

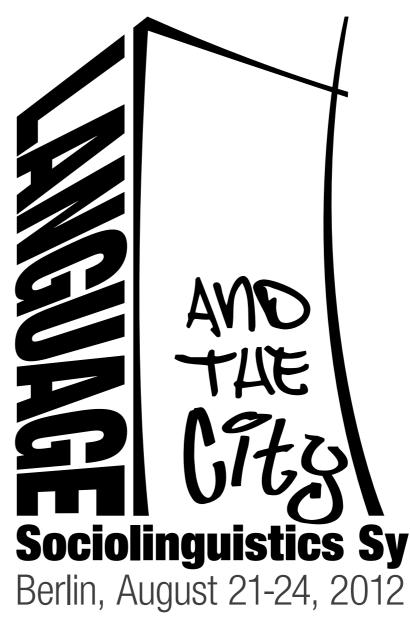


Sociolinguistics Symposium 19 Berlin, August 21-24, 2012



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Abstracts

Sociolinguistics Symposium 19

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Welcoming Address

Dear colleagues,

This year's *Sociolinguistics Symposium* is being held in Germany, at Freie Universität Berlin, from August 21 to August 24, 2012. It is being hosted by the university's Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities and its Interdisciplinary Centre for European Languages.

The *Sociolinguistics Symposia* were begun in the 1970s by a group of sociolinguists who saw the need for a forum to discuss research findings and to debate theoretical and methodological issues concerning language in society. The symposium has since grown into a large, international conference. For the 19th *Sociolinguistics Symposium* we expect approximately 1000 participants from more than 60 different countries. The overwhelming interest shows that sociolinguistics has developed into an international and globalized discipline. In a way, this year's conference can be characterized as a *mise en abyme* of its general theme, *Language and the City:* many people speaking different languages in intricate local and global networks come together from the four corners of the world to perform their styles in superdiverse communities of practice.

The study of language variation in cities has always been the most natural practice of sociolinguistics. We do, however, think that recent developments of the societies we live in as well as theoretical developments in our discipline have led to fresh looks at new phenomena which deserve the focus of our attention. In 2007, a global demographic threshold was exceeded: for the first time more people lived in urban settlements than in rural contexts. Increasing mobility, globalization and migration have led to dramatical social changes which are reflected in linguistic variation and change.

We took these developments as an opportunity to invite contributions on the relationship between urbanity and linguistic variation, in particular. The plenary lectures as well as many of the *Thematic Sessions* will reflect and discuss aspects of the relationship between *Language and the City,* not only in Europe and the USA, but also in China, Brazil and many other societies where urbanization has created very complex cities and mega-cities We hope that the Berlin symposium will contribute to the further development of this field of research and of sociolinguistics as a whole.

Matthias Hüning & Uli Reich Chairs of the Organizing Committee

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Bursaries

For the Sociolinguistics Symposium 19 a number of bursaries were made available in order to facilitate participation in the conference for successful applicants.

Participants with an accepted contribution to the conference were eligible to apply for a (partial) fee waiver in order to facilitate their participation, especially when funding by the home institution or by another source was not available. We are pleased to announce that 45 fee-waiver bursaries could be awarded.

Plenary

Standardization and diversification: the urban sociolinguistics of German

AUER, PETER

Freiburg institute for advanced studies, Germany

STANDARDIZATION AND DIVERSIFICATION: THE URBAN SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF GERMAN

This plenary will focus on the role of the large cities mainly in the post-WW2 development of German. I will begin with a short overview of the traditional German linguistic landscape which was characterized by the absence of a clear political, economic and cultural center and the maintenance of a polycentric language structure well into the 20th century. In this period, the German cities played a double role. On the one hand, they favored the spread of the written standard language and were instrumental for the establishment of regional oral standard varieties; on the other hand, urbanization as a corollary of industrialization and labor migration also led to the emergence of urban non-standard varieties distinct from the traditional dialects. The main part of the plenary will be devoted to two issues: (a) the impact of the cities and their language on the transformation of the traditional dialects and the establishment of national oral standard varieties from the mid-20th century onwards, and (b) the role of the cities in the development of ethnic and polyethnic ways of speaking starting before the end of the last century. The first topic is deeply linked to the transformation of regional standard varieties into regional accents, the spread of the regional standard varieties and regional standard accents from the urban centers into the countryside, and the strengthening of the national standard varieties in Austria, Switzerland and Germany. While these processes have led to a reduction of geographical variation and increasing standardization (and 'demotization') at the national level, the emergence of (poly-)ethnic ways of speaking has had the opposite effect of making German more heterogeneous. Once again, homogenizing (centripedal) and diversifying (centrifugal) forces are at work at the same time, although they are today situated a different scale (global migration and media, local counter-forces).

Plenary 2

(When) do teachers make a difference?

POPLACK, SHANA University of Ottawa, Canada

(WHEN) DO TEACHERS MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

With urbanization comes increased access to education, and a prime mandate of the educational enterprise is to curb, if not reverse, communitybased linguistic variation and change. Yet non-standard forms abound in spoken vernaculars. In Quebec French, many are involved in vigorous change in progress, so that for urban youth today, stigmatized variants are basically the norm in various areas of the grammar. Why have these roque forms persisted in the face of centuries of prescriptive stigma? And why have their unacknowledged contexts of usespread to the detriment of those prescribed in grammars? The tendency is to blame the conduits of linguistic prescription - teachers and schools. But this underestimates the power of the speech community to propagate and reinforce vernacular norms. In this talk I explore these issues through an ongoing project whose goal is to assess the competing roles of community and school in abetting language change and maintaining the standard. Illustrating with a number of morphosyntactic variants which differ in terms of stigma, salience, prescriptive specificity and social meaning, we compare actual language use of French teachers and high school students in school and out, as well as with the community norm on the one hand, and the prescribed norm on the other. Results show that while teachers sometimes hew to prescriptive norms, two factors conspire in their failure to adopt them wholesale: prescriptive indeterminacy (over when and how to employ the forms) and strong community constraints (against overly salient standard forms). Students, on the

other hand, whether in school or out, virtually always align themselves with the community norm, regardless of variable, variant, teacher stance, teacher production, or degree of associated stigma. Only very occasionally, with specific variables in specific in-school contexts, do they display any sensitivity to the standard. These findings confirm the primacy of the peer group in setting and reinforcing linguistic norms, and raise questions about the efficacy of the school in transmitting the standard.

Plenary 3 Unveiling Brazilian Portuguese: 40 years of sociolinguistic research

DUARTE, MARIA EUGENIA LAMOGLIA

Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

UNVEILING BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE: 40 YEARS OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH

Ever since its introduction in Brazil by Anthony Naro in the early 70's, the investigation of language variation has matured in Brazil such that today it is possible to draw a rich picture of Brazilian phonology and morphosyntax. When one considers the various research studies carried out over the almost 40 years of sociolinguistic studies throughout the country, it is evident that what distinguishes Brazilians diatopically are the differences in prosody and the realization of /E/ and /O/ in pretonic syllables and /R/ and /S/ in syllabic coda. Other processes, such as the deletion of final /R/ in infinitives and of the glide in the diphthong [ev] when followed by a tap and palatal fricatives, show remarkable regularity in their distribution in the cities. The same is found in the variable use of nominal and verbal agreement marks, strongly related to years of school attendance and style. My purpose is to show some of these phenomena which characterize Brazilian speech in general, but focus on aspects of Brazilian syntax related to (a) the reorganization of the pronominal paradigm with new pronouns grammaticalised out of former nominal address forms, and (b) the reduction in the set of third person complement clitics. Such a new set of nominative pronouns combining with unmarked verb forms for second and third person singular and first person plural and a defective set of complement clitics have triggered a system which prefers overt pronominal subjects and empty anaphoric direct objects. Results for such variable phenomena in several urban speech communities show the regular effect of the discourse status of the antecedent (same/different) and the degree of referentiality of the subject/object and allow the inference of more general tendencies in processes of change affecting Brazilian Portuguese. Besides the identification of common internal and external factors correlated to the changes in progress, Brazilian sociolinguists have been able to find answers to the actuation, the transition, the embedding and the evaluation problems, fundamental to any investigation which intends to understand language change. Currently, there has been an increasing interest in empirical analyses of contemporary written language in an attempt to describe the grammar which emerges as a result from the deep gap between speech and conservative normative teaching. Finally, it will be shown that results for social variables considered in research studies carried out all over the country are a very important and effective weapon to help end old impressionistic beliefs concerning language variation and combat linguistic prejudices.

Plenary 4

Speech Communities in Transformation: The effects of linguistic urbanization in China

XU, DAMING

China Center for Linguistic and Strategic Studies, Nanjing University, People's Republic of China

SPEECH COMMUNITIES IN TRANSFORMATION: THE EFFECTS OF LINGUISTIC URBANIZATION IN CHINA

The speech communities in China in the 21st century, no matter old or new, large or small, rural or urban, are all impacted by urbanization. The studies of the linguistic consequences of this impact show how new speech communities were formed and old ones transformed, how linguistic varieties originated, developed and changed in the community, and how a community had gained its identity and how it changed over time. In this paper, I will present three examples of those studies.

The first example shows how a speech community was formed in a dialect-contact situation and how the linguistic identity of the community changed overtime. The new-town speech community of Kundulun, located in the northwestern part of China, has experienced in half a century's time a process of speech community formation, which is illustrated by the step-by-step building up of its constraint patterns of linguistic variation (Xu 2010). As shown in a real-time study, not only the linguistic variables have undergone changes, the linguistic identity of the community too has changed. Three major stages of linguistic identity development have been identified: the stage of un-integrated multiple identities, the stage of transplanted identity, and, finally, the stage of localized identity.

The second example shows how a speech community changes in its membership, location and linguistic repertoire. The mega-city speech community of Shanghai, located in the eastern coastal area of China, has experienced over a century's time a process of speech community transformation, which is illustrated by a summary of a group of dialectological and sociolinguistic studies (Van den Berg 2005, Qian 2010, Xue 2010, You 2010). As shown by the studies of both micro and macro approaches, the speech community is where language varieties are incubated and fostered (Xu 2004). In today's Shanghai, effective speech communication as well as a distinctive linguistic identity is maintained with well-formed speech community conventions in spite of seemingly boundless diversities resulted by mobility and migration.

The last example shows how a rural speech community is affected by urbanization. The small speech community of Fu Village, located in the farming land of the Yangtze Delta, has experienced in the last decade a process of decline of vitality of the local dialect and local linguistic identity, which is reflected in changes in kinship addresses and in changes in pronunciations of the local dialect (Fu 2011). While the older generation remained largely unaffected by the standard variety in spite of its massive media exposure, the younger generation could hardly maintain a distinction between the local and the standard variety in reading style. The study demonstrates that the change in language behavior and attitude goes hand-in-hand with the

peasant-worker mobility as part of the urbanization process in China. Linguistic urbanization is by no means restricted to China but is a worldwide phenomenon in the 21st century. Therefore, the Chinese studies should have general implications. As the studies show, linguistic urbanization is a dynamic process involving not only changes in the structures of language but also the restructuring of speech communities. The process demonstrates the interactive relationship between linguistic varieties and speech communities.

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Plenary 5

'He thinks he's gang:' Indexicality at the border.

ECKERT, PENELOPE Stanford University, United States of America

'HE THINKS HE'S GANG:' INDEXICALITY AT THE BORDER.

The call for abstracts for this conference includes the claim that the social diversity of the city leads to complex indexical fields. This raises interesting questions such as how an indexical field expands in the everyday, and where an indexical field lives in the vast fluidity of a diverse linguistic landscape. This talk, based on long-term ethnographic work among preadolescents in a Northern California city, will examine the complex indexicalities that arise at the fluid ethnic border between Latinos and Anglos. Ethnic groups and their linguistic varieties are not inward-looking, but take on salience in the course of participation in a diverse linguistic and cultural landscape. The Latino and Anglo kids in this study participate in different ethnic communities and practices, but they are also moving through the same life stage in the same communities and institutions, with many of the same practices and concerns. As part of each other's landscape, their indexical practices engage their similarities and differences, so that features of their 'ethnolects' take on meanings that are only indirectly related to ethnicity.

Change and Movement in Urban Environments

BRAUN, GERHARD O.

Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

CHANGE AND MOVEMENT IN URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

Human Geography investigates the coincidence of spatial and contextual processes and patterns. In the recent past these processes and patterns developed both more complex and fragmented. As a consequence, the research goals search (1) for new conceptual relationships both between spatial scales and their corresponding contextual levels and (2) for the coincidences between space and context for new forms of planning. The resulting pattern reflect manifold complex organizations like hierarchies, markets, and networks pattern partly excluding, partly integrating actors on and between these scales. These interdependent processes occur mainly in urban environments which change their structure over time resulting in new winner and loser regions and actors. The development of spatial intelligence, of responsibility as to sustainable governance, and of increasing understanding how cities organize themselves helps in making urban environments livable. Increasing urbanization forces governments, economies, and actors at all spatial scales to coordinate their goals and interactions to develop cities smart and competitive for their survival.

Daniel Jacob (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg) and Ronald Mendes (Universidade de São Paulo) will respond to this target paper. The responses will be followed by an open discussion.

Round Table Sociolinguistics and Grammatical Theory

JACKENDOFF. RAY

Tufts University, United States of America

LINGUISTIC AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE PARALLEL ARCHITECTURE

This talk works out how the Parallel Architecture (RJ, Foundations of Language, Oxford, 2002) might incorporate some lexical and grammatical issues of concern to sociolinguistics, thereby achieving a more comprehensive theory of language as a whole.

The Parallel Architecture (PA) is a conception of the language faculty in which phonology, syntax, and semantics are independent generative systems, linked by interface principles. A full sentence has all three structures plus links between them. A central question of PA is what a speaker must learn and store in the lexicon, and how lexical items are combined into a full utterance. Taking this guestion seriously leads to the view that the lexicon contains not only words, but idioms, collocations, meaningful constructions (e.g. Bill belched his way out of the restaurant), and productive morphological affixes. Moreover, it develops that there is no formal distinction between words and rules; rules amount tostored structural schemas containing variables which must be satisfied in the course of combining them with other pieces of structure (a position shared with Construction Grammar). This talk develops accounts of three sociolinguistic factors from the perspective of the PA.

- Register differences: The sociolinquistic register for a word is easily coded as a feature within its lexical entry. But since the PA also encodesrules as lexical entries, it becomes possible to use the very same features to uniformly mark grammatical constructions and even phonotactics for register, and to check the overall consistency of an utterance for register.

- Bilingual language mixing: A bilingual speaker's lexicon must code words for which language they belong to. Again, the PA lexicon can extend this marking to rules of grammar, both syntactic and phonological. It is then possible to treat borrowing and code-switching as use of a lexical entry (a word or a grammatical construction) with a language feature that does not match the rest of the utterance it is embedded in.

- Linguistic variation: Whether grammatically or socially conditioned, variationis usually treated in terms of the probabilities that variant forms will be uttered. Such accounts do not usually address how speakers actually produce variants with the particular probabilities they do. With certain assumptions about the structure of memory and the nature of memory retrieval, the PA's conception of the lexicon/grammar lends itself to a treatment in which probabilistic variation is produced through competition in the brain among multiple lexical items (again, words or constructions or rules) as realizations of the same (or similar) meanings.

Leonie Cornips (Maastricht University/Meertens Institute) and Shana Poplack (University of Ottowa) will respond to this target paper. The responses will be followed by an open discussion.

Thematic Session 100

Montreal, a francophone, anglophone and multilingual city

Session Chair 1: Remysen, Wim Session Chair 2: Reinke, Kristin

Session Abstract:

With its population of 3,8 million (Institut de la Statistique du Québec 2011), Greater Montreal is the largest and most populous urban area in the province of Quebec (the second largest in Canada) as well as its economic centre. Because of its complex and unique linguistic ecology, the metropolitan area of Montreal differentiates itself from all other major urban areas in Canada; indeed, Montreal presents quite a unique case of interacting language communities (Oakes and Warren 2007: 134 et seq.), even within an international perspective, which makes it of special interest for a sociolinguistic symposium dedicated to the situation in modern cities. The uniqueness of Montreal can be related to its three different faces, so to speak, and to the specific way these interact with each other: apart from being a francophone as well as an anglophone city, Montreal is fundamentally multilingual. The colonial history of Canada explains the presence of French and English in the metropolis. The relationship between these two languages in the province of Quebec has been profoundly marked by a history of conflict and, more recently, of controversial language legislation. At present, French is the only official language in the province and it remains the majority language in Greater Montreal (Office québécois de la langue française 2008). However the metropolis, and especially the Island of Montreal in the center, still has an important English-speaking population with parts of the city being more anglophone in character. In addition, due to immigration that started in the late 19th century, different cultural communities settled in the region. Since then, Montreal has become one of the most important multiethnic centres in Canada where multilingualism and multiculturalism are a part of daily life and the city continues to attract people from various origins. This dynamic adds to the complexity of the original linguistic duality existing between French and English and it has been pointed out that this duality has favoured the maintenance of immigrant languages much more than in other cities in North America (Meintel 1998). More recently, the presence of the diverse heterogenic social groups has resulted in a specific Montreal identity claimed by a lot of Montrealers (Helly and Van Schendel 2001).

Needless to say, Montreal represents a dynamic microcosm and an ideal sociolinguistic laboratory. Its complex and unique situation has encouraged numerous scholars to conduct sociolinguistic research on the different communities living in the area. Yet those who are interested in Montreal often come from very different backgrounds (from a linguistic as well as a disciplinary point of view) and do not always have the opportunity to share their results with each other. This makes it difficult to obtain a full comprehension of the sociolinguistic dynamics that is going on in the city nowadays. Therefore, we would like to bring together, through a more global approach, scholars working on the different linguistic communities of Montreal. We welcome contributions focusing on one of the following topics that appear to be crucial in understanding the sociolinguistic situation in Montreal:

- patterns of linguistic and social variation in Montreal French and Montreal English (both in a synchronic and diachronic perspective);
- characteristics of the Montreal identity and its role in the diffusion of new linguistic features or practices;
- social networks in Montreal and their impact on language practices and language attitudes;
- and attitudes of ethnic groups toward their language of origin;
- role of translation in the interaction between the various linguistic groups as well as its influence on language change, language contact and language attitudes.

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LAUR, ELKE Canada

EVALUATIONAL REACTIONS TO FRENCH AND ENGLISH IN MONTREAL - DOES MOTH-**ER TONGUE REALLY MATTER?**

Montreal became famous in socio-psychological and sociolinguistic circles almost half a century ago, when a group of researchers-Lambert, Hodgson, Franckel and Fillenbaum (1960)—invented a new methodology to access speech evaluations and linguistic attitudes indirectly. They came up with the idea of taping bilinguals in both their languages, French and English in this case, in order to measure Anglophone and Francophone Montrealers' evaluations of those voices. This was the first time a method had allowed researchers to access speech associations within a minimal-stimulus-design that allowed evaluational differences to be analysed solely on the basis of language. This innovative technique, called matched guises, allows researchers to access subjects' reactions without asking for their opinions directly or doing extensive field work. This initial research was based on certain assumptions, such as the premise that evaluational differences can be explained solely by the evaluators' belonging to one linguistic community or another. In 2004, we conducted another matched guise study of the evaluational reactions of Montrealers that added new aspects to the original methodological design. One of our innovations was to include members of different language groups in a representative sample of the population of Montreal so that multivariate analysis could determine the extent to which belonging to a specific linguistic group could actually account for reactions to spoken language. This article presents the analyses and comparison of the interpretation of results that enabled us to formulate new hypotheses with respect to attitudes to language in situations of linguistic contact.

- language contact between French and English as well as language contact due to the presence of other languages spoken in the region;

- role of immigration in the use of French or English, attitudes of immigrants towards French and English and characteristics of immigrant languages

OAKES, LEIGH Queen Mary University of London, United Kingdom

LAMBS TO THE SLAUGHTER? YOUNG FRANCOPHONES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENGLISH IN MONTREAL TODAY

In a recent essay, the academic and political commentator Christian Dufour (2008) turns the debate about the language situation in Quebec somewhat on its head. For many years now, the future of French in this Canadian province has been seen to lie predominantly with the growing number of immigrants and the linguistic behaviour they adopt upon their arrival (see Oakes and Warren 2007). Yet for Dufour, the real threat today lies not with so-called new Quebecers so much as native francophones themselves, whom he claims have become 'soft, docile and submissive' (Dufour 2008: 22), like the sheep who unquestioningly accompanies John the Baptist, the patron saint of French Canadians. The finger is pointed in particular at young francophones, accused of adopting an unfettered bilingualism and overly positive attitudes towards the global lingua franca. Such observations have been made especially regarding Montreal, where English has come to be considered as an important component of the city's complex multilingual identity (Lamarre et al. 2002).

After briefly examining some of the issues that have emerged in recent years concerning the role of English in Quebec today, this talk will discuss the results of a study which made use of a questionnaire distributed in March 2010 amongst 463 francophone university students in Quebec, of which 201 were studying in Montreal. The Montreal participants will be compared with the students studying elsewhere in Quebec with regard to their self-reported competence in English, how frequently they claim to use English, their self-reported strength of Quebec and Canadian identities, and their attitudes towards English. Far from revealing an uncritical stance towards the language, the results expose the diversity and complexity of the relationships maintained with English which serve to distinguish today's young francophones especially in Montreal from previous generations.

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WILLIAMS, LAWRENCE

University of North Texas, United States of America

INFORMATIONAL AND SYMBOLIC FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND OTHER LANGUAGES IN THE VIRTUAL LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF THE CITY OF MONTRÉAL

This study provides a primarily quantitative analysis of the informational and symbolic functions of English, French, and other languages in the virtual linguistic landscape of the City of Montréal, which includes 133 hypertext (i.e., Semantic Web) micro-Websites (or microsites) and 64 multimodal (i.e., Web 2.0) social media microsites within the super-Website (or supersite).

Research Question 1: To what extent does the virtual linguistic landscape (lvkovic & Lotherington, 2009) of the City of Montréal reflect the city's physical linguistic landscape (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009) in the matter of language use/contact? A second—and related—research question is the following: In what ways is the analysis of a linguistic landscape different or unique when focusing on interrelated virtual and physical spaces as opposed to an isolated analysis of virtual or linguistic spaces? These issues will be treated by re-examining the notion of informational and symbolic functions of content (Bourhis & Landry, 1997) in linguistic landscape research.

A first level of quantitative analysis of the City of Montréal's supersite reveals that 77 (57.9%) of the hypertext microsites provide content in both English and French. In such cases, all content is provided in French and a portion or all of the content is also provided in English. The other 56 hypertext microsites (42.1%) only provide French-language content. Noticeably absent in all 133 microsites is the presence of allophone/multilingual content. A second level of quantitative analysis of language choice/use for hypertext microsites of the virtual boroughs ('arrondissements') of the City of Montréal provides a decidedly traditional, twentieth-century depiction of the physical linguistic landscape of the city on a continuum of symbolic and informational functions running geographically from east to west, with the downtown area (Interstate 15/St. Lawrence Boulevard corridor) as the dividing point. The same type of quantitative analysis also holds for the 64 multimodal (i.e., Web 2.0) social media microsites of the virtual City of Montréal supersite; however, these microsites offer much greater flexibility for future possibilities of language contact in the form(s) of complementary and/or fractional multilingualism, which would result in a more current, twenty-first-century representation of the physical linguistic landscape of the city, which is home to an increasingly greater number of allophone residents whose first language is neither English nor French and who live in decreasingly less concentrated clusters, according to demographic statistics from recent census reports by Statistics Canada (2001, 2006) and related figures from the Institut de la statistique du Québec. Incidentally, it is likely that the geo-socio-demographic trends that have emerged since the 1986 census will show the same trajectory in the language-related data of the 2011 census (scheduled for release in October 2012).

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WEINSTOCK, DANIEL M. Université de Montréal, Canada

EVALUATING INDICES: HOW SHOULD MONTREAL'S LINGUISTIC IDENTITY BE AS-SESSED?

After years of relative peace on the linguistic front, Montreal has yet again become a flashpoint for linguistic tensions in the Province of Quebec. Many Nationalist scholars and politicians fear that the city is becoming 'more Anglophone', a fact that threatens the Francophone nature of Quebec society as a whole, since roughly half of the province's population resides in the Greater Montreal region. On the face of it, this fear is suprising: after all, the language legislation introduced by the nationalist Parti Québécois in the late 1970s requires of all immigrants settling in Quebec that they educate their children in the French school system. Though the law contains loopholes that have been exploited by a small number of mostly well-to-do immigrants, the vast majority of immigrant children acquire fluency in French through their education and socialization in francophone schools.

Nationalist critics of the present linguistic regime recognize this fact, but argue that Montreal's anglicization is the result of the 'linguistic choices' made by immigrants in those areas that are unconstrained by language laws. They urge that where immigrants are free to choose (for example in the area of post-secondary education), they are to too great a degree opting for anglophone institutions, with the result that Montreal is succumbing to the the trend toward anglicization. Some argue that language laws ought therefore to be extended to institutions that they have heretofore not convered, in order to limit the degree to which linguistic choice obtains.

This paper will address three interrelated questions. It will do so from the normative perspective of political philosophy, informed by recent research on Montreal's linguistic profile. First, I will inquire into the appropriateness and justification of various indices used to measure the linguistic profile of the city. In particular, should the linguistic nature of the city be determined by the ability of citizens to function in French in public institutions, or should crtie-ria also consider what has traditionally been thought of as the private language use of Montrealers? Second, to what degree, if at all, should Montreal's identity as a traditionally multilingual city be allowed to function as a counterweight to the presently dominant Nationalist discourse that sees Montreal primarily as a determinant of Quebec's ability to survive as a French-speaking society. In other words, should civic identities such as that which characterizes Montreal (and other similarly situated cities) be given any normative weight? Finally, on the basis of these reflections, I will draw some conclusions as to the moral and political justifiability of strenghtening the language regime that presently obtains in Montreal.

TREMBLAY, MIREILLE

Université de Montréal, Canada

LANGUAGE IN MONTRÉAL: TWO VISIONS AND MODELS OF INTERVENTION

On one view, language is part of our cultural heritage. This corresponds to the anthropological approach; language is seen as a means to express identity, and issues related to quality prevail. On another view, language is more than a cultural object, it is also an industry. It is an expertise associated with good jobs (translation, interpretation, etc.), and is involved in economic development. In this paper, we show how these two views of language meet in Montréal, the cultural and economic centre of French Canada.

The impact of provincial and federal legislation to protect both French and English through language laws such as Quebec's Bill 101, and Canada's Official Languages Act has been well documented. Government agencies such as the Office de la langue française, the Conseil supérieur de la langue française et the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages play an important role in regulating language use and rights. However, Montreal is also the locus of development of an active private sector: translation firms and services, software development companies, language schools, translation programs, and wide-range of self-employed workers form what is now called the language industry. This private sector benefits from the presence of qualified workers in the city. The Canadian government though its Language Sector Enhancement Program has recently played a more active role in providing support for the development of this skilled labour force (through the university scholarships in translation). This program also seeks to strengthen the capacity of the Canadian language industry, as no concrete strategies have been put in place to provide support. This lack of support from the provincial government might explain why language issues in Montréal seem limited to culture, language planning and rights. However, we will see that taking into consideration the full potential of Montréal language expertise might trigger changes in attitudes toward other language related issues both within the city and beyond.

BOBERG, CHARLES McGill University, Canada

ETHNIC DIVERGENCE IN MONTREAL ENGLISH

Ethnic diversity in North American English shows two distinct patterns of diachronic development. Whereas the best-known ethnolect, African American English, has been stable or has even strengthened over time, ethnolects associated with European-American minority groups have generally weakened, in a process of assimilation that has created multi-ethnic but linguistically homogeneous European-origin populations. In the English-speaking community of Montreal, Canada, however, we find a striking exception to this pattern: while Jewish Montrealers show some signs of convergence with the Britishorigin majority, Italian Montrealers appear to be diverging from, rather than converging with, that model. On several measures, the speech of young Italian Montrealers is further away from Standard Canadian English than that of their parents. This paper presents the data on which this observation is based, and considers several explanations for this surprising pattern.

The data, most recently reported in Boberg (2010), come from a sample of 93 people from the three ethnic groups -- Anglos (British-origin), Italians and Ashkenazi Jews – and a broad range of ages and social backgrounds. They were subjected to acoustic phonetic and multivariate statistical analysis. Though Jews have a longer history in the Montreal Anglophone community than Italians and consequently show more 'native' Canadian features, in only two cases do we see the expected convergence with Anglos: with /ay/ (PRICE) and /æN/ (band, etc.). In the fronting of GOOSE, Jews and Anglos are in lock-step, while in the centralization of GOAT, it is Anglos who apparently follow the Jewish lead. Younger Italians not only fail to converge but actually diverge from the Anglo norm, with the Italian features in their speech getting stronger rather than weaker. These include backer back vowels (GOOSE and GOAT), fronter /ay/ (PRICE), lower /æN/ (band) and less Canadian Raising of /awT/ (MOUTH).

It will be suggested that the unusual persistence of ethno-phonetic variation beyond the immigrant generation in Montreal reflects both the residential and social self-segregation of Montreal's ethnic communities and the local dominance of French. The latter factor reduces contact between non-British speakers and native Canadian English varieties, which might otherwise act as a more effective target for linguistic assimilation, as they do in other Canadian communities.

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WHIGAM, KENNETH

Concordia University, Canada

FINDING AN AMERICAN PLACE IN FRANCOPHONE SPACE: THE MONOLINGUAL AMERICAN EXPAT EXPERIENCE IN MONTREAL

Much research has focused on the immigrant experience in Montreal, as well as the issue of language and daily social interactions. However, little work has focused on immigrants whose native language is English. American immigrants, in particular, come to Quebec expecting a similar cultural experience to their own. In contrast to other immigrants, American expats' academic and professional experiences are recognized, and they speak English, one of the country of Canada's two official languages, and also possibly the most important global language, natively.

Monolingual American immigrants soon discover that, by being native speakers of English, they have entered into a hotbed political issue. The Office québécois de la langue française actively governs and enforces a strict 'French only' stance and has done so ever since the enactment of Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language. These immigrants speak a language that is widely understood in their new home, but which brings along with its use an entire set of political baggage to which they are not necessarily privy prior to their arrival. They experience a cultural shock as they see signs that are considered socially acceptable ('Au Québec on travaille en français' (In Quebec we work in French), whereas businesses bearing equivalent signage in the United States would be stigmatized and associated with extreme right-wing social movements favoring racial discrimination (such as the 'English only movement', cf. Baron 1990).

The present study, based on ethnographic interviews, participant observation, and reflexive narrative, focuses on the experiences of individuals who did not choose to come to Quebec to live out the Francophone dream, but rather came due to circumstances more or less beyond their control: a decision by a family member or a financial necessity due to educational or employment opportunities. As language in Montreal is a highly politicized topic, every encounter or interaction requires an intricate dance regarding what language to use (cf. Heller 1982). Monolingual Americans have no choice as to which language to use and are thus forced to enter into a political controversy through the mere act of opening their mouth to speak.

This talk focuses on the coping and communication strategies adopted by American expatriots in Montreal. Many of these individuals find themselves, at least initially, going through a period of avoiding speaking in public, for fear of choosing the 'wrong' language. Some of these individuals live in a state of transnationality, returning frequently to the United States and aiming to move back when the next opportunity presents itself. Others immerse themselves in the local Anglophone subculture, sometimes finding that there is still a huge cultural gap between Americans and Anglophone Canadians. Still others embrace the Francophone culture, successfully completing language immersion courses and finding a social network of Francophones, or a social network composed of immigrants from a number of different countries. Findings suggest that while the outcomes are different, at all stages language plays a central role in these immigrants' experience.

FRIESNER, MICHAEL (1); BLONDEAU, HÉLÈNE (2) 1: Université du Québec à Montréal; 2: University of Florida

THE PHONETIC OUTCOME OF COMPLEX LANGUAGE DYNAMICS IN DEFINING ETH-NOLINGUISTIC CATEGORIES IN MONTREAL

The population of Montreal is typically classified into three distinct communities—Anglophone, Francophone, and Allophone (i.e., 'other')—both by official organizations such as Statistics Canada and in locals' casual descriptions. However, as our study shows, individual members of the community often have life trajectories that do not categorize them neatly into one of these groups but rather that are more complex. This complexity is reflected in these speakers' linguistic behavior, in terms of the phonetic outcome in their use of each of the languages in their repertoire.

In this study, we examine the linguistic behavior in French of individuals who, if classified according to parents' geographic and ethnic origin, would be associated with one of two groups: 'Hispanophone' (originating from Latin America, with Spanish as a native language) and 'Québécois Francophone' (originating from Canada and having French as a native language). Through a perception experiment and analysis of specific linguistic variables, we demonstrate that within each of these groups there is a great deal of phonetic variation, and that this variation is the result of speakers' sociosymbolic orientation and specific sociodemographic factors.

In the perception experiment, native French-speaking Quebeckers were presented with French recordings and asked to evaluate whether the samples they heard were drawn from speakers of traditional 'Québécois' origin; if not, they were asked what they believed the ethnolinguistic origin of the speakers to be. We find that speakers of Latin American heritage vary widely in terms of the groups with which they are associated, while the Québécois speakers are generally identifiable as such. Québécois speakers who originate from predominantly English-speaking neighborhoods are sometimes identified as Anglophone.

In the linguistic variable analysis, we focused on typical Québec French features which differentiate this variety from European French (t/d-affrication, high vowel laxing, and final-a backing), as well as features that might reflect influence from Spanish (/z/ devoicing and use of apical r) or English (voiceless stop aspiration and nasal stop epenthesis following nasal vowels). Our findings suggest that speakers vary in terms of exhibiting traditional Québécois linguistic features in a way that does not correspond to parents' origin, but which does relate to individual self-identifications, social networks, and neighborhoods. Speakers with ties to the Anglophone community, whether due to English-speaking social networks, family members, or neighbors, are occasionally identified as Anglophone and exhibit some features reminiscent of English influence. These speakers are also among the most proficient in English, in particular with regard to having near-native-like English pronunciation.

Our findings and explorations demonstrate not only the multifaceted nature of ethnic identification but also the various factors that contribute to determine individuals' linguistic behavior in the languages within their repertoire. These results point to the necessity, especially in the unique context of the metropolis of Montreal, for looking at individual portraits and life histories in the examination of ethnicity as a sociolinguistic variable and in understanding the complex interplay of social groups. **REMYSEN, WIM** Université de Sherbrooke, Canada

DO QUEBECKERS IDENTIFY MONTREAL FRENCH AS A DISTINCT VARIETY? RESULTS OF AN EXPLORATORY PERCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

This paper presents some results of a perceptual study carried out to evaluate the ability of French-speaking Quebeckers to identify the geographical origin of Montreal French-speaking natives. Because of its predominant position as the socioeconomic centre of Quebec, Montreal plays an important role in the sociolinguistic dynamics of the province as a whole (e.g. Friesner [2010] points out that changes in Quebec French often tend to originate in the metropolitan area). It thus can logically be assumed that such an influence entails some kind of identification, on the part of Francophone Quebeckers, of Montreal French as a distinct variety. At present, we have yet few empirical data available to confirm such hypothesis and the subject raises some questions.

The analysis presented here is part of a variationist study intended to analyze the use of nasal vowels in Montreal French, more specifically the phoneme /AN/. Most of the utterances presented in the listening test we used therefore contain this nasal vowel. Rather than being a back vowel [$\tilde{\alpha}$], as is the case in Hexagonal French, /AN/ is commonly fronted in colloquial Quebec French and pronounced [\tilde{a}], especially in open stressed syllables. It is even, in some cases, raised to [$\tilde{\alpha}$] or even [$\tilde{\epsilon}$] (Ostiguy and Tousignant 2008). The phoneme /AN/ has curiously been often neglected in recent sociophonetic work (e.g. Reinke 2005) because it is considered to be of few interest from a sociolinguistic point of view. Yet even though the fronted variant is usually not evaluated negatively by Quebeckers (Tremblay 1990), some speakers tend to avoid it in more formal speech styles (Ostiguy & Tousignant 2008; Émond 2005). We can thus assume that it can convey particular social values.

The perception test we designed uses data from sociolinguistic interviews we recently conducted in the city. In total, 72 utterances produced by 6 female speakers were presented to 50 students aged between 20 and 27 coming from different regions in the centre and the south-west of Quebec (especially from the areas of Montreal, Sherbrooke and Drummondville). Most of them succeeded, in various degrees at least, to recognize some of the utterances as being produced by Montreal-based speakers. It tends to indicate that some elements used in the perception test function as dialect markers and that the use of nasal vowels could contribute to Montreal as a distinct speech community.

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Thematic Session 101

Sociophonetic research in emerging varieties

Session Chair 1: Zerbian, Sabine

Session Abstract:

Cities have always been the meeting place for speakers of different language backgrounds and ethnicities. Consequently, different recognizable group dialects of any given language emerge more easily and quicker in these places than elsewhere. Emerging varieties are often defined along ethnic lines, e.g. British Asian English, Black South African English, or Türkendeutsch. Similarly, in the paradigm of World Englishes, emerging recognizable group dialects of English are termed according to their country of origin, e.g. Singapore English or Nigerian English, or the language background of the speakers, e.g. Bengali English, Tswana English. It is a common explanation for all these new varieties that they differ from the 'standard language' because linguistic characteristics from the 'mother tongue' have been transferred in a process of language acquisition that has or had taken place at some stage. As a consequence, the linguistic features of these ethnically or regionally delineated varieties are often described with reference to the dominant language of an (earlier) generation, e.g. the language of the immigrating generation.

