those levels. The intention is to evaluate the overt and covert discourses regarding migration, integration and language skills that pertain to the political and societal sphere of the microstructure, which is constituted by discourses of the macrostructures on these issues.

### **Katerina T. Frantzi**

University of the Aegean, Dept. of Mediterranean Studies, Greece

*The C-value method for the Comparison of Male and Female Politicians' Use of Collocations*

The paper presents a study on the extraction and comparison of the collocations used by male and female politicians in the Hellenic Parliament. Political Discourse analysis is becoming a quite interesting subject (Wilson, 2001; Tzampouras, 2005; Christidis, 1999) as Language and Gender is (Tsokalidou et al. 2007). We set the following type of research questions: Do men and women politicians use collocations to the same degree? Do

women politicians use the same type of collocations as men politicians do? Do women politicians prefer to use specific words where men prefer others? We attempt to answer to the above using Corpus Linguistics, that applying automatic processing on real texts, offers precise, complete and quick linguistic information extraction, in such a way that cannot be achieved using the traditional (manual) means (Sinclair, 2004).

We have constructed a corpus of Hellenic Parliamentary Discourse obtaining the text material from the Hellenic Parliament web page (<http://www.parliament.gr>). We organized the corpus in such a way that according to our research questions we can every time use the appropriate language pieces we need. The corpus is accompanied by a database that keeps information of the texts and the texts' authors (text's size, date of creation, text's author, author's gender, author's affiliation, author's age, author's political profile, etc.). The corpus is dynamic and is continuously updated with new data. We apply *C-value* to the corpus for the extraction of the collocations used by the male and female Greek politicians. *C-value* is a language and domain independent measure, originally proposed for the automatic identification of multi-word terms from special language corpora and collocations from both general and special language corpora. As a collocation extraction tool, it is merely based on statistical information, while when used as a term extraction tool, it is a hybrid measure, combining linguistic and statistical information. What makes *C-value* differ from the frequency of occurrence and other such measures is that it is able to deal with "nested" collocations, i.e. independent collocations found within other longer collocations, neither overestimating nor underestimating them (Frantzi et al., 2000). We present lists of the collocations used by male and female Greek politicians giving the first answers to the research questions we set above.

### **María-Isabel González-Cruz**

Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain

*Standard vs. dialect: Attitudes to Canarian and Castilian Spanish*

Many language attitude studies (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970; Shuy and Fasold 1973; Cooper and Fishman 1974; Gardner and Smythe 1977; Giles and Bouchard Ryan 1982) have been concerned both with the analysis of people's attitudes towards a particular variety of language and with the respondents' attitudes towards the speakers of those languages or varieties. This particular area of subjective reactions has been of interest to many scholars who have carried out extensive research on the topic (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner and Fillenbaum, 1960; Lambert, Anisfeld and Yeni-Komshian 1965; Lambert 1967; Markel, Eisler and Reese 1967; Giles 1970; Tucker and Lambert 1972; Carranza and Bouchard Ryan 1975; Giles and Powesland 1997 (1975); Giles, Baker and Fielding 1975; El-Dash and Tucker 1975; Berk-Seligson 1984; Woolard 1984, and many others). They have found that listeners react subjectively to variation in speech and that they attribute positive or negative personality features to the speakers, depending on their use of prestige or stigmatised speech variants.

In their research of the attitudes held by a group of Canarian teachers towards their own variety of speech, Morín and Castellano (1990) did not find any negative attitudes towards the main phonological features of the Canarian Spanish dialect. However, according to Almeida (1992: 52; 1999: 118) and Trujillo (2003: 201), for many Canarian speakers the Castilian phonological norm has more prestige than that of their own variety. Our survey was mostly aimed at confirming or refuting these beliefs.

This poster will show the data collected in this empirical study about the present attitudes held by university students in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Canary Islands, Spain) towards their own variety of speech (Canarian Spanish) and towards the standard Castilian form of the Spanish language. Since, as stated above, previous surveys obtained rather contradictory results, we believe these attitudes may now be undergoing a process of change. We used a variant of the well-known matched-guise technique and conducted a survey with semantic differential scales firstly with two groups of Canarian students, namely, a group of English Philology students, who were supposed to be familiar with the issues of linguistic prestige and language variation, and another group of Computer Science students, more unaware of these questions. In addition, we surveyed a group of ULPGC Marine Science students coming from mainland Spain and, therefore, speakers of the standard Castilian variety, in order to check their evaluation of Canarian Spanish.



**Henna Jousmäki**

University of Jyväskylä, Department of Languages/ English, Finland

*Construction of subcultural identity in song lyrics*

Although the study of discursive construction of identities in bilingual settings has recently increased, religious identities have not been widely addressed. In today's increasingly secular West (Bruce 2002), it is especially Christianity that does not attract very much attention. Nevertheless, Christianity still abounds among Western young people to the extent that it gives rise to specific youth subcultures.

An example of such a subculture is Christian heavy metal culture, which functions around Christian faith as well as around a taste for heavy metal music. Christian heavy metal, or white metal, has become an established music genre worldwide and in Finland, too. As with various other types of music, a great amount of Finnish Christian metal is performed in English. Thus, this kind of subculture provides an interesting set of data both in terms of sociolinguistics and subcultures.

My presentation is based on data from my ongoing study on Finnish English-language Christian heavy metal discourse. From a critical discourse analytic perspective (Fairclough 1992), I will show how white metal lyrics contribute to the construction of Christian heavy metal identities and culture. What is sung about and how is it worded? What discourses and genres are drawn upon? What kinds of aspects does this kind of subcultural identity include, and what is rejected from it? What is the social and ideological significance of the linguistic and discursive choices? To answer these questions, I will be paying attention especially to the use of pronouns, to the presentation of semantic opposites, and to the intertextual features of the lyrics.

The present data are an example of how macro-level phenomena - here, the global spread of the English language, of heavy metal music, and of Christianity - come to mix into quite specific micro-formulations where all the parts influence the outcome but also become affected by it. With regard to these data, this two-way process shows in contributions to the heavy metal genre, in interpretation of the Christian dogma, and in the appropriation of the English language by native speakers of Finnish.

**Inka Koskela and Hannele Palukka**

Department of Sociology and Social Psychology University of Tampere, Finland

*Multimodal Activities in Technology-mediated Training*

The poster presents an ongoing study concerning training practices in air traffic controller *ab initio* training. The study is concerned with the nature and the dynamics of social interaction between the trainee and the trainer. The study develops a perspective from which to investigate interactive training as situated accomplishments that emerge from their practical management within language, social configuration and material resources. Talk is the primordial site at and through which trainer and trainee express their understanding of the training situation, and negotiate their division of roles for participation in it. Talk makes the sense of the social activities intersubjectively available, amounting to what Heritage (1984) has called the architecture of intersubjectivity. However, talk and social actions are not two separate plenums, talk being the medium for orchestrating activities through emerging agencies.

It is not talk as such, but the coordination of talk and action that establishes the sense of the ongoing action (Goodwin 2000). Coordination is especially important in high reliability organizations such as aviation in which multimodality dominates. The air traffic control involves organized ways of coordinating technically assisted teamwork that counteracts potentially hazardous errors and safety gaps. The goal of air traffic control is to handle large volumes of traffic both safely and efficiently. The work is characterized by the redundancy which can provide "back-ups" in case of possible errors. Our study shows how multimodality of interaction makes sense of the ability to respond, to monitor and to anticipate with irregular events and potential errors.

The video-taped research data was gathered during the years 2006 - 2007 from two environments, the aerodrome control simulator and in real work settings in tower control during on the job training phase among *ab initio* trainees. The analysis of video recordings combines the study of oral interaction and visually observable physical actions. The spoken interaction is transcribed using the conventions of conversation analysis, and visual actions are linked with the stream of verbal actions. We will show how intersubjectivity, the shared understanding of ongoing training action is accomplished by multiple modes of communicative resources (Palukka & Arminen 2005) These resources include verbal and non-verbal practices in interaction and technology use



in on the job training. The interactive training practices cannot be reduced simply to speech acts and practices, but are distributed through multimodal communicative practices and technological artefacts both in simulated learning environments and an authentic work environment.

As a whole, the study discusses how talk and other activities as ongoing achievements contribute to the emergence of social actions, not merely trying to understand talk or the organization of action. It identifies salient forms of interactional patterns that constitute to establishing the social world as perceived.

### **Sjaak Kroon and Jeanne Kurvers**

Department of Language and Culture Studies / Babylon, Tilburg University, The Netherlands

*Multilingualism and language policy in education in Surinam and Aruba*

Surinam and Aruba are both former Dutch colonies in the Caribbean. Suriname is an independent Republic since 1975 and Aruba, since its secession from the Netherlands Antilles in 1986, is an autonomous part within the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

In 1667 Dutch became the official language of Surinam and it kept this position also after independence. As a consequence the language of instruction in the Surinamese educational system is Dutch. The position of Dutch in Suriname is recently officially confirmed and strengthened by the fact that Surinam became a member of the Nederlandse Taalunie (Dutch Language Union), a treaty between the Netherlands, Flanders and as of 2003 also Surinam regarding Dutch language and literature and Dutch language education. Apart from Dutch the Republic of Surinam has another twenty languages spoken as home languages by its inhabitants. Among these are Sranan Tongo serving as a lingua franca and some other Creole languages, Sarnami Hindustani, Javanese, Keya and Mandarin Chinese, Lebanese, and a number of American Indian languages. None of these languages, however, has an official position in society and schooling.

Also in Aruba, as a part of the Netherlands, Dutch is the official language and the language of education. As of 2003 also Papiamentu, a Creole language that consists of Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, English and French elements, has been declared an official language of Aruba next to Dutch.

Other than in Surinam, where the issue of using the various home languages of the pupils as languages of instruction is not really a point on the political agenda, in Aruba there is a lively and decades long discussion on introducing Papiamentu as a language of instruction in primary education. In 2002 even a policy plan for the introduction of Papiamentu was written which is now being partly implemented and at the same time is still waiting for governmental approval.

Although historically and linguistically speaking Surinam and Aruba seem to have a lot in common they show rather different perspectives regarding language policy issues in education.

In our presentation, on the basis of a survey that was conducted with 315 Surinamese respondents in Suriname and the Netherlands and 200 respondents from Aruba we will compare the opinions of Surinamese and Aruban inhabitants regarding the issue of multilingualism, language policy and education, especially focusing on the possibility of using the children's home languages as languages of instruction.

### **Samu Mikael Kytölä**

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

*Discourse uses and functions of English and other 'foreign' codes in Finnish football discussion fora on the web*

The sociolinguistic situation of Finland is facing a partial, gradual shift due to the major, multi-layered spread of English. Finns are now using English for a variety of purposes in a rapidly growing number of different domains, in several different registers. Besides numerous 'intercultural' uses of English, several contexts have been recently analyzed where English is used in 'intracultural' communication between Finnish-speaking Finns. Particularly interesting are the linguistic practices of 'subcultural' or 'lifestyle' communities on the Web, where native Finnish writers deploy English along with, and instead of, their first language. (Leppänen 2007.)

This presentation gives an overview of my PhD work (in progress) on the supersentential discourse uses and functions of English at Finland-based online football discussion fora. Other languages than English, registers and variants of languages, other semiotic means than 'languages' as well as various hybrid forms found in the data are also presented and analyzed, since the extent and nature of the uses of 'English' can best be understood in compari-

son with those of other ‘codes’. Moreover, the multilingual, polyphonic, multimodal and hybrid data arguably lend themselves to a comprehensive analysis of multilingualism where not just ‘Finnish’ and ‘English’ alternate or mix.

Moreover, the presentation comprises current research problems, early research findings, and intriguing data samples that aptly illustrate the connections between the “infinite small” (Blommaert 2005) micro-levels and the “infinitely big” (Blommaert 2005) macro-levels of context simultaneously at stake within fragments of communication. I shall show how communication events (or more precisely from the analyst’s point of view: their written/visual outcomes that one can access in a discussion forum) are thoroughly influenced by the global and local (e.g. Finnish) histories of football as well as the discussants’ shared and personal histories, language and ethno-social ideologies, and (lack of) access to the different resources that comprise their communicative and socio-pragmatic repertoires at the micro-site of engagement.

Methodologically, my research draws from several lines of research: studies of code-switching and code alternation, particularly in computer-mediated communication (CMC, e.g. Androutsopoulos 2007a; Hinrichs 2006), sociolinguistics, and ethnographically informed (e.g. Georgakopoulou 2006) discourse analysis of highly context-dependent and densely situated language-in-use (e.g. Blommaert 2005). Arguably such an eclectic framework facilitates a holistic, non-deterministic, non-reductionist understanding of the highly multi-layered and volatile phenomena in focus. As Georgakopoulou (2006) argues, however, the development of suitable, specifically applied frameworks for understanding the sociolinguistics of CMC is still underway: more different online genres and contexts need to be studied to enhance our understanding of it.

### Hanna Lappalainen

Research Institute for the Languages of Finland, Finland

*Macro and micro perspectives on explaining variation in the use of personal pronouns*

This presentation discusses variation in the use of personal pronouns in spoken Finnish and the motivations for the variation attested. The study is a part of an on-going research project on interactional practices, linguistic variation and language attitudes in an Eastern Helsinki suburb, carried out at the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland. In the project, we are examining interaction among the members of social networks, as well as the language use of a small number of individuals in several different situations. The methods of sociolinguistic variation analysis (macro perspective) and conversation analysis (micro perspective) are combined. The ethnographic knowledge of the network is acquired by a long-term participant observation.

My part of the project focuses on an open Bible circle for women. The participants (an average of 10) are 30-70-year old women: both young mothers and middle-aged and retired women. They represent different kinds of occupations (e.g. teacher, practical nurse, secretary) and both long-time and new inhabitants of the suburb. I have participated in the weekly meetings of the circle since September 2006.

The data consist of interviews (mostly audio-recorded) and conversations (video-recorded) among the participants of the Bible circle. In my paper I will focus on the use of 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns in these data. These pronouns have several variants in Finnish varieties, e.g.

	<b>standard Finnish</b>	<b>non-standard varieties</b>	
nominative	<i>minä</i>	<i>mää, mä, mie, minä</i>	’I
adessive	<i>minulla</i>	<i>mul(la), miul(la), minul(la)</i>	’I have’

The analysis of the data reveals that the participants have both similarities and differences in their use of pronouns. The variation found cannot be explained only from macro or micro perspective but both of them are needed. Thus the different variation profiles of the individuals can be understood in the light of their regional and social background. However, these extralinguistic factors do not explain all variation at the individual level - especially the reasons for why the speaker uses the variant x instead of y in a particular context of use. Instead, variation seems to have functions which can be found out only when the variants are studied in their interactional context. For instance, the variant *minä* (which is quite rare in the data) often has contrastive functions (I vs. the others) whereas the variant *mää* (instead of *mä* which is, on the basis of the earlier studies, much more frequent than *mää* in Helsinki) is used as a marker of “not original Helsinki resident” -identity in some interactional contexts.

**Rachele Lawton**

Lancaster University, Lancaster, UK and The Community College of Baltimore County, MD, US  
*Language Policy and Ideology in the United States: A Critical Analysis of "English Only" Discourse*

"English Only" refers to a political movement concerned with the status of English in the United States. English Only proponents contend that national unity, American identity and the English language itself are threatened by immigration and other languages, primarily Spanish. This movement, which has gained momentum since the early 1980s, attacks three primary areas: educational policy for language minority children, linguistic access to political and civil rights, and a constitutional amendment that would declare English the sole official language of the United States (Schmidt 2001).

May (2001) categorizes the English Only movement into four major aspects: arguments characterized by historical inaccuracy about English and other languages in the US, links made between educational failure and bilingual education, inherent nativism where language is used to maintain racialized distinctions, and the assumption that speaking English is a unifying force while multilingualism is destructive of national unity. He asserts that these areas are problematic and need further examination. The work in progress presented in this poster session addresses these assertions through an analysis of English Only discourse and the movement's historical context.

In this project, I first address one of the fundamental assertions of the English Only movement: that English needs protection in the US. Next, I identify the primary arguments for and against English Only policies and the discursive strategies used to construct these arguments. I also decipher ideologies embedded in English Only discourse and consider what motivates the verbal practices of English Only proponents. Finally, I examine causation between the public debate on English Only and private opinion.

My theoretical framework and methodology are based on the discourse-historical approach (Wodak, 2001), a multi-methodical approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA) that emphasizes the historical context of a social problem and the exploration of related macro and micro topics. As the discourse-historical approach encourages the adoption of relevant social theories, I also draw on Bourdieu's model of symbolic domination and Bakhtin's notion of dialogism in discourse as applied by Blackledge (2005) in his analyses of discourse in various multilingual contexts.

My corpus is comprised of texts that support and oppose English Only ideologies. Texts include political speeches, website content, online chat rooms, legislation, language policy documents, and direct-mail surveys. My research also contains a case study of the effects of English Only rhetoric on the attitudes and opinions of native-born Americans and Latino immigrants.

This poster displays extracts from both the texts listed above and data gathered through the use of questionnaires and focus groups. It presents analysis and findings in progress.

**Bin Li and Jinping Zhu**

Department of Chinese, Translation & Linguistics, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R.-China  
and Linguistics Program, University of Florida, United States of America  
*Politeness in an American-Chinese Quotidian Negotiation*

Much politeness research has focused on analyzing the politeness strategies and realization patterns of speech acts using Brown and Levinson's theory (1978, 1987), this study, however, employs Watts' social theory based politeness model (2003) since politeness is a social practice which needs to be evaluated by the participants in an ongoing interaction. His model is based on Bourdieu's theory of social practice and his own emergent networks theory. Watts (2003) equates politic behavior as appropriateness and (im)politeness as exceeding appropriateness. Because (im)politeness can be best revealed in a conflict situation where cooperation and argument coexist, this study chooses an informal negotiation to investigate the politic behaviors, (im)politeness as well as the negotiation norms. Although a wealth of literature in negotiation investigates the formal business or political negotiation, limited research has been done to examine everyday negotiating activity as well as politeness involved in it. This study bridges this gap as well.

This study examines a negotiation conversation between an American instructor and a Chinese student triggered by a delay of an assignment. The data collection method used is triangulation, namely, questionnaires, role-play and retrospective interviews. Comparing the politic or appropriate behaviors produced by the American and

the Chinese, we find that they have different negotiation norms to adhere to. Therefore, different interpretations on each others' behavior are aroused. For example, the politic behavior, such as making a direct threat, considered appropriate by the American participant is interpreted as impolite by the Chinese participant whose norms avoid this. On the other hand, repeating questions, one of the Chinese positive negotiation strategies, is interpreted as impolite by the American participant because this deviates from their negotiation norms. This study proves that Watts' post-modern politeness approach can also be applied to cross-cultural politeness research.

### **Jia Jackie Lou**

Georgetown University, United States of America

*Resemiotizing Linguistic Landscape: A Case Study of Washington, DC's Chinatown*

A fast-growing body of research (e.g. Goter 2006) has directed our attention to *linguistic landscape*, an understudied area of language use in the past. Visual language on public display, such as street signs and shop signs, reflects language policies (e.g. Hult 2006), highlights the interdependence between language and its material context (Scollon and Scollon 2003), and indexes social change (Pan and Scollon 2000). This paper contributes to the discussion through a case study of Washington, DC's Chinatown, where the minority group struggles for existence through constructing a bilingual streetscape. Taking a social semiotic approach (Hodge and Kress 1988), the current study situates the linguistic landscape of Chinatown in a historic flow of texts and interactions, in order to capture the conflicts and negotiations in the social process of its resemitization (Iedema 2003).

Data for this project consist of photos of shop signs in Washington's Chinatown, *the Chinatown Design Guidelines Study*, and field notes from the author's participant observations in community events. Instead of focusing on what constitutes the linguistic landscape of Chinatown, the study aims at understanding **how** the linguistic landscape came about.

The focus of this discussion is the construction of *boundary*. In the *Chinatown Design Guidelines Study*, *boundary* is listed as one of the key areas that needs intensification of Chinese characteristics. While suggested approaches include installing stone gates with welcome banners and stone columns with information maps, the only measure that was implemented in practice is commercial signage in Chinese characters. As all storefronts, including those of Western businesses, within the boundary of Chinatown, are required to carry Chinese shop signs, the dotted boundary lines in the guidelines were thus translated into streets separating Chinatown's bilingual landscape from the monolingual landscape of the rest of the downtown area. Such linguistic construction of *boundary* was also noticed in local interactions. For example, on Chinese New Year, staff at the community center greeted visitors with mandarin Chinese at the entrance, even though most of them did not understand the language.

However, not everything was successfully resemitized from the design into material existence. Other more substantial suggestions made in the guidelines, such as a mixed-use center with traditional Chinese roof and bus shelters in Chinese styles, remain unrealized, as they are in conflict with dominant discourse systems of commercial development and transportation authority.

Thus, connecting design guidelines with current linguistic landscape and social interactions situated in Chinatown, we can see not only what is there but also what is not there and why. Tracing the resemitization process of linguistic landscape provides us with a window into what has survived and also what has been deleted during the social process of struggles and negotiations.

### **Anne Kaarina Mäntynen**

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

*Concepts of good language and the construction of expert identities in the translation process of academic non-fiction*

This paper deals with the construction of expert identities in the translation process of academic non-fiction. In Finland, non-fiction is usually considered to be a significant branch of literature in preserving and developing Finnish standard language; it is understood that Finnish can survive as a language of science and knowledge formation only if it is actively used in this function. Thus, translating academic non-fiction is of national importance and it has a prominent position in contemporary language policy. This concept is in line with the international concern for the preservation of minor languages - among which Finnish is regarded.

The focus of this paper is on the process of constructing and negotiating norms concerning good language and style. The data consists of in-process versions of translations of three academic books from different phases of the translation process. The objects of the analysis are the comments and suggestions concerning language and style made on and for the texts during the translation process by translators, editors and academic experts.

The translation process of academic non-fiction involves several experts or expertises, of whom some are involved due to their expertise on the substance, not on language. Nonetheless, some of the comments extend beyond the subject matter to the language and style aspects of the translation. The comments on translations constitute a discourse of language commentary in which expert identities are constructed and negotiated and they overlap. The analysis of the data showed, that the discourse itself is conflictual, and that the identities under construction can be seen as struggling for prominence, for the “right” concept of good language and style. Furthermore, there is no agreement on which of the experts (the translator, the editor or the academic expert) has the expertise in producing good academic non-fiction.

In this paper, it is argued that whereas there is a consensus on the importance of good language and style on the macro context, i.e. Finnish culture, the analysis of data shows that there are different concepts of good language that are dynamic and mutually inconsistent. Furthermore, it is exactly by displaying these concepts that different expert identities are constructed during the translation process.

### **Dipika Mukherjee**

International Institute of Asian Studies, Leiden, The Netherlands

*I have a Dutch passport but I feel Surinamese:*

*Language and Identity issues among Surinamese-Indian women in Amsterdam*

In this paper, I focus on women in the Surinamese-Indian community in the Netherlands and specifically look at their perceived sense of identity and their language maintenance and loss as it relates to a sense of self. The participants in this study were women who shared a Surinamese-Indian ancestry, and had enrolled at a Bollywood Dancing class held at Daalwijdreef and a Hindi class near Museumplein.

This project took the form of classic anthropological participant-observation and I taped women during the classes as well as interviewed them over a period of six months. One of the most vigorous and exciting arenas for linguistic change and innovation is within immigrant communities, and the Surinamese-Indian community is positioned within a multilingual Europe, within a continent still coming to terms with the racial tensions inherent in a multilingual population with cultural pluralism. The Surinamese-Indian community, although considered to be a model minority in terms of language and social assimilation in the Netherlands, is wrestling with the serious problems of high suicide rates and depression, which is quite significant among its women. As Europe wrestles with the problems of assimilation and integration of ethnic minorities, such detailed sociolinguistic studies serve to highlight the importance of culture and ethnic backgrounds in shaping selves and the larger communities.

### **Magdalena Murawska**

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland

*Patient imaging in case reports*

The present paper addresses the issue of how patients are depicted in medical academic texts aimed at health professionals. It examines the linguistic choices authors make and the effect they produce. The results of the study are discussed with reference to the patient-centred approach to medicine and to some facts concerning the history of medical development which have influenced the visibility of patients in medical literature.

The language medical professionals use in order to document their academic activity has been widely researched in recent years within the area of specialised discourse analysis. Some of these studies address the following two issues: (1) the very art of academic writing in medicine (language); (2) the relation between the form and the content (language vs. subject). On the one hand, it has become a common practice to perceive the language of medical texts as being neutral, economical (Kenny - Beagan 2004: 1072) and “author-evacuated” (Geertz 1988), to a large extent due to the notorious use of the passive voice. This conclusion has led to a claim that such a mode of writing depersonalises patients “separating biological processes from the person” (Anspach



1988: 357). On the other hand, although students of medicine are taught to execute objectivity and personal withdrawal in their practice (Beagan 2000), the writing about methods of enhancing patients' treatment should still refer to patients as beneficiaries of these methods, not only as those to which these methods apply.

In this research project patient imaging has been examined in academic medical texts. The key issue is the construction of a patient persona, by analogy with other studies in which the authorial persona has been researched (notably the KIAP project 2006). In my study, I have attempted to analyse a corpus of selected case reports in search for references to patients in order to establish the roles they are assigned. Identifying these roles would help to determine patients' textual status, i.e. whether they function as the subjects or the objects of a medical study. It appears to be an issue of concern in the light of the fact that texts written by the already established members of the profession not only acquaint novices with particular attitudes and values but also promote discipline-specific modes of writing.

### **Golnaz Nanbakhsh**

Edinburgh University, United Kingdom

*Address terms in Tehran Persian: Gender, politeness, and language attitudes*

Persian, has two personal pronouns for singular address, *to* ([to]) the familiar or intimate 'you' and *šoma* ([ʃoma:]) the deferential or formal 'you' (historically the second person plural but now also used as second person singular). Since the 1979 revolution, public ideologies about politeness and address have been radically reframed in egalitarian terms. But to what extent are these macro-social ideologies reflected in the micro-sociolinguistic behaviour of individuals?

Previous literature on address forms in Persian (Keshavarz 1988, 2001) focussed only on pronouns, and applied an overly simplistic model of *to* (signifying intimacy) or *šoma* (signifying formality) to the data. Moreover, Persian is a pro-drop language, so the interaction between pronouns and agreement marking must be taken into account. My research demonstrates the importance of this, documenting a hitherto unnoticed possibility of having *šoma* with 2s (*to*) agreement.

I report on two sets of data. A pilot study with 7 Iranian families in Edinburgh, among whom use of *to* has increased. This means that *to* is used more often than *šoma* in family domains, which is not discussed in existing work on the Persian address system (Keshavarz 1988, 2001, Ardehali 1990). There also appeared to be a significant difference between men and women, on the basis of age, education and attitudes in their use of *to* and *šoma*. I also report on spontaneous speech collected in more than 15 family dinner table conversations and 20 interactions in the media recorded during recent fieldwork in Tehran. I suggest that these changes of address term usage are due to changes in how social solidarity is marked in the post-79 generation. I combine qualitative and quantitative analysis and argue that address terms are categorised as familiar and deferential in idiosyncratic ways, based on individuals' habitus and identity.

It is rare to be able to study changes in language and cultural norms of such magnitude as those following the Iranian revolution. This study both illuminates the impact of local social change on language variation, and also revitalises the study of address terms and politeness by considering novel data from Persian.

### **Elma Nap-Kolhoff, Tamara van Schilt-Mol, Marjolein Simons, Linda Sontag and Ton Vallen**

Tilburg University, The Netherlands and IVA, The Netherlands

*Short- and middle-long-term effects of early childhood education in the Netherlands on children's Dutch language proficiency*

Early childhood education (ECE) has become an important tool for supporting children who are at risk for school failure during their start in primary school. In the Netherlands, children from disadvantaged backgrounds are encouraged to participate in preschool centres from ages two to three onwards. ECE programmes have been developed for these preschool centres and also for kindergartens, in order to facilitate children's cognitive as well as social emotional and linguistic development. Given the fact that many of the children who are at risk for school failure do not have Dutch as a home language, and/or receive language input in a variety that is different from the 'academic' or 'school' variety (Bernstein, 1971), many ECE programmes have a strong emphasis on language development.



Several studies have evaluated the effectiveness of ECE programmes in the Netherlands, yielding different results. Attendance of preschool facilities at age two or three in general has no or only moderate effects (Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Van Praag, 2003; Van Steensel, 2006). Specific programmes in preschool centres and kindergartens, such as Kaleidoscoop and Piramide, have shown to generate some short-term effects (De Goede & Reezigt, 2001), although an important factor is the extent to which the programmes are actually implemented and executed in practice. Effects on the (middle)-long-term have not yet been investigated.

In our paper we investigate the question how ECE programmes used in the Netherlands affect children's test results in Dutch language tests in the short- and middle-long-term. The study we conducted approaches this issue from both a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. In a large-scale quantitative study among 249 primary schools, pupil's scores on standardised language tests at the end of kindergarten (*groep 2*) and two years later in grade two (*groep 4*) are related to the implementation of ECE programmes at these schools. Information about the use and implementation of ECE programmes was acquired in a survey-study. In the paper we present results about the relation between effectiveness, characteristics of the programmes, the actual implementation, and contextual factors, such as the backgrounds of the pupils.

For the qualitative study, a selection was made of five schools in the top-ten of most effective schools (after correcting for background characteristics of the schools and the pupils) and five schools in the top-ten of least effective schools. Interviews with key-informants (e.g., directors, ECE coordinators, teachers) were conducted to find out which characteristics contribute to the effectiveness of ECE programmes on the language development of children who are at risk for school failure.

### Laoise Ni Dhuda

Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh. National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland  
*Pobal Gaeltachta an tSráidbhaile: A Language Policy Case - Study in Ethnography*

The closing decade of this millennium brought a resurgence of interest in language planning and language policy (LPP) concerns and issues. This was fuelled both by the spread of English and the loss of hundreds of indigenous languages (Hornberger, 2006:24). It is not entirely clear what conditions best support the survival and maintenance of linguistic diversity in minority language communities and how these might be brought about where they do not currently exist (Romaine, 2006:442). Similarly, there is no one-size-fits-all solution for revitalization and preservation. At a local level, the nature and scope of LPP can only be understood in relation to that particular setting.

This PhD thesis seeks to investigate Spolsky's tripartite division of language policy (2004) in an Irish speaking Gaeltacht area which will be referred to as *an Sráidbhaile*.

Specifically, a sociolinguistic analysis of:

- language practices
- language beliefs
- language management

will be completed in the region to elucidate the purpose and role of LPP at a micro-level.

A qualitative approach to fieldwork is proposed, whereby community profiling and field notes will be evaluated prior to undertaking in-depth interviewing in the field. An Sráidbhaile has been chosen as the case study in which to undertake the ethnographic inquiry.

The research findings and the recommendations which emerge from the study will:

- a) provide an insight into the language and community dynamic in a Gaeltacht area
- b) suggest a new foundation for LPP in the region.

This investigation will impart invaluable knowledge about LPP at a local level.

During the past ten years the researcher has been an active member of the Sráidbhaile community. This unique position should enable the researcher to gain access to indispensable, yet sensitive information. However, this situation poses many challenging and ethical considerations, such as:

- What is the most ethically appropriate method to carry out an ethnographic study in a small community, which is also the researcher's 'backyard'?
- What measures are usually taken to ethically recruit participants in ethnographic research?
- What type of relationship is advised among researcher and potentially unaware participants?

The central arguments of the project will be developed through the context of theoretical literature and international LPP discourse relating to lesser used languages. Issues such as:

- the role of mother tongue transmission in language survival
- the function of educational institutions
- the importance of community participation in the LPP process will be explored.

This ethnographic study will scrutinize the current language policy and demonstrate the process of language shift in a Gaeltacht area. The detailed analysis should provide a unique framework for micro-level LPP in both Gaeltachtaí na hÉireann and possibly in other threatened language communities worldwide.

The proposed poster will primarily discuss Spolsky's tripartite division of language policy and its potential for utilisation as the theoretical underpinning of the study.

### **Zoe Nikolaidou**

Lancaster University, United Kingdom

*Local and extra-local sites within National Vocational Qualifications in the UK*

In this paper I will focus on the National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs) in the UK by demonstrating their textually mediated character. I will also discuss the way these texts move from a local to an extra-local level and vice versa and act as reifications of power.

The data for this study comes from a six-month ethnographic research conducted in one factory and two Further Education (FE) colleges. In these sites I observed and interviewed 14 NVQ candidates regarding their literacy practices when developing a portfolio for their NVQ. Information was also obtained from an interview with an awarding body.

Starting from the assumption that the majority of social interactions in contemporary society are textually mediated (Barton & Hamilton 2005), I will describe the literacy events entailed when taking up an NVQ and the texts that are included in the process. I will argue that the NVQ takes shape in two levels, the local and the extra local. The local site involves primarily the NVQ candidates in their attempts to develop portfolios and obtain the qualification. Other agents in the local site are the tutors and assessors, the colleges and the candidates' colleagues, employers etc. The extra-local sites vary from the government, Sector Skills Councils (SCCs) and awarding bodies to colleges, employers, unions and all other stakeholders involved in the qualification procedure.

The NVQ texts have a bidirectional itinerary within the local and extra-local sites. More specifically specific work activities move upwards to institutions such as SCCs and awarding bodies. In that extra-local site they are subjected to specialised and technical development and are transformed into performance standards and logbooks. These logbooks reach the candidates (via various providers) and at the final stage the portfolios completed by the candidates are returned to the awarding bodies for verification. Due to their nature, I will use Brandt's (1995) term 'sponsors of literacy' to refer to both local and extra-local factors. Both of these groups of agents have their own agendas and have an impact, direct or indirect, not only on the texts but also on the literacy practices drawn upon when taking up an NVQ.

I will also demonstrate how the NVQ texts act as reifications of people's agendas as they "stand in for absent but interested human actors" (Barton & Hamilton, 2005: 30). Finally, I will stress on the fact that the same texts and their shifts from extra-local to local sites and vice versa act as reifications of power and control.

### **Yukiko Nishimura**

Faculty of Humanities, Toyo Gakuen University, Japan

*A Corpus-Based Study on Japanese BBS Messages: Micro-Macro Connections from Morphemes to Discourse*

Linguistic aspects of computer-mediated communication (CMC) in English have been compared with speech and writing (Yates 1996). Earlier studies on Japanese CMC found that users employ informal conversational styles with creative orthography (Nishimura 2003, 2007). This paper reports a quantitative study of variations within CMC and against speech and writing with background theory of language functions by Halliday (1978).

This comparison adopts the methodology employed by Yates's (1996), with two major modifications for Japanese. Firstly though publicly available large-scale spoken and written corpora such as the London-Lund corpus were used in Yates' study, due to the absence of equivalent corpora in Japanese at present, this study creates

smaller corpora of written and spoken Japanese, in addition to CMC corpus. Secondly while the word is the basic unit of quantitative analysis in Yates' study, the morpheme takes this role in this study due to the agglutinative nature of Japanese, enabled by ChaSen software, a morphological parser for Japanese.

The CMC corpus consists of messages from two major bulletin board system (BBS) websites discussing popular films and language studies; the written corpus was created after scanning magazine articles on similar topics; the spoken corpus is from transcriptions of casual conversation among friends on everyday topics. The comparison is two-fold: first, differences among CMC, speech and writing are examined, and second, within CMC, messages in the two BBS websites are contrasted with each other against features of speech and writing. After identifying the parts-of-speech distribution, this study specifically examines particles and auxiliary verbs, to clarify how they relate to the interpersonal and ideational functions (Halliday).

Preliminary analysis of sentence final and case particles reveals that the language in CMC is in an intermediate position in a continuum from speech to writing, and can be described as "spoken-oriented, edited written". Within the two BBS websites, the study finds one site shows more features of speech and the other of writing. While corpus linguistics in Japanese lags behind compared with accumulated research on the English language, this study can show how corpus work can be conducted on the microscopic morpheme level in Japanese, even though the data sets are limited in quantity. It is expected that this work can contribute to (1) still limited CMC studies in Japanese, (2) corpus-based methodology for sociolinguistic research in Japanese, and (3) studies on variation in CMC context

### Nadia Nocchi

University of Zurich, Switzerland

*Phonetic variants for social variables: some remarks on labiovelars in Tuscany*

This paper will show the results of a sociophonetic analysis of the voiceless labiovelar segment as it is realised in the East and the Northwest side of Tuscany, precisely in the towns of Livorno and Rosignano Solvay for the Northwestern coast, and the village of Mercatale Val di Pesa for the Eastern part.

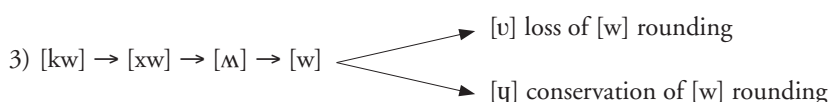
As far as Livorno is concerned, it has been maintained that [kw] is often produced as a labiodental fricative [v] in intervocalic position, as it occurs in the noun phrase [le 'kwatro] (four o'clock) becoming [le 'vatro] (Giannelli 2000<sup>2</sup>). According to Marotta (1995), this particular phenomenon is triggered by the deletion of the plosive within the labiovelar: once [k] is deleted, the glide [w] reinforces its articulation and becomes a voiced labiodental fricative [v] as shown in the following scheme: (1) [kw] → [hw] → [w] → [v].

As regards the development of the process in Rosignano Solvay, it does not take into account any phase of glide strengthening, since no labiodental realisation of the glide occurs; the process stops at an earlier stage, which entails that this area is more conservative than Livorno.

The lenition process takes an opposite direction in Eastern Tuscany, since [kw] loses its labial element before the plosive is lenited: (2) [kw] → [k] → [h]. For this reason, Stefanini (1970: 219) remarks that "[h] is both allophone of /kw/ and /k/ in Florentine".

This study will present a sociophonetic analysis of the labiovelar segments: for each town three groups of four informants (two males and two females) of different age have been selected to obtain an amount of 36 speakers. The *corpus* has been elicited using the Map Task technique, with the two maps being entirely designed for our labiovelar's sake.

For the speakers from the Northwestern side of Tuscany, the acoustic analysis has shown a wide range of allophonic realisations triggered by the lenition of the velar segment [k] which can be represented as follows:



Within the Northwestern area, the process [kw] → [v] seems to be more frequent within the spontaneous speech and affects more functional words than lexical ones. There is a difference tied to gender, since women do not produce [kw] as [v] which is perceived as a feature [- prestige, - overt, + stigmatised]. Young male generations show the higher percentage (29%) of labiodental realisation.

The data of Mercatale portray a different picture: the process [kw] → [h] seems to be active only in the old generation (23%). As regards gender, men tend to show higher percentage of glide deletion, while women are more sensitive to the prestige factor, since they maintain the glide [w].

### **Tetyana Serhiivna Oliynyk**

Ternopil National Pedagogical University, Ukraine

*The investigation of internal state words translation: the sociolinguistic approach*

This paper outlines the sociolinguistic approach to the investigation of internal state words and their use in conversation. First, the limits of this class and its four component subclasses - Cognitive, Affective, Perceptual, and Intentions and Desires - are defined. Theoretical problems in classifying words into these categories are discussed; one major problem is determining which component(s) of a complex word-meaning are to be used as the basis of classification.

Second, two major categories for describing the use of internal state words are proposed. The Semantic-Pragmatic distinction relates to how the lexical meaning of an internal state word contributes to the intended meaning of the utterance in which it occurs - whether directly, indirectly, or not at all. Semantic uses of internal state words are literal; that is, the lexical meaning of the internal state word contributes directly to the intended meaning of the utterance, as in *John knows the answer*. Some pragmatic uses of internal state words are almost empty or meaningless; for example, conversational devices and mannerism like *you know*. In other pragmatic uses, the lexical meaning of the internal state word contributes indirectly to the meaning of the utterance via some conversational implicature or convention. In this category are indirect requests and suggestions, such as *Do you want to take out the garbage, please?* and hedges such as *He's in his office, I think*.

Reflections are uses of internal state words to express awareness on the part of the speaker of his/her own current internal state, or to explicitly call for such awareness on the part of the addressee. Criteria for identifying reflections in natural conversation are given.

Semantic uses of internal state words are those of internal state words which communicate about, and hence constitute, metacognition. Reflections are expressions of, or explicit attempts to elicit, metacognitive experiences. These two categories of use, and also the category of internal state words and its four subclasses, constitute valuable tools for studying cognitive and conceptual skills that are clearly of significance to student development and education.

The motivation for investigating words of internal state is based on the following hypotheses: 1) that the vocabulary in the internal state domain reflects to a large extent the repertory of concepts in this area; 2) that certain types of internal state word usage will correlate with skill in metacognitive processes; 3) that therefore the frequency of certain types of internal state word usage and the size of the internal state word vocabulary will correlate with the degree of readiness for, and success in, schools; and 4) that situational variation exists in the function and use of internal state words.

Such hypotheses give a two-fold motivation for the study of internal state word use: First, to test these hypotheses in some empirical way, it is necessary to have accurate and insightful methods of designating internal state word usage. Second, to the extent that the hypotheses are true, the study of internal state word use will be of significance to both education and psychology.

### **Bernadette O'Rourke and Aisling Vaughan**

Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, UK and National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland

*Linguistic Ownership in an Irish Language Classroom*

According to Wee (2002), to claim ownership over a language is to assert a specific relationship between the speakers of a language and that of the language itself. Language ownership is essentially a metaphor for reflecting the legitimate control that speakers may have over the development of a language, the struggles they engage in over controlling the production and distribution of linguistic resources and over the legitimization of relations of power. At the heart of these linguistic struggles are debates about what counts as legitimate language (Bourdieu 1977; Blommaert 1999), who decides who should speak what and how. In other words, what language practices are valued and considered good, normal, appropriate or correct connected to the social, economic and politi-

cal interests of specific groups (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001). Also included in the notion of ownership are concepts such as 'native speaker', 'native speaker competence' and 'mother tongue', terms which although not unproblematic, can ascribe linguistic ownership to some speakers and exclude others, giving linguistic authenticity to the native speakers and linguistic artificialness to the non-native speaker.

Our purpose here is to examine how struggles over language ownership are played out in a minority language setting, and specifically in an Irish language setting. We will focus of the more or less serious struggles which emerge between so-called 'native' of L1 and 'non-native' or L2 speakers of Irish in a language learning environment and the effect of these struggles on language acquisition and language choice. Our discussion of these issues is based on qualitative data collected from undergraduate students of Irish in 2007 at the National University of Ireland, Galway.

### **Anna Osmolovsky**

Ministry of Education, Department of Adult Education, Haifa, Israel

*Social tuning of illiterate adult immigrants through the selective connecting of Amharic and Hebrew languages and cultures*

The immigrants from Ethiopia bring with them to Israel a very different and often astonishing vision of reality. In addition many of the adults are illiterate in Amharic, their mother tongue. For them to integrate into Israeli society requires a complicated process going beyond learning Hebrew words and phrases.

This paper will describe and discuss the project carried out by the Haifa Division of Adult Education aimed at providing the new immigrants from Ethiopia with the basic communication skills in real life situations in their new social, cultural and linguistic environment. The task at hand entails combination of teaching L2, Hebrew, to those illiterate in Amharic, with emphasizing the relevant connections between the Amharic and Hebrew languages, as well as the Ethiopian and Israeli cultures and life styles in order to enable the immigrants to act appropriately and effectively in their new society.

The specific approach of the project emphasizes careful and thorough selection of elements on various micro and macro levels (e.g. pedagogical, perceptual, psychological, linguistic, orthographic, graphic, semantic, semiotic, and material) optimal for this particular sociolinguistic situation. The success of the project depends on the right combination and application of linguistic and cultural context and includes, among other things, the students moving around the class as well as manipulating and moving the objects (teaching material) rather than learning only from verbal material.

### **Ifigenia Papageorgiou**

University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

*Linguistic Heterogeneity in the Greek Educational System: a Sociolinguistic Approach to the 'Cross Cultural' Policy*

Throughout the 90's, Greece saw a massive influx of immigrants and the return of repatriated Greeks from abroad. As a consequence, the composition of the population in many Greek schools has changed significantly and one of the major challenges schools and educators have had to face is the educational and socio-linguistic integration of immigrant and repatriated children. In 1996, as a response to these challenges, the Government introduced the apparently innovative framework of 'Cross-Cultural Education'. In turn, this policy led to the emergence of 'Cross-Cultural Schools' throughout Greece. In theory, these are schools whose specific purpose is to ensure equality of educational opportunities by offering linguistic and other support to bilingual (immigrant and repatriated) children in the context of mainstream education. That is, these are schools which, while different from bilingual education, supposedly recognise and nurture linguistic diversity within their learners' population. However, despite these declared good intents, a recent UNICEF study (2001) decries discrimination, racism and xenophobia in the Greek educational system.

The purpose of the poster I propose to present is threefold: (1) To examine the way the Greek Cross Cultural Policy (CCP) addresses the challenges of multilingual classrooms and the needs of bilingual students and reveal the implications it has for language use in educational practice; (2) To understand how it specifically relates to (2.1) the Council of Europe recommendations regarding the educational and linguistic provision for immigrant kids and (2.2) other models and policy solutions adopted by countries (such as the United Kingdom and Ger-



many) which have more experience in dealing with the educational and language needs of immigrant children; (3) To see how headmasters and teachers working for Cross Cultural Schools in Athens (Greece) perceive the CCP and how they think it contributes to the sociolinguistic integration of immigrant and repatriated kids. By addressing these issues I will be able to reveal the interconnections between the European educational policy for minority kids and the Greek CCP, and then relate those policies to their actual implementation by particular teachers in particular schools.

The objectives above will be addressed through a combination of qualitative methodologies. Objectives (1) and (2) will be addressed through textual and historical analysis of legislation documents, as well as of Greek and European official regulations related to the CCP. Objective (3) will be addressed through analysis of preliminary data collected through interviews with headmasters and teachers who work for Cross Cultural Schools conducted during my preliminary fieldwork in five Cross Cultural Schools in Athens in April 2007.

Undertaken against the background of a near absence of sociolinguistic studies of the cross-cultural policy, this presentation will pave the way to a better understanding of the Greek CCP.

### **Velimir Piškorec**

University of Zagreb, Faculty of Philosophy, Croatia (Hrvatska)

Trg žrtava fašizma or Trg hrvatskih velikana? *Victims of fascism square or Great men of Croatia square?*  
*Renaming of places and streets in post-communist Croatia in the early 1990's*

After the Socialist Republic of Croatia, a constitutive part of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, declared its independence in 1991, its people had to cope not only with a new capitalist economic system, but also with some unforeseen, even tragical political and social developments. The most conspicuous of them were a war against the Serbian dominated Yugoslav People's Army and rebelling Croatian Serbs, as well as the subsequent occupation of nearly a third of the Croatian territory by the latter from 1991 to 1995. Although the irritation of the Croats caused by these events can be featured as the pivotal factor of national homogeneity during this period, another important element of this new national identity were attempts made by the new state to distance itself from its own communist past within Tito's Ex-Yugoslavia. On a symbolic level they were undertaken primarily in form of the systematic renaming of places and streets whose names were reminiscent of the former regime. Renaming practices of this period were accompanied by public discussions in which the proposals made by the politicians in power were not always welcomed by ordinary people or activists with another ideological background.

In order to illustrate the above mentioned practices, this paper will present an analysis of relevant legal documents, selected newspaper articles and a corpus of ethnographic interviews with politicians, activists and citizens who participated in initiatives and discussions related to the renaming of places and streets in Croatia in the early 1990's.

### **Rebekah Rast**

The American University of Paris, France

*Characterizing the multilingual's linguistic profile*

Researchers of bilingualism and/or multilingualism, such as Grosjean (2000), Dewaele (2001), Bialystok et al. (2004), to mention only a few, use questionnaires to ascertain the *language background or linguistic profile* of their subjects. This methodological step is necessary in order to be able to say something about the role that subjects' current and prior linguistic knowledge and experience play in language performance or socio-linguistic grouping. Work has recently blossomed in the area of third language acquisition where researchers are now investigating the role of not only the first language, but other languages as well in the acquisition of a third language (cf. Cenoz et al. 2001). In this research context, the need for accurate reports of our learners' linguistic backgrounds takes on new importance. We need to ensure that we are asking our subjects the right questions, and that our method of interpreting respondents' answers is reliable.

The study presented here examines the responses of 80 university-level subjects from drastically diverse language backgrounds to a questionnaire designed to investigate the linguistic profile of potential subjects in a selection process for a speech perception task. We encountered bilingual subjects whose profiles fit common



terms such as *balanced bilingual* and *early bilingual*, as well as less common ones such as *vertical bilingual* and *dormant bilingual* (cf. Safont Jordà 2005; Wei 2000). Such labels, however, were confounded when analyzing responses of multilingual subjects with knowledge of three or more languages (the majority of our subjects). We found cases of individuals who were, for example, *early bilinguals* with two other languages learned later in life, one of which is now the “strongest” of all four known languages. Studies in the past have often overlooked such cases and have either eliminated the subject’s data from analyses or have grouped such individuals into general categories, viewing such differences as negligible. In doing this, we have ignored important information about our subjects’ language experience and knowledge.

This paper presents results of the 80 questionnaires collected and proposes exploratory solutions to the problem of accurately describing one’s *linguistic profile*, while also posing questions with a view to furthering discussion of this methodological challenge.

### **Aleksandra Šćukanec**

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb, Croatia (Hrvatska)

*Schmidt, Šmidt or Šmit? German Family Names in Zagreb and its Suburb - Historical Traces and (Un)changed Identity*

For many centuries, the Croatian language has been significantly influenced by German. Croatian-German contacts date back to the first centuries of our era. Apart from the geographical position and various extralinguistic factors, a salient reason for continuing interactions is to be found in an eventful history of the area. German-speaking immigrants even participated in establishing first towns in Croatia, once part of the former Austrian-Hungarian Empire. These contacts have gradually led to certain sociolinguistic changes that are still observable in family names representing a token of one’s origin. Family names reflect ethno-political, linguistic, religious, cultural and social conditions of the times they can be traced back to. Moreover, it is often pointed out that a family name can be seen as a constituent part of one’s identity.

This paper will present an analysis of German family names in Zagreb and Zagreb County. The list of surnames was drawn up from the telephone directory. Since there are numerous examples ranging from the family names that retained their original form to those with hardly recognizable origins, family names will be categorized according to the level of adaptation and frequency. Modeled after Croatian surnames, the majority of family names illustrate some kind of orthographical, phonological or morphological change. The questionnaires filled in by informants that still bear original German family names will elicit certain data on their roots, possible connections to the homeland of their ancestors and give some indications whether, in their view, a family name and identity are always intertwined concepts.

### **Pavlina Sivova**

Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Bulgaria

*The Discourse of the Bulgarian University Associations in Germany*

The community of the Bulgarian university students is a part of the growing up in the last decade “academic” migration. The ongoing Ph.D. study investigates the regular relationship between “academic” migration and linguistic change, and draws on a corpus of recorded interviews as well as on the spontaneous speech of a large number of informants. A comparative analysis of the websites of the Association has been carried out too.

The paper presents a research on the speech of Bulgarian university students living in Germany and is based on a fieldwork carried out in 2004, 2006 and 2007. The prior research suggested that the Bulgarian students use Bulgarian in a restricted area of situations - mostly in informal setting, serving as identification. We attempt to show that the establishment of the Associations of the Bulgarian university students in Germany and maintaining the web sites of these Associations increase the range of opportunities to use Bulgarian language. How can language choice and attitudes towards this choice contribute to the identity construction of the Bulgarian university student (a European citizen) in Germany (EU territory)?

### **Keun Young Sliedrecht**

Vrije Universiteit, The Netherlands

*Communication advice and conversational practice in institutional settings*

The aim of my research at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam is to gain insight into the relation between communication advice and conversational practice in institutional settings, and to contribute to theoretical development in this research area. In particular, the aim of my research is to gain insight into the characteristics of three genres of institutional communication: police interrogations, job interviews, and journalistic interviews by investigating the interactional phenomenon of 'formulations'. Formulations are produced in very specific interactional environments or circumstances and they serve to perform specific interactional tasks which vary according to the setting (Drew, 2003). Research into this phenomenon can be useful to describe the characteristics of these three institutional genres.

Central in my research is the interpretation of interactional phenomena in the context of institutional tasks and interests, and ideas that lie behind these tasks and interests. Therefore, the methodology is based on a combination of methods and theoretical principles of ethnomethodology, conversation analysis and ethnography. By means of these research methods I can interpret communicative activities in institutional settings to generate insight into the interplay between language and social organization.

The three institutional genres have in common that the participants have conflicts of interests. For example, the task of a police-officer is to reveal the truth which normally is not in the interest of the suspect (Komter, 2003). Consequently, participants consider these conversations as 'difficult' and have an evident need for communication advice. It is remarkable that theoretical notions about the relation between communication advice and academic research are scarce. Peräkylä & Vehviläinen (2003) have given the first impulse to point to normative models that underlie communication advice. In doing so they mentioned how findings of conversational analytic research may falsify, correct or provide a more detailed picture of implicit assumptions underlying communication advice (2003, pp.731-2).

Also, research of Komter (2002/3) demonstrated that communication advice can be incompatible with conversational practice. Communication advice seems to be ineffective if it is primarily addressed to activities of the speaker instead of reactions of the hearer. Secondly, communication advice is ineffective if it ignores the institutional tasks and interests of the participants. Therefore, communication advice has to be investigated within its interactional and institutional context and must be confronted with a detailed analysis of conversational practice. On my poster I will present some examples of mismatches between communication advice and conversational practice.

### **Dick Smakman and Cassandra Ashling Smith-Christmas**

Universiteit Leiden, The Netherlands and Virginia, USA

*'He Brought Home the English': A Language and its Culture Besieged on the Isle of Skye, Scotland*

As linguistic superpowers such as English threaten the world's linguistic diversity, so too do they threaten the cultural integrity of these minority languages' speakers. This paper analyzes the language loss of a community of Gaelic speakers on the Isle of Skye, Scotland and the cultural repercussions of this language loss. The twenty-three speakers, twenty of which comprise one extended family by marriage, were categorized according to generations and studied to ascertain the extent and domains of their language use.

Quantitative results reveal that considerable variation occurs in the three generations' use of the language to discuss both national and local affairs. In Dorian's 1981 study, she, using Fishman's (1967) terms, noted that her respondents used Gaelic to discuss both (H)igh (ie government, education, media) and (L)ow functions (ie home, local affairs). However, in this study, it has been found that second and third generation speakers do not view Gaelic as a viable language for either H functions nor for use within the community. This suggests that Gaelic is being limited to the household sphere; however, even in the domain of the home, the situation remains tenuous, as quantitative results show that second and third generation speakers are significantly less likely to use Gaelic with grandparents, older siblings, spouses, and household pets. Close observation of one Gaelic-speaking family revealed that second generation siblings use English when speaking to each other, because, as they later explained, not only English had been their peer group language in school and throughout their adult lives, but also because they feel it better reflects the modern society in which they live.

This generational stratification of language use has two main ramifications for the Gaelic community on Skye. First, qualitative findings indicate that there is a loss of Gaelic cultural knowledge, such as naming practices, among younger speakers. For example, one former Gaelic medium teacher recalled that pupils no longer associated 'Mac' with meaning 'son of' as in the name 'MacDonald.' Quantitative findings corroborate the qualitative findings, as second and third generation speakers are less likely to know words associated with cultural-specific items, such as crofting and gathering peat. Secondly, the limited domains of language use for second and third generation speakers reflect the language attitudes of the hegemon Anglophone culture and therefore perpetuate the anglicization of the Gaelic community. Thus, the shift in language use shows a shift in culture, as the minority culture adapts to the hegemon culture.

### **Ann Thompson**

University of Leeds, United Kingdom

*The English Dialect Dictionary: The Poppies in the Cornfield*

Joseph Wright collected more than a million submissions from individual contributors in order to record dialect usage in England as it was at the turn of the twentieth century. The result was *The English Dialect Dictionary* (EDD), published between 1898 and 1905, a work of outstanding scholarship which he organised, edited, produced and marketed himself.

He was acutely aware of social changes that he thought would mean the demise of English dialects and decided, as far as possible, to engage the users of dialect themselves in its preservation and recording before it was too late. The story of the making of *The English Dialect Dictionary* is one of individuals who submitted single dialect words on slips of paper in response to a national appeal for contributions, and whose combined efforts resulted in a unique dictionary.

The language recorded is not Standard English but, rather, the language of the lower classes, reflected in examples of vernacular speech and supported by written evidence. One contemporary reviewer encapsulated the difference inherent in Wright's dictionary, saying that "if the regular dictionaries reap the corn of speech, this gathers in the poppies and wild flowers".

Wright's methodology, and his organisation of the mass of material submitted to him, was central to the success of the work. This research focuses on one particular entry in *The English Dialect Dictionary* and examines how the methods, used by Wright to collect, verify and present the raw material on the slips, shaped the interaction of the communities and culture represented by the dialect words themselves.

By examining the EDD entry for 'Lake'/'Laike'/'Layke', for which many of the original submission slips still exist, it is possible to evaluate the accuracy of the language record and the value of the methodology employed in the collected volumes of the EDD. The 'micro' that is extant illuminates the entire 'macro' achievement of the dictionary and its place in the continuum of dialectology, using the past to inform the present. This is further enhanced by the facets of social structure which can be deduced from other original incidental material of the time, such as newspaper reviews and letters from Wright himself.

The research investigated this hitherto unconsidered material in an in-depth assessment of the effect of *The English Dialect Dictionary* on the history of synchronic dialect study, and its continuing study on a national basis a hundred years on.

### **Ariën van Wijngaarden**

Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

*Ethnic variation: Morpho-syntactic aspects of Moroccan Dutch and Turkish Dutch*

In the course of the 20th century, the shortage of industrial workers resulted in large-scale labour migration to The Netherlands. Nationwide, Morocco and Turkey became the countries where most 'migrant workers' came from. Sooner or later, these immigrants became second language learners of Dutch.

So-called second generation migrants (i.e. those born and raised in The Netherlands) cannot be considered to be second language learners (cf. Backus 2001). Most of them speak Dutch fluently, although their way of speaking can often easily be distinguished as being non-standard. Phonological and phonetic deviations in their speech might be most prominent, but they also deviate from standard Dutch with respect to their morphol-

ogy and syntax. In my presentation, I will examine some of these morpho-syntactic characteristics of second generation Moroccan Dutch and Turkish Dutch as observed in a corpus of ethnolectal speech collected in a stratified random sample of speakers. In particular, I will discuss the way in which these speakers use pronouns in prepositional phrases.

In standard Dutch, pronouns preceded by a preposition normally refer to an animate object, as in (1) and (2). To refer to inanimate objects, the neuter pronoun (e.g. *het*) is replaced by an R-word like *er*, as in (3). The resulting combination (e.g. *ervan*) is traditionally called *pronominal adverb*:

(1) Jan houdt van *hem*. [masc, + animate]

‘Jan loves him.’

(2) Jan houdt van *haar*. [fem, + animate]

‘Jan loves her.’

(3a) \* Jan houdt van *het*. [neut, - animate]

‘Jan likes it.’

(3b) Jan houdt *ervan*.

‘Jan likes it.’

Although *ervan* in (3b) is written as one word, pronominal adverbs are split up very often, as in (3c):

(3c) Jan houdt *er* niet *van*.

‘Jan doesn’t like it.’

In our corpus, several instances of non-standardlike use of pronouns in prepositional phrases have been found. These include (a) the omission of *er*, (b) inanimate pronouns preceded by prepositions and (c) deviations from standard Dutch with respect to splitting up pronominal adverbs. I will discuss these examples and examine the possible ‘roots’ of these phenomena, including (but not necessarily limited to) substrates, second language acquisition and surrounding local non-standard varieties of Dutch.

### **Maria Zerva**

Université Marc Bloch- Strasbourg II, France

*The interaction of micro and macro levels and its impact on the construction of social representations in discourse*

Following an important branch of French sociolinguistics, I will study the construction of *social representations* (S.R.) in speakers’ discourse, as it appears in sociolinguistic interviews. My data consists of sociolinguistic fieldwork of bilingual communities (speaking Greek and Turkish) in Greece. In every community there is a number of S.R. available to the members of the community in question; this forms the S.R. “nucleus” (Bothorel and Tsamadou 2007, Guimelli 1994), i.e. the shared part of the S.R., which is more stable regarding its content and can be studied using the methods of *content analysis*. The speakers however choose among these common S.R. according to their beliefs and the special circumstances of each exchange. They constantly elaborate the “nucleus” of S.R. and negotiate their adherence in order to adapt the S.R. to the needs of the moment; in consequence, they subscribe to the S.R. to a different extent, thus constituting the “peripheral schemes” (Bothorel and Tsamadou 2007, Guimelli 1994), which are less stable, discourse constructed aspects of the S.R. The most appropriate way to study the fluctuations of the “realization” of the S.R. is a linguistic analysis of the discourse phenomena which form it. This micro approach combined to the macro (the *content analysis*) can give us a fairly complete overview of the S.R. phenomenon. In my contribution, I will focus on the interaction of the macro and micro levels in order to establish how they influence each other. Therefore, I will present both the results of *content analysis* and the detailed study of language choices in selected parts of my data.

### **Lena Zipp**

University of Heidelberg, Germany

*Torn Between Prestige Models or Moving Towards a Standard of Its Own?*

*Indo-Fijian English and Norm Development in a Multilingual ESL Society*

This poster introduces my ongoing PhD research on exo- and endonormative models in Fiji. With two indigenous languages, each spoken by approximately half of the country’s population, and English as a second language (ESL), Fiji constitutes a sociolinguistic setting of great interest. On the one hand, political instability

and language policy following postcolonial independence have continuously been putting more pressure on one ethnic part of the population, resulting in increasing emigration. On the other hand, numerous reconciliatory efforts to shape a unified national identity have been undertaken. This scenario could have different linguistic consequences: The two sub-varieties could either grow apart in their exonormative orientation, or display shared endonormative traits in the development of a national linguistic identity, or standard.

It has been suggested that New Englishes in general follow a cycle of evolution, resulting in younger codified first and second language varieties being accorded norm-providing status (in a pluricentric model of English) and ESL varieties progressing towards endonormative stabilization (cf. Schneider 2003). The study will examine whether Indo-Fijian English displays differences in lexicogrammatical features and prepositional usage when compared to its ethnic counterpart, Fijian English, or whether it is justified to speak of common structural nativization processes of a single national variety of English in Fiji. An extension of the analysis will position Indo-Fijian English in relation to its possible exonormative prestige models: the varieties of three countries with political, economic or cultural influence on Fiji - Great Britain, New Zealand and India.

This corpus-linguistic study is based on quantitative data, i.e., a synchronic corpus of written text samples on different levels of formality which was collected according to the design of and in cooperation with the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) project. The intervarectal analysis uses the written subcorpora of ICE Great Britain, ICE New Zealand and ICE India as comparable databases. The poster will present (i) the research hypotheses and their methodological basis, (ii) the design of the study, (iii) examples of data collected during fieldwork in 2006 and (iv) preliminary results.





*Themed panels and Workshops*



## THEMED PANELS AND WORKSHOPS

### LANGUAGE POLICY AND LITERACY [themed panel]

Convenor: Abder El Aissati

University of Tilburg

Contributors: Yonas Asfaha, Danielle Boon, Abder El Aissati and Jeanne Kurvers

Discussants: Sjaak Kroon and Marilyn Martin-Jones

The panel examines the relations between the macro-level of changing language policies in multilingual and multi-ethnic countries and the impact on the acquisition of literacy in primary school, adult literacy attitudes and acquisition in a first or second language, and teachers' opinions on the changed educational policies.

East-Timor, a new nation and developing country in Southeast Asia, provides extraordinary possibilities for research on adult literacy practices, values, teaching, acquisition, and skills in a multilingual context. East Timor has 16 languages and a large number of dialects (Hull, 2004; see map). From mid 16th century until 1975, the period in which East-Timor was colonized by Portugal, Portuguese was the official language. Immediately after East-Timor declared itself independent in 1975, it was occupied by Indonesia. Bahasa Indonesia became the official language during the 24 years long Indonesian occupation until 1999. After independence in 2002, East-Timor decided for Portuguese and Tetum as the country's official languages, and for another 15 national languages to be valued and developed by the state. According to the Constitution of East-Timor, Bahasa Indonesia and English are accepted as working languages.

Eritrea, colonized by Italy, Great Britain, and Ethiopia until its independence in 1991, has nine officially recognized languages spoken by nine culturally distinct ethnolinguistic groups. The origins of the language policy in Eritrea are not only related to ideology and resistance but also to cultural arguments of uniting diverse cultural and linguistic groups in the country through the use of every group's language in mass media and education.

The language and education policies have created literacy traditions in multiple languages and scripts. The status and use of the languages and the scripts, however, remains different. Tigrinya and Arabic are the working languages in the country, as the language policy does not recognize official language(s). Therefore, Tigrinya and Arabic, as the working languages, and Tigre, as the second largest group in the population, dominate the language landscape in the country.

Morocco presents a similar case to the previous two in that it also has a colonization history, after which important decisions had to be made with respect to language policy. After its independence from the French and the Spaniards in 1956, Morocco was clear in its language choice: arabic will be the exclusive official language of the country, and the role of the languages of previous colonization should be minimized. There was no mention of Berber as a national language or minority language, and no prospect for making any room for this language.

However, in September 2003 teaching Berber in public schools became a reality. Among the crucial decisions that needed to be made was the choice of a script. Berber had been written in all three scripts known in North-Africa, namely, the Tifinagh script (originally a Lybian script), the Roman script, and the Arabic script.

#### *Objectives*

The research on language policy and literacy covers a variety of topics, approaches and methodologies. From a language-policy point of view the choices of national languages, the choices of script and orthography for specific languages and the implementation of the language policy in primary education and adult literacy campaigns

is relevant. From a social-cultural perspective literacy can be conceptualised as purposeful social practices, embedded in historically situated and continuously changing larger social, religious and cultural traditions. From a cognitive/linguistic and educational perspective (the acquisition of) literacy can be conceptualised as getting access to the meaning of print, i.e. learning the code that is used in a particular cultural context to represent speech by visual symbols. What this panel aims to achieve is discussing the impact of language policy on literacy from different angles and in different domains, avoiding exclusive focus on one strand of language policy or literacy research and striving for methodological pluralism.

*The panel will feature three presentations*

1. The presentation about the Eritrean project will relate the outcomes of the acquisition of literacy of 450 children in five different languages and three different scripts to the outcomes of a large scale survey on the uses of literacy and the attitudes to languages and script among 670 adults.
2. The presentation about East-Timor will analyse the recent language policy and present outcomes of an ongoing ethnographic multiple case-study.
3. The presentation about the research in Morocco will focus on the attitudes and opinions of about 100 teachers who have experienced the first two years of teaching Tamazigh in Tifinagh-script.

#### PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

##### **Yonas M. Asfaha**

Tilburg University, The Netherlands

*Multilingual Literacy Use and Acquisition in Linguistically Diverse Communities*

This paper combines results of a study that investigated language and literacy practice and literacy acquisition in a multilingual African country, Eritrea, where nine languages and three scripts are used in delivering elementary education to different communities. We look at the language policy that guaranteed the equality of the languages and their subsequent use in schools. The rationale behind the language policy and its provisions are then compared to the outcomes of a sociolinguistic survey and literacy skills study. The survey assessed uses of literacy and attitudes towards languages and scripts among 670 adults from the nine ethnolinguistic communities. A comparative quasi-experimental design compared reading and spelling results of 450 children in five languages and three scripts. The outcomes of the sociolinguistic survey and the classroom tests, together with a descriptive presentation of the language diversity and policy, set the stage for a thorough evaluation of the implementations of the multilingual education policy and the level of social support it gets. Discussions shed light on the practical implementations and theoretical implications of multilingual and multiscriptal educational programs in linguistically diverse communities.

##### **Danielle Boon**

Ministry of Education and Culture, National Centre of Non-formal Education/UNDP, Dilli, East-Timor

*Language choices, verbal practices and literacy acquisition in the multilingual society of East Timor*

East Timor, one of Portugal's colonies until 1975, and after that occupied by Indonesia until 1999, became independent in 2002. Since its independence it has two official languages: Portuguese and Tetum. Besides Tetum, there are 15 other national languages (12 from the Austronesian language group and 4 from the Papuan group) and a number of dialects. Additionally, many East Timorese speak Bahasa Indonesia because of the recent Indonesian occupation that lasted from 1975 until 1999.

This multilingual situation is strongly interrelated with the social structure of the East Timorese society. The Portuguese language, though only still spoken by a minority, has the highest status. Tetum, as a lingua franca, is most widely used for written as well as spoken communication throughout the country, and the other national languages are gradually being developed by the state: more and more grammars and word lists have been published in recent years or are still in preparation.

An estimated half of the adult population is illiterate. Verbal practices are crucial in East Timorese daily life in all layers of society. Although many people are in the process of learning to read and write, verbal practices will continue to display and contribute to social organisation now and in the future. Moreover, in this new nation where history still strongly affects contemporary life, at the same time identities, communities and cultures are changing due to new influences, contacts and recent developments. Consequences of the language choices made are playing an important role in this process of change.

In 2001 the government started national adult literacy programmes in Tetum and Portuguese. Since the first language of most East Timorese is either Tetum or another national language/dialect, Portuguese is mainly a second (and often third) language to learn. So currently many East Timorese people are learning to read and write in a second or third language. Portuguese and Tetum differ in phonological structure, both in the inventory of phonemes as in syllabic structure. Moreover, the orthographies of the languages differ in transparency, the orthography of Tetum being more consistent. These differences might influence the learning process.

The issues that will be presented at the SS17 are part of a larger research project (2007-2011) that investigates adult literacy acquisition and use in East Timor. This project combines cognitive/linguistic and social-cultural perspectives and employs multiple research strategies in an empirical study including (a) a multi-site sociolinguistic-ethnographic case study investigating values and uses of languages and literacy, instructional practices and learning in the act of becoming and being literate in Portuguese, Tetum and Fataluku and (b) an evaluation study assessing the influence of language choices, methodology and transparency on the effectiveness of adult literacy programs in these three languages.

The presentation will focus on the influence of language choices made in East Timor on: a) literacy acquisition, b) verbal and literacy practices in local contexts, c) learning strategies and behaviour of adult literacy learners, d) instructional practices in the literacy classes and the methodologies and feedback the teachers are putting into play.

#### **Abder El Aissati and Jeanne Kurvers**

Tilburg University, The Netherlands

*Scripts, Literacy, and Language Policy in Morocco*

After its independence in 1956, Morocco was clear in its language policy: Arabic will be the exclusive official language of the country, and the role of the languages of previous colonization, namely French and Spanish, should be minimized. There was no mention of Berber as a national language or minority language, and no prospect for making any room for this language in the national official landscape.

However, in September 2003 teaching Berber in public schools became a reality. Among the crucial decisions that needed to be made was the choice of a script. Berber has been written in all three scripts most widely used in North-Africa, namely, the Tifinagh script (originally a Lybian script), the Roman script, and the Arabic script.

This choice went against the wish of a scientific community which was used to transcribing texts mostly in Roman alphabet. Such was the tradition among the early French and Spanish philologists. A few diacritics had to be added to the letters and the alphabet worked just fine.

In the field of literature, the Arabic script was popular especially among Tashelhit speakers (southern variety of Berber).

The Tifinagh script has been around for centuries, but mostly restricted to emblems and short texts (like epigraphs). The first major expansion of this alphabet was in 2003, with the introduction of Berber in the primary school education system in Morocco, and the choice of Tifinagh as the official script for writing Berber.

In the present contribution the results of two studies will be presented: a survey about the status of this script among teachers of Berber in Morocco (2006) and an earlier study among Berber speakers (in 1995) about the choice for an alphabet if Berber were to be taught. The two studies shed light on the discrepancy between theoretical choices and practical considerations of, respectively, cultural activists and teachers.

### NEW PERSPECTIVES ON NEW (AND OLD) QUOTATIVES [workshop]

Convenors: Ingrid Catharina van Alphen and Isabelle Buchstaller

University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Newcastle University, United Kingdom

Contributors: Jenny Cheshire and Sue Fox, Emilia Królak and Kinga Rudnicka, Stephan Levey, Yael Maschler, Esther Pascual and Lourens de Vries, Stef Spronck, Lieven Vandelanotte

Discussants: Ad Foolen and Wilbert Spooren

This workshop proposes to draw together (socio)linguists working on the ‘new quotatives’, such as *like* (English), *van* (Dutch), *kaze* (Hebrew), *so* (German), *genre* (French), *tipo* (Italian), *tipa* (Russian), *ba* (Swedish), *olsem* (Bislama), with the aim to investigate their differences and similarities in pragmatic functions, their sociolinguistic profiles, their history, grammaticalization and future (spread), as well as the attitudes attached to these items.

The workshop will be firmly cross-disciplinary and cross-linguistic, in order to draw on lesser as well as better known languages. The questions (amongst others) that will be addressed are:

- 1) What languages of the world have ‘new’ Quotatives (NQs) and how (if at all) do they distinguish themselves from older, traditional ones?
- 2) What is the historical & sociolinguistic profile of the phenomenon in the languages / communities under investigation?
- 3) What is the origin, form & nature of the linguistic construction?
- 4) What is/are the pragmatic functions of the NQ’s?
- 5) What approaches have been used to tackle these innovations (in terms of method, data, quantification...)

Research on new quotatives, which was arguably kick-started by Butters’ 1980 and 1982 research notes on *go* and *be like* English, has yielded a rich and diverse output in the last two decades. However, given the diversity of approaches and methods used to investigate these quotatives and also given that individual research programmes focused on a large number of languages (see key references), the consolidation of findings and cross-fertilisation between different strands of research is not necessarily a given. This workshop brings together a range of scholars whose work has been instrumental in research on quotation. The focus of the workshop is therefore to consolidate findings and to interlink research across disciplines and languages in order to achieve a deeper insight in the phenomenon ‘quotation’ with a focus on innovative forms.

Relating to the Conference Theme “Micro and Macro connections”, we are particularly interested in shedding light on the typological aspects of these quotative innovations and on their globalization.

At the macro-level the investigation of the cross-linguistic similarities and differences among these innovations is especially timely. How do macro connections play into the global spread of these items? What are the typological aspects in their development in terms of markedness or naturalness? What are the respective roles of borrowing / cross-influence (language contact) and independent but parallel development? What is the role of globalization with respect to this phenomenon? (Socio)linguistics has seen a rising interest in exploring linguistic variability that can be interpreted locally as well as translocally. We are interested in exploring how the global occurrence of these quotatives interacts with very local processes of adaptation and reclaiming, hoping to contribute to the development of a coherent theory of language variation and change that captures linguistic processes on a micro as well as on a macro scale.

At the micro-level the concrete use of these quotatives in mono- and multilingual contexts is of interest. When using these innovations and (thus) reported speech, how and why do people reconstruct speech events? What makes speakers choose between different quotative options? What do speakers display by these ‘reconstructed verbal practices’? Which cultural typifications are being transmitted in the quoted speech? Whose voices and whose identities are being ‘quoted’? Also the notions of grammaticalization and pragmatization are of interest.



## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Jenny Cheshire and Sue Fox**

Queen Mary University of London, United Kingdom

*Performed narrative: The pragmatic function of 'this is me' and other quotatives in London adolescent speech*

The emergence and rapid rise of new quotatives such as *go* and *be like* has been extensively documented in recent years (e.g. Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999; Macaulay 2001; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Buchstaller 2004, 2006), with studies generally focusing on the distribution of the quotatives and the internal and external factors constraining their use. An investigation of London English (Cheshire and Fox 2007) has demonstrated that the use of these new quotatives has also spread into the speech of adolescents in London, but in inner London there is a new competitor within the quotative system, giving rise to the emergence of *this is + subject* as in the following examples:

i) *this is me* "what...what's your ..what's your problem?" (Zack\_1, 1:27:05)

ii) *this is them* "what area are you from . what part? (Alex \_1, 20:15)

In this paper we present findings from a corpus of 50 adolescents from an inner London borough, a multicultural area of social and economic diversity. The adolescents in the study are from a wide range of ethnicities and of working class background.

We report not only on the distribution of quotatives within the quotative system of the adolescents but widen our analysis to consider why and how new quotatives are introduced. Do new quotatives take over or fulfil a particular function depending on the speech event being reconstructed? Do different quotatives have different pragmatic functions? Which speakers adopt the innovative quotatives and can this inform our knowledge about the spread of innovative forms? Using a qualitative approach we analyse the ways in which the new quotatives *go*, *be like* and *this is + subject* are used and by whom they are used. We demonstrate that the choice of quotative depends to some extent on speaker characteristics and the type of personal experience being recounted. In particular, the use of *this is + subject* is elected when the narrative is 'performed' and the speaker adopts the stance of one of the participants in the event being constructed.

**Emilia Krolak and Kinga Rudnicka**

Warsaw University, Poland

*Evaluative Function of a New Polish Quotative Construction with a Discourse Marker 'typu'*

The aim of this paper to analyse a type of construction frequently used by young Polish speakers both in oral discourse and writing. The construction has the following form: a noun + a discourse marker + direct speech constituent e.g. *podejście typu "jestem klientem, płacę i wymagam"* ('attitude of the type "I'm a client, I pay so I demand'). Apart from the marker 'typu', the direct speech constituent can be introduced in Polish by other expressions such as: 'w stylu' (of the style), 'w rodzaju' (of the kind), 'z cyklu' (of the series) or 'w klimacie' (of the type/creating the atmosphere). The meanings of such markers signal, similarly to 'like' in the 'be+like' construction in English, that the direct speech which follows them is not to be interpreted as a verbatim quotation but rather as an instance of 'constructed dialogue' (Tannen 1989) or 'fictive interaction' (Pascual 2006). The pseudoquotation is thus expected to fulfil many other roles in discourse than the mere reporting some speaker's exact words. In our study, which is based on about 200 examples collected mainly from the internet using the search engine Google, we would like to concentrate on one especially prominent and interesting role this construction plays, namely, that of conveying (mostly negative) judgment.

Working within a cognitive linguistic framework, we will illustrate how the form and propositional content of the direct speech constituent contribute to this function of the construction. Special attention will be paid to the use of interjections, swearwords, parallelism or internally-illogical statements. Many instances of constructed dialogue embedded in such constructions represent what is often referred to in the literature as utterances that 'would have never been spoken'. We argue that the reason for this is not only their marked, exaggerated form but also the type of speech act they represent. These speech acts constitute open, unashamed verbalization of somebody's implicit unfavourable views or motivations that in real life usually remain unexpressed (for example,

*postawa typu*: “*ja- ARTYSTA próbuje zmusić tych dreptających po betonie “debili” do zastanowienia się*” ‘the attitude of the type: “I, an ARTIST, try to make these concrete-treading “idiots” think for a while”’.

Consequently, speakers of such constructed utterances are presented as egoistic, egocentric, openly hostile, hypocritical etc. By studying the nouns modified by the direct speech we will discuss what kind of concepts frequently undergo criticism, ranging from different attitudes (*postawa typu* “*tylko ja mam rację*” ‘the attitude of the type “Only I am right”’) to some relatively new social or cultural phenomena (*reklamy typu* “*jestem niezadowolona bo nie mam białego prania*” ‘advertisements of the type: “I’m so unhappy because my laundry is not snow-white”’).

### Stephen Levey

University of Ottawa, Canada

*Quotative variation in later childhood: Insights from London preadolescents*

Although there has been a good deal of scholarly interest in quotative variation in adolescence and early adulthood (see e.g. Macaulay 2001; Tagliamonte & D’Arcy 2004), there has been correspondingly less attention paid to quotative variation in younger populations. This paper addresses quotative variation in preadolescence, as exemplified in the following narrative extract from a recently compiled corpus of preadolescent speech based on recordings of children aged 7-11 in outer east London:

- (1) he had a bleeding head  
and... *he’s saying*, ‘I want to go to hospital’  
*I’m going*, ‘No, you don’t really, do you?’  
and *he goes*, ‘Yeah I do.’ [9F6]

Both narrative and non-narrative speech in the preadolescent corpus are fertile territory for charting the acquisitional trajectory of vernacular quotative variants such as *go* and *be like*, and exploring correlations between vernacular quotative usage and ‘convergence towards the relatively focused norms of the peer group’ (Kerswill 1996: 191) as older children move away from parent-oriented networks. Furthermore, given the locus of the quotative system as an acknowledged site of linguistic innovation (Buchstaller 2004), a variationist perspective on the quotative system in later childhood can potentially elucidate the under-researched issue of how children actively engage in patterns of variation and change.

Building on earlier foundational research which has identified both age- and gender-differentiated patterns in the use of direct speech (Ely & McCabe 1993), an examination of some 500 quotative contexts extracted from the London preadolescent corpus and coded for a variety of factors including age, gender, content of the quote, and tense shows that there are nuanced age- and gender-affiliated differences in the pragmatic functions of specific quotative variants. Particularly conspicuous, however, in the light of previous research correlating *be like* with youth, is the low incidence (5%) of this variant in the preadolescent corpus, which points to potential discontinuities in patterns of quotative variation between preadolescents and adolescents, as well as possibly indicating differential rates of diffusion of this variant in different varieties of English.

*Say* and *go* are overwhelmingly the major exponents of quotative variation in the preadolescent corpus examined here. A distributional and multivariate analysis of this narrowly circumscribed envelope of variation not only furnishes valuable insights into the acquisition of vernacular variant *go* in the preteen years, but also has broader ramifications relating to the emergence of gender-differentiated orientations to the construction of discourse in later childhood.

### Yael Maschler

University of Haifa, Israel

*On the Grammaticization and Functions of Hebrew kaze (‘like’, lit. ‘like this’) and ke’ilu (‘like’, lit. ‘as if’)*

In a comparative study of the English discourse marker *like* and its French equivalent *genre*, Fleischman and Yaguello (2004) address the question posed by Traugott of ‘whether there are cross-language generalizations to be made about the development of discourse particles in terms of both their likely semantic sources and their semantic-pragmatic paths’ (Traugott 1995a: 4). In particular, Fleischman and Yaguello address this question in relation to the phenomenon of different languages *independently* grammaticizing markers with the same range

of functions, and having similar lexical sources in their corresponding languages. In the case of English *like* and French *genre*, this lexical source involves some comparative meaning 'whereby an item is considered in relation to a norm or paradigm' (2004: 139).

The present contribution further extends this study to the case of Hebrew talk-in-interaction and investigates the use of two more elements involving comparative meaning, *kaze* and *ke'ilu*, both 'equivalents' of English *like* in some contexts. Over the past decade and a half, new uses have emerged for these two utterances, different from their literal meanings of 'like this' and 'as if, as though', respectively. This study is concerned with the emergence of these new meanings. I focus here particularly on *kaze* and compare it to *ke'ilu*, which was investigated at length in Maschler 2002, in press.

The data come from audio-recordings of 50 casual conversations of college educated Israelis with their friends and relatives over the years 1994-2002, totaling approximately 150 minutes of talk among 124 different speakers, transcribed in full and segmented into intonation units (Chafe 1994).

A qualitative analysis reveals four non-literal functions of *ke'ilu* - hedging, self-rephrasal, focus-marking, and quotation; and three functions for *kaze* - comparative demonstrative, hedge and quotative. Quantitative analysis highlights the distribution of these functions throughout the database. A combination of these approaches - qualitative as well as quantitative - allows an examination of the functional itinerary of these new quotatives in Hebrew.

Finally, I argue that the recent proliferation of *kaze* and *ke'ilu* in Israeli Hebrew discourse is tied to the change from a culture in which *dugri* speech (directness, 'straight talk') is central (Katriel, 1986), to one in which this speaking style is in decline (Katriel, 2004).

### **Esther Pascual and Lourens de Vries**

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands

*It's like, why fictive interaction? On the multifunctionality of direct speech in spoken English and languages without writing*

This paper focuses on the multifunctional use of direct speech as in the '*like*' construction in English ('I was like *Oh God!*'), compared to the grammar of direct speech in Kombai, an aboriginal Papuan language without a writing system. We argue that the pragmatics of English and the grammar of Kombai equally allow for the use of direct speech to (re)present speech, thoughts, emotions, attitudes, and intentions. Indeed, it has been widely accepted that the pragmatic marker *like*' is often used to preface direct speech to refer to non-genuine quotations. Similarly, in Kombai grammar direct speech is obligatory after any speech act verb; it is the only way to report thoughts, beliefs, and emotions; and it constitutes the unmarked way to express intentions. Thus, what is a pragmatic feature in English is part of the grammar in Kombai.

We further concentrate on the similarities between the functions of direct speech in the English '*like*' construction and direct speech in other grammatical contexts. We suggest that the English *like* construction -just as multifunctional direct speech in general- is not restricted to one sociolinguistic group or language genre. We show that it occurs in as diverse settings as the speech of a priest and the written report of a criminal lawyer. We argue that the multifunctionality of the *like* construction merely echoes the pragmatics of its direct speech constituent and hence that the construction does not use direct speech in a particularly novel manner. More specifically, we regard instances of the *like* construction -as well as similar direct speech constructions in English and Kombai- as involving *fictive interaction* (Pascual 2002, 2006), namely the use of a non-genuine communicative exchange, typically not involving a literal or loose quotation.

The data on English was mostly gathered through fieldwork in legal and other settings in California (Pascual 2002); the data on Kombai was gathered through extensive ethnography in Papua New Guinea (de Vries 1993, 2003). The findings on Kombai are discussed together with findings on other Papuan languages as well as other languages without a writing system, as discussed in the literature.



Their diachronic origin has been linked with the meaning evolution of the OE adjective *gelic* (Meehan 1991). One question that is generally not broached is how precisely this construction is syntagmatically composed, and how it relates to more canonical forms of speech and thought representation.

(1) *I'm like How does that look nice on you I'd never wear it.* (Cobuild corpus)

(2) *And then he goes like, sorry man, close the door and get out.* (COLT corpus)

In earlier work, I have argued that in canonical reported speech and thought constructions like direct speech/thought, it is the reporting clause as a whole, and not just the reporting predicate, which has the reported clause as its complement. More specifically, I have argued that the reporting and reported clause show the type of A/D asymmetry discussed by Langacker (1987: Ch. 8) for complementation structures, in that the reporting clause is conceptually incomplete and therefore dependent on the more autonomous complement. This line of analysis does not run into the various problems which the traditional 'verbal complementation' analysis raises, such as the occurrence of intransitive predicates (e.g. *insist, reflect, smile*) in reported speech/thought constructions. Innovative quotatives as in (1-2) pose a similar problem, since one can hardly view *be like* or *go* as (transitive) 'reporting predicates' which take a 'direct object'.

In my analysis of the structure of innovative quotatives, I will argue with reference to crosslinguistic and diachronic data that clauses like *I'm like* are apprehended as reporting clauses on the basis of a conceptual correspondence between, roughly speaking, a 'speech clause' and an 'imitation clause'. Once thus apprehended, like ordinary reporting clauses they need a conceptually more autonomous reported complement for their semantic completion. In a final step, it will be shown on the basis of different alternation patterns that the 'accommodation' of *be like* and similar constructions into the direct speech/thought construction is not equally advanced for the different innovations, which can perhaps be related to the diachrony of their emergence (e.g. *go* appears to be an 'older innovation' than *be like*). For instance, a clause such as *he went* seems to allow a postposed alternate (*he wasn't too sure about that, he went*), whereas the clause *he was like* seems not to (*\*he wasn't too sure about that, he was like*).

## INTERFACES BETWEEN MEDIA, SPEECH, AND INTERACTION [workshop]

Convenor: Jannis Androutsopoulos

King's College London

Contributors: Alexandra Georgakopoulou, Tore Kristiansen, Vally Lytra, Arja Piirainen-Marsh, Pia Quist, Janet Spreckels, Jane Stuart-Smith

Do the media have an effect on the language use of their audiences? There are two main responses to this in sociolinguistics. The variationist tradition focuses on potential influences of mass media on the linguistic system and on language change. Despite sporadic evidence for such influence (e.g. Naro/Scherre 1996, Cutler 1999, Carvalho 2004), the mainstream view restricts media effects to conscious levels of language use (vocabulary, catch phrases) and the awareness of language varieties (cf. Chambers 1998, Labov 2001, Milroy/Milroy 1999). A second approach is contextualized in interactional sociolinguistics. Inspired by cultural studies (e.g. Gillespie 1995), and resembling the shift in media studies from media effects theory to active audiences approaches, this line of research examines how audiences actively appropriate bits and pieces of media discourse, embedding them in everyday interactional practices. As a consequence, the focus of attention shifts from the linguistic system to verbal interaction, and processes of entextualisation, performance, and voicing gain prominence (e.g. Branner 2002, Schlobinski et al. 1993, Shankar 2004, Spitulnik 1997). However, substantial dialogue between these approaches as well as to wider sociolinguistic theory is lacking, and despite a number of relevant, yet disparate publications, interfaces between (mass) media and nonmediated language use are not well understood yet (cf. Herring 2003, Stuart-Smith 2006).

Against that background, this workshop will critically discuss relationships between (mass) media, media engagement, and non-mediated language use. Drawing on research from a range of speech communities and languages (American and British English, Danish, Finnish, German, Turkish), the contributions discuss different sociolinguistic conceptualizations of the media and ways of bridging them. We attend to the Symposium's focal topic by examining the relationship of massdisseminated cultural products to local (i.e. individual or group level) processes of language variation, performance, and identity construction, and by exploring links between media, discourse and language change. More specific questions addressed by the contributors will include: the relationship of media consumption and stylistic variation; media effects on language ideology; the employment of media resources in conversational interaction; the role of media engagement in identity negotiations; the use of computers as part of stylistic practice; and the potential of broadcast discourse as a site for analysing social reproduction.

### PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

#### **Alexandra Georgakopoulou**

King's College London, United Kingdom

*'London Heart or Kiss FM?': 'Trouble' in accounts and meta-talk of media engagements in school-based interaction*

Recent sociolinguistic studies of media appropriations and references within classroom interaction have documented their interactional affordances and sequential management. More generally, they have stressed their performative roles and their links with speakers' social identities (e.g. see Rampton 2007). Less is known, however, about how meta-accounts (i.e. talk about, report of) of *media engagements* in the classroom (and in other contexts) enmesh with daily realities, shaping both local interactions and impacting on social relations and peer-group organization.

This paper focuses on precisely such engagements (ranging from reported interactions on the MSN to text-messages being received and discussed on the spot to talk about music and TV series), which are both a routine phenomenon in the classroom interactional data under study and cover a wide range of ('old' and 'new') media and modes of engagement. More specifically, the data are part of the ESRC Identities and Social Action Project on Urban Classroom Culture and Interaction (<http://www.identities.org.uk>) which has employed the methods of ethnographic sociolinguistics to research the inter-animation of ethnic, techno-popular culture and educa-



tional identities in the classroom data of fourteen-year old students in a London comprehensive school. Insights from the audio-recorded data analysis are supplemented by extensive fieldwork, interviews with the participants and the teachers, playback sessions of selected key-excerpts, and a survey conducted by one of our team members, Caroline Dover (2007), on the types and frequency of references to techno-popular culture resources in the data of five focal participants.

The analysis specifically focuses on data from two female focal participants and on two discursive instances of media engagements: a) accounts (I have called these elsewhere *small stories of breaking news*) that report some kind of 'trouble' in media engagements (e.g. interactions that have gone wrong, inappropriate conduct of characters talked about with social consequences for the tellers, etc.) and b) meta-talk about media engagements that also engenders 'trouble' in that the participants may not know of, have access to, recognize or approve of one another's media engagements.

I will show how both activities take us away from the often celebratory accounts of media references in young people's interaction towards an approach that looks into the actions that such instances of trouble routinely accomplish and how they map with the participants' positions in peer-groups, their educational identities as well as other ascribed or inhabited self-roles. I will also argue that trouble in media engagements makes relevant moral and aesthetic issues and attempt to show how these can be taken into account in the analysis.

### **Tore Kristiansen**

Copenhagen University, Denmark

*Media, language ideology, and language use in Norway and Denmark*

As Jannis Androutsopoulos points out in his presentation of the workshop, the mainstream variationist position has always been that the media impact on language use is negligible. I find it likely that this position to some extent reflects the language use situation in the long-standing strongholds of variationist sociolinguistics, i.e. the US and the UK. The fact that variationist studies mainly focus on linguistic variables rather than language varieties is probably also of some importance. I definitely see myself as a variationist - nevertheless I do believe that the media have a considerable impact on language use. This 'ideological profile' may be more likely to appear when you, like me, have lived and worked in Norway and Denmark. I shall argue for my 'profile' by drawing on experiences with and research on language use and language attitudes in these two countries.

(1) In Norway and Denmark the language use situation throughout the 20th century evolved very differently in terms of the relative strengths of language varieties: the Norwegians kept their traditional local dialects very much alive and developed only a weak, if any, spoken standard language; the Danes abandoned their traditional local dialects in favour of Copenhagen speech and thus developed a very strong spoken standard. I want to argue that the media and their language policies have played a most decisive role in this very different development of the language situation in the two countries.

(2) Nationwide macro level studies of language attitudes among Danish adolescents have revealed the existence of two opposite evaluative hierarchizations of the three accents of the standard language (Modern, Conservative and Local) that are relevant to social identifications in any Danish community (other than Copenhagen). In conscious evaluations (i.e. when subjects are aware of offering language attitudes), the hierarchization is Local-Conservative-Modern. In subconscious evaluations (i.e. when subjects are unaware of offering attitudes), the hierarchization is Modern-Conservative-Local. As the average result of the young local community, both hierarchies are consistently reproduced in every corner of Denmark. The consistency of the consciously offered hierarchy may be straightforwardly explained with reference to the impact from the overt elite discourse about these matters in the educational institutions, and the Danish society in general. As to the subconsciously offered hierarchy I want to argue that its consistent spread to the Danish adolescents as a whole can only be understood as a media effect.

### **Vally Lytra**

King's College London, United Kingdom

*"Hey dance Turkish style": Media engagement and identity negotiations in a London Turkish complementary school*

This paper emerges from a larger study on multilingualism and identity construction in complementary schools in four communities in the UK (ESRC, RES 000-23-1180). One of four case studies focused on Turkish-speaking

young people attending two Turkish complementary schools in London (Creese et al. 2007d). Complementary schools are voluntary schools- also referred to as “community”, “supplementary” or “heritage” schools- which serve specific ethno-linguistic groups, particularly through community language classes.

Drawing on a variety of sources (i.e. field-notes, tape and video-recordings, semi-structured interviews and still photography) I explore how a group of boys engaged in media talk (e.g. evaluating the performance of rap musicians), media consumption (e.g. listening to Turkish and African-American rap music, exchanging music files via mobile phones) and media production (e.g. singing snippets of songs) during the lesson. I compare the children’s spontaneous media engagement with a more planned episode of music making initiated by the teacher. During this episode, the teacher introduced a poem about Mother’s Day and encouraged the class to perform it (e.g. by singing and/or dancing along while listening to the lyrics on the tape-recorder). I discuss how the teacher’s suggestion to perform the song triggered a parodic discourse on some of the boys’ part, transforming their performances into play and subversion. I argue that through different forms of media engagement this group of boys is negotiating aspects of their youth, gender and multicultural identities, demonstrating fluidity rather than fixity in the ways they identify themselves. These findings resonate with research on media engagement from an ethnographically informed sociolinguistics perspective. This line of research has shown that rather than passively reproducing what they watch and listen to, young people appropriate, localise and creatively transform mass-mediated cultural products for meaning making, social affiliation and identity negotiations (cf. Cutler 1999; Lytra 2007; Maybin 2006; Rampton 1995, 2006; Rampton, Harris & Dover 2002).

### **Arja Piirainen-Marsh**

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

*Interweaving action in everyday and virtual worlds:  
animated displays as the participants’ resource in collaborative game-play*

This paper takes a microanalytic perspective on investigating the role and impact of media on everyday practices. Drawing on recent work in game studies, interactional sociolinguistics and conversation analysis, I explore how a group of young players interact with a popular video role play game (Final Fantasy X) and how they draw upon and creatively use the linguistic and discursive resources afforded by game in their own activities during collaborative play. Playing a video game is a complex media event, shaped by the temporally unfolding material, visual and textual structure of the game which provides the semiotic framework that players rely on in organising their activity (Goodwin 2000a, 2000b; Burn & Schott 2004). Game-playing is also a social event, involving talk and interaction between the participants in the form of collaborative decision-making, navigating between different choices, guiding the players’ progress through the trajectory of the game and offering on-line commentary on scenes and events on the screen. In participating in collaborative play, the players draw upon the multimodal resources of the setting, including the unfolding game text and voice-over dialogue, and the sequential structures of talk-in-interaction. Drawing on an interaction-based analysis of language use and alternation (see e.g. Auer 1998, LiWei 2005, Cromdal & Aronsson 2000, Cromdal 2005), this paper examines how groups of teenage boys playing a video game draw on the language of the game (English) alongside their mother tongue (Finnish) in organising their talk and activity. Language alternation emerges as a flexible resource through which the participants signal their level of engagement with the game and organise their participation in different types of activities within or outside the game world. The main focus of this paper is on turns where the participants animate game characters’ speech as a resource for signalling their involvement with the game and co-constructing their experience of collaborative play.

### **Pia Quist**

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

*Media and styles in the school*

In many Danish schools the laptop has become a common personal equipment. Students carry around their computers in and out of class rooms, and they go online via the schools’ wireless internet connections. The laptop is integrated in as much schoolwork as possible, e.g. in class, laboratory and group work. But it also plays a significant part in the school’s leisure time activities. During breaks students go online to surf the internet, to participate in instant messaging, chat rooms, emailing etc. Drawing on an ethnographic study of linguistic

variation and stylistic practices at a Copenhagen high school I will in this paper focus on the ways in which the students' laptops are integrated parts of local practices. The paper is structured in two parts: 1) First, I will briefly sketch out how different attitudes towards computers as well as different ways of using computers form part of general stylistic practices; and 2) I shall show examples of concrete class room conversations around and "with" the computer. 1) and 2) together state a clear argument for why a traditional 'sender/receiver media communication model' can not account for everyday media practices among high school students.

### **Janet Spreckels**

Paedagogische Hochschule Freiburg, Germany

*"He's such a Harry Potter!" - The influence of Mass Media on German adolescent girls' interactions*

It is common sense in interactional sociolinguistics that mass media have an important impact on language use. This is especially true for youth language: "The media are not external to the category youth but are intrinsically involved in its construction" (Lury 1996: 211). Media knowledge is omnipresent among teenagers, so that they can draw on it any time and integrate it into the ongoing interaction. And they do so! In the course of my ethnographic and conversation analytical research of a group of German adolescent girls, I found that the girls constantly appropriate bits and pieces of media discourse and embed them in their everyday interactional practices. Doing this, they employ various linguistic and communicative resources, such as singing, quoting, voicing or performing entire stretches of media discourse. The girls identify so much with the media that the boundaries between reality and film plots, song lyrics, TV advertisements etc. often become blurred in their everyday interactions. This multilayered integration of media resources in their everyday interactions makes it sometimes difficult to understand what is going on in the girls' conversation from an outside point of view. Youth language research that ignores the influence of the media on young people's speech misses out on various phenomena of the interaction.

In my paper I want to demonstrate incidents of the girls' interactive appropriation of media resources by addressing the following questions:

- Which kinds of media do the girls refer to?
- When and in which ways do they employ media resources?
- What is the discursive function of the media reference/ quote etc?

It will be interesting to compare the findings of my research on this small group of German girls with the practices of adolescents from other countries and cultural backgrounds in order to find out if there are universal phenomena in the intertwining of media discourse and everyday interactions.

### **Jane Stuart-Smith**

University of Glasgow, United Kingdom

*Understanding media influence on language: insights from stylistic variation*

Despite continuing resistance from mainstream sociolinguistics that the media may not influence change in core grammar, recent results from Glasgow force us to entertain this as a serious possibility. Large-scale multifactorial regressions show consistent statistically-significant links between phonological innovations and a range of social factors including those capturing dialect contact, specific social practices and engagement with television. Moreover, interpretation of the models does not allow us to skirt a direct causal link for the influence of television on language. But understanding such influence is not straightforward, especially given that additional data from the Glasgow informants rejects conscious orientation towards televised models (cf Carvalho 2004).

Given that we reject a blanket, non-negotiated transmission of linguistic elements to passive viewer-speakers, partly because such a view is long-abandoned within media studies, and also because it is clearly not apparent in our data, we turn to alternative approaches which focus on individuals as they interact/engage with the media (cf Holly et al 2001). These intersect with existing work on the appropriation - and stylistic exploitation - of media material, mainly drawn from discourse (eg Branner 2002).

We therefore move from group patterns to the sociolinguistic behaviours of individuals. 36 adolescents in three age-groups, and 12 adults from the same working-class area of Glasgow, were recorded taking part in a range of activities, from reading a wordlist and chatting with a friend without the researcher present, to tak-

ing part in a professionally-filmed TV quiz show. Four variables undergoing change, (th) as in *think*, (dh) as in *brother*, (l) as in *well*, and (r) as in *car* were analysed auditorily.

Here we focus on the stylistic variation found within and across speakers. One result is particularly intriguing. The use of innovative phonetic variants is enhanced in the wordlist recordings. For many of our informants, reading the wordlist did not provoke the kind of shift to standard norms predicted by previous studies. Rather, these adolescents, reading for the fieldworker, and before their friend/conversational partner, elected to deploy a specific repertoire, which included an increased use of non-local non-standard variation. In other words, reading the wordlist presented a particular stylistic opportunity for the exploitation of specific variation - clearly presented as and felt to be 'their own', but at the same time, partly relating to their media engagement, amongst other things.

The paper concludes by relating these results to the modeling of media influence in terms of linguistic appropriation from the media, which draws on key notions from media studies (appropriation), speech and language perception and production (exemplar theory), and current sociolinguistic models of style in which the speaker demonstrates substantial agency over the deployment of linguistic repertoire.

**ATTRACTIVENESS: EMPIRICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES** [themed panel]

Convenors: Ad Backus and Anna Verschik

Tilburg University, The Netherlands and Tallinn University, Estonia

Contributors: Ad Backus and Anna Verschik, Seza Dođruöz, Dieter Halwachs, Janice L. Jake and Carol Myers-Scotton, Anastassia Zabrodskaja

In 1993, Lars Johanson launched the concept of attractiveness in language contacts, as part of his code-copying model of bilingual speech. Some language items and structures are more susceptible to copying (borrowing, calquing), and therefore more attractive, than others. Similarly, some aspects of language are better at resisting influence from another language than others. Attractiveness should not be seen as an absolute concept, but rather in relative terms. Within one particular language pair, things can turn out to be attractive that are unattractive in another language pair (e.g. a particular word order). In this workshop, we have two goals. First, the way attractiveness works in different language contact situations (different language pairs and different sociolinguistic settings) will be explored. Second, the workshop will deal with the possibilities of attractiveness as an explanatory notion in the code copying model and in other approaches. Throughout the workshop, we will be interested in the question how apparently attractive structures are conventionalized and become regular structures in the copying language.

Because of the variation in sociolinguistic settings and in typological profiles of the language pairs, we will look at the influence of both micro and macro dimensions on the outcomes of contact. One empirical question will be whether attractiveness is purely a linguistic factor (it determines a borrowability/copiability list of language elements and the more intense a contact situation gets, the further down the list things will get copied or borrowed), or whether characteristics of the sociolinguistic setting have an influence on what will turn out to be attractive.

*Discussion questions*

- Is attractiveness dependent on purely structural characteristics or does it have sociolinguistic dimensions as well?
- Are there linguistic characteristics that seem to be attractive across the board?
- It is claimed that analytic constructions tend to be attractive. Is this confirmed by empirical data?
- Can the notion of attractiveness be used outside the theoretical framework it was developed in?
- Alongside with attractiveness, the concept of salience was introduced in 2002. It is claimed that salient items/structures are cognitively prominent and thus prone to copying. Whether and how attractiveness is related to salience?

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Ad Backus and Anna Verschik**

Tilburg University, The Netherlands and Tallinn University, Estonia

*Introducing the Code-Copying Model*

The Code-Copying Model, developed by Lars Johanson, has been used to describe and explain effects of language contact in various settings, but with a bias for settings that involve a Turkic language. The goal of this paper is to advertise the model to a wider audience, by showing it can be applied to any language contact situation. The model has much to offer to contact linguistics in general, especially the explanatory potential of attractiveness. Language change is notoriously hard to predict, but if we can find out what exactly determines an element's degree of attractiveness, we can start forming hypotheses. Attractiveness must clearly be a relative notion, in the sense that things are attractive in a given contact situation, with a given pair of languages in a given sociolinguistic setting, rather than in an absolute sense. Further differentiation and relativization of attractiveness appears necessary. As Johanson distinguishes between copying in imposition ( $L1 > L2$ ) and in adoption ( $L2 > L1$ ), it may be potentially useful to view separately attractiveness in adoption and in imposition, as they are not necessarily the same. The model views different degrees of copying: an item has material, semantic, combinational and

frequential properties that can be copied entirely (corresponds to lexical borrowing) or partially (corresponds to 'loan morphosyntax', 'loan semantics', etc.). The two types of copying are referred to as global and selective copying respectively. In this light, some units may prove to be attractive for global copying and yet some for selective copying. As the attractiveness of analytic forms has often been referred to in the literature, we are going to present two case studies on copying of analytic verbs/verbal expressions from sociolinguistically different situation: 1) copying from Dutch into the Netherlands Turkish and 2) copying from Estonian into Estonia's Russian.

### **Seza Dođruoz**

Tilburg University, The Netherlands

*Synchronic Variation and Diachronic Change in Dutch Turkish*

Turkish as spoken in the Netherlands (NL-Turkish) sounds 'different' (unconventional) to Turkish speakers in Turkey (TR-Turkish). This study investigates structural change in NL-Turkish through analyses of spoken corpora collected in the bilingual Turkish community in the Netherlands and in a monolingual community in Turkey.

The analyses reveal that at the current stage of contact, NL-Turkish is not copying Dutch syntax as such, but rather translates lexically complex individual units into Turkish. Perceived semantic equivalence between Dutch units and their Turkish equivalents plays a crucial role in this translation process.

Although synchronic variation in individual NL-Turkish units can contain the seeds of future syntactic change, it will only be visible after an increase in the type and token frequency of the individual changing units.

### **Dieter Halwachs**

Institut fuer Sprachwissenschaft der Universitaet Graz

*Code-copying and expansion of Romani into formal domains*

### **Janice L. Jake and Carol Myers-Scotton**

Midlands Technical College, Columbia and Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI, USA

*When Tension Is Strong, How Strong Is Attractiveness?*

The notion of attractiveness (Johanson, 2002), along with language-specific congruence, may underlie convergence of certain structures from one variety to another in contact situations. However, this paper argues that the twin pull of attractiveness and congruence to change structure is constrained by two other abstract universal forces that are part of any explanation for outcomes in language contact: the Uniform Structure Principle (USP) and the Abstract Level Model (ALM).

The USP recognizes the universality of maintaining uniform structure whenever a given constituent type appears; in bilingual speech it preferences only one variety, designated the Matrix Language (Myers-Scotton, 1997; 2002), as the source of that uniform structure (Myers-Scotton, 2002). As such, the USP opposes change.

The ALM explains the possibility of new combinations of structure; the abstract levels of lexical-conceptual structure, predicate-argument structure, and surface level morphological realization patterns become salient in different stages of congruence checking and structure building (Myers-Scotton & Jake, 2001). New combinations within a lemma arise when features from the levels in a given lemma from one variety are split and combined with features from another variety. These combinations are realized on the surface as an innovative element or phrase from one variety, but with convergence features of another variety. That is, the ALM functions as a mechanism that facilitates congruence checking and underlies attractiveness.

In order to operate, attractiveness and congruence depend on the particular configurations found in each bilingual corpus. In contrast, the USP and ALM are context-free in their applicability. Yet, as noted above, the USP and ALM are themselves opposing forces. The USP inhibits grammatical innovations, while the ALM promotes changes that can ultimately affect structure. Without the USP, the ALM might foster changes based on attractiveness or congruence more than is evident in the contact literature. This paper shows how the tension between these two forces constrains attractiveness and convergence.

For example, Fredsted (2007) cites Danish-German examples entirely in German, but with part of the predicate argument structure from Danish, as in *ich fehle ...* ('I lack ...'); the experiencer subject is nominative *ich*, as



in Danish, and not dative, as in German (*mir*). The German subject controls verb agreement. The ALM provides the possibility of combining predicate-argument structure from one language with another, because of congruence at the level of lexical-conceptual structure. Yet, the morphological realization patterns are consistent with only one language, German. Such examples show attractiveness, but attractiveness limited by the USP, which maintains the grammar of German.

**Anastassia Zabrodskaja**

Tallinn University, Estonia

*Attractiveness of L2 pragmatic particles*

The use of Estonian pragmatic particles by Russian-speaking students is of particular theoretical and empirical interest. The research was carried out among Russian-speaking students during the 2006/2007 academic year at Tallinn University and Narva College of Tartu University, which are bilingual and predominantly Russian-speaking environments respectively. Pragmatic particles do not necessarily cause the subsequent use of Estonian in the sentence or conversation, nor do they determine the matrix language in the clause containing them. In addition, the use of Estonian pragmatic particles in Estonia's Russian has not reached the stage where L2 items replace the native equivalents.

The question is whether only the linguistic repertoire of the students and their contacts with Estonian-speakers facilitate the incorporation of such items into L1 speech, or whether pragmatic particles as such are attractive because they make the speech more expressive and 'interesting' for the speakers.

**PRAGMATIC VARIATION: THE INTERPLAY OF MICRO-SOCIAL AND MACRO-SOCIAL FACTORS**

[themed panel]

Convenors: Anne Barron and Klaus P. Schneider

University of Bonn, Germany

Contributors: Anne Barron and Klaus P. Schneider, Fiona Farr, Sabine Jautz, Mai Kuha and

Elizabeth M. Riddle, Ronald K.S. Macaulay, Heike Pichler

Over the past few years, variational pragmatics (VP) has emerged as a new field of linguistic inquiry at the interface of pragmatics and dialectology (cf., e.g., Barron 2005a, 2005b; Schneider 2005; Schneider & Barron, forthcoming b). Conceived of as the study of intra-lingual variation on the pragmatic level of language, VP addresses a research gap previously identified, but not systematically analysed (cf., e.g., Schlieben-Lange & Weydt 1978; Kasper 1995; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 2006: 93-101). So far, VP has been mainly concerned with macro-social factors, such as region, socio-economic class, ethnicity, gender, and age, and their systematic impact on language use (cf., e.g., Schneider & Barron forthcoming a). However, while macro-social factors shape identities, micro-social factors define relationships and, thus, create and change social reality locally, i.e. on the discrete bottom level. Indeed, early findings in VP have highlighted the possible importance of micro-social variation in the study of intra-lingual pragmatic variation (cf., e.g. Barron 2005b). It would seem, therefore, that this area of research is ripe for investigation, particularly since researchers in the areas of cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics have found micro-social factors, such as power and social distance, to influence inter-lingual variation (cf., e.g., Blum-Kulka et al. 1989; Trosborg 1995).

The present workshop focuses on intra-lingual macro-social and micro-social variation on the pragmatic level of language. It addresses the interplay of individual macro-social and micro-social factors and also patterns of interaction between these macro-social and micro-social factors.

In particular, the following questions will be addressed:

- Which macro-social factors should be distinguished?
- Which micro-social factors should be distinguished?
- Are there factor hierarchies?
- Which pragmatic variables (e.g. speech act strategies, internal modification, external modification, ...) are affected by macro-social factors? Which variants exist?
- Which pragmatic variables (e.g. speech act strategies, internal modification, external modification, ...) are affected by micro-social factors? Which variants exist?
- Which methodologies are best suited to studying the interaction of macro- and micro-social factors?

In this workshop, research-in-progress papers will be presented which report on on-going empirical, contrastive, corpus-based investigations into social and/or situational variation at the level of pragmatics. All papers deal with some or all of the above questions and will be circulated among contributors prior to the workshop.

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Anne Barron and Klaus P. Schneider**

University of Bonn, Germany

*Investigating pragmatic variation*

Variational pragmatics (VP) has emerged in recent years as a field of linguistic inquiry at the interface of pragmatics and dialectology (cf., e.g., Barron 2005, 2006; Schneider 2005; Schneider and Barron forthcoming). It is concerned with the systematic investigation of intra-lingual macro-social pragmatic variation and thus deals with the influence of macro-social factors, such as region, gender, age, social class and ethnic identity, on the conventions of language use. As such, variational pragmatics addresses a research gap in the study of varieties previously identified, but not systematically attended to (cf., e.g., Schlieben-Lange and Weydt 1978; Kasper 1995; Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006: 93-101).

Variational pragmatics has to date concentrated predominantly on macro-social variation, i.e. on determining the influence of each macro-social factor on language use individually. However, it would seem that macro-

social factors may also interact in their impact on language use. Hence, variational pragmatics must also address possible hierarchical relationships between these factors and identify patterns of factor interaction. In addition, the interplay of micro-social factors, such as power and social distance, with these macro-social factors is an area ripe for research (cf. Schneider 2007, Schneider and Barron forthcoming).

The purpose of this paper is to further establish the field of variational pragmatics and to develop the concepts presented in Barron (2005, 2006), Schneider (2005) and Schneider and Barron (forthcoming). The paper serves to launch the workshop "Pragmatic variation: the interplay of micro-social and macro-social factors".

### **Fiona Farr**

University of Limerick, Ireland

*'Taboo or not taboo?': swearing and profane language use in spoken Irish English*

Taboo language has traditionally been associated with impure, crude, illegitimate, and unacceptable usage. The title afforded to a recent volume on the subject, *Forbidden Words* (Allan and Burrige 2006), aptly captures social, and indeed political, attitudes and reactions to the employment of bad language words and phrases, and to their perpetrators, which have developed through the years since the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. And therein lies the true intrigue of this phenomenon. It is primarily a social creation rather than a linguistic one, as noted by McEnery (2005) when he alludes to the innocuous nature of swear words in terms of linguistic form. They are neither syntactically or phonologically remarkable nor displeasing. Yet their use automatically prompts inferences about the social class, psychological or emotional state, education, or religion of the user. Ironically then, thought not surprisingly, such cultivated disdain seems neither to have thwarted nor frustrated the use of offensive language, as it is still pervasive in contemporary spoken language, despite the lingering moral and ethical objections. In this paper, data will be explored in the form of a corpus-based analysis of a computerised database of contemporary spoken Irish-English, The Limerick Corpus of Irish English (L-CIE) (Farr, Murphy, and O'Keeffe 2004).

The one-million word corpus, containing transcribed spoken language collected within the last five years, predominantly casual conversation in genre, provides ample illustrative evidence of how swearing and profanity are far from ephemeral in nature and seem to be strongly rooted in this variety of English. Using both quantitative methods (frequency and keyword analyses), and qualitative exploration in the form of concordance lists and discourse approaches, taboo language will firstly be considered in relation to the macro-social factors of age and gender. Such analysis builds on previous and on-going socio-linguistically and pragmatically focussed studies of other varieties of English (for example, Selnow 1985, McEnery and Xiao 2004, Sapolsky and Kaye 2005, Stenström 2006). Secondly, a preliminary account of the influence of micro-social factors, such as context of use, personal relationships, and power differentials will be offered.

### **Sabine Jautz**

University of Siegen, Germany

*Relational Work and Constructing Identity: Expressions of Gratitude in British and New Zealand English Radio Phone-Ins*

Radio phone-ins are characterized by an asymmetrical relationship: It is usually hosts who ask questions, while callers answer them. This asymmetrical relationship shapes the verbal practice of the interlocutors in their roles, which consecutively influences the structure of such conversations - it is generally hosts who open the conversations by introducing the callers (and thus giving them an identity) and asking the first question; and it is also hosts who start to bring the conversation to an end, preferably in a way that suits the callers, too. This may be achieved, for instance, by thanking callers for their contributions. Despite the fact that there is an asymmetrical relation and that the order of turns is preallocated, radio phone-ins are expected to sound like casual conversations: as if the interlocutors were on an equal footing and as if the conversations developed spontaneously.

Utilizing data from the British National Corpus and the Wellington Corpus of Spoken New Zealand English, it is attempted to compare two varieties of English concerning the construction of identity and relational work by means of expressions of gratitude. While the large corpora provide ample possibilities for quantitative analyses, some conversations will be examined in detail, drawing on discourse analysis: After briefly examining

how callers are introduced (the most obvious way to construct identity), this paper focuses on ending conversations, and here particularly on the use of expressions of gratitude, a key example of relational work. Expressing one's gratitude means to acknowledge a debt - thus, if uttered by hosts, such expressions can be instances of downplaying their power. In addition to the mere use of expressions of gratitude, there are other lexicogrammatical ways by which the hosts' power is downtoned and the callers' importance for the conversation is strengthened and their identity reinforced: For instance, hosts use vocatives (names/terms of endearment) to address callers, or they specify what they are grateful for and thus highlight the callers' contributions and create familiarity. This results in topics being discussed openly and without shyness on the part of callers - and thus as if hosts and callers had a symmetrical relationship. This contributes to the authenticity of the discussion and the verbal practice - and ultimately to the success of the show.

### **Mai Kuha and Elizabeth M. Riddle**

Ball State University, United States of America

*Social and cognitive factors in pragmatic variability*

Much research on pragmatic variation has focused on differences in speech acts across cultures (Tannen 1981, Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1984, Holtgraves 1997) and learners' understanding and performance of L2 speech acts (Kasper and Rose 2003). Within languages, variability over time has also received a little attention (Sweetser 1995; Traugott & Dasher 2002). However, with the exception of gender (Tannen 1994; Holmes 1995), there has been little focus on intralinguistic variation involving macro-social variables (Barron 2005, Clyne 2006).

We offer a review of research impinging on macro-factors in variation, propose specific issues needing study, and discuss problems in research design, drawing from the fields of cognitive and social psychology, second language acquisition, sociology, and anthropology, in addition to linguistic pragmatics. For example, cognitively-based research including the variable of age in child language acquisition (Bates 1976), the role of memory in metaphor interpretation (Chiappe & Chiappe 2007), and the pragmatics skills of disabled populations (e.g. Autism Spectrum: Barrett et al. 2004; Asperger Syndrome: Bartlett et al. 2005) also bear on the study of pragmatic variability.

Finally, we report on our own preliminary research of variability in the understanding and production of literal vs. implied meaning in native American English speakers. We propose that there is a greater range of pragmatic variation than can be explained in the light of social macro-variables alone, and conclude that *cognitive* macro-variables must also be considered for the general population.

### **Ronald K.S. Macaulay**

Pitzer College, USA

*Adolescents and identity*

Adolescence is a time exploration in many directions. As they emerge from childhood, adolescents are involved in the process of developing an identity that will reflect their new social role. This identity may be manifested in a particular form of speech. In a stratified society adolescents will strive to adopt a form of speech that is appropriate for their social rank. In Britain, for example, one of the functions of the prestigious public schools (i.e., private boarding schools) was to eradicate any signs of regional or stigmatized speech that pupils might have brought with them and convert them into RP speakers. Similarly working-class speakers often enforced similar kinds of pressure against any of their peers who attempted to adopt prestige (or 'posh') features.

In Scotland it has always been easy for working-class speakers to assert their rejection of middle-class norms by using traditional forms such as *doon* and *oot* for *down* and *out* or *ain* and *hame* for *own* and *home*. However, many of the traditional forms are more frequently found in rural districts and there are signs that younger working-class people in Scottish urban areas are adopting different ways of asserting their social status.

The examples in the present paper come from a series of recordings of working-class adolescents made in Glasgow in 1997, 2003, and 2004. They show that these adolescents use few of the traditional working-class forms and instead are adopting new forms of speech, such as th-fronting and r-vocalization, that were not apparent from earlier studies. There are also new discourse features that seem to have developed locally, rather than having been imported from outside. Thus the adolescents are recreating on the micro level an equivalent to the

stratification that exists on the macro level of their community. The present paper will deal with two of these features: quotatives and intensifiers.

For at least fifteen years, there has been evidence of non-traditional quotatives, such as *go*, *be* *\_like\_*, and *be* *\_all\_*, spreading quickly among younger speakers in the United States and elsewhere. In Glasgow the form *be* *\_like\_* was used occasionally by working-class adolescents in 1997 but they much preferred two variants, *be* *\_like\_ that* and *go* *\_like\_ that*. These forms continued to be used quite frequently in 2003 but by 2004 *be* *\_like\_* was used almost as frequently and a new form *done* *\_that\_* was gaining ground.

Previous studies had shown that Scottish working-class speakers make limited use of the intensifiers *very* and *really*. The Glasgow adolescents in 1997 used *pure* and *dead* (as in *it's* *\_pure\_ funny* and *she* *\_used\_ to* *\_be\_ dead* *\_fat\_ but* *\_she's\_ dead* *\_skinny\_ now*) as their main intensifiers. By 2003 *dead* was used much less frequently but *pure* continued to be used in many contexts, and this continued in 2004, though so was beginning to be used in certain contexts. Three new intensifiers, *healthy*, *heavy* and *mad* were becoming more popular in 2004.

There are also interesting gender differences in the ways these forms have evolved.

### Heike Pichler

Centre for Linguistic Research, University of Aberdeen, United Kingdom

*A socio-pragmatic study of discourse features in a Northern English dialect*

A growing number of sociolinguistic studies suggest that variable surface realizations of syntactic and discourse features are motivated by discourse function (see, for example, Tottie 1991, Ford 1993, Stenström 1998, Cheshire 1981, 1999, 2003, Scheibman 2000, Tao 2001, Snell 2007). This paper contributes to the existing literature on functionally-conditioned variation in English dialects and argues that a close pragmatic analysis of linguistic variables can account for social patterns of variation in their surface forms.

The analysis is based on approximately 35 hours of tape-recorded interview data from Berwick-upon-Tweed, England's northernmost town. The data are drawn from a sample of 36 speakers from both genders and three age groups to allow for apparent-time analysis. The linguistic analysis focuses on the discourse marker (DM) I DON'T KNOW and negative polarity tag questions. With regard to the former, it is shown that the dramatic increase in the use of the localised non-standard variant *I divn't knaa* among a subsample of young males can be accounted for in part by an extension in the use of this variant to new levels of discourse, i.e., subjective and subjective-textual (examples (1) and (2) below), amongst these speakers.

(1) Luke: For the kids that are on drugs I blame the parents me. @

HP: Why.

Luke: **I divn't knaa** I think they're just (?) they're no looking after their kids properly or they just (.) just letting them get away wi it.

(2) Luke: I think if you did that, right. That'd cause (.) e:h (.) a bit of (..) **I divn't knaa**, I divn't think Berwick would get on as well.

Based on these findings, the paper then investigates whether the conditioning effect of function also applies to negative polarity tag questions. A qualitative analysis of this variable is undertaken to reveal whether the concentration of paradigmatic and particularly non-paradigmatic uses of *innit* (examples (3) and (4) below) among men and the overall dearth of other non-standard variants, including *in't*-tags and tags formed with the non-standard localised forms *divn't* and *no* (for standard English *don't* and *not*) (examples (5) to (7) below), are functionally conditioned.

(3) It's too congested, **innit?**

(4) Oh, they was pleased as punch, **innit?**

(5) I think it's cos we're coming into a different era, **in't we?**

(6) You get drugs everywhere, **divn't you?**

(7) Kecks really is underpants, **is it no?**

The paper thus investigates whether the variation in the surface form of discourse features can be explained in terms of their functions in discourse. It is argued that in some cases at least a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis contributes to our understanding of the trajectories of change of these linguistic features.

## DISCOURSE IN THE MULTICULTURAL SCHOOL [workshop]

Convenor: Jan Berenst

University of Groningen, The Netherlands

Contributors: Jan Berenst and Harrie Mazeland, Jeanine Deen and Nienke Zuidema, Dolly van Eerde and Maaïke Hajer, Kees de Gloppe - Hilde Hacquebord and Joanneke Prenger, Maaïke Hajer, Tom Koole, Trees Pels

Schools in The Netherlands are becoming multicultural in the last thirty years. Especially in the big cities in western Holland, the percentage of pupils that are born in foreign countries or whose parents are born elsewhere, have increased as a consequence of labor migration and the stream of refugees. Most of the new citizens in Holland are from non-western countries, often with different ideas about the role of the school in society, different ideas about the relationship between teacher and student or school and home and different ideas about how learning in school can be accomplished. That challenges the schools to deal with the multilingual background of the pupils but also with the cultural differences of the students. Many schools are aware of that challenge, in view of the government policy and the official documents and declarations of the schools.

The question is, however, whether that multicultural situation is not just visible in official documents, but also on the micro-level of classroom discourse and in other types of school discourse. That question will be discussed in the workshop, based on discourse analytic research that was conducted by the group of presenters -from different disciplines- in two secondary schools in one of the big cities in The Netherlands. Math lessons in two classrooms with a mixed group of students were videotaped during the first school year (grade 7) and transcribed, the teachers were interviewed about these lessons (using the technique of Stimulated Recall), pen/paper observations were made, staff meetings were audiotaped and transcribed, the headmasters, teachers and students who were involved, were interviewed and the thinking aloud of students who are reading and trying to solve math assignments in a dyadic situation, was taped and transcribed. The research was focused on a couple of questions, related to different types of discourse and the specialism of the researchers. The qualitative analysis was accomplished by discourse analytic and/or conversational analytic methods; in some studies the analysis was complemented by statistics.

### *Discussion questions*

The central question is:

To what extent are cultural differences between students constructed in school discourse?

We will particularize that question in three discursive sub-domains:

- a. classroom discourse in plenary interaction
- b. peer interaction and dyadic teacher/student conversations in the classroom
- c. staff meetings and student interviews

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

### **Jan Berenst and Harrie Mazeland**

University of Groningen, The Netherlands

*Negotiating student characterizations in report card meetings*

Teachers in report card meetings discuss the results of their students. The teaching team has to decide about the promotion or demotion of each pupil separately at the end of the school year. During these meetings, other aspects are discussed as well, especially behavioral components (Cedersund & Svensson 1996, Verkuyten 2000) We analyzed 4 report card meetings in the two schools that participated in the research project. We focused on the question how teachers negotiate pupil characterizations and how this contributes to the accountability of the decisions taken about a pupil.

Discussions about individual pupils permanently move from the description of empirically controllable facts to the ascription of capabilities and traits. The teachers regularly frame factive reports evaluatively and these assessments provide the basis for typifications that are used as a resource for giving explanations and making



predictions. Interestingly, the weight that is given to specific student properties differs from team to team, and, probably, from school to school. Each teacher team has its own measurement system and we will show in this paper that in their orientation to such norms, teacher teams both index their awareness of the broader institutional context and reproduce its structure.

### **Jeanine Deen and Nienke Zuidema**

University of Groningen, The Netherlands

*Participation, learning and exclusion in group work*

In this paper we will focus on interaction among pupils during group work. The interaction in three groups of 3 or 4 pupils in one of the schools of the research project is analyzed from three different perspectives:

In terms of language output, group work provides better opportunities for pupils than whole group or dyadic activities. Pupils are capable of producing meaningful and cognitively demanding utterances and of demonstrating a growing understanding of the task. However, they discussed the math project in their own language, hardly ever using math and school language.

In terms of constructing joint knowledge ('learning'), the three groups show meagre results. Group work proves to be not a sufficient condition for learning in interaction. And thirdly, inclusion and exclusion are shown on a cognitive and social level in the interaction between the group members.

### **Dolly van Eerde and Maaïke Hajer**

Freudenthal Institute, Utrecht University, The Netherlands

*Promoting mathematics and language learning in interaction*

Mathematics is often considered to be a school subject which is 'language independent'. Explanations for the poor results in math of pupils of ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands have been sought in the increased linguistic demands placed on learners with the implementation of 'Realistic Mathematics Education' (RME) during the last decade.

The aim of the study presented is to deepen our understanding of the role of language in learning mathematics in the classroom in connection to the active role of teachers and their didactical choices

It seems that theories on Realistic Mathematics Education and second language teaching can be mutually symbiotic since they have some common characteristics: a focus on active participation in classroom interaction as a means of learning through language and reasoning. The challenge of this study became whether we can observe this theoretically presupposed symbiosis between teaching and learning mathematics and language in our research data. Our main research question is: how do the teachers create opportunities to learn (the language of) mathematics in (whole group) classroom interaction?

Mathematics lessons at two secondary schools were video-recorded and were transcribed and analysed by a mathematics education specialist as well as a second language education specialist from the research team. The math teachers were interviewed.

The first analyses of participation and interaction patterns, showed significant differences in participation and negotiation of meaning. Further analyses focussed on the lessons of one teacher for 'good practice' examples of teacher strategies that can promote a desirable type of pupil participation.

The analysis of this long discourse shows that the teacher has at his disposal a wide variety of strategies to stimulate participation and interaction. The teacher gives the pupils much opportunity for language production by asking them to tell their strategies, by rephrasing these, by labelling them, and delaying feedback to give everybody the opportunity to tell their mathematical solutions.

Different pupils tell their solutions and if requested clarify their own thinking. The pupils seem to listen to each other, there are not many interruptions and occasionally they react on each other. In this way the teacher stimulates negotiation and construction of meaning takes place. Pupils contribute with relatively long utterances which show their own production and are not merely reproductions of language from the textbook.

However, the challenging way of teaching also has some drawbacks. The teacher does not check the comprehensibility of contexts and the written texts. And feedback is often limited to accepting pupils input with 'Okay', 'yeah' or repetitions by the teacher. Pupils do not know whether their contribution is adequate, correct,

mathematically nor in its linguistic formulation. Moreover, some observations seem to indicate the inclusion and exclusion of some pupils.

Relating data from the classroom observations to the interviews we concluded that the views of both teachers on learning and teaching mathematics are consistent with their observed classroom behaviour.