Next to linguistic transfer also other reasons can account for differences from a standard language. E.g., it is known that language contact opens up the opportunity of linguistic innovation, i.e. the emergence of new structures in a language. And of course, sociolinguistic research has long shown that language varies within a society even if speakers share a common language background.

This thematic session wants to bring together researchers who are interested in sociophonetic variation in emerging contact varieties that involve ethnicity and/or language background as a variable. The aim of the thematic session is both to report on observable linguistic variation and to try and disentangle processes of language transfer, innovation, and sociolinguistic variation. Contributions are also welcome which concentrate on methodological issues in this area of research, or contributions which critically investigate if it is ethnicity and/or language background which are the determining variable for a given aspect of linguistic variation, or if other sociolinguistic variables, such as social class, are taking over.

CANDEA, MARIA (1); TRIMAILLE, CYRIL (2); LEHKA-LEMARCHAND, IRYNA (3) 1: Sorbonne Nouvelle University, CLESTHIA, France; 2: Stendhal Grenoble 3 University, LIDILEM, France; 3: LIMSI-CNRS, France

COULD THE AFFRICATION OF PLOSIVE DENTAL CONSONANTS BE AN ONGOING **PROCESS OF PHONETIC CHANGE IN FRENCH?**

Previous sociophonetic studies (Jamin & al 2006) carried out in Marseille, one of the biggest cities of France, showed that slight or total affrication of plosive dental consonants /t, d/ before /i,y,j,ч/ is consistently and overtly stigmatized, associated with young people of immigrant descent. But it is also known that ethnic categorization is more salient than social membersiphs and tends to mask social classes in France, because among immigrants and their descendants there are more people from the working class than in the rest of the population (TeO survey, INSEE 2008).

Some transcriptions of affricated /t,d/, used to style (Rampton 1999) young and/or North African immigrant speakers, have actually been documented, which seems to reinforce the hypothesis that this could be an ongoing stereotyping process of the affricated pronounciation, due to its growing conscious perception

Nevertheless, there is no serious linguistic evidence allowing to assert that these phonetic variants are due to the contact with the main languages of immigrant people ; furthermore, a very similar phenomenon of affrication has long been in standard canadian French.

In fact, our observations lead us to formulate another hypothesis, since we also found the presence of affrication in the speech of speakers with a high social and linguistic prestige (Trimaille 2008, Vernet & Trimaille 2007), like journalists of national radio and TV stations, but also actors in a recorded conversation from a manual of French as foreign language (by Hachette publishers). Our data suggest that, except in Marseille and its suburbs, affricated variants of /t,d/ did not reach a high level of awareness, since they are not perceived spontaneously and consciously by ordinary speakers. If our new hypothesis is true, we may be witnessing an ongoing phonetic change 'from below' in contemporary French.

A perceptual experiment was conducted in four French cities (Paris, Grenoble, Lyon, Rouen) in order to determine whether or not affricated variants are used by listeners to evaluate and categorize speakers' performances when they are asked to evaluate speakers' acceptability as appropriate in formal contexts (broadcast news). Our results suggest that, for our subjects, affrication of /t,d/ is not part of the main criteria a speaker has to avoid to become a good newsreader.

If the negative stereotyping process does not progress from Marseille to the rest of France, affrication of /t.d/ could expand among legitimate speakers.

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LAMY. DELANO SYDNEY University of Florida, United States of America

VOICE ONSET TIME IN WEST INDIAN PANAMANIAN SPEECH: EMERGING VARIETIES IN A CONTACT SITUATION

Variationist linguists studying contact have argued that the key to providing convincing empirical evidence for language change lies in the identification of a conflict site (Poplack & Meechan, 1998:132; Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001:101). It is well known that standard English and Spanish differ in Voice Onset Time (VOT), or the duration of the time interval between the release of a stop and the glottal vibration of plosives /p t k b d q/ (Lisker & Abramson, 1964). Therefore, VOTs provide an ideal site for the examination of the potential effects of contact on phonetic systems. The present study is concerned with language contact between Creole English and Spanish in the Republic of Panama. The approach of this study is to examine the speech patterns of monolinguals of Creole English and Spanish and Spanish-Creole English bilinguals in the local communities of this region, by employing the comparative variationist method (Poplack & Tagliamonte, 2001). A statistical comparison of the factors contributing to the VOT of the dental plosive in the four speech modes will address the possibility of phonetic permeability due to contact in this region. A total of 2134 occurrences of /t/ were included in the analysis, with a sample extracted from monolingual Spanish, monolingual Creole English, and Creole English and Spanish of bilingual speakers. The measurements were done using Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2010). In order to pinpoint linguistic patterns that would aid in ascertaining variation and change with regard to VOT, a statistical analysis was incorporated using Rbrul (Johnson, 2009). These patterns were then compared side-by-side to determine whether or not bilingual speakers exhibit change in their varieties, based on the order of effect of the conditioning factors contributing to VOT duration (Tagliamonte, 2004).

Results show that bilinguals follow monolingual patterns in Spanish, with slight indications of internally motivated change. In Creole English, bilinguals show evidence of a new variety of this language emerging due to internal change with an onset of contact-induced change. An explanation for these findings could be that since Creole English is the minority language, its phonetic system is more susceptible to external influences from Spanish. Also, internal change can be due to limited access to monolingual Creole English speech in this community. The findings also indicate that bilinguals maintain a mental separation of their phonetic systems, which is in line with the Speech Learning Model developed by Flege (1995). This study is the first to employ acoustic analyses of consonant stops of a Creole English variety. It also contributes to the literature of variationist studies that focus on language variation in bilingual speech communities, since it uses both monolingual and bilingual production to pinpoint evidence of language change and variation in a contact situation. This analysis also highlights the importance of the comparative variationist method to disentangle processes of language transfer.

PRESTON, DENNIS RICHARD

Oklahoma State University, United States of America

FOUR SOCIOPHONETIC CONCERNS IN EMERGING VARIETIES

Studies carried out in southern Michigan (USA) looked at 6 groups for their adaptation to the local vowel system (the Northern Cities Chain Shift — NCCS): African Americans, Appalachian Americans, rural mid-Michiganders, Mexican Americans, Polish Americans, and Lebanese Americans. Each group, subdivided by sex, status, and age, was studied to determine their adaptation. Vowels were extracted from recorded interviews and analyzed in Praat for F1-F2 characteristics.

The overall results show that parent system influences were obvious in the earlier generations and that younger speakers were more adjusted to the local norm.

The more detailed results suggest, however, that each group developed a system distinct from the NCCS norm, leading to 2 interpretations. First, social factors deterred acquisition. African Americans raise and front the TRAP vowel, but do not front and lower the LOT vowel, a movement associated too strongly with European American not regional identity. Appalachian Americans used few of the NCCS vowels, but shifted from the parent variety to a more general one associated with US media norms. Since local majority speakers are not aware of their NCCS system, believing themselves to be 'normal' and 'standard,' they would not notice the Appalachian American shift to a wider norm as anything different from local speech. The Appalachian Americans, however, were ridiculed when they arrived in Michigan for their 'hillbilly' speech and adjusted their own behavior to a more perceived standard variety, but not one that involved the characteristics of the NCCS. Loyalty to a rural lifestyle was strong in deterring mid-Michigander acquisition. Second, similarities arose in the systems of all groups (except the Appalachian Americans). The development of American English shows considerable asymmetry in the vowel system and is exaggerated by the NCCS, but younger speakers in this study produce a symmetric system, one with three 'point' vowels (FLEECE, GOOSE, and LOT) and the mid-level, front and back, divided into two heights (high-mid and low-mid). Each of these is occupied by a peripheral-nonperipheral pair; FACE-KIT (high-mid front), BAT/BATH-DRESS (low-mid front), GOAT-FOOT (high-mid back) and THOUGHT-STRUT (low-mid back). This shared system, perceptually indistinct from the NCCS to locals, represents a drive for symmetry. It uses NCCS input data but refuses the asymmetric arrangement of phonetic positions that make it up.

This work suggests 4 considerations in identifying emerging systems:

1) Social identity and positioning (degree of access to local norms, motivation to acquire them, etc...), although not highlighted in this presentation. 2) The shape of the original variety and its contrast with the target variety.

3) Stereotypical features that carry specific social meaning.

4) Universal tendencies, in the case presented here the preference for symmetric systems. To ignore any of these runs the risk of suggesting that data are too idiosyncratic to analyze or of allowing overdependence on one of more of these categories in the absence of others. In short, the determination of emerging varieties is a real sociolinguistic consideration, one that does not skimp on either the 'socio' or 'linguistic' part of the enterprise.

BAXTER, LAURA; PETERS, JACQUELINE York University, Canada

SAME CITY, DIFFERENT WORLD: THE EMERGENCE OF A BLACK ENGLISH SPEECH COMMUNITY IN TORONTO

This paper presents a study of (t/d) deletion (TD) in Black Toronto English, a speech community which has not previously been investigated. Hoffman and Walker (2010) examined (TD) in the speech of Torontonians from a number of ethnic groups and found that, while first generation Chinese- and Italian-Canadian speakers showed evidence of language transfer, second generation speakers of both groups showed the same conditioning of (t/d) deletion as speakers of British descent, suggesting these speakers were all members of the same speech community. Our study, on the other hand, finds that second generation Black Canadians do not share certain constraint rankings found by Hoffman and Walker, suggesting that Black speakers in Toronto speak a different variety of English and have not assimilated to the larger speech community in the same way that speakers of the other ethnic groups have. In particular, preceding phonological context, the most significant linguistic constraint on (TD) for all ethnolects in Toronto, shows a different direction of effect in the speech of the Black community, one that is similar to the constraint ranking found in Patrick (1999)'s study of Jamaican Creole, one of the substrate languages of Toronto's Black immigrant population. We suggest the existence of (TD) in varieties of a substrate language as a possible explanation for the persistence of language transfer into the second generation of speakers in Toronto.

Furthermore, preliminary evidence suggests that this variety of English is not limited to speakers of Jamaican heritage, but that Black speakers of different linguistic heritages have formed one speech community in Toronto. As Black speakers tend to be isolated both geographically and socially from the larger Toronto speech community, we suggest that other Black speakers have assimilated to the Jamaican community due to its status as the largest and most established Black community in Toronto.

MAZZAFERRO, GERARDO (1); ROMANO, ANTONIO (2)

1: University of Turin, Italy; 2: LFSAG-CLIFU, University of Turin, Italy

SOCIOPHONETIC VARIATION AND EMERGING ETHNOLECTS IN IMMIGRANT CON-TEXTS. THE CASE OF THE NIGERIAN COMMUNITY IN TURIN (ITALY).

This paper represents a contribution to the understanding of what phonetic variation can offer to the comprehension of processes of formation of new varieties within immigrant urban contexts, namely the Nigerian community in Turin (Italy).

In other words, the main focus is to demonstrate how determined fonetic variables are index of processes of formation of new ethnic varieties (or ethnolects).

By observing homogeneous first generation groups of speakers (belonging to the same age and social group), we use the term ethnolect to indicate a continuum of interlanguages. We can assert that the Italian varieties of this continuum, which we have observed by Nigerian speakers in Turin, share phonetic (also morpho-syntactic, lexical and pragmatic) features representing the core of an emerging immigrant ethnolect.

In order to support our view about the existence of this ethnolect, we collected semi-guided interviews with 18 both male and female speakers aged 22-45 and coming from Benin City. The corresponding recordings allowed us to organise a corpus of spoken Italian as a second language of more than 8 hours. This corpus is part of a larger in progress research project about recently developed multilingual immigrant communities recently settled in Turin, more specifically Anglophone immigrants coming from: Sub-Saharan Africa (Nigeria, Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda) and South and South-East Asia (India, Pakistan, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Philippines).

In this contribution we have focused on 15 interviews of this corpus and analysed a selection of utterances which were interesting from the phonetic point of view. We observed several phonetic phenomena constituting the main features of this emerging variety; in particular, it is worth noting the syntactic doubling as already investigated in other ethnic speech communities in Turin and the postalveolar realization of /t/e /d/ (also in complex clusters / nd/, /nt/, as in quando 'when'), subject to a tendency towards affrication in palatal contexts (as /tj and /dj/ as in dialetto 'dialect'). Other features deal with deaffrication of voiced affricates (/dz/, and to lesser extent, /dʒ/), /u/ fronting and $/\epsilon$ / raising.

However, the marked phonetic feature of this emerging variety is the realization of liquids, especially rhotics.

Italian trills are usually replaced by taps, whereas taps are realized as approximants, except for clusters including post-vocalic /r/. In our data, there is evidence of a systematic /r/ deletion in this contexts with duration effects concerning surronding sounds; in case the following consonant is voiced the preceding vowel is lengthened (e.g. giorno 'day' ['dʒo:no]); by contrast if the following consonant is voiceless the latter undergoes a similar lengthening process (e.g. sporco 'dirty' [s' pok:o]). We can consider this feature as the most characterizing due to the fact that it has never been attested in other ethnic communities in Turin.

These features contribute to sketch, from the ome hand, the phonetic profile of the restructured linguistic repertoire of this Anglophone multi-lingual community; from the other, they help to describe the structural features of this ethnolect.

SCHMID, STEPHAN

Universität Zürich, Switzerland

SOCIOPHONETIC ASPECTS OF SWISS GERMAN ETHNOLECTS

Since the year 2000, mass media in German-speaking Switzerland have reported the emergence of new ways of speaking among youngsters with an immigrant background. Due to the strong immigration from the former republic of Yugoslavia, such ethnolectal speech has sometimes been referred to as 'Jugotüütsch' or 'Balkan-Slang', labels that derive from hetero-representations and underpin the multi-ethnic character of the emerging varieties; not much is known about the auto-representations of the speakers, but it is reasonable to assume that these ways of speaking do not signal adherence to any specific ethnic group, but rather express a more general identity (immigrant vs autochthonous). Sociolinguistic research in Switzerland has analyzed the phenomenon in light of the dynamic model proposed by Auer (2003), who distinguishes three types of ethnolects, i.e. primary ethnolects (spoken by second generation immigrants), secondary ethnolects (exaggerated representations of the primary ethnolects in the media), and tertiary ethnolects (style shifts of non-immigrant speakers who use elements of the primary and secondary ethnolects mainly for comical purposes). Indeed, the sociolinguistic dynamics of the emerging varieties in Switzerland resembles to a great extent the ethnolectal chain described for Germany, including common structural features such as morphosyntactic simplification patterns and the use of particular discourse markers.

The sociophonetic features of Swiss German ethnolects are, however, strictly related to the phonological properties of the German dialects spoken in Switzerland. On the segmental level, the emerging varieties are characterized by the absence of at least three typologically marked features of Swiss German that are also lacking in the corresponding immigrant languages (Albanian, Serbian, etc.). Firstly, ethnolects exhibit voiced stops and fricatives instead of the autochthonous unvoiced 'lenis' ([-tense]) obstruents. Secondly, they allow tense fricatives in word-initial position, which are banned by a phonotactic constraint of Swiss German. Thirdly, they tend not to apply the postlexical sandhi processes which typically hinder the perception of word boundaries in Swiss German. As regards prosody, a tendency towards a rather 'syllable-timed' rhythm has been reported, given that unstressed syllables are often less reduced than in traditional Swiss German. All in all, the sociophonetic features of Swiss German ethnolects can be interpreted as the result of a transfer from multiple first languages, but they also reveal a more general mechanism of second language acquisition, i.e. the avoidance of marked structures.

The present contribution illustrates the emergence of these sociophonetic features by means of IPA-transcriptions and the spectrographic inspection of speech samples; also, an attempt will be made to capture the prosodic features of ethnolectal speech by applying 'rhythm metrics' (cf. Fagyal 2010). As regards the general sociolinguistic dynamics of the ethnolectal chain, particular attention is paid to the transitions from the primary to the secondary ethnolects, where a reduction to a few salient traits goes in hand with the articulatory enhancement of these patterns. This raises the more general problem of variation within the different types of (multi-)ethnolects, which can be seen not only as 'emerging varieties', but also as 'styles of speaking' (Kern & Setting 2011).

SPREAFICO, LORENZO; VIETTI, ALESSANDRO Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, Italy

SOCIOPHONETIC VARIATION IN A BILINGUAL CITY

The main aim of our paper is to report on sociophonetic variation in Bozen-Bolzano, the chief city of the bilingual province of South Tyrol (Italy), and to relate it to processes of linguistic innovation there taking place. In order to do so we present an investigation of rhotics in bilingual speakers building on articulatory data collected through the Ultrasound Tongue Imaging techniqu. By means of this study we especially want to focus on recurring context-independent variation in tongue position and shape that in the peculiar language contact situation seems to trigger the front-to-back sound change (Engstrand, 2007).

Thus our research focuses on patterns of realization of /r/ amongst six adult simultaneous bilinguals who have been exposed to the two languages spoken in South-Tyrol -Italian and the Tyrolean Dialect- since their birth; and four late sequential bilinguals in the same two languages who become the control group.

We record three repetitions for each test word -namely real disyllabic words in isolation, which contain CRV sequences- and analyze them as follows: firstly the rhotic is identified on the base of the acoustics; secondly the tongue surface at the rhotic point in each token is traced; thirdly tongue shapes are compared and distances between tongue curves are computed. In particular we draw attention to tongue front retraction, dorsum bunching and postdorsum backing.

A preliminary analysis shows that as for late sequential bilinguals there is no strong categorical distinction between rhotics as articulated in the two languages (be it a dorsal or a coronal rhotic): Tongue position and shape almost coincide and present broadly comparable root, dorsum and tip contours. Therefore sequentials behave like second language learners and transfer the articulatory gesture of their dominant language to the other language. On the other hand simultaneous act in a completely different manner: The amount of variations in postdorsum backing and dorsum bunching in rhotics as articulated in the two language is significant, even when acoustic outcomes are comparable as in the case of fricatives. Articulatory data on categorical differentiation in simultaneous bilingual like these help shading light on the initiation of sound change in bilingual communities and can be discussed on the base of Flege's Speech Learning Model (1995), who claims that age-related changes might affect the way the two languages' phonetic subsystems interact so that early bilinguals are more likely to establish new phonetic categories for each sound of the two languages than late bilinguals are -at least to the extent that the bilinguals perceive the two sounds as dissimilar. Besides they help to understand how and to what extent social identity might be indexed by means of r-sounds (Foulkes/Docherty, 2006).

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WILMOT, KIRSTIN DIANNE University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

SOUTH AFRICAN 'COCONUTS': THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW BLACK URBAN MIDDLE-CLASS IDENTITY AND SPEECH VARIETY.

This paper discusses the findings of a larger sociophonetic study, which investigates language use in the South African context. With changing class structures developing within the South African context since 1994, the influence and hegemony of English is gaining momentum and is being perpetuated by members of the emerging black middle-class.

This paper discusses socio-cultural and subsequent phonetic change taking place in two prestigious school environments in Grahamstown, South Africa. It considers how female isiXhosa mother-tongue speakers, who attend prestigious English schools, are undergoing changes in identity, which are mirrored in the accent of the prestigious variety of English they speak. For this study, 'prestigious' is used as a cover term for private and ex-model-C schools, no longer reserved for white people. The study aims to show how these changes are determined, in large part, by social class, and how current descriptions of Black South African English do not account for the variety spoken by these young black elites. The paper focuses on four factors which are seen as contributing to social change: social class; the persisting hegemony of English in the South African context; the construction of multiple identities; and the acquisition of a socially prestigious accent.

The research reported in this paper takes a pragmatist position in the methodology of the research, with the adoption of a 'mixed methods' (Dörnyei 2007) approach. This allows for both qualitative (analysis of attitudes) and quantitative (sociophonetic analysis of accent, with a focus on the TRAP, DRESS and GOOSE vowels, using the acoustic programme Praat) data to be analysed collaboratively, highlighting the interconnectedness and interdependent relationship between them. The data used in the study were collected at two prestigious girls' secondary schools in Grahamstown. Data includes

24 sociolinguistic interviews with 12 white English mother-tongue speakers, and 12 black isiXhosa mother-tongue speakers, aged between 16-18 years. The findings suggest that changes in identity construction are evident in young female isiXhosa speakers. Changes in social class have increased opportunities to attend prestigious English schools, where speech accommodation and cultural assimilation is evident. The result of this is the acquisition of a prestigious English variety. Middle-class isiXhosa mother-tongue speakers are now proficient in both English and isiXhosa. They value both these languages, and both languages are used dynamically, interchangeably and strategically, to construct and maintain multiple identity positions used to access a variety of domains. Phonetic analysis shows that the prestigious variety of English used by these speakers cannot be accounted for in either descriptions of White South African English or Black South African English. This suggests that the variety spoken by these elites should be described in terms of social class, as opposed to existing descriptions based on race.

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Thematic Session 102 Swearing and linguistic impoliteness in social interaction

Session Chair 1: Norrick, Neal R

Session Abstract:

Both swearing and linguistic impoliteness more generally have attracted much attention in recent sociolinguistic research. Swearing is an apparent universal in language communities with wide-ranging significance for traditional sociolinguistic concerns such as individual and group identity, variation, power and solidarity, (im)politeness, second language acquisition, and discourse analysis. Recent publications reflect a growing trend towards investigating sociolinguistic aspects of swearing, including the social history of swearing (McEnery, 2006), variation in swearing (Murphy, 2009; Ljung, 2011), effects of interlocutor variables and context on swearing and subsequent offensiveness (Beers Fägersten, 2007), and pragmatic issues facing research on swearing (Stapleton, 2010). These and related sources reveal context-specific patterns in swear word usage and specific attitudes toward various types of swearing and swear word users. Swearing has been shown to fulfill a range of social and communicative functions, in part because of its taboo (impolite, blasphemous, dirty etc.) nature, but also because swearing expresses strong emotions. Due to its sacrilegious, sexual, scatological implications, swearing serves to signal attitudes, allegiances and group membership, to break the ice in various social settings, or to adumbrate potentially transgressive topics. Its association with emotion links swearing with humor, exclamative constructions, and certain prosodic features like increased volume and tempo. At the same time, swearing can vent frustration, justify relating a personal experience, or express evaluations. Contrary to the view of swearing as a purely negatively evaluated activity, studies show that it often provides a powerful means of establishing and modulating relations and presenting socially approved identities (Baruch and Jenkins, 2006; Stapleton, 2003). Swear words may function as pragmatic markers (Norrick, 2009) and formulaic listening practices, particularly useful during conversational narrative performance (Norrick, 2008). Research has also shown that the social meanings attributed to swearing are both context-dependent and linked to expectations about social categories like age, gender, socioeconomic class and ethnicity (e.g. Bayard and Krishnayya, 2001; Beers Fägersten, forthcoming; Jay and Janschewitz, 2008; McEnery and Xiao, 2004). Speakers who deploy linguistic units recognized and sanctioned by some or all of their audience must receive some substantial payoff in covert prestige, personal satisfaction at a certain kind of identity display, or at least emotional release.

We invite papers that explore the relationship between swearing and impoliteness, particularly studies on languages other than English as well as swearing in second language contexts.

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NORRICK, NEAL R Saarland University, Germany

SWEARING IN CONVERSATIONAL STORYTELLING

In my paper, I explore the functions of swearing in conversational storytelling performance by both tellers and listeners, based on narratives in the Santa Barbara Corpus and the Saarbrücken Corpus of Spoken English. Because swearing expresses emotion in ways not realizable in normal non-taboo language (Jay 2000), swearing by both teller and listener may occur as vigorous evaluation throughout the storytelling performance and at its completion. Labov (1972) makes evaluation a central element of storytelling, calling it the raison d'etre for telling a story at all, and swearing provides a ready means of expressing evaluation forcefully. At the climax of a story, the teller can inject forceful emotion through swearing, just as listeners may react to a story climax in swearing form, both of which occur in the excerpt below.

Alina: and he keeps staring at my chest, and it's [like],

Lenore: [((laughs))]

Alina: y'know, 'fuck you, asshole,

why don't you look at my fa:ce'. Lenore: ((laughing)) oh shit.

Alina: but he didn't believe me I was ma:rried.

This passage also illustrates the tendency I find for swearing on the part of one participant to elicit swearing from the others, resulting in a kind of clustering of offensive language during storytelling performances in conversation. Further, swear words as interjections can serve to redirect topical conversation (Norrick 2009), so participants in conversation naturally have recourse to swearing to justify storytelling and to elicit stories from others. Incipient storytellers deploy interjections as markers of emotional involvement to help justify a narrative as tellable and to obtain the floor, just as participants deploy swear words to elicit stories from others and to set them in motion, thereby becoming listeners. In my data, swearing is particularly frequent in constructed dialogue, providing a resource for both primary storytellers and listeners to construct and accentuate dialogue in the storytelling performance (see McEnery 2006). Moreover, swearing tends to accompany transgressive stories, tales that encroach upon the upper bounding or 'dark side' of tellability in the sense of Norrick (2005). Coates (2003) explicitly notes the occurrence of swearing in men's stories about transgressive behavior. Apparently in certain groups (Coates would say especially among men), telling humorous stories calls for swearing. Swearing also occurs when listeners comment negatively on the telling performance itself, and when they express disagreement with something the teller says. Swearing is a fundamental form of talk, serving emotional needs we cannot otherwise fulfill; it recurs at specific junctures in conversational storytelling with functions which deserve further attention.

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WILSON, NICK

Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

SWEARING AS A LEADERSHIP TOOL

As several researchers have now shown, swearing is not necessarily offensive; it often functions much more positively as a marker of solidarity and group membership (Daly, Holmes, Newton and Stubbe 2004; Stapleton 2003). While there is no doubt that many people continue to find swearing offensive, and it is considered inappropriate in many contexts, in some it is the opposite. Indeed, for some social groups and communities frequent swearing is the norm.

This paper presents an analysis of the function of swearing within a context in which high frequency swearing is a group norm: a male rugby team. In this team, swearing is used for a variety of functions, but of particular interest here is its use in performing leadership duties such as pre-match motivation. It is in the pre-match motivational huddle that swearing is at its most frequent within the team, however it can also be found in a very different context: backstage interactions (Coates 1999; Goffman 1959; Hughey 2011; Richards 2010; Wittenberg-Lyles, Cie' Gee, Oliver and Demiris 2009). To this end, both frontstage and backstage use of swearing in the leadership discourse of the rugby team is analysed. A quantitative analysis of the frequency of swearwords and their function in team leadership discourse is presented, followed by a qualitative analysis of an example from each type of leadership discourse. The aim of the paper is to demonstrate not only that swearing can be used to engender solidarity, but that a range of functions of swearing such as intensifying, othering, exclaiming annoyance, and indexing a vernacular identity, can all be used in performing leadership. The data upon which this paper is based was gathered through detailed ethnographic fieldwork with the rugby team, allowing full recording access to all aspects of team interaction. The team in question was an amateur team in New Zealand, however other research on rugby in the UK, combined with the author's own rugby playing experiences has shown that the level of swearing found in this team may be regarded as commonplace in a rugby context.

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TAKANASHI, HIROKO

Japan Women's University, Japan

APPARENTLY IMPOLITE LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOR IN JOKING INTERACTION

This paper investigates the kind of language interaction in which apparently impolite linguistic behavior serves as a positive politeness strategy. Such language interactions mainly occur in joking contexts, especially among people on intimate terms. It can take the form of teasing (Boxer and Cortés-Conde 1997; Drew 1987), irony (Gibbs 2000), sarcasm, bantering and mocking (Norrick 1993). Such apparently impolite language in fact often has a social function of displaying solidarity between speech participants. In terms of politeness, it manifests positive politeness accruing to the speech partner's positive face. Naturally occurring Japanese conversations among friends or family members were audio-taped and transcribed following the Santa Barbara transcription conventions. In my data, the types of the impolite language form include swear words (e.g., 'asshole' in the example below), violent words (e.g., 'kicking'), taboo words regarding body function (e.g., 'hemorrhoid'), religious taboo words ('cursed'), and derogative words (e.g., 'fatso'). Besides, words of aging (e.g., 'wrinkles'), especially when addressed to women, are observed to constitute one type of impolite joking key words.

The excerpt below illustrates the use of a swear word by a male speaker F to his close male friend G in the presence of another male speaker W, who is not a close friend of them. Prior to this excerpt, F has found out that F and W are the same age, both born in 1972.

- 29 G: ore nanajuuroku nen $\langle @ \rangle$ da mon $\langle /@ \rangle$.
- 'because I (was born) in seventy six.'
- 30 F: .. 'uso 'tsuke konoyaro.
 - 'You lier, asshole.'

In line 29, G jokingly pretends that he was born in 1976, meaning he is four years younger than W and F, despite the fact that the three males are all the same age. G's move is directed to F, who knows his real age and that G is only joking. Then F says uso tsuke konoyaro ('You lier, asshole.') to G in line 30. Having obtained an affectionate tone, this swearing word konoyaro ('asshole') here not only serves as a signal of the in-group membership between F and G, but also softens the accusing tone of uso tsuke ('You lier'), which functions as a discourse marker to reveal to W that G was kidding. As in this case, seemingly impolite language in joking interaction often operates as a way to show positive politeness.

My analysis will also include cases in which there are no vulgar linguistic expressions, but the linguistic behavior itself is apparently impolite, calling attention to this newly recognized type of joking interaction.

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KARACHALIOU, RANIA: ARCHAKIS, ARGIRIS University of Patras, Greece

TO CHALLENGE OR NOT TO CHALLENGE? AN ANALYSIS OF DIRTY WORDS IN GREEK TEENAGE STORYTELLING.

The aim of this paper is to account for the use of dirty words in Greek teenage storytelling. Our research is based on the analysis of 134 narratives that naturally occurred in two conversations between male adolescents. The informants of the first conversation are members of a close-knit group, bad students and 'troublemakers', while the youngsters in the second conversation are good students and not close friends. We are particularly interested in the combinations of dirty words with the Greek marker re, which, when used in narrative interaction, is considered as an interjection signaling a presumably unexpected piece of information (Karachaliou & Archakis, 2012 forthcoming). We argue that swearing along with re contributes to the construction of identity and/or the organization of the narrative.

Following Stenstrom et al. (2002), we consider dirty words those taboo words which are perceived as offensive by society at large. Such words can be multifunctional. We specifically focus our interest on the use of dirty words in narrative performances, which are regarded as a particularly suitable locus for identity construction (De Fina 2003).

In the first conversation, the majority of dirty words combined with re are used as abusives (Stenstrom et al. 2002: 64), i.e. aggressive swearing directed towards a specific recipient, which occurs in direct speech and accompanies conflict talk between story characters. Through this practice, narrators in narrative climaxes seem to delegitimize certain groups of people such as policemen etc. by constructing for themselves the identity of the powerful individuals who challenge the authorities. Therefore, swearing enables them to make the distinction between 'us' and 'them' manifest.

In the second conversation, narrators use bad language less frequently. The majority of dirty words combined with re are used as expletives (Stenstrom et al. 2002; 64), i.e. expressions of strong feelings (e.g. frustration) either justifying tellability or evaluating the narrative point (Norrick 2008). The narrators use bad language less, thus presenting themselves as teenagers who speak in an 'appropriate' manner and respect mainstream values. Consequently, we would like to suggest that dirty words combined with re contribute to the structure of the narrative performance and to the negotiation of youth identities.

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BERNARDI, VERENA Saarland University, Germany

SWEARING AS AN ALIGNMENT TECHNIQUE

Swearing is an integral part of daily life for many people. The phenomenon of swearing has been a subject in various research areas and recent investigations have often focused on the psychological aspects (e.g. Jay and Janschewitz 2008), offensiveness and frequency ratings (e.g. Beers-Fägersten 2007; Rassin and Muris 2004), and the history of swearing (e.g. Ljung 2011). The following study will analyze how swear words can serve interpersonal functions and contribute to highlighting conversational alignment (Bubel 2006) between friends, more specifically, how swearing helps interlocutors display involvement and friendship in conversations, e.g. in the extract below, where one man completes an utterance in progress for another to express his support by using a swear word:

- 352 Max but then they ended up selling it,
- for exactly what we offered them. (2.0) 353
- 354 like-
- 355 Douglas [like dicks].
- 356 Max [like almost] a year later, (1.5)

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STAPLETON, KARYN University of Ulster, United Kingdom

SWEARING. REPRESENTATION AND WORKING CLASS CULTURE: AN ANALYSIS OF SHAMELESS

Swearing has traditionally been linked with the vernacular and hence carries strong connotations of 'working class' culture and speech (Hughes 1992, Romaine 1999, Chad 2006). In addition, swearing is a highly gendered activity in the sense that it is conventionally and strongly associated with a 'male' and/or 'aggressive' speech form (Coates 1993, 2003, Murphy 2010). Taken together, these features mean that swearing offers a potent linguistic resource for constructing identity, community and solidarity along gendered and socioeconomic dimensions. (Of course, swearing may also be used to construct and present other identities and communities [e.g. Hughes 1992, Stapleton 2003]; however, these constructions derive their meaning within the core associations of masculinity and vernacular speech). In this paper, I consider how swearing is used in a scripted version of working class culture within the UK television series Shameless. Set in a fictional council estate in Manchester, Shameless is a comedy drama which centres on the idea of a dysfunctional underclass and routinely features alcohol, drug-taking, sex, swearing and interpersonal aggression. Here, swearing, which in many other environments is seen as offensive or 'anti-social', is presented as a routine, accepted and, indeed, a socially approved form of expression (see also Beers Fagersten, 2007). Within this context, I examine the use of swearing as a key linguistic marker of community, culture and identity. Specifically, I focus on: (a) the interpersonal functions of swearing displayed in the character interactions, including variously aggression/emotion, solidarity, humour, and identity display (see Stapleton 2010); (b) the forms and contexts of expletives used by the different characters; (c) the extent to which swearing is (ever) treated as offensive or impolite; and (d) the distribution of different expletives and swearing forms across male and female characters. In light of this analysis, I discuss the role of swearing as a commonly accepted marker of working class identity/culture and hence as a resource for the scripting and presentation of this context. I further consider how such scripted and mediated representations contribute to and reinforce the association between swearing and vernacular, working-class speech varieties, including versions of gendered identities and speech styles.

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BEERS FÄGERSTEN, KRISTY

Södertörns högskola, Sweden

ENGLISH-LANGUAGE SWEARING IN SWEDISH-LANGUAGE COMIC STRIPS

In this paper, I investigate the use of English-language swear words in Swedish-language comic strips. Swear words have traditionally been associated with insults and vulgarity, and they can commonly be used in social interaction to offend. The relationship between swearing and impoliteness is thus predictable, at least superficially. However, swearing has also been shown to be a common feature of social interaction among friends and intimates (Beers Fägersten 2007; Jay 1992; Stapleton 2003), which, assuming a relationship between swearing and impoliteness, is in line with Leech's (1983) conclusion that impoliteness can actually be an indication of or a contributor to social intimacy. Swearing in English in the context of Swedish-language comic strips is approached as an example of mock or surface impoliteness (Culpeper 1996). The paper includes examples of singular, but wide-spread usage of English-language swear words throughout a variety of Swedish comic strips. Englishlanguage swearing signals or establishes intimacy among the Swedish readership, both by exploiting a lack of intimacy among the comic strip characters and simultaneously by capitalizing on the lack of emotional investment among Swedes (as non-native speakers; cf. Dewaele 2004, Jay & Janschewitz

This passage illustrates how swear words can serve to align oneself with an interlocutor. As jointly producing a turn in itself is already a sign of interper-

2008) with regards to English-language swear words. The featured comic strips show interaction between strangers or interlocutors who are socially distant. The impoliteness resulting from the use of swear words is presumably evident to the non-native readership, since it serves as the main source of humor. It is mock impoliteness in that, in the social context specific to the comic strip, the swearing was not meant to offend. On the contrary, swearing is used as an overt move towards intimacy, in the belief (albeit inaccurate) that it constitutes an appropriate speech style for the given context. In mock impoliteness, it is the awareness of potential rudeness that makes a 'wrong' utterance right. In the Swedish comic strips, it is conversely the belief that the swearing utterances are 'right' which makes them wrong.

The use of English swear words appeals to the Swedish readership by assuming the readers' recognition of the words as taboo, inappropriate or offensive in native speaker contexts. Using English-language swear words capitalizes on the readers' recognition of their own pleasurable right to use Englishlanguage swear words with impunity, by virtue of their non-native status. Ultimately, this phenomenon can be seen to challenge (im)politeness theories to account for intent, accident and even enjoyment in non-native language use.