**Kees de Glopper, Hilde Hacquebord and Joanneke Prenger**

Expertisecentrum taal, onderwijs en communicatie, University of Groningen, The Netherlands and Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen, The Netherlands

*Constructing comprehension on math assignments in interaction*

In the Netherlands mathematics education has been highly influenced by Realistic Mathematics Education, which means that mathematical problems are presented in rich linguistic contexts. This innovation in mathematics teaching puts a great demand on pupil's text comprehension abilities and their language proficiency: pupils have to make a correct representation of the problem in order to solve the mathematical problem.

Research has shown that pupils from ethnic minorities and pupils with weak language skills find it difficult to cope with this increase in language use (Van den Boer, 2003): they achieve lower marks and have difficulty with the words and cohesive devices in the mathematics texts. De Wit (2000) suggested that the cause of these disappointing results may lie in the fact that mathematics has become much more 'linguistic' since the introduction of Realistic Mathematics. Van den Boer (2003) concludes the same.

Leading on from these results, we examined the effects of these 'linguistic' mathematics assignments on the pupil's understanding of mathematical texts and their way of problem solving. The research questions are: *How do pupils discursively construct their comprehension when solving a maths task within the field of graphs? And What differences in the construction of text comprehension can be observed in relationship to the ethnic background of the pupils?*

In the presentation of the results we will analyse the way in which the pupils construct mathematical meaning and rely more or less on the interaction with the researcher. The data to be discussed are transcribed dyadic interactions between a researcher and a pupil. In these sessions the pupils were asked to solve a mathematical task related to the subject matter discussed in the classroom (graphs). The research is carried out in the first grades of two secondary schools. We assume that both first and second language pupils have to cope with the difficulties of the mathematical register.

**Maike Hajer**

Utrecht University, The Netherlands

*Instructional dialogues: Participation in dyadic interactions in multicultural*

This paper is concerned with pupil participation in classroom interaction. However, where most studies of classroom interaction focus on whole group interaction, this paper deals with dialogues between the teacher and an individual pupil during individual work. Thinking aloud research of pupils working on their assignments shows that language problems with understanding the assignment exist (Prenger 2005), but these are interactionally turned into invisible problems of individual pupils. The teacher does this by tacitly assuming maths procedural problems as the starting point for his explanations, without checking what the exact problem is. The pupils do this by reciprocally accepting the teacher's problem definition as the problem.

**Tom Koole**

University Utrecht, The Netherlands

*Acquiring turns in classroom interaction*

Studies of turn taking in classroom interaction have focused primarily on the role of the teacher as an allocator of turns (McHoul 1978, Mazeland 1983). So far little attention has been given to the agentive role of pupils in acquiring turns. One of the few exceptions is Sahlström's (2002) study of hand-raising. In this paper we will present qualitative and quantitative analyses of pupils' turn-acquisition strategies and their relative success. We

will show that pupils who get most turns are not always the one who make most effort to get a turn. At the same time we will also show that success in acquiring turns is indeed related to pupils' competence in turn-acquisition strategies.

**Trees Pels**

Verwey-Jonker Institute, The Netherlands

*Pupil disengagement and pedagogical climate*

Drawing from the data gathered in the project 'Interactions in the multicultural classroom, processes of inclusion and exclusion', this paper addresses student disengagement and relates it to the pedagogical approach in the math classes within the two multi-ethnic schools under study. More specifically, the social norms underlying classroom interactions are analysed for their correspondance with 'youth interaction modes', with how adolescents interact when they are among themselves. Also, students' and teachers' perceptions of nonparticipation, its ethnic distribution and relation to the pedagogical context are described. The findings suggest that the relational needs of students, as well as the feasibility of 'interactive' and peer-mediated methods of teaching in the multi-ethnic classroom, merit more study.

## INDEXICALITY IN INTERACTION [themed panel]

Convenor: Mary Bucholtz

University of California, Santa Barbara

Contributors: Mary Bucholtz, Elaine Chun, Nikolas Coupland, Maeve Eberhardt and Scott F. Kiesling, Norma Mendoza-Denton, Natalie Schilling-Estes

Research on the social meaning of linguistic variables shows that variables are semiotic indexes of socially recognizable categories, personas, and styles (Eckert 2003; Mendoza-Denton 2002). Variables gain their semiotic force through their indexical association with particular social groups or types, an association that may be forged through ideology, practice, or both (Silverstein 2003). An indexical approach to variation requires close attention to the details of interactional context for it is there that linguistic variables acquire social meaning. Ochs (1992) argues that indexes do not map directly onto social groups; rather, indexical relations are first established between linguistic forms and momentary interactional stances such as forcefulness or nonchalance (direct indexicality), and these stances then come to be associated with the social groups believed most likely to take such stances (indirect indexicality).

In keeping with the conference theme, “Micro and Macro Connections,” this panel points the way toward an interactionally grounded approach to the social meaning of linguistic variation. A double panel is requested in order to permit in-depth exploration of this fundamental sociolinguistic issue; there are six papers with time for discussion after each. The panel is structured around three main themes that foreground the interdependence of the micro and the macro in sociolinguistics: (1) methodology and theoretical modeling in the study of indexicality and variation in interaction; (2) the analysis of stance taking as the indexical basis of more enduring linguistic and social styles; and (3) the broader social meanings that indexical relations create and exploit as part of the discursive construction of society and culture.

The panel opens with Mendoza-Denton’s programmatic statement concerning the interactional basis of linguistic variation. Arguing for the necessity of developing statistically informed models of real-time variation in interaction, she surveys a set of pioneering studies within sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, and conversation analysis that offer tools and techniques to help achieve this goal. Drawing on videotaped data of political speech in Arizona, Mendoza-Denton identifies some of the central conceptual and methodological challenges and consequences of such a research program.

The second paper, by Schilling-Estes, focuses on a key sociolinguistic methodology, the research interview, and calls for models of stylistic variation that are more attentive to the interview as a social context. Her analysis of a range of sociolinguistic and sociological interviews collected in the Southeastern United States reveals that traditional variationist approaches to style cannot account for the range of intraspeaker stylistic practices that emerge within interviews. She argues for the continuing relevance of interview methodologies in analyzing the stylistic deployment of variable in interaction.

Kiesling and Eberhardt offer an empirical test of the “stance hypothesis,” the claim that stances are the building blocks of style. Based on the results of two different studies, one an analysis of a multiparty conversation in Pittsburgh and the other an investigation of ethnolinguistic identity in Sydney, they find that an appeal to stance provides an explanation for apparently anomalous style shifting, and that an ethnolinguistic marker may be associated with a specific interactional stance. They conclude that a weak version of the stance hypothesis is well supported.

Chun’s paper explores two types of indexes, conventionalized and emergent, that speakers may exploit in interaction. Drawing on ethnographic sociolinguistic data from a Texas high school, Chun shows how a culturally recognizable persona, the “prep,” may be mocked by outgroup members in part through the use of directly indexical resources, in part through indirectly indexical resources, and in part through the temporary resignification of nonconventionalized resources within discourse.

Bucholtz examines the process of indexical inversion (Inoue 2004), whereby naturalized associations between an indexical form and a sociocultural style are used to promote specific language ideologies. The paper focuses on the indexicality of a Mexican Spanish slang term, *güey*, which is often glossed as ‘dude’. Through an analysis of media representations of *güey* as well as the term’s use among Mexican immigrant youth in California, Bucholtz argues that indexical inversion promotes cultural ideologies of gender and language and places alternative gender styles under erasure.

Finally, Coupland's paper addresses the broad cultural and metacultural reach of indexicality through his analysis of the creation of a new postindustrial community identity. His examination of the popular host of a Welsh call-in radio show, Chris Needs, documents the wide variety of styles, stances, and personas taken up by Needs within discourse. Coupland demonstrates that it is through projecting an untraditional and nonauthenticated style of local Welsh identity that Needs creates a "caringly subversive" view of traditional Welshness and thus a new basis for community.

#### PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

##### Mary Bucholtz

University of California, Santa Barbara, USA

*Stance and ideology in the indexicality of Mexican Spanish youth slang*

As contemporary sociolinguistic research has shown, styles are not directly mapped onto social identities in accordance with the correlationist principles that have dominated traditional variationist sociolinguistics. Rather, this mapping is crucially mediated by indexicality (Silverstein 1976), so that styles are understood not as reflections of pre-existing social identities that inhere in individuals but as projections of culturally available social types or personas that speakers may seek to inhabit, however temporarily, partially, or insincerely, in the course of ongoing linguistic interaction in order to accomplish specific social and interactional goals (e.g., Coupland 1985; Eckert 2003). Indexicality involves two semiotic levels: at the level of direct indexicality, linguistic forms are associated with interactional stances or orientations to ongoing talk, while at the level of indirect indexicality, these stances calcify into more enduring ways of being - that is, styles or identities - which are in turn ideologically associated with particular social groups (Ochs 1992). Following similar research by Kiesling (2004) on the American English slang term *dude*, the present paper examines one such linguistic form, the Mexican Spanish slang term *güey*, that has taken on a rich array of social and interactional functions within interaction, only some of which are incorporated into broader ideological representations of its indexicality.

The analysis draws on two types of data. First, videotaped interactional data collected among Mexican immigrant students in a Southern California high school is used to demonstrate how at the level of direct indexicality *güey* functions as a stance marker indicating cool nonchalance (cf. Kiesling 2004). The analysis then turns to data from popular culture to show how at the level of indirect indexicality *güey* comes to be ideologically associated with an urban style of youthful heterosexual masculinity. Because this second level is mediated rather than interactional, it involves indexical inversion (Inoue 2004), the process whereby naturalized associations between an indexical form and a sociocultural style are used to promote specific language ideologies. The paper argues that indexical inversion promotes a narrow set of cultural ideologies and places the diverse range of interactional and social meanings of semiotically rich linguistic forms under erasure.

##### Elaine Chun

University of South Carolina, USA

*Indexical directness and conventionalization in prep stylization at a U.S. high school*

This paper examines interactions as sites for understanding the indexical relationship between language and social meaning at a high school in Texas. In this multiethnic setting, a culturally recognizable persona, the *prep*, was frequently mocked by a social outgroup - that is, self-identified non-preps who, nonetheless, defined themselves in relation to this persona. I show how this stylized mocking practice depended not only on linguistic indexes of varying degrees of *conventionalization* but also on the merging of multiple linguistic resources that cumulatively indexed *social practices* that were, in turn, linked to the prep persona. This analysis highlights the importance of examining specific moments of interaction in order to understand complex indexical relations and processes.

My analysis of a wide range of stereotypically preppy linguistic resources suggests that it is useful to understand indexes in terms of their *degree of conventionalization*. A high degree of conventionalization for certain resources (e.g., *like*, *oh my god*, and nasality) resulted from their frequent entextualization (Bauman & Briggs 1990) through stereotypical prep performances in the local school community and in the mainstream media.

Such conventionalized lexical items demonstrated a particular indexical richness, evoking a stereotypical prep image even in relative isolation. On the other hand, some linguistic resources (e.g., *really* and *I can't believe it*) became linked to preppiness only within the course of interaction, despite having relatively non-salient links to such a persona in moments prior. These emergent linguistic indexes may have been candidates for future conventionalization, though whether they eventually achieved such a status would require the examination of subsequent interactions.

In addition, I suggest the importance of examining linguistic resources in moments of interaction because of how indexes co-occur (Ervin-Tripp 1972): conventionalized linguistic resources often appear alongside emergent ones (e.g., nasality is used to utter the phrase *I can't believe it*), imparting their indexical meanings to co-occurring elements. An analysis that examines features in isolation would likely overlook such processes of indexical resignification. Investigating indexes as situated elements of interaction also reveals how conventionalized and emergent resources may not be directly linked to personae but frequently mediated by the kinds of *practices* - stances, acts, and activities (Ochs 1992) - that are associated with these personae. For example, resources, such as nasality, are used alongside other resources in the engagement of particular kinds of social action - whether gossip, complaint, or critique. These forms of social action may, in turn, be regarded as constituting a particular kind of social identity or persona. An analysis of co-occurring elements in moments of social action reflects how speakers employ linguistic resources as well as how they may encounter and learn to use them. The necessary embedding of language in meaningful social practice requires sociolinguists to carefully consider what kinds of indexical relations and processes may be obscured when linguistic features are abstracted from their specific interactional instantiations.

### **Nikolas Coupland**

Cardiff University, UK

*Post-industrial voice in Wales*

The social vacuum left by aggressive deindustrialisation can involve a loss of economic but also cultural capital, a decentring of community identity, and uncertainly around the value of traditional symbols and voices. There are various possible responses other than simple dialect levelling, involving the recontextualisation and reinterpretation of older indexical relationships. I explore these processes in relation to post-industrial South Wales, focusing on the media performances of a highly successful contemporary Radio Wales presenter, Chris Needs. Chris Needs hosts a late-night music and phone-in radio show. Callers are encouraged to become members ("Flowers") of "Chris Needs' Garden", a virtual community of listeners/fans from the South Wales Valleys. The very high level of popular engagement with the show and listeners' obvious affection for Chris Needs himself - especially, it would appear, from isolated and working-class people from what have been thought of as stigmatised and damaged communities - suggests that the show has a significant social support function. "The garden" and its "flowers" are more than a loose metaphor for community. Vocally and discursively Chris self-presents as camp and flirtatious, tasteless and dated, dynamic but vulnerable, indexically 'very Welsh' and 'very Valleys' (through English speech) but very promiscuous with his identity displays. He shifts from serious empathy with self-disclosively lonely callers to ludic fantasies about reckless party lifestyles, and so on. The show's routines, such as "entering the garden", could be treated as empty formulas, but they facilitate valued solidarity too. The analytic challenge here is firstly to try to capture how at least some of these stances are constructed at the interface between sociolinguistic indices of localness/ non-localness (e.g. the deployment of "Valleys", "English posh" and "mock-American" voices) and discursive/ narrative self-positionings (e.g. Chris Needs performing himself as the "cheesy DJ" or "the socially over-awed ordinary person in the presence of dignitaries", or "the inept gay male"). But my wider interest is in the argument that these complex metacultural reinterpretations of what it means to be a Valleys-born middle-aged male, are liberating. 'Camp' and 'cosy' are in many ways antithetical to the old order of Welsh mining valleys masculinities; 'trivial' and 'hedonistic', similarly. Chris Needs articulates some of the vulnerability and deprivation of the South Wales Valleys, while simultaneously being caringly subversive of these old meanings. His show constructs new bases for community, more inclusively if more ephemerally than once seemed possible.



**Maeve Eberhardt and Scott F. Kiesling**

University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, USA  
*Stance and the “baptismal essentializations” of indexicality*

In this paper, we test the hypothesis that stance is the basis of ‘intraspeaker variation,’ such that sociolinguistic variants are initially associated with interactional stances – stances which become reified in a speech community over time and with repeated use. In this view, stance is where the ‘baptismal essentializations’ (Silverstein 2003) of indexicality occur. Stance is generally defined as the linguistic strategies employed by speakers to create and/or signal relationships to their talk and their interlocutors, although we provide a more nuanced definition in the paper.

In two separate studies, we use a combination of quantitative, correlational, variationist methods and ethnographic discourse analytic methods. The first is a study of variation in a multi-party conversation in Pittsburgh, USA. In this project, we first determined the rates of variation across speakers across speech activities, and found that most speakers shifted their rates from one group of speech activities to another, and they did so in a similar direction. However, one speaker shifted in a different direction than the others. Analysis of her discourse revealed that she took a different stance in these speech activities than the other speakers. Thus, stance accounts for this otherwise anomalous style-shifting. In the second study, we show that a variable which might be called an ethnolinguistic marker in Sydney, Australia correlates with a particular stance. The ‘non-standard’ variant is used more in stances in which a speaker is epistemically certain of their talk, but at the same time is interpersonally displaying solidarity with their interlocutor. Finally, we draw on evidence from other investigations of style shifting to show that stance accounts for the patterns found in those studies as well.

Our ultimate objective is to connect the everyday use of language variation in discourse to the ways that it patterns on larger social scales, and to test the claim that this connection can be made through the concept of stance. The overall goal of this thought experiment is to understand how much of the sociolinguistic literature on style variation is attributable to stance. We advance the possibility that the various ways that style has been explained can be collected under the stance hypothesis. Ultimately, a strong version of the stance hypothesis proves to ignore the complex realities of variation and social meaning, but we find considerable support for a weaker formulation. This weak hypothesis predicts that a certain class of sound changes and stable variables are driven by speakers’ considerations of stance, while other variables are more sensitive to internal linguistic factors and other social factors. We speculate as to what types of variable are probably not affected by the stance hypothesis.

**Norma Mendoza-Denton**

University of Arizona, United States of America  
*Indexicality in variation and interaction*

I address a central but often overlooked feature of linguistic variation: it unfolds in the course of interaction, often in conversational interaction. Most of our models for understanding language variation use pooled language sources, averaging across speakers with similar characteristics, or over many tokens of a linguistic variable for a particular speaker. These models allow us to look at the overall statistical patterns according to researcher categories, and yet data aggregation obscures the implementation of linguistic variables as they unfold moment-to-moment in an interaction. For this reason, sociolinguistic theory has a relatively impoverished understanding of the role of language in interactional synchrony and speaker entrainment.

We understand statistically-robust language patterns as the summation of interactional decision points over the course of many interactions. I will discuss some of the various attempts in the literature to come to terms with modelling variation in interaction, from Condon and Ogston’s (1966) early psychologically-oriented work, to the California Style collective’s (1993) score setting, to Podesva’s (2005) clustering model to Dubois’ (2007) syntactic diagraph displays.

We will survey the literature and conduct analysis on phonetic and discourse processes present in data from talk-in-interaction, paying attention to sociophonetics, voice quality, gesture, and breathing, with a particular emphasis on understanding the social as well as the linguistic drives in variation.

**Natalie Schilling-Estes**

Georgetown University, USA

*Style and identity in interview interactions*

Using data from sociolinguistic and sociological interviews from several communities in the Southeastern US, the present study examines patterns of stylistic variation in several contexts considered to be typical of sociolinguistic interviews and to condition style in predictable ways (e.g. 'narrative', 'tangent', 'soapbox', talk about language; Labov 1972a, b; 2001). The study demonstrates that interviewees are less predictable stylistically than we would expect, following traditional variationist approaches focusing on attention to speech (Labov 1972b) or audience design (Bell 1984). However, when we broaden our view of stylistic variation to encompass ethnographic and interactional sociolinguistic approaches, we find that we can at least *interpret* the styles that surface in various interview contexts, even if we cannot always *predict* them (e.g. Bell 1984: 185). For example, we can examine how stylistic variation is shaped not only by factors external to the speaker (e.g. audience, topic, setting), but also speaker-internal factors such as how speakers conceptualize or 'frame' interview events (e.g. Goffman 1974, 1981) and what tone or 'key' they take (Hymes 1972). Further, the stylistic creativity that pervades the sociolinguistic interview demonstrates that despite its alleged 'unnaturalness' (e.g. Wolfson 1976), the sociolinguistic interview is actually a rich site for the investigation of how speakers 'really' use stylistic variation in displaying and shaping personal, interpersonal, and larger group identities. Crucially, in the current study, the in-depth investigation of intra-individual variation is placed against a backdrop of quantitative analysis of phonological and morphosyntactic variation within and across interviews and communities.

**CA AND OTHER CONCEPTIONS OF CONTEXT: BORDERS AND BRIDGES** [workshop]

Convenors: Cecilia E. Ford and Joanna Thornborrow

University of Wisconsin-Madison Cardiff, UK

Contributors: Richard Fitzgerald, Christina Higgins, Douglas Maynard, Paul McIlvenny, Sara Merlino and Lorenza Mondada, Pia Pichler, Pirkko Raudaskoski, Elizabeth Stokoe

Discussant: Greg Myers

This workshop will highlight aspects of contributors' on-going work bearing upon different conceptions of context. We will raise fundamental questions of how methods, analytic principles and findings of CA can, or cannot, be brought to bear on other understandings of context. And we will explore whether and how connections can be made between CA and other approaches.

Drawing from our current research, to be circulated in advance of the Symposium, our aim is to engage in respectful dialogue and to stimulate discussion of these issues among those in attendance at the workshop.

A persistent challenge for sociolinguists involves connecting fine-grained and broader approaches to context and social organization. Conversation analysis is centrally concerned with how participants display orientations to local context on a turn by turn basis. Yet there continues to be a perceived problematic around how to approach the wider social contexts that have traditionally been the focus of sociolinguistics: including the 'Big 4' variables of gender, age, ethnicity and class (Duranti and Goodwin 1992, Schegloff 1997, Wetherell 1998, Arminen 2000, Blommaert 2005). This is also manifested in the particulars of any scholar's position with regard to a focus of inquiry and to the individuals under scrutiny (Iedema 2003). Our workshop will support an open examination of current research issues related to the study of social contexts as oriented to (and affected by) realtime, interactional practices, and as related to broader conceptions of context. One challenge involves grounds for establishing analytic categories: how is it feasible to arrive at social interactional categorizations of membership and of practices that are both warranted in terms of local interaction, and connected to social problems more broadly understood?

*Workshop Foci*

We will consider issues in the following areas:

- Applications: can CA be made relevant to broader issues of culture and community, in particular exploring the links between talk and communities of practice?
- Compatibility: what are the boundaries between the approaches of conversation analysis as an account of talk in interaction, and the analysis of discourse as a social practice?
- Scope of relevance: CA focuses on the relevance of members' categories in talk; is there anything to be done with the relevance of analysts' categories or participants self-reported senses of social categories?
- Diachronic analyses: is there any contribution to be made to language change, and patterns in the organization and management of interactions from a socio-historical perspective?
- Speaker roles and institutional identities: how do we deal with issues of control and the negotiation of access to discursive/ interactional space?
- Ethnography, ethnomethodology and CA: What are the relationships between these approaches in our current research?

*Workshop Participants and General Positions*

Workshop participants represent diverse fields. Some are working within CA and are already interested in exploring the relationship between context in CA and in other theories and methods. Others are working within the field of discourse analysis and are interested in an exchange of questions, challenges and potential developments in this area. Many are convinced that we should ground our analyses in the observable orientations of participants (Schegloff 1991 and elsewhere). We take seriously the possibility that using *a priori* social categories and descriptions of social problems can lead to "losing analytic grip on the phenomena that participants themselves regard as prominent" (Maynard, 2002:72-3). Yet many of us who use CA and other methods also take seriously the fact that our analyses "arise from and serve a specific set of situated interests and concerns", and that the "distinction made between 'technical analysis' and 'interpretive description' is not absolute" (Iedema 2003: 83). We are all committed to scholarly exchange at the borders of approaches to understanding discourse and social interaction.

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Steven Eric Clayman**

UCLA, United States of America

*CA, Contexts, and Quantification*

In conversation analysis, invocations of “context” have traditionally been restricted to those aspects of context that are demonstrably salient to the interactional participants. Within this approach, salience has been operationalized in terms of participant orientations that are evident in and consequential for conduct in singular episodes of interaction. This approach has proven to be productive in illuminating not only how social contexts are enacted in talk, but also how the organization of talk is conditioned by contextual elements.

More recently, however, some contextually focused conversation analytic studies have incorporated formally quantitative methods, where the salience of context is demonstrated primarily through distributional patterns of interactional practices and the techniques of multivariate analysis. This represents a substantial departure from the orthodox CA approach, and has thus far been pursued without an explicit rationale. The objective of this paper is to provide one.

It is argued that the orthodox CA approach is best suited to dimensions of context that become the primary focus of interactional activities for extended episodes. It is thus no coincidence that contextually oriented CA studies have overwhelmingly concerned occupational activities such as those associated with medicine, law, and journalism.

Other dimensions of context are rarely if ever the primary focus of interaction. These include the “master statuses” of age, gender, ethnicity, and class, as well as more “distal” aspects of context such as political, economic, and cultural conditions. Although these are only occasionally at the forefront of interaction, they are nonetheless continuously available to the participants either via inspection (for the case of master statuses) or via common knowledge (for the case of political/economic/cultural/historical conditions), thus forming part of the accessible background that envelops and potentially conditions interaction. Consequently, while these contextual dimensions may not often be oriented to in ways that are transparent in single instances of talk, they may nonetheless be consequential in more subtle ways that include the preference - in a purely statistical sense - for some forms of practice over other reasonable alternatives. This will be illustrated by examples from my own research on presidential news conferences across five decades. Accordingly, the incorporation of quantification in recent work is not a flaw but a design feature fitted to the phenomenon at hand, the particular way in which some dimensions of context make themselves felt in interaction. This way of working unquestionably operates at greater remove from the orientations of the interactional participants that are demonstrable within singular episodes, and it yields less insight into the building blocks of interaction itself. On the other hand, diminished “meaning adequacy” is counterbalanced by greater “explanatory adequacy” (to paraphrase Max Weber), and this way of working extends the reach of conversation analysis into new areas.

**Richard Fitzgerald**

University of Queensland, Australia

*The Sequential and Categorical layering of an omni-relevant device within topic talk*

Within conversation analysis and membership category analysis the warrant for any instance of analytic interest is always the demonstrable relevance or orientation to phenomena by the interactants. This has proved a difficult methodological orientation to follow particularly in studies which wish to address wider social structural contexts such as institutional talk and the recent discussions of gender. Within these discussions the problem of participant relevance to the phenomena under examination has tended to prove illusive, as they are often fragmentary, and therefore weaken the possibility of exploring social structural features as omni present or as operating or influencing the background understandings and orientations of participants. In this discussion I want to revisit Sacks (1995) original, but brief, discussion of omni relevance in the therapy sessions in order to explore the possibility of approaching the notion of omni relevance within a multi layering of categorial relevances. That is, the discussion seeks to explore the possibility of a warrant for the claim that within the layering of membership devices within a sequence of interaction there is an analytically observable orientation to an omni-relevant

device. Moreover that this ‘omni relevant’ device operates as background to the occasioned topic devices as a kind of ‘default’ orientation and which organises the participation context. In order to illustrate the participant orientation to this omni relevant device the analysis draws upon a transcript of a conversation in which various touched of topics generate interactional and membership devices. Whilst these devices are seen to organise the topic at hand there are occasions where topic talk is suspended and at this time where a different membership device is oriented to. There is then observable a shift between membership devices within the interaction at various points. This oscillation between devices suggests a layering of the devices and the possibility of a kind of ‘hierarchy’ of membership devices in which a default membership device is oriented to at times when topically generated devices are suspended. This of course does not suggest that the omni relevant device may not be a topical device but that the omni relevant device reveals itself through the cracks, joints and articulation of touched off topic devices. By returning to and exploring the notion of omni relevant devices within interaction, as oriented to as part of a layering of topical membership devices, allows at least the possibility of exploring a wider participant orientation within interaction and the warrant to analytically invoke a backgrounded organisational device, and how that device may operate.

### **Christina Higgins**

University of Hawaii at Manoa, United States of America

*Contextualizing members’ categories within participatory action research*

In this section of the workshop, I present excerpts of naturally occurring interaction as a way to explore how membership categories produced in turn-by-turn sequences of talk may be analyzed from a perspective that integrates the study of interaction with participatory action research (PAR) perspectives. PAR is an approach to research in which researchers collaborate with a community to identify a concern, initiate research, create an action plan, implement that action plan, and adapt the action plan based on the outcome in a cyclical process. The data presented in this workshop come from the early stages of a PAR project on HIV/AIDS education events that was initiated for the purpose of assessing and improving the practices of HIV/AIDS education among non-governmental organizations. To examine the relationship between categorization and PAR, I discuss how concerns are collaboratively identified through a discussion of excerpts of talk recorded at education sessions across a variety of settings in Tanzania. Identifying concerns is a crucial aspect of PAR, but it also raises issues of categorization that are relevant to conversation analysis (CA) practitioners’ concerns with membership categories. Accordingly, the research project I discuss here offers CA practitioners the opportunity to discuss whether and to what degree their work can be ‘applied’ to assess and improve institutional practices such as HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention efforts.

As one way to approach these issues, I provide extracts of talk that reveal instances of interculturality in the data, as oriented to by the participants in the talk and as identified through ethnographic methods such as interviews with participants. As the data indicate, categorizations of intercultural difference create various problems for the educators and participants alike in achieving their educational goals. Taking these intercultural moments as starting points, I address the concept of ‘relevance’ from both CA and PAR perspectives. Specifically, I investigate for whom cultural difference is made relevant, and in what contexts. The context of the research raises challenging questions about the utility of CA/MCA research for applied settings, the relationship between the researcher and the researched, and the overall purpose of qualitative research in institutional settings. As the presenter is a non-native Tanzanian doing research on Tanzanian social practices, the role of the ‘non-native’ researcher in CA research will also be presented as a discussion topic for workshop participants.

### **Douglas Maynard**

University of Wisconsin, United States of America

*“Requesting” as an Institutional Action: Can Conversation Analysis Contribute to Improving Acceptance Rates?*

In their description of “workshop foci,” Ford and Thornborrow raise a question about relevance: “CA focuses on the relevance of members’ categories in talk; is there anything to be done with the relevance of analysts’ categories or participants self-reported senses of social categories?” In this paper, we discuss the action of “requesting” in two kinds of institutional data. One set of data is from a telephone survey interview and involves solicited-

ing participation in the interview. The other set is from a clinic that solicits tissue donation over the phone. Our suggestion is that, on its own, CA can identify what appear to be “best practices” for making such survey participation and tissue donation requests. However, whether these “best practices” actually have an effect on response rates is another issue. For example, it could be that some call recipients are inclined to participate or not in the survey interview, or are inclined to donate the tissues of their recently deceased kin or not, and it does not matter how well or badly the request is made. The overall response rates reflect the inclinations or propensities of the call recipients and little else. To answer the question about the effects of practices on response rates as outcomes, it is necessary to introduce an exogenous analytic category. With our survey data, we have a measure of *propensity to participate*. Along with other traditional variables such as gender and socio-economic status, our research involves controlling for these variables as well as participant propensity to see whether best interactional practices affect response rates. At this point, our research has not done the modeling to answer this question. Rather, we are on the way to such modeling. The current paper outlines the issues by showing different requesting practices in the survey and tissue donation data and suggesting preliminary hypotheses about the effectiveness of practices.

### **Paul McIlvenny**

Aalborg University, Denmark

*Localising, Translating and Stretching Conduct: Video as a Technology for Media Therapeutics*

Rather than debate the relations between the already constituted dichotomies of local/global, micro/macro, institutional/everyday or space/place, this paper takes a relativistic approach that topicalises how such distinctions of scale, association and abstraction are practised, worked up and translated in and across nexus of practice. In order to do this, conversation analysis and mediated discourse analysis are drawn upon in combination with actor-network theory and contemporary theories of space and place. Examples are derived from a broader investigation of the mediation of familial spaces and the work of governmentalising parenting (ie. the conduct of parental conduct) through discursive, visual and spatial practices.

Since 2003, British television has promoted a new set of media therapeutic genres based on the spectacle of the failed parenting of so-called ‘problem’ children. What is significant in these reality TV programmes is the pervasive use of language, talk, technology and space to govern parenting practices. This paper highlights the prominent use of video recording technology in many of these programmes, such as *The House of Tiny Tearaways*, *Little Angels*, *Supernanny*, *Driving Mum and Dad Mad*, and *Honey, We’re Killing the Kids*. As a supplement to the talk of therapy and counselling, each programme relies heavily on routine audiovisual surveillance and playback - such as CCTV monitoring, live video relay and video prompted recall. This paper considers the practices in which the technology is domesticated, not as a panopticon - an all encompassing representation of context in order to observe and discipline - but as a means to translate and circulate conduct at the interface between technologies of power and technologies of the self.

Following Bruno Latour’s ‘flatland’ dictum that we *localise the global, distribute the local and connect the sites*, the analysis traces how the local and the global circulate in sites of engagement, and how they become stabilised as scalar in the mediation of action (eg. how the local gets localised). Excerpts are used to highlight several key phenomena: 1) practices of video observation and translolality; 2) use of video to visualise and localise talk and action; 3) the translating, stretching and cutting of experience in and through video technologies; and 4) the display and mediation of professional vision. These television programmes and the use of video technology that they incorporate open up an unreal ‘laboratory’ site for parents to better register and discriminate their own experience and their child’s conduct (and its effects) as part of a moral economy.

### **Sara Merlino and Lorenza Mondada**

ICAR research Lab / Univ. of Lyon, France

*Context as a perpetual accomplishment: the flexible organization of participation frameworks and interactional spaces*

Within a Conversation Analytical approach, context is conceived as a dynamic achievement: speakers’ actions are structured by adjusting to context while, reflexively, they shape and constitute it (Schegloff, 1992). This mutual relation is produced, at a local level, through the management of the turn-taking system, and, more glo-



bally, through the production of participation frameworks and identities in talk (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Sacks, 1972).

In this paper, we aim at discussing the articulation between various dimensions contributing to contextual configurations: the establishment and changes of participation frameworks, the interactional space they invest, and the speakers' categories displayed in these various positions. Thus, we focus on the dynamics of turn-taking by taking into account not only linguistic resources, but also multimodal ones, paying attention to the way in which participants engage in interaction through gestures, mutual glances, body postures, object manipulations, and positions within space. In this sense, participation turns out to be an embodied practice both shaping and shaped by context and organization of talk.

The articulation of these intertwined dimensions will be discussed on the basis of naturally occurring data video recorded in institutional situations characterised by very dynamic, evolving and changing participation frameworks. The corpus is constituted by multi-party encounters involving a plurilingual interaction mediated by a translator; in certain cases, a transformation of the participation framework is observed, where translation is first planned, then improvised, and finally abandoned as participants rely on alternative ways of managing their plurilingual talk. This evolution involves changes in speakership as well in interactional and institutional categories, which are constantly re-negotiated by participants through verbal, gestural and postural resources. Our analysis will focus particularly on the way in which these changes are implemented in mutual body orientations, exchanges of gazes, and positions within space. In this sense, the observed situation appears to be an exemplary case, where the local definition of the context is achieved by the situated organization of multimodal conducts, the configuration of the interactional space and the materialization of participant frameworks within space, bodies and mutual orientations.

#### **Pia Pichler**

Goldsmith's College, University of London

*Participants' vs. analysts' categories in spontaneous talk and interviews*

In my contribution to this workshop I return to the extensive debate about 'context' between conversation analysts on one side and sociolinguists and non-CA discourse analysts on the other. The former tend to focus on the 'oriented-to context' (Schegloff 1997: 184), that is, aspects of social context and identity categories which are 'demonstrably relevant to the participants' at a specific moment in interaction (Schegloff 1991: 50). Although most researchers in my own area of interest, language and gender, align themselves with a constructionist approach to identity and carry out micro-level analysis, many 'simply do not accept that social categories need to be observably and explicitly salient for participants in order to be considered relevant to their analyses' (Holmes 2007: 54; see also Bucholtz 2003, Cameron 1998; Weatherall 2000, Wetherell 1998).

In this workshop I invite a discussion about participants' vs. analysts' categories by introducing two different sources of data from my own research. The first source of data consists of the self-recorded spontaneous talk of a group of five young women, the second of informal interviews between myself and one of these girls. The interviews allowed me to gain ethnographic and other information about the speakers, but were also seized as an opportunity by my informant to provide me with her own interpretations of the tape-recorded and transcribed talk.

I will initially not contextualise my data but begin with a discussion of the categories which are explicitly mentioned by the girls in their spontaneous talk. I will then review these initial interpretations in the light of socio-cultural and other background information about the speakers, asking if and how this knowledge affects the data analysis. Finally, I will compare my own interpretations of the girls' talk with those of my participant, drawing particular attention to the "discrepancies" between my informant's self-reported sense of social categories and what CA deems as 'participants' categories', arguing that even the latter are always interpreted by the analyst. This comparison of categories and data sources will allow me to 1) explore what linguistic ethnographers have called the 'tacit *and articulated* understandings of the participants in whatever processes and activities are being studied' (Rampton et al, 2004: 2; my emphasis), and 2) increase my reflexivity as a researcher about my 'own cultural and interpretive capacities' (ibid. 3) which I consider to play a significant role in the analysis of linguistic/social practice on micro and macro levels.

### **Pirkko Raudaskoski**

University of Aalborg, Denmark

*Transnational adoption as a material-discursive phenomenon*

I compare Charles Goodwin's CA-based *contextual configuration* (Goodwin 2000) with *nexus analysis*, an ethnographically oriented framework for doing *mediated discourse analysis*. Contextual configuration refers to the changing use of different meaningful resources in interaction. It offers an excellent way of analysing Goffman's *situated activity systems* (Goffman 1961). The focus in contextual configuration is on emerging social action. Action is also the centre of attention in mediated discourse analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2004) and especially the *mediated* nature of action. According to mediated discourse analysis, actions are carried out with mediational means, cultural-historical tools varying from the language used to the material setup of the place. In nexus analysis, the aim is to identify the crucial mediated actions that realise a recognizable *nexus of practice*, constituted by three semiotic cycles: *interaction order*, *historical body* and *discourses in place*. These can be compared with Goodwin's central interests: 1) participants carrying out courses of action in concert with each other (cp. interaction order), 2) participants' use of their bodies as an interactional resource (cp. historical body), and 3) the social, cultural, material and sequential structure of the environment (cp. discourses in place). Contextual configuration aims at capturing and understanding the situated nature of interaction. In nexus analysis those unique moments in history are called *sites of engagement*. Contextual configuration is composed of different *semiotic fields* (cp. mediational means) that are employed to constitute an action within a larger activity (cp. nexus of practice). *Context* is also defined as the (changing) contextual configuration, whereas in nexus analysis, context could be regarded as the historical, cultural and political formations that enable the site of engagement to occur. Thus, these two approaches understand social action similarly, whereas 'context' is conceptualised in compatible ways.

In the workshop, a snippet of social interaction is presented to show how these two methodologies, with some help from related fields, can be fruitfully combined. The data comes from a Danish television documentary on transnational adoption and in the snippet a couple receives a phone call about their prospective adoptive child. The official delivers pieces of information about the baby, based on documents she has received about him. With a CA-oriented analysis of institutional talk, it is possible to show how the documents are made relevant *in situ*. Answering the questions that nexus analysis requires about how these participants and these documents came together in this specific situation makes it possible not only to see the phone call as a crucial instance in the complex network of practices, people and materialities of transnational adoption but also to analyse how the work has already begun to manage the appropriation of the baby (who still is in Korea) as a Dane.

### **Elizabeth Stokoe**

Loughborough University, United Kingdom

*"Typical guy response": Categorical reference and the construction of gendered contexts in talk-in-interaction*

This paper considers the problem of analysing the purported relevancies of "wider social contexts" in everyday social interaction. However, rather than focusing on the debate about such contexts between conversation analysts and sociolinguists or critical discourse analysts, it examines the way speakers may orient to "wider social contexts" in the very details of their talk. Drawing on a large corpus of conversations recorded in everyday and institutional settings, including domestic telephone calls, radio programmes, neighbour dispute helplines and police interrogations, I show how "contexts" and "structures" are analyzable in terms of what speakers and recipients do with categorial formulations (e.g., "you know what women are like", "that's men for you") as they progress through courses of action. In particular, I show how participants invoke and realize gendered contextual knowledge (what some call "discourses", "narratives", etc.) as a resource for accomplishing social actions such as narrating, complaining, accounting, denying, or affiliating. For example, consider the following fragment, taken from a British radio programme about erectile dysfunction in men. The interviewer (I) is talking to a consultant pharmacist (P) who has been trialling the prescription of Viagra in a high-street chemist.

BBC R4 'Case Notes' 09-07

- 1 I: → What sort'v people (.) have been co:ming  
 2 t'you.  
 3 (0.2)  
 4 P: → .hh we've had a: wi:de variety of ↓gentlemen  
 5 coming to see us:. to access the Viagra  
 6 → thro:ugh our programme .hh a lot of men when  
 7 we ta:lk to them have said I've been meaning  
 8 to do something about this for a:ges an' I've  
 9 → just never got round to it, (0.2) ↑typical  
 10 → guy response.=re(h)ally y'know.=.hh an'  
 11 eventually they think w'll I really do need  
 12 to do something about it now.=it's not going  
 13 away. .hh and once they've sat down had a  
 14 chat they feel jus' s::o much better they've  
 15 actually ta:lked about the problem .hh [...]

Analysis of this and other data will demonstrate the following observations: (i) Participants' practices of person reference and categorization built within and across turns (e.g., here, "people" → "gentlemen" → "men" → "guy"), may build gendered contexts out of non-gendered contexts. (ii) Speakers move between the practices of description and categorization, building membership categories and their category-bound features in situ. (iii) When a categorial formulation co-occurs with lexical items such as "y'know", as we see in the above extract, the resultant phrases take on an idiomatic quality ("that's young lads for you isn't it?"). Such phrases are the building blocks of intersubjectivity, producing recipients as "knowing in common" a category's features, or the "wider social contexts" that may be relevant. These categorial formulations are foundational to the smooth progress of activities under way. (iv) "Gendered contexts" are therefore built in participants' methodic deployment of gender categories, as part of the ongoing maintenance of a commonly shared, objectively existing world.

**YOUTH, LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE** [themed panel]

Convenors: Charlotte Haglund and Charlotte Engblom

Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden and Gävle University College, Gävle, Sweden

Contributors: Ellen Bijvoet and Kari Fraurud, Anders Björkvall and Charlotte Engblom, Natalia Ganuza, Charlotte Haglund and Marie Werndin, Linda Kahlin

Discussant: Peter Auer and Janet Maybin

In Sweden a period of immigration in the modern era started in the 1940s and increased significantly in the 1960s. Within a relatively short period of time, the Swedish society has encountered ethnic and linguistic diversity different from that represented by the domestic minorities in the Northern part of the country. In this process of sociocultural change opportunities, challenges and difficulties face the society, its institutions and individual actors. A long standing position of the majority language Swedish as a symbol of national identity has been weakened. Yet, as a consequence of the change, the need for tradition and stability increases. This need is expressed in an insistence, for instance in education, on "Swedishness" and an emphasis on "good" Swedish, i.e. claims on normality regarding identification and language use. We accordingly see how the Swedish language again, albeit in a different way, becomes an important part of the ideologies of nationalism.

The proposed panel focuses on how this contemporary manifestation in Sweden of a preferred language and identity is reflected but also contested in the understandings and language practices of young members of ethnic and linguistic minorities. The empirical and theoretical scope of the panel ranges from syntactic variation and perceptions of language varieties to literacy practices and poststructuralist understandings of identity, power and discourse. The papers draw on linguistic and ethnographic data generated among youth in multiethnic urban and suburban contexts in Sweden.

The different orientations in the studies provide insights into the connections between language and social organization at different levels of language use. Language is understood as an instrument, carrier and product of social relations (Austin 1962). In the panel we take up Duranti's incitement that the challenge in contemporary research on language in society is to uncover "previously unseen or undocumented connections between the micro-level of face-to-face verbal interaction and the macro-level of institutional statuses, roles and identities" (1997:314). The panel represents an attempt at showing such connections and illustrating how structures of domination and discrimination re-establish themselves but also are contested on the micro-level of speech (Heller & Martin-Jones 2001).

One of the papers on the panel concerns questions on listeners' perceptions of language variation and varieties in multilingual Stockholm. Starting from the notion that language varieties are abstractions and hence should be approached and analyzed as social constructions, this study demonstrates the usefulness of subjective data such as lay people's perceptions and constructions of language variation and varieties.

Multilingual youths' negotiations of identities and opportunities to position themselves and each other in different school contexts are also investigated. What is the function of multilingual youth slang in youths' negotiations of social positions in relation to attempts, for instance, of teachers, student assistants and researchers at positioning them differently, i.e. in limited, less equal positions? The complexity of language use and social organization is indicated as well as the role of language in the reproduction of social exclusion. Questions on how different categorisations, especially gender, ethnicity and generation, are made relevant in talk-in-interaction (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998, Auer 2007) are also addressed in the panel. Membership categorisation analysis is used to examine how different identities are constituted intersectionally in conversations among multilingual adolescents.

As an example of linguistic variation one study concerns the variable use of inversed and non-inversed word order in the Swedish spoken by adolescents in multilingual settings. Questions concern how different linguistic, socio-pragmatic and demographic factors can be used to explain the syntactic variation studied. Another type of variation concerns the often substantial gap between children's uses of texts in the home context and in school (Kress 2003, Kress & van Leeuwen 2001). For multilingual children this gap goes beyond that between textual genres, media and modalities (for example screen at home and paper and pencil at school), as it is also a choice of language. The study relates the children's choices of literacy activities and language to the attitudes of care takers and teachers toward such activities and language choices.

The interactions, identities, literacy practices and language varieties examined in the panel facilitate our attempt at gaining further insight into how language display and contribute to social process and to a changing

sociocultural order in contemporary Sweden. Insights are also provided into the more generally observed tension between established, traditional social and institutional order and the reformulations of it in the course of late modernity. A possible conclusion of the panel would be that this transformation takes place as a result, in part, of a changing linguistic order.

#### PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

##### **Ellen Bijvoet and Kari Fraurud**

Stockholm University, Sweden

*Sociolinguistic awareness and language attitudes among young people in multilingual Stockholm: perceptions of contemporary language variation*

The complex and diverse linguistic realities of young people in present-day multilingual urban settings presents a challenge to linguistics and neighboring fields that calls for a combination of a range of theoretical and methodological frameworks and data types (micro/macro, quantitative/qualitative, etc., cf. Garret et al. 2004). The study to be reported in this paper focuses on young peoples' reciprocal perceptions of "one's own" and "others" ways of speaking - perceptions that play a vital role for their access to and use of different linguistic resources in positioning themselves and others in society. "Perception" is here seen as the amalgamation of sociolinguistic awareness of linguistic variation/varieties and language attitudes - formed in the continuous interplay between daily interactions at the micro-level and discourses in the society at large.

The paper starts with a brief discussion of the notion of language variety. In particular, it argues for the notion that varieties, just like languages (cf. LePage 1977: 223), are abstractions made "by individual speakers, by social processes, by linguists or other observers" and hence should be studied and analyzed as social constructions. It then moves on to a consideration of the methodological implications of this approach for the study of linguistic variation and varieties in current multilingual contexts. It is suggested that observational data on language and language use need to be supplemented by subjective data, such as lay peoples' perceptions and constructions of linguistic variation in their environment (cf. the framework of Folk linguistics and Perceptual dialectology, e.g. Niedzielski & Preston 1999).

Finally, the paper reports on some findings from the on-going research project 'Sociolinguistic awareness and language attitudes in multilingual contexts' (2006-2008, one of nine projects within the research program 'High-Level Proficiency in Second Language Use' at Stockholm University). In a listener experiment, speech samples of 20-25 seconds each were elicited from young speakers in Stockholm, 6 male and 6 female, with different linguistic, ethnic and social backgrounds. The method of elicitation developed was intended to produce speech stimuli that, as far as possible, were spontaneous and peer directed, and at the same time had a neutral and closely similar content. Groups of listeners, also with varying background and linguistic experiences, listened to the stimuli and were asked to (i) evaluate the speakers on semantic differential scales, and (ii) to label and describe the speakers' "ways of speaking" and make guesses about their background. The individual questionnaires were followed by recorded group discussions. The data show how listeners diverge in the ways they construct and divide the linguistic space of (young) Stockholm, as reflected both in their labeling and description of different ways of speaking and in their attitudes towards speakers.

##### **Anders Björkqvall and Charlotte Engblom**

Stockholm University, Sweden and Gävle University College, Sweden

*Separate worlds? Home and school literacy among multi- and monolingual children in Sweden*

The paper presents a comparison between children's literacy activities in school and the literacy activities they choose to participate in when at home. The attitudes connected to language use and literacy activities in different communities and environments are also discussed. The gap between text activities in the home and in school has been discussed in previous research (e.g. Barton & Hamilton 1998, Fast 2006, Gee 2003, Martin-Jones & Jones 2000), but for multilingual children there is not only a gap between multimodal, often screen based, literacy activities and the more traditional pen-and-paper activities in the classroom; there is also often a gap

between Swedish in school and other languages at home. We will present an analysis of 7-10-year old multi- and monolingual children's text related activities in different contexts along with an analysis of attitudes: what are the children's, caretakers', and teachers' attitudes toward choice of language and more or less multimodal text activities that take place at home and in school? How is the learning potential of the children's self- chosen multilingual and multimodal literacy activities affected by such attitudes?

The main theoretical issue addressed in the paper concerns the relation between community, language use and literacy activities. A sociocultural perspective on learning and literacy is advocated, which enables us to examine and discuss the relevance of such connections. The methodology can be described as ethnographical (Dyson & Genishi 2005). The different text activities during school time and at home have been photographically documented, central texts have been collected (including electronic and multimodal texts), and interviews have been carried out. The case study comprises four children, both mono- and multilingual. One finding is that the children's opportunities for variation in language use, literacy activities and mediating tools in the home have few counterparts inside the classroom. This is the case for both multilingual and monolingual children.

### **Natalia Ganuza**

Centre for Research on Bilingualism, Stockholm University, Sweden

*Understanding the use of word order variation among adolescents in multilingual urban settings in Sweden*

The paper is based on the results from my thesis work on the variable use of inverted and non-inverted subject-verb order among adolescents in multilingual settings in Sweden. Swedish is a V2-language, i.e. whenever a sentence begins with something other than a subject the order between the subject and the finite verb is inverted. However, non-inversions (i.e. XSV word order) occur frequently in learner Swedish, and it has been argued that the use of non-inversion is also characteristic of multiethnic youth language varieties that have emerged in multilingual urban areas in Sweden in the last two decades (e.g. Kotsinas, 1994; 1998). The present study explores how common the use of word order variation is among youths in different multilingual settings, to what extent the adolescents employ syntactic variation in different situations, and what meanings the use of it carries for them. The results interestingly show that the majority of the studied subjects use word order variations only to a limited extent and there is no clear relationship between the use of syntactic variation and when a speaker began learning Swedish. At the same time, there are a few individuals within the sample who use non-inversions extensively in certain contexts.

The paper will center on how linguistic, socio-pragmatic and demographic factors together influence the use of syntactic variation. For example, I will demonstrate how the variation is influenced by whom the youths speak to. They predominantly use non-inversions when speaking to peers only and rarely in contact with adults. In the group conversations they also tend to accommodate each other syntactically. If one person uses a lot of word order variation, the other participants in the conversation produce variation as well, although not necessarily to the same extent. The use of variation is also influenced by the topic of conversation and the speakers' gender. Various pragmatic factors are also involved. For example, if a speaker is very engaged in what s/he speaks about and is allowed to speak without being interrupted the use of non-inversion tends to increase. Finally, the paper will discuss how syntactic variation may be actively employed by the youths to create a certain speech style that manifests their identification and solidarity with the multilingual suburb and the varieties of Swedish spoken there. It will also be exemplified how subjects may use youth oriented language, including an increased use of word order variation, in the classroom as an attempt to contest the official school discourses that dominate the activities taking place there.

### **Charlotte Haglund and Marie Werndin**

Centre for Research on Bilingualism, Stockholm University, Sweden

*Multilingual youth slang as a linguistic and ideological resource in negotiations of competing discourses in four different schools*

In the present paper we will describe and discuss in which ways and why contemporary discourses on language and identity in Sweden are picked up, reflected and contested differently among young members of ethnic and linguistic minorities in urban and suburban schools in Stockholm.



The paper is based on two separate studies which draw on ethnographic methodology and a poststructuralist understanding of identity, power and discourse. The studies depart from the notion of multilingual speakers as social actors within social networks (Heller 2007). In an attempt at linking language use to social, political and cultural formations (Fairclough 1992: 8) we put the speakers and the social context at the centre of our analysis (cf. Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998).

When comparing and linking the two studies we observe how the adolescents adjust their performances to expected identities or resist others' attempts at positioning them, in limited, less equal positions, with reference for instance to their "deficient" language use ("What does the word mean and what is it? I have never heard of *elixir* ...it is not a word in Rinkeby-Swedish. Have you heard of it?"). The core function of language and multilingual youth slang is also manifested in the adolescents' attempts at highlighting the benefits of being multilinguals and having experiences in more than one cultural or national network. From this position they counter-act the claims, for instance of teachers' and student assistants', on temporary access to their language practice (and the allegiance) ("You say 'much' not 'çok'").

Data illustrate how structures of domination and discrimination are reproduced and negotiated on the micro-level of speech and the situated social action observed accordingly indicates a dialectical relationship between structure and action (cf. Heller 2001). The processes of reproduction and contestation however are contradictory and conflicting. The discourses on language and identity are picked up and negotiated in different ways in different school contexts but also take different shape and develop in different directions in relation to interlocutors as well as individual and collective purposes in the situated practice.

The paper illustrates the complexity of language use and social organization on the macro and micro continuum and points out how linguistic resources, such as multilingual youth slang, are drawn upon in attempts at resolving tensions among competing discourses including those between individual positionings and dominant ideologies.

### **Linda Kahlin**

Institution for nordic languages, Stockholm university, Sweden

*Construction of gender, ethnicity and generation in interaction*

My presentation focuses on how gender is constructed locally in talk in interaction. The definition of gender is influenced by post structural theories and is analyzed with conversation analysis methods (for example see Kitzinger 2002). I am influenced by gender studies that analyze how gender is constructed intersectionally (see Collins 1998) in combination with other possible identities; for instance ethnicity, class and age.

In my study categories made relevant by the participants themselves are analyzed rather than identities being recognized by the researcher. The material consists of video-recorded multiparty conversations between adolescents in a multi cultural school environment. The categories made relevant by the participants in these conversations most commonly are gender, ethnicity and generation.

Membership categorization analysis (Hester & Eglin 1997, Stokoe & Smithson 2001) is used to analyze how categories like, swedish, syrian or immigrant girl are used as resources in the construction of identity. The results concern how social categorisations are used to create differences between social groups relevant by creating contrasts between we and them. According to membership categorization analysis, the categories are associated with category bound activities.

A person that has been ascribed membership in a social group can get his or her way of acting explained as a consequence of their membership in the social group (Widdicombe & Wooffitt 1995). A result from the empirical analysis consists of rhetorical strategies to resist being ascribed membership of a certain social group or ways of renegotiating the attributes and activities associated with the social group. Female adolescents especially use rhetoric strategies to avoid being positioned as helpless victims within their culture. These adolescents use discursive strategies to present themselves as independent and unique rather than following social norms for the group. One way of accomplishing this is to talk about their personal motives and their independence in relation to their parents and older relatives. Another kind of resistance is when the adolescents renegotiate the category bound activities associated with their social group. The analysis is focused on how this is accomplished on the micro level in conversations. A third way of making resistance is to point out the logical and normal aspects in their own way of acting.

## LANGUAGE AS SOCIAL PRACTICE IN THE GLOBALIZED NEW ECONOMY [workshop]

Convenors: Monica Heller and Alexandre Duchêne

University of Toronto, Canada and University of Basel, Switzerland

Contributors: Christianne Collantes - Valerie Damasco - Angela DeOcampo - Monina Febria - Bonnie McElhinny - Jason Salonga and Shirley Yeung, Michelle Daveluy, Alexandre Duchêne, Susan Gal, Kira Hall, Vicky Markaki - Lorenza Mondada and Florence Oloff, Joan Pujolar

Discussant: Luisa Martin Rojo

Conventional wisdom has it that the globalized new economy simply reduces in number and extends in scope the fixed identities associated with Nation-State markets. In fact, globalization entails the increased salience of locally variable conditions connected to the growing importance of both niche marketing and of linguistic and cultural value added to material and symbolic products. For every standardizing process associated with globalization we find linguistic and cultural variability at the heart of localization.

That said, there is marked variation in the forms taken by relationships between globalization and localization, between linguistic and cultural dimensions of social practice and its discursive legitimation, and among competing ideologies of language and identity. The goal of this workshop is to explore some dimensions of this variability as it concerns localized dimensions of globalization in a wide range of sites.

One thread of this workshop concerns the management of globalization in work sites typical of the new economy. These include sites such as call centres, airports, tourist sites, or international NGOs. In such tertiary sector sites, language plays a central role in ways that differ radically from the marginalization of verbal communication in the primary and secondary sector activities typical of the “old” economy (Boutet 2001), it is the primary working tool, the primary materiality of work, and often its principal product (Cameron 2000, Heller and Boutet 2006). Communication skills become important as management strategies, as production strategies and as products in and of themselves. In addition, and in contradiction to widely-publicized fears about glottophagic languages like English (Calvet 1984), multilingualism emerges as a major concern. Transnational networks for international markets in which, it turns out, localization (that is, adaptation of global strategies to local market conditions) is critical to successful global reach, cannot function without some form of multilingualism - although which precise form, both in terms of content and practice, remains a subject of contestation, and, sometimes, of mystery and speculation. As a result, multilingualism itself is commodified, while remaining a key terrain of negotiation of the articulation between the local and the global.

The second thread concerns the confrontation of identity practices with new forms of circulation and regulation of goods, people and discourses. Nation-States, and their legitimating discourses linking language, culture, identity, and citizenship (Bauman and Briggs 2003), have historically been associated with the construction of markets (Hobsbawm 1990). The current forms of globalizing expansion of these markets, with the massive circulation of goods, people and discourses (Castells 2000), and the neoliberal forms of regulation that characterize them, call the discursive regime of nationalism into question. In this workshop we will discuss some specific sites where we see this tension emerging, including the repositioning of linguistic minority and international agency discourses and institutions, and the constitution of discourses of identity and position among diasporic communities.

Through an ethnographic exploration of the role of language as discursive terrain, as emblem and as commodity in the articulation of local constructions of position with the global, neoliberalized, late modern processes of capitalism, this workshop aims at linking agency and structuration (Giddens 1984). Our approach blurs the dichotomy between “micro” and “macro”, arguing instead that sociolinguistic ethnography allows for the tracing of the structuring consequences of local action in specific political economic conditions, as well as of the structured constraints on local action observable in significant sites of discursive production.

The workshop will be constructed around eight papers dealing with the two major thematic threads described above, with two discussants. The discussion questions we propose include

- How can sociolinguistic ethnography adequately account for the articulation of the local and the global under current political economic conditions?
- How can we establish relations between the local construction of the interaction order and their sense-making and structuring consequences for institutional processes?

- What might the consequences of commodification of language and identity be for ideologies of language, identity, nation and State? And for the relationship between linguistic practice in the here-and-now and the construction of social difference (categorization) and social inequality?
- How can we capture the role of language in the circulation of goods, people and discourses?

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Christianne Collantes, Valerie Damasco, Angela DeOcampo, Monina Febria, Bonnie McElhinny,  
Jason Salonga and Shirley Yeung**

University of Toronto, Canada

*“Talk about Luck”:*

*Coherence, Contingency, Character and Class in the Life Stories of Filipino Canadians in Toronto*

In this paper, we undertake a study of life stories told by Filipino Canadians, with particular attention to the ways in which they talk about their choice of profession, and with particular attention to what constitutes coherence for these speakers. For many immigrants to Canada, including Filipino Canadian immigrants, a discontinuous narrative about one's professional life is the norm. Indeed, one of the more pressing issues currently facing Canada is the fact that many professional immigrants do not end up working in the jobs for which they were trained; instead, they work at more menial jobs. “He is not working in his profession” was the formulation used by some Filipino-Canadian speakers to flag both the work someone was trained to do and its continuing force for thinking about her identity, as well as the fact that that person might not be working in that job. These discontinuities, and the ways they shape the life chances of their Canadian-born children, are also often part of the ways first-generation Filipino-Canadians tell the stories of their work-lives. We begin by briefly reviewing the relevant literature on life histories and the methods we used for eliciting the life histories analyzed here. Then we offer a brief history of Filipinos in Canada, followed by an analysis of the life stories.

**Michelle Daveluy**

University of Alberta, Canada

*The ongoing repositioning of French and English minorities in the Canadian Navy*

In Canada, the armed forces are legally bound to the country's official bilingualism (DND &CF 2003). As a result, the language policy of the Canadian Forces incorporates French and English minorities in terms of 1) recruitment and 2) language use during work activities. As in most military contexts in the world though, matters pertaining to operationality and security take precedence over language principles, however they may be formulated.

Research conducted in the Canadian Navy (Daveluy 2007, Asselin 2007) documents how the language policy of the Canadian Forces is actually implemented considering the stated constraints of the military context, and its impact on daily social and linguistic practices. Results obtained so far show that Canadian militaries and their families are to a great extent uprooted, delocalised and relocalised within their own country, in a similar fashion to migrants crossing geographical and/or symbolic borders. Language identity and discursive practices illustrate the complexity of their life as transient individuals belonging to communities in flux.

This paper is specifically based on fieldwork conducted onboard the NCSM VILLE DE QUÉBEC. It focuses on the relationships between French and English native speakers expected to work primarily in French. How unilingual English speakers negotiate this linguistic market is of particular interest. Differences among French native speakers are also highly relevant. Pending on their origin (Québécois, Acadians, etc.) and their degree of bilingualism, diverging views emerge regarding the benefits, and costs, associated with the use of French onboard the frigate. Current war activities in the world and the tendency towards international joint operations also influence the practices of the various speech communities forming the crew. The NCSM VILLE DE QUÉBEC can then be viewed as a microcosm of Canadian official bilingualism where both local and global language issues are played out in daily practice. Finally, language use and discourse illustrate how civilian values are omnipresent in the Canadian Forces and call for a reassessment of the exclusively militarised ideology the institution tends to promote about itself and many scholars often endorse in their analysis of Canadian militaries.

**Alexandre Duchêne**

University of Basel, Switzerland

*Mobility, Commodity and Language Ideologies: Managing Multilingualism in an International Airport*

The aim of this paper is to interrogate the way institutions devoted to the circulation of people - such as airports - deal with the management of linguistic diversity. The boom of the tourism industry, the increase of international business relations as well as the spread of transport facilities positions travel as a strategic sector within the globalized new economy. The act of traveling implies that people - and goods - are circulating across borders, entailing diverse forms of language practices and language contact. In that regard, airports can be considered as a key space for the exploration of a) the impact of the circulation of people on language practices, and b) the strategies used by globalized institutions in order to manage [linguistic] diversity. Based on ethnographic research in an airport ground logistics company in German-speaking Switzerland, I will emphasize the way this institution embeds multilingual services in what it understands as cost-effective, rational management practices. Indeed, the company understands multilingualism as important in three ways: First, multilingualism is linked to national concerns (e.g. the use of French - beside German - as a symbolic acknowledgment of the pan-Swiss identity of the airport). Second, multilingualism operates as a clear marketing argument and a commodity in order to gain new clients by providing services in the national languages of flag carriers. Third, multilingualism is seen as a key element of effective practical solutions to problems of passenger circulation, and of work more generally. It is also understood as a means of achieving cost-effectiveness and a contribution to overall rationalization of work practices. The company's central strategy to achieve this is to recruit employees who already possess a multilingual repertoire. This allows the company to exploit employee multilingualism as corporate value added while naturalizing individual employees' language skills, and hence erasing them as value added skills requiring remuneration.

**Susan Gal**

University of Chicago, United States of America

*Communicating across institutional boundaries: Lg in the "new" political economy*

A striking feature of the current international scene is the presence of non-governmental organizations and advocacy networks. Although they have precedents in missionary activity and colonization, the cross-national NGOs of the last decades constitute a novel organizational and cultural form. They complicate, contest and sometimes replace the work of states in numerous policy areas. The literature on NGOs argues that the circulation of terms (e.g. "empowerment" "environment" "culture"), the diffusion of justificatory discourses, the creation of policy documents, and the recruitment of new constituencies are among the key aims and functions of NGOs. These tasks are invariably mediated by communicative practices. Yet, sociocultural anthropologists treat the communicative practices of NGOs as unexamined 'black boxes.' Linguistic anthropologists have neglected to study them. Yet these practices involve the classic subject matter of linguistic anthropology: multilingual interaction, oral and written translation, strategies of persuasion for multiple audiences, the creation of publics and interdiscursive linkages. In this paper I argue that closer understanding of communication in NGOs is crucial for analyzing their broader effects. At the same time, the organizational and political context of that communication challenges the usual analytical moves of linguistic anthropology. The paper suggests rethinking concepts of speech community, translation, and the sources of linguistic authority by presenting a comparison of communicative practices in three NGOs in eastern Europe, each with a different policy agenda: environmentalist, women's rights, democracy.

**Kira Hall**

University of Colorado-Boulder, United States of America

*Language as sexual practice in a New Delhi NGO*

This paper focuses on women's sexual alterity in New Delhi, India, as a means of exploring the ways in which localized subjectivities engage with global and national discourses that legitimate English as the language of modernity and Hindi as the language of tradition. The NGO that is the focus of this paper, which has as its

mandate the distribution of HIV/AIDS education and sexual information to the public, sponsors a variety of informational support groups for diverse gender and sexual identities, among them a women's group that includes both "lesbians" (an identity closely allied with same-sex desire as articulated in Europe and the United States) and "boys" (an eroticized transgender identity long associated with rural India). Because the Hindi language has become increasingly correlated with Hindu nationalism, employees within this NGO tend to view Hindi as an oppressive medium for the expression of both sexual practice and sexual identity, rejecting traditionalist assumptions regarding the superiority of Hindi in the contemporary nation-state. Middle class women who participate in NGO activities, aspiring to a class symbolic that opposes the perceived conservative understanding of sexuality voiced in traditional India, socialize lower class newcomers away from their transsexual imaginings in part by offering them English as a new medium for talking about sex. The paper thus highlights the ways in which progressive NGO discourses of sexual identity, here carried through globalized forms of English, produce differential and potentially injurious effects on distinct class-based sexualities.

**Vicky Markaki, Lorenza Mondada and Florence Oloff**

ICAR Research Lab, Lyon (CNRS and University of Lyon), France

*Intertwined spatialities in call centre interactions: a multimodal analysis of a glocal workplace*

Call centres are an emblematic workplace characteristic of the late modernity and of the globalized economy. One peculiar feature is constituted by the interconnection of various places, where several participants, inscribed in very different spatial realities, act together from a distance. This paper deals with such intertwined spatial scales, and with the way in which they are managed through telephone conversations.

Analyses are based on a corpus of telephone conversations videotaped in a call centre: the call centre in situ in a big French town, and offers help to foreign tourists experiencing car accidents in France. Calls are managed either in French, English or Spanish. For instance, in one of the cases we will focus on, the operator is simultaneously speaking with a Spanish customer and with a French garage mechanic and tries to fix a misunderstanding concerning the exact place where the customer is stuck and where the mechanic looks for him. In this kind of conversation, place description and identification are managed from a distance in a way which does not always match with the local contingencies. Multiple sources of spatial information and representation are used, such as customers' depictions, official addresses and various web sites providing for maps. Moreover, discussions trying to understand where the various interconnected persons really are can go on in different languages, not always understood by all parties. Therefore, difficulties encountered rely on the complexities of the communication resources used (different languages, different modalities) and on the complexities of superposed spaces and contexts.

These peculiar problems described in a fragment of data constitute a locus of observation for the complex dynamics at the micro and macro levels: detailed study of the organization of plurilingual multimodal calls reveals the way in which local places and global organizations are intertwined within the work of call centre operators. Analyses will be carried on within the framework of conversation analysis and workplace studies, based on videorecordings of the call centre operator and of her computer screen. This kind of data makes possible a multimodal analysis of the organization of this talk and its technological mediations (phone, computer).

Analyses proposed here do contribute to the DYLAN European Project (6th framework) dealing with plurilingual interactions at work in international settings.

**Joan Pujolar**

Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Spain

*Language, Identity and Tourism in Minority Contexts*

In this paper, I shall analyze and compare the position and signification of languages in contemporary tourist activities in three linguistic minority contexts: Catalonia, Wales and (Francophone) Ontario. Languages have not been traditionally treated as an attraction or as having added value in tourist markets, except with respect to the multilingualism required in tourist services. However, during the last 15 years, the rise of cultural tourism has led to the articulation of products where language is constructed as an asset associated with the territory and the artistic and cultural heritage of destinations.

My approach focuses on the new scenarios and discourses on language brought about by globalization. I consider tourism to be a sector of activity where the chances and challenges of globalization become particularly visible. With respect to language, globalization transforms the ways in which industrial societies had managed linguistic diversity and language more generally. The modern paradigm constructed language as an 'internal element' that contributed to define the national community and to legitimize state sovereignty through standardization and linguistic uniformization. Globalization decenters or disarticulates local and national social spaces, imposes multilingualism and diversity and forces linguistic communities to consider the projection of their languages 'externally'. These processes affect both large and small communities. These transformations trigger changes in the discourses over languages and often lead to contradictions with the traditional identity values. They require social groups to reformulate their political and economic strategies in relation to language and they potentially involve a marketization of identities within global markets.

The data will consist of ethnographic observation, in-depth interviews of actors implicated in tourist and language policies, official documents and web-sites. I shall analyze the role attributed to languages in the tourist portfolios of these destinations, as well as the effective presence of local languages in tourist services as evidence that reveals struggles and contradictions between competing linguistic ideologies furthered by different social groups.



**ORGANISATIONS AND INTERVIEWING: FROM THE INTERACTIONAL TO THE INSTITUTIONAL**

[themed panel]

Convenor: Georgina Heydon

DEPS Kings College London, UK

Contributors: Celia Roberts, Georgina Heydon, Martha Komter, Katrijn Maryns

Discussant: Srikant Sarangi

In many institutions, interviewing performs a central function in connecting an organisation's staff with individual members of the public. As such, it is often the only opportunity for an institution to communicate directly and personally with individuals, and interviews are frequently used to gather critical information about clients. However, the structure of these interpersonal interactions is often pre-determined by strict, institutionally-relevant guidelines. Similarly, it has long been established that such interviewing has a clear set of identifiable linguistic features, irrespective of the actual institution to which it belongs (see for instance Drew and Heritage 1992). It would therefore appear that institutional interviewing is attempting to respond to conflicting functional requirements: on the one hand, it represents what is often the only personal interaction that an individual might have with a member of the organisation, but on the other hand, the purpose of the interaction is to address institutional, not personal, goals. Where institutions impose structural constraints on the discourse, the resulting interactional conflicts and confusion may lead to inequitable outcomes for clients of the institution, especially where those clients are ignorant of the institutional goals being targeted by the professional interviewer (see for instance Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Heydon, 2005; Wodak, 1996). Of particular concern are those institutional interviews which result in life-altering decisions for the client, such as medical consultations, employment interviews, immigration assessments and police interviews.

While there is nothing new in these observations, the benefits of a linguistic approach to institutional communication seem yet to be fully appreciated by industry and government stakeholders. Compared to the number of psychologists routinely employed in both the private and public sphere to monitor and improve organisational behaviour, there is a significant lack of linguists or discourse analysts similarly employed to provide feedback to institutions about their interviewing processes, not to mention other forms of verbal and written communication.

All of the contributors to this panel either work with or comment on public institutions and their discourse practices. The panel will therefore explore approaches to the analysis of institutional interviewing, (specifically, legal (Heydon, Katrijns, Komter) medical (Sarangi) and employment (Roberts)) where the micro-level discourse analysis is considered in relation to macro-level organisational policy. Tools drawn from various forms of discourse analysis, such as interactional sociolinguistics (Goffman, 1981; Gumperz, 1982) and Conversation Analysis (Atkinson, 1992; Clayman, 1992; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Sarangi & Roberts, 1999), will be used to uncover patterns of interaction that relate to institutional goals and, in some cases, reveal biases and organisational pressures on the participants as they negotiate requirements of the interview procedure. Wherever possible, presenters will attempt to interpret their findings in light of institutional policy and broader social and community impact.

*The following questions will guide the discussion*

1. How do the various studies being reported explore different approaches to applying structured micro-level analysis of interview discourse to address macro level institutional concerns?
2. What is the impact of micro-level discourse on institutional goals across different types of institutions?
3. a) Can the various methodologies used by researchers in the panel contribute to a cohesive methodological paradigm for the micro-macro analysis of institutional interviews such that it is possible to usefully draw comparisons between institutions?, or
3. b) Are the differences between methodological frameworks related to fundamental differences in the nature of the discourse?
4. As researchers in this field, is it appropriate to consider how to relate the findings of the the micro-macro analysis to an even higher level of governance or policy development?
5. What kinds of policy outcomes might emerge from the application of discourse analysis to corpora of interview texts in any given institutional type?

6. What kinds of contributions are being made to private industry by linguists applying discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics to organisational interviews?

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Celia Roberts**

King's College London, UK

*The presentation of the manager self in selection interviews: style and conduct in ethnically diverse settings*

This paper draws on a large data base of video recorded selection interviews for junior management positions and ethnographic case studies of ethnically diverse organisations. While competency based interviews and equal opportunities legislation have led to tight structures for selection interviews, micro-analysis has shown that the social processes of interview talk are highly volatile and vulnerable to discursive perturbation, on the one hand, and moments of ease and connection on the other. Job/promotion interviews are as much about reinforcing the institution of which they are a part as they are about fair and effective decisions, so the stories elicited by interviewees have to be fitted into the boxes of the selection form and into the organisational ideologies of the 'new capitalism'. So there is a complex transformation of candidate contributions (from talk to writing to decision) into categorical personal judgements that fit institutional requirements.

In junior management interviews, as in other forms of selection processes, the paradoxical demands of the job interview produce 'hybrid discourses' in which the candidate's identity as a manager is assessed through a delicate blending of personal, professional and organisational discourses. Such blending requires a process of language socialisation both through previous education and training and in the workplace itself. Where these workplaces are divided along ethnic lines or where candidates have been socialised through education and employment outside the UK, the gradual apprenticeship into talking like a (British) manager is either missing or partial. So culturally different styles of presenting the self, both shopfloor cultures and ethnicised cultures are judged as not adequately management like and Black and minority ethnic candidates pay a linguistic penalty in the selection process.

**Georgina Heydon**

Monash University, Australia

*The guilty silence: the discursive implications of non-response in a police interview*

Police evidentiary interviews with suspects provide a source of institutional language data in which the contributions of participants may be critical to their future, in the context of a subsequent court case. An analysis of the interactional strategies of police interview participants demonstrates that the contributions of the suspect are highly constrained in a number of ways, including allowable turn types and the management of topic initiations. If assumptions about 'preferred responses' based on ordinary conversation are used to interpret non-response in this particular institutional setting, then these interactionally restricted contributions, which will be presented as evidence, may be susceptible to adverse inference in a way that is unlikely to be addressed by the judicial system. This paper concludes that discourse analysis can present a case against the erosion of the defendant's rights, in particular the right to silence.

**Martha Komter**

Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

*Intertextuality in the criminal law process*

The Dutch criminal law system is based on the drafting, processing, and discussing of written documents. At the same time, much of the legal business in criminal proceedings is conducted in face to face interaction, where the "facts of the matter" are established. Hence, the criminal law process can be seen as a chain of events where encounters of spoken interaction are transformed into written documents, and where the written documents are

treated as official basis for decision making, on the assumption that they represent the spoken interaction. There are two moments in the criminal law process where the relations between spoken talk and written documents are particularly pertinent: the police interrogation, where written records are drawn up, and the trial, where these records are discussed as pieces of evidence. This paper is concerned with the relationship between on the one hand the micro activities the construction of and discussions about police records of suspect interrogations, and on the other hand the macro concerns of creating and maintaining the legitimacy of these activities.

For ethnomethodologists and conversation analysts the problem of micro-macro connections boils down to the question to what extent macro-structural concerns are actually being oriented to by members in their dealings with one another (Schegloff, 1987). From this perspective, social phenomena are local accomplishments, that is to say, they are oriented to and created by the participants in talk-in-interaction. And they are only available for analysis when they are demonstrably relevant to the participants in their talk. Moreover, my research materials allow me not only to show how the institutional settings are “talked into being” (cf. Heritage, 1984), but also how they are “fixed” in the course of the interaction as written documents that serve as pieces of evidence in the criminal law process.

In order to understand possible linkages between the micro activities and the macro phenomena, it has been found helpful to identify three dimensions of activities in these institutional settings: interaction, institution and ideology (cf. Komter 1991). That is to say, the interactional organization of the talk is to be understood as embedded in the institutional business to be conducted; and the institutional business that is made visible in the tasks and interests of the participants, is grounded in a set of norms and values that inform and legitimize it (see also: Arminen, 2005).

### **Katrijn Maryns**

Antwerp University, Belgium Ghent University, Belgium

*Social diversity in legal practice: competing resources*

This paper addresses the ways diversity is treated in a multi-cultural legal-administrative context. Based on ethnographic data collected in two widely divergent domains of legal practice in Belgium (the asylum procedure and the jury court procedure), this paper starts from a systematic exploration of the ways individual contextualisation resources compete with institutional ones for being accepted as evidence in institutional interviewing practices. The paper then shows how this corpus of micro-analytical observations uncovers discursive patterns, which steers the analysis towards an exploration of how particular institutionalised discursive practices have gained a naturalised status while other, ‘culturalised’ discursive procedures tend to be suppressed or barred from the debates. Finally, the analytical observations will be considered in relation to the administration of justice and the position it takes up in an increasingly changing society.

**USAGE-BASED AND RULE-BASED APPROACHES TO PHONOLOGICAL VARIATION** [themed panel]

Convenors: Frans Hinskens, Ben Hermans and Marc van Oostendorp

Meertens Instituut, The Netherlands

Contributors: Arto Anttila, Gerard Docherty, Mirjam Ernestus, Gregory R. Guy, William Labov

The difference between 'usage-based' and 'rule-based' approaches is currently a topic of debate in phonology (as well as elsewhere in linguistics). Roughly, usage-based models assume that language users store detailed phonetic information about the words of their language each time they hear them. Rule-based models (i.e. several generations of models of generative phonology, including Optimality Theory) on the other hand assume that language users base themselves on phonological rules which are to some extent abstract, always categorical, and generalize over many cases. Usage-based models have as their advantage that they seem better in capturing regularities with respect to, e.g. frequency and other 'gradient' phenomena including phonetic gradience, which is sometimes sociostylistically significant. Rule-based models, on the other hand, have as their primary goal to explain absolute and exceptionless regularities.

Usage-based models as well as the closely related exemplar-based approaches and cognitive grammar are inspired by connectionism, a school of thought in cognitive science which attempts to explain mental and/or behavioral phenomena as emergent processes of a network of mutually connected units, in this case of the brain. The notion of emergent process refers to the emergence and subsequent development of coherent patterns, structures and/or properties during the process of self-organisation of a complex system. In this approach regularities of several types as well as processes of language change are usually accounted for along quantitative lines on the basis of distributional and usage frequencies (or type and token frequencies).

The debate concerning usage-based and rule-based approaches raises many questions which are of interest to sociolinguists. For one thing, although a lot of older sociolinguistic work implicitly or explicitly embraced a rule-based view of phonology (witness e.g. the original meaning of the concept of the variable rule), recent times have witnessed interest in exemplar-based models for sociophonetics as well. Since both models thus have been implemented in the study of language variation, the time has arrived to discuss the relevant merits and disadvantages of each in order to deepen our insight into sociolinguistic phenomena. For another thing, one could perhaps suppose that the difference between 'rule-based' and 'usage-based' phenomena reflects to some extent the classical distinction between phonology and phonetics, or between lexical and postlexical phonology. Such distinctions play a role in a variety of sociolinguistic work; e.g. Labov's proposal that children acquire the phonology from their parents in the first years of their life, while later continuously fine-tuning the phonetics based on the speech of their peers. An important question, then, is whether distinctions of this type make sense from the perspective of usage-based grammar. Are they still relevant, and is it the case, for instance, that 'usage-based effects' are typical in certain domains of the grammar, but not in others? Or are they irrelevant, as some radical proponents of usage-based grammar should think, believing as they do that there is no modular separation whatsoever. If, however, distinctions of this type turn out to make sense after all, then we must ask how we can theoretically model them, and how we could test the resulting models empirically.

Yet another important aspect meriting discussion is that both rule-based models and exemplar-based models seem to face specific difficulties when encountering language variation. Rule-based models have been typically associated with ideas of linguistic universalism and idealisation and abstraction over individual data; thus, they do not always seem to fit well with the rough facts of life that sociolinguists are used to deal with. Furthermore, rule-based analyses typically deal with categorical distinctions between sounds, and seem less well-adapted to deal with gradient and fine-grained distinctions. On the other hand, as far as we are aware there is as yet no elaborate proposal of how to deal with the multiple dimensions of sociolinguistic reality within the space of 'exemplar clouds', i.e. words with similar phonological forms: given the large number of relevant variables, it is not clear whether these clouds can ever become dense enough to allow speakers to make any generalisation at all. Furthermore, exemplar based models seem to focus much more explicitly on language as a psycholinguistic reality, raising the question as to how this relates to the reality of language as a social phenomenon.

The panel contributions discuss theoretical, conceptual and methodological advances in the area, as well as relevant tests to break new ground regarding this topic, focussing on variation in the area of socially and/or geographically significant phonological and phonetic variation.

*Relevance to the conference theme*

In the realm of variation of linguistic sounds, ‘micro’ and ‘macro’ may be seen as referring to small, gradient and fine-grained (‘phonetic’) vs. large, categorical (‘phonological’) differences or continuity versus discreteness. Both of these seem to play a role in sociolinguistic reality, and both of these can be argued to be needed. This panel is intended to instigate discussion as to what would be the best theoretical model incorporating all empirical results from both schools.

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Arto Anttila**

Stanford University

*Frequency and structure*

Individual words may differ in their phonological behavior depending on usage frequency. Finnish has two variable lenition processes that show robust frequency effects: Assibilation ( $t \rightarrow s / \_ i$ ) and Apocope ( $i \rightarrow \emptyset$ ) (Paunonen 1974, Laalo 1988, Anttila 2006). For example, in South-Eastern Finnish the verb /lentä-i/ ?fly-PAST? has four possible past tense forms: lenti ~ lensi ~ lent ~ lens. (Note that the rules interact in a counterbleeding fashion.) The generalization is familiar: lenition is more common in high-frequency words than in low-frequency words (see e.g. Bybee 2001).

What is surprising, though, is that frequency is relevant only under very narrow structural circumstances. In verbs, the frequency effect only emerges if the initial syllable has exactly two moras. In all other environments, frequency is irrelevant. For example, monomoraic verbs never assibilate despite their high usage frequency and trimoraic verbs virtually always assibilate despite their low usage frequency. This is exactly the opposite of what one would expect based on frequency. As a general statement about language, the generalization that high frequency leads to lenition is thus clearly false.

The Finnish evidence shows that frequency effects are embedded in categorical phonological structure that overrides frequency. In this case, segmental reduction is triggered by incomplete metrical parsing (extrametricality): high-frequency words tend to be incompletely parsed, low-frequency words tend to be exhaustively parsed, but the choice is available only in environments where two different metrical parses are possible. The relationship between frequency and lenition is thus indirect and mediated by categorical metrical constraints. We conclude that frequency effects are real, but can only be understood against the backdrop of categorical phonology.

**Gerard Docherty**

Newcastle University, UK

*An evaluation of usage-based approaches to the modelling of sociophonetic variability*

A comprehensive understanding of the factors governing variability in speech performance requires a seamless interface between theories of phonological variation/change and models of speech production, perception and learning; theories of change set out to explain the linguistic behaviour of communities of individuals, but, of course, this behaviour is mediated through individuals’ capacities to generate, perceive, and process the stream of speech and to learn about the social meaning conventionally (within a particular speech community) associated to particular features of speech performance. When all is said and done, despite the fact that there has historically been relatively little exploration of this interface, the theoretical positions taken across these areas simply *have* to dove-tail together.

In recent years there have been signs of genuine progress in this regard with work by sociolinguists being increasingly informed by new theoretical developments in production and perception, and much greater attention being given by theorists of production, perception and acquisition to the realities of inter-/intra-speaker social-indexical variability.

This paper explores further the nature of the interface between accounts of social-indexical variability in speech and models of phonological knowledge and how it is deployed in production and perception. There is an

emerging consensus that our understanding of individuals' knowledge, production and interpretation of speech sound patterning requires appeal not only to the abstract phonological categories of conventional linguistic analysis but also to episodic representations which encapsulate fine-grained phonetic detail and a wide range of other contextual features relating to particular experienced episodes. Drawing on recent studies of the production, perception and learning of sociophonetic patterns within speech, this presentation provides a critical evaluation of the contribution of episodic- and usage-based models of representation to our understanding of the factors which govern variability within speech performance. Key issues for further investigation are identified and discussed.

### **Mirjam Ernestus**

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen and Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics

*Acoustic reduction and the roles of generalizations and exemplars in speech processing*

In spontaneous speech, a word like "yesterday" is often pronounced as "yesay" or appears in some other reduced form. Since reduced forms are so frequent, psycholinguistic models of speech processing should be able to account for how language users process them.

According to abstractionist models, the lexicon typically lists only one, unreduced, pronunciation for every word. These models explain the processing of pronunciation variation by assuming abstract rules, which compute the required pronunciation on the basis of the unreduced form during production, and deduce this unreduced form from the different possible pronunciations during comprehension. Exemplar-based models, in contrast, assume that language-users have stored all tokens of a word that they have ever heard. During production, speakers select one of these tokens for imitation. During comprehension, they match the perceived pronunciation with the most similar exemplar.

In order to investigate the production and comprehension process of reduced forms, we conducted several corpus studies and psycholinguistic experiments in Dutch. We found that neither a simple abstractionist nor a simple exemplar-based model can account for all data.

First, a word's degree of reduction is predictable to some extent on the basis of its phonetic structure, its phonetic context, its pragmatics, morphological structure, frequency of occurrence, predictability in the given sentential context, the number of previous mentions in the same conversation, and the speaker's gender and social class. Second, listeners appear to need at least phonetic and semantic / syntactic context for understanding reduced forms: Listeners only recognize the form "yesay" as "yesterday" if presented in its sentential context. This shows that abstractionist models have to assume very complex rules, taking into account many different types of information. These rules have to explain, for instance, how Dutch listeners know that "eik" is sometimes a reduced form of "eigenlijk" 'actually', rather than the word "eik" 'oak' itself, and never a reduced form of "ijselijk" 'hideous'. Exemplar-based models, in contrast, have to assume that tokens are stored together with their broad (socio-)linguistic context (as, e.g., in Polysp, Hawkins & Smith 2005). They face the challenge of explaining why all words show very similar patterns of reduction, even though the storage of exemplars allows for word-specific variation.

Third, speakers are typically not aware of the reduced forms occurring in their own language. Upon hearing a reduced form, they immediately and unconsciously reconstruct the unreduced form. This suggests that exemplar-based models have to assign a more prominent status to the unreduced than to the reduced exemplars of a word.

Apparently, we need a model that has characteristics of both abstractionist and exemplar-based models. Such a model assumes the storage of all tokens of a word in their broad context, but also allows generalizations over these tokens and assigns a more prominent status to unreduced than reduced tokens. This view is in line with recent studies suggesting that abstract generalizations and exemplars both affect the comprehension process (e.g., the proceedings of the special session on exemplar-based models at ICPhS 2007), possibly at different stages (Luce, McLennan & Charles-Luce 2003).



**Gregory R. Guy**

New York University, USA

*Linking usage and grammar: The 'variable rule' model*

The "variable rule" (VR) model of sociolinguistic variation grew out of generative phonological, rule-based formalisms, and continues to incorporate many assumptions about the architecture and operation of phonology that are associated with such approaches, including abstract representation and a separation between phonology and lexicon. However, the VR model resolves many of the limitations of these formalisms through probabilistic quantification; this strategy permits the treatment of variation, gradience, continuous variables, and multidimensionality. At the same time, the VR approach preserves many advantages of the rule-based models, including the capacity to represent categorical processes and abstract manipulation of phonological objects.

This paper will cite evidence from variation in speech style, child language, and language change across the adult life span showing that speakers have both discrete abstract analyses and nondiscrete, variable treatments of their phonological elements. The variable process of coronal stop deletion in English (*west side-wes' side*) provides one illustration of this dualistic representation. The process is highly variable: all English speakers do it some of the time, but nobody does it all of the time. It shows complex conditioning by phonological and morphological factors, including the morphemic status of the deletable final coronal stop: regular past tense forms like *missed*, *bowled*, whose final stop is a reflex of the tense marker, undergo deletion less often than underived words like *mist*, *bold*. Words must therefore have a mental representation that reflects internal morphological structure. Significantly, this structural representation is subject to abstract reanalysis, with quantitative consequences. Guy & Boyd 1990 show that speakers treat irregular verbs of the *left*, *told*, *slept* class as if they were underived forms (with higher deletion rates) in adolescence and young adulthood, but in middle age tend to reanalyze the forms as involving a tense marker, with lower deletion rates. This suggests abstract mental reflection on types and categories, rather than movement driven by usage and examples.

An important consequence of the VR approach is that variable processes provide a non-deterministic but recoverable link between alternate representations. Speakers possessed of variable rules in their mental grammars know that there are linguistic items that assume several different overt forms in a probabilistically regular way, while retaining an underlying unity. This explains various mysterious phenomena, such as 'near mergers'. A vowel merger advancing by a variable rule would reach a point in time where speakers vary between merged (i.e., phonetically overlapping) and unmerged articulations. At such a point, speakers could treat the units as both same and different.

One strength of usage-based models that is not captured in 'rule-based' formalisms is the treatment of idiosyncrasies of individual lexical items, such as frequency. We argue that the VR model can accommodate such properties through lexical representation. 'Lexical exceptions' to variable processes take the form of exceptionally high or low rates of application of the process in certain lexical items. They can be treated in VR as incorporating distinctive lexical entries with quantitative consequences for phonological variation.

**William Labov**

University of Pennsylvania, USA

*Returning to the obvious: the ubiquity of categorical rules*

Recent work in the framework of exemplar theory has demonstrated that speakers can retrieve a great deal of social information from their stored memories of lexical forms. It is argued that categories are indexed by probabilistic reference to regions of exemplar space, populated with remembered words. In this model, the influence of exemplars on production and perception is necessarily dependent on their token frequency, so that word frequency strongly determines phonetic output, and change is linked to lexical diffusion.

Much of this evidence on frequency effects has been drawn from lenition processes like auxiliary contraction, where the amount of reduction is proportional to lexical frequency. When we examine changes in progress that are not linked to lenition, the situation looks quite different. The widespread fronting of /uw/ and /ow/ across North America shows a categorical constraint on fronting before liquids independent of frequency or lexical membership. If we trace vowel systems from the most conservative to the most advanced, we find a sudden shift to systems where all vowels before /l/ and /r/ remain back, and all others are fronted, with a gap of several hundred Hz separating the two distributions. A similar categorical situation is found in the development of

the nasal system in tensing of short-a, where all vowels with nasal codas are raised to high front position and all others remain low front.

Proponents of exemplar theory argue that social information is inextricably mixed with phonological and grammatical information in the remembered words. Nevertheless, multivariate analyses regularly report independence of internal and social factors. Such independence seems to hold for some of the most prominent sociolinguistic variables like the T-V pronouns of power and solidarity. For these variables, each token has a clear social impact, unlike the stochastic effects of (ING) and (r). It appears that the information on which form has been used is stored independently of the part of speech used. Support for this hypothesis is found in the recent work of Wallace on *thou* and *you* in the 16th to 18th centuries. Across time, the frequency of *thou* was strongly correlated with social factors, but no evidence of the influence of part of speech or other grammatical categories was found. It would follow that important social information is stored in a form independent of whether speakers used the words *thou*, *thee* or *thy*.

Although we do not want to lose the profit that has been gained from the study of probabilistic distributions, a dispassionate overview of change and variation shows that it rests upon a solid foundation of categorical behavior.

**RENEGOTIATING LANGUAGE POLICIES AND PRACTICES:  
MULTILINGUAL LUXEMBOURG IN LATE MODERNITY [workshop]**

Convenors: Kristine Horner

University of Leeds

Contributors: Leilarna Kingsley, Charles Max and Gudrun Ziegler, Melanie Wagner, Jean-Jacques Weber

*Topic in relation to conference themes*

Taking fluctuations in Luxembourgish language policy as the starting point for our discussion, this workshop is informed by two key theoretical points that have been flagged in recent language policy scholarship. The first is the move to view language policy as encompassing much more than documents declaring 'official' and 'national' languages, which in turn is connected to the assertion that language policy is never absent and that it is necessary for scholars to grapple with both explicit and implicit dimensions of policy. The papers in this workshop explore the dynamics of language policy in a wide range of settings, dealing with top-down implementations as well as practices 'from below' ranging from compliance to resistance. The focus on the interrelationship between social structures and linguistic practices resonates well with the conference theme seeking to highlight connections between the micro and macro dimensions of social life. Building on the micro-macro interface in a further sense, the second point that will be stressed is that research on language policy needs to take into account dynamics on the global, regional and local levels in addition to those at the state level.

*Research background and workshop objectives*

In Ricento's (2000) influential article sketching three stages of language policy and planning scholarship, he maintains that there has been a shift away from the dominance of structuralist paradigms towards approaches foregrounding agency and social processes. This has raised new questions concerning traditional distinctions such as language vs. dialect and monolingualism vs. bilingualism. Unpacking the ways in which language varieties are valorized and stigmatized in various contexts is now viewed with increasing urgency. Given the historical trajectories and present-day manifestations of multilingualism in Luxembourg (see Davis, 1994), it provides a fruitful location to explore questions situated at the cutting edge of sociolinguistic inquiry. The central aim of this workshop is to advance language policy scholarship as it relates to the ways in which social actors are responding to the processes of Europeanization and accelerated globalization in the late modern period.

*Discussion questions*

- What can be gained by studying both implicit and explicit language policy (Shohamy, 2006)? In what ways are corpus and status planning bound up with one another? How do linguistic practices impact upon social structures rather than merely reflect them?
- How do we locate the critical historical moments central to language ideological debates (Blommaert, 1999)? What role do various social actors, e.g. media producers, ministry officials and politicians, play in relation to the mediation and circulation of language debates, as well as shaping language varieties that are valorized and/or used? In what ways do individuals cooperate with or resist top-down policies in the course of their everyday lives?
- How can language policy scholarship be reconfigured to deal with the processes of accelerated globalization (Coupland, 2003)? In what ways do social transformations bound up with late modernity underline the need to go beyond the state as the unit of analysis? How can researchers better grapple with the multidimensional and potentially negotiable nature of language policy?

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Leilarna Elizabeth Kingsley**

Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

*Language policy and use in multilingual banks in Luxembourg*

For decades the primary focus of language policy research has been large-scale activities by states and their agencies, while small-scale policy activities have been studied only to a limited extent. Addressing this gap, this paper describes research which investigates language policies in financial institutions in the multilingual context of Luxembourg. Multilingual financial institutions operate in the globalised context of international banking under strict banking secrecy laws and represent an interesting focal point for investigating explicit and implicit aspects of policy at a micro-level in the globalising world.

The goals of the research are to explore language policy, language practices and language beliefs in financial institutions in Luxembourg in order to investigate the extent to which language practices correspond to language policy. Shohamy's (1996) theoretical framework is adopted and extended to the workplace context in order to examine the explicit and implicit dimensions of language policy, which are intricately linked with language practices and beliefs. The data base for the study includes a first phase of interviews with managers in ten banks regarding language policy, followed by a second phase of questionnaires and focus-group discussions with employees of three of these banks regarding language use and beliefs.

This paper describes the extent to which Luxembourg banks make use of institutional mechanisms to manage social interaction, and examines their influence on implicit language policy. The reported language use practices of linguistically and culturally diverse workforces are investigated, alongside top-down and bottom-up beliefs about policy and language use. The three case studies provide insights into the complex nature of language policy and the processes and forces which operate in the micro setting of the workplace, thus contributing to research on micro dimensions of social life in the multilingual and international context of the state of Luxembourg.

**Charles Max and Gudrun Ziegler**

University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

*Integrating Language - Language for Integrating:*

*Luxembourgish in Development within Pre-primary and Primary Schooling*

Having the status of a 'national' language 'inter tres' (alongside French and German), but not inter pares since 1984, Luxembourgish interestingly leads a subliminal life as regards its mention within official documents concerned with state-related language-in-education policy. According to official documents, its very mentioning as "language of integration" - although very present and controversially discussed in the media (e.g., French vs. Luxembourgish as a requirement for accessing the labor market) - is to be found at the pre-primary level only, that is constraining all educational professionals to use Luxembourgish on an overall and omni-present basis for all interaction and instruction at this level of public schooling. However, primary school and beyond defines Luxembourgish - regarding official documents - only as an extra-curricular vernacular/vehicular with a minor place within curricula. Knowing that a mixed bag of facts is put forward in order to legitimize the obligation to use Luxembourgish at pre-primary level (e.g., the typological relation of Luxembourgish to German, with German being the only language of first literacy; the need to start early when learning a language) and acknowledging that up to 50% of the children interact on behalf of at least one other variety at home or outside school, little is known so far about

- a) the development of Luxembourgish with regard to plurilingual learning and
- b) the very doings of the young interactants when managing all kinds of interactional endeavors within pre-primary schooling activities.

This paper then is concerned with the means young learners (age 3 - 6 years) put to action when engaging in an activity at hand such as joint set-up of a task or negotiating resources for play. More precisely, detailed analyses from a CA-for-Language-Acquisition-perspective based on the multi-modal PluChiLu corpus (Plurilingual Children in Luxembourg) focus on the emergence and the jointly mediated use of Luxembourgish in its devel-

opment. Rather than being a response to the officially allocated educational obligation (against other ambient varieties or languages) findings point to the fact that Luxembourgish amongst pre-primary students is an issue of organizing and achieving locally constructed activities by the learners and relevant to the learners in terms of participation. Indeed, the official designation of Luxembourgish as the “language of integration” specifically for the youngest (only) seems - as revealed through the analysis of our data - to neglect precisely this: the agency of the young learners in and through their Luxembourgish in interaction as one relevant means-at-talk.

### **Melanie Wagner**

Université du Luxembourg

*Letter writing practices in World War II: language values then and now*

The early 20th century marks the beginning of the discussion around Luxembourgish identity and Luxembourgish as a national language. The Luxembourgish language gained importance at this moment and the pressure for it to be used in situations, other than the private ones, grew. Even so, Luxembourgish was primarily a spoken and hardly a written language. The period around World War II is regarded as one of many key points in this discussion. During this period the link between the Luxembourgish language and national identity was strengthened and so was the symbolic value of “Luxembourgish” - in strong dissociation from German and from the German dialects. Until then, most private communication was done in written French or German, but with the start of the war, Luxembourgish became the written language for private writing in the case of a number of families during that period.

In this paper, a corpus compiled of letters written by one soldier and his friends and family will be analyzed in order to provide an insight into the language choices made in this particular group and this particular setting. The medium of “army postal service” is interesting for two reasons: first because an insight into people’s language choices for private writing will be provided and second because people’s language ideologies in the period of WWII will be revealed. The metalinguistic comments made on language will be studied to explore possible motivations for the choices made as well as the writers’ language ideologies. The authors’ letter writing practices during that time, and their view of these at present will be complemented by an analysis of interviews conducted with the surviving authors of these letters. The insights that these interviews will provide, should provide some information on how the discourse about language choice, language ideologies and literacy practices has influenced the discourse of Luxembourgish as the national language, or vice versa.

### **Jean-Jacques Weber**

Departments of English and Education University of Luxembourg

*Constructing Lusobourghish Ethnicities: Implications for Language-in-Education Policy*

This paper takes a language ideological approach (e.g. Kroskrity 2004; Irvine and Gal 2000) to describing the ongoing processes of the construction and negotiation of emergent romano- or luso-bourghish ethnicities within Luxembourgish society. In the first part of the paper, I discuss the main theoretical assumptions of the language ideological approach and provide an overview of the language situation in Luxembourg. The next part presents the results of an ethnographic study of language use, language ideologies and identity construction among transnational adolescents attending a youth centre in Luxembourg city. It is shown, among others, how the adolescents’ linguistic practices involve a slight shift in the traditional Luxembourgish trilingualism from Luxembourgish, French and German towards Luxembourgish, French and Portuguese (or Spanish or Italian) and, furthermore, how they prise apart the narrow one nation - one language link in their lived reality while nominally still adhering to it. The concluding discussion considers the implications of these emergent ‘structures of feeling’ (Williams 1977) for Luxembourgish language-in-education policy and, more particularly, addresses the question of what structural changes to the school-system would be needed to meet the language needs of the increasing number of transnational students.

## SCALES OF MULTILINGUALISM: TOWARDS A MULTI-LAYERED ANALYSIS OF LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

[workshop]

Convenors: Francis Hult and Sari Pietikäinen

University of Texas, San Antonio, United States of America and University of Jyväskylä, Finland

Contributors: Francis M. Hult, Pia Lane, Nigel Musk, Sari Pietikäinen

Discussant: Helen Kelly-Holmes

### *The Topic and Its Relationship to the Conference Theme*

Sociolinguistic phenomena that can be approached from either a macro- or micro-level perspective are, in fact, manifested across multiple dimensions, or scales, of social organization (Lemke, 2000). Multilingualism, in particular, can be examined at a macro-sociological level, as in research on how language policies are designed and implemented, where political and ideological issues are at stake. Multilingualism can also be investigated at the level of an individual's life-world, paying attention to his/her personal experiences of the language situation in question and exploring how he/she sees the possibilities opened up by languages, the constraints that may exist and finally, the choices that can be made. These two vantage points do not suggest a strict macro-micro dichotomy. In this workshop, we seek to explore conceptual tools and methodological frameworks for examining multilingualism in ways that simultaneously illuminate its micro- and macro-level dimensions and - at best - overcome this dichotomy. Here, we suggest, that the macro-micro distinction may represent a starting point for research but that the focus of inquiry must be on the multiple dimensions of multilingualism and how they are articulated together.

### *Background to the Research and Objectives for this Meeting*

Echoing the long-standing goal of sociolinguistics to bring together micro- and macro-levels of analyses, we seek ways of theorizing and analyzing multilingualism in ways that would go beyond this dichotomy. To address the complexities of how various linguistic and semiotic resources are used - for example in contexts of globalization; transculturality; language policy and planning; and the construction, negotiation and expression of identity - we need to bridge the macro-micro level gap.

Accordingly, the key aim of this workshop is to explore novel approaches to studying multilingualism that capture the potential fluidity and hybridity between and among languages and their speakers as well as the global and local dynamics inherent in this relationship. To this end, we discuss fruitful directions that emerge from integrating recent work on multilingualism in three disciplines: sociolinguistics, (critical) discourse studies, and ethnography (Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005; Butler, 1997; Scollon, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

### *Session Organization*

The papers in this workshop will examine the application and complementary nature of some key concepts from the aforementioned three disciplines: nexus analysis, scale, performativity, and historicities of discourses. Empirically, we draw on our respective research in multilingual settings where macro-level processes can be analyzed at the micro-level of the use of languages and other semiotic resources. Our multilingual sites/topics of research include media and tourism in a multilingual Samiland, bilingualism in a school in Mid-Wales, the implementation of educational language policy in the south of Sweden, and language shift in a Kven community in Northern Norway.

The workshop is geared towards the exchange of ideas and experiences related to methodological approaches to multi-layered research in multilingual contexts. Each presenter will give a short paper addressing particular concepts in a specific multilingual site. The papers share the general aim of bringing together combinations of concepts and research approaches in an attempt to reconcile and, to a certain extent, move beyond the micro-macro dichotomy in study of multilingualism.

### *Discussion Questions*

The papers are intended to open up a wide-ranging discussion on the multidimensional examination of multilingualism. Specific questions to be discussed during the workshop include:



- How can we provide support that there is a connection between a micro-level action and large-scale social factors?
- Hymes (1986) suggests that the study of discourse requires a judicious balance of scope and depth with respect to the range of research inquiry. What combination(s) of methodological tools best serve to accomplish this goal when conducting multi-layered research about multilingualism?
- What are the benefits and potential pitfalls of integrating multiple disciplinary perspectives in research on multilingualism?

#### PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

##### **Francis M. Hult**

University of Texas at San Antonio, United States of America

*Nexus Analysis of Fractal Discourses in Language Policy and Planning: A Swedish Example*

A central concern among scholars of language policy and planning (LPP) is how macro- and micro-sociolinguistics can be used in concert to understand relationships between individual language use and societal multilingualism and, in turn, how this relationship might be managed through LPP (e.g., Ricento 2000). Although this has been a perennial issue, it has proven challenging to address. Following innovative developments in discourse analysis (Lemke 2000, Wortham 2006), it is suggested here that it may be fruitful to move beyond macro-micro dichotomies by focusing on dynamic discourse processes through which LPP is shaped, contextualized, and interpreted simultaneously across multiple levels of social organization (Ball 2006, Lo Bianco 2005). Such a tack would serve not only the investigation of specific layers of LPP (e.g., individual, institutional, community, and national) but also the study of how these layers are intertwined.

In this vein, the present paper advances a multi-level, discourse analytic approach to investigating LPP by synthesizing Agar's (2005) notion of fractal analysis for societal issues and Scollon and Scollon's (2004) nexus analysis for discourse cycles. The concept of fractals, self-similar recursive patterns, serves as a useful analogy for identifying salient discourses that operate across levels of social organization. Nexus analysis, an ethnographic sociolinguistic approach to studying ways in which discourses operate as cycles across space and time, provides guidance as to how fractal discourses can be mapped. Drawing on data collected in Sweden from July 2004 to July 2005, this combined approach is illustrated by an examination of discourses that cycle through educational language policy. An examination of data from national language policies, curricular documents, visual public language use, and classroom practice related to English language teaching are used to illustrate conceptual and methodological issues inherent in the approach.

##### **Pia Lane**

Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies, University of Oslo, Norway

*"We did what we thought was best for our children". A Nexus Analysis of Language Shift in a Kven Community*

Language shift is common in many bilingual communities (Fishman 1991). The loss of intergenerational language transmission can be seen as a choice the parents make, but in reality they do not always have a choice. Their actions are influenced by large-scale social factors such as language policies and attitudes towards minority languages.

Thus, social factors on the macro level influence the maintenance and loss of minority languages, but analysing how this affects the individual's choices is difficult. The analysis is further complicated because it sometimes takes time before policies have an impact on the actions of individuals. Therefore, the time dimension is crucial for investigating language shift.

These issues will be addressed by an analysis of language shift in a Kven community in Northern Norway. The Kven went through a period of oppression, and the official Norwegian goal was to Norwegianise the minorities in the North. Today, the majority of the Kven population has shifted to Norwegian, but there are a few villages where Kven still is spoken. One of these is Bugøyenes where everybody over the age of 60 still use Kven as their main everyday language. However, they spoke Norwegian only to their children and therefore there is no intergenerational transmission of Kven. The data come from recordings of conversations and sociolinguistic

interviews addressing language choice. 15 hours were recorded and transcribed. Most express regret that they did not pass their language on to their children, stating that they did what they thought was in their children's best interest. When this intergenerational language transmission was disrupted in the 1960s, the Norwegianisation policies had been lifted. At this point in time, nobody was forced or coerced into giving up their mother tongue or speaking Norwegian to their children. Even so, many of those who were interviewed explicitly refer to the Norwegianisation policies or their encounter with the Norwegian school. Thus there is a time lag between the policy implementation on the macrolevel and the actions of the individuals on the micro-level.

In order to analyse this language shift a theoretical and methodological framework which allows for a historical perspective is essential. The framework used for the analysis of data is Nexus Analysis which emphasises that discourses and the individual social actors have a history and that these therefore cannot be analysed without reference to the past (Scollon and Scollon 2004). Thus, the historical perspective is crucial: people, objects, mediational means and discourses are seen as having a history and projecting a future (de Saint Georges

2005). The language shift in Bugøynes illustrates how large-scale discourses such as the language policies get internalised and later materialised in action through language choice.

### **Nigel Musk**

Linköping University, Sweden

*Performing Bilingualism at the Meso Level: An Example from a Bilingual School in Mid-Wales*

In 2003 the National Assembly for Wales/*Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru* produced “a national action plan for a bilingual Wales” entitled *Iaith Pawb* (everyone's language) expressing bold aspirations for “a truly bilingual Wales” (WAG 2003: 1). One of the institutions charged with the task of delivering this is the Welsh education system, not least the expanding provision of bilingual education. It is here in the institutional meso level of the school that macro- and micro-level discourses meet, where the Language Policy and Planning (LPP) documents at an all-Wales level are to be implemented with a view to “encourag[ing] individuals to learn Welsh and empower them to use the language.” (WAG 2003: §4.1)

In this paper I maintain that this meso level of society is an important site for examining the recontextualisation of identifiable discourses enshrined in such LPP documents. Likewise, in the context of Spanish education, Martín Rojo (2004: 247) has also highlighted the mediating role of the institutional level between the micro and macro levels of society.

An important theoretical point of departure for this paper is Butler's (1990, 1993) application and adaptation of Austin's (1962) notion of performativity to the construction of gender. Hence one of my central tenets is that bilingualism, like gender, can be regarded as a category that does not predate the concept; it is produced by means of repeated discursive acts, “which congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural type of being.” (Butler 1990: 33) Thus bilingualism is to be seen as dynamic bilingualisms-in-practice, which are continually being reshaped, revalued and reconstituted, both through discourses which recontextualise the notion, and through the everyday language practices of bilinguals (Musk 2006: 113).

This paper relies on combining discourse analytic methods (including Conversation Analysis) to shed light on bilingualisms-in-practice and to identify discourses on bilingualism, i.e. aggregates of similar discursive features in circulation across different contexts. The data used for the analysis ranges from national and local LPP documents to a headmaster's address to parents and prospective pupils of a bilingual school in mid-Wales to peer talk-in-interaction among pupils of the same school.

### **Sari Pietikäinen**

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

*Sami on the move: fusing ethnographic and discourse analysis for investigating language mobilities*

Globalisation transcends localities, resulting in the reorganisation of existing relations and in the creation of new forms of actions. In a multilingual Lapland, globalisation processes have various sociolinguistic effects. A good example of these is a change in the functions and values of the indigenous Sami languages.

The once solid community languages were pushed in the margins of the nation states in the early 20th century. Since then the Sami languages have, however, moved into new environments of education, politics, and

identity construction. Currently, they are finding their ways into new spaces of popular culture, media, and tourism. Today, Sami linguistic and other semiotic resources are used not only for communication and building an indigenous community, but they function also as a commodity in global music markets and tourism, or as a resource for creative identity performance. This kind of a sociolinguistic change calls for an investigation that overcomes the macro-micro gap and concepts that address movements, diversity and multiplicity in this multilingual situation.

To this end, I fuse ethnographic and discourse analytical approaches in an attempt to track movements and conditions of Sami resource mobility. More particularly, I explore the potential usefulness of concepts of scale, nexus and discourses in the examination of polycentric, multilayered Sami mobility (cf. Blommaert 2007, Heller 2007, Scollon & Scollon 2004). Analytically, the specific sites of movements can be seen as a nexus of various scales and discourses reconfiguring the values and functions of the Sami languages. The data discussed in this paper comprises of multimodal discourse data (photographs, interviews, texts) and observations and recordings from ethnographic fieldwork in Lapland. The data comes from an on-going research project on multilingualism in the North Calotte area examining discourses, practices and experiences of linguistic diversity in contexts of tourism, media, education and everyday life (<http://www.jyu.fi/hum/laitokset/kielet/en/research/discourse/Research/north/>).

**LANGUAGE IN CONFLICT** [workshop]

Convenor: Lesley Jeffries

University of Huddersfield, United Kingdom

Contributors: Derek E. Bousfield, Jonathan Culpeper, Lesley Jeffries and Dave Webb, Jim O'Driscoll

Discussant: Lesley Jeffries

The aim of this workshop is to initiate a conversation between conflict studies and linguistics which will enable future researchers to:

- delineate a new sub-field of linguistic investigation by developing existing linguistic theories and practices with reference to existing models of conflict;
- produce a usable set of parameters and methodologies by which researchers in conflict can identify significant communicative factors in creating - and in mitigating - conflict;
- carry out case studies of conflicts using the insights and methods developed by the project.

The research questions that the workshop will explore are:

- Which approaches and methodologies in linguistics can be usefully applied to the specifics of conflict situations, both to help understand how they arise and to offer some discourse-based opportunities for diffusing and resolving them?
- What insights into these models of linguistic communication does conflict data offer, and how might they contribute to a deeper understanding of human communication?

*Research context*

The contemporary social constructivist emphasis in the social sciences implies an integral role for language in constituting psychological and social realities (Shotter 1993). However, this recognition of the importance of language has barely touched the mainstream of conflict studies. The burgeoning numbers of courses on Conflict and Conflict Resolution at British universities have no place for it. One reason for this is that the mechanisms for studying how language is important to conflict and its study have not been made explicit. Pearce & Littlejohn advocate attention to "the particularities of the activity" (cf. Levinson [1979] 1992) within conflicts rather than constellations of clashing variables "in some abstract world of generalized persons" (1997: xii). But they offer no methodology for exploring the nature of these 'particularities', how to define specific types of 'activity' or how the abovementioned 'persons' can be degeneralised analytically.

Conflict studies has models of conflict, violence and peace (Galtung 1969/1996) and those of (de-)escalation, (a)symmetry and conflict involvement (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall 2005). These connect with the models that sociolinguistics has developed recently. It is at this point that the two disciplines can most fruitfully interact.

Much scholarship in linguistics takes on board the inevitability of conflict, addresses antagonistic communication and interaction and explores how oppositional stances are created and maintained. One example is the field of im/politeness studies (Culpeper 1996, 2005, Bousfield (2006, 2007), O'Driscoll (2001, 2007). Another strand studies confrontational broadcast talk and the manipulation of situational norms and language resources to set up the potential for conflict (Pirainen-Marsh 2005). Chilton (2004) attempted to apply linguistic insights to the (inherently conflictual) political arena. Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995, 2001 [1989]) has always been socially engaged and, addressing itself to the study of how hegemony, inequality and power are enacted, often has conflict in its sights.

The overall contribution to conflict studies from sociolinguistic and pragmatic scholarship so far has been relatively disparate, concentrating either on particular issues or events in order to advance theory or on particular settings in order to describe the nature of interaction within it. We wish to fuse these types of scholarship, training their insights, theories and associated modes of analysis specifically on the matter of conflict.

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Derek E. Bousfield**

University of Central Lancashire, United Kingdom

*How does conflict start? Perspectives from linguistics and beyond*

Studies of conflict and conflict resolution rarely concern themselves with the ways in which conflictive situations are triggered. Corsaro and Rizzo (1990) do suggest that conflict begins as an opposition to an 'antecedent event'. Recent studies concerned with impoliteness in language have begun to consider different ways in which impoliteness is deemed to be an appropriate response to a preceding face-threatening 'antecedent' event. Bousfield (2006; 2007) considers the neuro-psycho-social approach of Jay (1992, 2000), but Culpeper, (2005) and Culpeper et al. (2003) surmise that the more linguistic approach of Hutchby (1996, chapter 6) may be a good model for accounting for the reasons why impoliteness (as just one example of conflict) is communicated. This paper, then, seeks to compare and contrast the approaches of Jay and Hutchby to the same data to ascertain which approach, if any, proves to be superior in terms of explanation and elaboration of the antecedent face-threatening event which triggers the explicit communication of verbal exchanges which can be seen to be conflictive.

**Jonathan Culpeper**

Lancaster University, United Kingdom

*Conventional linguistic impoliteness*

Despite some early brief attempts, it is only in recent years that there has been a concerted effort to explore conflictual interactions containing what might be labelled "impoliteness" or "rudeness" (Culpeper 2005; Bousfield and Locher 2008). Much of this recent work focusses on how to get impoliteness off the theoretical starting-block, draws up programmatic statements and undertakes case studies of specific local contexts (though see Bousfield 2008, for something more comprehensive). This contrasts with the classic, and most cited work on politeness, namely, Brown and Levinson (1987), which contains a comprehensive description of "pragmatic strategies" and "linguistic output strategies" for achieving politeness. The main objective of this paper is to assess what kind of description of linguistic impoliteness might be possible, show how it can be operationalised, and begin to put it into action. I will draw in particular on Terkourafi's (e.g. 2001) work, as well as work in corpus linguistics (e.g. Hoey 2005). Apart from discussing the notion of conventionality, I will also touch on creativity.

**Lesley Jeffries and Dave Webb**

University of Huddersfield, United Kingdom and Leeds Metropolitan University, United Kingdom

*Introduction: The place of Linguistics in Conflict Resolution Studies*

The study of conflict and its resolution has become a well-recognised academic discipline in recent years. Whilst some writers on conflict acknowledge the importance of language, there is little research in this field, beyond the recognition that certain kinds of communicative errors such as mistranslations or misunderstandings and deliberate misuse (i.e. misleading or deliberately unclear) may contribute to, or cause, conflict. Some Conflict Resolution theorists consider the communicative dimensions of conflict resolution under three headings: Interactive Dialogical and Discursive.

These discussions of communication in conflict have mostly drawn upon critical and cultural theories of discourse and hermeneutics, and have so far made little use of theories of interaction and communication and tools of analysis derived from linguistic research. There is, therefore, scope for the concepts of pragmatics, critical discourse analysis, stylistics and sociolinguistics to be exploited in the study of conflict and its resolution.

Using examples taken from different kinds of conflict, we aim to begin the process of using linguistic knowledge to understand more about conflict.

This new field of enquiry has the potential to encompass all aspects of communication and language, from face-to-face interaction to historical and cultural change in language and its impact on conflict. This workshop will explore some of the linguistic approaches that may be used to explore conflict. There will be time for discussion about how other approaches may also be used for this purpose in the future.

**Jim O'Driscoll**

University of Huddersfield, United Kingdom

*Towards a typology of conflict situations: with an attempted application*

Starting out from the self-evident facts that (1) conflict, in order for it be recognised as such, has to be enacted and (2) in being enacted it is, like all communicative behaviour, situated (and that it is by virtue of these facts that sociolinguistics might have something to say to conflict studies) this contribution explores the communicative parameters of situations of conflict. It offers an inventory of such parameters in the same spirit as, and inspired by, the SPEAKING mnemonic of Hymes (1974), Preston's (1986) attempted comprehensive coverage of sociolinguistic variation and Goffman's architecture of situated interaction (e.g. 1963, 1971, 1984).

The intention of the inventory is to circumscribe all the possible variety of conflict situations, to provide a vocabulary for this variation, to offer a checklist of situational features which could have a bearing on the nature, development and outcome of a conflict, including prognoses for various means of intervention, and, finally, to take a first step towards a possible typology (in which certain settings on some parameters would entail, or be found empirically to implicate, certain settings on others).

The inventory was originally conceived 'in the abstract'. This contribution also describes the additions and modifications that were required when it was applied to conflict within a specific kind of setting and circumstance, namely disputes in British HE institutions where, driven principally by financial considerations (the desire to avoid litigation), a funded project is currently under way to find alternative means of resolving disputes. This application raises questions about what is common to all conflict situations. It also demonstrates the inseparability of the conflicts themselves from attempts to resolve them.



## MULTILINGUALISM AND IDENTITIES ACROSS CONTEXTS: TURKISH-SPEAKING YOUTH IN EUROPE

[workshop]

Convenors: Normann Jørgensen and Vally Lytra

University of Copenhagen, Denmark and King's College London, UK

Contributors: Mehmet-Ali Akıncı, Taşkın Baraç and Vally Lytra, Margreet Dorleijn and Jacomine Nortier, Tözün İssa, Normann Jørgensen, Inken Keim, Janus Spindler Møller, Kate Pahl

Recent developments in social science research, including socio-linguistics, have led to a re-conceptualisation of the relationship between language users' range of different linguistic material and their identities. Identities and their discursive constructions are not stable entities residing in people's minds. Instead, they are multiple and shifting, and they are linked to relations of power in society. Identities may vary across contexts and can be negotiated, reframed or contested in unfolding communication. Traditionally sociolinguistic research has studied multilingualism focussing on code-choice and code-switching as key linguistic means in identity negotiations. Recent studies on multilingualism, however, have examined not only code-switching but also a range of other linguistic practices, such as the use of linguistic material from varieties which the speakers only command rudimentarily, new linguistic and diasporic varieties, new linguistic strategies and new identity narratives. This has led to an increased interest in new combinations of features as used particularly by young speakers in urban, late modern environments. Insights from such work have revealed that young people use whatever linguistic resources they have at their disposal to speak, write and do identity work. This line of research has revealed a complex relationship between the young people's multilingual oral and written performances and identities in operation. It has also highlighted the centrality of language-focused work on identities in order to (a) illuminate the ways in which situated meaning making shapes and is shaped by broader macro categories (e.g. ethnicity, social class, gender, religious affiliations) and (b) foreground similarities and differences in identity work across contexts (e.g. social, political, historical, institutional, spatio-temporal), within countries (e.g. youth of Turkish and Moroccan descent in the Netherlands) and between countries (UK, the Netherlands, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Norway).

Our workshop aims at contributing towards (a) and (b) above by focusing on multilingualism and identities across contexts with special reference to Turkish-speaking youth in Europe. Turkish-speaking youth has recently received increasing attention (see, for instance, Creese et al 2006; Keim 2002, Dirim & Auer 2004, Hinnenkamp 2000, İssa 2005; Lytra 2003, Jørgensen 2003; Wright & Kurtoğlu-Hooton 2006). The purpose of this workshop is to bring together researchers working on Turkish-speaking youth across Europe drawing on existing networks such as the TINWE (Turkish in Western Europe) network but also expanding these networks to include, for instance, researchers from the UK and Greece. Drawing on a wide range of analytical frameworks from sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and new literacy studies and methodologies (both qualitative and quantitative approaches), the papers will bring to the fore the young people's diverse multilingual repertoires and practices that they use in order to negotiate self- and other-identity positionings and affiliations associated with ethnicity, gender, techno-popular culture, and so on. In the process, we hope to show ways we can advance or problematize notions such as "Turkishness", "Turkish-speaking communities" and hyphenated (e.g. British-Turkish, Danish-Turkish) identities as well as concepts such as "multilingualism" or "polylingualism". The investigation of Turkish-speaking youth across contexts, within and between countries will also provide productive points of entry into identity work in comparative perspective.

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Mehmet-Ali Akıncı**

Laboratoire Dynamique Du Langage (UMR 5596 CNRS - Université Lumière Lyon2), France

*Biliteracy and Identity of Turkish-speaking children and adolescents in France*

Bilingualism cannot be examined solely in relation to language itself, but must always be viewed within the wider societal context and with a specific understanding of the particular circumstances of the language com-

munities in question (Hamers & Blanc 1983; Baker 2001). Besides, in every society literacy carries a power status and is perceived as enhancing economic, social and political opportunities for the individual (Street, 1993, Datta, 2000). Central to our investigation, our model is Hornberger's (1989) interrelated continua of biliterate development in individuals. This model of bilingualism usefully highlights the various interconnections between bilingualism and biliteracy. The strength of this model is its consideration of the multiple relationships between different types of bilinguals, and their language use, as a part of a continuum rather than as a dichotomy. Three of her continua: the reception-production continuum, the oral language-written language continuum and the L1-L2 continuum provide a framework for our characterization of the multilingual competences of the bilinguals investigated.

This study derived from a research project on the development of text production abilities as a critical indicator of literacy across and beyond school ages among Turkish-French bilingual and Turkish and French monolingual children, teenagers and adults. In the framework of this project, we elaborated a detailed and individually tailored background and literacy related questionnaire. The purpose of our paper is to present the results of this questionnaire which constitute a critical source of information on demographic variables and literacy-related activities in and outside subjects' homes. The questionnaire included three sections on: background characteristics (demographic information), language use-choice (only for bilinguals), and literacy-related activities (watching TV, listening radio, using computer, reading newspapers and journals, reading books, using materials for homework, writing activities and extra-curricular activities). A total of 335 participants in four age groups (10-11 years-old students from grade school, 12-13 years-old from junior school, 15-16 years-old from high school and students from university) for each population (ie. Turkish-French bilinguals and French (low SES) and Turkish (low SES and high SES) monolinguals) were asked to fill out the questionnaire. The data allowed us to answer the following questions:

1. What kind of literacy experiences do bilingual children have outside school?
2. What is the relationship between language, culture and literacy?
3. What are the characteristics of these bilinguals, their environments, the contexts in which they receive instruction, and the nature of this instruction with regard to reading and writing activities?
4. What resources do they access, what literacy practices do they engage in on their own?

On the basis of descriptive statistics, analyses yielded significant differences with regard to reading and writing activities. These findings aim to help in the development of social structures and pedagogical approaches targeted at improving bilinguals' motivation to engage in conventional literacy activities, thus contributing to their success beyond schooling.

### **Taşkın Baraç and Vally Lytra**

King's College London, United Kingdom

*Language practices, language ideologies and identity construction in Turkish complementary schools in London*

This paper emerges from a larger study on multilingualism in complementary schools in four communities in the UK (ESRC, RES 000-23-1180). One of the four case studies focused on the language practices and identity construction of Turkish-speaking young people in two Turkish complementary schools in London (Creese et al. 2007d). Complementary schools are voluntary schools- also referred to as "community", "supplementary" or "heritage" schools- which serve specific ethno-linguistic groups, particularly through community language classes.

Drawing on a variety of sources (i.e. field-notes, tape and video-recordings, semi-structured interviews and still photography) we explore how Turkish-speaking young people strategically exploit the full range of their linguistic resources (e.g. Turkish, Cypriot-Turkish and other regional and diasporic varieties of Turkish, English, including non-standard English, Arabic and other instructed foreign languages) for meaning making and identity negotiation in Turkish complementary schools. We argue that Turkish-speaking young people use their languages and language varieties flexibly and spontaneously and that their language practices demonstrate fluidity rather than fixity in the ways they identify themselves. The young people's language practices and identity negotiations are situated in the context of Turkish complementary schools' competing language ideologies which, on the one hand, tend to privilege the compartmentalization of languages and languages varieties and, on the other hand, tacitly acknowledge that the young people have differential language proficiencies and preferences.

**Margreet Dorleijn and Jacomine Nortier**

University Utrecht, The Netherlands

*Play, style, exploration and code: the linguistic recourses of teenagers of Turkish and Moroccan descent*

The Turkish and Moroccan communities in the Netherlands are the two largest migrant communities in the Netherlands and highly comparable in terms of size, cultural and religious values, place of residence, socio-economic position etc. However, the degree of maintenance, the function of their respective home languages and the way these are employed in code switching differs enormously. We will briefly survey the macro sociological and sociolinguistic factors that play a role in this difference.

On the micro level, we will distinguish four functions that Turkish and the Moroccan languages appear to have (often at the same time). These are: a) play, that is language itself as a tool for and object of fun, wit, and other types of poetic language use, b) style, that is, the use of linguistic means to construct and present ones identity, c) exploration, use of linguistic means to find out about the identity of the interlocutors and d) default mode of communication. It appears that Moroccan languages are mainly used for the first three functions, and Turkish for the last three. This will again be related to factors on a macro level. When discussing Moroccan-Dutch data, we will address the issue that you don't need to be fluent in your L1 in order to use it as a poetic tool and to attach great symbolic and emotional value to it. When discussing Turkish-Dutch data, we will argue that the mixed code used for exploration or stylistic means differs from code switching as the default means of communication: in the latter case one should rather speak of a mixed code, where grammatical, lexical and phonological features of both Turkish and Dutch are intertwined to a high degree. We will illustrate our findings with examples from both spoken data and data from bilingual internetfora.

**Tözün İssa**

London Metropolitan University, United Kingdom

*Multiculturalism and inter-group dynamics: Language Culture and Identity of Turkish Speaking Youth in the UK*

Contrary to common assumptions, Turkish speaking communities in the UK is not a homogenous group. It is made up of Mainland Turks, Turkish Cypriots and Turkish speaking Kurds from Turkey. These groups differ in their social, cultural, educational and political aspirations. The patterns of code-switching/borrowing used within variations of Turkish reflect such diversity. Previous studies into the communities revealed different educational and social experiences (Institute of Education, 1999; Griffiths, 2002; İssa, 2005). The study focuses on second/ third generation Turkish, Cypriot and Kurdish Youth (16-19) attending community supplementary schools. Each group, consisting of 6-8 students from three different schools is matched by age, gender and length of time in the British education system. Semi structured interviews are conducted to determine students' views on cultural, social, political and their educational aspirations.

The results are categorised according to emerging themes: schooling and educational aspirations, bilingualism, social, /cultural /religious/political experiences, inter-group dynamics, intra-group relations.

Overall findings are evaluated in relation to the participants' construction of their multiple identities.

**J. Normann Jørgensen**

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

*Poly-lingual Linguaging Among Young Turkish Speakers*

Late modern urban youth, at least in Europe, has developed new ways of expressing identities and negotiating social relations through simultaneous, integrated, and co-ordinated use of linguistic features which traditionally belong to "different languages". The young speakers are *poly*-lingual in the sense that they do not respect the borders between different sets of features - they even use features from languages of which they know very little (whereas *multi*-lingual individuals are supposed to "command" several different languages). Obviously such poly-linguistic behavior is able to serve the same purposes as all other kinds of linguistic behavior, including identity representation and negotiations of social relations. Poly-lingual behavior is particularly frequent in oral interaction, but it is not restricted to oral communication. Poly-lingual languaging can also be observed in, e.g., graffiti. This paper will study the development of poly-lingual patterns among a group of Turkish-Danish

grade school students from grade 1 through grade 9 of the public school in Denmark and compare with a group of Turkish students from grade 1 through grade 8 of the public school in Turkey. The data are transcribed audio-recorded group conversations among peers (see the *International Journal of Bilingualism* vol. 7:4 and the *Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism* vol. K5). Comparisons will also include Turkish graffiti from cities in Europe and Turkey.

### **Inken Keim**

Institute for the German Language, Mannheim, Germany

*Biographical processes, self-conception, and style of communication of a group of Turkish girls in Mannheim, Germany*

Based on long-term ethnographic research and on biographical interviews, my paper focuses on the biographical processes of a group of Turkish girls in Mannheim, Germany as well as on the gradual change in group members' self-conception and style of communication in the course of growing into adulthood. The ethnographic description of the group's life world constitutes the frame for the analytical reconstruction of those factors that lead to the formation of a (at times even criminal) ethnic clique, the "Turkish Powergirls" as they called themselves, who shared a common fate and constructed a genuine style of communication. The choice of linguistic and communicative means for constructing a style of communication is motivated by and deeply grounded in group members' social, intellectual and emotional experiences which they gained in the process of positioning themselves in relation to relevant others of their life world. My paper will give a rough outline of these processes.