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DEWAELE, JEAN-MARC; SLIVOVA, LUCIE

Birkbeck, University of London, United Kingdom

VARIATION IN THE PERCEPTION AND SELF-REPORTED USE OF ENGLISH SWEAR-WORDS AMONG L1 AND LX USERS OF ENGLISH

Jay (2009) compares swearing to using the horn on one's car, which can be used to signify a number of emotions. Recent research into swearing in foreign languages (LX) shows that LX swearwords tend to be perceived as less emotionally powerful compared to swearwords in the L1, and used less frequently by multilinguals (Dewaele, 2004a, b). Even multilinguals who are equally proficient in their L1 and an LX, and use both languages with equal frequency prefer the L1 for swearing (Dewaele, 2010a, 2011a). Multilinguals who had learnt a LX through classroom instruction only and who had a later start in the acquisition of the LX tended to use that language less frequently for swearing than participants who had used the LX in authentic interactions and were early starters. General frequency of use of a LX was positively correlated with language choice for swearing in the LX (Dewaele, 2010b). A study into the usage of French swearwords by LX users showed it to be unrelated to gender, age nor education level, but is linked to the amount of exposure and interaction in French (Dewaele, 2011b).

Previous studies only considered swearwords as global categories, but did not include any specific swearwords. It is fair to assume that the perception of offensiveness of specific swearwords in a particular language is variable for both L1 and LX users, and shaped by a number of sociobiographical variables

We will thus investigate differences in perception and self-reported use of 30 English swearwords (ranging from highly offensive to mildly offensive) among 38 L1 English users and 57 advanced foreign language (LX) users of English. Data were collected through an on-line guestionnaire. Statistical analyses showed that the English LX users were less sure of the meaning of a third of the words but they judged more than half the swearwords to be more offensive than the L1 users. The LX users reported using significantly fewer highly offensive swearwords and more mild swearwords compared to the L1 users. We will explore possible reasons for these patterns and look for the effect of linguistic history and proficiency of the LX users' ratings.

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CHIARO, DELIA

University of Bologna, Italy, Italy

SWEARING AND LANGUAGE CHOICE IN BILINGUAL CROSS-CULTURAL COUPLES

In my paper, I explore the choice of language made by bilingual cross-cultural couples when swearing, based on results of self-reported questionnaires and in-depth interviews (Chiaro 2007). I shall examine attitudes of partners whose Native Language (NL) is A towards swearing in Language A by partners whose NL is B and vice versa to investigate whether is it acceptable to swear in a language other than one's own, and, if so, how far it is tolerable within a close relationship.

As is well-known, displaying emotions through swearwords exemplifies a practice that is not universally acceptable. There are unwritten rules regarding where, when, and with whom, the use of such language is admissible owing to the fact that many people are averse to swearing. However, given that such rules are socially universal, a person may presume that it is 'safe' to swear amongst friends who belong to another language group, in the language of that group, only to find, upon swearing, that it is deemed inappropriate. Presumably, with one's soul mate, swearing is acceptable. But what if they do

not share the same NL?

The use and perception of swearwords in monolingual speakers have been studied extensively in sociolinguistics (Stenstrom 1995 and Bayard and Krishnavayva 2001) and while similar studies in bilinguals and multilinguals are sporadic, studies that do exist, have shown that swearing in bilinguals and multilinguals happens most frequently in their dominant language (Chiaro and Nocella 1999 and Dewaele 2004). The research hypothesis underlying my study links swearing with other emotion-laden domains as disparate as praving, joking and intimacy. Research shows that bilingual cross-cultural couples are able to play with words in one another's language yet outside the tight family circle, the non-NL speaker's jokes are not always appreciated by other family members, to the point of perceiving them as linguistic errors (Chiaro 2007). With regard to swearing, a person may not consider swearing in Language B as forceful as in their own NL. Vice-versa swearing, like joking, may be considered strictly the realm of native speakers and only tolerated in non-NS when fully accepted by the wider speech community.

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Thematic Session 104

Microlinguistics and language planning

Session Chair 1: Davies, Winifred Vaughan Session Chair 2: Ziegler, Evelyn

Session Abstract:

Earlier studies of language planning and of standardisation have tended to study macro processes, e.g. educational policies or campaigns for making a language or a variety official. Recently however there have been significant attempts to bridge the gap between the macro and the micro levels, by examining the interaction between the two and trying to ascertain to what extent and in what way the macro level influences the micro level and how micro-level processes contribute to the creation and maintenance of macro-level objectives and processes. That is the context in which this thematic session is set.

Rationale:

Cameron (1995: 14-15) writes, referring to standard varieties of language, that the processes whereby norms 'get into' or are 'taken up by language users are little studied in linguistics. Hundt (2009: 117), too, suggests that language users have tended to be marginalised in theoretical models of linguistic norms (e.g. in Ammon's (1995) model). One of the aims of this panel will be to look at the role of various users in order to try to throw light on the ways in which users 'take up' sociolinguistic norms. In this context we will be looking at the interplay between macro processes of standardisation and micro processes of language management, i.e. the metalinguistic activities that take place to manage the concrete production and reception of discourse (cf. Nekvapil 2006).

Discussion questions:

Amongst the questions to be addressed are: how relevant is the macro level in actual interactions when concrete decisions have to be taken and problems or potential problems resolved? How are macro policies implemented at the micro level? To what extent do the ideologies which drive macro-level policies (e.g. as regards the language or variety to be used in school) influence the way in which speakers acquire and/or transmit and/or reproduce sociolinguistic norms in everyday interaction? On the other hand, we will investigate too how the micro level (usage) influences language policy (cf. Shohamy 2006).

Individual papers:

We hope to include papers covering a range of different sociolinguistic constellations, in Europe and beyond, involving dominant and 'minority' languages, standard and non-standard varieties, monocentric and pluricentric varieties, old and new 'languages', written and spoken realisations:

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DAVIES, WINIFRED VAUGHAN

Aberystwyth University, United Kingdom

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

ROTHE, ASTRID; KATARINA, WAGNER Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Germany

BILINGUAL KINDERGARTEN PROGRAMS: THE INTERACTION OF LANGUAGE MAN-AGEMENT AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Why is it that in a German city people oppose a bilingual kindergarten while at the same time monolingual parents at a workshop on bilingual education want to know how to raise their child bilingually? The answer lies in language attitudes: in the first case the respective language is Turkish while in the second one it is English, French or Chinese, languages that are deemed more prestigious than Turkish, which is mostly spoken by migrants. Bilingual kindergarten programs are becoming increasingly popular in Germany, but mostly they offer prestigious languages such as English, French or Spanish and they mostly target monolingual parents who wish their children to become bilingual. Bilingual programs for migrant languages such as Turkish or Russian are seldom offered and bilingual programs for these languages are oftentimes met with controversy.

Our paper investigates stakeholders' attitudes towards so called prestige languages and migrant languages on the macro and micro level. As an essential component of language policy and language management beliefs about languages are bound to influence demand and supply in the educational sector. Our aim is to show the relation between macro level decisions and interventions and micro level attitudes towards languages in Germany. Therefore, we will analyze results of several studies on language attitudes.

On the macro level we will first analyze the sociopolitical background in Germany and the facts about multilingual offers in education in terms of language management theory (Nekvapil 2009). We combine this with an analysis of language attitudes and motivations of the most important stake-holders at the micro level: parents and educators. The role of parents and educators is very important for the implementation and success of bilingual kindergarten programs and language programs (cf. Kiziak et al. 2012). Therefore we analyze the results of a representative public opinion poll (N=2004) and a study amongst pupils (N=628) about language attitudes (cf. Gärtig et al. 2010, Rothe to app.). Furthermore we will present the results of a current questionnaire study amongst parents and educators of bilingual kindergartens – two German-Turkish kindergarten groups and two German-English kindergarten groups – to examine their language attitudes, their expectations and their concerns towards the bilingual kindergarten program.

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BERTHELE, RAPHAEL

University of Fribourg, Switzerland

LANGUAGE PLANNING AND STANDARDIZATION IN A MINORITY LANGUAGE CON-TEXT: A CASE STUDY ON RUMANTSCH GRISCHUN IN SWITZERLAND

The Romance varieties of Romansh, spoken in the Eastern Swiss Alps, are a well known case of indigenous languages that have been undergoing sustained and important pressure from the country's majority language, (Swiss) German. The Romansh languages have been written in up to five rather different local varieties ('idioma'), and this impressive variety of writing norms for today's ~60'000 speakers is often seen as one of the major impediments to the language maintenance efforts. One of the typical macro-level measures undertaken to strengthen the status of endangered languages is to introduce a common standard language, particularly for purposes related to administrative and other public usage, but also for the teaching of literacy in public schools. The goal of this measure is to either reverse language shift towards the majority language and/or to conquer new and additional usage domains for the minority language.

Although there have been several attempts in the history of the Romansh languages to find a common standard, the language currently being implemented, 'Rumantsch Grischun', seems to be the most promising one. However, despite the political backup for the new language, there are ongoing debates in the Romansh communities about the usefulness of a new standard.

In this presentation I will provide analyses of the debate on Rumantsch Grischun in the Romansh media. These analyses show that the macro-level language planning process is confronted with rather divergent reactions on the micro-level: We observe fervent solidarity with the idea of a common standard that unites the Romansh, equally fervent aversion against the new 'artificial' standard (and therefore strong claims for turning back to the 'traditional' written variants), and resignation or indifference given the increasing weakness in vitality of Romansh in the face of the German majority language. In a second analysis, data from a mandated study on the introduction of Rumantsch Grischun in the public schools will be presented, in order to focus on the micro-processes that actors (above all teachers and pupils) are involved in when the macro-level policies are implemented. Results of the comparison of language proficiency in the traditional and in the new written languages will be presented, and interview and questionnaire data from parents, teachers and school authorities will be discussed.

Overall, the results give rise to a complex and rather mixed global picture, showing on the one hand relatively similar proficiency in writing and reading skills when comparing the old languages to the new standard, but quite important differences in the oral domain. These results are then discussed in the light of the macro-level planning issues presented at the beginning of the presentation and the fundamental issue of which division of labour between oral and written forms of the minority languages and the majority language the macro-processes can and should try implementing.

HOWARD, MARTIN University College Cork, Ireland

ON THE ROLE OF CONTEXTUAL, ACQUISITION AND EDUCATIONAL FACTORS IN THE USE OF LOCAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC NORMS: CANADIAN AND QUEBECOIS PERSPECTIVES ON FRENCH

This paper aims to explore the relationship between Canada's official language and educational policies and the adoption of sociolinguistic norms among Anglophone and allophone speakers in various contexts, namely an educational context outside Quebec, a naturalistic one within Quebec, as well as in non-educational contexts outside Quebec. While Quebecois French has traditionally carried low linguistic prestige in attitudinal terms, there has been a turnabout in recent years, with an increasing trend to look within in the quest to identify standard linguistic norms, as opposed to looking towards metropolitan or international French varieties (see Oakes 2007). In tandem with such developments, both Canada and Quebec have long histories of language policies which, while divergent in many regards, aim to promote use of French within their respective constituencies. For example, federal policy serves to protect language rights of minority speakers of Canada's two official languages, as well as encouraging initiatives to develop French proficiency among its dominant Anglophone population, with the overall aim of promoting bilingualism in increasing numbers of speakers (see Howard 2007). While such macro-policy approaches foreground project initiatives in promoting bilingualism across ever-increasing population numbers, this paper aims to explore the relationship between language experiences and characteristics of French language usage among Canada's Anglophone and allophone population in relation for example to access to linguistic resources, sociolinguistic and pedagogical norms, relative proficiency levels and opportunities for input engagement and interaction. The paper therefore adopts a micro-level approach to the use of French within a Canadian and Quebecois context by collating findings from a range of studies carried out in different geographical locations, namely in a minority context outside Quebec and a Frenchdominant context within Quebec. For example, while the French language curriculum at provincial level in Ontario promotes Quebecois standard linguistic norms as the pedagogical norm within its schools, findings suggest that this is not necessarily the case, pointing to a gap between language policy, experience and use (see Mougeon et al. 2009).

The paper will explore issues behind such divergence in relation to pedagogic attitudes, educational input, language contact, acquisition issues as well as other social and socio-psychological factors such as identity and proficiency levels which taken together seem to constrain acquisition and use of sociolingustic variants. The paper will conclude by looking at the challenges that such issues pose for bridging the gap between macro-policy at a federal, provincial and educational level, and practice at micro-level both in relation to the pedagogical treatment of sociolinguistic norms and the speaker's experience of using French in a Canadian context.

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WAGNER, MELANIE

Université du Luxembourg, Luxembourg

GERMAN AT SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN LUXEMBOURG: THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MACRO LEVEL LANGUAGE POLICIES ON THE MICRO LEVEL OF THE LUXEMBOURG-ISH GERMAN LANGUAGE CLASSROOM.

This paper will present some data gathered as part of a project run by Wini Davies (Aberystwyth), Eva Wyss (Basel) and Melanie Wagner (Luxembourg). The project as a whole investigates the norm awareness and norm knowledge of secondary school teachers and their role as authorities on that same norm in Germany. Switzerland and Luxembourg. On the basis of data collected from teachers through questionnaires we aim to throw light on teachers' practice in secondary-school German classes in these three countries where German plays an important role in the core curriculum. With German being a pluricentric language having more than one national norm (Ammon et al. 2004), it is part of a very different sociolinguistic constellation in each country and in this paper I shall be focussing on Luxembourg. Luxembourg is not considered a full centre in the pluricentric model (Ammon et al. 2004: XXXIV) but a half centre with no recognized national variety (Ammon et al 2004: XLVIII). In the Language Law of 1984, German is defined as one of the three official languages in Luxembourg, next to the national language Luxembourgish, and French with the functions of an administrative and a judicial language. German holds the functions of an administrative language and it is the language used for alphabetization and teaching at school (Wagner 2010) - due to its prevailing role at school, German is spoken and written by all Luxembourgers. A preliminary analysis of language policy and planning documents for the teaching of German in Luxembourg as well as statements on the teaching of German made by school officials has shown that even though German plays a prominent role in Luxembourgish schools, it is unclear whether it is regarded and/or taught as a first, second or foreign language. In this particular paper I will try to establish what the situation, function and status of the German language in the Luxembourgish classroom is by further analysing these documents and comparing them to some of the questionnaire data collected to gain an insight in language planning processes. On the basis of the collected data, the paper will moreover discuss the teachers' norm knowledge, by looking at three grammatical constructions and comparing their descriptions in the codex with those made by the teachers. This analysis will help to address the question whether a Luxembourgish norm of German exists and is accepted on the micro level by Luxembourgish teachers of German, but so far has not been recognized on the macro level by the codifiers as no national variety of German has been defined for Luxembourg.

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DOVALIL, VÍT Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic

THE INTERCONNECTION OF THE MICRO- AND MACRO-LEVEL IN THE PROCESSES OF THE NEGOTIATION OF STANDARD VARIETY: THE LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT PER-SPECTIVE

This presentation deals with the problem of the interplay of the micro- and macro-level in the processes in which the norms of the German standard variety are negotiated in the German Studies M.A. programs at some Czech universities.

The interpretation of standard variety is derived from two sources. On the one hand, it is inspired by Ulrich Ammon's model of four social forces that determine what is standard in a language: norm authorities, codifiers, model texts and linguists. This model is, on the other hand, integrated into the dynamic approach of language management describing several phases in which behavior toward language is conducted (i. e. language management in Neustupný/Jernudd and Nekvapil/Sherman). If a deviation from the norm is noted and evaluated negatively, appropriate designs may be adjusted and implemented. These phases may be conducted only at the micro-level among individual interlocutors (i.e. as a simple management), or some phases may be delegated to the macro-level of the relevant institutions (i.e. as an organized management) which are able to influence the language use at the micro-level again.

The practices of the Czech German scholars are analyzed. They represent the language norm authorities. Thus, they account for what is taught as Standard German at universities. This means, among other things, that they are expected to correct their students' language use. Language Management Theory can be used to analyze some cases of the inconsistent behavior of the Czech scholars toward their students' German. The data are collected from essays and tests corrected by the scholars and from follow-up interviews recorded with them afterwards.

The results of the empirical part of the research demonstrate that there are some problematic variants that are not noted by the scholars. Others are noted but not evaluated, still others are noted and evaluated negatively, but not adjusted according to the codified norms. In such cases, the Czech German scholars may contribute to specific features of what is presented as Standard German in the Czech universities where German Studies is an accredited major.

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HORNSBY, DAVID CHRISTOPHER; HALL, DAMIEN JOHN University of Kent, United Kingdom

TOP-DOWN OR BOTTOM-UP? UNDERSTANDING DIFFUSION OF SUPRALOCAL NORMS IN FRANCE.

A plethora of studies now attest to regional dialect levelling (RDL) of a peculiarly rapid and intense kind in France (see for example Armstrong & Pooley 2011). The country's regional languages (langues régionales) and ancestral Romance dialects are now moribund, and as these varieties die there is little evidence to suggest that city-based regional kinds of the kind found in the UK are replacing them. Even the traditionally distinct phonology of Southern France appears to be losing its marked features and showing some signs of convergence with Paris-based norms.

Explanations for RDL in France usually appeal either to 'top-down' factors - most notably a heavy-handed centralized language policy, often labelled 'linguistic jacobinism' - or to 'bottom-up' ones involving contact between speakers in urban areas: France's late industrialization and the demographic dominance of its capital city in particular being seen as inhibiting the emergence of distinct urban vernaculars outside of Paris. We will however argue that such explanations are at best insufficient in accounting for the very different outcomes which have obtained in France and the UK. Our purpose in this paper will therefore be twofold. Firstly, we will suggest that the structure of France's urban settlements, in which for historical reasons social divisions are frequently reflected in physical segregation (e.g. through the suburban banlieue projects), actively inhibits 'change from below' of the kind witnessed recently in mainstream British English. We will then demonstrate from our own and other published findings that interesting and perhaps little noticed changes are in fact driving local divergence from the norm wherever specific geographical and social conditions are met.

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DEUMERT, ANA UCT, South Africa

KLK CC – CONFORMITY AND SUBVERSION ON A SOUTH AFRICAN ON-LINE EDUCA-TIONAL SITE

This paper focuses on the speaking – or in this case writing – subject, which Kristeva (1980: 24) described as 'the place, not only of structure and its regulated transformation, but especially of its loss, its outlay' (p. 24). In other words, the individual is the 'place' (biologically, psychologically and materially) where linguistic norms are enacted and transformed, as well as transgressed and even lost. In sociolinguistics, this perspective was articulated early by Edward Sapir, and has more recently been a central aspect of, e.g., Barbara Johnstone's work (see Johnstone, 2000, for an overview). The data comes from a South African educational research project called m4lit ('mobiles for literacy', 2009; project team: Steve Vosloo, Ana Deumert, Marion Walton; funder: Shuttleworth Foundation) as well as the follow-up project yoza.mobi. The project was inspired by Japanese m-novels (keitai shousetsu), and central to M4Lit was a literacy intervention: the publication of a digital novel, titled Kontax, in English and isiXhosa, South Africa's second largest language.

Every day teenagers (the intended audience) could download a new chapter of the novel onto their mobile phones. In addition, there was a semi-formal online learning environment where readers could leave comments, discuss the story, win prizes and create personal profiles (similar to Facebook). M4lit aimed to accommodate isiXhosa-English bilingualism. It did so in traditional language-policy fashion, that is, by creating separate spaces for each language: upon entering the site, one had to decide whether to proceed in English or isiXhosa. The site as such can thus be read as a macro-level sign; its very structure legitimates certain linguistic practices, and disallows others. In other words, the interface allows users to write/read English OR isiXhosa, but not both. Hybrid language uses were 'out of place', or rather didn't have a place. And most users adhered to this format. thus reproducing the separation of languages in their own linguistic practices. Hybrid, bilingual language use – which is pervasive in spoken language, in text messages and on-line chats – was largely absent from the site. Boundaries, however, invite transgression, and I will look at two individual stories of transgression in this paper: the micro-level linguistic and narrative choices of Sugar and Cumaza, two female, bilingual teenage readers of Kontax. Both young women challenged the separatist bilingual architecture of the site (macro-level policy) as well as its identity as an overtly (and policed) educational site. Both engaged in practices which were covertly and overtly subversive. Their engagement with the site raises important question for the design of (on-line) educational materials and reminds us that the macro-level can be a 'site of struggle' as well as a site of acceptance and conformity.

[Note re. the title: klk cc, digital isiXhosa abbreviation for kaloku sisi 'now my sister'.]

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GILLES, PETER University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SPELLING NORMS IN LUXEMBOURGISH

The paper will explore several standardization paths in the recent development of writing Luxembourgish. The Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg's language situation is characterized by an intricate trilingual setting involving French, German and Luxembourgish. While Luxembourgish serves as a mainly spoken language for nearly all communicative domains, French and German are used as written languages. In addition, French has the role of a lingua franca, particularly at the workplace and among and with the approximately 40 % of foreign residents. As the local language, Luxembourgish is strongly linked to the construction of a national identity. Although a small language, Luxembourgish has seen considerable standardization in the 20th century, particularly in relation to its spelling system (Gilles/Moulin 2003). Strangely enough, the educational system provides virtually no formal training in Luxembourgish. In fact, it is largely excluded from nearly all formal contexts in the school system. Nevertheless, writing Luxembourgish is gaining more and more ground, particularly in new domains such as the digital media (e.g. text messages, chat, emails, home pages, social networks etc.). This paper concentrates on writing domains and spelling norms in relation to Luxembourgish, historically and in the present day. Two lines of analysis will be followed:

Language ideologies: Which ideologies and which rationales were active in the various conceptions and reformulations of orthographic norms (in 1912, 1946, 1975/199 and today's spelling reform commission since 2009). These different conceptions over time mirror the sociolinguistic status of Luxembourgish in the multilingual situation and its relationship to the crucial contact languages French and German.
 How do orthographic norms enter actual language use when their transmission and acquisition through the education system is effectively poor? More and more writers try to follow the official spelling rules by attending spelling courses and using spell-checking software. An increase of correct spelling on influential internet portals (e.g. the media website www.rtl.lu) offer 'model texts' to more and more readers.

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KJÆRGAARD, ANNE

The Danish Language Council, Denmark

THE DANISH PLAIN LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND PLAIN LANGUAGE CAMPAIGNS IN DANISH PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

In this presentation, plain language campaigns in organizations will be addressed as examples of (very local) attempts of language planning. The overall aim is to throw light on the connections between the micro level, i.e. the ways in which concrete examples of language campaigns are interpreted (cf. Alvesson's & Svenningsson's (2008) work on interpretations) among groups of employees in two Danish public institutions, and the macro level, i.e. the plain language ideology (cf. Silverstein's (1979: 193) definition of language ideology) in the Danish state administration and generally in Danish society. In line with many other countries, the plain language ideology plays a central (but not uncontested) role in the Danish discussion of how public institutions should address citizens; as an example, the guidance concerning the law of administration from 1986 says that 'the authority should keep in mind that anyone to whom a given text is addressed should be able to read and understand it easily. Furthermore it ought to be formulated in a kind and considerate tone' (own translation). The question of plain language in Time, 2008). Both reports assess the quality of language in public institutions and private organizations from what could be characterized as a plain language point of view. The focus on plain language has influenced a vast number of public institutions who, during the last 30-40 years, have initiated language campaigns to improve the writing skills of their employees in order to make them write texts that are (assumed to be) comprehensible to the recipient and give the reader the impression of a obliging sender.

The presentation (based on Kjærgaard 2010) reports from two case studies investigating the language campaigns implemented in The Municipality of Copenhagen and in The Courts of Denmark. The following questions will be discussed: Which role did the macro level plain language ideology play when the language campaigns were initiated in the two organisations? Which textual effects did the language campaigns have?

How were the language campaigns interpreted by different groups of employees in the organisations, and which other factors than the plain language ideology influenced the ways in which the language campaigns were interpreted on the micro level, i.e. by employees in the two organizations?

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DEPPERMANN, ARNULF; KNÖBL, RALF Institute for the German Language (IDS), Germany

TALK ABOUT STANDARD VS. STANDARD IN USE: REFLECTION ON NORMS AND ORI-ENTATION TO NORMS IN SPEAKING IN INTERVIEW DATA

The linguistic definition of 'standard language' is a much disputed matter. In our paper, we will discuss which methodological points of departure are available in order to discover what language users themselves take 'standard language' to be with respect to their everyday linguistic practices. We will lay out that there are at least three orders of linguistic practice which matter to an understanding of what native speakers take 'standard' to be and how it matters to their own linguistic choices and assessments:

1. Spontaneous, reflexive statements and ratings concerning different realizations of linguistic variables which speakers consider to conform with or to deviate from standard. Speakers' accounts of why they consider certain forms as belonging to standard or, to the contrary, as being non-standard (i.e. socially restricted, dialectal, restricted to in-group genres etc.) offer insights into speakers' linguistic ideologies, their situatedness and their conceptions of variational space and its normative ordering.

2. The linguistic realization of the same variables in talk with strangers in at least semi-formal, everyday settings displays to which norm of realization of speech speakers orient to in situated speech production.

3. Self- and other-repair, situated metalinguistic comments and other forms of metalinguistic stance-taking are devices to show how linguistic forms are monitored and rated (self-)responsively in linguistic online-production in terms of their congruence with (situationally relevant) standards.

Our paper will present findings regarding these three sources of speakers' conceptions of 'standard' as it matters to them in everyday language use. The phenomenon dealt with will be clitization of V+PRO (ham=we, ham=mer) and DET (so=ne), which is very common in colloquial German. We will compare the three orders of orientation to 'standard' concerning individual speakers, pointing to contradictions between the three levels and their possible causes. We will also compare reflexive statements about standard norms with corpus-wide (regional and genre-related) distributions of the same variables. Our paper will conclude with reflections on what our findings yield with respect to an empirically founded reconstruction of 'standard' as a members' notion and as to the opportunities and pitfalls of a methodologically rigid approach to studying 'standard' as a members' notion.

Our study draws on biographic interviews of 830 speakers from the corpus 'German today' (Deutsch heute). Since speakers recorded come from all German speaking countries and all major dialectal regions, regional factors affecting conceptions of 'standard' are taken into account.

FAIRBROTHER, LISA Sophia University, Japan

FRICTION AND STRUGGLE OVER THE USE OF OFFICIAL CORPORATE LANGUAGE(S): EXAMPLES OF MICRO-LEVEL LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT IN THE JAPANESE WORK-PLACE

The relation between macro level language planning and the micro level implementation of those policies has been a central theme of research using the Language Management Theory (LMT), which specifically focuses on the noting, evaluation of and adjustments made towards language problems (Jernudd & Neustupný 1987). Indeed, it has been argued that 'language planning should start with the consideration of language problems as they appear in discourse, and the planning process should not be considered complete until the removal of the problems is implemented in discourse' (Neustupny 1994:50). Recent research has attempted to shed more light on this 'language management cycle' and the processes underlying it (Nekvapil & Nekula 2006, Nekvapil 2009, Kimura 2011). Although language planning is often associated with governments and state institutions, a great deal of language planning is also conducted by multinational corporations (Nekvapil & Nekula 2006) and the language management cycle can also be observed here. This is also the case in Tokyo. Japan where many multinational corporations also have offices, but which so far has received little attention. Based on semi-structured interviews and interaction interviews (Neustupný 1994) with Japanese and non-Japanese employees working in the Tokyo offices of multinational corporations, I will use LMT to demonstrate how official corporate languages may be ignored, resisted and negotiated at the micro level. I will also show how even when the official corporate language is applied to some extent, there may be strong resistance to the application of non-Japanese 'communicative' and 'sociocultural' aspects of interaction (Neustupny 2004) and repercussions for those who choose to apply them. On the other hand, there seems to be a fair deal of acquiescence on the part of the corporations themselves who seem prepared to offer some amount of flexibility so long as the job gets done. In other words, the examples from this study demonstrate the dialectical relation between the macro and micro levels, whereby participants on the micro level not only reproduce social structures but also 'contribute to the transformation of these structures' (Nekvapil & Nekula 2006:308).

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DIVER, LAURA CARMEL Trinity College Dublin, Ireland

POLICY AND PERCEPTION: THE INTERACTION AND IMPACT OF MACRO AND MICRO LEVEL LINGUISTIC POLICY IN OCCITAN FRANCE

France's strict linguistic policy, implemented and built upon over several centuries, is based upon the ideology of national unification through language. This has led to the current situation where French is the dominant and sole official language of the State. Legislation is in place to ensure that this linguistic dominance is maintained and to promote the use of the French language in every aspect of daily life. While the aim of this policy has always been, and continues to be, national unity and the protection of French from external linguistic influence, the regional languages of France have suffered significant decline as a result of macro level policy. In light of this decline, and in some cases endangerment, a number of regional authorities have developed micro level linguistic policies in favour of the promotion and protection of the regional languages found within their borders. Taking Occitan, a French regional language, as the case study, this paper examines the interaction between the macro and micro level language policies in France. The linguistic policies of the State and of two neighbouring Occitan-speaking regions, namely those of Midi-Pyrénées and Languedoc-Roussillon, are analyzed with a view to assessing how linguistic policies at both national and regional level influence one another and, in particular, how regional authorities at micro level are working within existing macro level legislation to produce effective policies in favour of the Occitan language and its revitalization. Data gathered from Occitan speakers in the cities of Montpellier and Toulouse, using mixed method (gualitative-guantitative) guestionnaires and focus group interviews, will be presented in order to illustrate how speakers of the language perceive linguistic policies at both levels (national and regional) and what impact, if any, they feel that such policies have upon Occitan's endangerment and revitalization. In addition, this paper will discuss how regional level policies, conversely, may influence those at national level. The example of Villeneuve-lès-Maguelone, a village close to Montpellier in Languedoc-Roussillon, will be used to illustrate how the promotion of Occitan at local level, implemented in a small town, may influence policy at the highest level, leading the French Senate to draft and pass legislation allowing for the use of bilingual (French-regional language) road signs.

Drawing on the theoretical frameworks of Spolsky (2004) and Shohamy (2006), this paper will show how the interaction of macro and micro level policies and their perception may not only display reciprocal influence, but also the role which they play in both the endangerment and revitalization of the Occitan language.

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DAVIES, WINIFRED VAUGHAN Aberystwyth University, United Kingdom

CLOSING REMARKS

closing of the session

Thematic Session 105

Language and Superdiversity

Session Chair 1: Blommaert, Jan Session Chair 2: Rampton, Ben

Session Abstract:

'Superdiversity' is the term introduced by Vertovec (2007) to describe the new forms of sociocultural diversity that has emerged after the end of the Cold War, and has altered the face of large urban centers in the West and elsewhere. It is characterized by two parallel developments: (1) a range of new forms of migration across the world, leading to 'diversity within diversity' in about every society, and in particular in large urban centers in the West and elsewhere; (2) the escalation of online cultural and social phenomena since the advent of the internet, leading to new forms of identity performance, new forms of global popular culture and new forms of community formation. All these developments are shot through with new sociolinguistic phenomena of tremendous complexity, defying current ways of understanding and description. The struggle to come to terms with these developments has led to a flurry of terminological innovation, including terms such as 'languaging', 'polylingual languaging', 'metrolingualism', 'transidiomaticity' and so forth. This panel seeks to provide a first and tentative summary of the empirical and theoretical challenges of superdiversity for sociolinguistics. Special attention will go towards new forms of language innovation and identity construction, and new challenges for educational contexts in superdiversity. Theoretical and methodological implications will be identified and discussed.

BLOMMAERT, JAN (1); RAMPTON, BEN (2)

1: Tilburg University, The Netherlands; 2: King's College London, United Kingdom

LANGUAGE AND SUPERDIVERSITY

This paper explores the scope for research on language and superdiversity. Following a protracted process of paradigm shift, sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology are well placed to engage with the contemporary social changes associated with superdiversity. After a brief introductory discussion of what superdiversity entails, the paper outlines key theoretical and methodological developments in language study: named languages have now been denaturalised, the linguistic is treated as just one semiotic among many, inequality and innovation are positioned together in a dynamics of pervasive normativity, and the contexts in which people orient their interactions reach far beyond the communicative event itself. From here, this paper moves to a research agenda on superdiversity and language that is strongly embedded in ethnography. The combination of linguistics and ethnography produces an exceptionally powerful and differentiated view of both activity and ideology. After a characterisation of what linguistic ethnography offers social science in general, this paper sketches some priorities for research on language and communication in particular, emphasising the need for cumulative comparison, both as an objective in theory and description and as a resource for practical intervention.

JØRGENSEN, J. NORMANN (1); MØLLER, JANUS SPINDLER (2) 1: University of Copenhagen, Denmark; 2: University of Copenhagen, Denmark

ASPECTS OF POLY-LANGUAGING IN SUPERDIVERSITY

Humankind is a languaging species. Human beings use language to achieve their goals, and with a few exceptions by using language to other human beings. It is a widely held view that language as a human phenomenon can be separated into different 'languages', such as 'Russian', 'Latin', and 'Greenlandic'. This paper is based on the recently developed sociolinguistic understanding that this view of language cannot be upheld on the basis of linguistic criteria. 'Languages' are sociocultural, or ideological, abstractions which match real-life use of language poorly. This means that sociolinguistics must apply another level of analysis with observed language use. The first part of our paper is based on analyses of observed language use among young languagers in superdiverse societies. Our data are to a large extent collected in the so-called Amager project (Madsen et al. 2010), but the examples are representative of youth linguistic practices as they have been reported from a range of European sites over the past few decades (such as Rampton 1995, Møller 2009, Jørgensen 2010). We show that the level of feature is better suited as the basis for analysis of language use than the level of language. In the second part of the paper we present our concept of languaging, in particular polylanguaging. We use the level of (linguistic) features as the basis for understanding language use, and we claim that features are socioculturally associated with 'languages'. Both features individually and languages are socioculturally associated with values, meanings, speakers, etc. This means that we can deal with the connection between features and languages. In the paper we do so.

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URBAN CLASSROOMS, SUPERDIVERSITY AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESOURCES

Contemporary urban sociolinguistic dynamics involve standardisation processes as well as linguistic heterogeneity in particular related to socio-cultural and ethnic differences. Individuals' possible expressions of identity and affiliations with socio-cultural values have become ever more complex and less predictable. This diversification of diversity is an important part of superdiversity (Vertovec 2010; Blommaert & Rampton 2011) and entails new methodological and theoretical challenges for sociolinguistics as well as for education. Educational institutions have been described as key sites for reproduction of existing sociolinguistic economies and communicative inequalities (e.g. Bourdieu 1991), but also as a site for negotiating and challenging the sociolinguistic order and hegemony (Rampton 2006, Creese & Blackledge 2011, Jaspers 2005). Managing the balance between communicative inequality and innovative creativity is central to studies of communicative practices in superdiversity where sociolinguistic common ground can not be presumed (Blommaert & Rampton 2011). In this paper we grapple with the relationship between normativity and negotiability in a contemporary urban educational context. We focus on the interplay between education, activities, and sociolinguistic resources, and we include both activities framed as educational (based in schools) and activities framed as 'fun'. We discuss and compare examples from two studies on boys with minority background in majority schools. The first study concerns primary school boys' engagement with football cards. Football cards constitute an important part of contemporary material child culture, and in this study their multimodal semiotic potential and their learning affordances are discussed. These aspects are generally overlooked by educationalists. The second study treats the interplay of hip hop-cultural practices and school activities among teenagers. It discusses the relationship between peer-cultural and academic orientation in leisure contexts as well as formal educational settings. In contrast to football cards the educational potential of hip hop-activities seems acknowledged at least by some teachers and politicians.

We take into consideration how hiphop and football card practices are being appropriated by participants in different settings, how they are connected to other sociolinguistic resources, and, ultimately, to meta-pragmatic models. We also discuss how the indexical links between resources and meaning are established, perceived, understood and negotiated. Thus, through these empirical cases we discuss some of the methodological and theoretical implications for contemporary sociolinguistics in managing the relations between language, local cultural and interactional practices, and global public and political discourses in superdiversity.

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WILLOUGHBY, LOUISA Monash University, Australia

HERITAGE LANGUAGE EDUCATION AND THE CHALLENGE OF SUPERDIVERSITY

Global migration flows are causing our cities to become more and more heterogeneous, not only in the variety of countries that migrant come from, but also in the different reasons for migration, migration trajectories, education levels and social networks found within each migrant group (Vertovec 2007). Linguistically, this superdiversity means that even within the one migrant group we will find individuals with very different language repertoires as well as quiet different levels of investment in maintaining or reshaping their repertoires in the new society. This paper explores some of the practical and theoretical challenges superdiversity poses for heritage language education programs through a case study of one highly multiethnic Australian suburban High School. The school shows an admirable commitment to fostering heritage language learning among its pupils, but has struggled to develop sustainable programs that suit the interests and needs of its superdiverse student body. Drawing on interviews with staff and 20 senior students, the paper reviews the approaches the school has trailed over the years and the merits and pitfalls of each. From this it identifies 3 key elements necessary for successful programs:

- 1. Certification as a subject that can count towards the final school leaving certificate
- 2. Curriculum and assessment that is tailored to the context in which students live
- 3. Coordination and pooling of resources across schools

A key point of concern to emerge from the research was the issue of which language variety is taught in the classroom. The paper thus closes by reflecting on how Blommaert's (2010) view of language varieties as repertoires might productively be integrated into the historically normative heritage language classroom.