### **Janus Spindler Møller**

Copenhagen University, Denmark

*Polylingual group conversations in late modern society*

The Køge Project (see Jørgensen 2003 for an introduction) has group recordings involving the same Turkish-Danish speakers during 9 years and again 8 years later. In my paper I will combine a quantitative study of the development in the patterns of language choice with qualitative micro analysis of group conversations. In the quantitative study I will show the patterns in the informants' use of Danish and Turkish over time, how they start using other sets of linguistic features such as English or German, and how all these different sets of linguistic features become more and more integrated. The hypothesis is that linguistic diversity is used as a resource that expands during more than one life stage. In the qualitative study I will conduct sequentially based micro analyses (e.g. Li Wei 2002) to show how the informants use a range of different languages for a range of purposes. I will focus on the interplay between linguistic diversity and local identity construction and negotiation (Zimmerman 1998), crossing, and performance (Rampton 2006). I will discuss how the informants orient themselves towards linguistic norms in society at large and how they negotiate linguistic norms in their peer group interaction. I will also discuss whether terms like *bilingual* and *multilingual* are appropriate in order to describe the informants' verbal behavior in peer group interaction or whether a term like *polylingual* is a better word for describing the informants' fluent use and local construction of linguistic features (such as languages) in categories.

### **Kate Pahl**

University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

*Identity, time-scales, and children's multimodal texts*

How can children's multimodal multilingual texts be understood in relation to practices in the home? This paper will draw on Lemke (2000)'s work on artefacts and their accrued meaning in relation to timescales. It will explore the relationship between the timescale attached to an object and its accrued meaning within a home. Certain objects held more meanings within family homes than others. Migration across diasporas sometimes intensified or problematized these meanings. These complex meanings attached to objects and experience can then be understood as linking to children's text making, in that children draw on such objects and experience when creating multimodal texts. The presentation will also draw on work by Wortham (2003) in analysing the

way timescales are linked to constructions of identity. These complex experiences and objects can be understood to be instantiated within children's multimodal texts. Identities in practice are formed, for example, from the experience of moving backwards and forwards between one country and the other. This process, of *sedimented identities in texts*, can be observed within home text making (Rowse and Pahl 2007).

This presentation will draw on a longitudinal ethnographic research project involving the study of multimodal texts collected from the home of a Turkish child in North London. Over a period of three years, the researcher visited the home, collected texts, conducted interviews, and collected textual and photographic evidence from the home. Ethnographic observations were also undertaken at the child's school. The presentation will consider the way in which meanings attached to specific multimodal objects were shaped as the child travelled between Turkey and London. In particular, it will look at how the sign 'bird', realised as a model, as a drawing, and written in Turkish and also in English, became associated with identity narratives connected with the child's experiences of migration. The shaping and realisation of this text was recorded over time, and was connected to specific family practices, such as visiting Turkey and also school practices, such as reading 'The Ugly Duckling'. The child was able to negotiate these identities by means of the bird text (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2004). The presentation will consider how a multimodal understanding of children's texts can enrich discussions of multilingualism and identity.

**MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF MINORITY LANGUAGE VARIETIES** [workshop]

Convenor: Ruth King

York University, Canada

Contributors: Joan Beal, Sandra Clarke and Philip Hiscock, Philip Comeau, Barbara Johnstone, Ruth King and Jennifer Wicks

Discussant: Nikolas Coupland

*Topic*

The panel centres on usage of regional minority language varieties in contexts not typically considered in variationist linguistics, including music, blogs, print advertising, graffiti, comic strips, and TV. Thus we take up the conference theme - the relationship between linguistic practice and social structure - in technologically mediated communication. We are concerned with what linguistic features are involved in stylized performances of dialect and how identities get indexed (Coupland 2001, 2007). The paper topics lead to a consideration of public debates about the 'authenticity' of speakers and varieties, globalization and the commodification of language, and the de-localization of interactions. In addition, the papers point to the increasingly widespread phenomenon of the linking of youth identities with receding regional varieties.

*Preliminary Discussion Questions*

- What are the social functions of media representations of minority and/or nonstandard forms?
- How do media serve to focus and stabilize ideas about authentic speakers and authentic dialect forms?
- How do the constraints and affordances of different media shape (imagined) dialects and varieties in different ways?

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Joan Christine Beal**

University of Sheffield, UK

*'You're not from New York City, you're from Rotherham': Dialect and Identity in UK 'Indie' Music*

Attempting to explain the tendency in British popular music for singers to use 'American' pronunciation, Trudgill wrote 'Americans have dominated the field, and cultural domination leads to imitation: it is appropriate to sound like an American when performing what is predominantly an American activity; and one attempts to model one's singing style on that of those who do it best and who one admires most' (1983: 144). In recent years, a number of 'indie' bands in the UK have abandoned 'American' pronunciation in favour of more 'authentic' regional British voices. The most prominent of these are Arctic Monkeys, who, in addition to using characteristically 'northern' pronunciations in singing, include dialect words and very local references in their lyrics. It is clear from press interviews and from the lyrics of their songs, such as that quoted in the title of this paper, that they are conscious of the effect of using their 'own' accent/ dialect rather than the 'mid-Atlantic' of mainstream 'pop' music. In this paper, I argue that performers such as Arctic Monkeys are drawing on 'local' features of accent and dialect to index 'authenticity' and independence from the 'corporate machine'. I shall also discuss the paradoxical relationship between this indexing of 'authenticity' and the widely-reported 'levelling' of accent and dialect amongst young people in the UK.

**Sandra Clarke and Philip Hiscock**

Memorial University, Canada

*Hip-Hop in a Post-Insular Community:*

*Hybridity, Local Language and Authenticity in an Online Newfoundland Rap Group*

This paper focuses on minority dialect representation by the Gazeebow Unit, a hip-hop/rap group formed in 2005 by three white teenage males from a suburb of St. John's, Newfoundland. This group has enjoyed wide-



spread underground success throughout Newfoundland and its cultural diaspora, with a dozen or so songs. These are available uniquely via the Internet, generally in the form of peer-to-peer downloading networks (among them <<http://profile.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=user.viewprofile&friendid=36426587>>). Gazeebow Unit offers an ideal discursive site in which to observe and analyse online media constructions of vernacular culture and language on the part of contemporary adolescents, as well as the stylized performance of local dialect features (cf. Coupland 2001).

White hip-hop obviously raises questions of authenticity, as white performers have appropriated a genre closely identified with African American experience and culture (Cutler 2003); such appropriations may occur even in contexts “without physical references to a local black population,” as in north-eastern England (Bennett 1999: 9). However - as has recently also been documented in a number of global contexts, among them Australia (O’Hanlon 2006), Nigeria (Omoniyi 2006) and Quebec (Sarkar and Winer 2006, Sarkar and Allen 2007) - the Gazeebow Unit has constructed a hybrid hip-hop variety, rooted as much in the local as the global. This variety borrows heavily from traditional rap themes (notably violence, drugs, sex, misogyny), and incorporates some measure of African-American lexical items (e.g. fly and homie). Its distinguishing characteristic, however, is the use of local dialect to style local identities. Gazeebow Unit members draw on a host of iconic, often stigmatized, Newfoundland linguistic features, whether morphological (e.g. generalized verbal -s as a present-tense marker, as in (1) below); phonological (such as their signature “yiiss” pronunciation of yes, or rounding of the nucleus of the /ai/ diphthong in, e.g. the name of their suburb, Airport “Hoights”); or lexical (e.g. the term of address boys, pronounced “byes,” fousty in the sense of “mouldy”).

(1) I fights on da yellow bus. Smokin’ all da time, den I commits da crime. (from “Trikes and Bikes,” Gazeebow Unit)

While this is by no means the first case of hybridization in Newfoundland music (see Narváez’ (1978) discussion of syncretism), there are important differences of degree and form with regard to Gazeebow Unit’s linguistic “glocalization.”

The Unit’s online profile (available from the MySpace website above) constructs group members as authentic “skeets,” i.e., as “slightly dangerous” persons “somewhat alienated from the main population by their rural accent, substance abuse, violent tendencies, lack of fashion sense...” (Hiscock 2006). However, their authenticity has been contested in various online blogs, and the group admits that their performance stance does not reflect their true lifestyle, which more resembles that of middle-class white suburban high-school students than of those living on the edge of society. Their parody of local skeet identities thus yields considerable insight into the perception of vernacular dialect on the part of younger urban middle-class Newfoundlanders, and the types of features that they have “enregistered” (Johnstone et al. 2006) as characterizing traditional speech varieties, in a period of increasing globalization.

### Philip Comeau

York University, Canada

*Valorizing ‘Corrupted French’: Chiac and the Acadian Phenomenon*

Acadian French, spoken in Atlantic Canada, has often been negatively stereotyped as *moitié français, moitié anglais* (“half French, half English”). While King (2000) has argued that the extent of English influence on Acadian varieties tends to be overblown by both lay people and linguists alike, it is the case that Acadian varieties spoken in close, long-term contact with English typically exhibit extensive codeswitching and lexical borrowing. One particular Acadian variety viewed as having been greatly influenced by English, that spoken in the urban area of Moncton, New Brunswick, has been given its own label, *chiac*. Although *chiac* is typically identified as the language of young residents of the community, the variety has been the subject of media scrutiny since at least the 1960s (e.g. Brault 1969) and is actually spoken by a wide age range. Language attitude studies (e.g. Boudreau 1996, Keppie 2002) reveal tension between a view of *chiac* as a marker of local identity and *chiac* as an object of derision.

However, the fact that a number of writers and musicians (e.g. Leblanc 1995) have come in recent years to use this variety in their works, coupled with the fact that *chiac* is now heard on community radio (Boudreau & Dubois 2004), suggests that the scales may be tipping away from the view of *chiac* as ‘corrupted French,’ reminiscent of the situation in Quebec in the 1960s and 1970s (Boudreau 1996:152). It is this context which marked the appearance on cable TV in late 2005 of *Acadieman*, the first Acadian animated superhero. The crea-

tion of Moncton resident and native speaker Dano LeBlanc, *Acadieman* has no special powers but, as LeBlanc notes, is “heroic in the sense that he had the nerve to speak in *chiac*” (*CBC Newsworld*, Dec 6, 2006). The *Acadieman* phenomenon includes comic books, the animated TV series (broadcast in New Brunswick and to some areas of Ontario as well as available on DVD and in clips on the internet), and an official website, as well as an array of fan sites.

We first consider the stylized performances of *chiac* identity found in the first season of the TV series. The set of performed linguistic features correspond well to those documented in the literature (e.g. Gérin 1983, Perrot 1994, Péronet 1996, Young 2002). We then turn to *Acadieman*'s online fans, who comment positively on the authenticity of the representations. These fans argue that *chiac*, a variety which they view as a linguistic hybrid, gives voice to an identity which is neither French (at least in terms of external varieties of French) nor English. The online *Acadieman* fans include many young Acadians who have left the region for better employment opportunities elsewhere; in these mediated contexts - the TV show, the online forums - *Acadieman* forms a powerful resource for re/creating the sense of the local, an imagined *chiac* community (Anderson 1983).

### Barbara Johnstone

Carnegie Mellon University, USA

*Do You Speak Pittsburghese? Media Technology and Metalinguistic Expertise*

This paper explores the roles of newspapers, a website, an online discussion board, and a Wikipedia entry in the history of a dialect locally known as “Pittsburghese.” Drawing on Agha’s (2003) work on “enregistration,” I am studying how a set of linguistic forms that can be heard in southwestern Pennsylvania have come to be thought of as unique to the Pittsburgh area and tightly linked to local identity. In this presentation I focus on historical shifts in sources of expertise about local speech. I trace how increasingly interactive communication media have helped reallocate rights to describe and evaluate local speech and made it possible to contest these rights in new ways, and I suggest that these changes have implications for the trajectory of the dialect and its study.

Geographic and social mobility during the later half of the 20th century made local linguistic features hearable to working-class Pittsburghers, as they began to come into contact with people who spoke differently and, accordingly, began to adjust their speech to sound more correct or cosmopolitan or, alternatively, more like their peers. The collapse of the local steel industry caused people to look for new ways to imagine what it meant to be a Pittsburgher. A set of local forms now associated with localness and working-class lack of pretension were available for this purpose. The term “Pittsburghese” was apparently coined in 1967, and newspaper features on local speech began to treat it less as a set of unrelated oddities and more as a “real” dialect. Through the efforts of a local linguist, academic research came to be thought of as a source of expertise about local speech.

In the 1990s, the development of more interactive media began to shift the center of epistemic balance. A 1990s website encouraged visitors to contribute entries to a list of “Pittsburghese” words. As technological changes enabled even more interactivity online, expertise about local speech was explicitly contested. On an email discussion board from 2001, people argued about whether “our local dialect” was “charming” or “embarrassing” and about the sources of expertise required for a person to have a right to judge. Outsiders and in-migrants to Pittsburgh based their epistemic rights in cosmopolitan experience; Pittsburghers based theirs in local experience. Though mentioned occasionally, academic research was rarely treated as a source of expertise.

This democratic diffusion of the right to create knowledge is often celebrated. However, as Ronkin and Karn (1999), Hill (1995), and others have shown, popular discourse about vernacular speech often encodes racism, classism, and other forms of discrimination. Thus I turn, finally, to an effort by academics to reclaim expertise about Pittsburgh speech. In 2006, Dan Baumgardt and I developed and posted a Wikipedia entry on Pittsburgh Speech. I describe the steps we took to try to insure that our expertise, based on six years of research, would, at least for a time, trump others’. In conclusion, I explore the implications of struggles over expertise for the future of dialects and dialect research.

**Ruth King and Jennifer Wicks**

York University, Canada, OISE, University of Toronto, Canada

*'Aren't we proud of our language?': Commodification and the Nissan Bonavista TV Commercial*

In the fall of 2006, a commercial for a new SUV named the Nissan Bonavista after a town on the northeast coast of Newfoundland, Canada's most easterly province, was aired on all the major Canadian TV networks. In the commercial, the speech of an actor portraying a local car salesperson who extols the SUV's virtues is subtitled. While subtitling regional varieties is not unique to this context nor uncontroversial more generally, this instance goes a step further in that the speaker's actual words are rephrased in more mainstream English. For example, the traditional greeting "How's she gettin' on, me son?" is rendered "Hi.". The commercial was immediately subject to intense debate. Complaints were made to Nissan, to the networks and to their regional affiliates in Newfoundland. Negative appraisals also appeared in local and national newspapers and in numerous online forums. On the other hand, many other contributions to the debate regarded the commercial in a favourable light, arguing for pride in one's heritage and the ability to take a joke.

Here we analyse the original commercial, the media parodies it engendered, and the electronic and print media debate. We contextualize the issues in terms of Newfoundland's distinctive culture and language (Clarke 2004 a&b), long the object of mainland Canadian ridicule (Pringle 1985; McKinnie & Dailey-O'Cain 2002). We also consider the province's recent economic history, including the collapse of traditional industry, a pattern of out-migration related to that collapse, and a turn to (inter)national tourism.

We begin with the original commercial and the actor's mix of Newfoundland and non-Newfoundland vernacular features. We then turn to video and audio parodies which take up the fact that the actor is not a Newfoundlander and present a view of stereotyping as indicative of lack of respect. Our third source of data is media discussion in online forums, including those provided by personal blogs, Youtube and the CBC. Here are echoed many of the arguments discussed in King & Clarke (2002) with reference to the debate surrounding the contested group label "Newfie" (viewed variously as a source of pride, an ethnic slur, or something in between). These attitudes were found to correlate with attitudes towards the commodification of Newfoundland culture, and this is also the case here. However, in the new data (collected almost a decade later), a pro-globalization discourse (e.g. the stance that any transmission of information about Newfoundland is good for tourism) appears more prevalent. Further, an insider-outsider effect (e.g. for some, "Newfie" may be used among insiders as a term of solidarity, but not by outsiders) is recast in terms of rights, including the right to perform the vernacular (even some fans of the commercial express dismay at the choice of a non-local actor) and the right to judge (online posters typically begin with their biographic history relative to Newfoundland (e.g. I/my wife/my co-worker is a Newfoundlander), not unlike discursive strategies in online discussion of Pittsburghese reported by Johnson & Baumgardt (2004).

## CONSTRUCTING MULTILINGUAL EUROPE? MICRO AND MACRO PERSPECTIVES [workshop]

Convenors: Michal Krzyzanowski and Ruth Wodak

Lancaster University

Contributors: Irène Bellier, Jenny Carl and Patrick Stevenson, James Collins and Stef Slembrouck, Gabrielle Hogan-Brun, Daniel Ivanus, Michal Krzyzanowski and Ruth Wodak, Clare Mar-Molinero and Dick Vigers, Asha Sarangi, Massimiliano Spotti, J.W. Unger

Discussant: Ruth Wodak, Patrick Stevenson

The proposed workshop aims at exploring a range of multilingualism-related practices and policies in different European settings. The main goal of the workshop is to debate how planning, regulating as well as practicing multilingualism in diverse European micro and macro contexts could/should/would construct a ‘*multilingual Europe*’. We understand the latter as a space in which different languages and cultures can potentially and fruitfully co-exist and interact with each other and thus contribute to create multicultural and diversity-driven societies, institutions and political organisations.

The in-depth analysis of the opportunities for creating a multilingual Europe has never been timelier. As the recent political and economic developments (incl., *inter alia* the subsequent 2004 and 2007 Enlargements of the EU, or the change of political landscapes in different national settings in Europe) and changes of a socio-demographic nature (enhanced human mobility and migration from outside and within Europe, questions about the core principles of multiculturalism in diverse European societies) illustrate, issues about the true ‘nature’ of a multilingual European space must now be taken under closer consideration and scrutiny. However, while ultimately proposing *future scenarios*, the workshop will focus on the *current state of the art* of different (macro) policies and (micro) practices of multilingualism from a *critical perspective*. Such an approach, we believe, will allow emphasising that, at present, multilingualism in Europe is frequently observed as an ‘obstacle’ rather than an ‘opportunity’ in both public and private spheres.

The *micro-macro perspective* of the workshop (proposed inline with the general theme of SS17 - ‘Micro and Macro Connections’) will contribute to several dimensions. First, it will investigate if *individual multilingual practices* ‘on the ground’ (e.g. in everyday interactions in schools, institutions etc.) are determined by macro regional, national and supranational language and education policies which regulate how members of different linguistic communities should interact with one another; and in which way. Secondly, this workshop will analyse how *multilingual settings are influenced by perceptions of multilingualism* in different private, semi-public and public spheres (ranging from the micro individual ideas to those disseminated in politics and the media). Finally, the integrated micro-macro perspective will allow determining how regional and national (i.e. *local*) contexts in which multilingual practices occur on a daily basis can be informed by *specific multilingual practices and policies which are (partially) implemented in supranational settings* (e.g. within the EU-institutions, or, at even more *global* levels).

### PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

#### **Irène Bellier**

LAIOS, CNRS-EHESS, Paris, France

*Indigenous Peoples Linguistic Rights and Practices in Multilingual Europe*

By its political nature, the European Union is a multilingual entity that oscillates between the defense of the national official languages of its member states and the promotion of foreign language learning as a means to adapt individuals to globalization. With the mercantile orientation of EU, English became a language central to European communication and the world market. A multilingualism that includes necessarily English is in progress in the European societies through the enactment of public policies and different combinations that are determined by the selection of language individuals make in the course of their training and professional careers. As the choice is usually reduced to official languages, minority languages that are part of the World heritage are fighting for being accepted and taught, not to disappear completely. Social and economic integration of both

the regional and indigenous minorities and migrant peoples presently leads to the obligation to learning official languages and to the contention and oblivion of minority languages, with many consequences for what regards the respect of human and Peoples rights, the recognition of citizenship equality and the self-perception of one's own dignity and capacity.

European and international organizations show different forms of multilingualism where minority languages are barely heard. In such political settings, though translation and interpretation are organized to and for the national languages that are accepted by the institution, effects induced by linguistic domination can be observed. Lexical and phonetic variations affect the construction of meanings when speakers from different mother tongues use a dominant language, and these variations induce, for those who are not completely multilingual, the selection of particular words and expressions, contributing to the formation of a codified international language.

The communication will focus on the practices I could observe in the European Commission and in the United Nations in the bodies dedicated to indigenous peoples issues where indigenous representatives, who fight for their rights to see positive changes in State governance, shift from their mother tongues to the dominant languages accepted by the institution. Their choice reveals a political posture regarding colonization as for instance when a Ma'ohi speaker selects English instead of French to stand up against "French Polynesia", or spatial identification when an Amazigh from Morocco selects Arabic, even though he fights against "arabisation".

### **Jenny Carl and Patrick Stevenson**

University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*Representation in the articulation of language policy objectives*

The formulation of language policy in the European context entails not only an abundance of documentation (position papers, reports, guidelines, strategies, legislative proposals etc) but also the involvement of many individual political actors operating at different levels within civil society: officials and advisers in the Commission and other supranational bodies (such as the Council of Europe), government ministers, civil servants, directors of government-funded agencies (such as the Goethe Institute or the Instituto Cervantes), representatives of minority groups and so on. While policy documents are scrutinised by political and linguistic analysts in terms of their content and the discourses in which it is embedded, the articulation of policy objectives by diverse individual actors, which prefigures and shapes the policies, generally remains unobserved below the level of public statements by politicians. It may inform the analysis of published policy, but is not typically subjected to analysis itself.

In this paper, we will suggest that an analysis of ways in which language policy objectives are articulated in discussion is an important but often neglected dimension of the investigation of language policy development. Drawing on interviews with individuals involved in the formulation of policy in relation to German in central Europe (in particular in Hungary and the Czech Republic), we will look at how government officials (both in Germany and Austria and in their neighbouring states), functionaries in government-funded agencies, representatives of German minority associations, and German language teachers position themselves as both a) individuals, who have their personal experiences with and opinions on the subject, and as b) representatives of a wider community with certain vested interests.

Our attention will focus on ways in which our interviewees repeatedly move between expressions of their personal motivations and the goals of the community they speak for. The question then is how these two dimensions - the personal/micro and the collective/macro - relate to one another, how they influence each other, and whether they strengthen or conflict with each other. Using the conceptual framework of positioning theory, we will try to shed light on the discursive 'mechanics' of the interplay between individual and collective positions adopted by these representative figures.

### **James Collins and Stef Slembrouck**

Anthropology, University at Albany, SUNY, USA and English, Ghent University, Belgium

*Is class relevant in constructing a multilingual Europe?*

This paper will attempt to address how class formations are connected to multilingualism in contexts of immigration/diaspora, by drawing on cases from Ghent, Belgium and Albany, USA. The key question addressed

is whether and how differences in social class are invoked explicitly or implicitly in relation to immigrant populations, educational achievement and the evaluation of language use and multilingual proficiencies. Cross-national comparison indicates that there are considerable differences.

Specific questions will include: How are class formations connected to (il)legality and the racialisation/ethnicisation of immigrant populations? To what extent is social class more generally perceived in a specific societal context as a problem to successful multilingual proficiency and educational achievement? Is class privilege subsequently to be understood in terms of (older, male-oriented) interpretations of the conditions of economic production/employment or should its relevance also be analysed in terms of (more female-oriented) positions in the consumption of institutions, incl. schools, media, etc. - as indeed has been the case in more recent sociological and social-theoretical work? Does social class feature as an explanatory factor in educational debate and policy statements, particularly when the topic of discussion is that of language immersion and/or the role of home language as an explanandum for academic progress and success? How are evaluative perceptions about language and multilingual proficiency affected by class-differences within groups of immigration populations?

The paper will draw on (educational) policy statements, excerpts from media debate and interview data with teachers, educators and immigrants.

### **Gabrielle Hogan-Brun**

University of Bristol, United Kingdom

*Re-constructing multilingual orientations in Central/Eastern Europe*

This contribution explores multilingual policies and practices in a range of Central/Eastern European settings, both at the macro and micro levels. In this region different sets of multilingualism have developed over time as a result of changing political borders, language regimes and ideologies. Following independence, re-evolving increasingly westward-bound multilingualisms were accelerated through EU accession and are symbolic of changing orientations that are socially, politically and economically motivated.

However, Western approaches to language and education that have greatly impacted on policy-making in the new member states during the EU enlargement process in 2004 entailed a number of (ongoing) challenges due to the differing socio-political contexts found there. Hence there is increasing concern about evolving language strategy developments both at the macro and micro levels of society, as well as growing understanding of the political importance of language education and language choice. Whilst multilingualism figures as a central language (education) objective in these regions, as agreed upon in many countries Europe-wide, its implementation can be a politically sensitive issue for formerly dominant minority groups in this dynamic multilingual space.

Offering a critical perspective on differing (macro) policies and (micro) practices of multilingualism in Central/Eastern Europe as compared to those found in the West, we shall call for context-sensitivity in the formulation and implementation of language diversity management practices to allow for the consolidation of both micro and macro connections at the regional, national and global levels.

### **Daniel Ivanus**

University of Craiova, Romania

*Are National Policies Barriers against a European Multilingual Strategy?*

*Supranationality and Language Learning in Europe: The Case of Romania*

The reconciliation between the opposed principles of unity and diversity is at the heart of European identity (van Els 2001). It is not surprising to find this integration paradox even in the field of language policy. The tension between officially promoted multilingualism and the dominance of a possible future lingua franca requires a thorough analysis of European language education policies. The presentation intends to evaluate the normative effect and attitude of such initiatives aimed at promoting a multilingual Europe on Romanian language-educational policy and intends to answer two related questions: a) How are (symbolic) European language policies reflected in Romanian language practice? b) With it being seemingly almost impossible to influence languages through supranational policies (Wright 2000), are Europeans tempted to continue and follow other external forces and economic influences rather than adopt the European theories of multilingualism?



**Michał Krzyzanowski and Ruth Wodak**

Lancaster University, United Kingdom

*From 'Nationalistic Monolingualism' to 'Hegemonic Multilingualism'?*

*Media, Language Ideologies and the EU Enlargement*

The paper is based on a pilot study undertaken within a research project on 'Language Dynamics and Management of Diversity' ('DYLAN', EU-FP6). The study analyses the reporting on the 'first wave' of recent EU Enlargement (May 1st, 2004) in liberal and conservative press in France, Germany, Poland and the UK. In the study, we analyse media perceptions of multilingualism and linguistic diversity in order to see how/inasmuch the national public spheres perceived and conceived of enlarging Europe/EU from the perspective of language choice and multilingualism. Our analysis also helps discovering which Europe/EU-related language ideologies were transmitted to the national publics by their media 'on the back' of reporting on the 2004 EU Enlargement. As will be presented, the analysed media texts were sites of production of diverse language ideologies which ranged from a Europe-specific 'nationalistic monolingualism' to that of a strictly EU-institutional 'hegemonic multilingualism'.

Our analysis of diverse language ideologies points to the immense discrepancy which was discursively constructed between, on the one hand, descriptions of languages and multilingualism as the positive (though clearly limited and folklore-like) elements of the European cultural space and, on the other hand, the rather negative perception of the increasing multilingualism of the EU institutions. As we claim, that discrepancy was neither arbitrary nor accidental: while 'allowing' for linguistic diversity (and the resulting multiplicity of visions and ideas of Europe) was permitted in the context of the EU Enlargement in the vaguely-defined, broad area of the European space, it was not allowed in the area of EU-institutions (and politics) where the actual political interests/visions were realised and negotiated. Thus, we argue, our analysis also shows that nationally-driven public spheres approached through the media did not allow for the 'mirroring' of Europe's (also linguistic) diversity in the communicative and political space of the EU institutions. That was, in turn, influential for the fact that the broad European public could not see the EU institutions as inherently multilingual (i.e. not as actually reflecting the linguistically enlarging EU-ropo outside Brussels) since the media did not forge any public-wide expectations towards linguistic and otherwise-understood (e.g. political) diversity within the EU institutions.

**Clare Mar-Molinero and Dick Vigers**

Centre for Transnational Studies, University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*Negotiating competing linguistic demands: multilingualism and hybridity in a Romanian migrant community in Spain*

Historically Spain experienced the consequences of massive outmigration, caused not only by economic pressures but also political repression. In the context of Spain's emergence as a dynamic new democracy after 1975, the country has undergone a recent and dramatic transformation into a focus for migration from Latin America, North Africa and Eastern Europe - in 1996 foreign citizens accounted for 1.3% of the total population; in 2004, 6.6%. For all of these groups the constitutional acknowledgement of Spain's multilingual makeup with the establishment of regional autonomies has generated a complex web of competing linguistic demands on those wishing to work and potentially settle there.

In 2005, Romanians were the fourth largest migrant group in Spain and current estimates suggest that around 450,000 are resident in Spain. The prosperity of Catalunya and the Comunidad Valenciana has attracted a disproportionately high number of these and some 40,000 alone are located in the city of Castelló (Comunidad Valenciana) that now hosts the greatest concentration of Romanians in Spain. This paper will analyse the results of recent fieldwork in this community to examine how it is negotiating the demands of multiple belonging and what linguistic strategies are evolving that enable access to work and welfare entitlements, new social networks and also maintain family and local ties.

Despite its accession to the EU in January 2007, there are ongoing restrictions on migration from Romania and 'clandestinity' or illegal residence affects a large proportion of the Romanian community in Spain. We will examine to what extent this functions as a barrier to linguistic integration. Changes in the demographics of migration that will result from accession - more families and older people - will also alter strategies of language acquisition and maintenance.

In addition, the renewed emphasis on the protection and promotion of regional languages in the recent renegotiation of statutes of autonomy with the central government in Spain has marked a site of tension particularly in the ambiguity of language attitudes in the Comunidad Valenciana. Research with stakeholders in both governmental, regional and migrant communities is revealing to what extent there is convergence and divergence in differing perceptions of belonging, articulated as linguistic competence.

Reported notions of a shared 'Latinidad' give a particular linguistic turn to the experience of Romanian migration to Spain and this paper will examine whether they have proved relevant or have had to be re-evaluated in the light of the receiving communities' perceptions and expectations. Signs of hybrid linguistic identities as a response to remaining transnational rather than settled, the emergence of contact phenomena such as the development of 'rumañol', a mixture of Castilian, Romanian and Valencian and 'rap manele', where hip-hop tangles with Romanian folk, will all be explored.

Finally, given Bulgarians have also chosen the same locations as the Romanians as foci of migration, we will ask whether these intercommunal relationships based on other cultural practices (Orthodox Christianity, Balkan music, food etc.) have fostered new sociolinguistic practices.

### **Asha Sarangi**

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

*Multilingual Europe and Multilingual India: Lessons to Learn from Each Other*

The paper examines layers of linguistic hierarchies and practices shaping the political, social and cultural future of India, an excessively multilingual and multicultural country in the modern world. More specifically, I will look at the institutional mechanisms and political ideologies that went into the making of the language planning and policy of post-colonial India. These policies and programs have continued to affect the democratic governance and plural cultural and social order of the country. The Indian state's efforts to institute language policies- such as the three language formula in the school education, bilingual practices in the administrative spheres and multilingual social recognition and acceptance of twenty two official languages enshrined in the constitution along with more than sixteen hundred existing languages and dialects in the society at large - have continued to result in various forms of economic, social and cultural exclusion of people and communities not ready to integrate and assimilate within this cultural mosaic of multi-lingual India. The making and remaking of the states and their boundaries along the linguistic and territorial criteria has further added to this intricate exercise since the fourteen states within the Indian Union at the time of independence have now been broken into twenty eight states. Furthermore, the demands for newer states along the criteria of linguistic cultural contiguity and social homogeneity have continued to be on rise since independence. It is instructive to see as to how the Indian state has managed, successfully or not, to pull along with such linguistic cultural diversity within a democratic political framework. It is in this context that Indian case does provide a useful and an innovative example to learn from for new multi-lingual Europe of our times.

The cultural heritage of linguistic diversity of Europe has continued to overshadow the present political and cultural predicament of New Europe of the twenty first century. The disintegration and reintegration of Europe has been a long drawn process that has resulted in various economic, political and cultural policies and programmes on the part of the state in dealing with the problems of diversity and differences within the nation-state boundaries of contemporary Europe. On the other hand, the latter has shared colonial/imperial ties with its colonies which are now independent nation-states, having evolved their own political and cultural order. It is in this context that Europe and non-European contexts can be mutually instructive and imperative. Whether the multi-lingual Europe of today will remain so or less multilingual will be a consequence of policies, programmes and practices on the part of both state and society, both of which are in the process of historical transition at this moment. Can we say that European experience of today has already been, partially, thought of and dealt with, however differently, within the Indian experience of linguistic-cultural diversity and its assimilation into the democratic polity of the last fifty years? In this regard, multi-lingual European experience and Multi-lingual Indian experiences can be considered as being more complementary in nature.

**Massimiliano Spotti**

Tilburg University, The Netherlands

*'Real Turks', 'Pure Berbers' and 'Half Arabs': Identity Scaling in a Dutch Multicultural Primary Classroom*

This paper presents the micro dynamics of identity ascription and subscription among immigrant minority pupils in a primary multicultural school classroom in the Netherlands. Two generalizable findings emerging from these pupils' discourse seem to shed light on synchronic variation and sabotage in their strategies of identity construction through the management of their cultural and linguistic belongings. The variation is reconstructed through these pupils self-reported "polyphonic language repertoires" (Hinnenkamp, 2003) where they show investment maneuvers in specific language varieties that score high on the language market. The sabotage, instead, is present in the way in which these pupils try to escape from the moral accountability (cf. Lave & Wenger 1991; Jaspers 2005:17) that, in macro educational discourses, characterizes their condition of immigrant minority pupils.

Moving away from notions of maintenance and shift (cf. Harris 2003), the reconstructed processes of identity variation and sabotage suggest three things. First, a distinction should be drawn between foreign pupils who are learners of Dutch as a second language and those immigrant minority pupils who, instead, are multilingual and multicultural stockbrokers busy managing polyphonus cultural and linguistic belongings. Second, these pupils' cultural and linguistic management goes beyond the classroom alone. It is, in fact, employed across the centres and the peripheries of those layered communities of practice that these pupils' inhabit. Last, that the notion of scales (cf. Blommaert, 2006:3), so far used for the explanation of sociolinguistic phenomena may also be extended to unravel identity construction in culturally and linguistically heterogeneous environments.

**J.W. Unger**

Lancaster University, United Kingdom

*The Scottish Language Policy Gap: Bottom-Up and Top-Down Discursive Constructions of Scots*

Scots can be described as a West-Germanic language closely related to English, which was the national language of Scotland in the 15th and 16th centuries. Despite a gradual shift to English amongst the elite (Macafee 1994:31) and explicit attempts at eradication (Jones 1995), it is still spoken today (albeit in a rather different form) in many parts of Scotland.

This paper explores how recent and present-day language ideologies about the Scots Language are linguistically realised in key texts drawn from different policy levels, namely 'supra-national' (EU/Council of Europe), 'national' (the UK Government) and 'devolved' (the Scottish Executive/Government). These discursive constructions are juxtaposed with those found in focus groups consisting of Scottish people, many of whom have at least a passive knowledge of Scots.

I draw on the discourse-historical approach (Wodak 2001), part of the critical discourse analysis (CDA) 'family' of approaches, to critically analyse these texts. This involves a detailed linguistic analysis combined with an analysis of different levels of context, ranging from 'micro' to 'macro' contexts: the immediate textual context; the intertextual and interdiscursive contexts; the social/institutional context; and finally, the socio-political and historical contexts (see Wodak 2004). As part of my analysis, I also examine the implicit and explicit valuations of Scots in the various texts, following Bourdieu's (1991) metaphor of the linguistic market.

I find that, unlike the role of minority languages in many other European Kulturnationen (e.g. Catalunya, see Trudgill 2004), the Scots language has not been widely used in 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' national identity construction. Until relatively recently Scottish politicians have rarely discussed Scots (Millar 2006), let alone used it as a symbol of Scottish national identity. Rather, the reverse seems to occur: national identity and the rather amorphous concept of 'cultural heritage' are used as key elements in the discursive construction of Scots from 'above'. In the 'bottom-up' constructions of Scots found in the focus group data, low valuations of Scots (in the Bourdieuan sense) become apparent through the use of certain linguistic features (e.g. modality, evaluation, agent mystification).

Despite the apparently high valuations of Scots found in 'top-down' texts, I argue that these valuations apply only to certain very restricted 'linguistic markets', e.g. public celebrations and literary education. Policy-makers can therefore claim to be taking decisive action to support Scots, but they are not taking account of the low value Scots will continue to have on the 'linguistic markets' of daily life, (e.g. in dealing with local government, non-literary educational settings, job interviews, etc.).

**CODE-SWITCHING IN ELECTRONIC WRITING:  
THE LEVELLING AND MAINTAINING OF LINGUISTIC BORDERS [workshop]**

Convenor: Foued Laroussi

Université de Rouen, France

Contributors: Dora Carpenter-Latiri, Régine Delamotte-Legrand and Cecile Desoutter, Foued Laroussi, Fabien Liénard and Marie-Claude Penloup, Dawn Marley, Isabelle Pierozak

Discussant: Monica Heller

Most researchers, analysing code-switching as a verbal strategy used by the bilingual, have stressed the need to place it in a twin context, that of speech economy in a multilingual sociolinguistic community and that of the verbal repertoires of the speaking members of this same community. These researchers agree on the pluridimensionality of the phenomenon, and, consequently, do not advocate an exclusive approach when studying it. As early as 1988, in a collective work<sup>1</sup>, Monica Heller proposed unifying the micro-and macrosociolinguistic approaches. She approached code-switching as a “social process” and wished to show how in order to study it, anthropological and sociolinguistic questions must be asked about the relation between linguistic facts and social processes in any interpretation and construction of social reality.

Whether socio-interactional, discursive or referential, the significance of code-switching can only be grasped by placing it in the context of a multilingual community where “strategies of definition, negotiation and indexation of common reference systems [are] distributed” (ibid).

This approach based on correlations between linguistic changes and social processes has been highly efficient when analysing code-switching as a research subject in itself and not as a marginal phenomenon in relation to a well-established norm of a standard, one might say dominant, language.

However these sociolinguistic or even anthropological approaches have analysed code-switching essentially on the basis of oral production. In this workshop that we are proposing for the *Sociolinguistics Symposium 17*, we are looking at code-switching in written production, in electronic writing in fact. With the arrival of the Internet (nearly 750 million Internet users throughout the world) and the staggering development of electronic communication (email, text messages, forums and blogs), communication not only happens faster and faster but actually transcends national borders. Analysing Computer-mediated Communications (CMC) and mobile-mediated communications (MMT), we will enquire into the status of code-switching in this diverse electronic writing. Should the same theoretical tools used for analysing oral production be pressed into service? Does the analysis of electronic messages allow us to tackle questions unanswered up till now, even if the guidelines for code-switching theory would appear these days to be fairly clear? Does the widely accepted hypothesis that says that with code-switching we can see a levelling at the same time as a maintaining of linguistic borders stand up in the light of electronic writing?

These few suggestions in no way circumscribe the problematics, but open up a debate. We shall endeavour to work towards some answers.

*Endnote*

<sup>1</sup> Heller M., (ed.) 1988, *Code-switching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Dora Aida Carpenter-Latiri**

University of Brighton, United Kingdom

*Code-switching on Harissa.com*

Harissa.com is a sort of virtual Tunisia for Tunisian Jews in France and elsewhere, a place for memories, exchanges and handing on tradition, for the nostalgic diaspora for whom language have deep powers of evocation. The site is crammed with examples of Judeo-Arabic/French code-switching. Judeo-Arabic in this context refers to the dialect of Tunisian Jews. Judeo-Arabic, whose phonology is very different from that of French and

to a greater or lesser extent similar to that of dialectal Tunisian, (depending on the generation of the speaker) is mainly used for oral communication. On the site, Judeo-Arabic is transcribed in Latin characters and very approximately systematized. On the border between the written and the oral, the mixed electronic writing on *harissa.com* reveals a Judeo-Arabic attempting to define itself at a time when it could disappear. In my paper, I propose to construct a corpus of examples so as to find the discourse situations where code-switching occurs, to define its functions and to propose an analysis of underlying motivations.

### **Régine Delamotte-Legrand and Cecile Desoutter**

Université de Rouen, France

« *Others' languages* » *use in electronics' writings in professional and school settings: imposed or selected languages?*

This paper is based on a common issue and a comparative data in France and in Italy. The field research in France involves electronic exchanges on a chat platform produced by students from various nationalities. The people interviewed all attend a professional master at university in distance learning. At first sight, it seems that French language is the common language used by students. But, an expert look reveals elements of code-switching. The purpose of our research is twofold: 1) Understand the way these code-switching operate 2) Consider the students' attitudes towards these writings. To do so, data collections involved two different sections. First, written corpus of exchanges was first collected. Then, students were interviewed. Interviews were lead into two distinct methods. First, we chose to conduct collective interviews, which proved to be very efficient as verbal relations do not only involved interviewees / interviewers. These "collective" interviews particularly suit a study on collective and shared experience: attend a class where French is a foreign language. We aim at eliciting the expression of all viewpoints on this specific written form. This collection of data appears as a "several voices speech" in a multilingual and multicultural setting in which people share the same experience: attend universities distance learning, common identity aspects etc. The second purpose of this communication is to go further in studying specific cases in relation with contexts and languages. In this communication, only the results that allow comparison with data collected in Italy will be studied. With this new data, we are in a professional case, where Italians use French to communicate at distance with French-speaking customers, suppliers or colleagues. As for the study carried out in France, the collection of data is articulated in two aspects: firstly, linguistic practices brought back by the professional subjects during individual talks; secondly, scriptural practices observed from a corpus of e-mails provided by these same subjects. The interviews make it possible to better determine the meaning given for the use of the foreign language in the interpersonal communication in a professional framework. The choice to communicate in French doesn't prevent, however, that some elements of code-switching appearing that and there in the analyzed written corpus. The confrontation of the results of the two studies allows to better highlight what imposes, supports or on the contrary limits the uses of "others' languages" in the produced electronic writings. It also makes it possible to locate the reasons of the use of mother tongue.

### **Foued Laroussi**

Université de Rouen, France

*Electronic writing in multilingual context. The concept of basic language for Arabic-French code-switching*

From the analysis of mobile-mediated communications (MMT) and emails of French-Arabic speakers, I would try to elucidate the concept of basic language for the code-switching. If we leave the conclusions of certain researchers such as Lipski (1978), Pfaff (1979), Laroussi (1996) and Woolford (1983) -to quote only those -according to which code-switching would combine two unilingual grammars leaving intact the characteristics of the two languages involved in interaction, theoretically, we would be able to determine, each time mixed utterances are produced, the basic language in which the speaker holds his speech. On this subject, George Lüdi (1998: 146) identifies four "premises" of which I do not retain, in this text, only the two first ones:

- "we can identify the basic language without ambiguity";
- "code-switching between the basic language and the embedded language takes place "one line", the two varieties being definitely distinguishable for the speakers as well as for the linguist. The speakers also employ them inside the same interaction or with other interlocutors." That does not seem at all obvious to us at least for the oral data. What about written productions? What about electronic writing in particular? Which



are thus the criteria which make it possible to identify the basic language? Which are the constituents of the sentence able to determine the basic language? If we take the generative grammar like model of reference, is it about the verb phrase, the noun phrase or other constituents of the sentence? It is noted that there are two approaches: one is linguistic (syntactic, more precisely); the other is interactional. The first one seeks to identify the constituents up to determining the basic language: for example, for a mixed French-Arabic sentence, it would be regarded as at Arab base if its verb phrase is Arab, or conversely. The second one stresses the difficulties in classifying the sentences whose verb phrases or noun phrases are mixed. How does one have to classify them? Undoubtedly like mixed sentences, but when it is a question of code-switching, mixture is, in theory, a basic data. According to this approach, and, concerning this same French-Arabic sentence, it is less relevant, in a situation of multilingualism, to know if the sentence is Arab or French than to consider that utterances combine to form only one message, whose interpretation depends on the comprehension of the two parts. The assumption which underlies our research fits rather in this step. The analysis of French-Arabic emails and (MMT) should enable us to validate or invalidate it and clarify the theoretical debate about code-switching.

### **Fabien Liénard and Marie-Claude Penloup**

Université de Rouen, France

*Code-switching in electronic writing: the weblog's case*

The term Weblog is a portmanteau word, coming from the contraction of “web” and “log”. A log refers to the log book in the navy (the ship’s record) and in the American aviation. Thus a weblog is website on which one or several people freely express themselves periodically. When used in French and English speaking country, weblog becomes “blog” by the apherisis - or elision - of web. If we don’t take the ever-increasing commercial blogs into consideration, we can say that a blog can be compared to a virtual diary through a format that integrates text, images and hypertext. A blog is more active than a personal online journal since the authors, the “scripters” can receive the comments that may be written by visitors. Our interest in this particular communicational practice stems from the fact that France has ranked 4th in the world in terms of blogs since 2006, with almost 9 million blogs, way behind the US (50 million), China (36 million) and Japan (10 million), but well ahead of the United Kingdom (4 million) and Germany (1 million) - Source: Blog Herald Tribune, Technorati, Journal du Net. According to a survey carried out by Ipsos Mori (November 2006), 40% of the bloggers are between 15 and 34, and blog readership in Europe is made up by 50% of this particular age group. Such a phenomenon cannot leave the researcher in Human Sciences indifferent. If studies have started to crop up here and there, they are still few and far between. Besides, they devote their attention to revealing remarkable features; they usually come up with the same conclusion: blogger are generally adolescents or young adults. It stands to reason for us to focus on the blog writers. We would like to contact phenomena that can be identified in these unilingual or multilingual blogs. Our intention is to carry out a spotting of scriptural processes that are typical of electronics writing so as to set into relief the effect of multilinguism on electronic writing and the status of the “scripter”. We will take these parameters into account to carry out a case study, (Liénard: 2005, 2007), a deep dive into the blogosphere. The case study will be based on the comprehensive study of 3 blogs (selected for the marks of multilingualism that they reveal) as well as interviews with each one of the “scripters”. This initial study should allow us to come up with a first description of language contacts in the blogs and the blogosphere which is gradually emerging as a virtual and / or linguistic community. We are thus keeping a close watch on ordinary pieces of writing, something our team has been doing many years now (Penloup:1999, 2006, 2007).

### **Dawn Marley**

University of Surrey, UK

*Code-switching on internet sites for the Moroccan diaspora*

This contribution will look at code-switching in sites aimed at Moroccans living outside Morocco, comparing language use in sites whose base language is English and those where it is French. In both cases they are addressing a mixed audience, those whose first language is French or English, but who have a knowledge of Arabic due to their family, and those whose first language is Arabic, but who also speak French or English in everyday life. I



will examine a sample of areas on the sites to analyse how and when code-switching takes place, and to consider reasons for differences between the two.

**Isabelle Pierozak**

Université de Picardie Jules Verne, France

*Dynamiques des contacts de langues dans des sites et forums créolophones*

Ma réflexion est orientée sur les productions électroniques plurilingues mobilisant de « petites langues », en particulier les créoles français (*cf.* les travaux menés autour de R. Chaudenson). Le corpus constitué empruntera principalement à deux types de communication électronique, dont les caractéristiques sociotechniques seront prises en compte. Plus exactement, les observables considérés seront liés à des sites web, proposant par ailleurs parfois des forums. Ce type de corpus suppose, dans le cadre qui est le mien, des analyses à la fois sémio-socio-linguistiques (Pierozak, 2000).

Je souhaite développer ou approfondir plusieurs questionnements communs au panel, tout en tenant compte des spécificités du corpus et des langues considérées (à savoir: des langues essentiellement orales, en contact avec le français et/ou l'anglais):

- Existe-t-il un type de site propre à ces « petites langues », caractérisable notamment en termes de profil d'auteur et de projet?
- Sites et forums: y observe-t-on une gestion similaire des contacts de langue (Atifi, 2007, Hazaël-Massieux, à paraître)?
- En quoi internet modifie-t-il (en la complexifiant) la donne des situations sociolinguistiques créoles? *cf.* notamment les contacts entre créoles ainsi que la gestion sémiolinguistique des langues coprésentes.
- Peut-on parler de « créoles d'internet »? Non seulement retrouve-t-on les mêmes phénomènes remarquables que pour les « grandes langues » sur internet, mais le fait, pour les créoles, de pouvoir être écrits collectivement joue-t-il, en termes de grammatisation (Pierozak, 2003)?
- Quels sont les enjeux de cette grammatisation au regard en particulier du marquage d'une identité créole?
- Internet et les « petites langues »: facteur adjuvant / limitant? (Pierozak, 2002, à paraître)
- ...

Ces questionnements restent ouverts et s'inscrivent dans une série de travaux débutés maintenant depuis plusieurs années.

**CULTURAL VALUES AND LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR: FOCUS ON ASIA** [workshop]

Convenor: Li Wei

Birkbeck, University of London

Contributors: Krisadawan Hongladarom and Worawanna Petchkij, Sachiko Ide, Li Wei, Saeko Machi,

Yuko Nomura, Rumiko Ochiai, Natthaporn Panpothong and Siriporn Phakdeephasook,

Theeraporn Ratitamkul

Discussant: Nick Enfield

This workshop aims to explore the “cultural logic” of linguistic pragmatics in Asian (especially East and South-east Asian) languages by investigating some key concepts in Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism and their implications for language structures and language use.

It is often observed that in Asian languages many pragmatic phenomena appear to be irrational and illogical from a western perspective. For example, several Asian languages (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Thai and Tibetan) have personal pronouns which simultaneously refer to the first and second persons; the first person can often be referred to by third person pronouns; complex kinship terms can be used for people who bear no relations to the speaker; apologies are made for acts done by third parties; extensive use of modal particles and honorifics to index contextual construal. Existing analyses and explanation for such phenomena are usually offered through modifications of theories and models that were originally developed on the evidence of European languages. Most of the theories and models assume a “rational and independent self” as an agent, a key notion in western philosophies.

This workshop explores the possibility of an alternative account of some of the phenomena in Asian language pragmatics in terms of Asian philosophies. A key aspect of this exploration is to examine the Asian notion of the self as a dependent one. Associated with the Asian notion of the self are concepts of space and emptiness, hierarchy and harmony, time and place, cycles and continua, unity and whole, etc. In doing so, we question some of the assumptions underlying notions such as power, solidarity, footing, stance, strategy, rapport, empathy, attunement, etc.

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Krisadawan Hongladarom and Worawanna Petchkij**

Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

*“Cancer Is Friend”: A Cognitive and Cultural Study of Cancer Metaphor in Thai*

It is well known that metaphors reflect how language users understand or think about a given concept. Having cancer is an experience that some patients have to face, but it is quite difficult for them to communicate with the doctors effectively, since they often lack basic medical knowledge and technical vocabulary about what is happening inside their bodies. Based on conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) and cultural analysis of metaphor (Quinn 1991), this research aims to investigate how Thai cancer patients conceptualize their disease through their uses of metaphors in both spoken and written language. Various works suggest that war metaphor is most commonly found in cancer discourse. This metaphor shows that cancer is perceived in a negative way as an enemy who needs to be defeated and destroyed with high technology weapons such as chemotherapy and radiotherapy. However, according to our data, uses of metaphor do occur in Thai cancer patients’ language in such a way that cancer is regarded not only as an enemy but also as a friend, a germ, and others. Friend metaphor reflects the way cancer is conceptualized as someone whom one needs to take care of and live with until the end of his life. This metaphor seems to be related to the basic Buddhist belief in the law of karma in Thai society. It also plays an important role in coping and dealing with suffering experiences of cancer patients. Germ metaphor seems to be related to the exogenous concepts of illness, objectification of illness and preferred categories for causes of disease in lay person found in anthropological works (Herzlich, 1973; Gwyn, 2002; Blaxter, 1983) Friend metaphor as demonstrated in Thai cancer discourse is a good example of how people in Buddhist culture perceive cancer and how cultural analysis is useful for metaphor study.

### Sachiko Ide

Japan Women's University, Japan

*The indexicality of Japanese language practice and underlying linguistic ideologies*

The Japanese language, when compared with European languages, is characterized by rich modal expressions, most of which is obligatory in speech behavior. The modal expressions are found in morphological, lexical, syntactic and discursive levels. Besides, speech formula that serve indexing context also constitutes a part of modal expressions on the conversational level. The modal expressions are those expressions the speaker indexes the feeling, attitude and epistemological status toward the contextual construal. Thus, they carry little propositional meaning, but express the nature of the participants' relationships and settings, and the speaker's attitude toward others as well as about oneself.

Let me list some of the modal expressions indexing contextual construal. On the morphological level: (1) Obligatory use (and non use) of honorific indexes the relationship of the participants and the formality of settings. (2) The use of evidentials known as the territory of information (Kamio 1990) index whether the information belongs to the speaker's territory or not. (3) Sentence final particles index the status of information of the addressee among others. On the lexical level: (4) Rich varieties of personal pronouns index the relation of the speaker, the addressee and the referent. On the discursive level: (5) Frequent use of *aizuchi*, repetition of the other's utterances, indeterminate expressions and collaborating conversation. (6) A customary use of cliché at the discourse opening such as '*O sewa ni nat te masu.*' (O HON *sewa* 'under the care of' *ni* DAT *nat* 'to become' te 'CONJ' *masu* ADD.HON.' I acknowledge that I am under the care of you.'

In this paper it is discussed that the linguistic ideologies of Japanese ordinary people shared as their everyday common sense ideas are the underlying source of the frequent indexing by modal expressions. The linguistic ideologies relevant to the Japanese practice can be argued that they are based on Buddhism and Confucianism. Both of them assume the existence of a person in relation to others. The key teaching of Buddhism is said to be 'dependent origination' and 'elimination of self', which sharply contrast to Descartes' "*cogito, ergo sum*" 'I think, therefore I am', where independent self is seen as the central notion of existence. The pragmatic theories such as Grice's maxims of conversation, speech act, politeness, which are without doubt based on this notion of existence, are to be challenged when we put our attention to the indexical function of Japanese language practice.

In Japanese language practice it is essential for the speaker to embed oneself and behave as a part of the contextual construal, and index appropriately the speaker's position in the context by the proper choice of modal expressions at all level of linguistic and conversation.

It is expected to give alternative interpretations of the linguistic, pragmatic and sociolinguistic phenomena in Japanese language practice that has been neglected as long as we presuppose the frameworks established in the international scholarship dominated by the Western doctrines.

### Li Wei

Birkbeck, University of London, United Kingdom

*What a title! Choice of address terms and social cultural changes in China*

Terms of address are more than a set of social conventions. Their use, and more importantly for this paper, the changes in their use, reflect cultural beliefs and values of the speakers as well as the social structure of the society. What determines the choice of address terms in social interaction is a complex issue and requires a multidimensional investigation. This paper examines the choice of address terms in contemporary Chinese society, which is undergoing significant socio-cultural, political and economic changes. We look at examples of address terms used by different generations of speakers of different genders, educational levels and regional origins in a variety of interactional contexts. We focus particular on factors such as age, occupation and the goal of the specific transaction and how they affect the choice of terms of address. Key cultural notions of the individual, the family, and profession are discussed.

### Saeko Machi

Graduate School of Japan Women's University, Japan  
*Creating "Our Story": Repetition in Japanese Conversation*

This study examines one of the prominent Japanese discourse forms, the practice of repeating what others say (words, phrases, and sentences) during conversations. It manifests how repetition of others' utterances contributes to Japanese conversational style by examining the functions and objects of repetition. In Japanese, speakers collaboratively create "our story" by sharing stories, experiences, and feelings. This study also provides two grammatical features, the sentence-final particle *ne* and the non-occurrence of the subject in Japanese, which facilitate the occurrence of repetition and create the preferred conversational style in Japanese.

The data for this study was obtained via the free conversation of 13 Japanese pairs. Each conversation is between native pairs of Japanese speakers. All the informants were female college students. Each pair was given 5 minutes to talk in turn about the pre-selected topic, "What were you most surprised at?" The total time of conversations is 74 minutes.

For the analysis of functions of repetition, data was classified according to the speaker's motive for repeating their partner's utterance. All the repetitions in the data were classified into seven functions: agreement, confirmation, questioning, answering, savoring, linking, and sympathy. The results show that Japanese tend to seek connection and a sense of sharing with each other through repetition that links stories, shows sympathy, and shows agreement. Look at the following examples (translated into English).

(1) Linking

A: I went into a **haunted house** yesterday and it was so scary.

B: Well, [I] went into the **haunted house** in Disneyland and

(2) Sympathy

A: That was really **dangerous**.

B: **Dangerous** (*ne*).

(3) Agreement

A: When I saw him there, I was so **surprised**.

B: (no subject) **surprised**.

All the repetitions were also classified into five categories according to what kind of words, phrases, and sentences the object of repetition is. They are: objective facts; names of people and places; preceding speaker's experience, assessments (as in (2)), and feelings (as in (3)). The obtained results tell us that the Japanese speakers choose the last two categories more often than the rest as the objects of repetition. By doing so, they try to show they are like-minded with others.

Contribution to participants' like-mindedness is also supported by the sentence-final particle *ne* and the non-occurrence of the subject, frequently found in our data. As Cook (1992) and Masuoka (1991) suggest, particle *ne*, as in (2), marks the participants' intention to identify with the knowledge, judgment, and feelings of others. Also, by not marking a clear subject of the sentence and making it ambiguous as in (3), Japanese speakers make situations and feelings sharable to both participants.

These findings suggest that the repetition of others' utterances, often accompanied with the two grammatical features described above, greatly contributes to the creation of "our story" in Japanese conversation. By repeating others' utterances, especially their words of assessments and feelings, Japanese try to show that they are like-minded sharing stories, experience, and feelings with each other.

### Yuko Nomura

Graduate School, Japan Women's University, Japan  
*How to share words in the mind in Japanese conversation- said-type vs. thought-type quotations-*

This study attempts to reveal what Japanese speakers are focusing on when they have conversation through quotations. It will be shown that, in Japanese conversations, quotations that show speakers' internal thoughts are frequently used. In conclusion it is stated that, in Japanese conversation, speakers put an importance on sharing what they have in their minds. Finally the relation between the use of quotation and Japanese linguistic resources will be mentioned.

The data analyzed in this study consists of 13 Japanese conversations in an experimental setting collected in June 2004. The participants of the each conversation are two close female friends, aged from 20 to 22. Their occupation is college student. They were asked to talk freely about what they were most surprised at in their lives for about five to eight minutes. Total time of the data is 68 minutes. All the conversations were DVD-recorded and transcribed.

In the previous study on quotation, the primary focus was on linguistic expression of reported speeches and usually treated as grammatical problems e.g. difference in the forms of direct and indirect speech, or as rhetorical subjects, e.g. direct speech can make the whole utterance more dramatic and vivid than indirect one (Kamada 2000, etc.) However, in this study quotation is considered as one behavior that people display when they communicate.

In my analysis, all the quotations are classified into two types, namely said-type and thought-type quotations. The former is a quotation which is quoted from some utterance or written text and is used to report what the quotee has said in a certain context. (ex. “*Sumimasen, oki te kudasai,*” *tte itta nandesu* (I said, “Excuse me. Please wake up”)). The latter is a quotation, which quotes words in quotee’s mind and is used to show what quotee has thought about in a certain context (ex. “*Do shi yo*” *tte omoi masu yo ne.* (We think, “what should we do?”)) The result of quantitative analysis is that 67.2% of quotations are thought-type and 32.8% are said-type. This result shows that in Japanese conversations, speakers quote more often to convey what they think. Further analysis shows that the said-type quotations are used in one way, whereas the thought-type quotations are in two ways, which could be one of the reasons why thought-type quotations occur more frequently than said-type.

In conclusion, it can be said that Japanese speakers focus on exchanging what they have in their mind by frequently using thought-type quotations. The use of thought-type quotations, which can tell words that are invisible from the outside, makes it easier for the speakers to think and feel the same way. It is also suggested that Japanese language has linguistic resources that makes it possible to talk in this way.

### Rumiko Ochiai

Japan Women’s University, Japan

*Japanese Communicative Practices and Insubstantial Japanese Self: On the Basis of Buddhism Philosophy*

This study investigates Japanese communicative practices from the ethnographic viewpoint. Recently, there has been much criticism leveled at linguists, anthropologists, and philosophers for applying “modern” western frameworks in order to understand Eastern language practices (Nishida 1987; Suzuki 1997; Silverstein and Yamaguchi 2007). This paper, supporting the claims of such criticism, attempts to reveal what is missing in the previous studies, most of which have employed the western frameworks for interpreting Japanese language. By showing how participant attunes herself to her interactant so as not to clarify her identity, I will argue on the self of participant, which is abnegated i.e. insubstantial, whose tendency may be linked with the Buddhism notion of the self.

The data consist of sixteen transcriptions of task management discourse between Japanese female native speakers. Pairs of informants were asked to rearrange fifteen picture cards in order to create a natural story. Their negotiation was video-taped by researchers.

The analysis shows how participant creates a feeling of indeterminacy rather than showing the individual identity. For example, by using a negative interrogative *ja nai*, the speaker shows her uncertainty in order to become merged to the interactant’s consciousness; when one asks which picture card could be the first, the other answers “*Kore da yo, kore* (This one, This one),” which is positively acknowledged by the interactant’s response “*A, honto da* (Oh, that’s right).” This sequence is likely to be finished here because the consensus has already been obtained. However, she continues as “*Kore ja nai?* (this + *ja nai?*),” which conveys her lack of confidence. Namely, even though her proposition is already approved, she does not move on to the next negotiation until her idea is shared i.e. grounded in her interactant’s consciousness. It illustrates Japanese insubstantial self that the speaker abnegates her individual identity, where participants create a harmonious rapport.

My claim is that this insubstantiality of Japanese self may be grounded in the Buddhism notion of the self, in which a relative self is not admitted. According to Izutsu (1977), the self is inherently insubstantial or “falls into Nothingness”, where distinctions such as I and you, or speaker and hearer, exist only for the sake of expedience. In other words, such an expedient distinction “regains its own original unity (Izutsu 1977),” so that all things are beyond separation. It can be concluded that the Japanese insubstantial self is an embodiment of “common sense ideas (Hanks 2005),” which are immanent in Japanese people who share the common world-view of Buddhism.

### **Natthaporn Panpothong and Siriporn Phakdeephassook**

Department of Thai, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand

*The concept of “Bunkhun” as an account for the act of responding to thanks in Thai culture*

Responding to thanks is one of the acts that helps maintain the smooth interpersonal relation between that thanker and the thankee. On the other hand, Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987: 67) point out that responses to thanks can be face-threatening to the speaker's negative face since s/he may feel constrained to minimize the thanker's indebtedness.

In Thai society, responding to thanks can be face-threatening to the speaker only in the case where the thanker is of equal or lower status and not in the “*Bunkhun*” (debt of gratitude) network such as an acquaintance, a maid, or a stranger. But it is not considered to be offending to the speaker's face when the thanker is in the status of “*Phuu mee phrakhun*” (a person to whom one owes a debt of gratitude) such as a teacher. In the latter case, the thankee faces a different difficulty. That is, how to minimize the debt without implicating that the thanker is indebted to him or her.

The concepts of “*Bunkhun*” and “*Katanyuu*” are long-established in Thai society. One should “*katanyuu*” or ‘to feel appreciative and pay back to those who are “*phuu mee phrakhun*.” In the “*bunkhun*” network, teachers are those who are highly respected. According to the Thai didactic texts, teachers are the ones who selflessly pass on knowledge to students. With that knowledge, students could be able to make their own living and might later become successful. Receiving thanks from a teacher to whom a student feels indebted, s/he is put in a difficult situation to react tactfully. That is, the student has to show acceptance for the act of thanking but not to accept the sense of indebtedness conveyed together with the expression. Owing to such conflict, responding to thanks in Thai culture is a complicated linguistic behavior worthwhile for a close analysis.

This study aims at examining how Thai speakers respond to an expression of gratitude and how the concept of “*bunkhun*” affects the strategy selection. The Discourse Completion Test (DCT) including two different situations - 1) when a thanker is a teacher, and 2) when a thanker is an acquaintance - is adopted for data collection. It is expected that the findings will shed light on the relationship between “*bunkhun*,” one of the crucial values in Thai culture and the Thai ways of communication.

### **Theeraporn Ratitankul**

Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

*Personal reference in Thai conversations*

Reference to person has been a matter of great interest in linguistic studies, especially in a language like Thai where there exist multiple possibilities to denote a speaker and an addressee. Previous research has found that a linguistic form used in referring to an entity depends on the status of the entity in the mind of the interlocutors (e.g., Chafe 1976) as well as continuity in discourse (e.g., Li & Thompson 1979), while work on the Thai referential system has focused on socio-cultural aspects of referential expressions (e.g., Cooke 1968). Are linguistic representations of personal reference influenced by sociolinguistic factors? The aim of the present work is to simultaneously examine cognitive, grammatical, discourse and sociolinguistic factors that play a role in the selection of person-referring forms in Thai and find out why particular forms are chosen at certain points in discourse.