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certificate ents live

CORNIPS, LEONIE (1,3); ROOIJ, VINCENT (2); STENGS, IRENE (1)

1: Meertens Instituut (KNAW), The Netherlands; 2: Dept of Sociology & Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands; 3: Maastricht University, The Netherlands

IDENTITY POLITICS AND THE CARNIVALESQUE: A CASE STUDY OF LANGUAGECUL-TURE IN THE PERIPHERAL PROVINCE OF LIMBURG, THE NETHERLANDS

Our paper will focus on an interdisciplinary study of 'languageculture,' an approach to language and culture in which ideology, linguistic and cultural forms, as well as praxis are studied in relation to one another. In our talk we will show how an integrated analysis of the selection of linguistic and cultural elements provides insight into how these choices arise from internalized norms and values, and how people position themselves toward received categories and hegemonic ideologies. Such an interdisciplinary approach will stimulate a rethinking of established concepts and methods of research. It will also lead to a mutual strengthening of linguistic, sociolinguistic, and anthropological research.

This contribution will focus on Limburg and the linguistic political context of this Southern-Netherlands region. Limburg's integration into the Dutch state is of recent date (end of 19th century), and many cultural and linguistic peculiarities have been maintained as part of a sense of Limburg peripherality. In Limburg, differences between dialects and between dialect and standard Dutch (or regional varieties of it) are never socially neutral. Limburg's political and cultural specificity vis-à-vis the Western part of the Netherlands ensures that social signification in language practices is often a matter of more conscious interpretative work than in places where linguistic variation is less politically charged. We will show how in our case study unexpected selections of linguistic elements and choices create complexity and ambiguity in processes of social semiosis.

Although in Limburg there is probably a wider array of approaches followed in doing identity through language due to the vitality and prestige of the dialects, we will discuss two routes that are of crucial interest in our research. First, there is what one may call the cultivating dialect approach. Based on descriptive and prescriptive efforts by dialect societies, but also resulting from dialect promotion by local governmental bodies, many Limburgians may feel the necessity to write proper Limburgian, i.e. Limburgian as it is codified and promoted. A second approach in doing identity is the one that may be characterized as carnivalesque, serious-play. This may be taken by those who rebel against dominant language norms.

The argument of our talk about languageculture will be based on a case-study of carnival and carnivalesque play in which exaggeration and magnification have an important role, and which are cultural forms that also are inextricably connected with language. Consequently, there is always a more serious, more political undertone to the carnivalesque. In our paper we will point out how and why the combined play of linguistic forms and ritualized forms may have a reinforcing effect, and that we have to take both of these dimensions into consideration to better appreciate the identity politics that are played out.

LEPPANEN, SIRPA

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

IMAGINING SUPER-DIVERSITY: SCIENCE FICTION FILM AND THE ANXIETY OF DIVER-SIFICATION

Science fiction is not only about what we imagine and fear about the future, but it also is an expression of the anxieties of the contemporary imagination. As suggested by Levine (2010), for example, social, political and ecological problems since the 1890s have given us a range of science fiction predictions of impending doom which are, in reality, deeply rooted in contemporary concerns. In the 2000s, one recurrent concern of this kind has been the divisions, diversifications and fragmentations of human identity and society in the world characterized by mobility, migration and displacement. In such situations what unites and binds human beings together is no longer immediately apparent as humans are divided along multiple lines of demarcation origins, genes (natural or manipulated), species (human or alien), organic or synthetic substance, and the position of humans/aliens within or outside the privileged first world .

What is of particular interest to sociolinguists is that such demarcations as these are often expressed and investigated through language use and dialoque which are markedly mixed and polyvalent. These depictions of the linguistic present/future effectively foreground the question to what extent and in what ways understanding, communication, intersubjectivity and co-habitation are possible at all. With no consensus about what the shared language could be conflict, rather than conviviality, seems like the more likely scenario. It could be aroued that this type of science fiction investigates concerns of the late modernity facing super-diversity - a world in which categories of humans are no longer predictable and transparent (cf Vertovec 2010; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011).

What I hope to do in this paper is to show how recent science fiction constitutes an influential discourse about super-diversity. While doing this, by specifically focusing on science fiction. I also aim at extending the scope of the emergent tradition of the study of polyglot/ multilingual film which has primarily looked at migrant and diasporic film (see e.g. Berger and Komori 2010) or Hollywood film (Bleichenbacher, 2008). More specifically, I will investigate two recent films, the Blade Runner by Ridley Scott (1982) and Code 46 by Michal Winterbottom (2003) and offer an analysis of the mixed and heterogeneous language practices characterizing their dialogue. I will show how their multilingualism offers uncanny - and primarily dys-utopian - representations of current anxieties about how monolinguals and -monoculturals are struggling to come to terms with their languages, homesteads, and, eventually, their own identities, becoming diverse, shifting and unstable, as well as seeking ways to find a new basis for communality, interaction and solidarity.

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HU. ADELHEID University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

GLOBALIZING LANGUAGE POLICIES IN TIMES OF SUPERDIVERSITY. THE CASE OF LUXEMBOURG.

The process of globalization affects all societies in diverse and different ways: economically, politically, culturally and linguistically. Mobility, migration and global online communication have become common phenomena all over the world, leading to linguistic and cultural hybridization, but also to assimilation of social structures and a globalized neoliberal discourse on education and language learning (Rizvi & Lingard 2010). The concept of super-diversity (Vertovec 2007) tries to capture these new forms of sociocultural complexity. In socio-linguistics as well as in cultural theory, these developments have led to a search for new 'vocabularies': The 'old' concepts i.e. of multilingualism or multiculturalism don't seem adequate anymore, as they don't reflect the dynamics and interconnectedness of discursive practices and cultural encounters. New concepts like translanguaging, polylingualism or metrolinqualism have been introduced in order to do justice to the dynamic uses of linguistic resources. In culture theory new metaphors ('hybridity', 'sampling', 'bricolage') are used to express the diverse cultural and discursive 'mélanges' (Hu 2005). This linguistic and cultural complexity represents an enormous challenge for (foreign) language education in public institutions, which was (and is in many cases) still based on traditional concepts of languages and cultures as separated entities and on monolingual mindsets. Beyond that, a global discourse on educational standards and competency based language learning, inspired by the OECD studies and the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages has an enormous influence on language policies and educational practices worldwide (Hu 2012). The focus here lies very much on development and testing of partial competencies in specific languages, but not on plurilingualism and translinguistic practices (Hu, in press). In my presentation, I will analyze the difficult relationship between local language practices and global policies by taking as an example the linguistic situation and the language-in-education policies of Luxembourg, a linguistically and culturally super-diverse place, where the historical trilingualism (Luxembourgish, German, French) faces not only the growing importance of English as a lingua franca, but also the presence of almost 50 % of migrants and transmigrants (Weber & Horner 2008).

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SCHNEIDER, BRITTA

Goethe Universität Frankfurt, Germany/ Macquarie University Sydney, Australia

SUPERDIVERSE AUTHENTICITIES? THE COMPLEX LINKS OF SOCIAL AND LINGUIS-TIC CATEGORIES IN CONTEMPORARY MUSICAL SCAPES

Global networks based on music are central in local spaces becoming nodes of transnational trajectories, and hence, becoming superdiverse. In many such networks, constructions of ethnic authenticity play a crucial, yet ambiguous role. One example for this is data from Communities of Practice based on Salsa. Here, non-native speakers of Spanish express their affiliation with an 'other' culture linguistically but this is not intended to construct membership to an ethnic group. Interestingly, linguistic expressions of ethnic authenticity interlink with other forms of value constructions, such as class status, local boundaries, or also, taking stances towards political discourses. References to constructions of ethnic identity via language to express different, multiplex types of affiliations are also found in many other transnational music styles, like Reggaeton, Bhangra, Tango or Hip Hop, where the use of particular languages can relate to local ties, national and transnational discourses or class structures at the same time. Such observations show that indexicalities of Languages become multiplied and very complex in superdiverse environments. Through the mobility of discourses from different realms, which meet in local contexts, culturally constructed categories of Language can form multiple social boundaries and gain meaning in and through different spatio-temporal scapes.

Sociolinguistic methodology thus has to be aware that sociolinguistic economies can be very complex and, at the same time, very local. Due to this, speakers often have to negotiate meanings and thus have a heightened reflexivity regarding their language use. Modernist constructions of ethnic authenticity and their links to language do not necessarily dissolve but become interwoven with discourses of power of different types and from different spatio-temporal realms.

Theoretical and methodological questions that arise in this context are:

- Given the complexity of the field, should researchers preferably study environments they have known for a long time in order to be able to evaluate different discourses appropriately, and also, to ensure sufficient language competence? How important is the intuitive, unconscious knowledge of the researcher regarding linguistic detail and its connections to broader discourses? - How relevant is quantitative information on the sociolinguistic stratification of a particular context? In how far would an analysis of local language use profit from a combination of statistical data and qualitative research? - If we want to dissolve with an 'onion model' of the world, where the local and the national form the core and inner layer and the international and the global form the outer layers' (Beck & Sznaider 2006:9), how can we avoid to tacitly re-establish a binary structure of global vs. local in studying language use in transnational environments?

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BHATT. RAKESH MOHAN

University of Illinois, United States of America

THE CREATIVE LINGUISTIC CHAOS IN A GLOBAL CITY

The city of Gurgaon, 30 kms south of India's capital, New Delhi, has emerged in the past two decades as one of India's most important financial centers. From a small farming village, it has transformed into a global city, host to a number of multinational companies like General Electric, Coca Cola, American Airlines, Nokia, Motorola, Bain & Company, Bank of America, IBM, etc. As the major outsourcing hub of India, the city has attracted large-scale migrations from within India of people speaking different languages, but all proficient in English to varying degrees.

As speakers of different languages inhabit this multilingual space, two rather surprising linguistic consequences emerge: (i) erasure of ethnic mother tongues in favor of the dominant local code, Hindi-a result of strong cultural nationalism of the local indigenous community in response to wide-spread migration into the city, and (ii) a pattern of creative inter-mixing of English-the language of economic globalization, and Hindi-the local dominant code. In this paper, I will focus on the second consequence: the form and function of language mixing in the linguistic landscape of the city, showing intermingling of languages at various linguistic levels. The data come from 51 advertising signage that appeared on outdoor billboards in the city, collected in the summer of 2010. The data in (i) below is a typical examplar of the kind of language mixing analyzed in this paper: Line 1 shows the exact reproduction of the advertisement; Line 2 shows the transcription; Line 3 is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss; and, Line 4 gives the translation of the sign. (i) Signage—outdoor advertising in Grurgaon

English splknaa salKMo English speakna seekheN English speak-to learn-Subjunctive 'Learn (how) to speak English'

At the surface level, the signage follows the syntactic order of Hindi, uses two languages (English and Hindi) and two scripts (Roman and Devanagari), inviting the local Hindi speaking population to lean how to speak English. Within these descriptive facts are embedded a range of indexical functions: the use of the word 'English' in Roman script not only assumes an 'encounter' (Blommaert & Backus 2011)-indexical knowledge of language-of the target audience with the language, but also positions the reader vis-à-vis the economic capital of its acquisition and use. The word 'English', as the topic (Theme) of the Hindi sentence, when written in the Roman script makes its salient, foregrounding the anticipation of profits of its distinction in the context of the message. The mixing in the second word—an English word written in Devanagari script suffixed with a Hindi infinitival 'na'—exemplifies creative display of two languages in one script: forms of bilingual 'language display' that are beginning to emerge in super-diverse sociolinguistic environment of India indexing informal modes of language acquisition that yield such novel patterns of language and literacy practices as shown in (i) above. This paper uses similar bilingual data to offer an empirical argument to view multilingual repertoires as indexical resources mobilized to navigate superdiverse complexes of contemporary sociolinguistic contexts.

CLARK, URSZULA; ASPREY, ESTHER; DAKIN, BRIAN; HUSSAIN, AJMAL; MAHAY, ANIT; YASMIN, SAMIA Aston University, United Kingdom

'TINGS A GWAN': LINGUISTIC SUPERDIVERSITY IN CONTEMPORARY MINORITY ETH-IC ARTISTIC PERFORMANCES

This paper considers patterns of language identification and identity construction conveyed in two performances given by young minority ethnic performers in the UK's second largest city, Birmingham. The data upon which this paper draws has been gathered as part of an ongoing ESRC standard grant project entitled Language, Performance and Region: Discourse and Sociocultural Identity in the wider western Midlands. One major aim of this project is to investigate the part played by performance in creating, maintaining and challenging imagined communities; the extent to which both local and global linguistic forms are present within performance data and the ideological implications of such use.

The two performances under discussion here were recorded in 2011 at two different performance venues in Birmingham associated with the minority ethnic arts scene. They show how the performers incorporate the Black British English prevalent in use by Brummie performers claiming Afro-Caribbean heritage, whilst at the same time, drawing upon other linguistic influences, especially ones taken from more contemporary, global and musical genres. In this way, the paper argues, performers such as Andre 'Soul' Hesson and Deci4life can be described as mixing linguistic forms of the past and the present, and across place and space, giving rise to new linguistic forms that cannot be straightforwardly categorised as of simply 'Black' performers. The paper also considers what the performers have to say about the language they use in their performances, and how, if indeed at all, these register a sense of place and identity. Through analysis of performance recordings, performer and audience member interviews, this paper identifies the ways in which these performers enregister specific features. The paper shows how they do this by drawing upon both the linguistic usage of earlier generations, and linguistic features traditionally associated with the broader Brummie community. Analysis also shows that these features defy categorisation. Our performers draw on a range of contemporary music genres for their influences, whilst still incorporating Rastafarian lexis into their vocabularies. They can switch in the course of one speech segment between phonological systems which are redolent of Birmingham, and those which index American English alongside Jamaican Creole and varieties of British English, most notably London English. The performers, Andre 'Soul' Hesson and Deci4life, are highly talented linguistic players, who draw on the various influences that circulate within and beyond Birmingham's minority ethnic communities and the musical cultures associated with these (Back 1995). In this paper, we attempt to disentangle some of the linguistic patterns which their performances and subsequent rationalisations of these performances display; thus highlighting the complexity of youth identities and language forms in contemporary super-diverse settings.

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Thematic Session 107

Minority and Majority Languages within State, Community and Family Language Policy Context in Multilingual Metropolises

Session Chair 1: Schwartz, Mila Session Chair 2: Verschik, Anna

Session Abstract:

From its inception, research in the field of language maintenance and shift has underscored the critical role of the family in the preservation of immigrant and ethnic minority languages. Recent research on family language policy exposes the full complexity and non-linearity of relationships between parental language ideology and actual language practice and management (Spolsky, 2007; Schwartz, 2010). The session will explore the link between family language policy, practice and management in the light of state, and community language policy in multilingual metropolises. In particular, the session will present novel data on successful family language practices (e.g., literacy activities, homework sessions) and management (e.g., praving, choice of bilingual education, and link with mainstream and complementary learning) which permit realization of language ideology within the three contexts: immigrant families, inter-marriage families, and minority and majority families in conflict ridden societies. These family language practices and management will be discussed in interaction with mainstream educational and language policy. In addition, the session will address novel contexts of the family language practice: the post-Soviet context. Languages of the local majorities, formerly stripped of power (minoritized majority languages, Skutnabb-Kangas 1992), are now official languages, and speakers of other languages, notably, Russian have to master them. We ask how negotiation, management and learning of previously minoritized languages occurs in mixed families, focusing on speakers of 'big' languages like Russian and English. The session will show how the family language policy might be interpreted from diverse theoretical perspectives, such as ecological, socio-historical, perceived 'hierarchy of language esteem', and 'activity theory' approach. The researchers from five countries (United Kingdom, Belgium, Singapore, Estonia, and Israel) will present and discuss their data. The languages covered in their studies range from Tamil to Estonian, from Chinese to Arabic, from Punjabi to Hebrew and the communities that have been studied in large are located as close as London and as far as Singapore. The methods the proposed studies employ range from the traditional sociolinguistic observations and interviews to more innovative designs as collecting of linguistic resources and artifacts, linguistic autobiographies, and eliciting the viewpoints of all participants. Analyses involve gualitative, guantitative as well as methodological triangulation, for example, two-stage approach for data collection, exploratory survey, and then, in-depth semi-structured interviews (Okita, 2002).

- Central questions include:
 - their participation in the projects?
 - 2. How do family diverse linguistic practices affect family language policy in minority community in multilingual metropolises? 3. What are the language management strategies which minority language families apply to negotiate between home, community and mainstream education language and cultural policv?
 - 4. Is there anything distinctive about the post-Soviet context as far as family language policy is concerned?
 - 5. How does family language policy achieve mutual understanding and recognition in conflict ridden societies?

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RAMONIENE, MEILUTE

Vilnius University, Lithuania

FAMILY LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT IN A CHANGED SOCIOPOLITICAL SITUATION

Over the recent twenty years, since the fall of the Soviet Union and the restoration of Lithuanian independence, fundamental changes in Lithuania's sociopolitical situation have brought about major changes in its sociolinguistic situation. A radical departure from the Soviet-era asymmetric bilingualism model, which meant bilingualism of the titular ethnicity and monolingualism of the Russian-speakers, has occurred. The biggest changes have occurred in cities, which are inhabited by 70 per cent of the population.

The new language policy has influenced, in particular, language 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 including language choice. Former monolingual speakers of Russian (Russians, Poles and other ethnicities of Soviettime Lithuania) have increasingly become bilingual or multilingual. The use of Lithuanian in the public sphere has become much more frequent. Moreover, significant changes have occurred not only in the use of language in the public sphere, but also in the private sphere. Particularly visible is the change in language policy, language management and language choice in non-Lithuanian and ethnically mixed families living in cities. The repertoire of home languages in cities now includes Lithuanian as the state language, particularly for communication with the younger generation - children and grandchildren. A tendency has been observed in Polish families (which form the biggest ethnic minority group in Lithuania and which used Russian for both public and private comunication in Soviet times) to use Polish, which is their ethnic language, for personal communication. English is also entering the home space in cities, mainly through the use of the internet, TV and other comunication media. The paper will discuss the new tendencies of family language policy and language management in Lithuanian cities and towns. Based on the data of new quantitative and qualitative research done in 2011, the paper will consider the issues of language choice in the family domain for communication with different interlocutors as well as the interdependence between language management and familly structure, the age of family members, their ethnic origin and other family characteristics.

1. How have parents' viewpoints and expectations of multilingualism been influenced by experiences of learning in home, school and community and

DOYLE. COLM Tallinn University, Estonia

PERCEPTIONS AND REFLECTIONS: PARENTS AND ADOLESCENTS IN TALLINN DIS-**CUSS THEIR FAMILY'S LANGUAGE POLICY**

In the last decade a growing awareness and appreciation of language policy as operational at the family level has given birth to the field of family language policy (King et al., 2008; Schwartz, 2010). Family language policy (FLP) investigates how parents plan for and regulate the use of language in the family as well as the language ideologies of family members.

This paper presents the findings of a study on family language policy in inter-marriage families in Tallinn where Estonian coexists with a foreign language that does not enjoy wider-community support in the city. The languages in question are English, Spanish, German, Swedish and Finnish. In an overview of the field of FLP, Schwartz (2010) points out that few studies to date have incorporated the voices of the children of these families. This study has therefore considered as central alongside that of the parents the experiences of the adolescent children as self-reported.

Estonia is a country that has experienced an enormous political and economic transformation in the last twenty years since it left the Soviet Union. Likewise, great change has taken place in the sociolinguistic sphere and the issues of language and language policy are never far from the collective consciousness. In a study on parental attitudes to language and language planning internationally, Piller (2001) reports that a limited knowledge of the research literature and 'a limited understanding of the sociolinguistics of bilingualism often leads to disappointment and self-doubt' (p. 61). This study investigates FLP with reference to the wider context of the modern multilingual city that is Tallinn and asks: Is FLP a salient issue to Estonian parents and adolescents given the salience of language policy at the societal level? Furthermore, Estonian, while the official state language, is spoken by only 1.1 million speakers worldwide, small even compared to Swedish and Finnish and minuscule compared to German, Spanish and English. This study questions what effect this power-imbalance on the macro-level has on language policy in the home.

Semi-structured interviews were employed to elicit linguistic autobiographies from the family members to investigate how the FLP was conceived, experienced and re-designed at various phases in the family's life. Per the advice given in Pavlenko (2007), the biographies were treated not as 'observation notes, transcripts, or collections of facts' but rather as 'discursive constructions'. As such they were demonstrations of how the participant-families subjectively recall linguistic experiences and relationships within and without the familial-unit. Ethnographic observation by the participant-observer researcher, in combination with the interviews, allowed for a mixed-methods approach which is encouraged by Pavlenko (2007) and Schwartz (2010).

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SOLOVOVA. OLGA

University of Coimbra, Portugal

FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICIES IN HISTORY AND IN THE MAKING: WHAT DOES 'I SPEAK RUSSIAN' IMPLY IN TODAY'S PORTUGAL?

The recent wave of migration from post-Soviet countries to Portugal has introduced changes both into the sociolinguistic landscape of the country and the distribution of power between different languages. The adopted 'Portuguese-only' official education policy is pushing immigrant languages away from classroom setting and school hours. Russian-speaking and Ukrainian parents attempt to contest the policy by initiatives ranging from homeschooling their children in 'heritage languages' (Moin et al. 2011) to organising playgroups and community schools.

This paper will outline family language policies in households of Russian-speaking and Ukrainian immigrants in Portugal as these are revealed in artefacts, ethnographic photographs, interviews and parent-child interactions. The data was collected in the course of a long-term linguistic ethnography around the site of a community school which makes up a 'community of learners' (Rogoff, 2002). The paper will argue for a historical approach ('person in history' - Holland&Lave, 2001) as it examines the ways in which viewpoints on 'borders between languages' (Canagarajan, 2005) and on multilingualism have changed over the years. It will situate them in the histories of: 1) the parents' and their children's literacy and language learning; 2) relationships between these migrant communities and host state policies; and 3) post-Soviet language policies. The paper will also look into the way those language policies are negotiated and resisted but are also co-constructed by children as active members of the community.

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YATES, LYNDA: TERRASCHKE, AGNES Macquarie Unversity, Australia

LOVE, LANGUAGE AND THE LITTLE ONES: FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY ISSUES AMONG RECENT IMMIGRANTS TO AUSTRALIA

This paper focusses on the family language choices made by recent immigrants to Australia and their English-speaking partners, and explores the issues involved in their decisions. Australia has officially subscribed to a policy of multiculturalism that supports community language maintenance and cultural diversity (Hatoss 2004). Nevertheless, immigrant parents who want to raise their children bilingually can face difficulties arising from common misconceptions of bilingualism and negative social attitudes towards speakers of languages other than English in a predominantly monolingual society like Australia. In the early stages of their settlement immigrants frequently find themselves preoccupied with making a living and learning English so that reflection and decision-making on the possibilities and consequences of language use in the family may be not be a priority (Pauwels 2005: 128). Yet decisions regarding family language policy made at this time can be crucial not only for the longer term maintenance of the language but also for the future quality of relationships within the family. However, support for families in making these decisions is very scarce and under increasing pressure from reductions in social spending.

The present paper investigates the experiences of recently-arrived immigrants in marriages with native English speakers in Australia as they tackle the issues of language use in the family. Families where one parent is a monolingual speaker of English and the other a recent immigrant with only limited proficiency in English can find the development of a suitable family language policy particularly challenging. Regardless of whether they opt for a onelocation-one-language approach or one-parent-one-language approach, there will be proficiency issues at some stage for one or even both parents. Limited awareness of these issues and potential consequences of their language choices for their children can result in the establishment of short-term and short-sighted family language policies which are difficult to modify at a later date. The study draws on informal interview data collected for a large-scale longitudinal qualitative project on language learning and settlement among recent immigrants to Australia. Over a hundred participants were followed over a one year period in their early settlement and a proportion of these were then re-interviewed two years later. The paper explores their attitudes to and ideologies about bilingualism and language learning within the family and beyond, examines the policies they have adopted and discusses the possible long-term consequences to these choices. The analysis will highlight the need to support newly-arrived immigrants in raising their awareness of the issues involved in establishing a family language policy and explores the potential role of on-arrival English language programs in helping them to make more informed decisions for themselves and their children.

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SCHWARTZ, MILA (1); MOIN, VICTOR (2); KLAYLE, MANAL (1) 1: Oranim Academic College of Education; Safra Brain Research Center for the Study of Learning Disabilities, Department of Learning Disabilities, University of Haifa, Israel, Israel; 2: University of Haifa

ISRAELI PARENTS' CHOICE OF A BILINGUAL HEBREW-ARABIC KINDERGARTEN FOR THEIR CHILDREN: BACKGROUND MOTIVES, FAMILY LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL POLICY, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The parental choice regarding bilingual education is not an arbitrary one. Parents have background motives which drive them to integrate their child in to a bilingual and bicultural environment which are related to their family language and cultural policy. This choice may, inevitably, have impact on their child's linguistic, cognitive and social development (Schwartz, 2010; Schwartz, Moin, Leikin, & Breitkopf, 2010). In Israel, the unique socio-political context in which the Jews and Arabs live is what makes bilingual educational institutions in the country exceptional and incomparable to those in other countries. Unlike elsewhere, the two languages used in these institutions are both official languages which belong to two host (non-immigrant) communities that live, separately and unfortunately in conflict, in the country. Bilingual education, in this case, may give the Israeli population, especially the majority Jewish, the chance to be exposed to this significant, however less familiar, language. By doing so, the two groups will be introduced to each others' cultures, and possibly achieve mutual recognition. The aim of this study is, therefore, to investigate the background motives and family language and cultural policy of the parents who choose to send their children to bilingual Hebrew-Arabic kindergartens in Israel. The following two questions were examined: (1) what are the similarities and differences between Jewish and Arabic parents with regard to their motives of choice of a bilingual Hebrew-Arabic kindergarten for their children? (2) What are the consequences of this language and cultural policy concerning the child's socio-linguistic development, the family's satisfaction with the kindergarten and the family's language and cultural policy with regard to the two target groups of comparison?

The study was conducted by applying themixed-methods sequential explanatory design, which implies collectingquantitative (parents' questionnaires) and then qualitative (parents' semi-structural interviews) data in twoconsecutive phases within one study. The research population in the study consisted of Jewish (n = 35) and Arab (n = 45) Israeli parents who choose the bilingual preschools in the Northern part of Israel. The data reveal considerable similarities between the Jews and Arabs on the motives for the kindergarten choice and satisfaction with the kindergartens. However, the differences were found in the self-parents' reports on the management and practice of family language and cultural policy. As for consequences of this education, both Arab and Jewish parents reported that this experience strengthened their child's personality and empowered them as individuals. Finally, we found that the Arab and Jewish parents' interest in the second language increased drastically and this was reflected in their practice with their children. These findings will be discussed in light of state language policy in Israel.

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RAMAUT. GRIET (1): SIERENS. SVEN (2) 1: Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium; 2: University of Ghent, Belgium

PARENTS' PERCEPTIONS ON URBAN MULTILINGUAL SCHOOL PRACTICES

The linguistic capital of bilingual learners from immigrant minorities is denied in the educational system of the Flemish Region in Belgium. The dominant language ideology is monolingual (Dutch only). Languages spoken by low-status minority groups are undervalued and seen as an impediment to social integration and academic achievement. This ideology pervades everyday school policies and practices: L2 submersion is taken for granted as the normal language education paradigm. Some schools even ban the use of home languages from the school premises.

The 'Home Language in Education' project in the city of Ghent goes against the mainstream by trying out innovative strategies in dealing with multilingualism at school. It was set up in 2008 in four inner-city primary schools, mostly catering for children from Turkish immigrant families. A longitudinal study (2008-2012) is being conducted to evaluate the effects of the Home Language Project on the pupils' language proficiency, their attitudes and motivation. As parents are a key factor in the success of the project, this study examines the views and attitudes of the parents.

In particular, the present paper focuses on the effects of the Home Language Project on the parents' linguistic attitudes and practices. The outcomes of the base-line study (2009), in which 46 parents were interviewed individually, show that L1 is a dominant, persistent part of family dynamics. Parents believe that L2 learning is the responsibility of the school and broadly accept the monolingual school paradigm. If parents consider L1 use and maintenance as important, they keep it outside the school's interest. The follow-up study (2011-2012) investigates how the parents' opinions on and expectations about multilingualism have been influenced by the multilingual school practices during the project and by their participation in the project. When analyzing parents' attitudes, choices and actions, we will look at the broader social ecology, where monolingualism is still the norm, as well as at the micro level of the school and the family, where teachers and parents can become 'agents of change' in dealing with multilingualism (Hélot & O Laoire 2011).

LYTRA, VALLY; ILANKUBERAN, ARANI; GREGORY, EVE Goldsmiths, University of London, United Kingdom

FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICIES AND FAITH IN A TAMIL HINDU/SAIVA COMMUNITY IN LONDON

Studies have shown that belonging to a faith may entail different degrees of access and fluency to sets of semiotic resources, including different languages and values attached to them (e.g. Baquedano-Lopez, 2004, 2008; Fader 2008, 2009; Rosowsky 2008). This presentation is part of an ongoing research project funded by the Economic and Social Research Council on children's language and literacy learning in faith settings in London, UK (Gregory et al 2009).

In particular, we investigate language use in faith literacy activities taking place at home in a Tamil Hindu/Saiva community. Using field narratives, interviews, interactional data and still photography we examine the different sets of linguistic resources children and adults draw upon for praying, and the performance of key rituals associated with the faith. These include resources from modern Tamil, the minority language, old Tamil, the devotional language, English, the majority language, and Sanskrit, the liturgical language. We focus on participants' interactions around oral, written and visual texts and the different values they attach to their different sets of linguistic resources. Inspired by Blackledge and Creese (2010), we explore to what extent two seemingly contradictory positions are at play: on the one hand, participants seek to keep their different sets of linguistic resources separate and on the other hand, they seek to combine them in flexible and creative ways. We show how children and adults engage in faith literacy activities at home as they seek to understand their faith, link it to their everyday lives and perform their religious, linguistic and cultural identities. Our analysis sheds light to the role of faith literacy and socialization in shaping family language use in a minority community in a European metropolis.

CURDT-CHRISTIANSEN, XIAOLAN Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

NEGOTIATING FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY: DOING HOMEWORK

This presentation examines how family language policies are negotiated through homework sessions between parents and children of lower primary. To understand the interaction patterns between the participating parents and their children during homework sessions, an ecological approach is employed to look at 'interactions between any given language and its environment' (Hornberger, 2002, p.32). The environment includes the socio-cultural-economic-political conditions in which the families are situated. From this perspective, the organization, structure and the complexity of language use influence patterns of activity and engagement. Exploring the interaction patterns of three English-Chinese bilingual families in Singapore, this study particularly examines how parents use different strategies, associated with a particular language, to encourage, prompt, question and guide children's exploration and problem-solving. By means of comparative inquiry, this study reveals how official language policy, societal change and social structures influence and shape Family Language Policies of the participating families.

Thematic Session 108

Negotiating communicative practices in school: The case of 'academic language'

Session Chair 1: Heller, Vivien Session Chair 2: Morek, Miriam

Session Abstract:

From its inception, research in the field of language maintenance and shift has underscored the critical role of the family in the preservation of immigrant and ethnic minority languages. Recent research on family language policy exposes the full complexity and non-linearity of relationships between parental language ideology and actual language practice and management (Spolsky, 2007; Schwartz, 2010). The session will explore the link between family language policy, practice and management in the light of state, and community language policy in multilingual metropolises. In particular, the session will present novel data on successful family language practices (e.g., literacy activities, homework sessions) and management (e.g., praying, choice of bilingual education, and link with mainstream and complementary learning) which permit realization of language ideology within the three contexts: immigrant families, inter-marriage families, and minority and majority families in conflict ridden societies. These family language practices and management will be discussed in interaction with mainstream educational and language policy. In addition, the session will address novel contexts of the family language practice: the post-Soviet context. Languages of the local majorities, formerly stripped of power (minoritized majority languages, Skutnabb-Kangas 1992), are now official languages, and speakers of other languages, notably, Russian have to master them. We ask how negotiation, management and learning of previously minoritized languages occurs in mixed families, focusing on speakers of 'big' languages like Russian and English.

The session will show how the family language policy might be interpreted from diverse theoretical perspectives, such as ecological, socio-historical, perceived 'hierarchy of language esteem', and 'activity theory' approach. The researchers from five countries (United Kingdom, Belgium, Singapore, Estonia, and Israel) will present and discuss their data. The languages covered in their studies range from Tamil to Estonian, from Chinese to Arabic, from Punjabi to Hebrew and the communities that have been studied in large are located as close as London and as far as Singapore. The methods the proposed studies employ range from the traditional sociolinguistic observations and interviews to more innovative designs as collecting of linguistic resources and artifacts, linguistic autobiographies, and eliciting the viewpoints of all participants. Analyses involve gualitative, guantitative as well as methodological triangulation, for example, two-stage approach for data collection, exploratory survey, and then, in-depth semi-structured interviews (Okita, 2002).

Central questions include:

1. How have parents' viewpoints and expectations of multilingualism been influenced by experiences of learning in home, school and community and their participation in the projects?

- 2. How do family diverse linguistic practices affect family language policy in minority community in multilingual metropolises? 3. What are the language management strategies which minority language families apply to negotiate between home, community and mainstream education language and cultural policy?
- 4. Is there anything distinctive about the post-Soviet context as far as family language policy is concerned?
- 5. How does family language policy achieve mutual understanding and recognition in conflict ridden societies?

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HELLER, VIVIEN; MIRIAM, MOREK Research School Education and Capabilities, TU Dortmund, Germany

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

KERN, FRIEDERIKE; LINGNAU, BEATE; PAUL, INGWER Universität Bielefeld, Germany

THE CONSTRUCTION OF 'ACADEMIC LANGUAGE' IN GERMAN CLASSROOMS: THE NEGOTIATION OF COMMUNICATIVE PRACTICES AND LINGUISTIC STANDARDS IN 'MORNING CIRCLES'

The term 'academic language' (or 'Bildungssprache', cf. Gogolin/Lange 2010), refers to a specific linguistic register that is considered vital for the students' educational success. According to Schleppegrell (2004), this register differs from everyday oral language insofar as it is more decontextualized, explicit and complex on all levels of linguistics description.

In our paper, we take a constructionist approach to 'academic language' and furthermore aim to examine the communicative classroom practices that provide social environments for its learning. As the starting point of our analysis we chose the 'Morgenkreise' ('morning circles') in two classrooms of Year 1 and Year 2 students, many of whom speak languages other than German in their families. In our analysis, we will focus on the collective construction of linguistic standards that bear resemblance to what has become known as 'academic language'.

The 'morning circle' ('sharing time') as a ritualized interactional event provides specific prerequisites for the negotiation of communicative practices and – more important – for linguistic standards connected to them. The nature of students' participation in the circle is defined by a specified agenda (available as written documents in the classroom): On a rotational basis, it requires the respective participants to present questions to the class they had designed prior to the event. The predictability usually inherent in these questions facilitates verbal performance and the recognition of linguistic norms. Therefore, the highly ritualized form relieves the students from pressure, and at the same time increases the level of social control through mutual attention. In this respect, the final round, intended for self-evaluation ('what have I done well' – 'what could I have done better'), is particularly noteworthy as it offers insight into the linguistic (and social) standards students and teachers have agreed upon as part of 'doing schooling'.

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KAPELLIDI, CHARIKLEIA

Institute of Modern Greek Studies, Greece

NOTES ON 'REFORMULATION': A TEACHER'S PRACTICE IN SCHOOL INTERACTION

The 'language of the classroom' has been a prominent topic of academic research, since the recognition of its centrality in the processes of learning, and its value as evidence of how meanings get constructed. Language of schooling is directly associated with the enactment of the main educational roles in school interaction (teacher-students), which give rise to specific linguistic registers (Cazden, 1988). The focus of the present paper is on a teacher's practice, linked to teacher-talk register and subsumed under the broad organization of repair.

From a conversation analytic point of view repair is a general sequential phenomenon, which deals with different sources of trouble in interaction (Schegloff, Jefferson, Sacks, 1977). Correction is the successful outcome of it, which can be arrived at from either self- or other-initiation. More specifically in classrooms, as McHoul (1990: 365) has already noted, other-correction is dispreferred over third-turn self-correction, even though other-initiation is the preferred means of starting a repair trajectory. Closely tied to the withholding of teacher's correction is also the practice that will be of interest here. Known as 'reformulation' or 'recast' (cf. 0' Connor and Michaels, 1996; Lyster and Ranta, 1997) and mainly investigated in the framework of second language acquisition, the specific practice the teacher deploys consists in the repetition of what has been said in a way that exposes students to a different language repertoire. In many aspects, reformulation resembles correction, but it also differs from it, in that 'correcting' does not constitute the main interactional work and, therefore, does not disrupt the contiguity of talk.

The contribution of conversation analysis to the understanding of the above practice lies in the description of its specific features and its placement in the sequential organization of talk. Considering the particularities of the institutional character of interaction, as these are evidenced by participants' conduct (e.g. turn-mediation), light is shed on the circumstances that account for reformulation's occurrence. The data consists of seven transcribed hours from obligatory education in a school of Northern Greece. Finally and with respect to the specific linguistic register, some more general implications of reformulation's deployment are sought, as for example its connection with the enforcement of valid ways of arguing.

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SZABÓ, TAMÁS PÉTER

Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary

CONSTRUCTION OF IDEOLOGIES IN SCHOOL METALANGUAGE. A STUDY OF OTHER-REPAIR IN HUNGARIAN

Hungarian is a standard language culture (Milroy 2001), and linguistic prescriptivism has a long tradition. In classroom conversations, making ideologies on erroneous and correct language use is common, while convenient occasions for practicing public speech are really rare. In Hungarian formal education, the rules of Standard Hungarian are mainly taught by participating in various metadiscourses between students and their teachers.

In the present paper ideology is not defined as a telementation of inner beliefs or knowledge, but as a describing, explaining, legitimizing or illegitimizing statement on acts observable in practice (Potter–Edwards 2003). Metalanguage is defined as a socially constructed, (self-)reflective discourse on language (Laihonen 2008).

The present paper is based on data from a survey carried out in 2009 by the author. Students of age 6-11, 14-15 and 17-19 and teachers of Hungarian language and literature were interviewed in semi-structured research interviews, while students of age 14-15 and 17-19 filled in questionnaires (N=1195 students). 61 classroom observations were also made. Data analysis focused on the construction of language ideologies in metadiscourses. Ideology construction was analysed as a dynamic process, using a Conversation Analysis methodology (Laihonen 2008). The analysis of agency concluded that in ideology construction, quoting and the assimilation of other people's voice both have special impact (Aro 2009).

The present paper focuses on other-repair and ideologies legitimizing or illegitimizing this practice. The analysis of other-repair in classroom discourse concluded that teachers often use other-repair as a means of the reconstruction of three dominant positions: (1) more competent speaker, (2) primary knower and (3) discourse manager. If repair was completed by a metalinguistic explanation or an explicit evaluation, it was analysed as a secondary legitimizing act of the repair (the primary legitimation comes from the position of the teacher guaranteed by the hierarchical structure of school system). The same three types of self-positioning was observable in the research interviews when one of the informants repaired the speech of another and he

or she explained why he or she did that. Questionnaire answers concerning repair habits of the informants were analysed along three dimensions: (1) gender; (2) age (year 7 and 11) and (3) school system (primary school vs. grammar school on year 7, technical college vs. grammar school on year 11). If a statistically significant difference occurred, girls and grammar school students positioned themselves as more conform and as more competent speakers. It means that the use of metalanguage in self-positioning has different patterns in these groups.

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KOTTHOFF, HELGA

Freiburg University, Germany

'(UN)COMMON GROUND' BETWEEN TEACHERS AND PARENTS IN SCHOOL CONSUL-TATIONS

The counseling literature on parent-teacher consultations in schools presents them as awkward situations. Kramer and Helsper (2000, 2002f.) see the school - from the family's viewpoint - as increasingly an agent of status-reproduction, whereby the pressure on the family for achievement has never been more relevant. Social milieu, family life forms, habitus and school culture are more or less coherently interconnected. On the one hand, the only way for families to secure their status is through the agency of the school. On the other, the prototypically constructed middle class nuclear family is regarded as a support system for the school, although there are fewer and fewer families that conform to this prototype. I approach stylistic matchings of teachers' and parents' talks within interactional sociolinguistics. What interests me most is how in their consultations teachers and parents negotiate a school and achievement oriented habitus and how the sorting of students is carried out. Our recordings of currently twelve parent-teacher consultations made at German elementary and special schools display different degrees in the communication of 'common ground' (Gumperz 2006) between teachers and parents in regard to achievements, vocabularies of assessment, attitudes toward learning, children's behavior and other concerns. In the eight parent-teacher discussions from elementary schools it is especially evident how cautiously middle class parents (usually mothers) and teachers negotiate a shared, mildly critical perspective on the child. The participants carry on all their conversational activities from the perspective of assessing the child. I will discuss membership categorization practices that typify pupils (Mazeland/Berenst 2008) and help to sort them within the tripartite German school system. Middle class parents, for example, describe in detail how the child behaves when doing homework and how they themselves perceive its learning progress. Thereby they present a school-oriented parental identity and construct a competent self with at least the quality of a substitute teacher. All the parents of the students from special classes have a migration background, speak German at a medium level and are for several reasons less able to perform their home and themselves in the light of the school system. Of special interest is the co-construction of all evaluation and assessment procedures focusing on the child (integrating strories about the child and negotiations of disagreement with the teacher).

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REDDER, ANGELIKA

University of Hamburg, Germany

ACADEMIC DISCOURSE PRACTICES ACROSS DOMAINS – EMPIRICAL FINDINGS AND FAILINGS

The presentation will mainly address the last question outlined for the thematic session. Based on a rich corpus of natural classroom discourse and linguistic experiments (verbalizations of video clips) ranging from classes 1° to 5° some core features of academic discourse practices shall be demonstrated. These core features are described in terms of functional-pragmatic analysis (Redder 2008). Thus theoretically taking the complexity of linguistic action seriously, the linguistic requirements and expectations in educational settings can be spelled out as to cover dimensions of (more or less institutionally modified) pragmatical competencies, of semantic competencies on different conceptual levels and of discursive competencies involving the interlocuter's part of communication – besides covering the phonological dimension, the morpho-syntactical and the literal one. The empirical interaction of these linguistic dimensions for each classroom level will be modelled in what I call a 'grid of linguistic competencies' (Grasser & Redder 2011). In general it represents normal standards for linguistic proficiencies in educational settings. Those parts of the grid that foster or induce a qualitative development to the next zone of educational proficiency or knowledge of subject-domains are to be identified as cognitive academic language proficiency. Hence the descriptive term of academic language will be reanalysed from a methodological point of view, especially in terms of psycholinguistic procedures performed by linguistic means (Redder fc.). Findings and failings from evidence-based analysis will be presented in order to profile the concept of a linguistic grid of competencies and to show the academic linguistic potential of certain interactions of means-end-relations across domains.

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STUDE, JULIANE (1); PHILLIPS GALLOWAY, EMILY (2); UCCELLI, PAOLA (2)

1: TU Dortmund University, Research School Education and Capabilities, Germany; 2: Harvard University, Graduate School of Education, USA

STUDENTS' REFLECTIONS ON ACADEMIC REGISTER

Mastering academic language, as a constellation of registers through which the communicative goals of school are accomplished (Schleppegrell, 2010) is believed to contribute significantly to school success for adolescent learners (Snow & Uccelli, 2009). School failure, in contrast, is partly traced back to the gap between teachers'expectations with respect to a specific register on the one hand and the communicative norms to which students orient on the other. Arguing that negotiating norms of academic language use in the classroom could be more efficient if both teachers and students made their expectations more explicit, this study explores the extent to which adolescents are able to employ language to reflect on the academic register. Analyses are based on focus-groups discussions conducted with 4th-8th grade students attending a public middle school in the Northeast United States (n=23). After completing a register awareness task in which students selected the language they believed most appropriate for a written interaction with the school headmaster, they were asked to reflect on their strategic process.

Compared to other communicative events these group discussions require that students not only have knowledge about language and its uses in different contexts, but also have adequate metalanguage to convey their understandings for multiple listeners (Snow & Uccelli, 2009). Thus, following methods of grounded-theory (Charmaz, 2006) and conversation analysis (Liddicoat, 2007), we address three capabilities in our qualitative coding of the data: students`register awareness, their competence to refer metalinguistically to key features of academic language and their discursive skills to maintain a multiparty, language-focused discourse.

Findings show that students struggling with metalanguage find compensatory practices in order to take an active part in the discourse. For instance, in talking about language and its uses these students provide concrete examples instead of using decontextualized terms to describe their linguistic choices as well as rely on metalinguistic terms previously mentioned by others. Replicating patterns of talk observed in peer talk (Blum-Kulka & Snow, 2002), students in this sample more frequently demonstrated uptake of peer's metalanguage than that provided by an adult conversation partner. Results are discussed with regard to how talk about language and its use can promote register awareness and how the development of academic language skills can be scaffolded in the classroom setting not only by teachers, but also by peers (Cazden, 1988).

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GHEZZI, CHIARA

University of Pavia / Bergamo, Italy

NEGOTIATING EPISTEMIC COMMITMENT AT SCHOOL: THE CASE OF ATTENUATING STRATEGIES

The pragmatic dimension of variation has recently become the focus of studies, especially in relation to how groups of speakers in specific contexts use characteristic linguistic styles (cf. Andersen 2001, Macualey 2005). Age of speakers, together with context of interaction, are two variables that influence the pupils' CALP (Orletti 2000, Farr 2011).

This proposal focuses on 'expository discourses' (Nippold / Scott 2010) produced at school by Italian pupils, aged 17-19, in highly asymmetrical and formal contexts, implying the use of spoken skills (i.e. oral Literature tests).

As it has already been highlighted, late adolescence represents a cut-off point in the emotional, social and cognitive development of pupils; this suggests a complex interaction between the consolidation of literacy, a general intellectual growth and linguistic developments subsequent to childhood (cf. Nip-pold / Scott 2010).

Among the linguistic strategies pupils have in their repertoires, this presentation focuses on those used to express the degree of epistemic commitment toward the propositional content (e.g. attention to the degree of assertiveness and directness, modulation of illocutionary force, ex. (1)).

- (1) (1) usa un linguaggio musicale /abbiam detto/ magari per dare un ritmo alla composizione \downarrow
- 'he uses a musical language, we said, maybe to give a rythm to the composition'

Such strategies include linguistic means ranging from lexicalized expressions to discourse markers, which can have sources in verbs (as epistemic parentheticals), adverbs (as praticamente 'practically'), nouns (tipo 'type), etc.. These attenuating devices are extremely common in informal conversation (Kaltenböck et al. 2010, Jucker et al. 2003), yet pupils use them in different ways in academic contexts.

Following a functional perspective, this presentation analyzes a corpus of expository discourses on the basis of the complex pragmatic configuration (Miecznikowski & Bazzanella, 2007) of some interrelated features in the context of interaction. Such strategies, in fact, can have scope over different dimensions of context, which can be activated by a) immediate environment; b) interpersonal relations, as shaped through interaction; c) sequential development of interaction; d) linguistic co-text.

Some relevant questions in the analysis relate to the classes of attenuating strategies preferred by pupils, the classification of their recurrent formal properties, the identification of correlations between the use of specific strategies and the social role of interlocutors.

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EVANS, RICK Cornell University, United States of America

TRANSFORMING OUR TEACHING OF DISCIPLINARY WRITING: THE ROLE THAT MI-CROGENRES CAN PLAY IN FACILITATING STUDENT LEARNING WITHIN AND ACROSS SCHOOLS OR COLLEGES OF ENGINEERING

Undergraduate writing instruction in engineering has generally focused on that collection of traditional genres most apparent in the table of contents of any technical communication textbook: proposals, progress and technical reports, journal articles, instructions, manuals. However, each of these genres is actually made up of a number of more 'elemental genres' or 'short genres' such as classifying and compositional descriptions; sequential, consequential, and conditional explanations; various kinds of procedures - operating, conditional, and technical - and procedural recounts (Christie, 2002; Martin and Rose, 2008). Indeed, it is the presence of these microgenres as important 'markers' that give traditional genres their identity (Coutinho and Miranda, 2010). For example, most methods sections in experimental journal articles include at least two of the microgenres listed above: a compositional description or a description of experimental apparatus and materials; and a procedural recount or a presentation through time of the experimental process. That these microgenres exist has been strongly suggested in the research of the 'Sydney School' and includes explorations of genres in a range of institutions and contexts (Christie and Martin, 1997). Further, Martin and Rose (2008) claim that access to genres, and perhaps more importantly then to microgenres because of their status as markers, plays a crucial role in the ability to participate in disciplinary and/or field culture. In cooperation with faculty in the Department of Biological and Environmental Engineering (BEE) at Cornell University and with faculty teaching selected courses in other departments across the engineering curriculum, I have begun a two-year long study into the occurrence and the schematic structure of these microgenres. There are two specific research questions. First, given the inherent variability and mutability in the realized examples of traditional genres, can I identify distinct microgenres in a way that is both valid, i.e. each exhibiting a recurring schematic structure, and reliable, i.e. a structure that remains consistent within examples of different traditional genres? And second, can I identify enough of these microgenres to be able to propose a systematic and generalizable approach to teaching and assessing students' performance of those traditional genres? In my paper, I introduce the concept of microgenres, offer a brief overview of the near-term and the long-term research project, and briefly locate the project within the well-established and increasingly international field of genre studies (Bawarshi and Reiff, 2010). I then present the promising early results of the analyses of one microgenre, compositional description, extant in examples of student writing across different genres within a single course. These results strongly indicate that we can identify microgenres in ways that are both valid and reliable. Finally, I suggest how, if I can identify a sufficient number and range of these microgenres, they might then be useful for integrating and coordinating writing instruction within and across the engineering curriculum and can be used to assess students' readiness to participate in disciplinary and/or field culture.

'Medium-sized' languages and the city: Contexts and practices, current challenges and future possibilities

Session Chair 1: Soler Carbonell, Josep Session Chair 2: Boix-Fuster, Emili

Session Abstract:

In an attempt to capture the nature and the complexity of present-day linguistic diversity, some experts (De Swaan 2001, Calvet 1999) have offered descriptive models based on a galactic and gravitational metaphor in which the languages of the world occupy a range of positions depending on their centrality and weight, from hyper-central to peripheral. Despite the attractiveness of these models and the fact that they are neatly explained by their authors, they do not seem to fully fit the more complex contexts where 'middle-way' situations exist. Some of these contexts that are particularly telling, from our point of view, can be found in societies with a more advanced socio-economic level. Geographically speaking, the area we have in mind, more than any other, is post-industrial Europe, where one could group together a significant number of languages with a similar demo-linguistic weight that share important common features, such as the necessity by their native speakers to effectively acquire second or foreign languages, while at the same time retaining the capacity to index identity and symbolic traits in their own.

The research group based at CUSC-UB (Center of Sociolinguistics and Communication, University of Barcelona) leading the research on 'medium-sized' language communities has further defined this concept and suggested that these are those languages ranging from one million to 25 million speakers in contexts as the ones like those mentioned in the paragraph above, such as, to name but a few, Catalan, Danish, Czech, Finnish, Norwegian, Swedish or Dutch. In their work, they have undertaken a comparative analysis between several of these cases to find out more about the situation and challenges of these languages, how they have managed to survive until nowadays and what are the crucial factors affecting their most immediate contexts.

Relating it with the central theme of the Symposium, this panel wants to focus on the policies and practices characteristic in urban concentrations, large or medium-sized, where this type of languages occupy an undeniable position in the everyday lives of their inhabitants. What features do these urban indexical fields have? How do the instrumental factors interact with the symbolic ones, both for the L1 'medium-sized' language communities and the rest? How are these multilingual sites being affected by the globalizing tendencies of our era and, particularly, what are the most visible consequences for 'medium-sized' language communities? How do these languages manage to attract new speakers, either newly-arrived immigrants or former allophone communities they have been historically in contact with?

In focusing on these and other important questions relating to politics and practices among these communities, this panel will offer case studies of issues of language, nation, identity and policy that are relevant across Europe, framing the discussion in terms of current challenges and future possibilities for the analyzed communities. The panel will include scholars at various stages of their careers with a focus on sociolinguistics, language anthropology, language sociology, and language policy, with papers contributing with both empirical research (quantitative and qualitative) and theoretical reflections.

MAEGAARD, MARIE (1); JØRGENSEN, JENS (2) 1: University of Copenhagen, Denmark; 2: The LANCHART Centre

LANGUAGE IN COPENHAGEN: CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURES, CHANGING IDEOL-OGIES, CHANGING LINGUISTIC PRACTICES

Copenhagen has undergone large societal and linguistic changes during the latest century. Some changes are general to Denmark, and some are specific to the Copenhagen community. In this paper we focus mainly on the disappearing division between high and low Copenhagen speech, which accompanies the emergence of new types of linguistic variation. Another focus is the status of English in Denmark (and in Copenhagen), and the ideologies linked to it.

From the 1960s and onwards Denmark has witnessed a very rapid economical development that, together with the Danish welfare system, has produced a society that is both economically very wealthy and very equal (OECD 2008, 2010). One consequence of this is that traditional concepts of social class lose their importance. Linguistically, this means that the former differences between high and low Copenhagen speech are no longer relevant, since the classes that they used to be associated with, no longer exist in the same way. However, new social distinctions are created in Denmark, and one of the most important social distinctions has to do with constructions of ethnicity.

The ideology of 'Danishness' has changed in recent years, and an 'us' vs. 'them' distinction has become very important in some parts of the majority population, usually phrased as a 'Foreigners' vs. 'Danes' distinction. This is visible at all levels of discourse, ranging from kids playing in the school yard to official documents from the Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs (e.g. 2009).

The new social distinctions in Danish society has lead to new linguistic distinctions. It is tempting to interpret the division as yet another class division between 'high' and 'low'. However, this is not a straight-forward interpretation, as we will show. The 'foreigners' are not necessarily lower class, measured in terms of socio-economic index, and similarly, the 'Danes' are not necessarily higher class. However, ideologically, 'foreigners' are associated with lower class. This is for instance seen in public discourse, where politicians, journalists, teachers and other debaters frequently refer to 'foreigners' or 'immigrants' in connection with unemployment, crime, educational problems and so forth. At the same time, in local communities, 'foreigners' are often associated with attributes that are highly prestigeful at the local micro-level. This may involve toughness, cleverness, ambitions, attractiveness etc. as we have seen in several studies from Copenhagen schools (Maegaard 2007, Madsen 2008, Stæhr 2010). All this means that issues of class, prestige and ethnicity are highly relevant in contemporary Danish society, and perhaps particularly in Copenhagen. Social constructions of class, prestige and ethnicity have changed, and they are interrelated in complicated ways at different levels of discourse. Furthermore, they are related to linguistic variation in ways that we will present in this paper.

Another 'us' vs. 'them' theme is the constructed threat from English on the Danish language (Hultgren 2011). This debate is probably typical for mediumsized language communities, where the use of English is seen as an increasing and problematic practice. In our paper, we will discuss this point and question the reality of this threat. **LEHTONEN, TUIJA HANNELE** University of Jyväskylä, Finland

SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING COURSES ONLINE – TOOLS OF LAN-GUAGE POLICY

Numerous studies of second language acquisition research have yielded positive results for learning a second language online, particularly interaction (see e.g. Chun 1994; Greenfield 2003; Stockwell & Herrington 2003; Stockwell 2005; Warschauer 1996). These results seem to have an influence on language policy as well.

This paper describes how online language learning materials in Finnish are a part of language policy in Finland. As there are approximately 6 million native speakers of Finnish, and only about three percent of the Finnish population is of foreign origin – depending on how the statistics have been compiled – it is seen as one of the less widely taught languages. Most of the immigrants (65 %) live in the ten biggest cities of Finland (statistics by the Family Federation), thus the opportunities for studying the language vary greatly depending on the geographical location of the learner. Moreover, there are Finnish language learners living abroad as well. Even though Finnish is taught at 100 universities abroad and can be studied at various institutions, the number of learners is still small. How can the new speakers of the language be attracted? How can the quality and quantity of second language learning be secured?

In Finland, the National Board of Education, Ministry of the Interior, and the Ministry of Education have together started to support the online learning of Finnish. The focus of this paper is on describing two online language learning projects dealing with Finnish as a second and foreign language – Verk-kolehtori (Web Lecturer) and AlKIS. The first project was coordinated by the Centre for International Mobility (CIMO), and targeted to university students abroad. The latter is a national project coordinated by the National Board of Education, aiming at creating online language learning material for adult immigrants as a part of the adult immigrants' integration. One focus of the material is on vocational education. The project is funded by the European Social Fund (ESF). The main research question is, if online language learning solutions can be effective tools of language policy, and what kinds of challenges there are.

This study is a part of the research project concerning Finnish as a work language, which aims at analysing the social and educational aspects involved in the development of the work-related language skills of immigrants. The theoretical framework combines socio-cultural and dialogical viewpoints.

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SOLER CARBONELL, JOSEP

Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LANGUAGE-IDEOLOGICAL COMPONENT IN 'MEDIUM-SIZED' LANGUAGE CONTEXTS. THE CASES OF ESTONIAN AND CATALAN COMPARED.

Our present-day era of globalization has brought important changes in different spheres of our societies: technologically, economically, culturally, etc. These changes may provoke particular effects in communities in nation-states that may suffer from stress and insecurity, even though enjoying a significant amount of political autonomy, which provides them self-assurance and a strong cohesive feeling of unity. The languages in these nation-states have recently been theorized by the Sociolinguistics research group at the University of Barcelona and labeled 'Medium-sized Language Communities', a more suitable notion, descriptively and theoretically, to offer a picture of the current sociolinguistic and language-contact situation in the European continent. Estonia and Catalonia, although two different polities with different organizational language regimes share several points that may let us look at them comparatively, most importantly the historical and socio-demographical evolution of each of the two cases. The paper examines the possible comparative lines between the two study cases from the point of view of speakers' linguistic ideologies (Woolard 1998; Kroskrity 2000). By presenting ethnographically collected data, the author tries to shed some light on speakers' linguistic realities and the way they evaluate them. The theoretical background being used consists of Woolard's (2008) typology of linguistic ideologies (the Anonymity-Authenticity divide). The ethnographic analysis of these two particular cases shows us how 'the world is a different place, depending from where you look at it' (Blommaert 2005), and therefore, points to the fact that we need to look at how speakers make their (linguistic) reality meaningful to them, thus placing the ideological and representational levels at a central point for our understanding of the evolution and future prospects of the studied cases. The results from this study suggest interesting insights for both realities compared. In that sense, the certain 'de-authentication' that Catalan has undergone in the last few years seems to have helped the language in winning the allegiance of non-native speakers. In contrast, the Estonian case has not (yet) taken that road, and while the 'Authenticity' ideology seems to be very alive among native speakers, there are some associations, among younger people in particular, that may point to that direction too.

VILA I MORENO, F. XAVIER Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

LANGUAGES AT THE TOP. A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO CURRENT LANGUAGE POLICIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION (LPHE) IN MEDIUM-SIZE LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES (MSLC)

Gaining the domain of higher education became a crucial goal for MSLC in Europe since the second ecolinguistic revolution (1800-1918) (Baggioni 1997). Since then, gaining control over this domain remained a first-order goal for most MSLC aspiring at a status of stability and security, as shown by histories of Finnish, Dutch in Flanders, Modern Hebrew, or Catalan, among many others. The changing roles of universities in the informational society, the increased pressures towards globalization, the spread of English as the academic and scientific lingua franca, and regional processes such as the Bologna process in Europe have nevertheless significantly modified the parameters under which language policy used to operate in higher education (Blommaert 2010, Castells 2000, Ostler 2010; van Parijs 2011). Today, MSLCs see themselves in the need to redefine their language policies in a domain that is simultaneously regarded as critical to attract foreign talent and creativity, but also vital to maintain the long-term viability of any given language as an instrument of culture.

The reactions in front of these LPHE challenges are not always coincidental, depending on a multitude of factors. In this paper we will be presenting the results of a project focussed on the comparison of these policies as developed and implemented in several MSLCs. Using an extended model based on Cooper's (1989) and Baetens Beardsmore's (2009) models of LPs analysis, we will review how some MSLCs adopt an apparently non-interventionist stance vis-à-vis language practices at their universities, while others adopt explicit LPHE. Some of these have protectionist goals, while others actively encourage the introduction of English, or both goals at the same time. The main language policy actors vary substantially from one country to another: in some cases it is central authorities, while in others it substate authorities, universities themselves or even faculties or departments who take policies in charge. And we will review not only the main goals, but also some of the major outcomes of each model, trying to connect policies with actual results.

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BOIX-FUSTER, EMILI

University of Barcelona, Spain

BARCELONA: A CITY BETWEEN LINGUISTIC CONFLICT AND HYBRIDITY

Barcelona is probably the unique big city in Europe where a minoritized language of a medium-sized community,, such as Catalan still is, This mediumsized language has a high prestige and is used in oficial and public domains in competition with Spanish and increasingly English. Until recently Catalan has been associated with middle class urban sectors, factor that has explained its survival and thrust even under dictatorships and repressions. Globallization and migration theaten now the status of Catalan. Quantitative and gualitative data will be discussed in order to show the overall linguistic repertoire of the city and especially how Catalan speakers strive to use their language, between conflict and hybridity.

BLOCK, DAVID MARTIN

Institute of Education, University of London, United Kingdom

DISCUSSION

Discussant of Thematic Session "Medium-sized' languages and the city'

Thematic Session 114

Linguistic Identity Construction in the Japanese Workplace

Session Chair 1: Cook, Haruko M Session Chair 2: Saito, Junko

Session Abstract:

A city can be characterized as a place to work. This thematic session empirically explores ways in which social identities are linguistically constructed in the Japanese workplace.

Taking the social constructionist approach, research on workplace discourse in Western societies has predominantly investigated identity construction in relation to gender. Many studies (e.g., Baxter 2008; Holmes 2006; Mullany 2007; Rees and Monrouxe 2010) have analyzed how gender identity is interactionally constructed in the workplace or how leadership identities are constructed through gendered language. For example, Baxter (2008) demonstrates that according to contextual parameters, both male and female leaders linguistically project stereotypical gendered leadership identities, whereas they simultaneously attempt to challenge such masculine and feminine figures. Her study indicates that identity construction is a highly complex and delicate process. Likewise, examining laughter in face-to-face interactions among physician tutors, students, and patients in the medical workplace, Rees and Monrouxe (2010) illustrate how the participants linguistically and non-linguistically construct their gender identity in the discourse of sexual humor. In addition, this line of research (e.g., Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Vine 2004), by demonstrating that workers strategically exert their authority, while paying attention to others' face demands, often touches upon the correlation between power and politeness in workplace interactions. Such balance of power and politeness allows the workers not only to achieve their institutional goals but also to maintain good social relationships in workplaces (Holmes and Stubbe 2003).

In contrast, Japanese workplace discourse based on naturally occurring data has not been fully investigated. This is partly because the workplace is 'a restricted research site' (Mullany 2007). Primarily due to confidentiality issues, it is highly challenging to record naturally occurring interactions in a workplace. To date, there have been only a few studies on Japanese workplace interactions (e.g., Gever 2008; Saito 2011; Sunaoshi 1994; Takano 2005), of which only Takano's study (2005) examines identity construction in a Japanese workplace. His study empirically demonstrates that female professionals construct their multiple identities through the use of diverse linguistic resources associated with both negative and positive politeness strategies. Social identities projected in workplace discourse are not limited to gender identity. Likewise, not all social identities are indexed through gendered language. Furthermore, it has been reported in previous research on Japanese institutional discourse (e.g., Takano 2005) that politeness is a display of power; female professionals use polite language to gain authoritative power. Since this research predominantly focuses on female professionals in managerial positions at work, it is vital to investigate how other workers manipulate power and politeness in workplace discourse. We still do not know exactly how power and politeness are negotiated and strategically balanced in the Japanese workplace. In sum, more empirical research is needed in order to understand how both female and male workers discursively construct their social identities through the use of various linguistic resources to achieve their professional goals in the workplace.

By gualitatively analyzing naturally occurring data, this thematic session examines the construction of social identities in workplaces in Japan, including business meetings and conversations between employees with same and different ranks. The thematic session contributes to a new understanding of the scholarship on workplace discourse in Japanese and other languages. The thematic session will address questions such as the following:

- How linguistic resources, such as speech style-shifting, honorifics, personal pronouns, and humor, are deployed in workplace discourse to index a range of social identities?
- How different social identities are made relevant in given institutional contexts?
- How power and linguistic politeness are strategically used in workplace interactions?

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BARKE, ANDREW JOHN

Kansai University, Japan

VARIATION WITHIN THE WORKPLACE: JAPANESE REFERENCE AND ADDRESS FORMS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

A wide variety of linguistic resources are available for use in Japanese to refer to oneself and others. Commonly reported forms include personal pronouns (e.g. 1st person - watashi/atashi/boku/ore; 2nd person - anata/anta/kimi/omae; 3rd person - kare/kanoio), titles (e.g. shachō 'company manager'; sensei - 'professor/teacher' etc.), kin terms (e.g. otosan 'father'; obasan 'aunty') as well as various combinations of names and title suffixes (e.g. [family name]+suffix-san; [given name]+suffix-chan). Use of such forms in reference and address has traditionally been described as determined by contextual variables such as the age, social status and gender of interactants, and the formality of the context (e.g. Ide 1989, Shibatani 1990, Suzuki 1999). The results of the present study, however, support the view held by social constructionists that social contexts are constructed in social interaction (Ochs 1993; Bucholtz 1999; Cook 2008) and that speakers strategically employ linguistic resources in order to achieve specific interactional goals. This paper examines the interactional behavioral patterns of members of a Japanese workplace community of practice. In particular, focus is placed on non-prototypical patterns of usage of reference and address forms.

Two types of data were analyzed in the study: a) the recordings and transcriptions of 10 hours of naturally occurring verbal interactions between employees at a small manufacturing company located in the downtown area of Tokyo; and b) interactional and contextual information elicited from participants by means of follow-up interviews. The latter were designed to draw out participant perceptions of their own linguistic behavior and the behavior of others, as well as information on possible motivations behind the selection of particular forms over others.

Initial analysis of the data revealed that, while prototypical patterns of reference and address form use were generally adhered to by most members of the workplace community, some members displayed a tendency to employ non-prototypical forms or to make use of a wider variety of forms than others. This raises the question, what motivates members of a community of practice to deviate from unmarked patterns of use and to adopt marked patterns of use? In an attempt to answer this in relation to the community being observed, the utterances of several individual speakers were examined in detail. It was found that identity construction of both the speaker and referents, is a key factor in understanding the selection process of forms not only in cases of prototypical usage, but also non-prototypical usage. Speakers who used a wider variety of forms or less common forms appeared to be motivated by a variety of concerns including the desire to construct unique, non-conformist identities and/or multiple identities for a single referent. The results of this study offer further evidence that verbal interaction is a dynamic process in which participants create and negotiate, moment by moment, social contexts through the strategic linguistic choices they make in discourse.

SAITO, JUNKO

Temple University Japan, Japan

SUBORDINATES' CONSTRUCTION OF INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITIES IN THE JAPANESE WORKPLACE

This study qualitatively examines how individuals in subordinate positions in a Japanese workplace construct multiple institutional identities in superiorsubordinate interactions in the workplace.

Much previous research on workplace talk (e.g., Holmes 2006; Takano 2005; Vine 2004) has extensively explored linguistic practices of individuals in leadership positions and how such individuals construct multiple social identities in workplace interactions. In contrast, very little research has focused on the discursive practices of subordinates in a workplace hierarchy. Studies on identity construction in workplace settings are no exception. In the social constructionist approach, social identity is not given a prior but is dynamic and variable. Nevertheless, we still do not understand the ways in which subordinates in a workplace hierarchy linguistically construct their social identities in ongoing interactions.

This study empirically investigates how individuals in subordinate positions construct multiple institutional identities through their strategic manipulation of linguistic resources in superior-subordinate interactions. The data analyzed in this study are derived from naturally occurring interactions audio-recorded at a small corporation in Japan. The research questions that this study addresses are (1) What kind of social identities do individuals in subordinate positions construct when interacting with their superiors? (2) In what kind of situations are different social identities put forward? and (3) What linguistic resources and strategies are utilized to index different social identities?

The analysis demonstrates that when individuals in subordinate positions respond to their superiors by giving reactive tokens, they have a tendency to project an identity as a buka (a subordinate). However, when making suggestions to, giving explanations to, or contesting their superiors, they have a tendency to project different institutional identities. In the latter case, subordinates are likely to use linguistic resources that mark epistemic stance. The analysis also shows that individuals in subordinate positions draw on a variety of strategies so as to obscure the social relationships between superiors and themselves, as well as to avoid performing the role of buka. The findings hence indicate that by strategically manipulating their linguistic resources, individuals in subordinate positions display different facets of institutional identities on a moment-by-moment basis in a given context.

In addition, this study contributes to the examination of power relations. As some scholars (e.g., Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Thomas 1995) point out, social status is not the sole factor that determines power and authority. Subordinates can exert power over their superiors. This study also illustrates how power is socially constructed and dynamically manifested on an ongoing basis.

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COOK. HARUKO M

University of Hawaii, United States of America

MALE EMPLOYEES' USE OF REFERENT HONORIFICS IN JAPANESE WORKPLACE: CONSTRUCTION OF A PROFESSIONAL SELF

From the social construction perspective, this paper examines how male and female employees use referent honorifics in the Japanese workplace. The finding that the male employees use most of the referent honorifics in the company's meeting challenges the deeply-rooted assumption in the field of sociolinguistics that women use linguistically more 'polite' forms than do men (e.g., R. Lakoff 1975).

Honorifics are traditionally viewed as linguistic forms that are used in speech between speakers and/or referents in a vertically or horizontally distant relationship: they express politeness by giving deference to a higher social status person, or indicate the formality of the speech situation. Furthermore, based on the assumption of one-to-one mapping between honorifics and politeness, it is generally viewed in Japanese sociolinguistic practice that Japanese women use more honorifics than men because they are more polite. However, these views are problematic: i) the function of honorifics is to mirror the pre-existing social world; and ii) women's linguistic behavior is described in a context-independent fashion. More recently, studies on honorifics and those on gender and language based on naturally occurring data have demonstrated i) honorifics do not always index politeness reflecting the social status of the interlocutors and can index a variety of social identities (e.g., Cook 2008); and ii) the stereotypical association between women's behaviors and so-called 'feminine linguistic forms' is not always borne out (e.g., Okamoto & Shibamoto-Smith 2004). To date, however, there has not been any study that investigated if women use more referent honorifics in actual practice. This paper fills this gap by exploring i) in what ways Japanese referent honorifics are used in a corporate meeting and ii) whether or not referent honorifics are associated with female gender construction as previously assumed. The data were taken from a committee meeting in a large beverage company in Japan, for referent honorifics tend to occur more frequently in business

talk. The committee consists of two male and five female participants. The meeting, which lasted one hour and twenty minutes, was video-recorded. The transcribed data are qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed.

Contrary to the stereotypical view of gender and honorifics, this paper finds that the male participants produce thirty-two of the thirty-three referent honorifics occurring in the meeting and that this gender difference in the use of referent honorifics is related to the difference in participation structure in the meeting - the male participants' leading roles in discussion and the female participants' less active contribution to discussion. The paper demonstrates that referent honorifics index the speaker's institutional identity in a company meeting. In sum, the paper demonstrates that in this meeting, referent honorifics do not index politeness but rather are utilized by male participants to foreground their stronger and more committed institutional identity.

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GEYER, NAOMI

University of Wisconsin-Madison, United States of America

IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS AND POLITENESS IN THE JAPANESE WORKPLACE DIS-COURSE

This paper investigates ways in which various social and discursive identities are linguistically constructed in the Japanese workplace, and explores how participants' identity construction is related to facework and politeness. Research on workplace discourse has investigated how gender and/or leadership identities are constructed in interaction (e.g., Baxter 2008, Holmes 2006, Holmes & Stubbe 2003, Takano 2005). Most of these studies were concerned with the balance between power and politeness, since superiors tend to display their authority while maintaining good relationships by paying attention to others' face demands. For instance, Takano (2005) demonstrates how female professionals construct multiple identities utilizing various linguistic resources associated with negative/positive politeness strategies. However, social identities displayed in workplace discourse are not limited to gender and leadership identity. In fact, beyond the studies on workplace discourse, research in identity ascription and membership categorization analysis (e.g., Antaki & Widdicombe 1998, Egbert 2004) explores diverse social identities, discursive identities, and membership categorizations negotiated in discourse. Developments in discursive approaches to politeness in the past decade (e.g., Geyer 2008, Mills 2003, Watts 2003) indicate that politeness can be negotiated by interactants, and that it evolves continually throughout the course of interaction. Such views question a priori associations between linguistic resources and negative/positive politeness strategies.

In light of these realizations, it is necessary to reexamine the relationship between identity (in its varied formations) and politeness (as a discursively constructed phenomenon). This paper intends to approach this issue through the examination of Japanese workplace discourse. The study examines discourse data from 3 faculty meetings at Japanese secondary schools, exploring the linguistic construction of participant identities and the relationships between identity construction and politeness. The range of investigated identities includes participants' identity traits (e.g., gender), site-specific roles (e.g., chair person), as well as action-oriented discursive identities (e.g., speaker who issues a proposal). Through the analysis, the paper demonstrates that (1) diverse linguistic resources construct multiple identities, (2) participants' identity and face are closely connected, (3) politeness (or appropriateness) is constructed and negotiated in relation to the identities and faces displayed in a moment-by-moment fashion in the course of interaction.

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MURATA, KAZUYO Ryukoku University, Japan

CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY AND ENACTING POWER AND POLITENESS THROUGH HU-**MOUR IN JAPANESE BUSINESS MEETINGS**

This paper examines how humour is deployed to index a range of social identities and balance power and politeness in business meetings in Japan. At one level, humour clearly serves to amuse and entertain. In business discourse, humour also plays an important role in contributing to good workplace relations. It helps to create team spirit by expressing a sense of belonging to a group (Fletcher 1999) and to manage power relationships by de-emphasising hierarchical differences (Brown & Keegan 1999). In addition, it often contributes to characterising a distinctive workplace culture (Holmes & Marra 2002). In terms of identity work, humour contributes to the construction of various social identities including leader, manager, and gender identities (Schnurr 2009). Most previous research in this area, however, has been conducted in English-speaking societies. This presentation, by contrast explores the manifestations of humour in authentic Japanese business meetings. The Japanese meeting data is taken from a larger contrastive study, which compares authentic business meetings recorded in two business organisations - one in New Zealand and the other in Japan. The results of the analysis of the Japanese data can be summarised as follows: (1) it is generally those who are in authority and/or in charge of the interaction who are the main instigators of any humour within the context of the particular meeting group; (2) other members support and add to the humorous remarks in various ways; and (3) single contributions (quips and one-liners) and one-way

teasing (from superiors to subordinates) are also salient features.