Data came from two sessions of a 30-minute dinner table conversation among three Thai speakers. Expressions designating 1st and 2nd persons were coded for linguistic forms (lexical, pronominal or elliptical), and grammatical positions (subject or object). In order to see how personal reference fits into the larger system of referring expressions, reference to entities other than the interlocutors were included for comparison. Salience of referents was measured by Arnold's (2003) levels of salience, with 1st- and 2nd-persons being the most salient. Also taken into consideration were age, gender and closeness of conversation participants.

Results showed that subject position was overwhelmingly occupied by person referring terms and that these terms were most of the time omitted. Comparing to other types of entities, it could be observed that subject was a preferred site for ellipses and that omission in fact correlated with level of salience. Furthermore, subject dropping was common when the discourse theme was continuing. This suggests that reference to persons in Thai does not pattern differently from other referring expressions; it is constrained by grammatical position, saliency and discourse continuity. Omission of person reference was also influenced by socio-pragmatic factors.



Speakers tended to leave 1st and 2nd persons unexpressed when engaging in question-answer pairs, performing speech acts, and conveying uncertainty.

Interestingly enough, personal reference in Thai was dynamic in that referring expressions could change with the flow of discourse. When overtly indicated, 1st- and 2nd-personal forms had discourse functions. For example, they were used when speakers wanted to signal discontinuity, make an assertion, indicate a change in mood, or direct their speech to a certain conversation participant. Choices of referential terms were further determined by age, gender and closeness, factors that are hold important in Thai culture. As an illustration, female speakers tended to refer to themselves using their names when talking to someone older.

This study finds that choices of person-referring expressions in Thai conversations are controlled by cognitive salience of referents, grammatical position, discourse continuity, and socio-pragmatic factors. Personal reference can therefore be perceived as a linguistic tool that is tied to culture.

**LANGUAGE POLICIES IN SOCIAL PRACTICE:  
CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY, (RE)CLAIMING LANGUAGE RIGHTS [themed panel]**

Convenor: Teresa L. McCarty

Arizona State University, USA

Contributors: Tamara Borgoyakova, Perry Gilmore, Teresa L. McCarty, Sonja Novak Lukanovic, Dónall Ó Riagáin, Terrence Wiley

This two-part panel explores the interplay of face-to-face verbal interaction with official and unofficial policies designed to “manage” linguistic and cultural diversity. Part I focuses on national, minority, and immigrant languages in Europe and the U.S.; Part II addresses endangered Indigenous languages in Russia and the U.S., with a contrastive analysis of Swahili pidgin. The perspective taken is that language policy is not only or primarily constituted by official texts and acts, but is a complex socio-cultural process mediated by relations of power. Discussion questions include:

1. How are official and tacit language policies enacted in everyday social practice?
2. How do those practices shape individual and collective identities and social hierarchies?
3. How do members of marginalized speech communities resist and reframe those hierarchies?
4. What are the implications for language planning and language rights?

Each presenter is allotted 25 minutes, including 5-7 minutes for audience interaction. A brief period will be reserved at the end of each session for whole-group discussion.

*Part I: National, Minority, and Immigrant Languages in Europe and the USA*

Part I begins with a brief introduction to the session by Teresa McCarty. This is followed by Dónall Ó Riagáin’s paper, “*Irish: A New Future for an Old Language*.” Irish is unique among Europe’s lesser used languages in that it has a large pool of L2 users and a small pool of L1 users: 1.75 million people in Ireland speak Irish, while 453,000 use it on a daily basis. This paper examines the interaction of language practices in the domains of education, the media, and print literacy, with official language policies enacted to regulate the use of Irish and English. The paper argues that these practices are both constituted by and have concretely transformed Irish national identity.

The second paper, by Sonja Novak Lukanovic, “*Managing Language Diversity in Ethnically Mixed Areas of Slovenia*,” examines the “dual nature” of language as a symbolic system and a cultural product that participates in the formation and maintenance of human relationships. Using empirical data, these phenomena of language management in Slovenia are examined: (1) how inhabitants perceive language and cultural diversity in their micro environment and at the global level; (2) how they accept or resist measures aimed at intercultural communication; (3) why and where an individual language is used; and (4) factors underlying language choices. Implications for the social organization of language use are discussed.

The third paper, by Terrence Wiley, “*Perceptions of Differential Treatment Based on Language Background among Chinese Immigrants and International Students in the USA*,” reports on a study of language attitudes among 750 Chinese immigrant/international students in the USA toward: (1) differential treatment based on language background, and (2) negative experiences due to “Chinese-accented” English. This study probes the extent to which “regional accents” of Mandarin and use of regional languages mark social boundaries, resulting in differential treatment or “linguistic profiles.” Data from online surveys, focus group discussions, and interviews indicate differential treatment among Chinese in the U.S. based on regional language varieties as well as tolerance for language diversity; however, the majority of those of Chinese origin appear to be relatively resilient in dealing with this problem.

*Part II: Indigenous and Pidgin Languages in the USA, Russia, and Africa*

Part II begins with a brief introduction by Teresa McCarty. The first paper, by Perry Gilmore, “*Creating and Recreating Language Communities: Verbal Practices Transform Social Structure and Reconstruct Identities on a Kenya Hillside and in the Alaska Interior*,” presents a contrastive analysis of language practices which simultaneously (re) create community and resist inequities of power, race, and class in their social contexts: a Swahili pidgin language invented and used exclusively by two boys, a Samburu and an American, and an Alaska Native Indigenous language revitalization program. Focusing on parallel issues of identity, community, and ideology, the discussion explores micro and macro aspects of linguistic practices and (re)construction of community identities.

This second paper, by Tamara Borgoiakova, "*The Sociolinguistic Situation and Ethnic Stereotyping in Khakasia*," addresses the sociolinguistic situation and ethnic stereotypes of Khakasians and Russians in Khakasia. A language status planning analysis shows the contradiction between the legal status of Khakas as a second official language in the Republic and its endangered future. Free associative experiments also reveal the presence of ethnic stereotypes. Despite 300 years of close association within Russia, intercultural misunderstandings and unequal majority-minority relations prevail. The paper concludes by discussing the mixed feelings of language pride and shame among Khakasians, and ongoing counter-initiatives to linguistic and cultural assimilation.

The final paper, by Teresa McCarty, "*Portraits of Language Use in Native America: Complicating Language Shift, Promoting Indigenous Rights*," reports on a large-scale, five-year study of Native-language shift and retention among American Indians in the U.S. Southwest. Using ethnographic interviews, sociolinguistic surveys, and observations, this study reveals portraits of language use and change "on the ground," as experienced by youth and adults. These data show the micro and macro environments in which language proficiencies are developed and language practices are enacted to be much more rich, varied, and contentious than the notion of "shift," with its unidirectional connotations, suggests. The implications of these findings for Indigenous/minority-language maintenance and linguistic and educational rights are discussed.

#### PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

##### **Tamara Borgoyakova**

Khakas State University, Russia, Russian Federation

*The Sociolinguistic Situation and Ethnic Stereotypes in Khakasia*

This paper presents a contrastive analysis of two vastly different examples of language practices which (re)create language communities and simultaneously resist and transform inequities of power, race and class in their social contexts. (1) The first example draws on a unique corpus of data documenting the case of a spontaneous Swahili pidgin language invented and used exclusively by two boys, six and five years old (Gilmore 1979, 1983). For fifteen months on an isolated hillside in Kenya, the two children met and became friends. One child was the son of Samburu cattle herders. The other was an American whose parents were conducting research on a troop of feral baboons. The language the children invented was a mixture of Swahili and English, yet distinct from both, making it unintelligible to all but its two speakers. Through a linguistic and ethnographic analysis of their verbal practices the paper details the ways in which their lexical and syntactic innovations (e.g., neologisms, metaphoric calquing, tense and aspect markers, pronouns) created a separate speech community which transformed the social structure of the larger compartmentalized multilingual community in which they lived. They crossed linguistic, racial and economic borders. The language bonded them as much as it reflected their bonds. What they called "Our Language" became a means for resisting the rigid and oppressive post-colonial biases of language and culture, creating a free space for their friendship. Their use of the language also became a means for reshaping the social structure and interaction patterns of the entire hillside community. (2) The second example documents the case of an Alaska Native language revitalization program. The Morgan Project was funded by the U.S. Department of Education with a particular focus on two Athabascan languages, Gwich'in and Koyukon. Though linguists have labeled many of these languages as "moribund" and "dying", the paper will describe the ways in which the program functioned not only as a language education site but as a site of resistance and identity reconstruction creating a sense of community agency, activism, hope and power. The funding facilitated significant policy and program changes at the state, university and school levels. These visible and marked structural changes provided symbolic space for a public display of pride and possibility. Several of the fluent Native elders who taught Gwich'in and Koyukon in the schools for the Morgan Project had themselves been severely punished and humiliated for speaking these languages when they were children in school (see Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore 1999). This reversal of verbal power arrangements was performed, enacted and embodied in public acts in the schools. The paper describes the ways in which structural changes in positioning, policies and practices facilitated the complex and multilayered agentive role of participants in interactions which countered dominant practices, discourses and master narratives. Parallels in the two examples, one creating and one recreating language communities, will be explored.

### **Perry Gilmore**

University of Arizona, USA, University of Alaska Fairbanks, USA

*Creating and Recreating Language Communities: Verbal Practices Transform Social Structure and Reconstruct Identities on a Kenya Hillside and in the Alaska Interior*

This paper presents a contrastive analysis of two vastly different examples of language practices which (re)create language communities and simultaneously resist and transform inequities of power, race and class in their social contexts. (1) The first example draws on a unique corpus of data documenting the case of a spontaneous Swahili pidgin language invented and used exclusively by two boys, six and five years old (Gilmore 1979, 1983). For fifteen months on an isolated hillside in Kenya, the two children met and became friends. One child was the son of Samburu cattle herders. The other was an American whose parents were conducting research on a troop of feral baboons. The language the children invented was a mixture of Swahili and English, yet distinct from both, making it unintelligible to all but its two speakers. Through a linguistic and ethnographic analysis of their verbal practices the paper details the ways in which their lexical and syntactic innovations (e.g., neologisms, metaphoric calquing, tense and aspect markers, pronouns) created a separate speech community which transformed the social structure of the larger compartmentalized multilingual community in which they lived. They crossed linguistic, racial and economic borders. The language bonded them as much as it reflected their bonds. What they called “Our Language” became a means for resisting the rigid and oppressive post-colonial biases of language and culture, creating a free space for their friendship. Their use of the language also became a means for reshaping the social structure and interaction patterns of the entire hillside community. (2) The second example documents the case of an Alaska Native language revitalization program. The Morgan Project was funded by the U.S. Department of Education with a particular focus on two Athabascan languages, Gwich’in and Koyukon. Though linguists have labeled many of these languages as “moribund” and “dying”, the paper will describe the ways in which the program functioned not only as a language education site but as a site of resistance and identity reconstruction creating a sense of community agency, activism, hope and power. The funding facilitated significant policy and program changes at the state, university and school levels. These visible and marked structural changes provided symbolic space for a public display of pride and possibility. Several of the fluent Native elders who taught Gwich’in and Koyukon in the schools for the Morgan Project had themselves been severely punished and humiliated for speaking these languages when they were children in school (see Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore 1999). This reversal of verbal power arrangements was performed, enacted and embodied in public acts in the schools. The paper describes the ways in which structural changes in positioning, policies and practices facilitated the complex and multilayered agentive role of participants in interactions which countered dominant practices, discourses and master narratives. Parallels in the two examples, one creating and one recreating language communities, will be explored.

### **Teresa L. McCarty**

Arizona State University, USA

*Portraits of Language Use in Native America: Complicating Language Shift, Promoting Indigenous Rights*

Language shift is occurring at an escalating pace in Native American communities, with only 20 of 175 languages still acquired as first languages by children. Without rapid and effective intervention, none of these languages is likely to survive as a child language beyond the next 30 to 50 years. Moreover, even as more Native children enter school speaking English as a primary or only language, they often speak a “Nativized” variety, leading them to be stigmatized and placed in remedial tracks. Thus, the shift from the Native language to English does not in itself ensure that these students will acquire academic English or fare better in school. While the more general causes of language shift have been well studied, little is known of how language shift is experienced by children and influences their learning in and out of school. This lack of information contributes significantly to ongoing education inequities, and to challenges faced by Native American communities in maintaining and revitalizing their heritage languages. This paper provides a view of language shift “on the ground,” as experienced by Native American youth across a range of school-community settings. Drawing on data from a large-scale, comparative study of Native American language shift and retention in the U.S. Southwest, the study shows that the micro and macro environments in which children’s language proficiencies are developed and language practices and choices are enacted are much more rich, varied, and contentious than the notion of “shift,” with

its unidirectional connotations, suggests. The paper begins with an overview of the status of Native American languages. I then provide background on the research approach and methodology. Data included 230 in-depth, ethnographic interviews with Native youth, educators, parents, and elders; 600 sociolinguistic questionnaires; hundreds of hours of observation of language use and teaching; and quantitative indicators of youth language proficiencies. The analysis focuses on three key areas of the research: contemporary language use patterns in participants' communities and homes, youths' multiple language proficiencies, and language attitudes and ideologies. Together, these data reveal multifaceted portraits of language shift across a continuum of early- to late-shift settings. The implications of these findings for Indigenous/minority-language maintenance and linguistic and educational rights are discussed.

### **Sonja Novak Lukanovič**

Institute for Ethnic Studies Ljubljana, Slovenia

*Managing Language Diversity in Ethnically Mixed Areas of Slovenia*

In ethnically mixed areas in Slovenia bilingual or multilingual speakers are a reality. Although in communication between groups living in contact may change, they are always the result of political and socio-economic factors of the micro and macro environment. In such mixed areas, language has a communicational and symbolic dimension, it is the indicator of diversity, it is an important indicator of an individual group's status and power. It reflects the relation of the ethnic groups and shows whether the groups live one beside the other or one with the other.

The "dual nature" of the language will be stressed. It does not only constitute a symbolic system, it can also be treated as a social characteristic, as a cultural product which participates in the formation and maintenance of relationships between people.

The paper will start from the assumption that individual languages in ethnically mixed areas have different (mostly unequal) communication functions (ranges) due to various factors (linguistic policies, power in the "language market" etc.). On the basis of empirical data the phenomenon of managing language diversity in ethnically mixed area will be identified:

- how the inhabitants perceive the language and cultural diversity of their living micro environment/ at local and global level;
- how they accept the measures aiming at intercultural communication (learn the minority language, use media, cooperate in different ways, etc.);
- why and where an individual language - minority or majority - in ethnically mixed area in Slovenia is used;
- what creates linguistic patterns and where lie the reasons for changes in the social organisation of language use.

### **Dónall Ó Riagáin**

Independent Consultant, Ireland

*Irish, a new future for an old language*

Irish is one of Europe's oldest living tongues. A Q-Celtic language, it has been spoken in Ireland for over two millennia and has been written since the 6th century AD. Because its users were politically, religiously, and economically oppressed for many centuries, its position became undermined and it went into rapid and almost terminal decline during the 19th century. A language revival movement developed toward the end of that century and when an independent Irish state was established in 1922, Irish was accorded recognition as an official language. English was also accepted as another official language. The revival of the language as the national vernacular became an objective of the new state.

Despite the high official status accorded the language, its promotion was largely unplanned. However, the education system did achieve a considerable degree of success and Irish is probably unique among Europe's lesser used languages in that it has a large pool of L2 users and a comparatively small pool of L1 users. Census data shows that c. 1.75 m. people in Ireland [Republic and Northern Ireland] claim to be able to speak Irish whereas only 453,000 of these [in the Republic] use Irish on a daily basis. Despite the enormous disparity between ability and regular usage, attitudinal support is high, especially among the younger generation.

There has been a national Irish language radio service, Raidió na Gaeltachta, since 1971 and there has been a dedicated Irish language TV channel, TG4, since 1996. Two other radio services, Raidió na Life and the Belfast-based Raidió Fáilte broadcast exclusively in Irish. There is one small Irish language daily newspaper and a more substantial weekly as well as monthly and quarterly magazines. About 150 books are published in Irish every year.

Although Irish has been an official state language in the Republic since 1922 it was only in 2003 that legislation, the Official Languages Act 2003 was enacted to regulate the use of both official languages. Efforts are currently being made to have an Irish language act adopted in Northern Ireland. Irish became an official and working language of the European Union on 1 January 2007, the only Celtic language to achieve this degree of recognition.

From being the language of a marginalized and aging peasantry in an 'internal colony' of the UK at the end of the 19th century, Irish has become the national language of a prosperous independent state. This paper examines these processes in the domains of education, media, and print literacy, juxtaposed to official policies to regulate the use of Irish and English. The paper argues that these practices are both constituted by and have concretely transformed Irish national identity.

### **Terrence G. Wiley**

Arizona State University, USA

*Perceptions of Differential Treatment Based on Language Background among Chinese Immigrants and International Students in the USA*

This paper reports on a study of language attitudes among 750 Chinese immigrant/ international students in the USA toward: (1) the maintenance and use of Chinese heritage and community languages, (2) differential treatment based on language background, and (3) negative experiences with English speakers due to "Chinese-accented" English.

Background: Although Mandarin is the world's leading mother tongue and the official language of the Peoples Republic of China, only 53 percent of the Chinese population speaks "standard" Mandarin (National Language Committee, 2006). This study probed the extent to which "regional accents" of Mandarin and use of regional languages among Chinese mark social boundaries, resulting in differential treatment or "linguistic profiling" (Baugh, 2000). The also study elaborates on existing language profiles of speakers of Chinese in the USA in order better to inform HL/CL initiatives geared to communities of Chinese speakers regarding the language varieties, attitudes, and expectations that may be found among their clientele. With increased mobility that accompanies globalization, the USA has over the last few decades become the temporary or permanent home to large numbers of young, highly educated people of Chinese origin.

Data from online surveys, focus groups, and interviews indicated some evidence of the perception of differential treatment among Chinese in the U.S. based on regional language varieties, as well as tolerance for language diversity. Similarly, concerns were evident regarding differential treatment among immigrants and international students for using "accented" English; however, the majority of those of Chinese origin appear to be relatively resilient in dealing with this problem.

Some differences were noteworthy regarding those from Hong Kong and Taiwan. Those from Hong Kong indicated lesser proficiency in Mandarin. The respondents from Taiwan were more likely to be multi-dialectal speakers of Mandarin and Taiwanese or Mandarin and Hakka. The absence of formal instruction for most of the major dialects in the USA, with the possible exception of Cantonese, will make it unlikely that these varieties will be maintained over time. Findings from the study also have implications for approaches to literacy instruction as those from Taiwan and particularly Hong Kong were less likely to support instruction in Simplified Characters.



**GLOBAL TRANSFORMATIONS, MIGRATION AND LANGUAGE PRACTICES:  
CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON CURRENT RESEARCH [workshop]**

Convenors: Clare Mar-Molinero and David Block

University of Southampton, UK and University of London, UK

Contributors: David Block, Michael Grenfell, Clare Mar-Molinero, Patrick Stevenson

*How the workshop relates to the conference themes*

The workshop relates directly to the aims of SS17, as, in very different ways, all of the contributions explore macro-micro connections in the process of critically examining how social structures shape and are shaped by language practices.

*Workshop background and objectives*

Globalisation is generally framed as the ever-increasing and ever-intensifying interconnectedness of communications, events, activities and relationships taking place at the different levels of social life. These levels may be understood as local, national or international, as in discussions of global transformations (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton 1999; Held and McGrew 2002); as macro, meso and micro, as in discussions of migration (Faist 2000; Papastergiadis 2000; Castles and Miller 2003); or as multiple scales, as in discussions of the hierarchical ordering of language practices in a variety of contexts in the world today (Heller 2006; Blommaert 2007).

As the title indicates, this colloquium focuses on the three areas of interest cited in the previous paragraph - global transformations, migration and language practices. In this sense, it has much in common with a great deal of current sociolinguistics research, as witnessed by the growing number of monographs, collections and journal articles dealing with these themes, and the significant number of SS16 panels and workshops with globalisation, migration and language practices at their heart. However, as the second part of the workshop title indicates, contributors aim to focus on these themes not only with a view to presenting and discussing their own and others' research results, but also with a view to critiquing current orthodoxies regarding how these different levels of social and sociolinguistic phenomena interrelate, and inviting discussion from the workshop audience in the discussion sessions.

Thus, in paper 1, David Block critically examines research on the sociolinguistics of emergent transnational identities in different contexts with a view to revisiting discussions about the inter-relationship between structure and agency. In paper 2, Clare Mar Molinero focuses on her research on the grassroots-inspired global spread of Spanish via hip hop and reggaeton music, framing this phenomenon in terms of broader debates about the tensions arising between top-down, state- and supra-state-led language policies and bottom up, emergent, local-level language practices. In paper 3, Patrick Stevenson focuses on his research on language migration and citizenship with a view not only to discussing findings and trends, but also to examining controversies arising. Finally, in paper 4, Michael Grenfell elaborates a critique of much current sociolinguistic thinking about globalisation, migration, and language, drawing intensively and extensively on the work of Pierre Bourdieu. His paper will also serve to bring together the threads of the discussion, before inviting fuller participant debate.

*Discussion questions*

The overarching questions for general discussion will be

- What theoretical issues are most prevalent in analysing the links between language, globalisation and migration?
- How does language policy impact on the effect of globalisation, and vice-versa?
- What are the consequences of the greater fluidity of linguistic ecologies resulting from changing social patterns brought about by large scale migration?
- Who or what are the agents of language spread and language shift in an era of globalisation?

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**David Martin Block**

Institute of Education, University of London, United Kingdom

*Unpicking agency in sociolinguistic research focussing on migrants*

In sociolinguistic research focussing on language practices of migrants, researchers have tended to adopt a broadly poststructuralist approach to identity, drawing on the work of social theorists working in a range of areas such as philosophy, literary theory, cultural studies, feminism and queer theory, critical theory and post colonialism. Ultimately, the complexity of these sources poses challenges for sociolinguists and the aim of this paper is to discuss one such challenge: the relatively unacknowledged and unresolved theoretical tension between structure and agency, in particular how the latter emerges and/or manifests itself in the ongoing sociolinguistic practices of individuals. I begin with a consideration of how agency has been discussed in recent anthropological and sociological literature. I then present my own understanding of what agency is, for example, how it is emergent in all kinds of social practices, which in turn are shaped by - and situated in terms of - culture, history, time, space and multimodality. Finally, via an examination of some recent sociolinguistic research focusing on the language practices of migrants, I show how framing agency as problematic vis-à-vis structure and practice can lead to more elaborate and more nuanced understandings of these same language practices.

**Michael Grenfell**

School of Education, University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*Language, Migration and Globalisation: a Bourdieusian Perspective*

This paper is based on the work of the French social theorist, Pierre Bourdieu, and considers its value in studying the relationships between language, migration and globalisation.

Firstly, I shall address Bourdieu's own work in Algeria and the Béarn, in which he drew attention to migratory movements found in processes of modernisation at the time and the role that language played in it.

Secondly, the paper shows how this work led to a theory of practice which encompassed a theory of language. This theory will be discussed both in terms of its subjective and objective dimensions. I shall also draw on salient aspects of both sociolinguistics and social psychology in assessing the pros and cons of Bourdieu's approach to empirical linguistic studies.

Thirdly, the paper considers globalisation and what Bourdieu had to say about it. A series of empirical linguistic examples will be included. The intention is to explore his theoretical and methodological third way in order to assess its insights and value.

The paper will also address themes brought to light in the other three contributions to the workshop and will offer a Bourdieusian response to them.

Finally, the paper is intended to lead into and complement discussion with participants in the work shop.

**Clare Mar-Molinero**

Centre for Transnational Studies, University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*Subverting Cervantes: globalisation, transnationalism and global Spanish*

The backdrop to this paper will be the tensions between regulated top-down language policies, generated by powerful national state governments and supra-national agencies, affecting global language use, as opposed to grassroots movements spreading and impacting on language behaviour as the result of transnational flows and global migration. The discussion will be framed by the twin concepts of globalisation and transnationalism, exploring the influence of inter-connectivity and inter-dependence created by both phenomena. In particular, major urban centres are sites where many transnational diasporas are rooted territorially whilst simultaneously crisscrossing national borders in a counter-existence and resistance to dominant national and even global power structures. Both dominant authorities and grassroots communities use the outreach of modern technological

communications to promote and protect their language use - often by developing explicit language policies, sometimes by generating cultural practices which embed and enhance their language use.

I will take as my case study global Spanish and the way this is both marketed and guarded by state and super-state institutions and resources, as well as being owned and authenticated by transnational Latino diasporas, particularly in the US. I will illustrate this example in particular by a brief examination of the role of Latino music to counter-resist the imposed linguistic hegemony of standard Castilian.

**Patrick Stevenson**

University of Southampton, United Kingdom

*Language, migration and citizenship: questions of scale and context in policy and practice*

European states have belatedly begun to address the linguistic consequences of migration. The greater fluidity of linguistic ecologies resulting from changing patterns of migration - changes in dimension (rapidly increasing numbers of migrants), composition (growing range of places of origin), distribution (greater spread across rural and provincial areas alongside urban concentrations), and practice (increasingly temporary as well as permanent relocation) - is widely perceived as a destabilising and divisive challenge to the prevailing monolingual habitus.

Debates on this issue have been embedded in a flurry of competing discourses - of national security and international stability, of integration and belonging, cohesion and inclusion, community and engagement. They have also attracted considerable attention amongst linguists and language professionals.

In this paper, I want to reflect on these debates and the literature surrounding them, and on some of the conflicts arising from the tensions and contradictions between different layers of sociolinguistic policy and practice.

In particular, I shall ask what these debates mean for the development of adequate conceptions of citizenship, and how these relatively recent developments in Europe relate to debates and policy changes in other parts of the world where these issues have been acknowledged for much longer.

**MULTILINGUAL SOCIETIES, IDENTITIES AND GLOBALIZATION:  
RETHINKING LANGUAGE, MIGRATION AND IDENTITY [workshop]**

Convenor: Steve Marshall

Simon Fraser University, Canada

Contributors: Patricia Lamarre, Steve Marshall, Danièle Moore, Christian Münch, Cécile Sabatier

This workshop brings together the work of 5 researchers who have sought out new research sites in order to bring new perspectives and insight into the study of multilingual societies, identities and globalization. The data presented will illustrate how understandings of the relationship between languages and identities are changing as a result of globalization and new migration.

Four discussion questions will be presented to the audience:

- i. How are globalization and new migration changing understandings of the relationship between languages and identities?
- ii. How do new migrants develop new multilingual identities in new host communities?
- iii. What are the implications for language policies?
- iv. How can researchers adapt methodologies to address these issues?

*1. The language practices and identities of multilingual new migrants in Montreal. Patricia Lamarre, Université de Montréal*

Patricia Lamarre presents emerging data from a research project looking at the language practices and processes of identity formation of new migrants in Québec. She argues for a non-static, multi-site approach to understanding how multilinguals draw on their resources and make decisions about the stakes underlying the different spaces and situations they encounter in the course of their daily lives in Montreal.

The data presented will show the need to adapt existing theoretical paradigms to the specific sociolinguistic environment, while at the same time illustrating a number of important methodological challenges involved.

*2. New and established minority languages and identities: essentialism, appropriation, and multiplicity in Catalonia. Steve Marshall, Simon Fraser University*

Steve Marshall's focus is on new migrant speakers of languages originating in the 'new world' who are migrating to regions of Europe with their own established linguistic minorities. The presentation analyzes data from a 4-year study in Catalonia. The specific focus is on how Spanish-speaking Latino new migrants are constructing languages and identities in Catalonia, a highly heteroglossic, reflexive sociolinguistic environment, currently at a key stage of linguistic normalization of the Catalan language.

It will be suggested that individuals' complex paths of identity formation run parallel to paths of migration and of knowledge formation, along which individuals' epistemologies evolve and change, determining individuals' sociolinguistic practices. The data will illustrate a rich and varied picture of multilingual identity formation in Barcelona, most notably, entrenched essentialism, selective appropriation of other identities, identities of convenience, transnational and flexible multiple identities.

*3. Identity and language practices in religious settings: Latin American immigrants in New York City churches. Christian Münch, University of Frankfurt*

As the social center of community life for generations of immigrants, ethnic churches have played a major role in religious life, cultural practices and the maintenance of the immigrants' language of origin. Christian Münch presents results of his research on language and identity formation in New York City, focusing on churches of different denominations (Catholic, Baptist and Evangelical).

New immigration from Latin America has resulted in significant changes in the membership of the churches, which have responded by adapting their language practices in Spanish to the needs of the newcomers. The presentation will illustrate how each church has dealt with issues of language practices and identity in different ways. As important as ethnic churches have been in keeping up religious rites and cultural traditions, their conservative nature have not made them particularly accessible as research spaces. The presentation will illustrate how a

methodological approach combining participant observation, semi-structured interviews and critical discourse analysis was employed to gain access to the sociolinguistic settings.

*4. Negotiating new identities through multilingual literacies in family, school and community: Chinese first graders in French immersion in Vancouver, Canada. Danièle Moore, Simon Fraser University*

Danièle Moore presents data from an ongoing study of trilingual Chinese learners in French immersion programs in Vancouver. Data will be presented from texts and audio-taped verbal reports from 12 multilingual Chinese children aged 6 to 8 and their parents.

The presentation will explore how multilingual children creatively appropriated Chinese script, English and French for 3 purposes: [i] to gain voice and expertise, [ii] to mediate their experience of migration and mobility, and [iii] to reconstruct knowledge and negotiate new and multiple identities in their various sociocultural settings (including both French and Chinese schools, families, local communities, and the larger Anglophone society in Vancouver).

*5. Arabic-speaking students in Grade 5 and 6 classes in France: constructing identities in the micro-organization of the classroom. Cécile Sabatier, Simon Fraser University*

Cécile Sabatier presents data from a 2-year study in France that focused on how Arabic-speaking students in Grade 5 and 6 are constructing, through their discourses, their identities in the micro-organization of the classroom. The presentation investigates students' processes of multilingual identity construction by focusing on how schools contribute to the building of a pluralistic society and on the documentation of attitudes to bi-/multilingualism in families, schools and communities.

The data will also illustrate how the different actors in the classroom make the initially collective entity obsolete, thus challenging traditional theoretical frameworks. It will be argued that there is a need for a redefinition of the role that schools play in dealing with complexity, migration, language and society.

*6. Conclusion*

The workshop will end with a concluding section that brings together the common threads of the 5 presentations, at the same time answering the 4 discussion questions set out at the introduction. This will lead to an open discussion with the audience relating to the wider relevance of the issues raised.

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Patricia Lamarre**

Université de Montréal

*The language practices and identities of multilingual new migrants in Montreal*

Montreal today is undoubtedly a much more French city than it was just thirty years ago. Montreal is, however, by no means a unilingual city, having the highest rate of bilingualism and trilingualism in Canada, a phenomenon on the increase among its younger population. In North America, Montreal offers a unique language context given its history of language contact between two strong communities: the use of language legislation to reverse a language dynamic and improve the status of French; its workplace in which French-English bilingualism is of strong value; and an immigrant population likely to learn two new languages rather than one within the process of social and economic integration.

Despite the growing bilingualism and trilingualism of the population, little attention has been paid to how Montrealers are drawing on their language repertoires in their everyday lives as they move through the city and position themselves within different social networks, situations and interactions. Current research leaves many significant questions unasked: Why does a multilingual choose to use French in one situation, English in another, choose bilingual or trilingual codeswitching among friends or even customers and coworkers, and then adopt much more conservative unilingual practices in other settings or interactions? What are the stakes underlying these different situations? How are these stakes understood and evaluated by speakers and how do these representations reflect on the decisions they make about language use? When do speakers feel free to express their bilingual and multilingual identities through hybridized forms of language (codeswitching, "parler

bilingue”)? What do young multilinguals have to say about how they live their identities and position themselves on this level in different contexts?

In this study, we examine the language practices of young adults in Montreal (18 to 30) - a generation referred to as the “children of Bill 101” since they have grown up in the wake of Quebec’s language policy. The study is situated within the theoretical framework of critical sociolinguistics and proposes an ethnographic approach, drawing on a number of strategies for data collection. We follow a small number of young multilingual Montrealers (n=8) through their daily lives, observing and recording how they draw on their linguistic repertoires in relation to different settings, social networks and situations. Participants were asked to audiotape natural interactions at different moments in the day. Participants then transcribed extracts of recorded data and were asked to comment on their language use. Data was also collected through serial interviewing and journal writing, in which we asked participants to explain how they perceive their linguistic repertoires, their use of languages and their identity. Finally, participants in the study were brought together for focus-group discussions.

Our approach to data collection is nonstatic, following participants through the city into different contexts and social networks, rather than being bound within the stakes and power relations of specific sites, as is usually the case with ethnographies and even multisite research.

### **Steve Marshall**

Simon Fraser University, Canada

*New and established minority languages and identities: essentialism, appropriation and multiplicity in Catalonia*

Globalization and new migration have brought new and established minority languages and identities into contact in many European cities. In certain places, large numbers of new migrant speakers of European languages of the “new world” are arriving in regions of Europe with their own established national linguistic minorities. The sociolinguistic situation in Catalonia is one such example, where members of the established Catalan-speaking linguistic minority within the Spanish state are now interacting with new migrant speakers of many other world languages. Interactions between Catalan-speakers and Spanish-speaking Latin Americans are of particular interest in terms of inter-group interaction and its role in multilingual identity construction: Spanish-speaking Latin Americans are speakers of allochthonous marked varieties of the official majority language of the Spanish state; they are in many cases identified as Latin American, through appearance or accent, by other interlocutors; and they are arriving in Catalonia during a key stage of the linguistic normalization of the Catalan language. This complex postcolonial sociolinguistic situation not only challenges language planners and language educators, it also challenges many analytic paradigms in the fields of sociolinguistics and identity formation.

I present data from a study carried out between 2000 and 2004 in and around Barcelona. The methodology involved interviews with 44 participants, of whom 35 were Latin American, about their language use and processes of identity formation. Eleven of the participants then recorded their language use along their daily life paths, intentionally using Catalan in some instances. In follow-up interviews, researcher and participant constructs were shared.

I suggest that individuals’ processes of identity formation run parallel to paths of migration and paths of knowledge formation, along which individuals’ epistemologies evolve, determining sociolinguistic practice. The data also show a spectrum of rich and diverse processes of multilingual identity formation. Participants’ descriptions of their processes of identity formation combine several of the following aspects: [i] aspects of past and present; [ii] aspects of ‘here’, ‘there’ and ‘nowhere’; [iii] terms of identity ascription of self and other that combine country of origin, Latin American-ness, and languages (Spanish, Castilian and Catalan); and [iv] a wide range of (re)constructed identities: entrenched essentialism; selective appropriation of ‘other’ identities; identities of convenience; and flexible, transnational, multiple identities.



**Danièle Moore**

Simon Fraser University, Canada

*Negotiating new identities through multilingual literacies in family, school and community:  
Chinese first graders in French immersion in Vancouver, Canada*

The study investigates the academic, social and linguistic adaptation of young multilingual Chinese learners in early French immersion programs in Vancouver. The study is part of a larger project to study literacy development and practices and parents' engagement in language and cultural transmission in multilingual and multicultural contexts. This contribution will focus on a sub-set of 12 families from the larger study, and will present data obtained from interviews and literacy tasks conducted at home with the first grader children in these twelve families, to examine literacy development and multiple investments in language and identity. While parents deeply value the transmission of Chinese languages, script, and culture, they also strongly believe that learning French will empower their children as "true" bilingual Canadians in the larger Anglophone society of British Columbia. Learning French becomes part of the children's new linguistic and cultural capital, and permits them to gain academic success and to become culturally empowered in their new social environment in Canada. In this sense, French allows the redefinition of boundaries and the renegotiation of learners' sense of identity and legitimacy in the various and changing contexts of their families, the Chinese and the French schools, and within the larger local Chinese and Canadian communities.

The study employs literacy tasks and in-depth interviews with twelve first and second graders (aged 6 and 7) multilingual Chinese children in an early French immersion program in a highly multilingual and multiethnic urban school in Vancouver. The interviews with children explore their linguistic backgrounds, their language use and preferences, their social networks, and their literacy skills in French, English and Chinese. The literacy tasks are used to trigger conversation around the children's multilingual literacies, their awareness of writing systems, and their abilities to transfer knowledge from one language to the other. The interviews and tasks revealed high levels of competencies in the three languages, acute awareness of the three writing systems, and strong reading skills in all three languages. Children used their writing skills in their three scripts as material for story construction of selves, as strategic ways to develop multiple and dynamic discourses of identity, to exercise agency and participation in their social groups, and to position themselves in these groups or to mark secretive youth participation.

The presentation will, in particular, explore how multilingual children creatively appropriate Chinese script, English and French for three purposes: [i] to gain voice and expertise, [ii] to mediate their experience of migration and mobility, and [iii] to reconstruct knowledge and negotiate new and multiple identities in their various socio-cultural settings (including both French and Chinese schools, families, local communities, and the larger Anglophone society in Vancouver).

**Christian Münch**

University of Frankfurt, Germany

*Identity and language practices in religious settings:*

The study of the relationship between identity and language in churches in the United States has for a long time been dominated by the model of the ethnic neighbourhood church and the concept of ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity it implies. As the social center of community life, for generations of immigrants ethnic churches have played a major role in religious life, cultural practices and the maintenance of the immigrants' language of origin. As important as ethnic churches have been in keeping up religious rites and cultural traditions, their conservative nature has not made them particularly attractive as research spaces, offering very little in terms of sociolinguistic dynamics to be studied.

However, the recent wave of immigration from all over Latin America to the United States and the presence of numerous sizable groups of immigrants from all over Latin America has not only changed the religious landscape of the United States, but it also has led to an increasing diversity among Latinos as well as within their churches. While the use of Spanish allows churches to organize services in which immigrants of widely different groups such as Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Ecuadorians or Dominicans can participate, their cultural identity remains intact even after years of membership in a religious community. Yet, there can be no doubt that the use of Spanish as their common language allows the crossing of social and ethnic boundaries, enabling

members of a church to identify with other members on the basis of language rather than adapting to their cultural paradigms.

In this presentation I will present results of my research in New York City on churches of different denominations (catholic, baptist and evangelical). All of the churches studied have undergone significant changes in their membership due to the new immigration from Latin America and reacted by adapting their language practices in Spanish to the needs of the newcomers. Each church, however, has dealt with issues of language practices and identity in different ways. The methodological approach of my research was based on participant observation, semi-structured interviews and critical discourse analysis.

The case of Latin American immigrants in churches in the United States is an example of how migration processes are changing the character of religious settings that, for a long time, have been deemed unattractive for sociolinguistic research. It invites us to rethink the link between religion, cultural practices and language and look for new theoretical and methodological approaches to dissect existing paradigms and render the complexity of an emerging Latino culture in the United States that defies traditional notions of ethnicity and places language in the centre of their religious and cultural life.

### **Cécile Sabatier**

Simon Fraser University, Canada

*Negotiating discursive identities in classroom interactions*

The study investigates Arabic-speaking students' identity construction through classroom activities in an elementary school in France. In particular, it discusses their positionings through their inter-relations and interactions with their peers and their teacher by addressing three questions: [i] how these students position themselves and others through discursive strategies, [ii] how they construct and/or negotiate identities in their classroom practices, and [iii] how these constructions and/or negotiations reflect on a redefinition of their social identities in the broader community.

Indeed, while classroom micro-organization depends on socially-determined school roles, Arabic-speaking students exceed boundaries by revealing several different identity constructions in connection with the different languages that they use in their everyday interactions: at home and at school, and in their various social networks of communication. These constructions demonstrate students' understanding of how languages and cultures are legitimized (or not) in power relations. They also illustrate students' agency in transforming and/or manipulating their linguistic repertoires and their identities in relation to different settings (home, school and community), social networks and situations. By questioning the contribution of the school to building a pluralistic society, students' discursive strategies in the development of multiple and dynamic identities draw on their knowledge of social structures in their constitution of social relations; they also highlight the important role of classroom micro-organization in the negotiation of in- and out-group memberships.

The study is situated within the theoretical framework of interactional sociolinguistics and proposes a micro-ethnographic approach. It builds from an action-research study conducted with 28 students in Grade 5/6, including 10 Arabic-speaking students, and their teacher in a French-speaking elementary school. For two years, students and teacher encountered linguistic and cultural diversity during classroom activities to explore their attitudes and representations toward languages and their speakers. Emerging from conversations between teacher and students, and between peers, discursive positionings of Arabic-speaking students reveal connections between the micro interactions of the classroom and the macro socio-political discourses on inclusion. In-depth interviews with Arabic-speaking children then explored their linguistic backgrounds, their language use and preferences, their social networks, and their various positions within events and situations to understand/comprehend the shaping of their discursive identities.

The presentation will especially explore [i] how Arabic-speaking students, as well as other actors in the classroom, make the initially collective entity obsolete through the negotiating of their identities; and [ii] how several identity constructions challenge traditional theoretical frameworks in a school context that is used to taking a leading role in the linguistic and cultural homogenization of the society. It will then be argued that [iii] there is a need for a redefinition of the role that schools play in dealing with complexity, migration, language and society.

**FORMS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN MEETING TALK** [themed panel]

Convenor: Harrie Mazeland

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, The Netherlands

Contributors: Birte Asmuß, Cecilia E. Ford, Helena Kangasharju, Harrie Mazeland, Mie Femø Nielsen, Jan Svennevig

Meetings are social situations in which micro and macro meet by definition. In a meeting, people come together to talk about issues that affect their worlds outside the encounter. Identities in a meeting are multi-faceted: on the one hand, participants take part as incumbents of social positions that have to do with the topics that are discussed in the meeting, and on the other hand, participants are interactants who accomplish social actions through talk in locally co-ordinated, situated ways. Meetings are focused multi-party gatherings that are differentiated from other types of exchanges by such features as planning of time, place and subject, membership-based participation frameworks, opening and closing boundaries and a kind of do-not-disturb restriction. In this genre, members orient to modes of interactional organization that belong to the repertoire of the community of practice, for example, with respect to the organization of turn taking, agenda management, information exchange and evaluation and decision-making procedures. Participants' operating modes are assessable in terms of identity-bound criteria, and consequences of meetings are accountable in terms of the discussion and the agreements that are reached in it.

The focus of the panel is on the relation between sequential practices, participation structure and identity construction in meetings. All analyses are based on video recordings of naturally occurring, transcribed meeting talk and deploy a c.a.-informed methodology. In the first three papers of the panel, the relation between mode of interaction and identity construction will be examined. Mie Femø Nielsen (University of Copenhagen) will discuss the construction of leadership; Jan Svennevig (Norwegian school of management) analyzes the ways meeting chairs deal with prior talk by specific reformulation practices, and Helena Kangasharju (Helsinki School of Economics) presents a study of decision-making practices in meetings. In the last three papers, the focus is specific sequential practices: Cecilia Ford (University of Wisconsin) will examine how questioning may be used as a participation strategy; Birte Asmuß (Aarhus School of Business) will look at story sequences and Harrie Mazeland (University of Groningen) will look at the use of various reported-speech formats.

The primary aim of the panel is to learn more about the specifics of modes of interactional organization in meeting talk as a genre, and, more specifically, how participants orient to specific practices of turn construction and sequential positioning for implementing actions and for constructing associated social positions.

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Birte Asmuß**

Aarhus School of Business, Aarhus University, Denmark

*Story sequences in meeting talk: Identity construction and employee relations*

Meetings are a crucial part of most people's everyday work life, but there are a lot of indications that more and more employees find meetings problematic: they are time-consuming, they are badly structured and there is often no precise outcome. According to the literature, one of the overall solutions to these problems seems to be to make meetings more efficient (e.g. Streibel 2003). This involves for instance a clear agenda, a professional meeting leadership and a strict time frame.

As this paper aims to show, these kind of restrictions can go on behalf of other valuable aspects in meetings. There are a lot of important activities going on in meetings that at first sight not necessarily can be related to workplace relevant activities, like identity construction, building of social relationships, conflict resolution and decision making (e.g. Firth 1995, Housley 2000, Huisman 2001).

In this paper I will focus on one major activity that regularly takes place in meetings, and which at first sight might appear to be inefficient: namely story telling. I will show how this activity can function to bridge from

one meeting activity to another and how it can serve as conflict mediator. By doing so it plays a crucial role in the construction of workplace identities and in defining employee relations.

The study is based on conversation analysis of videotaped internal and external meetings from different private and public organizations.

### **Cecilia E. Ford**

University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA

*The turn as a site for micro and macro structuring in a workplace meeting*

Different levels of context, including the context of activity and the wider contexts and constraints of workplace hierarchies and institutional accountability, are managed by participants as they shape specific turns. While hierarchy and economy are broad concepts in the study of social structure, they are also indexed and enacted in moment-to-moment talk in workplace meetings. Drawing on meetings in North American workplaces, I offer a case of connections between details of talk-in-interaction and the social constraints and structures of an institution. I concentrate on how participants shape their vocal and non-vocal actions during the course of a single vocal turn, considering how these “micro” practices are responsive to and indexical of context conceived in broader terms.

In a meeting of academic medical specialists, Gwen initiates a turn with “So”, beginning a candidate understanding of her recipient, Ned’s, just completed explanation. Gwen has been questioning the scientific validity of a drug company’s experimental methods:

(1) Gwen: So, at least there would be some scientific (.) myeh: okay,

Note that Gwen abandons her projected turn trajectory after “scientific”, and she restarts with “myeh: okay”. Crucial components of the interaction here are coordinated non-vocally. I propose that avoidance of explicit verbalization of a negative stance in this instance represents a local practice for enacting a general institutional avoidance of criticizing the drug companies which are the institutions major source of research funding.

In my analysis I explore one form of connection between the study of the infrastructure of social interaction - e.g., turn taking, repair, sequence organization - and the moment to moment indexing and enactment of institution, conceived of more broadly.

### **Helena Kangasharju**

Helsinki School of Economics, Finland

*Decision making in workplace meetings*

Decision making in organizations is a phenomenon that has been studied a lot in many disciplines. Still, micro level analyses of authentic real-time decision making situations are rather few. This is understandable, because the decision making process easily escapes the researcher. For example, decision making processes tend to be long and divided in several phases which makes it difficult catch the process for analysis. Decisions are also made in so many different ways and in so many different situations that it is often difficult to say whether a decision was made or not. In business corporations, in particular, access to authentic decision making situations may be problematic because of the delicacy and secretess of the process.

Still, certain aspects of the decision making process are usefully studied through micro analysis. The paper discusses some sequential practices used in the decision making phase which can be called the negotiation sequence, in which proposals are made and responded to. The data comes from in-house meetings of two multinational business corporations and from committee meetings in public sector.

The focus of the analysis is on the interaction between the managers or the chairpersons and the other participants. For example, the subordinates may use specific practices when trying to influence the proposals for decision made by the manager. Such practices include, for example, expressions such as I just thought that which mitigate the standpoint presented and render the primary deciding role to the manager. On the other hand, the managers may, in spite of their seemingly “participation encouraging” actions (e.g. questions) steer the decision making process to a certain direction by using delicate practices (e.g., pauses in strategic locations). Nevertheless, the examples also clearly show the reciprocal nature of the decision making process: typically, a decision is a common achievement of the parties.

**Harrie Mazeland**

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, The Netherlands

*Quoting in meetings*

Meeting talk is replete with quotes. In my data - a series of 3 work meetings of a team of advertising managers in a big company -, the team members frequently inform their colleagues about what some person has said by reporting about it.

Sometimes, they quote the talk of more than one person in a series of reports on what other parties have said. A team member may also report a dialogue between him and a third party, or between him and another member of the team. Quoting is used for updating the team about communicative events that have happened elsewhere and earlier on. By this kind of redistribution of knowledge about communicative events, the team collaboratively produces a characterization of its position in the surrounding organizational world with regard to the business at hand. Quoting is not only used for rendering what other people said, however. It is also deployed as a device for characterizing the position of another department, for example, or for describing a communicative move in a future course of action. In the way the quote is delivered, the speaker inevitably signals his stance towards the talk he is reporting about, e.g., by the way he is qualifying his source or mode of access. A recipient, on the other hand, may also claim epistemic stakeholderhood in the way he is responding to the quote. Depending on what a speaker is doing with the situation he is reporting about in a quotation, he uses specific types of quotative frames and reporting formats.

In my paper, I will first give an overview of the most prominent types of quoting in my meeting data. I will then focus on a typifying use of quoting that is regularly framed with the Dutch quotative marker 'van' (similar to English 'is like').

**Mie Femø Nielsen**

University of Copenhagen, Dept. of Scandinavian Studies and Linguistics, Denmark

*Constructing leadership in meetings*

How is leadership constructed on a turn-by-turn basis in a project group meeting between employees with no formal leader? That question will be addressed in this paper from a conversation analytic perspective.

The data was recorded in Copenhagen in spring 2007. Three meetings were recorded in a non-governmental organization in the midst of a process of development of organizational values in order to develop a new brand strategy for the organization. At the first meeting the CEO initiates the process and presents his view of the situation, which is discussed. At the next meetings a project group follows up on an initial attempt to identify their organizational values. Their task is to arrange a seminar for all employees, which will help make sense of the values and promote the implementation of them in organizational daily practice.

In the analysis I will look at how the project leader gets her project leadership defined by the CEO, how she responds to it, and how she relates to and build on this mandate in the next meetings.

**Jan Svennevig**

University of Oslo, Norway

*Assigning work responsibilities in meetings*

A central task of a manager is to assign work responsibilities to subordinates. This paper investigates linguistic and sequential practices used for doing this in meetings. The data comes from management meetings in subsidiaries of a Norwegian paint manufacturer, located in Malaysia, Dubai and Spain. The Managing Directors are Scandinavian executives, whereas the other participants are mainly local middle managers.

In some cases, responsibility for a work-related task is assigned or taken on in a single, independent action. For instance, a manager may assign a task by means of an unequivocal request, or a commitment to future action may be made unilaterally by a subordinate. However, in many cases responsibilities are negotiated and assumed in an incremental, collaborative manner, involving actions by both parties. The current paper describes the sequential practices used by managers for inviting commitments and indirectly imposing responsibilities on subordinates without performing overt requests. One of the key resources for doing this is *formulations* (Herit-

age and Watson 1979), by which managers strategically paraphrase the subordinates' utterances in a way that commits them to certain courses of action. Such formulations may be used to construe a work assignment as volunteered rather than imposed, and as a joint decision rather than a unilateral one.

The practices at the micro-level of interaction are discussed in light of the macro-level of social structures involving organizational roles and responsibilities. Especially, the forms of administering responsibilities are analyzed for how they index various degrees of entitlement and authority. It is argued that the consensual and collaborative form of assigning tasks may be related to the relatively low status difference between the interlocutors (the "subordinates" being themselves managers) or to a (Scandinavian?) egalitarian management philosophy.



**RE-CASTING LANGUAGE AND MASCULINITIES** [workshop]

Convenors: Tommaso M. Milani and Sally Johnson

Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden and University of Leeds, Leeds, UK

Contributors: Bethan Benwell, Susan Ehrlich and Susan Levesque, Rickard Jonsson, Scott F. Kiesling

Discussant: Sally Johnson

It is now some ten years since the publication of the volume on language and masculinity edited by Sally Johnson and Ulrike H. Meinhof (1997). Here Johnson (1997:25) encouraged researchers to “abandon the search for trivial structural reflections of whatever we believe to be typically ‘male’ or ‘female’ language”, and proposed instead to look at the semiotic processes via which gender differences are *invoked* in discourse in order to produce or uphold dominance. As Johnson added, this is an enterprise that cannot be pursued “*without* looking at men” (ibid., original emphasis). Against this backdrop, the aim of our workshop is to bring together six scholars (five contributors and one discussant) who are similarly concerned to understand how language (or better discourse) is employed so as to construct what counts as a ‘boy/man’ in a variety of contexts (e.g. education, TV programmes, newspaper articles, group sessions in batterers’ treatment programmes, etc.). Specifically, the questions we will ask are: How do a range of interconnected *differences* or *oppositions* become *salient* in the discursive construction of masculinity? In what ways are these semiotic processes of differentiation central to the (re)production or contestation of power imbalances?

In order to answer these questions we want to take a non-foundationalist approach, according to which gender is not treated as a mere discursive or social correlate of a pre-existing biological sex. Nor is masculinity viewed purely as a matter of gender. Rather, the contributors will show how masculinity consists of a complex nexus of positions in which gender intersects with sexuality, ethnicity, race, age and so forth such that it is also more appropriate to speak of masculinities in the plural. Furthermore, the papers will address the broader theme of the Sociolinguistics Symposium by investigating the links between the semiotic resources employed in the construction of masculinities in a chosen ‘micro’ context, say, classroom interaction, on the one hand, and ‘macro’ national or trans-national discourses that are available at specific historical moments, on the other.

Needless to say, the contributors will not adhere to a single theoretical framework. On the contrary, one of the aims of the workshop is to welcome, and bring into dialogue, different theories and approaches (e.g. CDA, ethnography, language ideology, etc.). Notwithstanding this endorsement of heterogeneity, a few theoretical ‘common lines’ will be in place in order to achieve some form of coherence. For example, one theoretical common denominator will be a critical engagement with Cameron and Kulick’s (2003) recent reflections on language and sexuality, in which they challenge us to go beyond the notion of identity, which in their view “still tends to suggest a kind of conscious claim-staking by a subject who knows exactly who s/he is, or wants to be” (2003:138). Instead, they propose the psychoanalytic concept of *identification* as sociolinguistically more productive. Here identification refers to the processes through which a subject (the speaking/writing ‘I’ or ‘we’) comes into being in discourse by “assimilate[ing] an aspect or property of an other” (ibid.:138-139). These processes are not necessarily conscious, nor are they exclusively based on affirmations but may also work through negations or disavowals. Furthermore, Cameron and Kulick emphasise the importance of investigating the conditions and *constraints* of discourse, namely the legal or, more subtly, cultural barriers that determine what is not or *cannot* be said in a given context at a specific moment (see also Kulick 2003).

In sum, irrespective of the theoretical/methodological approach adopted by each contributor in order to shed light on his/her particular sample of data, we believe that Cameron and Kulick’s reflections merit serious consideration for the ‘re-casting’ of language and masculinities within our workshop. This is insofar as the notion of identification and the attention to the constraints of discourse highlight the ways in which textual and discursive absences are, precisely because they *are not* or *cannot* be uttered, constitutive of what we find in discourse. This, in turn, leads us to be more sensitive to a multiplicity of categories (present or not) that may be relevant for the emergence of masculinities in different contexts - sexuality being the most obvious probable candidate.

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Bethan Benwell**

University of Stirling, United Kingdom

*Analysing Masculinity in the 'Circuit of Culture'*

In this paper I outline a possible framework for a discourse analytical approach to articulations of masculinity in and around sites of popular culture. The research presented in this paper arises from work on written popular texts and specifically the relationship between men's magazines, discourses of masculinity and lived cultures of masculinity. My particular interest in this paper is to critically interrogate the process by which we intuitively assign gendered identities to familiar cultural discourses (Sunderland 2004), and to subject such assumptions to a rigorous research methodology which attempts to secure a clear 'warrant' for such labelling.

Kulick and Cameron (2003) have argued that identity needs to be theorised beyond a simple 'claim-staking' by individuals. In this paper I will attempt to bring into dialogue some of the methodological preoccupations and principles of both CA and CDA in order to engage with Kulick and Cameron's thesis. CA for instance, might be criticised for its narrow reliance upon a speaker's verbalisation of an identity category within talk in order to provide a warrant for the relevance of said identity to the speaker (Stokoe and Smithson 2001). On the other hand, CA furnishes the analyst with the kind of fine-grained, systematic tools of analysis by which to chart, through talk, the ambiguities, inconsistencies, disavowals and affiliations 'that may both structure and disrupt a person's claim to a particular identity' (Cameron and Kulick 2005: 114). CDA, with its roots in Foucauldian theories of discourse, is concerned to identify culturally available discourses through which a subject position emerges. In this way a broadly CDA approach complements Cameron and Kulick's desire to study 'how key aspects of the social, cultural and political order (its heteronormativity, for instance) come to be internalized and reproduced (or not) in individuals...' (Cameron and Kulick 2005: 122). CDA's reliance on an intuitive process for identifying such discourses has, however, been subject to criticism, and a more accountable means of ascribing identity labels to particular cultural scripts, attitudes and behaviours sought.

My particular focus in this paper is on the provenance, cultural meanings and cultural currency of the discourse of 'gross out' (a discourse commonly assigned the identifying label 'masculine') which can be found in contemporary men's lifestyle magazines, but also in sites of everyday talk and other popular discourses that both feed into and reflect the magazine culture. This attention to the various, intersecting and intertextually linked sites of culture within which identities are articulated attempts to provide a properly accountable discursive explication of the contexts which give rise to the discourse in question and mirrors recent developments in Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Reisigl and Wodak 2001).

**Susan Ehrlich and Susan Levesque**

York University, Toronto, Canada

*Gender Identity/Identification in the Context of a Batterers' Treatment Program*

This paper examines data from interviews with six men who were completing a 16-week batterers' treatment program and from field notes compiled during group sessions that form an integral part of the program. The program aims to provide men who have been convicted or pled guilty to domestic assault with new understandings of their violent and controlling behaviour and with strategies that will allow them to make choices that are non-violent. The program facilitators seek to interrupt the clients' discursive strategies that display a minimizing or denying of their violent behaviour or a blaming of others.

In this paper, we examine the way that certain men attempted to diminish their responsibility for acts of violence by distancing themselves from a 'hyper-masculine' identity. That is, while the program's curriculum explicitly makes a connection between violence and male power and privilege, certain men invoked their class position as middle-class, educated men in order to deny their associations with working-class masculinity and, by extension, with a certain stereotype of males who are violent towards women. We consider these data in relation to Cameron's (2005) claim that gender is often constituted 'less by contrast with the other gender and more by contrast with other versions of the same gender' (Cameron 2005: 487, emphasis in original). The men under discussion in this paper claimed a masculinity for themselves that protected their self-conceptions as non-

violent men. We examine such explicit 'claims of identity' in light of Cameron's and Kulick's (2003) distinction between 'identity' and 'identification' and the idea that 'identifications' can manifest themselves through refusals and disavowals.

### **Rickard Jonsson**

Ceifo, University of Stockholm, Sweden

*Prohibited Language: Language and Masculinities in a Swedish Educational Context*

The point of departure of this paper is a public debate which took place in the Swedish daily Dagens Nyheter in 2006 and dealt with the so-called "blattesvenska", an allegedly variety of Swedish spoken by young people of multiethnic descent. A strand of the debate focused specifically on how adolescents in Swedish multiethnic suburbs speak poor Swedish or even an "unintelligible" and inappropriate sexist language. Drawing upon Judith Butler's (1990) performativity theory, the paper will argue that comments about others' "inappropriate language" contributes to both construct a normative Swedishness and to create the "immigrant young man stereotype". But no language is unintelligible. Rather, on the basis of ethnographic observations in a school in a suburb of Stockholm (cf. Jonsson 2007), the paper examines *how* and *why* some teenage boys actually use the language which has been target for moral concern in the public debate. Here attention is paid to these adolescents' actual use of slang and 'prohibited' language, and to the masculine identities that these linguistic activities produce in daily school life.

### **Scott F. Kiesling**

University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, United States of America

*Recasting Masculinities in the Age of Desire*

In this paper I will reconsider a piece of data that I analyzed in an article that was originally analyzed in 1996 and was published in 2001 (Kiesling 2001). I wish to reconsider these data in light of a number of theoretical developments in language and gender, language and sexuality, and gender/masculinities studies more widely. I am also following the charge of the organizers of the workshop in considering how some of the ideas in Cameron and Kulick 2003 impact the way we look at language and masculinity.

Specifically, I want to show how we can break down and be more specific about the cultural conception of hegemonic masculinity (as discussed by Connell 1995) by subdividing it into a set of separate, interacting cultural discourses. These discourses set up the essentialized and naturalized oppositions characteristic of gender, and thus hegemonic masculinity. In the spirit of Connell's original definition of hegemonic masculinity, I argue that these cultural discourses are variable across time and culture. I show how these cultural discourses are invoked, recreated and potentially challenged in interaction, and how conflicts among the discourses entice (masculine) speakers to make the linguistic choices they do. I will also discuss the particular meaning processes through which speakers connect to the cultural discourses and thus recreate or perform masculinity in discourse.

Another new development in the field is the discussion of desire as a theoretical construct by Cameron and Kulick (2003). I will attempt to widen the use of this concept (in a direction indicated by Cameron and Kulick). Following Whitehead (2002:205-221), I will suggest that another kind of desire that we should think about (in addition to sexual desire) is *ontological desire* - essentially the desire to have or emulate qualities of a particular identity to create an identity. This kind of desire helps us understand language and masculinities because it tells us more about the processes of identification and the motivations for them. Moreover, rather than seeing the cultural discourses of masculinity as "constraints" acting on men, we can understand them to be qualities that the men actively desire and attach themselves to. However, because these desires are shaped by other men and women in interaction, we can explain patterns of men's linguistic use as both agentive and ideologically motivated. Finally, and very briefly, I will suggest how this view can be applied to variationist studies in addition to those using ethnographic and discourse analytic methods.

**LANGUAGE USE, INTERACTION AND REPRESENTATIONS OF HEALTH  
IN URBAN CONTEXTS OF IMMIGRANT HEALTH PROVISION [workshop]**

Convenors: Melissa Moyer and Stef Slembrouck

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain and University of Ghent, Belgium

Contributors: Demitra Krystallidou, Melissa Moyer, Celia Roberts, Lola Ruiz Lozano, Srikant Sarangi, Stef Slembrouck

In the present era of globalization the mobility of persons has brought about a diversity that is challenging traditional interactional and communication practices, as well as raising health-related questions to do with the organization and provision of resources and services to new populations.

The goal of this panel is to look at the health care context and at the role of language and mediation practices in the construction and reproduction of particular institutional professional orders in sites and situations where the provision of some form of health care is the key objective.

The categorization of patients in the health site is often carried out on the basis of age, nationality, ethnic or regional origin, gender, education and social class. Expectations about their general state of health, their susceptibility to particular health hazards, their lay medical knowledge, the need for certain routine medical testing or specific protocols that need to be administered bear indexically on medical interaction. This often results in a particular stance vis-à-vis the engagement of multilingual support and the deployment of particular interactional strategies. Language resources, communicative stance and the perceptions which patients and professionals have on health delivery and health-related communication are intimately related. Communicative practices (oral and written, monolingual and multilingual) play a key role in these social processes. Access to resources and the negotiation of quality in health care are mediated, among other things, through text and talk. It is through everyday interactions involving social actors that individuals (fail to) gain access and negotiate care and treatment.

This panel addresses the conference theme of macro-micro connections by examining the ways in which institutional-cultural ideologies and professional-interactional orders are (re)produced locally through the language practices of social actors in the context of health care. The research presented in this panel makes use of a variety of data collected through ethnographic fieldwork.

*Background to the research objectives*

The novelty of the present panel theme is that it explores the ways in which health care sites deal with a new situation of sociolinguistic diversity. The participants in this session show how language practices shed light on ideologies and representations about health and language, on social processes of categorization as well as on the ways in which institutional order/s gets produced and reproduced in online interactional processes. The panel also brings together doctoral students with researchers who have extensive experience in the areas of language, institutions and health.

*Goals of the panel*

1. Improve our understanding of institutions as entailing sites and situations where micro and macro effects of globalization can be studied.
2. Focus on a health care site as a type of institution and how it responds to contemporary social change.
3. Look at connections between interactional resources, interactional stance, client categorization and professional issues.
4. Examine the way/s institutions are resisting change in response to globalization
5. Discuss the nature of agency in a context constrained by a complex set of contextual and interactional resources and expectations.

*Discussion questions*

1. The role of multilingualism as a resource for addressing problems of access to institutional services
2. The categorisation of diverse patient populations.
3. Language proficiency and practices in the access and negotiation of health resources and in addressing specific health issues.

4. The role of ideologies of language, linguistic mediation and health in categorizing patients.
5. The construction and reproduction of institutional orders.

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Dimitra Krystallidou**

University College Ghent, Belgium

*Projection of the Self/Other in Multilingual Medical Encounters: The Case of Hospitals in Ghent*

This paper aims to discuss the multiple roles performed by language mediators, as well as the roles performed by physicians and patients in the course of a medical encounter when the physician and the patient do not share the same language. There is evidence in the literature that all discourse participants approach medical encounters with certain values, and expectations which correspond in complex ways with their social, ethnic and/or professional background. The projection of a self/other by patients, doctors and interpreters has an impact on the roles which they perform and which they expect others to perform and this is often noted as either facilitating or hampering communication. Existing research also indicates that identity work plays a decisive role in how the discourse unfolds in triadic medical exchanges (and that it is also constrained by it). The data are drawn from initial conversations and interviews with (certified) professional hospital interpreters and other mediating actors. The analysis will concentrate on projected selves/others in relation to professional ethos, client identities, interactional expectations, power differences & professional authority, and institutional policy.