As its key analytical concept, the analysis employs the concept of a community of practice (CofP), which has been developed within a social constructionist framework. The crucial criteria defining a CofP are 'mutual engagement', 'joint enterprise', and 'shared repertoire', criteria met by the Japanese business meeting groups in the data set.

Corresponding to the existing research based on English language data, creating team spirit is the major function of humour in this CofP, and ways of embodying this function differ according to the norms of the community. In this Japanese CofP, those who are in authority function as atmosphere makers or initiators of the sense of group belonging. By supporting their humour, other members, especially those who are not in positions of power, also contribute to team building. The results indicate that by employing humour or various responses to humour, a range of aspects of identity and related power issues are constructed discursively and dynamically. In other words, the meeting members are enacting politeness and power through humour in ways that meet underlying expectations of the CofP.

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SHIBAMOTO-SMITH, JANET S

University of California, Davis, United States of America

DISCUSSION

General Discussion of the Session on 'Linguistic Identity Constructions in the Japanese Workplace'

Thematic Session 115

Discursive Construction of Emotion in Multilingual Interaction

Session Chair 1: Prior, Matthew T. Session Chair 2: Kasper, Gabriele

Session Abstract:

Scholars across the social sciences increasingly attend to the contexts, representations, and consequences of emotion in everyday social life. In the wake of what some have called the 'affective' or 'emotional turn' (e.g., Clough & Halley, 2007), recent research on multilingualism has examined, *inter alia*, how multilingual speakers perceive and categorize emotion in their different languages, their knowledge and use of emotion lexicons and figurative language, language choice in emotion narratives, and affective repertoires and styles (e.g., Dewaele, 2010; Koven 2004, 2006; Pavlenko, 2006). Predominantly this research has been conducted with surveys, interviews, narratives, and experiments, though rarely with natural interactional data. These methodological choices reflect the standard Western view of emotion as intrapsychological states and traits that find expression through a person's neurophysiological and social behavior.

An interactional sociolinguistics of multilingualism, however, needs to develop alternative or complementary perspectives on emotions as profoundly discursively and culturally constituted phenomena. This project invites us to revisit earlier sociological work, notably Goffman's interactionally grounded face construct (1967), and linguistic anthropology, showing how emotions are inseparable from a community's cultural semiotics (e.g., Besnier, 1990; Lutz, 1988) and discursive practices (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1988). For more recent efforts to respecify emotion as socially-situated achievements rather than internal states or traits, we turn to ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, membership categorization analysis, discursive psychology, and interactional linguistics. Since these approaches have delivered critical epistemological and methodological resources to turn cognition (e.g., Molder & Potter, 2005) and identities (e.g., Benwell & Stokoe, 2006) from the inside out, they also supply the necessary – though not always sufficient – analytical stance and apparatus for developing a pragmatics of emotion in multilingual interaction. Based on natural data, studies of emotion in action have demonstrated how participants manage emotion through the sequential deployment of vocal and non-vocal semiotic resources; when and how such displays are occasioned; what actions they perform; what inferences they generate for the participants; and what interactional and moral consequences they engender (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen & Gülich, 2007; Edwards, 2007; Goodwin, 2007; Hepburn & Potter, 2007; Selting, 2010; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). However, the antecedent research has concerned itself almost exclusively with emotion talk among monolingual 'native speakers'. In an effort to transcend the monolingual bias that dominates socio-psychological research on emotion in interaction, the thematic session extends existing socio-

interactional research traditions to multilingual speakers, examining how participants from a range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds (co)construct emotion-implicative actions, identities, and stances through their sequential, rhetorical, and categorial work with multilingual and multimodal resources in ordinary conversation and institutional settings.

The thematic session will address questions including:

- In natural interactions among multilingual participants, what occasions emotional displays? What interactional consequences and moral inferences do emotion displays engender?

- How do multilingual speakers display emotions through various semiotic resources, including prosody and non-vocal embodiment through gaze, gesture, facial expression, and body movement?

- How are emotion displays achieved through specifically multilingual resources, such as codeswitching, crossing, and hybrid forms?

- What types or clusters of semiotic resources index specific categories of emotion or emotional intensity?

- How are emotion displays implicated in accomplishing actions and identities?

- How can methodological problems of recording, transcription, and representation in research on emotion talk among multilingual participants be addressed? What proof procedures are available for analytical claims? What analytical problems arise when the researcher shares or does not share membership with the participants?

PRIOR, MATTHEW T. Arizona State University, United States of America

'HE SAID... I THOUGHT...': REPRESENTED TALK AND THOUGHT (RTT) AS RESOURCES FOR REPRESENTING EMOTION IN SECOND LANGUAGE COMPLAINT STORIES

Based on data from 30 hours of oral ethnographic interviews with 6 Southeast Asian immigrants in the US and Canada, this study examines the interactional use and functions of represented talk and thought (RTT) formulations in second language (L2) complaint stories. Previous research has shown that RTT formulations are used by speakers in both narrative and non-narrative talk, particularly when describing unusual, problematic, and emotional events (Buttny, 1998; Drew, 1998; Holt & Clift, 2007). Functions of RTT include providing an affective key, making talk vivid, doing assessment, and producing objective and subjective stances. Recently, researchers have pointed out two areas in need of investigation: 1) represented talk (e.g., 'He said...') and thought (e.g., 'I thought...') as distinct yet interrelated phenomena (Haakana, 2007; Vásquez & Urzúa, 2009), and 2) RST use by second language users (Wolf, 2006). Analytic challenges include RST's potential ambiguity (e.g., 'I'm like...') (Romaine & Lange, 1991; Tannen, 1989) and its demonstrative and descriptive functions (Couper-Kuhlen, 2007). Informed by conversation analysis and discursive psychology, the study reported in this paper builds upon previous research by focusing on two aspects of represented talk and thought formulations in complaint stories in L2 English about experiences with linguistic and ethnic discrimination. First, it examines how talk-thought contrast sequences (e.g., 'He said... I thought...') allow the complaint story tellers to 'silently' assess the morality of people and events while maintaining the moral 'high ground' and inviting sympathetic responses from their listeners. Second, it demonstrates how speakers use represented thought, although less frequently than represented talk, at strategic and bounded points in their complaint stories to cue their listeners not just to the general emotionality of events but to highlight negative affect in particular. Supporting Vásquez and Urzúa's (2009) work on direct reported mental states (DRMS), findings also show that speakers use represented thought formulations as a broad device to index and describe emotions and perceptions as well as internal thought.

FASEL LAUZON, VIRGINIE; POCHON-BERGER, EVELYNE University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland

ON-LINE AND RETROSPECTIVE ORIENTATIONS TO SOMEONE ELSE'S DISPLAY OF EMOTION IN DINNER TABLE CONVERSATIONS

This paper aims at describing how orientations to a co-participant's display of emotion are accomplished during dinner table conversations involving au pair girls and members of their host families. It will provide detailed insights about how participants interpret each other's actions as displaying emotions and how they deal with these displays. It will also show how these orientations can be related to how participants interpret and construct their mutual identities and roles within the family.

Our data consist of 40 hours of audio-recorded and finely transcribed social interactions involving au pair girls (German / Swiss German L1, French L2) and members of their host families, i.e. parents and/or children (French L1). The au-pair girls, who could decide when to do the recordings, regularly chose to record dinner table conversations involving the children and/or the parents, during which the participants routinely tell each other anecdotes about their daily lives as well as past experiences. Such tellings may involve 'live' displays of emotions and/or reports of past displays of emotions. Anchored within the conversation analytic framework (EM/CA), our analyses will show that on-line and retrospective displays of emotions, like any other verbal actions, are oriented to and interpreted by the participants as sequentially relevant and as consequential. What a display of emotion 'means' and why it is displayed are questions that can be answered without intramental hypotheses, in an emic perspective, through a close observation of how the participants themselves treat such displays. This chapter will specifically focus on the au-pair girls orientations to their co-participants' displays of emotion by looking at two contexts:

'on-line' orientations to 'live' displays of emotions – usually taking place right after the co-participant's display of emotion; retrospective orientations to displays of emotions reported within the au-pairs story-tellings – the au-pairs reacting or presenting how they reacted, in the past, to somebody else's display of emotion.

Our analyses will provide detailed descriptions of the resources used by the au-pair girls to accomplish on-line and retrospective orientations to someone else's display of emotion. They will show that such orientations index the speaker's affiliation or disaffiliation with the emotion that is displayed: orientations may entails displaying sharing the same emotion, displaying empathy, or displaying feeling a non-corresponding emotion / no emotion. The on-line and retrospective orientations may come with direct or indirect assessments of the legitimacy of the displayed emotion (treated as legitimate or illegitimate within its context of production). Finally, the paper will discuss how the au-pair girls' on-line or retrospective orientations to someone else's display of emotion may be understood as resources for participating in conversations with their host families and for constructing their identity as concerned co-participants but also as concerned caregivers.

MURATBAYEVA, BAKYT

Universität Bielefeld, Germany

LAUGHTER AS EMOTIONAL DISPLAY IN A MULTILINGUAL SETTING OF POST-SOVIET DEVELOPMENT

In various studies on emotions and on laughter, in particular in psychological works, there is a dominant perspective on these two phenomena. Emotions are often seen as a reaction on external stimuli and its expression displays an internal state. In a similar way laughter is often treated as a passive reaction on external stimuli, for instance, as a response to humour.

In contrast to this widely spread idea, I see laugher as an important social communicative every day activity. It is not only an answer to various external stimuli such as jokes, but it makes joking, marks it or, to say it in the language of ethnomethodological conversation analysis, laughter does jokes or other social phenomena. Laughter plays an important role in the creation and maintenance of interpersonal relationships. It creates interactional identities. It can be seen as a social tool in the process of boundary making within or between groups (Glenn 2003). For example, laughter as laughing at serves not only to belittle others but also to create others. With this notion of laugher I want to emphasis its social and active role in social interactions. Concretely, I see laughter as something active and social that plays an important role in communicating social meanings.

My contribution to this thematic session on the 'Discursive Construction of Emotion in Multilingual Interaction' will be a detailed description of some multilingual situations where laughter occurs. The paper is based on my master thesis about laughter in everyday interactions of the Kazakhstani development milieu. Concerning my methodology, as it is preferred in ethnomethodological conversation analysis. I did audio and video recordings of naturally occurring interactions. In the study of laugher, I undermine the importance of such 'natural data' that was not provoked by the scholar. Laughter is an everyday phenomenon which is relatively easy and accessible to observe. Besides, one cannot take it out of its original context and simply ask questions about it post facto. Laughter is orderly organised together with other social verbal and nonverbal social activities. All these aspects belong to the study of laughter and are integral parts of it, which demand detailed description.

As an example of a multilingual setting I use everyday interactions within the Kazakhstani development milieu. Development cooperation can be seen as a sphere where multilingual interactions are concentrated. This is especially the case in post-socialist Kazakhstan. Local employees and foreign ones often demonstrate an outstanding willingness to learn and speak foreign languages. Local employees often learn English, while foreign ones learn Russian and Kazakh. Compared to people in other milieus, they are often forced to communicate with cultural others. Therefore, such people are often confronted with intercultural multilingual situations, where specific problems of communication often appear. A detailed study of laughter as a special type of emotional display in such situations provides an interesting and alternative view on how such multilingual and intercultural communication works in the daily life of the post-soviet development milieu.

FURUKAWA, TOSHIAKI Osaka University, Japan

'WHILE MY UKULELE GENTLY WEEPS': A PRAGMATICS OF EMOTION IN CROSSCUL-**TURAL MEDIA TALK**

Emotion is one of the most important semiotic resources that people use in everyday life and in institutional settings, and it has remained one of the most popular topics in discourse analytic research. As some discursive psychological studies have argued (Edwards & Potter, 1992), a discourse analysis of emotion must overcome the cognitivism that sneaks into its analytical process, examining emotions as topics in talk-in-interaction. Another challenge that a discourse analysis of emotion faces is to explore the use of emotions as semiotic resources in multilingual interaction. In order to deal with these challenges and contribute to a pragmatics of emotion, I approach emotions in crosscultural contexts by considering them as actions that are publicly displayed through talk, embodied practice, and manipulation of artifacts. I also take a sequential and membership categorization analytic approach to 'media talk' (Hutchby, 2006) in which a musician from Hawai'i interacts with TV or radio personalities from the mainland United States. The goals of the study are (1) to demonstrate the way that these interactants occasion and manage emotional displays while talking about Hawai'i and (2) to show what interactional consequences and moral implications the emotional displays have.

Jake Shimabukuro is an ukulele virtuoso who started his career in Hawai'i and began to build his fame nationwide and globally in 2005 with a YouTube video clip in which he played George Harrison's While My Guitar Gently Weeps on the ukulele. Since then, he has performed in many cities and also appeared on many TV and radio shows, including popular late night talk shows in the United States. I searched the internet and collected two radio interviews and one TV interview. I transcribed these interviews according to CA conventions and then analyzed the interaction between Shimabukuro and the host of each program.

Findings show that it was always the host who initiated the pronunciation of the Hawaiian-origin word 'ukulele' as a topic and that the reference to the proper and improper pronunciations (i.e., [ukulele] vs. [jukəleili]) of the instrument's name occasioned emotional displays such as laughter. Moreover, the hosts deployed personal pronouns to constitute two groups, that is, those who are not from Hawai'i and pronounce the word improperly and those who are from Hawai'i, pronounce the word properly, and could be offended by the wrong pronunciation. Responding calmly to this kind of characterization by one of the hosts. Shimabukuro denied that people in Hawai'i might be offended by the wrong pronunciation; still, he made the Hawai'i and U.S. mainland distinction. Shimabukuro and the hosts described well-known ukulele properties, such as being easy, simple, and not intimidating to play, and they jointly constituted the ukulele as an instrument of joy for everyone, thereby reproducing a popular image of Hawai'i as a paradise in the Pacific.

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KASPER. GABRIELE

University of Hawaii at Manoa, United States of America;

MEMBERSHIP CATEGORIZATION IN REPEATED DIRECT REPRESENTED SPEECH: COMBINED DEVICES FOR AFFECTIVE DISPLAY

A sizable literature has examined stories - and in particular complaint stories -

as sites for affect display and described the resources and interactional practices through which story tellers and recipients collaboratively construct the moral character of the participants inside and outside of the story world (e.g., Drew, 1988; Drew & Walker, 2009; Edwards, 2005; Günthner, 1997; Selting, 2012). One powerful device that invokes affective attributions is to describe persons as incumbents of social categories and relate persons to others within a category set (Sacks, 1992; Hester & Eglin, 1997). As repositories of cultural knowledge, membership categories have normatively attached to them particular packages of actions, rights and obligations that generate expectations to social conduct and relations to incumbents of associated categories, such as members of a family. Because membership categorization is implicative of moral judgment by default, it is a ubiquitous device in emotion talk (Edwards, 1998).

Direct represented speech (DRS) - speech attributed to speakers speaking at an occasion other than the ongoing talk - has the capacity to simultaneously construct objectivity and subjectivity: objectivity, in that producing an utterance as another speaker's voice lends the talk authenticity and factuality (Holt, 1996; Wooffitt, 1992); subjectivity, in that the selection of some bits of putatively quoted talk over others, and the manner of their representation through linguistic choices, prosody, and nonvocal action, convey the current speaker's epistemic, affective, and evaluative stances on the represented utterance and the moral character of its alleged speaker (Clift & Holt, 2007).

As another pervasive practice in interaction, repetitions can accomplish a wide range of actions and stances (Johnston, 1994; Tannen, 2007), Among other things, self-repetition can generate a sense of intensity and other-repetition conveys a range of epistemic and affective recipient postures. Both types of repetition are a productive resource for constructing emotionality in talk.

Membership categorization, direct represented speech, and repetition are independent organizations that do not co-occur in interaction with any great fre-

quency. Yet on occasion they do. These intersections are the object of interest in this study. Specifically, the paper seeks answers to the following questions: In what sequential contexts does emotion-implicative membership categorization in repeated DRS instances occur? How do first and subsequent versions display and attribute affective stances and moral positions as local social accomplishments? The data for this conversation-analytic study are a collection of 15 cases drawn from interactional story tellings in autobiographic interviews with multilingual immigrants to North America.

GREER, TIM Kobe University, Japan

ON DOING JAPANESE AWE IN ENGLISH TALK

Based on a collection of cases taken from 12 hours of video-recorded interaction, this study examines some of the ways that Japanese novice L2 speakers of English employ prosodic variations of the information receipt particle 'oh' to socially accomplish awe in L2 interaction. 'Oh' has been widely recognized in Conversation Analysis as a change-of-state token (Heritage, 1984), which speakers use to make an interactional claim to epistemic readjustment, or as Schegloff (2007: 118) explains it, going from 'non-knowing' to 'now-knowing'. However, in addition to marking such changes in knowledge states, it was noticed that the Japanese participants in the current data set also occasionally produced 'oh' in ways that make public the speaker's affective state with regard to the informing turn. Specifically, an 'oh' response that is delivered as 'ogh' or 'uogh' or 'worgh', was taken by recipients to be conveying 'surprise' or 'awe'. Unlike the surprised receipts found in L1 English use (Local, 1996; Selting, 1996), these 'awed receipts' were delivered with decreased pitch, and their vowel quality and sequential placement identified them as Japanese (L1) tokens. In Japanese, the change-of-state token is usually expressed with 'a' (lkeda, 2007), whereas 'ogh' and its variants are more akin to the sort of reactive tokens used to express surprise (see Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 2006). Through a fine-grained sequential analysis, the current study seeks to emically account for the way these participants use 'oh' in their L2 English, demonstrating that they view it not simply as a change-of-state token, but as a means of 'doing being awed'. The presenter will outline several interactional loci, including free-standing ogh, onset-delayed ogh, ogh-prefaced assessments and multiple ophs, all of which work to make public the speaker's emotional stance toward some aspect of the prior interaction. Although these awed-receipts are fundamentally an element of the speakers' first-language, the novice speakers of English in this data set do not treat them as marked in anyway, which raises pedagogical guestions of whether or not language teachers need to point out such displays of emotion, or indeed whether or not such reactions are teachable. The researcher's position is that such reactive displays of emotion performed in L1 are usually inferable within their sequential context, and therefore constitute a point at which the two languages can comprehensibly meld, allowing L2 speakers to retain some of their linguistic and cultural identities while moving toward a multilingual mode of communication.

HAUSER, ERIC (1,2)

1: University of Electro-Communications, Japan; 2: University of Hawai'i, Department of Second Language Studies

DISPLAY OF PUNCTUAL AFFECT IN THE PERFORMANCE OF PERSEVERANCE

This presentation analyzes how gesture is used with talk to display affective stance in the face of trouble. Though the talk and gesture unfold temporally, the display of affect is designed as punctual. The data are drawn from more than four hours of video-recorded discussions among Japanese university students. The students are participating in these discussions because this is what they have been assigned to do in a university EFL class. The discussions are conducted mostly in English.

The presentation focuses on two cases. In the first, a student has difficulty fully articulating a point that supports her argument. Rather than abandon this point, she restarts it and brings it to completion. Upon its completion, in conjunction with the final word of her turn, she claps one time, which, together with the design of the talk, marks the completion. By restarting and bringing to completion the point that she has been having difficulty articulating, this student perseveres in the face of trouble. The single clap at completion displays an affective stance towards this completion, which may be clossed as satisfaction with the successful outcome. In the second, one student is maintaining an argumentative position with which the other three students are in disagreement. Following the articulation of a point by one of these other students, this student presents a counter-argument. She starts the counterargument with one key word, during the articulation of which she hits the table with her hand. This student is persevering with her argument in the face of disagreement with the others in her discussion group. While the others receive help in articulating their arguments from those who agree with them, this student finds herself having to articulate her arguments on her own. By hitting the table as she articulates a key word of her counter-argument, she displays an affective stance which may be glossed as refusal to give up. The other students respond to this display with laughter, while one of them also voices encouragement through a formulaic expression in Japanese accompanied by a gesture. The act of clapping and the act of hitting the table each has a temporal structure. However, they are designed as punctual. The former consists of a single hand clap, while the latter consists of a single strike. This can be understood as constructing the affect as also punctual. The satisfaction in the first case is displayed as satisfaction at the point of success. The refusal to give up in the second case is displayed as such refusal at the point of launching a counter-argument.

It might be assumed that these students have little or no stake in what they are doing. Their only reason for participating in these discussions is that this is what they have been assigned to do. How they interact, though, indicates that this assumption may not be correct. In particular, in the face of various troubles, these students persevere. The display of punctual affect is one resource through which this perseverance may be performed.

Thematic Session 116

God in the City: cultural identities and language practices in urban religious settings

Session Chair 1: Münch, Christian Session Chair 2: Omoniyi, Tope

Session Abstract:

Chriost (2007) theorises the city as a legitimate framework and site for investigating language and globalisation processes. Within that framework, we recognise the postmodern city as being characterised by religious diversity due to manifold processes including migration, processes of cultural integration and identity formation. Much of the religious diversity in urban settings goes hand in hand with multicultural identities and multilingual practices that reflect the countries of origin of immigrant groups arriving at different times.

While urban religious settings and the study of cultural and linguistic identities form part of the research agenda of many disciplines, including sociology, anthropology or ethnography (Livezey 2000; Carnes/Karpathakis 2001; Alba/Raboteau/DeWind 2009), sociolinguistics still has a long way to go in mapping the complex interface between religion, identity and language or linguistic practices. The disciplinary departure from language scholarship as one dedicated to discrete language units to one that engages with 'what' we do with language as social practice as well as 'how', affords opportunities for exploring the interface vis-a-vis the city. Fishman's (2006) decalogue of theoretical principles is well worth exploring and deploying in this context. The complimentary processes of sacrilization and secularization that accompany globalisation in multifaith cities in particular and societies in general further put the spotlight on the language, religion and culture interface. This is not only because the spread of major religions throughout the world naturally accounts for the presence of the associated languages of those religions in the multilingual and multicultural networks and repertoires of cities, but also because the social and political dynamics reflect the trajectories of the multitude of religious groups and their respective language and literacy practices. Depending on the origins and history of component communities, the city features varying and changing linguistic landscapes to reflect its diverse languages and cultural practices.

Religious groups are becoming increasingly dynamic in their approach to integrating members of different cultural and social origins as Omoniyi (2011) illustrates with holy hip-hop and social change. Particularly in urban settings, religious groups on virtually all sides of the spectrum strive towards the integration of culturally and linguistically diverse congregations. With religion being the dominant category, language nevertheless often plays a pivotal role in both, giving room to the expression of cultural practices through the use of different languages, as well as bringing together the community through the use of one language accepted by all members, however linguistically diverse the community may be. The sociology of language and religion as a subdiscipline has made a modest start in this regard (see for instance Salami 2006, Omoniyi 2006 and 2011) but these efforts need now to be extended to cover the complex issues raised by the interface in the city.

The panel organizers wish to invite submissions from a variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives on language, religion and cultural identity, focussing on elements such as literacy practices, use of written language, identity formation, cultural practices, including historical approaches as well as current fieldwork in progress. We also encourage submissions from a multitude of cultural and linguistic backgrounds that clearly describe their underlying theoretical concepts and methodological approaches. In organizing this panel, neither the type of religion nor the specific focus on language or culture is emphasized, but the analysis of the nexus between religion, language and identity.

SPOLSKY, BERNARD Bar-Ilan University, Israel

THE LANGUAGE OF JEWISH WORSHIP IN THE CITY

Even before the expulsion from Palestine by the Roman, Jews had developed a triglossic patterns, with Hebrew as the sacred language, Judeo-Aramaic as a daily language and language of contact with non-Jews, and Greek as language of government and secular elite. This pattern continued in the Diaspora, with Hebrew maintaining its role commonly for worship and study, a Jewish language (such as Yiddish or Ladino or Judeo-Arabic) developing for community use (and in some cases for literacy), and co-territorial vernacular being used for external contacts. Jews migrating to a new city (they were commonly barred from land ownership and agriculture) would join or form synagogues with others who shared customs and language. In the Venetian ghetto for instance, there were separate synagogues for speakers of Yiddish, Ladino and Judeo-Venetian. But Hebrew remained the common language of praver: a sixteenth century Haggadah for Passover printed in Venice had a Hebrew text accompanied by translations into the three other Jewish varieties. With the return to Zion in the 19th century, the same pattern continued, but the revernacularization and revitalization of Hebrew at the beginning of the 20th century meant that for the first time for two thousand years, there were worshippers able to speak and understand a modified version of the sacred language. Nonetheless, the preference continued to be to establish synagogues following the traditions of Diaspora communities, although there was a tendency to standardization making possible the printing of three major editions of the prayer book, Ashkenazi (German, Polish, Lithuanian), Sephardi (Hungarian, Hassidic), and Oriental (Jews expelled from Arabic speaking countries). As well as synagogues following these three traditions, there are others in Jerusalem with more precise focus - an Italian synagogue which follows the practice of either Rome or Milan, North African communities with Moroccan or Tunisian customs, specific Hassidic communities associated with the east European towns of their founding Rebbes, for instance. With all the variety, the bulk of worship (prayer and Bible reading) in these synagogues is in Hebrew, and most use Modern Israeli Hebrew as the language for sermons, teaching, and announcements. But some, with more recent immigrants, use a traditional co-territorial language. Thus, there are a few synagogues which have sermons in Russian, French, or English, in breach of the generally accepted Israeli practice of using only Hebrew in public. How long this will last is hard to predict, as the children of congregants are increasingly native speakers of Hebrew and the immigrants themselves gradually develop proficiency in the language.

WILSON, TRACIE L Leipzig University, Germany

JEWISH IDENTITIES IN THE LAST DAYS OF EMPIRE: LANGUAGE REPERTOIRES IN TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY LVIV

Scholars often discuss processes of globalization as a phenomenon primarily relevant to the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. However, dramatic social changes and a collapsed sense of space and time are processes that began considerably earlier. Certainly by the late nineteenth century many features were already well underway. The transformation of religious identities and ways of life in urban contexts provides an opportunity to examine the central role of language in such processes.

At the turn-of-the- century, the Hapsburg city of Lviv was home to multiple ethnic and religious communities. The three largest ethnic groups were Jews, Poles (mainly Roman Catholic), and Ukrainians (mainly Greek Catholic and Orthodox). The city, which served as the capitol of Galicia, also became an important political and cultural center and site for migration. This paper examines language repertoires in the administration of Jewish inhabitants of the city. Literacy and bureaucratic institutions increase opportunities for elites to control subjects (Burke 1987, Scott 1998) and the issue of who had control and who represented the Jewish population generated ongoing tension. In particular, I consider the ways that language was employed within documents that address the changing environment with regard to charity. During this period social welfare institutions were undergoing dramatic change from charity that was primarily religiously motivated and affiliated toward more secular, state-sponsored forms of providing for those in need. Throughout the nineteenth century, religious institutions in the Hapsburg Empire were incorporated into bureaucratic state structures (see, for example, Leskiv 2012). In Jewish communities in Galicia, this meant a shift from more autonomous self-government to the more subordinate Jewish municipal authority (Gmina wyznaniowa izraelicka). Another important trend was the emergence of competing Jewish identities. Jewish inhabitants of the city included multiple communities of reform-oriented and Orthodox, including Hassidim, Zionists, as well as 'Poles of Mosaic faith.' Regarding language, Fishman stresses that religious variations coexist within the same religious community for a variety of reasons, for example, due to a lag between practices in outlying peripheral regions (2006). However, in Lviv sharp contrasts existed within an urban environment, in which the majority were Orthodox Jews. On the other hand, the great differences and animosity between these groups calls into question whether they constituted a single Jewish community. Indeed, attempts to bring about change in Jewish religious practices were hotly contested throughout the nineteenth century, at times with violent consequences (Stanislawski 2007)

My objectives include examining the ways that language and strategies became institutionalized (Bauman 1983) with regard to charity practices. In addition, I address key questions that underscore varied understandings of Jewish identity and community. For example, what terms were used to argue that someone was a valid member of the community, and therefore, deserving of assistance (i.e. city resident, the child of married parents, kinship with donor of charity funds) and what language and terms were used to demonstrate connections to or distance from the many Jewish migrants from Russiancontrolled areas.

SAID-SIRHAN, YURNI IRWATI National University of Singapore, Singapore

ETHNOLINGUISTIC AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY NEGOTIATION OF MUSLIMS IN SINGAPORE

The Malay community as an ethnic group constitutes the majority of the Muslim population in Singapore. Although Arabic, a non-official language, is also learnt for the purposes of Qur'an reading and prescribed prayers, the Malay language, the state-assigned mother tongue for the Malay community, is the default language used in many Islamic religious classes in Singapore, despite the pervasive use of English in national schools, at work and in intercultural interactions. Malay is more than just the language spoken by the majority of Muslims in Singapore; it has come to index Islamic identity in this multicultural, cosmopolitan society. Malays have always linked English, a language that many of them are also competent in as a result of Singapore's bilingual policy, with the more 'public' domains. Reinforced by the state's ideology that English is a 'western' language encoded with 'western' values, it is not the preferred choice among many Malays for the teaching of Islamic values. Many Malays would concur that 'being Malay' equates to 'being Muslim', and that Malay culture, including the language, revolves around Islam. Before the Romanized Malay script was made the official script of the Malay language in Singapore, the Jawi script, adapted from Arabic orthography, was widely used by the Malays in reading and writing. Such conflation of Arabic orthography, which is symbolic of the Islamic faith, with Malay language has been fundamental in constructing particular ethnoreligious identity among Malays. This indexicality of ethnolinguistic identification and religiosity has also been perpetuated through official identification documents, where Singaporean Malays could choose to have their names written in Jawi below the Romanized script in their identity cards (NRIC) to reflect their ethnoreligious identity. and the media, where calls for prayer as well as religious sermons are broadcast in a national Malay radio stations. The national Malay language newspaper also features several articles and question-and-answer on Islam. Malay, being the default language used in most mosques for Friday sermons and religious classes, is thus ascribed much power by the local Malay-Muslim community. This paper argues that the dominance of the Malay language in the religious realm of the Malays leads to Islam being perceived as a 'given' among the Malays, which then marginalizes other non-Malay Muslims within the Singaporean Muslim community itself. Through an analysis of participants' dialogic stancetaking (Du Bois 2007: 163) in an ethnographic study, this paper aims to show how the nuances of such ethnolinguistic identification and religiosity among Muslims in Singapore get played out in interactions as they align towards their 'local identity categories' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 591).

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PAANANEN, LAURA University of Helsinki, Finland

RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE AND SLANG AS RESOURCES IN CONSTRUCTING RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN AN URBAN SETTING

This paper discusses the use of religious language and Helsinki slang among Finnish-speaking Christian young adults and the functions these linguistic resources have in constructing the religious identity of the speakers. I focus on three young adults who all consider themselves as believers and belong to a local Pentecostal-like charismatic church in Helsinki.

Helsinki slang is a modern and rapidly renewing variety whereas Finnish religious language is usually considered as archaic and solemn by outsiders and often also by young Christians themselves. Despite the stylistic contrast of these varieties the participants of my study use slang words and religious expressions side by side in their interaction, even within a single utterance.

Drawing on conversation analysis and recent research on indexicality and stance in sociolinguistics, I examine the ways in which slang words and religious expressions contribute to the construction of the speaker's religious identity. I will focus on storytelling sequences where the speaker tells about his or her conversion. I will show that religious expressions are used for activating an ideological spiritual frame through which the past experiences are looked at. Slang words, by contrast, are used to emphasize the total change of life which the speaker experienced in the conversion. These stances can be seen as indexical links between the linguistic expressions and the speakers' religious identities.

The use of Helsinki slang in general is related to the background of the participants. They all have lived in Eastern Helsinki suburbs which are mostly inhabited by working-class people. They have also had relations to the subcultures for which the slang is an essential brand. Drawing on my findings, I argue that the speakers' religious identities and urban cultural identities are intertwined. Consequently, rather than viewed as regional, urban cultural identity is more aptly viewed as social, associated with the groups the speaker is related to. Furthermore, religious identity manifests itself as complex, fluid and individual and not as static and joint.

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HAVLÍK, MARTIN

Czech Language Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech republic, a public research institution, Czech Republic

ADDRESSING A CITY OF UNBELIEVERS: DISCURSIVE PRACTICES OF CHRISTIAN PREACHERS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF 'US' AND 'THEM'

The paper is concerned with the way in which Christian preachers serving in the capital of the Czech Republic, Prague, discursively handle the categories of 'us' and 'them' in their sermons. I point out that there are two different groups of 'them' in the sermons: (1) sectarians, and (2) unbelievers. Significantly for the situation of Christian churches in the Czech Republic, ethnicity does not play any role whatsoever. According to self-categorization theory, members of 'them', which comprise the so-called 'out-group', are often presented negatively, in sharp contrast to the positive self-presentation of members of the 'in-group'. And since sectarians comprise the genuine 'out-group', there is no problem for Christian preachers to talk about them. However, with respect to the latter group, the situation is somewhat different. The problem for the preachers consists in the fact that their aim is not to defeat the unbelievers, but rather, to convert them into believers. In a city such as Prague, in which most inhabitants are declared atheists, this is not an easy task. By using Membership Categorization Analysis (Sacks 1992), I show how they discursively solve the problem of differentiating unbelievers and believers in such a way that no strict border splitting into 'us' and 'them' is created. Such a distinction might not be desirable for the preachers aiming to coax the unbelievers to believe in God and the believers to help unbelievers find the proper life course, since a definite border between 'us' and 'them' breeds the negatively presented 'out-group' and positively self-presented 'in-group'.

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REYES, XAÉ ALICIA

University of Connecticut, United States of America

POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT OF IMMIGRANTS THROUGH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AND PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH LIFE

People moving into new communities seek places to congregate with like-minded people. Very often, the local church is one of the first places to make connections with others in similar circumstances. In some cases, language becomes a factor for participation and passivity characterizes early stages of most of the interactions. Other factors that influence the levels of participation include similarities in educational and social class backgrounds. Leader-ship roles and higher visibility are often awarded to members of the group with higher status along these lines.

In examining the patterns of inclusion in church settings in the United States (U.S.), there have been discussions of approaches to immigration and the embracing of immigrants' home cultures. In the earlier years of immigration movements, the concern was for 'assisting' migrants. This focus on assisting immigrants included the learning of cultural norms and languages of the newcomers without integrating these into the practices of the host church communities. For this reason, in recent times, the church, specifically the Catholic church in the U.S., has reconfigured their approach and it now seeks to incorporate aspects of the newcomer cultures and practices in their celebrations.

With regard to Latino immigrants in the U.S., The focus on diversity and multicultural perspectives has been encouraged through initiatives such as Hispanic ministries in Latino communities. The incorporation of celebrations of different avocations such as Our Lady of Guadalupe, and addition of music and celebrations from Hispanic traditions, have been adopted in order to attract and meet the needs of immigrant Latino Catholics

The struggles of Latino/as for educational equity and access have been well documented in the literature (Padilla, 1997). As the issues of lower academic performance and underachievement by Latino/as are researched, much is said regarding the role of parents in the educational process. Issues of al-

leged lack of parental involvement in the education of their children have been mentioned and explained in terms of differences in language and cultural behaviors of parents (Valdes, 1996). Attention has also turned to institutional practices and norms that seem to alienate and further distance parents from educational settings ('Strong families, strong schools' report.).

In this paper, I will discuss participation in community events, in churches and the ethos of civic engagement as discussed by Putnam (2000). I will examine the processes and behaviors which may influence the development of voice and the empowerment of Latino/as in educational settings. Findings from ethnographic data collected through more than 10 years of participant observation in communities, schools, and churches located in urban settings in 2 northeastern states are discussed. Potential intersections of successful strategies for engagement and integration without total assimilation into the host society are considered.

CASTANEDA, ERNESTO University of Texas El Paso. United States of America

RELIGIOUS AND LINGUISTIC FREEDOM IN THE PUBLIC SPACE OF GLOBAL CITIES: IMMIGRANT IDENTITIES AND POLITICAL INCORPORATION

This paper looks at the intersection between immigrant incorporation, linguistic practices within religious institutions, and freedom of religion in three global cities: New York, Paris and Barcelona. What are the differences? And what are the implications for immigrant incorporation and everyday citizenship? In paper the three cities are located inside countries that officially profess freedom of religion along the separation of church and state. So, formal principles and laws do not explain the differences, but history does: struggles against the Catholic Church in France which leads to state-sanctioned secularism, and the multiplication of sects in the early U.S. which led to 'civic religion' which embraces all of them. Monolingualism versus openness to multiculturalism and multilingualism vary across these cities. Parisians underline the importance to participate in civil, cultural, and social life in the city in French. New Yorkers are open to different languages and groups united in the same city. Barcelona struggles between Castilian, Catalan, and immigrant languages and varieties of Castilian Spanish from Latin American immigrants. The avenues of religious expression and incorporation through religious institutions differ for Latinos and North Africans in these cities. Thereby influencing the agent, manner and object (who, how and to whom) of claims-making and result in different forms of inclusion or exclusion. Furthermore, the possibility of full religious practice in the preferred language, I argue is an important part of everyday citizenship but only certain cities see these practices as legitimate. Thus language and religion practices of ethnic and immigrant groups can act as arenas of self-organizing and 'pillars' for in-corporation to larger political systems, or can act as permanent markers of 'otherness' in other socio-political arrangements (e.g. Paris). As the paper shows, immigrant incorporation into new cities is shaped by participation in different religious organizations, and by linguisti

MÜNCH, CHRISTIAN RWTH Aachen University, Germany

FAITH, LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN LATINO CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES

Churches in the United States have been synonymous with ethnic communities, their religions and languages for most of the history of the United States. Churches of immigrants from Latin America were no exception to the rule, yet throughout the last twenty years the increase in immigration from Latin American countries has brought about changes in the organization of churches that use Spanish as a medium of communication, religious ceremony and cultural expression. Waves of immigration from the Caribbean, Central and South America, and most importantly from neighboring Mexico have mixed up the social fabric of many Latino neighborhoods, often dominantly monoethnic in character at the time. Churches as a consequence began to attract an increasingly diverse Latino community in places like Chicago, Florida or New York. Yet often the sheer number of the biggest immigrant group, Mexicans in need of spiritual and social support, forced Latino churches of formerly monoethnic Puerto Rican, Dominican or Cuban communities to redefine the cultural identity of their church and accomodate new Spanish-speaking members with somewhat different cultural and religious identities. Such processes of cultural accomodation and integration are more than common between English-speaking communities and immigrants in cities around the world. In the case of the Latino churches in US cities, however, integration happens among speakers of Spanish speaking different varieties of Spanish, thus adding a particularly rich dimension of linguistic interaction that allows members of a church to mark their ethnic identities while taking part in the collective religious discourses and language practices of their particular community. Language and identity are thus intricately interwoven on various levels of linguistic interaction, giving room to share religious and linguistic practices while maintaining a strong sense of identity and cultural belonging among the community.

HAN, HUAMEI

Simon Fraser University, Canada

UNINTENDED MINORITY LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE: THE CASE OF A BAPTIST CHINESE CHURCH IN WEST CANADA

Based on a one-year ethnography at a Baptist church by and for Chinese immigrants and their children in West Canada, this paper examines the complex interplay between national policies and ethnolinguistic minorities' institutional and personal coping strategies which seemingly was leading to a shift to the dominant language but in effect facilitated minority language maintenance. Drawing on the notion of legitimate language and legitimate speaker (Bourdieu, 1991) and the dominant ideology of bilingualism as double monolingualism (Heller, 1999, 2007), I document and analyze how Canadian official English-French bilingualism, intersecting with immigration and settlement policies, de-legitimatized first generation skilled Chinese immigrants as linguistic minorities who could not commend respect and authority not only as professionals, but also as parents. I illustrate why these parents desired to raise their children to be Christians, and the Senior Pastor's decision to give up his desire for maintaining Chinese language and to set up an English congregation for 'the second generation who do not understand Chinese.' However, taking a Bourdieu-inspired materialist and processual view of multilingualism (Han, 2011) that sees multilinguals as having various linguistic repertoires and varying degrees of 'linguistic balance, dominance, and fluency' (Edwards, 1994), my ethnographic observations, questionnaires and interviews at the English-congregation revealed that the second-generation were all multilinguals and with Chinese in their repertoires. My analysis show that, for these second generation Chinese-Canadians growing up in English Canada, the multilingual church was the most significant place of socialization, with both peers and adults, which contributed to their language socialization (Roberts, 2002), including informal learning of Chinese. I analyze why most youths emphasized their religious identity over ethnicity, some reported resenting Chinese classes at some stage and some distanced themselves from Chinesespeaking adults. I argue that, while the institutional language policy at the church was believed to be leading to a shift to English, the fact that the English congregation was situated in the Chinese church and comprised of mostly young Chinese-Canadians sharing similar struggles as immigrant children, facilitated multilingualism through building the community, which contributed to minority language maintenance unexpectedly. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of how Canada's immigration, settlement and integration policies have shaped the formation of religious, ethnic,

national and other aspects of identities among Chinese immigrants and their children I studied, and thereby continue shaping the changing religious landscape locally and globally.

PANDHARIPANDE, RAJESHWARI VIJAY

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

WHY PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE DIFFER IN THE CITY?: THE CASE OF HINDU **RITUALS IN CHICAGO**

In the era of globalization, concentration of Hindu immigrants in the US from India, Uganda, Srilanka, etc., is largely in the cities. Scholars, Eck (1997) for example, have largely ignored the impact of the sociocultural contexts /ecologies of the cities on the pattern (s) of language use in the religious practices. The paper examines the pattern of language use in the Hindu rituals in Chicago which presents a sharp contrast to the language use in India and is also different from the pattern of language use in small towns in the US. While many Hindus in Chicago allow the use of English, they also strongly promote the use of Sanskrit (but not other regional languages) in their rituals. In contrast to this, in India, and in the small towns in the US, the use of English in Hindu rituals is strictly prohibited and, the use of regional languages is readily accepted.

The paper argues that the difference in the patterns is due to the difference in a) the composition, and aspirations of the Hindu communities in Chicago, India and small towns in the US and b) the function of the languages across these contexts. I argue that the use of Sanskrit and English in Chicago is determined by two major reasons: a) the Hindu (minority religious) community wants to establish its separate group identity in Chicago and Sanskrit is the most appropriate choice for consolidating the culturally and linguistically diverse Hindu immigrants because it is universally accepted as language of Hinduism across cultural, national and linguistic boundaries, and b) English is the only commonly shared language of communication within Hindu community and it is the language of the recent Hindu sects originated in the US (i.e., International Society of Krishna-consciousness, Transcendental meditation in the 20th century CE) and it is the language of many Anglo- American and second generation Hindus.

In contrast, in small towns (Marion, for example) in Illinois, there are very small diglossic Hindu communities, who use English in the secular domain while their own languages (regional, national) in their religious practices. In India, English is viewed as powerful in secular context but spiritually 'polluted' since it is viewed as the language of the British, mlecchas 'not-holy' and not acceptable in the religious context of Hinduism. While the spiritual power of Sanskrit is accepted beyond doubt, and priests certainly use it, the use of regional languages is on the rise since a large number of Hindus do not know Sanskrit and Hinduism readily allows use of regional languages and identities. Moreover, Hinduism being a majority religion in India, there is no need to consolidate Hindu community to establish its identity in the face of diverse religious communities.

The evidence will be presented from the texts used in rituals, oral ritual practices, discourses in the temples, and interviews.

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DUPPÉ, ALEXANDRA MARIA

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany

SPIRIT POSSESSION AND SENSE-MAKING PROCESSES IN BRAZILIAN UMBANDA

Symbolic systems in urban religious contexts have been extensively discussed in socio-scientific research. The syncretistic religion of Umbanda, documented as an urban phenomenon from its beginnings in Rio de Janeiro during the 1920's, is often described as 'a mirror of Brazilian society' (Negrão 1996). This metaphor seems to be appropriate with regard to its members' socio-economic diversity and, at the same time, because of its spiritual origins that represent a cross-cut through Brazilian history and includes European, Indigenous and African traditions as fundamental elements of its ritual. The inclusion of different forms of belief provides an access to a specific kind of language practices in urban contexts that opens up for the religious community's members a virtual space which creates an in-group factor and reduces the impact of metropolitan anonymity. What this amounts to is not the emergence of new language varieties in a strict sense but that of new discursive traditions which are of considerable interest for sociolinguistic analyses.

The presence of embodied spirits that form part of a 'coherent symbolic system' (Lambek 1981) opens up settings for communication based on a mythical world that is always connected to the social reality of its members. The possibility of communication in the Brazilian Umbanda in form of dramatic transcendent states like possession and trance behavior, allows for the emergence of religious spaces that unify the members on the basis of a corresponding 'spirit idiom' that provides a social network system far away from the ordinary social roles of the adepts.

Taking into account the conversational mechanisms mentioned by Linell (2009), it can be claimed that spirit possession 'allows a two-way communication among mediums channeling spirits and other participants' (Wirtz 2007:101). Sense-making processes in Umbanda are stimulated by the social construction of identities and contribute to consolidating knowledge and belief systems. Taking as an example the discourse of selected spiritual entities of Umbanda I will analyze some of the linguistic features and mechanisms that lead to the above mentioned construction of mutually accessible mental spaces (Fauconnier 1994). On the basis of these examples it will be shown how agency and positioning features provide an integration of different social classes and cultural identities.

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BEN SAID, SELIM National Institute of Education, Singapore

ISLAM, HIP-HOP, AND RESISTANCE: TUNISIAN FLOWS OF DISSENT IN THE POST **'ARAB SPRING'**

The recent urban uprisings, witnessed in several cities in North Africa and the Middle East, have brought to an international platform the plight of repressed and silenced voices and showed with vigor mostly through social media and international news broadcasts some examples of popular rebellion against oppressive regimes. As the country where sparks of the 'Arab Spring' first flared and extended in a crescendo throughout most of the rest of the Arab world, Tunisia has shown early signs of urban 'underground' resistance some of which was expressed through artistic and musical genres such as Hip-Hop. While Tunisian Hip-Hop is rife with subversive themes (i.e. sedition, defiance of the social/political status-quo, protests over the lack of free speech), recent hip-hop artists have started to use this musical genre as a pulpit for defending the country's religious identity as well. In this sense, the negotiation of a religious identity within a background of sociopolitical instability is mediated and channeled through language and is a prime example of what Alim calls a 'language ideological combat' (2009). While the construction of a religious identity may seem to be a redundant enterprise in a country were Islam is the majority religion, this identity struggle expressed through language and music epitomizes broader ideological tensions which the country is experiencing being at the merger of two seemingly disparate cultures (Barber, 1995; Ritzer, 2011). The presentation will examine Hip-Hop lyrics from selected Tunisian artists in addition to perceptions/attitudes collected from local respondents in reaction to the artists' songs. Hip-Hop has become a global movement and transgresses national and racial boundaries (Mitchell, 2001; Pennycook, 2007). Tunisian hip-hop therefore offers a tangible example of how 'transcultural flows' (Pennycook, 2007) move beyond particularistic cultural settings, are translocated/transported, re-appropriated, and 'reused to fashion new identities' (p. 8). This presentation therefore will explores how the language of Hip-Hop expresses a form of localized 'militant' religious resistance to hegemonic ideologies and official top-down discourses and will showcase how rap music is as a site of construction, mediation, and negotiation of local identity.

SALAMI, LASISI OLADIPO

Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria

MY CHURCH IS BETTER THAN YOURS : LANGUAGE, RELIGION AND THE CITYSCAPE IN SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA

According to Bloor and Bloor (2007), language is an integral part of the control possessed by a given organization that exercises the most power, control and influence over the way we live and think. In Nigerian cities today, the church has found language use, whether in prayers, evangelism, radio and television announcements or jingles, to be central to the direction the life of the faithful takes, and particularly in trhe achievement of the good life in the face of rising poverty and unemployment and its attendant fall-outs. In this paper, I will attempt to describe and examine signage on wooden boards and buildings indexing churches in the cities of Ile-Ife and Ibadan in Southwestern Nigeria. Using the framework of the sociology of language and religion, I examine specifically language use as expressed in church names such as ': Mountain of Fire and Miracles', 'Winner's Chapel' and 'Fountain of Life Church' on signboards and church buildings in order to be able to demonstrate that though language is employed in these places to label the churches, the texts and signs used embed narratives of divine power and the social realities of the community of practice.

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MOUSSA, OLIVIER: MBARGA, JOSEPH University of yaoundé 1, Cameroon

RELIGIOUS GLOTTOPHAGY: CASE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF CAM-**EROON IN THE CITY OF YAOUNDE**

The setting-up of the Roman Catholic Church in Cameroon is a long process begun at the end of the 19th century. It is the work of the German missionaries. From the beginning of their presence, the Ewondo language, the bantu language of the zone A (classified A72a according to Guthrie:1971), is one of the favorite of the German missionaries (certainly to decrease the influence of the Bali language, which the Protestant mission of Basel had established as language of evangelization and education). In the approach of German, it is clear that the evangelization must be made in local languages, the first being obstacle is which one in this linguistic myriad had to serve as medium. The obedience of the Ewondo people towards the missionaries definitively fixed them to the choice of this language. At the beginning of the 20th century the Roman Catholic Church, managed by Lord Vieter, counts the majority of the faithful of cameroun in this ethnic group. The church is profoundly rooted in this culture so much that today being Ewondo implies in a underlying way that you are catholic and it is the opposite which surprises. In the assets of the Roman Catholic Church we count as for the use of the written language, the first texts in Ewondo, consequently the first sketches of alphabets of the language (strongly influenced by the German alphabet). In other words it is the missionaries who establish the usage of the writing in language Ewondo. To arrive at the city setting-up of the Roman Catholic Church in Yaounde (city where the first explorers based), we wanted to be interested in the phenomenon of the current decadent regulation of the usage of the language Ewondo in Yaounde. Indeed the usage of the language Ewondo in Yaounde by the church is put in minority for the benefit of the languages of certain groups ethnic according to the locality in question. It is not surprising today to see right in the heart of Yaounde a parish essentially dedicated to a particular non-native community according to its setting-up in the locality. And even in the parishes which still say masses in Ewondo, is said only a sinole mass in Ewondo, on Sundays. The church has such a cultural weight as it impacts on the usage and even on the development of this language within families and so in the mentalities of those who should implement its arrangement and development. With this rhythm the church participates in what we indicate here by the expression 'glottophagy': the decrease and at the time the death of the language.

THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICES FOR SUSTAINABILITY OF A MINORITY GROUP: THE CASE OF CATHOLIC AND MUSLIM ALBANIANS IN CROATIAN URBAN SETTINGS

Our research is theoretically informed by the idea that sustainability of a group depends on the combination of its strength and vitality as well as its ability to counter possibly negative 'environmental effects' such as an intense contact with other (more powerful) language(s) or culture(s) (Ehala, 2010). In this framework the strength of a group can be assessed in terms of a group's presence and functioning in different social domains, religion being one of them, while vitality refers to internal and external perception of a group's status including its language. According to Ehala (2010), strength of a group may influence its vitality, but vitality of a group does not necessarily depend on its strength.

Although Albanian minority in Croatia makes up a mere 0.34% in total population, Albanian is the third largest mother tongue in the country reported by 0.33% of population (2001 Census). The Albanian community is characterized by both Christian (Catholic) and Islamic religious identity. The aim of this paper is to explore the extent to which religious affiliation and religious practices of Albanian ethnic group members play in language maintenance and in the construction of their ethnolinguistic identity in two urban contexts in Croatia, namely in the Croatian capital of Zagreb and in the Istrian town of Rovinj. Research was carried out by means of observation and semi-structured interviews with members of both Catholic and Muslim Albanians in Zagreb and Rovinj. In order to obtain a more complete picture of the relation between religious involvement and linguistic practices of Albanians in Croatia, both religious leaders and believers were interviewed across the groups.

Characterized by asymmetrical relation of (a single) ethnic and (double) religious identities, Albanian minority in Croatian urban settings offers an interesting site for the observation of identity construction and cultural maintenance via linguistic use in religious contexts. Preliminary results show that religion plays a crucial role in the preservation not only of language, but also of social cohesion within the community thus enhancing its sustainability.

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BENNETT, BRIAN

Niagara University, United States of America

BEYOND THE GREAT TRADITION: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF 'RELIGIOUS CLASSICALS'

The nexus of language and religion has become a topic of increasing sociolinguistic interest (e.g. Sawyer and Simpson 2001, Spolsky 2003, Omoniyi and Fishman 2006, Omoniyi 2010). This paper suggests that the emergent field of scholarship can benefit from greater interchange with the academic study of religion. To that end, it draws on the comparative sociology of world religions (Sharot 2001), as well as studies of Pali in contemporary Thailand (McDaniel 2011) and Church Slavonic in post-Soviet Russia (Bennett 2011), to delineate a capacious conceptual framework for the study of 'religious classicals' (Fishman 1991). Although the influence of such languages has long been recognized, discussions have tended to concentrate on the pillars of the 'great tradition' - literacy, literature, and liturgy (cf. Fishman 1972, Rosowsky 2008). While recognizing the importance of these domains, the proposed framework widens the scope to encompass the reticulated network of official and popular discourses, practices, and institutions (e.g. educational. ritual, political, artistic, magical, commercial) in which 'religious classicals' actually subsist.

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Thematic Session 119

Prefixing lingualism: Trans, poly, metro or zero?

Session Chair 1: Pennycook, Alastair

Session Abstract:

This thematic session will discuss and compare newly coined terminology that has recently been used to describe either new forms of multilingualism (the central idea being that multilingualism itself is changing) or to address what has perhaps always been the state of multilingualism (the idea being that it is not so much current changes that demand new ways of thinking but that the old ways of thinking have never been adequate). Drawing on data from different educational and urban contexts, with a particular focus on language in the city, the presenters will explore the differently prefixed lingual contexts with which they are familiar. The aim of this thematic session is by no means to set these in competition with each other but rather to explore why such terms have emerged, how they may help or hinder an understanding of contexts of multilingual language use, and what new understandings have been opened up through this work. While an emphasis on multilingualism – and a corresponding critique of the 'monolingual mindset' that was deemed blind to multiple language use - has opened up important avenues of study, emergent critiques have started to suggest that common thinking about multilingualism still bears the monolinguistic ideologies that were part of the formation of sociolinguistics: The idea of multilingualism seemed to signal the use of multiple languages without taking into account the far more dynamic uses of linguistic resources that appeared to be the norm in many contexts

Perhaps the most widely used of these new terms is translanguaging, referring to ' the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages' (Garcia, 2009: 141). Creese and Blackledge (2010) advocate a form of translingual pedagogy, in which monolingual instructional approaches are eschewed in favour of teaching bilingual children by means of a bilingual pedagogy. Drawing on their research in Danish schools, Jørgensen (2008) and Møller (2008) have proposed the notion of polylingualism to capture the ways in which children may draw on all available linguistic resources or features to achieve their goals, and may not orient at all towards ideas such as switching or mixing. In a related vein, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) have been attempting to encapsulate the dynamics of mixed urban language use through their conceptualization of metrolingualism. Here the city (metro) becomes the modifier (prefix) of lingualism, rather than the enumerative strategies of multi- or pluri-lingualism. Jaspers (2011), meanwhile, has discussed the ways in which the linguistic hierarchies evident in Belgian public discourses of 'zerolingualism' (akin in some ways to the old term semilingualism, that is, failing to achieve in either a first or second - here Dutch - language) are both challenged and reproduced in the ways in which some Moroccan-Flemish youths engaged in linguistic caricatures of broken Dutch ('illegaal spreken'). Each of these discussions shifts common understandings of multilingualism in useful ways; the goal of this thematic session will be to take this collective discussion further.

Questions

Have the older prefixes for lingualism (bi/ multi/ pluri) become too fixed? Should we be trying to reinvigorate these old terms with a new dynamism or do the new terms take us usefuly forward? What new dimensions do the new prefixes bring to our understanding of multiple language use? Why this proliferation of terminology now? New terms for new times or new terms for old themes? What terms do we need to account for urban and eduational linguistic contexts in current times?

Kev words Multilingualism, translingualism, metrolingualism, polylingualism, zerolingualism

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JASPERS, JÜRGEN

University of Antwerp and Research Foundation Flanders

YOU NAME IT. PROFESSIONAL AND AMATEUR LABELLING OF CONTEMPORARY UR-BAN LANGUAGE USE.

This lecture is about how professional and 'amateur' metalinguistic terminology, and the often conflicting ideologies with which they are invested, can be usefully approached and understood. There is a growing awareness among linguists that the concept of a language as an identifiable object is problematic for explaining urban language use. But while linguists fuss over new terms to avoid such problems, non-linguists have less gualms about naming what they (sometimes passionately care to) see as ... languages. Such labels are often skewed, partisan and stereotyping. But if, as emic concepts, they are also constitutive of the linguistic practices informed by them (cf. Hanks et al. 2009), they are a force to be reckoned with in today's urban linguascapes. I will argue thus that while linguists see labelling specific languages as not done, they will have to find ways to address contemporary urban language use that include non-linguists' labelling in order to understand an important part of its dynamics. Some authors indicate that modern media may act as a catalyst for non-professional labels, turning these into vehicles of larger ideological struggles as they appear on the public scene (Androutsopoulos 2010; Milani 2010). They also point out that mass media may become arenas of discursive conflict where various parties, linguists included, struggle over how urban language use is to be named and appreciated. Certainly when linguists are called in as experts they are often forced to take a stand versus non-professional names and suggest appropriate alternatives. These may, however, consequently circulate and be recycled in public discourse, and they may become non-professional labels again as they are recruited in interaction (Cornips et al. 2012). The media themselves may also become players on this discursive field when they stick to amateur labels for urban language use despite linguists' objections, leaving the latter chew on the fact that their attempts at prefixing urban lingualism are sidelined as a mere 'semantic' issue.

I will illustrate these issues through discussing the evolving indexicality of the label 'talking illegal' in Antwerp, following how it moved from its use in adolescent interaction as a way of appropriating a dominant discourse that posits the 'zerolingualism' of speakers with migrant descent, to its uptake in one mass medium and consequent recycling in another, before it was re-appropriated by some of the adolescents whose language use was supposedly named by it.

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JØRGENSEN, J. NORMANN; MØLLER, JANUS SPINDLER University of Copenhagen, Denmark

LANGUAGING AND POLY-LANGUAGING

This presentation defines and describes two key terms, namely languaging and poly-languaging (Jørgensen et al. 2011, Jørgensen 2008, 2010), and places the concepts in the research context where they were developed by the Copenhagen school of Sociolinguistics, particularly two longitudinal studies, the Køge Project and the Amager Project.

In brief, languaging covers the human activity of using language to achieve social and interactional aims. Human beings use language intentionally and context-bound, and the term focuses on human agency, not on language as structure, particularly not on languageS as pre-determined sets of features. Poly-languaging is a term which captures the practices in which human beings employ linguistic features associated with different 'languages' regard-less of the widespread norms of purism. The term is intended to substitute terms such as 'bilingualism' and 'trilingualism', etc., and likewise it covers phenomena which have been termed crossing (Rampton 1995), code-switching, etc. The term poly-lingualism is parallel to Hewitt's (1991, 30) term poly-culture.

This terminology has been developed in the study of the development of linguistic practices and linguistic awareness among adolescents in Danish schools, the Køge study (1987-2007, see Jørgensen 2010 and Møller 2009) and the Amager Study (2008-, see Madsen et al. 2010, Jørgensen et al. 2011). In order to show how our terminology has developed from our empirical work we will present characteristic examples of linguistic interaction among youths involved in our projects.

The Amager and Køge Projects belong to a wave of sociolinguistic studies which have realized the need for a new approach to the analysis of linguistic practices in late modern societies (Rampton 2006, Blommaert 2010, Pennycook 2010), and in our presentation we place the understanding of language developed in the Køge and Amager projects in this context.

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OTSUJI, EMI; PENNYCOOK, ALASTAIR University of Technology Sydney, Australia

METROLINGUALISM AND THE CITY

Looking at various contexts of multilingual life in Sydney and Tokyo, this paper makes a case for understanding such communication in terms of metrolingualism. There are several reasons for doing so: In line with other recent moves aimed at rethinking multilingualism, we need to describe diversity not so much along the lines of a multiplicity of singular entities (languages, cultures, dialects, varieties), but rather through alternative ways of thinking about diversity. These comprise an understanding of diversity as the norm rather than the exception to be explained; diversity as a singular starting point rather than a pluralizing strategy; language as a set of multimodal resources that speakers draw on rather than fixed codes that they switch between; language ideologies as local ways of understanding language that need to be incorporated into any perspectival view of diversity; language as productive of rather than part of linguistic landscapes; and language as an activity, a practice, something we do. By making metro the modifier of –lingualism, we also draw attention centrally to the city, to the relations between language and urban space. We focus here on the city as the context for everyday multiculturalism, for the proximity of difference, for the rhythmic and spatial movement of people, for the quotidian need to get along, Questions of mobility are central, as workers, shoppers and commuters move in and around the city. Important too are niche lingua francas, the localised use of particular languages, and multilingua francas, the establishment of mixed language use as the local norm. Drawing on data from a diversity of urban sites – restaurants, markets, construction sites – in Sydney and Tokyo we look in this paper at how people manipulate linguistic resources in different city contexts and how they themselves understand their linguistic needs and repertoires. **DUFVA, HANNELE (1); PIETIKÄINEN, SARI (2)** 1: University of Jyväskylä, Finland; 2: University of Jyväskylä, Finland

PREFIXING LINGUALISM – OR GIVING UP LINGUALISMS? A PERSPECTIVE OF HETER-OGLOSSIC LANGUAGING

This paper discusses 'heteroglossic languaging' - that sees language in terms of a dynamic set of interconnecting and shifting language practices - as an alternative of prefixed lingualisms. First, choosing 'languaging' over the essentialist notion of unitary monolithic 'language' and the entailing conceptualisation of different 'lingualisms' as a multiplication of languages we highlight the notion of language as 'doing', 'action' or 'activity' (Dufva & Pietikäinen, forthcoming). Second, we draw on the Bakhtinian notion of heteroglossia in defining human semiotic activity; while this conceptualisation calls attention to diversity, it also points out that language practices are characterised by two forces - centrifugal and centripetal ones -, one working towards unifica-tion, the other towards diversity, change and creativity.

Informed by contemporary (critical) applied linguistics, (critical) discourse studies and socio-cultural and dialogical approaches, we argue for the need to understand and analyse language practices as inherently connected with time and space. 'Languaging', with its emphasis on dynamicity and fluidity, is a wording that rejects the potentially categorising and segmenting perspective present in both 'language' and 'lingualisms' and helps to portray the spatiality of language practices beyond the prefix 'trans', and their temporality beyond 'post' (cf. Pennycook 2007). Further, using 'heteroglossic', we avoid the view of 'language' as countable and the enumerative view of 'languages' that is implicitly suggested by prefixes such as 'multi', 'poly', or 'super'. Instead, the fundamental multiplicity present in any language practices is emphasised. At the level of theoretization, we join in the on-going discussion on reconceptualisation, ontological commitments and disciplinary boundaries of contemporary applied linguistic inquiry. The theoretical considerations lead to methodological ones. The focus of empirical studies suggested by the perspective of heteroglossic languaging is to aim at analysing what people do with their (linguistic and semiotic) resources, and what are the conditions and consequences of their doings.

One research avenue that could be opened up is to connect the view of heteroglossic languaging with the Deleuzian concept of rhizome, a construct that sees the processes and events to be analysed in terms of flow and connections that do not have a beginning or an end. Here, the analysis is not reduced to either 'experiences' or 'objectified reality', but aims at capturing the historicity and becoming of phenomena in time and space. Thus rhizomatic approaches (e.g. multisided ethnography; nexus analysis in discourse studies) seem to be one solution for analysis. On one hand, the aim therein is to trace the changing trajectories and circuits of the language resources, while on the other hand, the approach also captures the connectivity and interaction between and across the resources and the creativity which often is the end result. We illustrate our arguments with examples coming from studies on peripheral multilingualism and indigenous Sámi languages and second/foreign language learning/development.

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VAKSER, SABINA JOY University of Melbourne, Australia

'КАК МЫ CODESWITCHAEM': THE RANGE OF RUSSIANNESS IN MELBOURNE

In recent years, the theorization of multilingual practices has evolved from code-switching analyses to more socially-oriented studies, with the 'discreteness' and 'homogeneity' associated with 'languages' and 'social groups' backgrounded to emphasize speakers' own experiences and perceptions (Heller, 2007). Semiotic resources, or repertoires, have replaced traditional understandings of juxtaposed 'systems' to highlight the ways in which meaning is locally co-constructed and tailored to particular audiences for particular effect (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). We now see a distinction between 'a language and language' (Jørgensen, 2008: 161). In multilingual settings, this has sparked a discussion of how to name the complexity observed in interaction. Concepts such as 'heteroglossia' (Bakhtin, 1981), 'polylingualism' (Jørgensen, 2008; Møller, 2008), 'translanguaging' (García, 2009), and 'metrolingualism' (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010) have been coined to capture the dynamic and diachronic nature of human movement across social boundaries.

This paper explores the meanings and uses of 'Russian' among Melbourne residents who claim identification with this category. In particular, I consider new ways of defining the different multilingual styles encountered in on-going data collection. Participant-recorded spontaneous speech and follow-up interviews are analysed using interactional sociolinguistic discourse analysis (Gumperz, 1982), the Bakhtinian notion of double-voiced discourse (Bakhtin, 1984), and a reflexive, social-practice approach to the interview process (Talmy, 2011). I have found that while academic discourse moves towards new models of multilingualism, many participants adhere to classic notions of 'language' and 'competence' that continue to denounce partial affiliations and proficiencies. Fluid practices are acknowledged but often suppressed in light of more powerful institutional discourses of belonging.

What emerges from the data is the need to 'know the difference,' highlighting the inevitability of both phenomena. In spite of this recognition, however, reified constructs and idealizations continue to take centre stage in the lives of many multilingual speakers.

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VARIOUS VOICES IN MONOLINGUAL RAP

The present paper, as part of an ongoing doctoral research, departs from the lyrics of five Hungarian hip hop bands and using discourse analysis it unveils the different voices and their meanings in the lyrics. Hip hop has been described by many authors as a space for multilingual practices. The bands, however, I have been working with, display different patterns of multilingualism, bilingualism and monolingualism from the ones eminent in hip hop studies. What I claim in this paper is that based on the ideological stance of the band vis-à-vis nation, gender and rap music, the voices they use in their artistic creation produce quite diverging meanings in different contexts. The voices create an indexical relationship to a style, an image, an ideology, but what that style, image or ideology is 'doing', or, in other words, what the meaning of the voice is emerges in the context of the song, album and band. The 'same' code-switched sequences or borrowed words give rise to very different interpretations, depending on the actual meaning they acquire and, at the same time, construct. The meanings I found in the lyrics of some bands, systematically erase linguistic boundaries, whereas some other ones foreground difference. Some make use of varieties of the same language, others, however, multiply voices by highlighting distinct languages. What is quite typical of the hip hop scene though is that these processes of highlighting are not necessarily available for everybody, neither among the artists, nor in the audience. One of the key issues I would like to focus on, therefore, is the layered nature of emerging meanings through various voices in monolingual and multilingual rap.

Thematic Session 120

Minisymposium of the Sociolinguists on Facebook on the Indigenous Languages in the City

Session Chair 1: Romy, Daphné Laure Session Chair 2: Hornsby, Michael

Session Abstract:

This thematic session will discuss and compare newly coined terminology that has recently been used to describe either new forms of multilingualism (the central idea being that multilingualism itself is changing) or to address what has perhaps always been the state of multilingualism (the idea being that it is not so much current changes that demand new ways of thinking but that the old ways of thinking have never been adequate). Drawing on data from different educational and urban contexts, with a particular focus on language in the city, the presenters will explore the differently prefixed lingual contexts with which they are familiar. The aim of this thematic session is by no means to set these in competition with each other but rather to explore why such terms have emerged, how they may help or hinder an understanding of contexts of multilingual language use, and what new understandings have been opened up through this work. While an emphasis on multilingualism – and a corresponding critique of the 'monolingual mindset' that was deemed blind to multiple language use – has opened up important avenues of study, emergent critiques have started to suggest that common thinking about multilingualism still bears the monolinguistic ideologies that were part of the formation of sociolinguistics: The idea of multilingualism seemed to signal the use of multiple languages without taking into account the far more dynamic uses of linguistic resources that appeared to be the norm in many contexts.

Perhaps the most widely used of these new terms is *translanguaging*, referring to 'the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages' (Garcia, 2009: 141). Creese and Blackledge (2010) advocate a form of translingual pedagogy, in which monolingual instructional approaches are eschewed in favour of teaching bilingual children by means of a bilingual pedagogy. Drawing on their research in Danish schools, Jørgensen (2008) and Møller (2008) have proposed the notion of *polylingualism* to capture the ways in which children may draw on all available linguistic resources or features to achieve their goals, and may not orient at all towards ideas such as switching or mixing. In a related vein, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) have been attempting to encapsulate the dynamics of mixed urban language use through their conceptualization of *metrolingualism*. Here the city (metro) becomes the modifier (prefix) of lingualism, rather than the enumerative strategies of multi- or pluri-lingualism. Jaspers (2011), meanwhile, has discussed the ways in which the linguistic hierarchies evident in Belgian public discourses of 'zerolingualism' (akin in some ways to the old term semilingualism, that is, failing to achieve in either a first or second – here Dutch – language) are both challenged and reproduced in the ways in which some Moroccan-Flemish youths engaged in linguistic caricatures of broken Dutch ('illegaal spreken'). Each of these discussions shifts common understandings of multilingualism in useful ways; the goal of this thematic session will be to take this collective discussion further.

Questions:

Have the older prefixes for lingualism (bi/ multi/ pluri) become too fixed?

Should we be trying to reinvigorate these old terms with a new dynamism or do the new terms take us usefuly forward?

- What new dimensions do the new prefixes bring to our understanding of multiple language use?
- Why this proliferation of terminology now? New terms for new times or new terms for old themes?
- What terms do we need to account for urban and eduational linguistic contexts in current times?

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INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES AS COSMOPOLITAN AND GLOBAL LANGUAGES: THE LAT-IN AMERICAN CASE

Latin America is a multilingual, pluricultural and multiethnic social context. Many indigenous languages have co-existed with Spanish in a diglossic and multiglossic situation for more than 500 years. This asymmetric relationship of power and prestige, and the negative attitudes and isolationist ideologies on the part of the majority of Spanish speakers at the societal level have caused a negative impact on the recognition and valorization of indigenous languages. Despite these competing ideologies and negative attitudes, the constant demand of the linguistic market, and the pressures of the multiplicity of social, economic and political factors, some Indigenous languages still remain relatively vital in the Latin American sociolinguistic landscape. In their struggle to survive, in recent years, Indigenous languages have gained new terrains of functionality in areas such as mass media and social media. By merging tradition and technology, these indigenous languages have started bridging the gap between the local and the global. In other words, the presence of Indigenous languages is becoming more prevalent not only in private domains, but also in public domains, and even in virtual domains. In this presentation, I am going to demythify the views and beliefs of Indigenous languages as only ancientand local languages, and demonstrate with some examples that they are modern and global languages in process of development to face the challenges of contemporary times. In short, Indigenous languages are not static, but dynamic like any other language around the world, so trying to museumize, romanticize and essentialize them in the twenty-first century could be a counterproductive endeavor. My primary focus will be on the following Indigenous languages: Quechua and Aymara (Andean territory), Guarani (Amazonian and Andean territories), Yucatec Mayan (Mexico and Yucatán Peninsula in Guatemala), K'iché [Quiché] (Guatemala highlands, and Guatemala City) and Nahuatl (Mexico).

HUAYHUA-CURSE, MARGARITA

Rutgers University, United States of America

HIERARCHICAL RELATIONS AMONG WOMEN IN THE SOUTHERN ANDES

In the southern Andes, large numbers of people still speak indigenous languages such as Quechua, spoken by approximately 95% of the rural population of Southern Peru. In this context, many assume that by speaking Quechua, government officials will improve communication with first-language speakers of Quechua. I suggest that even when they speak Quechua as a second language, their language use reinforces the hierarchy between women who work for the government and women who speak Quechua as a first language. Put another way bilingual speakers—women and men—resort not only to Spanish, but to Quechua to perpetuate forms of domination that stereotype monolingual speakers as worthless or as lacking reason, for example to coerce them to use specific methods of contraception. These processes are played out through social categories that essentialize cultural differences and are mapped onto people. Speaking Quechua as a second language does not help to reduce production of hierarchy among women, because such practices emerge in everyday interactions below the threshold of awareness of the participants, be they bilingual or monolingual. I draw examples from social interaction in a clinical setting, and Quechua-speaking households.

ROMY, DAPHNÉ LAURE

Département de l'Instruction Publique, Switzerland

DISCUSSION

Question & Answer slot

WILLIAMS, LISA ANNE

Ysgol Croesyceiliog, United Kingdom

CYMRAEG YN Y DDINAS - AN OLD LANGUAGE IN A MODERN CITY

The small country of Wales (nearest neighbour: the much larger country of England) was first allocated its own capital city (Cardiff/ Caerdydd) in 1955. However, it was not until 1999 that Wales was given a degree of self determination and not until 2012 that the Welsh government was informed that Wales finally, and for the first time, met the criteria to be designated a country in its own right. In the meantime, there surprising changes occurred in the linguistic as well as the political and cultural landscape. Until 1991, Cymraeg the (Welsh language) was, in terms of speaker numbers, on the wane both in the capital city and in Wales as a whole. Eclipsed by English and in some environments even by Somali, Kurdish, Urdu and Arabic, language demise was a given. Traditional religious, community and cultural bonds which had ensured the language's survival since the 1536 and 1542 Acts of Union with England - prohibiting the use of Welsh in all official circles - were dissolving and, despite small victories (increased use of Welsh on road signs; the birth of the Welsh television channel S4C); speaker numbers were in freefall, particularly among the young and in the traditional rural heartlands. Welsh was in decline. A language left behind by the modern world. Then something changed. The 2001 census showed a rise in speaker numbers across Wales, but particularly in the 3-15 age group and especially in larger urban centres. Demand for Welsh medium education rose, again notably in urban environments. By 2011, there were 18 Welsh medium schools in the capital alone and new ones planned. A third 1,500 capacity high school opens in Autumn 2011. Cardiffians of all ethnic and cultural traditions are learning Welsh and using it in everyday life. Even in the neighbouring city of Newport (until 1972 firmly in Monmouthshire - administered primarily in England), three new Welsh language schools and a Welsh medium on line newspaper have been established during the last two years. What has changed? In my paper I will be examining the catalysts behind the swing towards Welsh among the culturally diverse communities of the South Wales urban environment based on original research. Interviews with local learners, speakers and educators from all cultural and socio-economic communities of Cardiff and Gwent are telling and demonstrate why, against the odds, the Welsh language is in resurgence in the city.