**Melissa Greer Moyer**

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

*Language Ideologies and Multilingual Practices in a Health Care Clinic in Barcelona*

The present paper aims to explore how the arrival of new immigrant populations to Catalonia is challenging patterns of language choice and forms of communication in a primary health care clinic. The goal is to examine what new forms of multilingualism emerge but also how they respond and are defined by institutional ideologies and conceptions about the language practices of immigrant populations; the general nature of communication and meaning making processes; and decisions about what information should get communicated to clients and in what ways. All this comes into sharper focus when we approach actors' processes of meaning making from a multi-semiotic perspective, and this is specially the case in institutional sites where multilingualism is present. A critical perspective is adopted in this paper by arguing that access to semiotic sources is restricted and controlled by the institutions and that hierarchies of value get set up between different modes and languages in the health care site. In particular, this study focuses on the way power is constructed through the use of language and other modes. Ethnographic fieldwork was carried out at the health care site over a three-year period (2001-2003). The contexts investigated include: (1) a pediatricians' practice, (2) two family doctor practices, and (3) the patients' service office. In addition, observations from extensive day-to-day contact with practicing nurses, two social workers, and a woman who was a cultural mediator from Pakistan have also provided important information. Transcribed recorded interactions, field-notes, observational data, interviews and documents are the data used to support the analysis presented.

**Celia Roberts**

University of London, King's College, UK

*Communicating Decisions with a Multilingual Patient Population*

As part of the overall overall strategy of patient-centredness, there are now strong recommendations that patients should be involved in decision making when treatment options are discussed. Studies have shown that patients want to be involved and that there are improved outcomes when this happens. However, how such involvement is negotiated and potential resistances managed by both sides has not taken account of the variety

of interactional processes in a multilingual patient population. Drawing on a large data base from London family doctor practices, this paper will discuss how this phase of the consultation is differentially managed when patients and doctors do not share expert language backgrounds.

### **Lola Ruiz Lozano**

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

*Managing Multilingual Diversity in Health Care Services: Examining the Role of Mediation*

The new situation of multicultural and linguistic diversity in Catalonia has created new challenges for the Catalan Administration and especially for the health sector (Moyer & Martin Rojo 2007). This paper analyzes how a particular health institution is managing a context of multilingual diversity and we explore different practices currently being used as a response to obstacles in oral communication. We also focus our attention on the role of health agents and mediators in facilitating medical consultation in a context where medical staff is faced with crucial gaps in language competencies. We examine how language ideologies shape the role of Mediators as well as the role of English as a communicative resource (*lingua franca*).

Ethnographic fieldwork is currently being undertaken in a health centre serving a multi-ethnic, multilingual migrant neighbourhood in urban Barcelona, where immigration rate represents a forty per cent of population older than 15 and seventy per cent of children. Data is gathered using in-depth interviews among health staff and mediators to analyse potential tensions between staff and immigrant groups derived from this situation.

### **Srikant Sarangi**

University of Cardiff, UK

*Six Layers of Complexity in Interpreter-Mediated Healthcare Encounters*

Healthcare delivery, especially in the primary care sector in urban settings, is increasingly becoming multicultural and multilingual in character. One response to this scenario is the provision of professional interpreting services, although this is not always available or taken up by patients and their families. Instead, it is common practice for a family member to accompany the patient and 'mediate' the consultation. In this presentation, I first offer a broad contextualisation of primary health care delivery in the urban multicultural setting in the UK by drawing attention to patients from different linguistic, cultural backgrounds. From an activity analysis framework, I then characterise interpreter-mediated healthcare encounters along the following six trajectories which influence the process and the outcome of the consultation: (i) the linguistic barrier which occasions the mediated nature of the consultation; (ii) the intercultural dimension which encodes cultural differences in explanatory models of health and illness, relational preferences and racism/perceptual biases; (iii) the expert-lay knowledge asymmetry that underpins professional-client encounters with tacit levels of interpretive procedures; (iv) the multi-party nature of healthcare encounters whereby the participatory status of the interpreter - as mouthpiece, as spokesperson, as advocate, as gatekeeper etc - conflates with information-exchange systems; (v) the institutional practices based on a patient-centered ideology, which calls for shared decision making, patient autonomy and responsibility; and finally, (vi) the positioning of the analyst vis-à-vis the healthcare sphere and the lifeworlds of the participants. In conclusion, against the above six trajectories, I situate the relevant studies in the field of interpreter mediated consultations involving professional interpreters, allied healthcare professionals taking on the role of interpreter, and family members stepping in as 'ad hoc' interpreters.

### **Stef Slembrouck**

English, Ghent University, Belgium

*"Teveel suiker?" Representations of cross-cultural mediation in the case of multilingual support during diabetes treatment for immigrants in urban Flanders/Belgium*

This paper addresses the representation of diabetes and the interactional negotiation of its treatment in a multilingual context of immigrant health care. During fieldwork, diabetes is often mentioned as a common condition among 'first generation' immigrant patients (most of whom entered the country in the 60s and who 'mostly do



not speak Dutch' or 'have limited Dutch'). Diabetes is also referred to as particularly demanding from a communication point of view and, in one health centre, it is reported that this justifies the introduction of cross-cultural bilingual mediators, especially during weekly treatment coaching sessions.

The questions addressed in this paper are: How is diabetes represented as a medical condition? How are migrants seen as 'problematic' vis-à-vis this health intervention? What language repertoires, interactional strategies and cross-cultural strategies do professionals assume to be necessary to manage this complex syndrome in immigrant patients? Answers to these questions in turn instruct us to explore an under-researched area of immigrant health care: How do immigrants make sense of the illness? How do the participants make sense of each other and their contributions when the condition is diagnosed and when attending to the many lifestyle implications that come with treatment? The analysis will focus on the role of language ideologies and ideologies of interaction, while stressing the complex interconnections with identity work and representations of health and illness.

The data for this paper are drawn from fieldwork (interviews, participant observation) which was conducted in 05-06/2006 and 11-12/2007 in an urban health centre in Ghent which is committed to outreach and patient-centred health care, while identifying itself as serving a neighbourhood population which is predominantly of Turkish descent.

### MULTILINGUALISM IN POST-SOVIET COUNTRIES [workshop]

Convenor: Aneta Pavlenko

Temple University, United States of America

Contributors: Jean-Bernard Adrey, Matthew Ciscel, Dilia Hasanova, Svitlana Melnyk, Juldyz Smagulova, Anna Verschik and Anastassia Zabrodskaia

What happens when an official language spoken by the majority of the country's population loses its status and becomes overnight a language of an ethnic minority? And what if the titular language of the same country is spoken by less than a half of the country's population? Can language laws and policies affect linguistic competencies of the population? Can they shape new national and linguistic affiliations and allegiances? How can everyone's rights be respected and maintained within the newly emerging multilingual constellations? The 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union created a unique "controlled experiment" enabling scholars to observe how this situation might unfold simultaneously in fourteen countries previously united by the same political system and now embarking on their own nation-building trajectories.

The present workshop will examine the complex interrelationship between language laws and policies (macro) and language practices (micro) in six post-Soviet countries. These countries will be subdivided into three pairs where contributors will explore similarities and differences between geographic neighbors: Ukraine (Melnyk)/Moldova (Ciscel); Latvia (Adrey)/Estonia (Verschik & Zabrodskaia); and Kazakhstan (Smagulova)/Uzbekistan (Hasanova).

State language(s): Language laws and linguistic practices. What is the state language of your country? How do existing language, citizenship, and education laws regulate the knowledge and use of this language (e.g., via citizenship language testing etc.)? What were the levels of linguistic competence in this language pre-1991? How have they changed in the past two decades? Where do you see the greatest effects of current language laws and policies? Where do you see the areas of tension and compromise?

Minority languages: Language laws and linguistic practices. What are the current laws and policies in your country with regard to minority languages? What are the key minority languages in the country? How do current laws and policies aid in the maintenance and transmission of these languages? What are the challenges currently faced by the country in balancing the needs of the titular and minority populations? What are the roles played by outside forces, such as Russia and the European Union, in these developments? Do you think Western approaches to linguistic minority rights can be applied wholesale to post-Soviet countries? If not, what adaptations might be needed to current theories of minority rights? What challenges are presented to these theories by existence of majoritized minority languages, such as Russian, in post-Soviet countries?

At the SS16 in Limerick the organizer of the current workshop co-chaired a workshop on Russian in diaspora in Near and Far Abroad that sparked a lot of follow-up discussion and eventually led to the creation of an AILA-sponsored research network on multilingualism in post-Soviet countries. The proposed workshop is the first official meeting of the members of this network. The workshop has three interrelated aims. Its primary aim is to bring together post-Soviet scholars from a variety of countries to examine the complex interrelationship between language policies and practices in the context of nation-building in post-Soviet countries. The second and related aim is to discuss the challenges offered to traditional theories of linguistic minority rights by the existence of majoritized minority populations, such as Russians in Kazakhstan or Latvia, where in 1991 Russian was spoken by the larger segment of the country's population than the titular language. The third aim is to compare, discuss and begin developing new approaches toward linguistic minority rights that will allow for equitable and consistent treatment of language minority issues across the post-Soviet space.

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Jean-Bernard Adrey**

Coventry University, United Kingdom

*Between the Restoration of National Sovereignty and the Respect for Minority Rights: Testing the Concept of Post-Colonialism in Latvia*

This paper discusses the extent to which the concept of post-colonialism can be useful to understand the socio-political and sociolinguistic make-up of Latvia in the post-soviet era (since 1991). In that context, after 1991, antagonistic discourses of restoration of national sovereignty and respect for minority rights permeated social life and polarized social groups, creating a gap between the titular population and the Russian-speaking minorities and signing away national integration. In these disputes, both international organizations like the EU and Russia were also involved. Beyond domestic political tensions, the situation begs the question of whether Latvia has now broken away from the soviet form of colonization and what role the EU and Russia have been playing in such developments.

The paper first briefly recalls traditional, 'western' understandings of post-colonialism, underlining what predominantly qualifies a postcolonial situation, and then succinctly sketches the historical process of sovietification and russification of Latvia between WWII and the 1991 independence, arguing that soviet-ruled Latvia could be considered as a colonial situation.

The second part then focuses on the three main strands of post-soviet ethnic policy in Latvia - language policy, citizenship policy and education policy - as the main instruments meant to restore national sovereignty. Through these policies, Latvian politicians have attempted to do away with the soviet heritage by reversing soviet-inherited sociolinguistic status asymmetries. By contrast, the champions of the rights of Russian-speaking groups have successfully drawn on the discourse of respect of minority (language) rights, summoning up support notably from the EU, to limit the scope of these status-reversing strategies.

In the light of the above, and looking at today's Latvia, the paper ultimately claims that the concept of post-colonialism, originally coined in relation to 'western' postcolonial situations, and the correlate questions of restoration of national sovereignties and respect for minority rights, need to be reexamined in the post-soviet EU context.

**Matthew Ciscel**

Central CT State University, United States of America

*Micro-Compromise and Macro-Deadlock: The (im)balance of multilingualism in Moldova*

The Republic of Moldova offers considerable potential for extensive, balanced bilingualism in Romanian and Russian because of the relative demographic and functional balance of these two codes during the post-Soviet era there. However, the Soviet political and economic legacies also provide some barriers to the development of stable bilingualism in the country. This paper explores the relationship between top-down (macro-level) political and economic forces that generally promote linguistic imbalance and bottom-up (micro-level) trends that provide some hope for a bilingual compromise.

The macro-deadlock at the highest levels of Moldovan society is illustrated by an overview of key events and recent developments in the language policy positions of three powerful political entities in the country: the democratically-elected, ruling Party of Communists, the pro-Romanian Christian Democratic Party, and the ruling elites in the neo-Soviet break-away region of Transnistria. Each is shown to promote a language compromise that disregards critical factors, such as Soviet-era russification or linguistic minority rights, and results in political deadlock. In contrast, results from ethnographic interviews with young couples from Moldova's capital tend to demonstrate a considerable degree of flexibility and openness to a bilingual compromise that reflects the *de facto* bilingualism in the country. Moreover, moves toward eventual integration into the political and economic structures of the European Union suggest the potential for more equitable and consistent treatment of language issues. In conclusion, it is argued that poor policy choices and elite posturing remain the greatest impediment to stable, balanced bilingualism on the ground in Moldova.

**Dilia Hasanova**

Purdue University, United States of America  
*Multilingualism in Uzbekistan*

The purpose of this paper is to examine the impact of multilingualism on the language use in post-Soviet Uzbekistan- a multilingual and multiethnic Central Asian country that is facing linguistic reforms in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. In doing so, the paper will take a historical approach to examine the current status of Uzbek, Tajik, Russian, and English languages in the sociolinguistic context of Uzbekistan. The linguistic behavior of the local people and their language choice will also be discussed.

**Svitlana Melnyk**

Kyiv National Taras Shevchenko University, Ukraine  
*Multilingualism in Ukraine: Challenges and perspectives for minority languages*

The sociolinguistic situation in Ukraine is unique and controversial. Ukraine *de jure* is monolingual with Ukrainian as a sole state language in the country. *De facto* Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism is the main feature of this post-Soviet state. These two languages try to occupy a niche of their own in different domains of social life. In that sociolinguistic reality, the linguistic peculiarities and linguistic problems of minority languages have been overshadowed. According to the national census (2001) representatives of 130 nationalities live in the state. Moreover, Ukraine is a homeland for four indigenous ethnos and their languages (Crimean Tatars, Gagauz, Karaim, and Krymchak).

The paper considers the linguistic situation, challenges and perspectives for the minority languages in the broad context of the state language politics. Also, it concentrates on the issues of majority-minority relations within particular local linguistic models. The peculiarity of Ukrainian sociolinguistic situation is that in some regions of the country Ukrainian is a minority language.

**Juldyz Smagulova**

King's College London, Kazakhstan  
*Kazakhstan: Transformation of language ideology*

The process of nation-state building involves creating new identity options, establishing symbolic links between identity and a language, and assigning new values to existing identities. The success depends on the degree of social cohesion in imagining of new self-evident, common sense reality (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). In Kazakhstan the state has been trying to sell a new Kazakhstani identity and convince its citizens that Kazakh is a legitimate state language, proficiency in which can provide better access to material and symbolic resources. While Kazakhstan remains a bilingual country with Russian language dominating most public spheres and majority of population having fluent proficiency in Russian, there are signs that the that hegemony of Russian has been challenged most notably at the level of language attitudes and beliefs. The paper presents the results of the mass survey conducted in Kazakhstan in 2006-2007. Special attention is given to the discrepancies in the survey data between reported language use of Kazakh and Russian and beliefs about the expected role of Kazakh and Russian in society. The paper argues that such an inconsistency in data may be indicative of social transformation.

**Anna Verschik and Anastassia Zabrodskaia**

Tallinn University, Estonia, University of Helsinki, Finland  
*Bilingual communication in Tallinn and Ida-Virumaa: regional patterns*

This study discerns different language choice patterns between Russian-speakers in two diverse geographical areas: bilingual Tallinn and mostly Russian-populated Ida-Virumaa. An analysis of the language choice patterns on micro level is presented from the results of the questionnaires in combination with fieldwork made in both communities. The data comes from recorded conversations as well as observation of informants' bilingual practices in everyday language behaviour.

The results show how age, level of education, neighborhood and other social variables influence the choice of the Estonian language. The use of both languages and code-switching functions in informal intergenerational conversation within the family and in other social settings is analyzed.

There are considerable differences in bilingual communication between two settings. In Tallinn, bilingualism is on the increase. While the speaker of Estonian as L2 is more likely to be a young, upward-mobile person, it would be wrong to conclude that middle-age people are monolingual. Compared to Russian-dominant areas in North East, Russian-speakers of Tallinn are more exposed to Estonian and use a variety of compromise strategies if they are not confident enough in their proficiency (so-called “marked discourse”, frequent code-switching). The evidence from Tallinn points at internalization of practices earlier used for Russian-to-Estonian communication: some discourse markers have entered the repertoire of monolingual Russian-speakers.

If in Tallinn Estonian may be considered to be the second language for Russian-speakers, then in Ida-Virumaa Estonian is more like a foreign language. Here, only young Russian-speakers have a more sovereign command of Estonian than their parents and are essentially moving towards primary use of Estonian as they become socialized into the larger society. Self-identification with Estonia or Russia actuates variations in Estonian language skills, degree of contacts with Estonians, and in linguistic and cultural identity.

## THE MACRO/MICRO OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES, IDEOLOGIES, AND FOLK PERCEPTIONS [workshop]

Convenors: Dennis Preston and Tore Kristiansen

Michigan State University and University of Copenhagen, Denmark

Contributors: Betsy Evans, Tore Kristiansen and Nicolai Pharao, Marie Maegaard, Christopher Montgomery, Nancy Anne Niedzielski, Dennis Richard Preston

### *Topic's relation to conference theme*

In sociolinguistics, language attitudes are commonly treated as stable large-scale phenomena. As such they lend themselves to study by means of survey techniques, quantitative methods and statistical analyses. The results of such studies indicate that language attitudes are, indeed, relatively consistent psychological structures that are largely shared by most members of a speech community.

At the same time language attitudes are also 'at work' in any concrete linguistic interaction in terms of 'social identifications' and 'relationship negotiations.' Thus, at the micro level of things, language attitudes are more inconsistent, unstable and prone to change - and qualitative approaches will often be better suited to investigate this aspect of language attitudes.

In brief, we find language attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies at both macro and micro levels of social organisation. To study and discuss the interplay between these levels is important for our understanding of the role that such factors play in processes of language variation and change. These workshops are meant to be a contribution in that direction and will explore several means of investigation in the presentation of exemplary studies with an eye towards elaborating the methodology used in each.

### *Background and objectives*

Recent advances in the cognitive foundations of social psychology, discourse analysis, acoustic phonetics, and ways of identifying groups outside the traditional demographic categorizing of classical sociolinguistics have caused a re-evaluation of how we do studies of language attitudes and related ones of language evaluation and ideology. The introductions and exemplary studies in these workshops focus on these new trends, the latter, in particular, not stressing findings but the methodological innovations involved, providing participants with models for similar studies in other areas, with different populations, and focusing on different social categories and linguistic levels.

PROGRAM PART 1: New wine in old bottles - elaborating and updating the tradition of language attitude studies.

### *Introductory remarks*

Macro/micro and their interplay in language attitudes research - an updated overview from social psychology with special reference to cognitive foundations (Tore Kristiansen and Dennis Preston)

### *Exemplary studies*

1. Language and the construction of social meaning: Comparing language-related evaluations in a small concrete social entity (a school class) to those of a large social entity (the city of Copenhagen). The main purpose of this exemplary study is to show how an attitude study within a small community of practice may be carried out and compared to surrounding attitudes of the larger speech community. (Marie Maegaard)
2. Language attitudes and language change in real time: Evidence from Denmark. The main purpose of this exemplary study is to investigate how certain (implicit) attitudes of a certain valence (approving) correlate with language change. (Tore Kristiansen and Nicolai Pharao)
3. Phonetic detail and the study of language evaluation: The attitudinal and ideological forces that shape perception. The main purpose of this exemplary study is to show how recent advances in acoustic phonetics allow for the manipulation of speech signals in determining attitudinal responses and perceptual realignment based on attitudes (Nancy Niedzielski)



PROGRAM PART 2: New trends in the study of attitudes, ideologies, and language folk belief and perception

*Introductory remarks*

Beyond ranking and identifying; studies of language evaluation based on specific tasks (imitation), types of variation (dialect), and methodological advances in the study of discourse (Tore Kristiansen and Dennis Preston).

*Exemplary studies*

1. New techniques in the study of the perception of dialect differences: The study of “North” in England. The presentation will review and update techniques in the study of perceptual dialectology and introduce new computational techniques in the analysis and display of responses. (Christopher Montgomery)
2. The role of imitation in studies of language diversity and regard: Talk like a Mountaineer. The study will outline a methodology for the use of respondent imitation of varieties in a program of variety evaluation. (Betsy Evans)
3. Discoursal approaches to conversations about race, ethnicity, and language. This presentation will outline various techniques in discourse analysis that have proven useful in extracting and evaluating attitudinal content in conversations about language, focusing on the genre “argument.” (Dennis Preston)

*Discussion questions*

1. Attitudes as ‘structure’ and ‘action’ (Does action presuppose structure? Do micro analyses make sense without macro analyses?)
2. The ‘reality’ of attitudes and beliefs (Does it make sense to say that some are more real, or truer, than others?)
3. Conscious and subconscious attitudes (Do they serve different social functions?)
4. Attitudes to whole varieties and to single variables (How can these approaches be combined?)
5. Attitudes, ideologies, beliefs and their relationship to social groups (What comes first in an exemplary study? How consistent is intra-group behavior?)
6. Attitudes, ideologies, beliefs and their relationship to language change (What prevailing attitudes or beliefs must be in play for changes to move forward? Must they always be positive?)

PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Betsy Evans**

University of Washington, United States of America

*The role of imitation in studies of language diversity and regard: Talk like a Mountaineer*

Imitation is an area of research that has received little attention in sociolinguistics, largely due to the prioritization of vernacular speech and an assumption that speakers can “perform” only gross stereotypical characteristics of other varieties. While much time and effort have been devoted to developing methods of data collection/interviewing that circumvent ‘attention to speech’, this paper will discuss the utility and methods for using imitation in evaluating and acquiring information on language attitudes. In particular, it is suggested that purposefully collecting imitation from respondents can provide insight into the salience of features of different varieties of language. For example, if a respondent does an imitation, which linguistic features of the target dialect does the speaker draw upon to carry out the task? Are these features actually present in the target dialect? What sort of ‘tools’ (e.g. catch phrases, personas) does the respondent use to carry out the task? Answers to these questions provide information on aspects of the linguistic salience of the imitated dialect and salient social characteristics of the people connected to that dialect. For this purpose, we examine a case study in which we explore the ability of a member of the general public (i.e. not a professional impersonator) to imitate another dialect. Recordings were made of a sociolinguistic interview during which the respondent, Noah, read a word list and reading passage in his “usual,” that is, “not-imitating,” speech and in what he perceived to be “West Virginia” speech. An examination of the performance provides information on what linguistic features of WV speech were salient to Noah. The convergence of salient features for Noah and listeners via the reactions of native West Virginians to Noah’s speech is also explored. That is, respondents listened to recordings of Noah’s ‘usual’ and ‘West Virginian’ speech in addition to other male voices and were asked to indicate whether the speakers grew up in West Virgin-

ia or not. Results showed that the majority of respondents perceived Noah's imitation as West Virginian in spite of the fact that his imitation demonstrates more features of the southern shift than is typical of the region.

### **Tore Kristiansen and Nicolai Pharao**

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

*Attitudes and language change in real time: Evidence from Denmark*

Large scale studies of listeners' subconscious attitudes towards different varieties of Danish, including their own, have shown, that they evaluate the Modern Copenhagen variety as the most "prestigious" variety of all, regardless of their own local background. Modern Copenhagen is also the variety that has spread most rapidly in the past century, leading to rather intensive dialect levelling throughout Denmark. This has led to the hypothesis that subconscious language attitudes are a driving force in language change.

However, the large scale studies do not reveal which features in the different varieties that trigger listeners' responses. The speech samples selected as guises for the different varieties were selected on a "holistic" basis and were included if they could be taken, in the researchers' opinion, as clear examples of the varieties they were intended to represent. That is, no specific linguistic criteria were used in selecting the samples.

This study aims to examine in detail the phonetic variation found in the guises in order to establish the underpinnings of the holistically based selection and the subconsciously offered evaluations in greater detail. Both prosodic and segmental features will be described and the characteristics of the speech samples will then be related to the results of the attitude studies in an attempt to get a clearer picture of which aspects of the Modern Copenhagen variety that can be considered to be the ones which listeners subconsciously deem "prestigious", and consequently which features lead them to downgrade the local variety. The investigation will limit itself to the guises of Conservative and Modern Copenhagen, which were used in all language attitude surveys conducted in Denmark, and to the local guises used in Næstved, a mid-size town with Copenhagen as nearest city. The Conservative and Modern Copenhagen guises differ only at the segmental level, whereas the Næstved guise differs from both at the prosodic level as well.

The results will be related to previous apparent time studies of change in spoken Danish as well as to the results of on-going real time studies. In this way, we shall be able to examine the link between subconscious language attitudes and linguistic change. If only the Modern Copenhagen samples contain phonetic variants that are currently spreading in spoken Danish, this will support the hypothesis that subconscious attitudes are a driving force in linguistic change. But if the local guises also contain innovative features from the Modern Copenhagen variety, this must be seen as a sign that innovative segmental features must be embedded in a prosodically suitable speech stream in order to trigger positive evaluations. This would not falsify the hypothesis of attitudes being a driving force in language change, but it would indicate a more complex relationship between the two. If speech produced with local prosody is downgraded even when it contains innovative phonetic variants in proportions similar to the Copenhagen guises, this would suggest that prosody may overrule the effects of the segmental features which trigger positive subconscious evaluations.

### **Marie Maegaard**

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

*The global in the local: Examining social meaning potentials using ethnography and verbal guise experiments*

The use of verbal guise experiments has a long history within the field of language and social psychology. The method is commonly used to elicit attitudes toward people who speak in different languages or accents, and in the original matched guise experiments it was the same persons who appeared in different guises, i.e. using different languages. The underlying purpose of these studies often was to reveal the hidden language ideology of a society, and to demonstrate that there are very strong social stereotypes connected to language use.

In the paper I want to present a somewhat different use of the verbal guise method. Through seven months of ethnographic fieldwork among 80 pupils in 9th grade in a Copenhagen school, it became possible for me to distinguish several social categories and clusters of social practices that helped to create and maintain the social order among the pupils. The social analysis of this community of practice was combined with a linguistic analysis, which showed how the use of different phonetic variants was related to both category membership and practice.

It is clear from many studies that the local construction of social meaning draws on meaning potentials that are of a more global nature. However, the community of practice perspective emphasises local meaning making, and since most researchers study only one community of practice, the relation to the larger society is often difficult to see. I suggest that a way to shed some light on this relation is to combine the community of practice study with a verbal guise study.

In the present study, seven pupils were chosen as representing seven style clusters. Each person was represented twice, with two different speech samples. These samples were then played at different schools in Copenhagen, using respondents similar to the speakers in age. The question was to what extent the respondents were able to 'recognise' the speakers, solely on the basis of speech samples; i.e. to what extent the respondents' evaluations could be seen as corresponding to the day-to-day reconstructions of personae that the speakers engaged in in school.

Results showed that respondents are able to recognise the speakers' personae, just by listening to eight seconds of speech, but also that some speakers were not recognised. The patterns show, among other things, that speakers of the old 'working class' accent are not recognised, and this is seen as indicating that this accent is not known by young people in other parts of the city to relate to the same meaning potentials.

The use of verbal guise techniques in studies of this kind, gives insight into the interplay between the local construction of meaning and global meaning potentials. The 'classical' focus on the hidden - potentially oppressing - language ideologies of society is in this kind of study shifted to a focus on the constructive use of linguistic features associated with certain social meaning potentials.

### **Chris Montgomery**

University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

*New techniques in the study of the perception of dialect differences: The study of "North" in England*

This presentation will review and update techniques in the study of perceptual dialectology and introduce new computational techniques in the analysis and display of responses. The presentation will discuss ways of gaining access to non-linguist informants' perceptions of linguistic variation with special reference to the concept of 'north' and 'south' in England.

The presentation will discuss the role of geography in perception and methods for ensuring informants involved in such tasks have a similar level of geographic competence in order to complete map-based perceptual tasks. The complexity of informants' hand drawn maps and the processing of these given different tasks will be also be discussed.

The presentation will introduce and discuss the development of the approach taken in order to map informants' placements of speech samples; 'starburst charts'. Such charts are original in their application to folk linguistics although they do draw upon a similar approach in perceptual geography (Pocock, 1972). 'Starburst charts' allow the mapping of voice placements and can be used to examine potential effects of social variables in perception. The charts also permit the examination of the correlation between informants' hand drawn dialect areas and the accuracy of placements from within those perceptual areas. New developments involving starburst charts will also be introduced. In discussing the methodological approaches to the study of perception, I hope to demonstrate the value of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology to the study of linguistic variation.

### **Nancy Anne Niedzielski**

Rice University, United States of America

*Phonetic detail and the study of language evaluation*

In this presentation I show that manipulating the perceived social categories of speakers can effect listeners' perception of linguistic variants even at the lowest phonetic level. Based on a region of the United States where the Northern Cities Shift has progressed rapidly, Niedzielski 1999 provided evidence for this phenomenon. By using resynthesized tokens of phonetic variants, it was found that listeners reported the perception of variants stereotyped to a particular region only if they thought that the speaker was from that region - and not if they thought she was not - even if the speaker used the variant in question. Furthermore, listeners did not perceive nonstandard variants of chain-shifted vowels if they thought that the speaker was from their own region, be-

cause (as language attitudes work in this region has revealed) the listeners do not recognize these nonstandard variants in their own variety.

Several additional studies using resynthesized phonetic tokens have provided further evidence for this. To illustrate, Hay, Nolan and Drager 2006 showed that the same result obtained by manipulating the perceived regional affiliation of speakers as either Australian or New Zealander. Recent work in Texas is showing that in a region where the Southern Cities Shift is retreating, manipulating the perceived age of a speaker has an effect on whether listeners perceive stereotyped Southern features in speakers' varieties.

Such work suggests that listeners take into account what they *believe* about speakers' varieties, and that these beliefs then affect their perceptions of the speakers' language varieties, even at the phonetic level.

### **Dennis Richard Preston**

Michigan State University, United States of America

*Discoursal approaches to conversations about race, ethnicity and language*

In folk linguistics one wants to get at the language beliefs of 'real people' (i.e., nonlinguists). Much of this panel's work has focused on the responses given to questionnaires and stimuli of various sorts, involving a wide range of response behaviors - rankings, identifications, map-drawing, etc.... A current trend in much work in the social sciences, however, focuses on the structure of discourse, but it has been difficult to see how structure and content can be appropriately linked in a way that is linguistically responsible and at the same time satisfying to the goals of the enterprise. That claim may seem odd to social psychologists who work within the emerging discoursal area of that subfield and even more so to linguists who work within the model provided by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

In both cases, however, there has been criticism of both the validity and reliability of the interpretive turn such studies have taken. In much social psychological discourse analysis, the content (or "meaning") of a discourse is related to such social factors as have proven important in studying the fabric of society - race, gender, sexual preference, etc... This work is subtle but strikes linguists as being a form of analysis that does not go beyond that of the sensitive reader of any text, one who knows both the conventions of expression or "rhetoric" of a speech community and the issues that are involved. It is "linguistic" only in the sense that language and its potential meanings are involved.

In CDA the case is even trickier. Analysts are linguistically sophisticated, but, in the opinion of many, the predisposition to interpret certain levels of linguistic structure as always encoding power relationships is overstated and runs the same risks of validity and reliability suggested above.

Finally, although ethnomethodological investigations, principally carried out by sociologists, look at the structure of spoken discourse on the basis of what social action is encoded by and/or is the cause of structure itself, the focus is on that structure and not on the content or meaning details of the interaction or any of its contributions.

This presentation will outline various techniques in discourse analysis that have proven useful in extracting and evaluating attitudinal content in conversations about language, focusing on the genre "argument." Ways of relating attitudinal constructs to linguistic structure as it is employed (not as it might appear to be inherently) will be illustrated, including uses of referential specificity, pronominal representation, the pragmatic structure of argument, and the realization of "point of view" in linguistic structures.

This presentation will conclude with a discussion of the potential for extracting attitude and belief from discourse in a way that is both linguistically specific and responsible but at the same time satisfying to those who seek such factors in language use.

**LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION BY ADVANCED L2 AND L3 SPEAKERS:  
THE ACQUISITION OF SOCIOSTYLISTIC VARIANTS [themed panel]**

Convenor: Vera Regan

University of Dublin

Contributors: Hélène Blondeau, Jean-Marc Dewaele, Raymond Mougeon - Terry Nadasdi and Katherine Rehner, Françoise Mougeon, Terry Nadasdi, Caitríona Ní Chasaide and Vera Regan

The acquisition of sociolinguistic competence in second, third and fourth languages closely relates to speakers' multifaceted social identities. As in L1 acquisition, sociolinguistic competence, sociostylistic awareness and acquisition and use of sociolinguistic variants in second and third languages is crucial to identity construction in intersecting communities where speakers are actors. Language practices are indicators of the socialisation process in bilingual and multilingual settings, and part of strategies by which speakers assert membership in social groups. Among these language practices is the use of native speaker variation patterns, often crucial to assertion of group membership. This panel analyses the relationship between variation patterns in speech and identity construction. The research provides quantitative and qualitative evidence of the process and product of this area of acquisition: input, context of acquisition, effects of multiple language use, language attitudes. Detailed variationist research at the micro level aids understanding wider societal multilingualism.

The panel is based on a new research strand within the area of Second Language Acquisition and Sociolinguistics, particularly within the variationist paradigm (Bayley and Regan, 2004). This strand focuses on the acquisition of sociostylistic variants by advanced L2 speakers (Rehner, Mougeon and Nadasdi, 2003). This panel analyses sociolinguistic competence as a strategy for, and an indicator of, identity construction. Our objective is to widen and deepen the scope of this research strand. We present six new, fine-grained, empirical, quantitative and qualitative studies of language practices which, collectively,

- evaluate the differential effect of input on the acquisition of sociolinguistic variants
- analyse the effects of different contexts
- evaluate psycholinguistic factors such as perceptions of the target language and its speakers in conjunction with independent variables (age, gender, nationality, L1 and additional languages) on our understanding of learners' language practices, identity construction, and acquisition of sociolinguistic competence
- explore universalistic tendencies in the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence by extending the research to third (fourth, fifth etc) language acquisition

Identity construction is at a particularly intense stage during adolescence and young adulthood, and language use has been found to be an especially potent factor in this process in L1 speech (Eckert, 2000; Rampton, 1995). We examine the language practices of L2 and L3 speakers in multilingual and multicultural societies to see if similar processes are apparent. Several contexts of language acquisition and use for L2 and L3 adolescent speakers are examined and compared, including formal and naturalistic acquisition and learning settings:

- immersion classrooms (Canadian French and Irish language schools), traditional school classrooms (Dutch and Irish learners of French L2 and L3)
- Anglo Montrealers in a French speaking environment where the L2 is part of the daily environment, Irish L2 speakers of French in a study abroad situation

We address, for the first time, different age cohorts and proficiency levels as they relate to use of sociostylistic variants. We study adolescent students of French in an Irish immersion setting, adolescent students of French in a Canadian French immersion setting, Montreal Anglophone immersion speakers who live in the native speech community and Canadian immersion students at university. Another innovative aspect is the closely related issue of input and the acquisition of sociolinguistic variation patterns. Two papers analyse the precise input to which the L2 speakers are exposed in immersion programmes and its relationship to the acquisition of sociostylistic variants.

Results of the six studies show a cline which correlates increasing contact with native speakers with increased acquisition of community norms in sociostylistic variation as demonstrated by their use of native speaker variation patterns. Qualitative information on attitudes provides triangulated data which completes the picture of sociolinguistic acquisition.

We widen the investigation of the acquisition of sociostylistic variation beyond the study of L2 by examining how this takes place in L3 acquisition, thereby enabling us to draw universal conclusions regarding this area of

acquisition. L3 literature so far has not dealt substantially with the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence nor with the acquisition of native speaker variation patterns. This panel finds that not only does socio stylistic awareness play a part in identity construction, but actually partially determines the activities and life styles of the speakers.

#### PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

##### **Helene Blondeau**

University of Florida, USA

*French in the City versus French of the School: The Anglo-Montrealer linguistic repertoire*

Because French has become an integral part of the linguistic repertoire of the Anglophone community living in Montreal, this article provides an analysis of the variety of French spoken by Anglo-Montrealers. The relation between functional competence and usage of French (Auger 2002) is examined by an analysis of interviews collected from young Anglo-Montrealers who have experienced different degrees of exposure to French via different types of immersion programs within the school system (Genesee 1998), and via their daily contact with French.

The first part of the paper examines representations of the French language in two sets of interviews, one in French the other in English, provided by each individual speakers. This analysis provides us two different angles to better understand the differences between the pedagogical norm taught in the context of immersion program and community norms as experienced by Anglo-Montrealers in their daily contact with L1 French speakers. As expressed in their own discourse, sociostylistic competence plays a major role, since Anglo-Montrealers point out the difference between the French they acquired in school and the actual norms of Quebec French.

The contrast between those two sets of norms is then confronted to their actual use of French. By examining the usage of linguistic variables, the analysis sheds light on features that have shown a clear differentiation between variants according to the stylistic dimension (Mougeon et al 2004). One of our recurrent results is that the more contact a speaker has with native speakers of French, the closer the speaker is to the community norms (Blondeau et al 2002). Especially in a context where the target language is part of the daily life, our paper argues that pedagogical norm has to include reference to community norms.

##### **Jean-Marc Dewaele**

Birkbeck, University of London, United Kingdom

*The perception of emotional attributes and linguistic difficulties in French by advanced L2, L3 and L4 learners*

The present study will investigate the perceptions that nearly 400 advanced learners of French in universities in Europe, North America and Australia have of the French language. Our previous work in this area has focused on the perception of difficulty of the use of pronouns of address in French L2 (Dewaele & Planchenault, 2006) and the perception of emotional attributes of the L1, L2, L3, L4 and L5 among polyglots (Dewaele, 2007). In the present study, the perceptions (on Likert scales) include emotional appraisals of the French language and of Francophones, as well as perception of areas of difficulty in the French language (pronunciation, grammar, syntax, lexicon, politeness, address pronouns, spelling). Data were gathered through a closed questionnaire with 16 items. Statistical analyses allowed us to determine the effects of the independent variables (age, gender, nationality, L1 and any additional languages) on the dependent variables. One finding was that the opinions that more advanced learners have of the French language tends to correspond more closely to the opinions expressed by native speakers of French. Also, native speakers of French do not judge their language to be easy. We conclude that such an emic perspective can enrich our understanding of learners' language practices, identity construction, and acquisition of sociolinguistic competence.



**Raymond Mougeon, Terry Nadasdi and Katherine Rehner**

University of Alberta, Canada

*Factors driving lexical variation in L2 French:*

*A sociolinguistic study of automobile, auto, voiture, char, and machine*

Our paper examines lexical variation from a sociolinguistic perspective in the spoken French of 41 French immersion students in Ontario, Canada. Specifically, it focuses on words that in Canadian French refer to the notion of 'automobile' (i.e., *automobile, auto, voiture, char, and machine*) - see Martel (1984) and Nadasdi, Mougeon and Rehner (2004). As a backdrop to the study, the paper reviews previous findings of our research on the learning of sociolinguistic variables by these same learners, with a special focus on two lexical variables.

The main questions addressed in this paper are: a) do the French immersion students use all of the same variants that express the notion of 'automobile' in Canadian French; b) does their frequency of use of such variants differ from that of speakers of Canadian French (e.g., do they under-use the marked informal variant *char*, do they overuse the hyper-formal variant *voiture*); c) does their use of the variants under study reflect the treatment of these variants in the educational input of the students' (i.e., French immersion teachers' speech and French language arts teaching materials) - specifically, we examine the frequency of the variants, the information regarding their socio-stylistic status, and any special activities targeting their use; and d) what are the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that correlate with the students' variant choice (e.g., lexical priming by the interviewer, the students' extra-curricular exposure to Canadian French, the students' home language).

**Françoise Mougeon**

York University, Canada

*"Nativelikeness" as an identity builder for the advanced FSL learner*

This paper correlates the sociolinguistic competence of advanced university FSL students formerly enrolled in immersion programs in Canada to individual as well as extra-linguistic independent variables. Preliminary results from a longitudinal labovian-type research project conducted between 2005 and 2008 document the late acquisition of socio-stylistically marked variables in the L2 speech of FSL learners and the importance of the FSL learner's extra-curricular activities and targeted engagement in the efficient use of such variables. Statistical evidence based on GoldVarb analysis of the use of some mildly-marked informal variables by those advanced FSL learners in various situations will highlight the impact of extra-linguistic factors on the frequency of occurrence of such variables. Results will show the nature of the spectrum of socio-stylistic variation in the FSL speech of university students, ranging from formal to hyper-formal instead of encompassing informal and vernacular varieties of speech.

Previous studies on university FSL students have focused mainly on their achieved linguistic competence and on their L2 retention after graduating from immersion high school programs (MacFarlane & Wesche 1995; Wesche, Morrison, Pawley & Ready 1986). The present study, based on the analysis of data from students' and instructors' speech and on the analysis of educational materials, will demonstrate that sociolinguistic and socio-stylistic awareness can still be acquired at a later stage in L2 acquisition and that it is not so much influenced by FSL educational input but highly dependent on the advanced learner's metalinguistic capacities and specific engagements to increase the length and intensity of contact with the L2.

**Terry Nadasdi**

University of Alberta, Canada

*The impact of teacher input on the sociolinguistic competence of second language learners*

The purpose of this paper is to examine correspondence/divergence between the spoken French of adolescent immersion students and that of immersion teachers. In particular, I will examine variation in the use of sociolinguistic variables by these two groups of speakers. The variables under study span the stylistic range and involve grammatical variation, e.g. on versus nous), lexical variation, e.g.: vivre versus habiter, and discursive variation, e.g. alors versus donc. Our results reveal a striking convergence between student and teacher usage. The result of students' close approximation of teachers' discourse classroom discourse can produce both beneficial and

detrimental effects for the immersion students sociolinguistic competence. For example, our results reveal that, like the teachers, the French immersion students use first person plural pronoun on in a majority of occurrence. This result is generally in line with what is found in informal native speaker discourse. However, in a number of instances, the model presented by teachers results in the immersion students making excessive use of highly formal features that are rare in native speaker discourse (e.g.: ne usage, donc and habiter). My paper concludes with a number of pedagogical recommendations based on the results discussed.

**Caitriona Ni Chasaide and Vera Regan**

Tipperary Institute University College Dublin, Ireland

*Sociostylistic variation in the L3 French and L2 Irish speech of adolescents in an Irish language immersion school*

This paper looks at language practices in trilingual adolescents' speech and their role in identity construction. Specifically we examine the interplay between code-switching and variation in the French of adolescents in Irish medium schools in Dublin. The adolescents in this study learn Irish from primary school; French remains the most popular foreign language in Irish schools and is studied from age 11. All participants in this study live in an urban environment, where English is the dominant societal language. They are all thus restricted users of both Irish and French. However, these students in Irish immersion education acquire Irish in a combined naturalistic and formal setting. While living and socialising in Dublin, these students spend a significant amount of time speaking a minority language. A number of the students have also spent time in predominantly Irish and French-speaking areas, where they were exposed to L1 Irish and French input and vernacular speech.

This paper develops the existing body of work on L2 sociolinguistic variation (Beebe 1981; Poplack 1988; Regan 1990; Adamson & Regan 1991; Bayley 1991; Dewaele & Regan 2001; Nadasdi & McKinnie 2003; Nagy, Blondeau & Auger 2003; Rehner, Mougeon & Nadasdi 2003; Mougeon 2006) and code-switching (Milroy & Muysken 1995; Auer 1998; Poplack 1998; Myers-Scotton 2002; Deuchar 2005), by combining it with growing bodies of work on L3 speech (Cenoz 2001; Cenoz, Hufeisen & Jessner 2001; Bayley & Schecter 2003; Safont Jordà 2005; Barnes 2006; Singleton & O Laoire 2006) and on the role of adolescent speech in identity marking (Rampton 1995; Kerswill 1996; Romaine & Lange 1998; Bucholtz 1999; Eckert & Rickford 2001; Eckert 2003).

L3 literature so far has not dealt substantially with the acquisition of sociolinguistic competence. This paper aims to deal with this aspect of acquisition. We examine the extra-linguistic factors that impact on the use of code-switching and native speaker variation patterns in L3 French, and the relationship between code-switching and L1 variation patterns in L3 French and L2 Irish. We will present both qualitative and quantitative data to support these findings. Finally we determine to what extent intermediate level speakers of French are using French and Irish as tools in adolescent identity marking.

**WHAT CAN FACE AND GAZE TELL US ABOUT LANGUAGE USE IN INTERACTION?** [workshop]

Convenor: Federico Rossano

Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Netherlands

Contributors: Lorenza Mondada, Anssi Peräkylä and Johanna Ruusuvuori, Federico Rossano, Jürgen Streeck

This workshop focuses on the contribution of gaze behavior and facial expressions to the understanding and use of language in face-to-face interaction. It brings together researchers from five different institutions working on conversational data in four different languages (Finnish, American English, French and Italian). All papers rely on video recorded data and use conversation analysis as the primary methodology. By looking at how different visible practices are embedded within courses of action we document some of the resources people rely on to parse actions (whether visible or verbal) into meaningful chunks.

Most of the work on visible behavior in relation to talk has focused on hand gestures and head movements, while we will look at how gaze behavior and facial expressions by the participants are affected and affect the development of a conversation and the competing activities the participants are locally involved in. In particular, Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori will analyze ordinary conversations in Finnish focusing on the use of facial expressions in assessing stories and topics and on the ways in which face is integrated with the lexical content of spoken utterances. Streeck will present a case study of a car-mechanic's gaze behaviors and how they are responsive and relevant to his current involvement in face-to-face interaction and his overall monitoring of the goings-on at his shop. Mondada will focus on the distribution of glances during conversations held in cars between one or more passengers and a driver and will show how their multimodal conducts remains sensitive to the sequential organization of talk in a situation characterized by a multiplicity of foci of attention (on driving and on talking). Rossano will look at the relationship between the deployment of gaze during questions, the specific actions that these questions implement and the likelihood and timing of their responses and will show the impact of the absence of mutual gaze on the natural flowing of the interaction.

All these papers intend to propose the inclusion of the face and the eyes in the analytical picture of socio-linguistics by showing how the multimodal behavior of the participants has an impact on the behavior of the interactants and is locally but also predictably managed during a conversation. The emphasis will therefore be on how the subtleties of gaze and facial expressions are related to what people do with their talk. The workshop papers will also show how these subtleties need to be taken into account to comprehend the macro management of perceptually complex activities like driving or fixing a car or eating. This workshop will show how micro changes in our gaze directions, for example, influences the responses of another participant in the conversation. Moreover, by presenting papers from different cultures and different languages, this workshop shows the pervasive importance of visible behavior in the conduct of any face-to-face interaction, the natural home of language use for human beings.

Among the issues that will be discussed, the following will be particularly relevant:

- 1) What is the benefit of including visible behavior in the analysis of language use?
- 2) What are the units of analysis for gaze and facial expressions?
- 3) Should they be emic or etic?
- 4) What is the relation between the physical context and in particular the material world and the act of talking to each other? Is it either/or (either we talk or we pay attention to the rest of the world) or is there a constant negotiation of local priorities?
- 5) Is visible behavior in interaction an adaptation to what happens in the talk or is the former influencing the very interpretation and understanding of the latter?
- 6) If people are constantly involved in different concurrent activities, like talking and eating and watching tv, or talking while driving etc., how is their language use affected by them?

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Lorenza Mondada**

ICAR research Lab / Univ. of Lyon, France

*Exchanging glances while talking and driving*

The paper focuses on the distribution of glances during conversations held in cars between one or more passengers and a driver. This situation is characterized by a number of peculiar features: it involves a multi-activity (i.e. multiple simultaneous activities are going simultaneously, such as talking and driving), it is characterized by a multiplicity of foci of attention (participants can glance at each other but also at the surrounding space; they look at objects inside or outside the car), participants are disposed side-by-side, and they can display possible convergent or divergent orientations.

In this peculiar context, the economy of glances and gestures as multimodal resources for the organization of social interaction is peculiar, especially when compared to ordinary face-to-face conversation (as analyzed by Kendon, 1990 or by Goodwin, 1981). For instance, mutual glances are less frequent than in ordinary conversation. However, their positionings within talk remain deeply sensitive to the its sequential organization: orientations toward details relevant for the activity of driving are orderly embedded within the sequential organization of conversation. They can even be exploited as resources for dealing with sequential features such as dispreferred answers or the management of disaffiliation.

The analysis is based on a corpus of videorecordings of various naturally occurring car journeys. The integration of the multimodal details within the reorganization of turns-at-talk opens for questions about the reflexive relation between material and spatial environment on the one side and turn organization on the other side; about the sequential order of multiple concurrent activities; about the consequences of spatial arrangements of participants' bodies on the management of interaction, and about the participation frameworks shaping and shaped by multi-activity.

**Anssi Peräkylä and Johanna Ruusuvuori**

University of Helsinki, Finland and University of Tampere, Finland

*Facial expression as securing shared understanding in sequences involving stance*

Facial expression is a flexible interactional resource that is easily adaptable to the contingencies of a situation. In our previous analyses of facial expression in the context of story-telling we have found that the facial expression of the story-teller seems to be able to stretch the temporal boundaries of the action in question. In this presentation we will focus on cases where facial expression makes some aspect of the ongoing action persist after the turn of talk that has conveyed it has been completed.

We suggest that this temporal flexibility of the face enforces its role as one subtle and easily deployable device in securing shared understanding and affiliation: as a non-vocal means to pursue a relevant response. For example in cases where the response is delayed, through facial expression the participants are able to quickly and unobtrusively hint at an appropriate way to receive the utterance in question and thus avoid a more overt, vocal clarification of meaning.

The instances of interaction that we have analysed involve a fine-grained *coordination of language and visual*. The study contributes to the developing body of research on the interplay of different modalities of interaction (facial expression, gaze, gesture, surrounding artefacts and space, spoken interaction) in the process of constituting coherent and meaningful courses of action. The method used is conversation analysis.

**Federico Rossano**

Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Netherlands

*Gaze, questions and normativity: using visible behavior to project, align with and close courses of action*

During an interaction participants deploy various semiotic resources to project, understand and align with the

ongoing activities and courses of action. Goffman (e.g. 1981) suggested that participants rely heavily on visible cues to understand what is the “social situation” they are inhabiting and which kind of participation status they have within a conversation. In particular, visual cues are functionally deployed to mark when a social interaction can start or end. Schefflen (1964) has suggested that shifts in posture can be used by interactants to delimitate specific units of interactional behavior and various authors have claimed a systematic relationship between gaze deployment and the beginning and ending of turns (e.g. Argyle and Dean 1965, Kendon 1967, Duncan 1972).

Relying on conversation analysis and video recordings of 10 dyadic face-to-face interactions in Italian, this paper refines the previous claims demonstrating how gaze is organized with respect to the accomplishment of action in interaction. The way in which participants coordinate their glances at each other can affect the development of a conversation. In particular, I will account for the close relationship between the deployment of gaze during questions, the specific actions that these questions implement and the likelihood and timing of their responses. Moreover, I will show the impact of the absence of mutual gaze on the natural flowing of the conversation and how gaze withdrawal marks possible completion of a course of action.

A systematic observation of the coordination of participants’ visible behavior provides the analyst (and the participants) with a window onto their on-line cognitive processing of where they are and what they are doing in specific interactional moments. By unpacking how this semiotic cues are combined and timely deployed, we can get a better grasp of how social actions are designed and how participants deal with the issue of semiotic recognizability.

### Jürgen Streeck

The University of Texas at Austin, United States of America

*Micro-ecology and macro-functions of gaze in workplace interaction*

This paper investigates differential uses of gaze in workplace interaction. The context is a car-repair shop, and the video data show the owner and chief mechanic of the shop in various interactions with employees, on the one hand, and customers and suppliers, on the other.

Most of what we know about the precise role of gaze in social interaction concerns its contribution to the regulation of turn-taking and the interactional axis between speakers and listeners in conversation (Goodwin, 1981; Kendon, 1967, 1970; for overviews on gaze see Kleinke, 1986; Bavelas, Coates, & Johnson, 2002). We still know surprisingly little about processes of gaze-allocation and withdrawal in other than conversational interactions.

I first describe two contrasting patterns of gaze allocation in the shop-owner’s interactions with different classes of co-participants, especially during the *approach* phase of face-engagements (Goffman, 1963; Kendon, 1990). In one pattern, the shop-owner focuses on an object in the environment and only looks at the interlocutor during brief moments; in the other he looks at the co-participant and only briefly at objects in the environment. This difference is implicated in creating and maintaining distinct systems of interactional involvement, a system of *joint attention* in which the interactional engagement services the completion of instrumental tasks, and a system of mutual engagement in which interaction services the relationship, on the other. Gaze behavior is thus implicated in establishing and maintaining differential *participation frameworks* (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992).

The other behaviors examined is the systematic deployment of gaze-withdrawal by the shop-owner in order to disaffiliate from a project pursued by the interlocutor and sometimes to foreshadow imminent disagreement. Occasionally, such gaze-withdrawal is accounted for or camouflaged by the need for the owner to monitor the goings-on in the environment.

The paper thus brings together phenomena which, while addressing organizational matters in the immediate context at hand, simultaneously contribute to the constraining and maintenance of larger, more enduring contexts in which the current interaction is embedded.

## TRAJECTORIES OF LEARNING IN/ACROSS CONTEXTS OF LEARNING [workshop]

Convenors: Ingrid de Saint-Georges and Andy Jocuns

University of Geneva, Switzerland University of Washington, US

Contributors: Barbara Duc and Ingrid de Saint-Georges, Andrew Jocuns and Reed Stevens, Joel Kuipers - Gail Viechnicki and Stanton Wortham, Kevin O'Connor, Ben Rampton

Discussant: Jay Lemke

### *Workshop Topic*

This year's conference theme invites us to reflect upon the interplay between language and society by considering the micro and macro connections existing between discourse practices and the social world. In the field of education, sociologists, critical theorists, sociolinguists and others have long shown that educational contexts are crucial sites for studying the production and reproduction of social orders, and for examining the role played by language in that process in promoting (or denying) certain identities or cultural practices over others. Given that context, this workshop would like to explore the mutually reinforcing connections between the local use of talk in educational contexts and institutional, social, and cultural processes extending beyond the level of these local interactions. It proposes to do so from a specific vantage point, namely by exploring "trajectories of learning". That is, participants will collectively reflect about learning as a process that unfolds through time and space, and that involves participation in a series of tasks, happening in complex material and social environments and supported by multiple kinds of interactions and which come to form over time the learning experience.

Examining trajectories of learning, participants in the workshop will address the conference's theme by linking two perspectives

- (a) A "bottom-up" approach, by asking, for example, what is the contribution of specific verbal and non-verbal practices to displaying, shaping, organizing learning, development, social identities and social orders and by asking whether these contributions change or evolve over time and across sites?
- (b) A "top-down" approach, by asking, for example, how cultural values, disciplinary knowledge, institutional structures, curricular programs traverse, mediate or shape, at the interactional level, the situated experience of learners in the course of their trajectory of learning?

At the micro interactional perspective, participants in the workshop will offer analyses that illustrate how a variety of processes are shaped in real-time in the course of trajectories of learning. They will explore processes linked to identity construction (Wortham, & al, O'Connor), social class membership (Rampton) and knowledge development (Jocuns & Stevens, de Saint-Georges & Duc). At the macro-level, the papers will explore how these micro level interactions have an effect upon, or entail, aspects of larger-scales processes, such as the organization of scientific discourse and occupational identity (O'Connor, Jocuns & Stevens, de Saint-Georges & Duc), sensibility to social class (Rampton) or the construction of the science classroom (Wortham et al.)

By using the notion of "trajectory of learning" as a heuristic concept, this workshop will explore how identities, knowledge, and social practices are configured, or reconfigured, dynamically over time and identify the specific roles played by language in this process at both a micro and/or macro level.

### *Discussion questions*

If the aim of education is, on some level, to re-organize knowledge, identities, cultural values or possibilities for actions for the learners, we would like to ask, for the purposes of discussion

- What are the views promoted and projected in the way trajectories get organized?
- How are identities, knowledge, cultural values, actions, etc. transformed in the course of the trajectories?

This also requires addressing more theoretical/methodological issues

- How can trajectories be identified and described?
- What conceptual and methodological tools do we need for thinking in terms of trajectories?
- How useful is the concept of trajectories for addressing the micro/macro connection?
- What does this level of analysis allow us to see with regards to learning and education? What does it blind us to?



## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Barbara Duc and Ingrid de Saint-Georges**

University of Geneva, Switzerland

*Learning under time pressure: the synchronizing of learning to various "zeitgebern"*

In the Swiss vocational education system, youth who do an apprenticeship move back and forth across places and activities: from the formal education setting of school to learning in the workplace. In their trajectories of learning across these contrasted milieus and communities of practice, apprentices learn to work and behave according to different rules, display distinct situated identities, and tune to different rhythms. Our interest in this paper is to trace the trajectory of one apprentice in auto-mechanics from school to work in order to examine how he adapts and builds coherence across these two settings. The paper focuses more specifically on the *temporal constraints* set upon his work in the two environments.

Through the analysis of audio-video material, we examine temporal issues as they are made visible and interactionally relevant between the apprentice and his teachers, colleagues and co-workers (Goodwin, 2002) in their exchanges. We draw a "timescape" (Adam, 2007) of each learning environment to compare how time is perceived, lived, used and spoken about at work and at school. The study of excerpts evidences that the two places studied are entrained to the beat of rather different "pace-setters" or "zeitgebern" (Scollon, 2005)

- the fast-pace rhythm set by productivity imperatives in the car-repair shop, which creates emulation but also stress, tends also to favor the accomplishment of repetitive task presenting little opportunities for learning new skills. Speed in that environment can also engender strategies of resistance which creates relational tension not conducive to creating favorable conditions for learning;
- the slower tempo of the school workshop, sometimes associated with boredom but also with opportunities for trial and errors, tends to allow time for exploration. It also permits to deviate from the task and to engage in activities sometimes unrelated to the curriculum when apprentices are left on their own during hands-on experiences.

The analysis of the local situations shows how the temporal organizations prevailing affect not only how or what the apprentice learns, but also determines in part what can be learned in each social setting. Zooming out of the local settings investigated, the paper examines next how the temporal organizations described and the constraints proper to each site are themselves linked to processes on larger time-scale (the institutionalized rhythms of schooling and the historical evolution of the curriculum; clock time and the rhythms of production benchmarked by the car industry). The paper thus addresses the conference theme by showing actions and discourses in educational context to be "layered simultaneities" (Blommaert, 2004) - that is processes on different timescales coming together in specific context, creating specific effects and social organizations. It contends that learning a profession is also learning how to navigate in these temporally diverse environments over time.

**Andrew Jocuns and Reed Stevens**

University of Washington, United States of America

*Trajectories of Knowledge and Action in Becoming an Engineering*

In this paper we illustrate how the notion of a trajectory of learning applies to both senses of discourse at a micro, or small d micro-interactional level, and at a larger orders of discourse, or big D, level. We apply these notions to interactions among engineering students conducting project work emphasizing through the analysis of mediated discourse from group meetings how disciplinary knowledge is transformed over time in a problem solving episode through the use of a variety of mediational means (scientific discourse, laboratory instruments, diagrams, and other documentation). Through the analysis of these micro-interactions we will illustrate the larger orders of discourse embedded within them.

In our work studying the development of identity among engineering students we have used a concept we have referred to as *becoming an engineering* which involves three dimensions: accountable discipline knowledge, practices of identification, and navigation. In many ways the concept of becoming an engineer unfolds in a similar manner to a trajectory in the sense that in analyzing the process of how students become engineers we observe and analyze a series of events over-time - the application process, shifts in the structure of the curricu-

lum, how students create an engineering identity, and their senior design or capstone projects. It is this latter event, the senior design project/capstone, which will be the focus of the analytical work of this paper. We will show how accountable disciplinary knowledge and practices of identification emerge during social interaction among engineering students working on senior design projects with their peers that index the trajectory of learning either through identity or accountable disciplinary knowledge. In our analysis we will illustrate how over the course of this micro-trajectory how students take positions towards or away from one another, as well as positions related to their knowledge of the scientific problem at hand. It is through the analysis of these micro-interactions where we observe how larger aspects of becoming an engineer (big D discourse) are indexed within social interaction (little d discourse). We argue that an approach to trajectory analysis must involve timescales that can capture both the kinds of discourse.

**Joel Kuipers, Gail Viechnicki and Stanton Wortham**

University of Pennsylvania, United States of America and George Washington University, USA

*Beyond Micro and Macro: Trajectories of Learning and Identification in Science Class*

This paper describes how one student's social identity emerges across a trajectory of events. This involves more than just the application of stable "macrosocial" models in discursive practice. It involves a more complex combination of widely circulating models, innovation within particular events, and the emergence of durable local expectations that are neither "macro" nor "micro." The identity that is established within any speech event can turn out to be uncharacteristic or irrelevant across events. Individuals' identities emerge across trajectories of events, and we must trace this emergence over time. The paper illustrates this process with data from 13-year-old students in a science class across a two month curriculum unit. When students enter new lab groups their identities are often fluid. Over time, students and teachers generally come to identify a given student in predictable ways. The various trajectories of identification that an individual could have traveled normally get narrowed down, as signs of identity come to presuppose a consistent model. This paper traces the social identification of one student, showing how he developed a complex but robust identity across several weeks. The analysis first describes how the focal student was positioned in recognizable ways over a few minutes in one speech event. Then it traces the student's emerging trajectory across many such events, showing how his identity solidifies, and in some respects becomes fluid again, as he is identified across events. The paper also shows how this solidification depends on conceptual and physical resources particular to science classrooms, including resources drawn from the curriculum.

**Kevin O'Connor**

University of Rochester, United States of America

*The discursive organization of social futures: Working both ends of the learning trajectory*

This paper examines relations between micro-interactive processes and macro-social structuring by examining trajectories of learning across spatial and temporal boundaries among practices. Specifically, it examines how present talk and action prospectively index possible futures for learners, becoming contingently productive of those futures by contributing to the creation, maintenance, or transformation of forms of social organization. Two forms of discursive work along the learning trajectory are identified. Discourse that works on the "near end" of the learning trajectory primarily focuses on local conditions of learning, emphasizing reorganization of persons in relation to some taken-for-granted community of practice, for example by promoting mastery of discipline-specific forms of discourse, thinking, and knowledge. On the other hand, discursive work that focuses on the "far end" of the learning trajectory attempts to fundamentally reorganize possibilities for future relationships in one or more communities. These points are developed through examination of discourse in two different settings that pertain to the production of social futures. The first setting, a cross-institution student engineering project in the US, was characterized officially by an attempt to reorganize learners in relation to a taken-for-granted discipline by providing conditions for hands-on learning. This project thus focused on what is being termed the "near end" of the learning trajectory. Unofficially, however, discourse among participants included struggles over the very definition of possible future worlds, and worked to materially affect those future worlds, thus attempting to organize social relationships at the "far end" of the learning trajectory. The second

setting examined here is an urban community redevelopment project in a sector of a US city characterized by a history of intergenerational poverty, student under-achievement, under-employment, and violence. The focus here is on the work of community activists who are expressly involved in a political process of organizing positive futures for children and youth. The focus here is on how the anticipatory discourse of participants prospectively indexes, and constitutes, possibilities for those futures.

**Ben Rampton**

King's College London, United Kingdom

*Stylisation and the figuration of trajectory*

This paper focuses on the way in which individuals and groups use ideologically marked varieties to navigate both personal and collective trajectories of change, and it draws on the ethnographic and micro-interactional analysis of two substantial datasets, one from the south Midlands of England and the other from London. The first set of data was recorded in the 1980s, and it looks at how the collective use of two different ethno-linguistic varieties in the local speech economy (Indian English and Creole) symbolically marks out an historical path from past to future in which different migrant groups are inserted into the British working class, reconstituting it in ways that are now very extensively reflected in popular culture (Rampton 2005:71-2). In the second dataset (from London in the 1990s), social class positioning in multi-ethnic settings is also central, but here the analysis moves inside school to focus on the ways in which two traditional varieties, posh and Cockney, get stylized in ways that register the different - higher/lower - educational trajectories of individuals (Rampton 2006:312-7).

In both datasets, the two focal varieties operate as contrastive pairs (Creole vs Asian English, Cockney vs posh; cf Irvine 2001 & Parkin 1977), with indexical meaning potentials initially shaped by processes of evaluation that reach far beyond the fieldsites. But in each case, speakers carry the traces of these contrastive varieties in their own routine vernacular English, and in these stylizations of what amount to 'internally persuasive discourses', we can see both individual and group processes of 'ideological development' within British class structure, ideological development being defined by Bakhtin as the 'intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions and values' (1981:345-6).

## NEW APPROACHES TO WRITTEN CODESWITCHING AND MULTILINGUAL TEXTS [workshop]

Convenor: Mark Sebba

Lancaster University, United Kingdom

Contributors: Carla Viviane Jonsson, Sirpa Leppänen, Shahrzad Mahootian, Cecilia Montes-Alcalá, Mark Sebba

Discussant: Jannis Androutsopoulos

After many years in which interest in language alternation has focussed almost entirely on spoken code-switching, recently there has been renewed interest in written mixed-language texts. This seems largely to have been driven by new media on the one hand - the potential of email, SMS messaging, websites and blogs (among others) to provide new, less regulated spaces where language mixing can take place - and new methods on the other: for example, researchers in this area have begun to explore the potential of Critical Discourse Analysis, various ethnographic methods, and new ways of analysing images and signs such as those offered by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) and Scollon and Scollon (2003). However, at the moment there is no general agreement on what constitutes the subject area and there is no widely applicable framework for analysis, the existing frameworks having all been developed for spoken data.

This workshop will bring together researchers working with a variety of types of data - in 'new' and 'old' media - and with a range of approaches, all concerned with texts (in the broadest sense) which include two or more languages.

The conference theme of *Micro and Macro connections* is addressed in a number of ways. Mixed-language texts can be seen as a 'micro' representation of a community or society's 'macro' language practices. Writers of such texts shape the readers' view of the culture in which the text is produced, at the same time as 'macro' forces such as power relations determine the forms which are acceptable within the text.

The key questions raised will be methodological: the scope of the field, its relationship to the field of spoken code-switching research, the development of frameworks to account for written mixed-language texts, and any pedagogical applications.

### PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

#### **Carla Viviane Jonsson**

Stockholm University, Sweden

*Literary Codeswitching: Shaping culture and identity*

This paper focuses on the literary use of code-switching in novels and plays where code-switching occurs between different languages, dialects, styles and varieties. In this paper I argue that the authors and playwrights of such novels and plays can be seen as actors/agents in the sense that they can shape the readers' notions of culture and identity. For instance, by writing a Swedish novel where code-switching between Swedish and Tornedals Finnish (a historical minority language in Sweden) is used, the author creates and shapes the readers' view of what 'the Finnish-Swedish culture' is like. The author at the same time also shapes 'the Finnish-Swedish culture' in the sense that its language is legitimized, its voice is (or rather some of its voices are) heard, and its experiences are acknowledged. My presentation will focus on code-switching in relation to power and identity. These are 'global' functions of code-switching, according to Auer (1998, 1999), and as such relate to macro connections in society.

In my presentation novels written in Sweden with code-switching between different languages, dialects, styles and varieties will be discussed together with Chicano plays written in the US, in which there is frequent code-switching between Spanish and English. Findings of my doctoral thesis on code-switching in Chicano theater will serve as basis of the discussion (Jonsson 2005).

The sociolinguistic situation in California and other southwestern states with frequent contact between English and Spanish, has led to the emergence of *Chicano discourse* and to the creation of a particular *Chicano literature*. Similarly, recent development in Sweden has brought forth multiethnic varieties that are now beginning to be used in Swedish literature. In fact, multicultural and multilingual literature is a field of literature

that is rapidly growing in Sweden. This literature (novels, poems and plays) uses multiethnic varieties and/or code-switching between different languages to express a multicultural and multilingual experience. My study concentrates on the use of code-switching in this type multilingual literature. One reason for choosing to emphasize on language use in literature is that most previous research in this field has focused on speech.

Links will be drawn between the functions of code-switching in Chicano theater and the functions of code-switching in multilingual literature in Sweden. Issues of power, ideology and resistance play a central role in this discussion since code-switching can serve as a creative response to domination and since language in these forms of literature often fills empowering functions. The different novels and plays that constitute this multilingual literature, together create a literary platform that can be regarded as an alternative market (Bourdieu 1991) where it is possible for ethnic minority groups to make their voices heard. In addition, the possibility of constructing and reconstructing a separate identity through the use of code-switching in literature will be discussed. By employing code-switching in their work is possible for the authors and playwrights to reflect, construct and reconstruct a separate third space identity (Bhabha 1994) that draws upon the different cultural environments.

### **Sirpa Leppänen**

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

*Linguistic and generic hybridity in web writing: the case of fan fiction*

Fan fiction involves the writing, reading and discussion of novels, stories, poems and songs by fans of cult TV series, films and fiction, on web sites founded and monitored by fans themselves. It is based on, simulates and intervenes in for example characters, plot and themes of a cult 'text' originally produced by someone else with a legal right to them. Fan fiction is typically translocal in nature: it is typically based on globally disseminated cult texts, published on both national and international web sites, and its writers make use of, besides their first language, other languages. In the globalising world, fan fiction could, in fact, be taken as one example of discourse in which the global and the local meet in particular ways, and in which influential and widely distributed cultural products are taken up and appropriated by varied local audiences.

In my presentation, I will focus on fan fiction written by one particular non-Anglo-American group of fans, Finnish adolescents and young adults, and investigate how they take up Anglo-American cultural products and make them locally meaningful. More specifically, within a cross-disciplinary framework combining insights from discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and cyberculture studies, and on the basis of a corpus of some 300 fan fiction texts, a questionnaire (n = 107) and interviews of fans, I will investigate fan fiction as an example of hybrid written discourse and literacy which not only draws on, but also reshapes and mixes resources provided by both Finnish and English - as well as resources provided by different genres of fiction in various ways.

In my analysis I will thus demonstrate how different code switching and language mixing strategies are interwoven with the mixing and modifying of various generic conventions in fan fiction. I will demonstrate how both of these strategies seem to be motivated by the fans' goal to create fictional discourse that is deemed both interesting and appropriate within the normative framework of fan cultures and virtual fan fiction communities of practice. Finally, I will discuss the ways in which the uses, mixes and modifications of resources originating from, or associated with, different languages and genres are one expression of the fundamentally transnational and transcultural ethos of fandoms and fan fiction which is characterised by shared discursive practices, interests and lifestyles and which may have very little to do with a sense of belonging to a particular language or national community.

### **Shahrazad Mahootian**

Northeastern Illinois University, United States of America

*The role of social context in language choice: the politics of the bicultural identity*

Using a CDS framework (Fairclough 1995, 2001; Fairclough & Wodak 1997; van Dijk 1996, 1998), I examine the socio-political motivations behind codeswitching in *Latina*, a popular bilingual life-styles magazine. Fairclough (1995) proposes a three dimensional model for critical discourse analysis which looks at the interrelationship between *text*, *discourse practice* and *sociocultural practice*. He claims that "social-identity struggles" are worked out through "new configurations of genres and discourse" (pg 8). An analysis of the "texture" (form,

organization and content) of *Latina*, leads me to conclude that the use of mixed language is one *discourse practice* through which a 'bicultural identity' is defined and promoted (*sociocultural practice*). Specifically, the intentional use of mixed code in printed media serves as an identity marker for the bilingual speech community associated with this data (Mahootian 2005). The use of mixed code in the context of a national publication is one way that the social-identity struggles of Latinos in the United States are expressed, and to a certain extent, resolved. Mixed code serves to forge and reinforce unity among young Latino-Americans who are asserting independence from the dominant L2/C2 (C2=corresponding culture of L2) AND breaking away from domination of the L1/C1, in order to identify themselves as a group separate from their predecessors' generation. Simultaneously, however, they want to maintain strong emotional ties with their heritage. Through generation of new configurations and genres (code-mixed discourse) the bilingual speakers' two worlds are brought together, allowing them to acknowledge their heritage and to assert their bicultural identity.

### **Cecilia Montes-Alcalá**

Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, United States of America

*Code-Switching in Hyphenated American Novelists*

Research on Spanish-English code-switching in the last five decades to date has primarily focused on the oral production of bilingual individuals. As multiple studies have proven, natural spoken code-switching is far from being a random phenomenon but rather it performs a number of specific socio-pragmatic functions. However, research on the written production of bilingual individuals still remains at an early stage. Moreover, whereas code-switching at the spoken level has traditionally led to social prejudice among bilinguals and monolinguals alike, it would appear that the increasing growth of bilingual literature in the United States shows that the mix of Spanish and English in writing has finally acquired some legitimacy.

Previous studies on code-switching in bilingual literature have been mainly concerned with Chicano poetry and/ or drama, as well as with the relationship between literary language and natural production. The research shows that code-switching in bilingual literature may be used for aesthetic purposes or as a source of credibility. It may also serve to communicate biculturalism, humor, criticism, ethnicity, and other stylistic purposes.

The aim of the present work is to investigate whether the socio-pragmatic functions typically ascribed to oral code-switching can also appear in bilingual literature. I hypothesize that similar functions may be found in a literary corpus along with other deviant, genre-specific uses. To this end, I analyzed selected bilingual novels written by hyphenated American authors who use Spanish and English in their works: Cuban-American Roberto G. Fernández's *La Vida es un Special*, Nuyorican Giannina Braschi's *Yo-Yo Boing!*, and three works by Mexican-American authors: Jim Sagel's *Unexpected Turn*, Rolando Hinojosa's *Mi querido Rafa*, and Mary Ann and Carlos Romero's *Los bilingos*. These writers' language choices reveal how bilingual individuals living in the hyphen - between two worlds and two cultures - can and must write in both languages in order to fully express themselves.

### **Mark Sebba**

Lancaster University, United Kingdom

*Mixed-language texts and websites: a framework for analysis*

In the study of code-switching, priority has always been given to researching spoken language. Written phenomena have attracted much less attention, and while there exist several widely used frameworks for analysing spoken code-switching, there is no equivalent for written language mixing. Those analyses which have been done on written mixed language have tended to adapt analytical frameworks designed for spoken discourse. The lack of an independent theoretical framework for categorising and analysing written mixed-language texts is probably one reason for there being relatively little research in this area. Furthermore, the research that has been done has tended to look at written language texts which have some resemblances to spoken language (or are meant to represent spoken language): thus many types of text have been neglected.

In this paper I argue that the scope of research in mixed-language texts should be enlarged to include the study of mixed-language texts such as newspapers, magazines, websites and public signs which have a multi-



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lingual composition, in addition to the more usual bilingual letters, emails, internet fora etc. which have been studied to some extent. As the outline of a framework for studying mixed-language written texts, I propose:

- (1) That the study of such texts needs to be embedded in a study of literacy practices, to understand how and in what context they are created and consumed.
- (2) That mixed-language written genres need to be seen as a special case of mixed-language genres more generally, and that there is overlap between written and spoken modes.
- (3) That a linguistic analysis must also engage with the physical and spatial nature of such texts, including aspects of the image such as font and layout on the page or screen, and the material embodiment of the text (e.g. as a newspaper or a web page).

**DOING THINGS WITH AN ATTITUDE: INTERDISCIPLINARY EXPLORATIONS OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL ACTION** [workshop]

Convenor: Barbara Soukup

Georgetown University, USA

Contributors: Najma Al Zidjaly, Jennifer Sclafani, Barbara Soukup

The purpose of our workshop is to explore new and innovative avenues in the study of 'language attitudes' (i.e. attitudes towards language varieties and their speakers - Ryan & Giles 1982). Language attitude study is a prolific and popular field within sociolinguistics and social psychology of language; however, currently, it also appears to exhibit a tendency towards methodological and theoretical 'conservatism', in the sense that much recent work merely replicates, rather than innovating, applying, or developing further, conventional concepts and methodologies (e.g. the 'matched-guise technique' - Lambert et al. 1960).

On this backdrop, our workshop proposes to explore and discuss new directions in which the study of language attitudes could be taken. To this end, we operationalize and apply the concept of language attitudes in three case studies drawing on very diverse cultural and linguistic contexts: Austria, the U.S., and Oman. In each of the papers, language attitude study is combined with theoretical concepts and methodologies from a variety of other sociolinguistic sub-disciplines: interactional sociolinguistics (contextualization), critical discourse analysis, and mediated discourse analysis.

Our goal is to provide hands-on examples of how the concepts and methodologies of language attitude study can be harnessed in the investigation and explication of everyday, local social actions such as using different styles in conversation, expressing opinions about bilingualism in an online forum, or choosing one language over another in a face-to-face encounter. Because our case studies thus investigate how, in specific cultural contexts, language attitudes and ideologies (= macro-level social discourses) affect and are affected by concrete, local social action (= micro-level instances and episodes of social life), our workshop directly relates to the conference theme of 'Macro-Micro connections'.

In each of our papers, language attitude research is one of the means, but not the end, of the investigation of real world social situations. We suggest that such an approach can ultimately generate much-needed fresh input for the field of language attitude study and concomitant theoretical considerations.

*Paper abstracts*

Drawing on data from Austria and the USA, the first case study examines the mechanisms that allow speakers to use socially marked linguistic varieties/ styles as rhetorical devices in conversation. Participants in Austrian TV discussions use shifts from standard Austrian German into Austrian dialect as 'contextualization cues' (Gumperz 1982) to convey meta-messages of antagonism, contempt, and irony. Such negative communicative effects mirror general negative attitudes associated with dialect as elicited in a matched-guise experiment in Austria, i.e. that dialect sounds coarse, uneducated, and aggressive. In a parallel example, (female) speakers of Southern American English (SoAE) reportedly use their dialect to sound charming, perky, and sociable (e.g. in sales-encounters - Johnstone 1999), which closely reflects attitudes attached to SoAE as elicited in a matched-guise experiment conducted in the U.S. Thus, this paper suggests that intrinsic dialogic relationships exist between the stereotypes attaching to linguistic varieties and the rhetorical uses to which these varieties can be put in interaction.

Set in the USA, the second case study analyzes commentaries posted in an online discussion board in reaction to a recent controversial statement by former Republican Representative Newt Gingrich on the topic of bilingual education policy. Using analytic tools and concepts from critical discourse analysis such as the notion of 'intertextuality' (e.g. Fairclough 1992), this project illuminates intrinsic linkages between public and private discourse by investigating how online commentators incorporate texts of various origins - previous posts within the forum, texts from Gingrich as represented within the press, 'master-discourses' on immigration and language acquisition - into the construction and presentation of their own attitudes and opinions regarding bilingualism and education in languages other than English.

The third case study is set in Oman, a multilingual state which, despite hosting a variety of ethnic languages (e.g. Baluchi, Lawatia), recognizes only Arabic as official and national language. The paper uses a mediated discourse analysis approach (Scollon 2001), which takes as its unit of analysis the 'social action' and considers

language use as a form of action in and of itself. The paper suggests that such an approach can be helpful in assessing the role of people's language attitudes in concrete moments of language choice. This is illustrated by exploring discrepancies between language attitudes of an Arabic-Baluchi bilingual family as elicited in a questionnaire, and what the family members actually do in one face-to-face interaction. It is argued that language attitudes towards Baluchi and Arabic are only one facet of a multitude of macro- and microsocial discourses and elements circling through a moment of interaction and influencing language choice 'on the ground'.

#### PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

##### **Najma Al Zidjaly**

Sultan Qaboos University, Oman

*A mediated discourse analysis approach to language attitude research in Oman*

In this paper I use mediated discourse analysis (Scollon 2001; Norris & Jones 2004) to analyze language attitudes of one Baluchi Arab family from Oman, a multilingual Arab state which, despite hosting a variety of ethnic languages (e.g. Baluchi, Lawatia, Sawahili, Zidjaly among others), recognizes only Arabic as THE official and national language and English as THE second official language. Mediated discourse analysis is an integrative theory that takes as its unit of analysis the 'social action' or the moment an actor takes action using a variety of mediational means; it considers language use as a component of social action or as a form of action in and of itself. I employ this methodology to examine and contextualize the results of a questionnaire on language uses and attitudes that was administered during a one-month ethnographic study of one multilingual Omani family's discourse. The family includes three generations: educated siblings, their children, and their uneducated parents. The questionnaire addresses a variety of social domains and social situations in order to collect information about family members' attitudes toward and uses of their own ethnic tongue (Baluchi), other ethnic varieties, and Arabic and English. I then compared and contrasted their responses with their actual language behavior recorded during the ethnographic study, which was captured on video and audio-tape. My findings explore discrepancies between the family's language attitudes (e.g. their pride of their ethnic language) and what they actually do in one face-to-face interaction (celebrating Arabic, the official and national language). I demonstrate how language attitudes towards Baluchi and Arabic are only one facet of a multitude of macro- and microsocial discourses and elements circling through a moment of interaction and influencing language choice 'on the ground'.

This paper thus contributes to language attitude research by suggesting that language attitudes needs to be examined in their social and cultural contexts, especially in multiethnic societies, as this can be extremely helpful in assessing the complex role of people's language attitudes in concrete moments of language choice. It also suggests that language attitude research can be enriched through the integration of diverse methodologies and theoretical approaches like mediated discourse analysis.

##### **Jennifer Sclafani**

Georgetown University, USA

*The intertextual construction of language attitudes and ideologies on a U.S. internet discussion board*

The study of language attitudes and ideologies has been undertaken within several subdisciplines of linguistics, in a vast array of contexts, and using a variety of methods. Studies that locate themselves within paradigms of linguistic anthropology, variationist sociolinguistics, language policy, and critical discourse analysis have utilized both qualitative and quantitative measures to gauge people's conceptions of what language is, both in form and function, and people's beliefs about qualities of speakers qua speakers of particular languages.

This paper explores the construction of language attitudes and ideologies by taking an intertextual approach (e.g. Fairclough 1992) to the analysis of computer-mediated communication, and analyzing posts on www.digg.com, a website which features discussion boards dedicated to current topics in the news. The discussion board I investigate was created in response to an April 2007 CNN report documenting comments that former Republican U.S. Representative Newt Gingrich made during a speech to the National Federation of Republican Women, in

which he referred to bilingual education as tantamount to learning “the language of living in a ghetto”. The data set I analyze consists of 789 comments (over 17,000 words total) in response to the CNN article.

The analysis focuses on how users explicitly borrow prior texts (Becker 1995) and use constructed dialogue (Tannen 1989) as a discourse strategy in constructing their opinions regarding Gingrich’s remarks and their beliefs about bilingualism and education in general. I demonstrate that through the appropriation of a wide variety of voices, including those of Newt Gingrich and other politicians, other Digg users, and even an employee in a Chinese take-out restaurant, users construct competing ideologies of and attitudes toward language variation within the debate. I argue that the use of constructed dialogue in these posts draws interlocutors into an illustration of the lived social world as the speaker sees it, through a process which I call “embodiment indexicality”.

This analysis addresses the conference theme of “Micro and Macro Connections” by showing how intertextual analysis connects emergent constructions of opinion with broader attitudes, ideologies and stereotypes about language. It also attempts to bring together various strands of language attitude and ideology research by combining the study of *explicit* metalinguistic discourse with the analysis of *implicit* metapragmatics, or the “unsaid, unexpressed assumptions that implicitly frame a text and enable its coherence” (Woolard 1998:9). This analysis, along with the other papers in this workshop, illustrates how to move forward in the study of language attitudes by drawing together different methodologies, theoretical questions, and analytical frameworks in order to better understand how attitudes are grounded in everyday social action.

### Barbara Soukup

Georgetown University, USA

*The language attitude - language use relationship: a comparative study*

Social psychological interest in the (by no means straight-forward) relationship between attitudes and social behavior dates back at least to LaPiere’s (1934) famous description of the discrepancies between U.S. restaurant owners’ self-declared negative attitudes towards ethnic Chinese and their actually observed quite friendly behavior towards Chinese patrons. In the same interest, the present paper contributes a comparative study in which the links between attitudes towards two different linguistic varieties (Austrian German, Southern American English) and speakers’ actual social behavior in terms of their use of these varieties as rhetorical devices in conversation are explored.

Participants in different episodes of an Austrian TV discussion show are found to use shifts from standard into Austrian dialect as ‘contextualization cues’ (Gumperz 1982) to convey meta-messages of antagonism, contempt, and irony. Such negative communicative effects closely mirror general negative attitudes associated with Austrian dialect as elicited in a ‘matched-guise’-type experiment (Lambert et al. 1960): 242 Austrian university students were asked to listen to and rate four different Austrian speakers (two standard and two dialect speakers, one male and one female each) on semantic differential scales. Results show that the informants find dialect speakers to sound coarse, uneducated, and aggressive.

In a similar example, (female) speakers of Southern American English (SoAE) reportedly use their dialect to sound charming, perky, and sociable e.g. in sales-encounters (Johnstone 1999). This, in turn, parallels attitudes attaching to SoAE as elicited in another matched-guise-type experiment conducted in the U.S. In this experiment, 291 college students were asked to rate four different speakers (two Standard American English and two Southern speakers, one male and one female each). Results show that a Southern accent, specifically when used by a woman, is favorably regarded in terms of social attractiveness (friendliness, sociability, sense of humor).

On the basis of these two case studies, this paper suggests that an intrinsic dialogic relationship exists between the attitudes attaching to linguistic varieties and the rhetorical uses to which these varieties can be put in interaction. Common, wide-spread stereotypes hearers associate with a specific variety are contextualization resources speakers can draw on to create conversational meta-messages. Thus, negative attitudes such as the perceived coarseness of Austrian dialect allow for the exploitation of dialect to ridicule an opponent. Similarly, positive attitudes towards female speakers of Southern American English concerning their perceived ‘sociability’ and ‘friendliness’ allow Southern women to use their accent to ‘charm’ customers in sales encounters.

Combining the tools of traditional language attitude study, such as the matched-guise technique, with methods of discourse analysis (e.g. the investigation of ‘contextualization’ in Gumperz’ tradition) opens up fruitful avenues for the exploration of this dialogic relationship between language attitudes and language use.

**LANGUAGE POLICY, PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT: FROM MICRO TO MACRO AND VICE VERSA**

[workshop]

Convenors: Bernard Spolsky and Jiri Nekvapil

Bar-Ilan University, Israel and Charles University, Czech Republic

Contributors: Richard Birge Baldauf Jr, Sau Kuen Fan and Hidehiro Muraoka, Jiří Nekvapil,

Rosita Rindler Schjerve and Eva Vetter, Colin Haslehurst Williams, Sue Wright

Discussant: Bernard Spolsky

*Background and Objectives*

Over the past half-century, the study of language policy has grown rapidly, from the interests of a handful of scholars active in language planning in various national situations, to an academic enterprise with regular conferences, journals and books. The general emphasis remain the description of specific cases (until recently usually at the level of nation-state) and the arguments for one policy or another. The objective of this workshop is to begin discussion at an international level of the possibility of building a strong theory of language planning and management that will adequately account for current understanding of the field.

*Discussion questions*

1. How does policy related to planning and management? What part does ideology play?
2. What is the relation between micro and macro policy/planning/management? Is it appropriate to look at various domains and levels separately? How do the domains and levels interact?
3. Does each domain/level call for a different form of theory? Is a general model possible and appropriate?

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Richard Birge Baldauf Jr**

University of Queensland, Australia

*Beyond the Micro and Macro to the Global: Who does it?*

While classical language policy and planning has had the state as its focus (i.e. macro planning), and critical studies have suggested that those interested in language planning and policy should look at case studies (i.e. micro or local planning), there is emerging, as a result of globalization, another focus of critical discussion, that of world language problems. In a globalizing world language planning and policy must not only cater for national and local interests, but broader interests that span, unite or conflict with these foci. While once there were only a few bodies that took on this role, e.g., UNESCO or the United Nations, there are an increasing number of bodies and groups, both formal (overt) and informal (covert), who are looking at language issues from a globalized perspective. While English is seen as the ultimate example of a globalised language, it isn't the only example of this phenomenon. This paper attempts to draw together the global, the macro and the micro and their cross-overs and contributions to our understanding of language policy and planning.

**Sau Kuen Fan and Hidehiro Muraoka**

Kanda University of International Studies, Japan and Chiba University, Japan

*Language planning or language management: in the case of multi-language users in Japan*

The language management theory was introduced in the early 80s as a tool for the study of language problems particularly in intercultural contact situations. According to Neustupný (1995), the approach towards language problems within the language management framework is different from that in the traditional language planning paradigm in several ways. For instance, the language management framework is characterized by its emphasis on language problems confronted by individual user for interaction at the discourse level. With this shift from macro to micro as the starting point for the treatment of language problems, two important issues become

significant. One is that when focusing on language in use, language problems cannot be treated without considering also sociolinguistic and sociocultural problems. Another one directs to the fact that language problems especially in contact discourse are not necessary automatic. As a result, “solving the problem” may not be the mere goal of the language user in order to maintain the interaction. It is suggested in the new framework that the study of the processes for “managing the problem” is as crucial when coping with language problems. As far as the Japanese society is concerned, the wave of globalization has brought attention to the significance of foreign language teaching and learning, as well as the widespread of community languages due to the increasing number of foreign residents in recent years. It is argued in this paper that language planning and subsequent policies taken in response towards globalization in this sense (e.g. introduction of English education in primary schools, use of community languages in public services) is fundamentally derived from the consciousness between native speakers of Japanese and other language varieties. This trend of globalization produces not only a large number of non-native speakers (e.g. English and Japanese learners), but also more and more multi-language users whose native language is neither Japanese nor English. On the basis of a survey of a group of foreign residents who regularly use more than two languages for daily communication in Japan, we will report in this paper on 1) how different types of contact situations are generated and maintained (cf. Fan 1994, 2006); and 2) how different types of language problems are treated in such contact situations (cf. Muraoka 2006). It is hoped that through the discussion of the informants’ actual use of various languages in contact situations, we can reach a joining point between the frameworks of language planning and language management.

### **Jiří Nekvapil**

Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic

*Toward a General Theory of Language Management*

The main goal of this paper is to demonstrate the central features of Language Management Theory (LMT), originated in work of J.V. Neustupný and B.H. Jernudd (as presented in an exemplary manner already in Jernudd/Neustupný 1987). Language Management may be defined as metalinguistic activities (“behaviour-toward-language”). These activities take place in actual everyday discourse (that is, Simple Management, e.g. a self-correction of a word-form) or in social organisations varying in scope, aiming at influencing actual everyday discourse (that is, Organised Management, e.g. a language reform elaborated by a governmental agency). Thus the theory can cover very different but interrelated metalinguistic activities such as those produced by both the ordinary language user (“layman”) and the linguistic expert (“professional”).

The process of language management includes the following phases: the noting of a deviation from a norm, the evaluation of the deviation, the designing of an adjustment and the implementation of a design. The process can stop after any of these phases. I will argue that LMT is well suited both to the analysis of language macro-planning and language micro-planning, and focus on the dialectic relationship between these two levels as captured in the concepts of simple management, organized management and language management cycle. Finally, I will compare LMT with other theories of language management and consider the extent to which LMT can serve as a general theory of language management.

### **Rosita Rindler Schjerve and Eva Vetter**

Department of Romance Languages, University of Vienna, Austria

*Language policy and social power - some open questions*

Language policy (LP) is a special manifestation of political intervention which affects communication and thus contributes to changing or maintaining established power relations within society via language. When talking about LP and power it cannot be ignored that two major components engage into the relationship between language and social power, i.e. identity and ideology, which therefore also account for LP.

Identity is a key-term covering a wide range of phenomena which provide for the mental prerequisites concerning the production and reproduction of power relations. It includes stereotyped categorisation of self and others and as such it refers to linguistic valorisations, awareness and attitudes. Ideology, on the other hand, provides for the production of conceptual schemes which serve to rationalise political actions and to create mental dispositions for the assertion of specific political interests. Ideologies operate as an interpretive filter of attitudes



and beliefs and may be explicitly or implicitly directed to political action. As implicit LP frequently lacks a sense of direct political action, it is intimately connected with processes which can be analysed under the heading of language ideology. Yet, an open question is if and how identity interferes in implicit political actions?

Against this background and analytically speaking, we hypothesise that the working of identity and ideology within LP can be assessed more precisely if we distinguish between explicit and implicit LP. Still another question will be whether explicit LP might rather refer to macro policy while implicit action could be associated with micro policy.

The present paper will concentrate on multi-ethnic settings as pointed out in "Diglossia and Power. Language Policies and Practice in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Habsburg Empire" Rindler Schjerve (ed.) 2003, since it is in settings of this kind that the relationship between LP and social power becomes particularly evident.

### **Colin Haslehurst Williams**

School of Welsh, Cardiff University, United Kingdom

*Welsh Language Policy: From Promotion to Regulation*

This paper will analyze the application of Welsh language legislation and offer an evaluation of how adequate the current arrangements are to agree, deliver and monitor bilingual services. Currently agreed language plans specify under what conditions the public may expect a range of services from a nominated body. However, such arrangements have proved inadequate in guaranteeing both a consistent and a comprehensive service at the point of local contact and demand.

The key issue is the extent to which existing legislation, which is predicated on the responsibilities of bodies to deliver services, should be amended so that the rights of the individual and the rights of the employees within public bodies and organizations should be specified more clearly. The paper also argues 1) for the extension of language plans into the private and voluntary sector; 2) the establishment of a Language Commissioner; 3) the incorporation of language clauses into the various equality legislation; 4) stronger powers for the Welsh Language Board to regulate and force compliance on recalcitrant authorities and Crown Bodies; 5) a central role for the National Assembly for Wales to legislate within the field of bilingualism and language policy.

The final part of the paper will refer to selected developments within other European contexts where language promotion has gradually been reinforced by more binding legislation and stricter regulation.

### **Sue Wright**

University of Portsmouth, United Kingdom

*CA and Other Conceptions of Context: Borders and Bridges*

This workshop will highlight aspects of contributors' on-going work bearing upon different conceptions of context. We will raise fundamental questions of how methods, analytic principles and findings of CA can, or cannot, be brought to bear on other understandings of context. And we will explore whether and how connections can be made between CA and other approaches. Drawing from our current research, to be circulated in advance of the Symposium, our aim is to engage in respectful dialogue and to stimulate discussion of these issues among those in attendance at the workshop.

A persistent challenge for sociolinguists involves connecting fine-grained and broader approaches to context and social organization. Conversation analysis is centrally concerned with how participants display orientations to local context on a turn by turn basis. Yet there continues to be a perceived problematic around how to approach the wider social contexts that have traditionally been the focus of sociolinguistics: including the 'Big 4' variables of gender, age, ethnicity and class (Duranti and Goodwin 1992, Schegloff 1997, Wetherell 1998, Arminen 2000, Blommaert 2005). This is also manifested in the particulars of any scholar's position with regard to a focus of inquiry and to the individuals under scrutiny (Iedema 2003). Our workshop will support an open examination of current research issues related to the study of social contexts as oriented to (and affected by) realtime, interactional practices, and as related to broader conceptions of context. One challenge involves grounds for establishing analytic categories: how is it feasible to arrive at social interactional categorizations of membership and of practices that are both warranted in terms of local interaction, and connected to social problems more broadly understood?

*Workshop Foci*

We will consider issues in the following areas:

- Applications: can CA be made relevant to broader issues of culture and community, in particular exploring the links between talk and communities of practice?
- Compatibility: what are the boundaries between the approaches of conversation analysis as an account of talk in interaction, and the analysis of discourse as a social practice?
- Scope of relevance: CA focuses on the relevance of members' categories in talk; is there anything to be done with the relevance of analysts' categories or participants self-reported senses of social categories?
- Diachronic analyses: is there any contribution to be made to language change, and patterns in the organization and management of interactions from a socio-historical perspective?
- Speaker roles and institutional identities: how do we deal with issues of control and the negotiation of access to discursive/ interactional space?
- Ethnography, ethnomethodology and CA: What are the relationships between these approaches in our current research?

*Workshop Participants and General Positions*

Workshop participants represent diverse fields. Some are working within CA and are already interested in exploring the relationship between context in CA and in other theories and methods. Others are working within the field of discourse analysis and are interested in an exchange of questions, challenges and potential developments in this area. Many are convinced that we should ground our analyses in the observable orientations of participants (Schegloff 1991 and elsewhere). We take seriously the possibility that using *a priori* social categories and descriptions of social problems can lead to "losing analytic grip on the phenomena that participants themselves regard as prominent" (Maynard, 2002:72-3). Yet many of us who use CA and other methods also take seriously the fact that our analyses "arise from and serve a specific set of situated interests and concerns", and that the "distinction made between 'technical analysis' and 'interpretive description' is not absolute" (Iedema 2003: 83). We are all committed to scholarly exchange at the borders of approaches to understanding discourse and social interaction.

**BILINGUAL EDUCATION RECAST IN THE WAKE OF GLOBALISATION:  
RESEARCHING THE SECOND/FOREIGN LANGUAGE INTERFACE** [themed panel]

Convenor: Daniel Stotz

Zurich University of Teacher Education

Contributors: Claude Cortier and Alain Di Meglio, Patricia A. Duff, Charlotte Haglund,

Alexandra Mystra Jaffe, Daniel Stotz

Discussant: Marilyn Martin-Jones

Globalising tendencies have been trickling down from the economic and political sphere to the domain of educational language policy-making. In plurilingual regions of Europe, there is now often a dual struggle: on the one hand, traditional ideologies favour, for reasons of national cohesion, learning the language of the intranational neighbours (e.g. French or German in Switzerland, Flemish or French in Belgium). On the other hand, parents and the business world stress the urgency for the children and teenagers to learn English. In addition, there is often a discourse revolving around learners with a family background of migration which advocates acquiring the local standard language of instruction with its norms of written correctness before and above any foreign languages.

Advocates of rich language learning opportunities often dissolve the conflict by asking for both English and an additional language to be put on the curriculum from an early age; they tend to transfer a belief in the ease of early acquisition of two or more languages in favourable 'naturalistic' conditions onto institutional foreign language learning. However, experience suggests that this equation does not usually work out. In times of scarce resources, voices are becoming louder claiming that school curricula are overloaded with language subjects, whereas what society needs are engineers and managers. Routine communication in international contexts makes restricted demands on non-native users. In this chain of arguments, a basic competence in English as a commoditised *lingua franca* is seen as sufficient to all but the elite graduates of upper secondary schools.

The themed panel examines questions of identity building among young people in the context of these tendencies and struggles around language learning in and out of school. Contributors from different regions and backgrounds ask, from the perspectives of learners and teachers, what symbolic and linguistic values foreign and second and/or heritage language learning carries for them, and what would be desirable resources for confronting a globalised world of work and culture. The perspective is on language as a "set of resources which are socially distributed, but not necessarily evenly" (Heller 2007:14). The notion of 'investment' (Norton 2000) is central to understanding what part language learning plays in identity building. "If learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Learners expect or hope to have a good return on that investment - a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources." (Norton 2000:10). We thus need to ask, as Heller points out, not only what kinds of resources people can muster, but also "what they do with what they can gain access to" (Heller 2007:14).

Whether used in the plural or in the singular, identity is a multi-faceted notion and, as Norton suggests, we must ground it "in specific sites of practice" and understand it "with reference to relations of power between language learners and target language speakers" (Norton 2000:6, cf. also Blommaert 2006 and Benwell & Stokoe 2006). Affective factors such as motivation, intro-/extraversion and anxiety are often socially constructed in inequitable relations of power. The concept of investment, which complements that of identity, is an extension of the economic metaphors Bourdieu uses in his work. Even young learners have a complex social history and multiple desires.

The social order in which language learning experiences are embedded is a web of relations in which what happens in one interaction (say, the local planning for the introduction of English to the primary school, or the teaching of Corsican, a regional language) is constrained by the consequences of other interactions or discourse (Heller & Martin-Jones 2001), and in turn constrains separate interactions, such as methodological choices or the notion of Standard language. The power relations which constrain these processes can be on a continuum between coercive and collaborative (Cummins, 1996); despite ministerial regulations, the outcomes of lessons and programmes are always locally negotiated (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). In order to make these micro-macro connections transparent, the themed panel participants will be connecting specific instances of classroom practice

with ideological formations that are in turn anchored in wider frameworks of citizenship, identity and practice. This also has the effect of repositioning minority languages as a valuable form of linguistic and social currency.

A possible conclusion of the themed panel could be that despite globalising and standardising power vectors, problems and solutions in foreign and second language education tend to be locally conditioned. Simplistic or static ways of conceptualising and managing foreign/second language teaching through school subjects need to be questioned. In the best case, policy makers and practitioners are interested in and capable of taking up the insights that grounded investigations into the role of language learning in identity building offer.

#### PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

##### **Claude Cortier and Alain Di Meglio**

UMR ICAR CNRS, France and IUFM de Corse

*Bi/plurilingualism, near-languages and interlinguistics projects*

Bilingual education was progressively introduced in France as from 1982 in those regions where teaching the local language was allowed: Alsatian/German, Breton, Basque, Catalan, Corsican, Occitan. Bilingual education in Corsica is mostly concentrated on the public sector and works according to the principle of polynomy as far as the language is concerned with a bi/plurilingual approach, open to variation and linguistical tolerance, wholly conscious of the minorisation of the Corsican languages. Over a four-year long collaboration, we were able to distinguish a certain number of choices that establish a model to be as well as a society project. The regional language (Corsican) / national language (French) is part of a society project where the Corsican language is chosen as a regional language in bilingual education. Such model differentiates itself from the one in use in Alsace (where German is considered the regional language) or in the Val d'Aoste where a border language bilingualism was chosen (with French) instead of a local language bilingualism with Francoprovençal. The specificity of the Corsican language as a Romance language has been put forward regularly especially when it came to the establishment of 'mediterranean' or 'romance languages' streams. The principle lies in the introduction of the various languages as means of instruction while regularly comparing with the other languages. Latin is also given a federative and founding role.

Our works are now being extended to other regions of France where bilingual education is offered (Northern Catalonia, Occitania) and this enabled us to find similar orientations in terms of didactic organisation, values and principles. Yet, they are often not as advanced or developed. For this reason, we are now developing a project aiming at the introduction of teacher bi/plurilingualism in order for them to develop the appropriate competences to analyse variation and varieties in their linguistic environments. One final aim is for them to use those varieties at school as European linguistic and social integration tools, on a double linguistic and sociolinguistic continuum, examining both local varieties and their variations and also border/interregional/international varieties and languages, in order to promote the development in class of some form of linguistic consciousness, of more elaborate language representations (valorisation/devalorisation) and work on interlinguistic and metalinguistic dimensions.

##### **Patricia A. Duff**

University of British Columbia, Canada

*The impact of bilingual education on Hungarians' identities and sociolinguistic practices*

The advent of bilingual education in Hungary in the late 1980s involving Western languages such as English offered young Hungarians opportunities for innovative, intensive, and immersive language study. It also involved socialization into new ideologies, new/hybrid sociolinguistic practices (e.g., replacing the longstanding classroom recitation activity called *feleles*), and into more cosmopolitan identities as Europeans and English-speaking citizens of the world (Duff, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1997; Duff & Hornberger, in press). In the nearly two decades since then, bilingualism (and trilingualism) has become more commonplace in certain sectors of Hungarian society and across many elementary and secondary schools and postsecondary institutions, particularly with Hungary's membership in the European Union since 2004 and the increasing effects of globalization. The

role and status of English have consequently changed, as have students' attitudes and motivation toward it, as revealed by large-scale longitudinal survey research by Dörnyei, Csizér, and Németh (2006).

This study represents an in-depth qualitative follow-up to my earlier research by selecting two cities/sites from the original study of three cities/sites and two sets of former research participants (e.g., then-students, teachers, and administrators; about 20/site). The former participants were interviewed individually about the impact of their (past) bilingual education on their current identities, ideologies, and sociolinguistic practices, whether as teachers, other professionals, or as members of European or global society more generally. Observations of current classroom discourse involving Hungarian and English were also conducted to determine changes in sociolinguistic practices at the same secondary schools over the nearly 20-year period. Finally, the interviews and observations were complemented with an analysis of newspaper and other publications regarding the current status of English and bilingualism/multilingualism and related language ideologies in Hungary. The implications of this study for other research on language socialization and bilingual education are discussed.

### **Charlotte Haglund**

Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden

*Language investments among young adults in transition from school to working life in Sweden*

Young adults come across a number of post-educational institutions and sites of activity, including employment agencies, preparation programs and potential employers, on their way into the labour market. In the transition process the individuals are subjected to processes of categorization, classification and selection (with respect for instance to ethnicity, social class and gender) and exclusionary boundaries are constructed and pressure towards homogeneity is exerted as part of these efforts (Gunnarsson et al 2006). A discourse advocating dialogue, tolerance and understanding of 'the other' conceals this disciplinary practice and social control.

These institutional practices and individual experiences are intimately connected to language, on the one hand, because the implicit claim on homogeneity also concerns language learning and language use and, on the other hand, because of the performative aspect of language; its crucial role in establishing, reproducing and diffusing particular legitimate perspectives among individuals and on the level of social organization and social structure.

The present paper introduces an on-going study that aims to investigate in which ways experiences in the transition process from school/higher education to working life influence multilinguals' individual choices related to language. The ethnographic research is conducted among young adults (age 23-25) in different socio-geographical (rural/urban/suburban) spaces in Sweden. Different ethnic backgrounds and languages are represented with Syrian/Assyrian background and the Syrian/Assyrian language predominating.

In order to understand the role of language and multilingualism in transitional processes (which are neither linear nor coherent), the impact from socio-cultural, political and ideological changes of the post-industrial era and the increasing social and geographical mobility of individuals needs to be investigated (Coupland 2003). The study links language learners' objectives to invest (or not invest) in specific languages to the value of these languages on a global market and thereby aims at investigating individuals' struggle over access to specific languages and over the legitimacy of their access (Heller 2002, 2007).

The focus on transition and integration puts different institutions at the core of analysis. An attempt is made in the paper to illustrate how individual choices related to language learning and language use should be related not only to ethnicity, gender, social class, first and second languages, social geography and ambitions and stances towards the process of globalization, but also to perpetual tensions on the levels of institutions and individuals between traditional and modern interests and local and global influences.

### **Alexandra Mystra Jaffe**

California State University, Long Beach, United States of America

*Teaching Italian in Corsica: Fluid language boundaries and intercultural citizenship*

The status of Italian and its teaching in Corsican schools has a varied history. In the early stages of Corsican language revitalization, two things made teaching Italian problematic from the perspective of Corsican language activists: 1) the desire to differentiate Corsican from Italian (avoiding the label "Italian dialect") and 2) fear that any instruction of Italian would deflect resources and students from Corsican classes. Over the last fifteen

years, interest in Italian has grown as Corsican language education has become more established, and as cultural and economic ties with Italy have increased. Since 2000, Corsican bilingual schools and programs (Corsican: French) have increasingly chosen Italian as the foreign language of choice for primary school instruction, in contrast with the overwhelming trend towards English outside the bilingual system. This choice of Italian re-frames both the nature of foreign and minority language learning, situating both as tools for the development of plurilingual, intercultural citizens.

This presentation begins with an exploration of bilingual educators' rationales for choosing Italian, and how these rationales relate to their models of language and identity. It goes on to explore how these issues play out in the classroom, examining theatrical/dramatic work in both monolingual (Corsican) and multilingual (Italian, Corsican, French) frameworks. The first set of data is drawn from the author's own ethnographic research, and focuses on the development, rehearsal and performance of a Corsican elementary school play script from its origins as an Indian folktale told in French. This process reconciles the status of Corsican as a heritage language with the fact that it is learned as a second language by most Corsican children by positioning children as authors (giving them authority) and by giving them ample chance to master the spoken word (authenticity). The second set of data involves improvisational dramatic activities that play with linguistic form using Corsican, Italian and French. These practices implicitly relocate linguistic authority, and disconnect it from a single written or spoken norm. They also make way for new definitions of authentic speech that include the hybrid practices and mixed competencies that define this generation of schoolchildren.

Analysis of both discourse and practice related to the teaching of Italian in Corsican bilingual schools shows that choosing and teaching Italian as a foreign language is innovative at several levels. First, it places the issue of language boundaries at the center of the pedagogical project, allowing and reflecting on movement between and in the interstices of the codes in question. This fluid model is integrated with a "polynomic" perspective on the Corsican language, which locates linguistic identity in the diversity of socially legitimated usage. Secondly, it suggests a model of intercultural citizenship in which speaking partners make the most out of varying levels of productive and receptive competence in related codes. In doing so, the choice of Italian reconfigures what it means to speak Corsican. That is, Corsican is represented not just as the expression of local cultural identity, but as a bridge to participation and interaction with Europe and beyond.

### **Daniel Stotz**

Zurich University of Teacher Education, Switzerland

*Classroom language practices and useful linguistic resources at the transition between school and vocational training in Switzerland*

This paper explores changes in the ways and configurations in which foreign/second languages are taught and learnt in two secondary schools in German-speaking Switzerland. A recent prioritisation of English as the first foreign language to be taught (rather than French, the second national language), positions students differently with respect to the additional linguistic resources they can expect to pick up through schooling (Stotz 2006). Classroom observation of language lessons (English, French and German) and ethnographic interviews with students and teachers suggest that the opportunity to learn English at an earlier age is associated with high expectations. At the same time, the interactional construction of language lessons appears to follow patterns that cast learners in mostly receptive roles. The analysis of classroom interaction focuses on instances where such participant structures are broken or subverted.

A comparison of the trajectories of bi-/multilingual learners in a suburban setting with mono- and bilingual students in a rural situation, both at the transition between school and vocational training, provides evidence as to linguistic and social practices of valorising and devaluing linguistic resources as well as of gender and ethnic issues. In the unstable construction of classroom interaction around diglossia (Standard German and Swiss dialects), foreign language lessons can be sites for practices that problematize the boundaries between school subjects and between school and leisure.

The combination of classroom interaction data with students' language biographies and representations of what language learning and bilingualism mean for them attempts to capture ways in which school reform may (or may not) have an impact on students' identities and their life trajectories. Ultimately, the reality of social selection and reproduction is not easily subverted with newly gained competence in the "language of opportunity", English.



**HIP-HOP ACROSS THE GLOBE: WHAT EXACTLY IS GOING GLOBAL?** [workshop]

Convenor: Marina Terkourafi

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA

Contributors: Endre Brunstad and Unn Røynealand, Matt Garley and Solveig Lüdtke, Sarah Simeziane

Discussant: Jannis Androutsopoulos

Since it first appeared on the American cultural scene as a three-pronged phenomenon combining music, break-dancing, and graffiti in the 1970's, hip-hop has been related to the experience of race, and of American Blackness in particular. As a predominantly American phenomenon, hip-hop culture has been attracting the attention of journalists and the media for some time now. Moreover, theoretical analyses of hip-hop within various disciplines - including (ethno)musicology, sociology, race and gender studies - have been proposed. However, the systematic study of hip-hop language within established sociolinguistic paradigms, and the challenges it poses for their adequacy as well as its potential to lead to the emergence of new paradigms, have only recently begun to attract the interest of linguists and social theorists of language. Adding to the complexity of this phenomenon are global aspects of hip-hop culture: more than the domain of Black America, hip-hop has been spreading across national, ethnic and linguistic boundaries, quickly turning into an important vehicle, and primary research area, for globalization.

The existence of a global hip-hop music scene encompassing artists from different countries working with different linguistic codes is by now a well attested phenomenon. What is less well understood, however, is what, if any, are the features of these local productions justifying their characterization as manifestations of a single global phenomenon. Is it a case of commonality of structural/thematic choices characterizing the end-products of these local productions? Or rather a case of similar processes by which these products come about, while the products themselves remain indisputably local and non-isomorphic? In the end, are we justified in talking about the global spread of hip-hop, or would it be best to talk of several local hip-hop cultures? Moreover, to what extent are the artists in question aware and influenced by each other's production? Is it a case of mutual awareness and reciprocal influence, or is the directionality of the influence only one-way? Both views have been defended by scholars, with some seeing hip-hop as a vehicle of 'Americanization' while others as an expression of genuine, bottom-up 'globalization.'

The proposed workshop will explore linguistic manifestations of ethnicity in hip-hop culture across the globe, aiming to address a seeming contradiction: if American Blackness were all that hip-hop is about, why is it that this phenomenon has spread beyond national and transatlantic boundaries, taking roots in different cultures across the globe? Our aim is to tease out those components of hip-hop culture that have enabled it to transcend national, ethnic, social, religious and linguistic boundaries, transforming it into a testimonial act of subalternity and social protest. We will address these questions by bringing together papers that undertake detailed, micro-level analyses of actual rap lyrics and musicians' attitudes from different countries in order to discover potential commonalities in their choices and in the attitudes expressed. Different theoretical frameworks may be brought to bear to this analysis. To the extent that the artists' converging on similar expressive means may be the result of reciprocal influence, their artistic production (including their linguistic choices) may be explained within a Communities of Practice theoretical framework. However, the global spread of hip-hop can also challenge, or at least help refine, the CoP approach, since contact between these artists is rarely face to face and may be limited to only one behavioural domain, any potential influence between them being primarily 'second-hand' and mediated by the determining role of the music industry and the images of artists it wishes to project. To the extent that such awareness may then be limited or non-representative of the totality of their choices/experience, an alternative theoretical framework, that of Bourdieuan habitus, may also be applicable. On this view, their converging on similar expressive means may be seen as emerging from the commonality of their experience in their respective countries and in response to similar conditions of existence, giving rise to homologous habitus in a bottom-up fashion.

There are thus several ways in which the interface of micro and macro could be relevant to explaining global trends in the spread of hip-hop culture. At an empirical, data-driven level, the macro (global) category may be interpreted as an abstraction away from the micro (local) ones, which synthesize the symbolic values of the macro category with local, micro concerns. Conversely, starting from a socio-historical perspective, macro may be identified with the original, Black American hip-hop to the extent that this contains all the elements vari-

ously percolating down to the micro and re-interpreted in local terms by non-American artists. Finally, within a Bourdieuan habitus approach, similar conditions of existence may be seen as the micro-level giving rise to a global macro-structure, that is then further transformed through the agency of different artists.

### **Endre Brunstad and Unn Røyneland**

University of Bergen, Norway University of Oslo, Norway

*Hip-hop, ethnicity and linguistic practice in rural and urban Norway*

This paper will discuss how notions of 'rurality', 'urbanity' and 'ethnicity' are connected to linguistic practices and language attitudes in contemporary Norwegian Hip-hop.

Since 2000, Norwegian Hip-hop has been characterised by a strong Norwegian-language scene. At the same time, English is used, and we find an abundance of English loan-words and code-switching, as well as references to the American basis for Hip-hop.

In recent years, urban centres, particularly Oslo, have seen the emergence of ethnically mixed Hip-hop groups making use of various languages in their lyrics, though with Norwegian at the core. This linguistic practice appears as a self-conscious development of a new Norwegian dialect - the creation of a shared dialect of the minorities. These groups seem to have a significant influence on the formation of a Norwegian multiethnolectal speech style among adolescents in multicultural environments.

Another prominent feature of Norwegian Hip-hop is its connection to rural life style and rural dialects. The success of Hip-hop artists combining elements from American gangsta-rap and Norwegian rurality may be regarded as a sign of the cultural and linguistic status of rural areas in Norway. However, the irony and crossovers of this kind of Hip-hop seem to be understood differently in urban and rural areas.

In our paper we will explore the different developments in rural and urban areas in Norway and on the basis of our ongoing studies discuss how Hip-hop is re-contextualized and made local.

### **Matt Garley and Solveig Luedtke**

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA and Leibniz University Hannover, Germany

*American Influences on Genre Construction in German Rap*

Based in part on the systematic textual and discursive analysis of numerous American and German raps (Lüdtke 2006), the study offers a framework for the analysis of linguistic features including vernacular speech, metaphors, roles and social categorizations, narrative structures and forms of conversation within lyrics of different communities of practice. The application of vernaculars and African American verbal traditions in American and German rap lyrics provides insights into the linguistic flows within rap's globalized culture. To enrich these insights, the study investigates German rap fans' attitudes toward Anglicisms and codeswitching, as well as fans' use of these on an online hip-hop forum, capturing the currency of English in the German rap community.

By examining linguistic features of American rap and their reoccurrence in Germany, this study views German rap as 'not merely an imitation ... but the outcome of a recontextualization process, wherein a globally available cultural model is being appropriated in various reception communities' (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002: 1). Reconstructing the defining functional and structural properties of rap texts as a genre is a precondition to discovering convergence and divergence in American and German hip-hop communities.

The first part of the analysis focuses on features characteristic of the entire genre. In comparing topic, discourse and linguistic conventions of German and American rap, the study explores divergences from American genre conventions. English elements in non-English lyrics are classified into categories set forth in Androutsopoulos and Scholz (2002: 26-7). These are used to analyze lexical borrowings and discursive patterns from American lyrics which are found in the German data and cases of code-switching in both American and German rap texts. The analysis demonstrates the referential function of nonstandard expressions from American rap with respect to the main competences and activities of the culture while confirming that slang terminology and formulaic expressions are used to stylize rappers as authentic in a subculture. While rap's function as a platform for articulation of artistic creativity and verbal expression of identity does not prevent stereotyping, it has the transformative capacity for creating new hybrid forms of social identities.

The second part of the analysis examines data collected from the German-language hip-hop forum MZEE.com, revealing fans' attitudes toward English influences on German rap and capturing fans' rationale for borrowing and codeswitching in their own textual identities. Hip-hop Anglicisms are compared with Onysko's (2007) findings on borrowing and codeswitching to investigate usage patterns in overt vs. covert prestige situations.

This two-part analysis views borrowing and codeswitching in terms of production (by artists) and reception (by fans), yielding a more complete account of the German hip-hop community as a community of practice.

### **Sarah Elizabeth Simeziane**

University of Illinois, USA

*Roma Rap and the Black Train: Minority Voices in Hungarian Hip-hop*

Over the past 20-30 years hip-hop has become a world-wide phenomenon. Although it retains recognizable features associating it with African-American urban culture, at the same time it has been adopted and appropriated in such a way that it also reflects the local culture where it is produced. International hip-hop artists have applied the core of the genre itself by cutting and mixing African-American hip-hop and adapting it to their own sound and their own experiences.

Language choices also stem from the artists' linguistic practices and environments, as they employ the various linguistic varieties at their disposal in order to achieve the artistic and commercial ends they seek. In this paper I seek to examine how these constraints interact with the linguistic resources available to, and the artistic, social, and political aims of, a popular late-90's Hungarian Roma hip-hop group, known as *Fekete Vonat* (*Black Train*). By looking at how *Fekete Vonat* resembles, diverges from, and contributes to the Hungarian and global hip-hop communities in terms of language choice I will also look at what their code choices may indicate in terms of constraints on code-switching in hip-hop.

Within other genres of Roma music, the use of Romani is common, particularly in traditional music. In *Fekete Vonat's* work, however, the use of Romani appears to be a marked choice within this particular genre. In their most recent album *A Város Másik Oldalán* (*On the Other Side of Town*), the primary language of the album is Hungarian, and Romani emerges as the in-group code, occurring in songs with more light-hearted themes. Hungarian is the sole language used to convey political and social messages about the conditions of the Roma within Hungarian society. In choosing Hungarian for these messages, they are simultaneously identifying their target audience, the general Hungarian population, as well as reinforcing their own identity within that community, not only as Roma, but also as Hungarian. *Fekete Vonat* also uses references to African-American culture in a way that differs from other popular Hungarian hip-hop groups and thus establishes a different type of hip-hop identity.

I examine various constraints on code choice both by Hungarian Roma and in popular music, and show that code choice in music cannot be viewed as simply mirroring everyday linguistic practices. Several other factors intrinsic to the act of producing a commercial artistic expressive form constrain linguistic choices: the intended audience, in particular mutual intelligibility and differences in status between the artist and audience, the subject matter, as well as marketability. The goal of this paper is to examine how *Fekete Vonat* works within these constraints in order to establish their own identity and the identity of their intended audience with respect to the various topics they address.

**AGE, IMAGE, IDENTITY: EXPLORING AGEING AND AGEISM IN CONTEMPORARY BRITAIN** [workshop]

Convenor: Virpi Talvikki Yläne

Cardiff University

Contributors: Chin-Hui (Irene) Chen, Justine Coupland, Caroline Holland and Richard Ward, Shakuntala Rudra (Satori) Soden, Angie Williams and Virpi Yläne

This workshop brings together research on ageing and age identity, explored from broadly discourse analytic, pragmatic and semiotic theoretical perspectives. There are five presentations in the workshop, given by researchers based in the UK. All the papers in this workshop explore the inter-connections of macro issues such as ageism, age discrimination and age- and lifespan identity at the micro level of individual advertisements, texts, conversations, discussions, body idioms or interviews. The data examined are written, visual and interactional and come from the media (TV and print advertisements and women's magazines) and from community contexts such as a dance class and a hairdressing salon. The data gathering methods range from systematic sampling of print or audio-visual material, questionnaires, interviews, ethnographic participant observation and diaries. Although various aspects of identity have been widely examined in sociolinguistic research, age identity is as yet relatively under-explored. This workshop aims to address this gap and is timely, taken the current wide public debate and increased awareness of societal ageism and the effects of an ageing population at both a societal and at an individual level.

## PARTICIPANTS AND PAPERS

**Chin-Hui (Irene) Chen**

Centre for Language and Communication, Cardiff University

*Pursuing appropriate lifestyles - ideological interpretations of texts in over 50s life insurance TV advertisements in the UK*

Advertising, influenced by consumer culture in postmodern era (Featherstone 1991), does not only sell values related to products, but it also transmits ideological expectations to its target audiences. Under the notion of consumer culture, it is suggested that everyone, young and old, is encouraged to pursue options to live in self-expressive, enjoyable and adventurous kind of lifestyles (ibid. p86). As the grey market gains an increasing importance in this ageing world, such observation might be intertwined in the discursive designs of texts in advertising targeting older people and, as a result, a 'golden-ager' type of stereotype is reinforced.

A corpus of British television advertisements of over 50s life insurance plans (1999-2007) forms the data for this paper. A particular attention is paid to how the impact of consumer culture is evident in the advertising texts and how it redefines the meaning of ageing in such commercialized contexts. A number of youth-oriented notions are addressed and naturalized as a means of enabling older people to transcend age restrictions to a more promising future life. The concept of "timelessness" (Katz, 1995), for instance, is observed, in which the status of "second childhood" is overtly resisted and older people being free from "chronological bonds" is also encouraged. The promoted meaning of old age seems to be in line with the observation of the "deconstruction of lifecourse" (Featherstone and Hepworth 1989) in contemporary western society. Apparently, in addition to "looking young" (Coupland, 2007), acting "young at heart" is also highlighted in advertising as another important life project to manage for older people.

A critical pragmatic perspective is adopted in this study for examining the presupposed cultural values embedded in the media content (c.f. Coupland, 2007) It is hoped that this analysis could bring more insights into how positive ageing images are commodified.

**Justine Coupland**

Cardiff University, United Kingdom

*Age identity and bodily display: the older dancer*

The age profile of the population is shifting upwards, yet contemporary culture sees the body as the crucial indicator of the self, and bodily ageing as problematic. All bodies age, both in functional and aesthetic terms, but *how* bodily ageing is experienced and culturally interpreted deserves sustained attention across a range of social contexts and activities. This paper uses data from an ethnography of dance classes for people over 40 in order to explore potential identity constraints and affordances of ageing in the context of bodily display. Dance (and particularly perhaps ballet and contemporary dance) is a form of self-expression generally associated with younger bodies, in two senses: the expectation that it is younger bodies who will have the physical *abilities* to dance, and the expectation that it is younger bodies who are worth *looking at* when they dance.

I elicited participants' own representations of how their bodily self related to other aspects of their ageing identities, using interviews, questionnaires, ethnographic notes of classes, focus groups, and participants' own diary materials. The theoretical background to this study includes Hepworth's work on *the mask of ageing*, Woodward's work on the '*unwatchability*' of older bodies, and Shilling's ideas on *bodily symbolic capital* and the body-as-project. A critical pragmatic analysis is used to explore a range of relevant themes including the use of body in dance, the relationship between body, the lifespan and identity, functional, aesthetic and control aspects of bodily awareness, the use of the mirror in class and elsewhere, and self-presentation and self-esteem. The analysis shows participants *reclaiming* the body as a legitimate expressive space, with obvious identity implications.

**Caroline Anne Holland and Richard Ward**

The Open University, United Kingdom and Queen Margaret University, United Kingdom

*In the hairdresser's chair: negotiating an appropriate image in later life*

The social sciences have witnessed an explosion of interest in the body as a site of cultural meaning. It has been described as central to the experience of ageing: a place where individuals can recognise their own ageing, and from where this recognition can be reflected or rejected in the expression of identity. Yet to date few commentators have acknowledged the signifying quality of hair as one of the more malleable aspects to image and identity. Hairstyles, whether intentionally styled or not, invite judgements of the person to which they belong. They provide information about social class, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and age. For both men and women the physical effects of ageing hair have social consequences in placing the individual within the category of 'older'. For women in particular, details such as the length of hair and decisions about whether or not to apply colour become complicated by cultural norms concerning appropriateness and 'growing old gracefully'. How an individual deals with their ageing hair makes a de facto statement about their ageing and their attitude to it.

The paper draws on data gathered for a national study of older people's experiences of age discrimination (the RoAD Project), which involved older people as co-researchers. The project revealed the different forms of bias that older people face in contemporary Britain across a wide range of situations. Interest in experiences at the hairdressers stemmed from how well these particular service encounters illustrated the everyday forms of discrimination revealed by the project. Fieldwork carried out in a local salon investigated how older (female) clients and hairdressers negotiated the styling and colouring of hair. Age was shown to be salient to these encounters with notions of age appropriateness a topic of active negotiation and sometimes pressure and coercion between worker and client.

The paper is organised around a series of questions that arise from the RoAD data: How is a hairstyle selected and produced and what meanings are attached to it? What language do hairdressers and customers use to describe appropriateness? How does the hairdressing salon function as a site where images of old age are constructed and reproduced? And, what do hairstyles and styling tell us about the broader issue of image and appearance in later life?

### **Shakuntala Rudra (Satori) Soden**

Roehampton University, United Kingdom

*Yummy Grannies: myths of ageing in women's magazines*

It has been argued that, in recent decades, there has been a redefinition of what it means to be an older person in Western societies. Featherstone & Hepworth, (1991:371), for example, refer to a 'uni-age' style to describe the merging of experiences, lifestyles, behaviour and dress across the generations.

In this presentation I will be testing these claims using data from articles in women's magazines and data from interviews with magazine readers. On the surface, the redefinition appears positive and seems to bring 'good news' for today's mid-life woman. But closer analysis reveals that the ways in which becoming older is talked about and discussed in the articles are underpinned by several 'myths of ageing' which I identify. These myths appear to be challenged within the articles to some extent, and indeed, myths are often sites where struggles for meaning occur (see Thwaites et al, 2002). Moreover, the articles are interesting to the readership precisely because they appear to challenge these taken-for-granted cultural myths concerning older women, for example: that they are not attractive; that they are not capable and so on. However, I question as to whether what is written really presents a challenge or, in fact, works towards supporting and reinforcing those myths. This is because there is a continued emphasis on appearing "young" physically and mentally and this remains the default position. On the other hand, it is possible to suggest that certain key phrases (which I will identify) signify that perceptions are indeed changing towards older women in UK society today.

I base my analysis on a semiotic framework (the study of signs), in which I draw on Barthes' conception of denotation, connotation and myth (Barthes, 1972). I distinguish between the different levels of signification: the words and the images used in the articles and the interviews, and the associations attached to them. I discuss how readers make sense of what is presented using cultural knowledge assumed to be shared between text producer and reader, that has become 'normal', 'naturalised' and 'universally true' in today's society.

### **Angie Williams and Virpi Ylännö**

Cardiff University, United Kingdom

*Speedo guy and racing Rosanna: images of older people in British advertising*

This paper reports findings from a study which forms part of a larger project on representations and perceptions of older people and old age in British advertising. Based on a sample of 260 UK print media advertisements depicting older people, published between 1999-2004, a typology of images was devised. This typology draws from earlier work on stereotypes and attitudes towards older people (e.g. Schmidt & Boland, 1986; Hummert et al, 1994) and applies it to an advertising context. Our analysis uses visual semantic notions, as well as discourse analysis, looking at both the visual and the textual elements of the advertisements. The next stage of the study examined the extent to which the typology holds true for readers/consumers of various ages. In this audience research, a magazine advertisement sorting task was carried out by adult volunteers of various ages. Focus group discussions were held to explore participants' reactions to these advertisements. In those, participants of different ages position themselves vis-a-vis the images presented by either distancing or associating themselves with the images. Issues of age identity and contemporary stereotypes of old age play a part in people's discursively expressed likes and dislikes of different advertisements in these discussions.

The findings from this study challenge the widely held notions that elderly people are routinely denigrated in the media, and evidences heterogeneity of such images in advertising. Yet, older people seem to appear in adverts for specific purposes and effects which at times challenge and at other times perpetuate ageist notions. These may be understood differently by people of different ages.



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## LAST MINUTE UPDATE

The workshop *Global transformations, migration and language practices: critical perspectives on current research*, convenors Clare Mar-Molinero and David Block, has been cancelled. Instead David Martin Block will present his workshop paper as an individual paper.

**David Martin Block**

Institute of Education, University of London, United Kingdom

*Unpicking agency in sociolinguistic research focussing on migrants*

In sociolinguistic research focussing on language practices of migrants, researchers have tended to adopt a broadly poststructuralist approach to identity, drawing on the work of social theorists working in a range of areas such as philosophy, literary theory, cultural studies, feminism and queer theory, critical theory and post colonialism. Ultimately, the complexity of these sources poses challenges for sociolinguists and the aim of this paper is to discuss one such challenge: the relatively unacknowledged and unresolved theoretical tension between structure and agency, in particular how the latter emerges and/or manifests itself in the ongoing sociolinguistic practices of individuals. I begin with a consideration of how agency has been discussed in recent anthropological and sociological literature. I then present my own understanding of what agency is, for example, how it is emergent in all kinds of social practices, which in turn are shaped by - and situated in terms of - culture, history, time, space and multimodality. Finally, via an examination of some recent sociolinguistic research focusing on the language practices of migrants, I show how framing agency as problematic vis-à-vis structure and practice can lead to more elaborate and more nuanced understandings of these same language practices.