HORNSBY, MICHAEL (1); WICHERKIEWICZ, TOMASZ (2) 1: Catholic University of Lublin, Poland; 2: Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, Poland

DOCUMENTING POLAND'S HERITAGE LANGUAGES: THE PARTICULAR CHALLENGE OF POLISH YIDDISH

Yiddish was spoken in pre-war Poland by just under 3 million people (Birnbaum 1979: 41) and thrived as a literary, theatrical, cinematic and political language in addition to being the daily vernacular of the majority of Polish Jewry. Today, a few native speakers of the Polish dialect of Yiddish remain in Poland but are more likely to be found in centres of Jewish culture around the world, such as London or New York. The status of Yiddish as an endangered language worldwide is well established (Brenzinger 2007: 2) and thorough attempts to document its characteristics have already been carried out (cf. Birnbaum 1979; Jacobs 2005; Weinrich 2006). However, the Polish dialect of Yiddish, despite its pre-war numerical superiority (only the Soviet Union came close to matching the number of speakers in Poland, with more speakers of Polish Yiddish than Yiddish speakers in Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Latvia and Lithuania combined (Birnbaum 1979: 41)) faces even greater endangerment in the face of a drive to revitalise the language based on the notion of 'standard' language. Illogically, the Northern form of Yiddish (Latvian and Lithuanian Yiddish) was used for the basis of standard Yiddish by the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York (despite having fewer speakers) and this is the form used in textbooks and summer schools around the world to teach the language. As a result, descendants of holocaust survivors who wish to connect with their Polish inheritance via the Yiddish language are exposed to non-Polish Yiddish phonological and lexical features, which can alienate them in their attempts to reconnect to the language (Hornsby 2010; Fieldwork).

In a recently launched project funded by the Polish government to document the heritage languages of Poland (Dziedzictwo językowe Rzeczypospolitej. Baza dokumentacji zagrożonych języków), tracking suitable texts and surviving native speakers of Polish Yiddish has proved a major challenge for the project leaders. The associated difficulties of reconciling a previously rural language of the shetl (as well as in major Polish cities of course) to an overwhelmingly urban (and in some cases, L2) language associated more with Western Europe and North America than its traditional Eastern European heartland is outlined in this paper.

HORESH, URI University of Essex, United Kingdom

ADAPTATION OF 'MIXED CITIES' IN ISRAEL TO A NEW BILINGUAL STANDARD: A CRIT-ICAL ANALYSIS

When the State of Israel was founded in 1948, several Palestinian cities were forcefully transformed into what is now known as 'mixed cities.' The Arabic-speaking population in these towns, once the majority, has been reduced to a minority not only in the country as a whole, but also in these more local domains.

This study examines the transition of an indigenous population and its use of language, both its native Arabic and its newly acquired Hebrew and - recursively - the latter's effects on the former in such linguistic domains as phonology, morpho-syntax and the lexicon. Perhaps more importantly, though, we will discuss some of the social and educational aspects of having had to negotiate such a shift of dominance from one language to another in such a short period of time and under such tense circumstances.

Much of the data for this study comes from fieldwork conducted in the coastal town of Jaffa in 2004 and is supplemented by evidence from other sources from surrounding urban areas undergoing similar transitions.

ROMY, DAPHNÉ LAURE (1); ABID-HOUCINE, SAMIRA (2)

1: Département de l'Instruction Publique, Switzerland; 2: Université Djilali Liabès, Sidi Bel Abbès, Algeria

TAMAHAQ: A VULNERABLE ALGERIAN LANGUAGE IN THE CITY

Tamahaq, a variant of Berber, is the ancestral language of the Tuareg who live in the south west of Algeria. For years, the geographical isolation of this speech community provided a propitious context to preserve the native language.

However, urbanization and modernization have brought the Tuareg adopt the dominant language to the detriment of Tamahaq to meet the needs of daily communication. Indeed, because of unfavourable environmental and economic conditions the Tuareg leave their native villages to join bigger urbanized cities in search of jobs.

Language contact makes native speakers neglect their language and disrupts the intergenerational transmission. Despite the UNESCO programme that aimed at reviving Tamahaq and its script (Tifinagh), this language remains vulnerable and its use is progressively but irremediably declining. The first part of the present paper will be devoted to the presentation of the various berber languages in Algeria and will focus more specifically on the Tamahaq language and to the shift in its use. An assessment of the vitality of Tamahaq will then confirm the urgent need to promote this language. Finally, potential ways to fortify and maintain the Tuareg's language will be presented, examined and discussed in the light of other 'indigenous' languages both in Algeria, North Africa or in other part of the world such as Peru or Indonesia. It will be an opportunity to revisit the issue of language education and preservation within the much debated context of indigenous languages.

ROMY, DAPHNÉ LAURE

Département de l'Instruction Publique, Switzerland

DISCUSSION

Question & Answer slot

Thematic Session 122

In the Shadow of Empire: Language Legislation and Language Policy in Canada, Scotland, Wales and Ireland

Session Chair 1: Walsh, John Charles

Session Abstract:

In recent years, legislation has become an increasingly important instrument within the larger framework of policies aimed at protecting and revitalising the indigenous minority languages of Wales, Ireland and Scotland. In Canada, a complex federal and provincial system of legislative protection has developed for French, both as a majority (Quebec) and minority language (e.g. New Brunswick, Manitoba, Ontario), and more recently for other indigenous Canadian languages (Northwest Territories, Nunavut). Despite the obvious differences between the cases, all these jurisdictions have been shaped by a British legal and constitutional heritage and all of the relevant languages are struggling with the hegemonic position of English. Language legislation is linked to the conference theme of 'Language and the City' because it is driven by national or regional governments and legislatures located in large cities, often far removed from the heartlands of the minority languages. This may lead to tensions between the legislation and the communities it targets. At the same time, the pull of the large city has contributed to the dislocation of traditional rural language communities as minority language speakers migrate for economic or socio-cultural reasons. This creates a challenging sociolinguistic dynamic for the delivery of services as minority language speakers in such large cities will typically represent only a small proportion of the overall population. This panel studies these legislative frameworks from a comparative perspective, based on four interlocking discussion questions:

1. What is the ideological and philosophical context of the legislation?

This question investigates the ideological and philosophical basis for the legislation in each case, exploring issues such as the genesis of the legislation, the political, social and sociolinguistic context, the legislative models which influenced these enactments, and the policy aims and ideological assumptions that the legislation reflects more generally, in relation to language policy, language maintenance/revitalisation, the role of language in society, and evolving understandings of governance and political ordering more generally. 2. In which policy and governance framework does the legislation operate? This question describes the diverse constitutional, legal and policy contexts for language legislation in Canada, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, including differences in relation to the establishment and enforcement of individual or group rights, including language rights. It considers the nature of the structures and mechanisms created by the legislation, such as national or federal agencies of compliance/regulation/monitoring and of promotion (Official Language Commissioners, language boards). 3. How will the legislation be implemented?

This question will consider more closely the work of agencies and actors charged with implementing the legislation. It will assess the role of the public administration and emphasise in particular mechanisms which may improve performance of and demand for bilingual services (active offer of services, training of staff etc.). The potential obstacles to implementation will also be discussed. 4. What is the interaction of language legislation and language communities? Finally, this question will examine the role of the target communities in the formulation and implementation of the language legislation. It will investigate the ideologies of minoritised language speakers towards official services in their languages and examine the role of civil society and language activism. The relationship between minority language speakers and the city will also be discussed.

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MCLEOD, WILSON

University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

CELTIC LANGUAGE LEGISLATION: NORMS, HIERARCHIES, IDEOLOGIES

This paper will consider the ways in which legislative enactments that aim to secure and promote the Irish, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic languages attempt to establish or destabilise hierarchies between languages, and the norms and concepts adopted to achieve these policy ends. The paper will also seek to unpack a number of problematic terms used in these enactments and other European language acts, including 'official language', 'national language', 'language of the state/republic' and 'working language'.

A particularly difficult concept in relation to language legislation – as in many other contexts – is that of equality. As far back as the Hughes Parry report of 1965 the principle of 'equal validity' became a conventional concept in debates concerning the status of the Welsh language, although this phrase was not used in the language act of 1967 or in that of 1993. The 1993 act instead required that Welsh and English 'be treated on a basis of equality'. The counterpart Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 deliberately avoided the phrase 'equal validity' and seeks to establish a slightly different norm of 'equal respect' between Gaelic and English. The newly adopted Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011, however, has abandoned the chase of the chimera of 'equality' and instead uses a formula familiar from a variety of anti-discrimination enactments, that Welsh must be treated 'no less favourably than the English language'. The Irish framework is entirely different: here, Irish, 'as the national language' (a term that is not explained), is ascribed unambiguous primacy, with English in a clearly inferior position as 'a second official language', despite the overwhelming dominance of English as the working language of the state. In contrast to earlier Welsh legislation, which did not explicitly grant official status to Welsh, or to Irish and Scottish enactments which announce official status for Irish and Gaelic but do not explain its nature or significance, the Welsh Language Measure also gives a functional statement of what the official status of the language consists in. This practical presentation in this enactment highlights the extent to which the concept of official status is typically blurred or obfuscated.

WILLIAMS, COLIN HASLEHURST Cardiff University, United Kingdom

THE OFFICE OF WELSH LANGUAGE COMMISSIONER: THE FIRST FRUITS OF LEGISLA-TIVE DEVOLUTION.

The paper will focus on the development and application of language legislation in Wales, principally the Welsh Language Acts of 1967 and of 1993 and the recent Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011, which, in contrast to the earlier Acts, formally declares that Welsh has official status in Wales. A critical and central feature of the new Measure is the establishment of the Office of Language Commissioner for Wales, which will become operational on April 1st 2012. The creation of this office brings the Welsh regulatory regime into closer alignment with Canada and Ireland, both of which have established such a body.

The paper will focus on the challenges faced by the OLC, its form and function and its approach to regulating the implementation of the Language Measure 2011. The crunch question is to what extent the new regulatory framework will influence the sociolinguistic context of Welsh public life. The new language legislation has been adopted in a changing political and constitutional context in Wales, with the National Assembly for Wales, initially established in 1999, expanding its role and the range of its law-making capacity. Administrative devolution has given way to legislative devolution in Wales and this has ramifications for the territorial governance of the UK and the development of a body of Welsh law. It is anticipated that some insights may be gleaned which will prove of relevance to future Welsh-UK parliamentary and legislative relations.

WALSH, JOHN CHARLES National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland

LANGUAGE LEGISLATION AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY IN IRELAND

The presentation on Ireland will begin by surveying the various legal protections for Irish since the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922. Like Canada but unlike the United Kingdom, Ireland has a written constitution and a tradition of constitutional litigation and jurisprudence. Although the Constitution of 1937 declares Irish to be the first official language of the state, it also authorises the exclusive use of English for 'any one or more official purposes'. No comprehensive legislation regulating the use of Irish by public bodies and in public services was adopted until 2003. The paper will analyse the constitutional provisions and their impact and then examine various enactments (primary legislation, statutory instruments/orders and regulations) before turning to the main legislation, the Official Languages Act 2003.

The ideological and philosophical basis of the legislation will be discussed and its links to the broader national language policy of the restoration of Irish considered. The structures created by the Official Languages Act will be described and discussed. Particular attention will be paid to the role of the office of the language commissioner (An Coimisinéir Teanga). The implementation of language schemes by public bodies and the use of/attitudes towards services in Irish among Irish speakers will be examined through a case study of one such body, the National University of Galway, Ireland. The paper will conclude by linking the legislative framework to the evolving policy framework, in particular the 20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language (2010) and the government's review of the Act, which included a controversial proposal to merge the office of the language commissioner into that of the Ombudsman. The challenge of maintaining a minimal threshold of protection for Irish during a severe recession will also be discussed.

Ó FLATHARTA, PEADAR (1); WILLIAMS, COLIN H (2) 1: Dublin City University, Ireland; 2: Cardiff University, UK

IRELAND'S REGENERATIVE CHALLENGE: LANGUAGE LEGISLATION, REGULATION AND AMALGAMATION?

The Irish language is recognised in the Constitution as the national first official language and provisions to support the language are to be found in 160 specific provisions in Irish legislation. In 2003 the President of Ireland signed The Official Languages Act 2003 into law following passage through both Houses of the Parliament. The Act is organised under 5 main parts: Part 1 Sections 1-4 Introduction and Definitions; Part 2 Sections 5-8 Houses of the Oireachtas (Parliament), Acts of the Oireachtas, the Courts; Part 3 Sections 11-18 Language Schemes; Part 4 Sections 20-30 The Language commissioner; Part 5 Sections 31-35 Placenames.

The Act was amended twice in 2011.

The Programme for Government, 'Government for National Recovery,' announced a review of the Language Act...'to ensure expenditure on the language is best targeted towards the development of the language ...and that obligations are imposed in response to demands from citizens.' This review was started by the Minister on 03/11/2011.

The Department of Public Expenditure and Reform announced that the Government had decided to 'merge the functions of Language Commissioner with Ombudsman Office. To be progressed in the context of the ongoing review of the Official Languages Act 2003. (17/11/2011). This paper will:

-review the evidence as to the strengths and weaknesses of the Language Act since enactment in 2003 paying particular attention to the Language Schemes;

-examine the work of An Coimisinéir Teanga;

-examine and evaluate the review process of the Department of Arts Culture and Gaeltacht;

-review the implications for the delivery of public services in the Irish language and the policy issues rising from the proposed transfer of functions of the Language Commissioner;

-critically review 'Language Schemes' as a vehicle for service delivery based on the evidence from Ireland and to a lesser degree from other analogous cases, most notably Scotland and Wales. MCLEOD, WILSON University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

LESSONS FROM THE 'CANADIAN MODEL' OF MINORITY LANGUAGE PROTECTION

This paper attempts to discern whether it is meaningful to refer to a 'Canadian' approach to minority language protection, and to situate the Canadian experience in comparative context. The paper focuses on the regimes developed by the Canadian federal government, the Province of Quebec, and the territory of Nunavut. The analysis is informed by a broader theoretical and wider analytical framework, which draws in particular on sociolinguistics and governance as well as law. By taking Nunavut into consideration, it will examine a new and innovative legislative model for languages of aboriginal (i.e. 'indigenous') peoples.

The paper will begin with a brief description of Canadian constitutional arrangements, which set the broad framework for language legislation, and then address the federal, Quebec and Nunavut regimes in turn. Each assessment will focus on key pieces of legislation (e.g. the Official Languages Act 1969; the Official Languages Act 1985; Quebec's Law 101, the Charter of the French Language; and Nunavut's Official Languages Act 2008 and Inuit Language Protection Act 2008) and the case law which has interpreted it. Following this, the context for the enactment of this legislation will be considered: what were the political, ideological and practical imperatives underlying the legislation, what were the key assumptions which policy-makers made, what are the deeper goals of the enactments, particularly in language policy terms, and how have these various goals and imperatives changed over time? The paper will then consider questions of implementation, focusing not only on enforcement mechanisms such as language acquisition, training and other capacity-building strategies developed by various branches of government, and on the role of language communities themselves. The actual impact of the legislative model will then be assessed, in terms of patterns of language vitality, social accommodation of different groups of speakers, political stability, economic performance, and so forth.

WEBB, DECLAN

National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland

LANGUAGE LEGISLATION AS VISIBLE IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF CANADA, IRELAND, SCOTLAND AND WALES

The visual representation of languages on public signs is perhaps the most obvious and may be regarded by some as the most obtrusive manner to promote minority or threatened languages. Ever since Landry and Bourhis'[1] seminal work into Linguistic Landscape (LL) in 1997, research in this area has exploded. Spolsky and Cooper[2] tell us that the languages present on public signs can serve both an informational and functional purpose. They also tell us quite a lot about the linguistic legislation in place in any given geolinguistic space and more importantly about the relative status accorded to the languages used by the inhabitants.

In this paper, I shall endeavour to provide an overview of the most recent legislation in place in Canada, Ireland, Scotland and Wales with regard to official language visibility. Much of the paper shall focus on data collected during the creation of a Minority Language Visibility Index (MLVI), which attempts to create a template for measuring the visibility of languages in any given cityscape. The cities analysed are the capital cities of each of the four countries listed above, namely Ottawa, Dublin, Edinburgh and Cardiff. Little attention has been paid to this visual representation of the minority language in Ireland, Scotland and Wales and this has given rise to a somewhat fragmentary and still quite deficient representation of these Celtic languages in the linguistic landscape of their three geolinguistic territories. Davyth Hicks[3] presented a paper in Barcelona in 2002 highlighting the blatant lack of planning with regard to Gaelic signage in Scotland. Ten years on, a study into the visual presence of Gaelic in Edinburgh seems apt. In Canada, most of the research has come from within Québec; therefore an analysis of the visibility of French outside Québec is particularly instructive. Both the research of Daniel Monnier[4] and Marc Levine[5] in Québec highlight the explosive nature of this issue, as well as the prevalence of English on street signage in Montreal. Therefore, it would only appear just to analyse the equivalent representation of French 200 kilometres to the west in the federal capital – Ottawa. Through the MLVI presented in this paper, the visibility of all four languages previously mentioned shall be examined within seven different domains. A final visibility coefficient for all four cities will be then suggested. Examples of areas where visibility is lacking or where particular patterns of representation suggest a visiolinguistic hierarchy shall also be identified.

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Non-standard and youth varieties in urban Africa: language dynamics in rapidly modernizing cities

Session Chair 1: Hurst, Ellen Session Chair 2: Brookes, Heather Jean

Session Abstract:

Informal spoken varieties are developing in contemporary African urban centres amongst conditions of multilingualism, globalisation and superdiversity (Vertovec, Cohen et al 2010). A number of these varieties have been described by researchers, inter alia Nouchi from lvory Coast; Town Bemba from Zambia; Tsotsitaal from South Africa; Camfranglais from Cameroon; and Sheng from Kenya (c.f. Brookes 2004; Ngo Ngok Graux 2005, Githinji 2006, Kouadio 2006, De Feral 2007, Schröder 2007, Mesthrie 2008, Hurst 2009, Newell 2009, Ploog 2009a, 2009b, Kabinga 2010). Kiessling & Mous (2004) describe these varieties as Urban Youth Languages and show that they are a response to colonialism: attempts at formulating a coherent national identity by youth growing up amongst the complexities of an Africa intersected by global phenomena. Similarly Newell (2009:179) argues that the prestige of Nouchi derives from its indexicalisation of urban modernity. These varieties appear to be accompanied by other aspects of identity performance - subcultural styles which include clothing brands, body language, gesture, music and ideologies which provide evidence that African youth cultures are traversed by global media and performances.

Urban varieties take particular forms in Africa, and these forms are dependent on local contextual factors such as the interplay between local and colonial languages, language policy, and the current socio-economic status of the nation states (c.f. the matrix proposed by Ploog 2007). Beck (2010:14) asks 'why does a particular urban language exist in a particular city? What precisely are the factors that have given rise to its emergence?' This may suggest two complementary perspectives that these phenomena can assist us with: 'what does language say about society'; and 'what does society imply for language dynamics'? Beck argues that what is required to begin to answer these questions is firstly an 'adequate conceptual explanation of the interrelationship between language and city beyond empirical-descriptive evidence', and secondly a broad research base. This thematic session aims to address these needs by bringing together researchers working on these varieties, generating new theoretical approaches and deepening discussion of how the development of these varieties may have implications for the field of sociolinguistics as a whole, and in particular approaches to language variation in modern urban contexts.

Discussion questions:

How do we delimit the boundaries (if any) between non-standard/youth and urban varieties? Are there common linguistic strategies or characteristics that can be described for these varieties? What differences between the examples arise as a result of national contextual factors? Are there any factors that distinguish these phenomena in Africa from similar urban linguistic language phenomena in other parts of the world, for example strategies such as 'verlanisation' in France (François-Geiger & Goudaillier 1991; Doran 2010) or Multicultural London English (Cheshire, Kerswill, Fox & Torgersen 2011)? In what sense is stabilization of these varieties compatible with their dynamics? What factors influence different types of language subversion in urban areas? What is the relationship between language and the geography of the city?

NDLOVU, SAMBULO

Great Zimbabwe University, Zimbabwe

THE S'NCAMTHO CONTRIBUTION TO NDEBELE IDIOMATIC LANGUAGE CHANGE.

This paper seeks to analyse Ndebele language change with regards to idiomatic expressions emanating from S'ncamtho which is a Bulawayo urban youth variety of Ndebele like the South African Tsotsitaal. It is an analysis of the derivation of new proverbs and sayings in Ndebele by the youth, which amounts to language change, as Ndebele does not remain the same when the youth in Bulawayo through S'ncamtho bring in new idiomatic expressions that form part of the language. Bulawayo is Zimbabwe's second city dominated by the Ndebele but there is a lot of shone and English. Most of the youths in the city cross into south Africa where they learn the Johannesburg urban culture. The youths do not use the standard Ndebele idioms that were constructed on the old non urban Ndebele tradition, instead they use their environment to derive new idiomatic expressions that almost everyone uses or is at least aware of. The paper looks at how the youth formulate the new expressions and how they are encoded into the Ndebele language as idiomatic expressions

The new expressions are then evaluated to establish whether they satisfy the notion and function of idiomatic expressions in Ndebele. Idiomatic expressions are part of folklore. For the purposes of this paper, these include proverbs and sayings. Languages change semantically, lexically and phonetically, these changes affect idiomatic expressions because proverbs and sayings rely on other areas of a language as they are syntagmatic in form. This paper explores language expansion and change through proverbs and sayings. It further analyses the attitude of the Ndebele purists towards these new idiomatic expressions. Language contact is almost synonymous with language change, linguistic processes of borrowing, coining and loan translating affect S'ncamtho idiomatic expressions as much as they affect other areas of the language. The paper also investigates the contribution of 'fashion trends' type of language change in the development of new idiomatic expressions in S'ncamtho and eventually Ndebele. The aspects that help develop new proverbs and sayings by Ndebele youths are identified, analysed and the products are evaluated using Ndebele and linguistic standards of idiomatic expressions.

KABINGA, MOONDE

University of Cape Town, South Africa

MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURES OF VERB-PHRASES IN 'TOWN BEMBA' OF THE COP-PERBELT. ZAMBIA

Town Bemba (TB) is an urban variety spoken in the townships of the Copperbelt province, Zambia. For many years, its status has been unclear in its descriptions, as no specific framework had been used in characterising the language variety. Early on, it was perceived as a 'secret language' or 'mixed jargon' used by male migrant workers on the Copperbelt mines. However, it is currently being used by all, but mainly by male and female youths, and also tends to be used as first language (L1) by offspring raised there. This paper notes some significant differences between TB and Standard Bemba

(SB) as well as Tsotsitaal from South Africa, through linguistic markers and style of speech. This research draws its data from primary and secondary resources. A non-probability judgemental sampling method was used for primary data which involved one-on-one interviews with the researcher and 20 informants on the Copperbelt. Thus, 10 were TB speakers from the general public and the other 10 were SB speakers from two local television and radio station in Zambia (ZNBC and Icengelo). All interviews were recorded as voice using a digital recorder and lasted about 45 minutes. The researcher used a 'Labovian' model technique of sociolinguistics which uses open-ended type of interviewing, so as to allow the conversations to flow naturally. Secondary data involved the use of two popular Bemba local music lyrics from Zambia. Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF) was adopted for Morpho-syntax data analysis. Results showed that TB is quite similar to the base language SB in its morphological structures despite differences in morpheme combinations due to borrowing and assimilation of foreign words, sounds and expressions from English mainly and other local languages, coining new terms. It also seems to overlap in some features with Tsotsitaal but the two are not the same. In this regard, I suggest that TB be referred to as another type of an informal urban youth variety that is as a result of urbanisation and modernisation, which is moving towards being a new language because it is more than a 'stylect' (Hurst 2008).

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BEMBE, PRINCESS

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA, South Africa

URBAN YOUTH LANGUAGE DYNAMICS AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS AMONG SUBCULTURAL GROUPS IN KWA-THEMA

Kwa-Thema is a township on the far eastern part of the Gauteng Province, in South Africa. It is a linguistic melting pot, comprising of speakers of nearly all the nine official languages spoken in the country. As a result, most of the youth in Kwa-Thema are bi- or even multingual. There are different subcultural groups found in Kwa-Thema, and each is marked by a particular dress code, music preference, as well as language style. The aim of this paper is to discuss the results of research conducted in the township, particularly the dynamics involved when the youth use non-standard language varieties such as Is'camtho (used mainly by township school youth, inspired by the kwaito culture) and slang in English (used mainly by youth who attend multiracial, suburban schools, inspired by the hip hop and rap subcultures). On conducting research, a third subcultural youth group emerged known as the 'Pexas'. This group of youth also has its own dress code, language style, and is inspired largely by what they refer to as 'amataliana' (the Italian).

One of the most significant aspects when studying youth language varieties is to look at the interplay between youth subcultural affiliations and practices such as dress code, music, gestures and contexts wherein the language practices occur. The aim of this paper is to present the results of the study on the various subcultural groups in Kwa-Thema: how they construct their identities through their subcultural affiliations and markers such as dress code, music, and language practices. The stance the paper takes is that of 'style as performance' and ways in which the youth 'project different social identities' in different contexts (Coupland, 2007); how youth engage in 'acts of identity' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985) and 'language variation as social practice' (Eckert, 2000). The study on youth language varieties further aligns itself with what Hurst [2007] refers to as 'stylect[s]'. It describes the language practices of the various youth subcultural groups in the urban township setting and how they interact within that common space.

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MAKUKULE, IDAH MAKHOSAZANA University of Cape Town, South Africa

LANGUAGE USE AND IDENTITY AMONG MALE YOUTH IN THE TOWNSHIP OF THOKOZA, SOUTH AFRICA

When male youth in the township of Thokoza east of Johannesburg congregate on street corners, they engage in communicative practices that they refer to as *ukuringa* as part of enacting male township identities

This paper is part of my doctoral study, where my main research question asks: How do communicative practices function to construct and authenticate black male township youth identities? It is based on data that have been collected over a period of two years in the township of Thokoza using observation as a primary method and audio and video recordings of participants' interactions. In this presentation, I pay attention to some of the distinctive features of male youth speech, looking at their social meanings and the significance of language use among three male youth groups from Thokoza. Across the three groups, there are levels of being township ranging from what are perceived to be 'softies' to those considered 'hardcore.' These differences are reflected in the way they use language. I specifically examine how they incorporate different languages into their talk as well as resemantization and their use of metaphor. In addition, I compare how the three groups borrow and invent new words and phrases. Youth who are considered to be softies often link with one or two individuals who are 'hardcore 'and borrow new terms from them. Youth who are considered to be hardcore have the ability to be innovative within their own group, and to influence the communication of other groups. Softies spend less time on the township streets and

have greater access to economic advancement through family structures. Their use of language reflects these opportunities. 'Hardcore' youth do not have the same advantages and spend much of their time on street corners. Being on the street corners means constant contact and linguistic innovation ensures ones status as authentically urban and township.

With this research, I interrogate multiple ways in which identities are created in the urban framework and how linguistic features take on social meanings that index different urban identities.

AYCARD, PIERRE

University of Cape Town, South Africa

ACQUISITION AND USE OF NON-STANDARD URBAN VARIETY IN AFRICA: ISCAMTHO AMONG YOUNG CHILDREN IN SOWETO.

Soweto is the biggest African location around Johannesburg, and it is characterised by a strong multilingualism; a deep urbanization of languages; and two informal codes in its history, Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho. This paper will present the first results of an on-going Ph.D research after 18 months. The research relies solely on naturalistic data, gathered with an audio recorder from children between 3 and 10. The analysis wills overview about 60 hours of recordings with a dozen children.

Slabbert & Myers-Scotton (1996) states that Iscamtho is 'generally used by males in informal in-group conversations, and the meanings [it] convey[s] [is] often not obvious to outsiders'. More recently, Hurst (2008) analysed Tsotsitaal in Cape Town as a stylect, that is 'a lexicon (lect) inseparable from a discursive practice (style) which results in the construction of a relatively stable linguistic identity', that conveys urban male style and identity.

My hypothesis is that Iscamtho has been used in households for several decades; that it is part of the native code of children in White City Jabavu; and that some use it as a primary language. The paper will first establish what distinguishes Iscamtho from urban Zulu from a linguistic perspective. It will then focus on three aspects of the use of Iscamtho by children:

1) Who speaks Iscamtho to them? Who do they learn it from? When do they learn it?

2) What proportion of children use Iscamtho? What proportion of their language can be considered Iscamtho? Is this part of the language received differently by familial, social or institutional authorities?

3) How do children use Iscamtho? Who do they speak it with? Do adults transmit and tolerate Iscamtho differently with girls than with boys? My M.Phil research (Aycard 2008) established how sociohistorical conditions in White City allowed Iscamtho to penetrate social and private life deeper than in other parts of Soweto. This translates in the speech of young children: they can use words recognized as Iscamtho by at least part of their community, or recognized as lscamtho by other communities, without the word carrying any stigma of slang or improper language; they can also copy the stylistic speech of older speakers from a very early age, and have an extensive command of lscamtho before they develop actual strategies of style. If the data confirms the native status of Iscamtho, at least as part of the natural repertoire of children in White City, it will tremendously shake the previous perspective on tsotsitaals in South Africa, and on other non-standard urban languages in Africa whose pattern of development is similar to Iscamtho's.

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BROOKES, HEATHER JEAN University of Cape Town, South Africa

COMMUNICATIVE PRACTICES AMONG URBAN BLACK MALE YOUTH IN A JOHANNES-**BURG TOWNSHIP.**

A number of studies describe an informal 'variety' sometimes referred to as Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho spoken in urban areas in South Africa (Mesthrie 2008). Several scholars have analysed its semantic and structural nature noting its rapidly changing lexicon and matrix language structure (Slabbert and Myers-Scotton 1996). Some linguists have suggested that there are two varieties, an Afrikaans (Tsotsitaal) and a Zulu (Iscamtho) based variety, with separate linguistic origins (Ntshangase 1995). However, there is still much debate about the nature of this linguistic phenomenon, its users, functions and role. This debate may be partly because few scholars have studied it in situ relying instead on elicitation and users' reflections.

This paper examines the use of this 'variety' in a township community east of Johannesburg. Data are drawn from 14 years of ethnographic work consisting of observation, video and audio recordings of spontaneous interactions and interviews with community members.

Our research shows that young men engage in a particular type of communicative practice with their peers from the age of 16 until their late twenties. This period is a transitional stage between child and adulthood when young men are expected to socialize on the township street corners with their peers. Once they are too old for street corner groups, they may still use their particular way of talking with their peers, but it is outdated belonging to only their particular generation. Women do not communicate in this way although some women may use certain features of male talk for stylistic effect. Young men do not generally name their speech and only very occasionally describe it with the verb, ukuringa 'to ringa.'

Young men utilize the dominant language spoken in their local area (South Sotho or Zulu) as the base/matrix language. Their communicative practices incorporate many of the features of antilanguages (Halliday 1976; Kiesling and Mous 2004). However, gesture and intonation are also key components. Phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic features as well as gesture and intonation vary from section to section in the township and among street corner groups. These differences form a continum of intelligibility from those that are close to the urban varieties of Bantu languages spoken among township members to ways of speaking that are largely untelligible. This continuum reflects different social groupings among young men from 'respectable' to 'disrespectable/ delinquent.' These social groupings are characterised by diverse orientations to local, urban, national and global identities, and they draw from a number of different linguistic varieties in the multlingual urban African context to index these identities. The spread of lexical and other features moves upward through the social hierarchy from the 'delinquent' through to 'respectable' groupings. Young men perceived to be 'delinguent' are linguistic innovators. These linguistic innovations filter through to other groups via a number of social mechanisms. These data suggest new ways of understanding the boundaries between urban varieties and youth communicative practices as well the factors that shape these types of linguistic phenomena.

SAAL. ELVIS OCKERT University of South Africa (Unisa), South Africa

THE USE OF TEXT MESSAGE (SMS) LANGUAGE IN PRINT ADVERTISEMENTS. A STUDY AMONG URBAN AFRIKAANS TEENAGERS

Compared to computer-mediated communication (CMC), SMS text messages (also referred to as 'text messaging' or 'texting') have become the preferred mode of interpersonal communication among young people at the turn of the twentieth century (cf. Deumert 2006:121; Thurlow 2011:1). It is estimated that 75% of young people (15-24 years olds) in South Africa own mobile phones (DasGupta 2008). The technological constraints of the mobile phone gave rise to a text message (SMS) language with very distinctive linguistic features. This study examines whether an Afrikaans SMS language could be effective as language of advertising in the print media. It is expected that SMS speak in print advertisement could evoke favourable speaker perceptions. Communication Accommodation Theory postulates that when a receiver perceives the communicative act as similar to his/her communication style, the speaker could be viewed as an in-group member and therefore more socially attractive (Gallois, Ogay & Giles 2005:131). SMS speak in print advertisements could also stimulate conversations among teenagers. The theoretical model on message form by Hoeken, Swanepoel, Saal and Jansen (2009) claims that a message feature could spark conversation if the audience has to put in some cognitive effort to find the intended interpretation. The use of SMS language in print advertisements has the potential to provide the audience with the 'pleasure of text' (Hoeken et al. 2009:56) and spark conversation among teenagers. To determine how teenagers could perceive the use of Afrikaans SMS language in print advertisements, two different print advertisements were used: a product advertisement and a health communication message. These two print adverts (in Standard Afrikaans) were 'translated' by teenagers themselves into their own SMS language. Two separate experimental studies were conducted for the two types of advertisements. In each of the two experimental studies, the teenagers compared the standard version of the advertisement with the corresponding SMS language version with regard to source perceptions (i.e. the speaker's social identity and social attractiveness) and perceptions of the message (i.e. appreciation of the message and intention to spark conversation).

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BARASA, SANDRA (1); MOUS, MAARTEN (2)

1: Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands; 2: Leiden University Leiden, The Netherlands

IS IT SHENG OR ENGSH? THE IGNORED VARIETY IS ALIVE AND CLICKING

Kenya is a multilingual community with more than 40 languages which are spoken actively. Among these, English and Swahili are the official languages while the rest are vernacular languages. The country also possesses Sheng and Engsh as the youth codes or varieties. There is a noticeable gap in the research between Sheng and Engsh in that whereas there have been several publications on Sheng e.g. Osinde 1986; Spyropoulos 1987; Kembo-Sure 1992; Myers-Scotton 1993; Mazrui 1995; Samper 2002; Kießling & Mous 2004; Ogechi 2004; Rudd 2005 and Bosire 2006, hardly any research has been done on Engsh yet its widespread presence is evidenced by its use in media e.g. Radio stations like KISS FM and Homeboyz FM, music, and technologically mediated communication for example in SMS, Email, Facebook and other Social Network Sites. This paper sets out to contribute in bridging this gap by brainstorming on the general Engsh phenomenon, examining its characteristics, features and functions vis-à-vis Sheng.

GIBSON, MAIK

Africa International University, Kenya & SIL International

THE URBAN VERNACULAR(S) OF NAIROBI: CONTACT LANGUAGE, ANTI-LANGUAGE, **OR HYBRID LANGUAGE PRACTICE?**

Many African cities have seen the development of innovative urban vernaculars, drawing on resources from many languages. Nairobi is no exception, with what is known as Sheng, variously defined as an independent language (eg Rudd 2008, Kiessling & Mous 2004, Osinde & Abdulaziz 1997), as an example of hybridity (eq Bosire 2006), or as an urban dialect of Swahili (eq Githiora 2002). This paper looks at the questions of what qualifies as Sheng in the minds of Nairobians, and how it can then be classified. The data presented is based on qualitative interviews, as well as a review of the literature, and uses prototype theory to account for the variable uses of the terms Sheng and Kiswahili by a small sample of the population of Nairobi. We hypothesize that these two terms occupy opposite ends of a continuum, the centre of which is not lexicalized, leading to the two terms being extended into that space in different ways by different speakers, depending on which contrasts are to the fore in the mind of the speaker. Following Ud-Deen (2005), we call the centre space Nairobi Swahili (not an expression used by its speakers), which is neither fully 'Sheng' nor fully 'Kiswahili', and yet which seems to be Nairobi's lingua franca and emerging first language. This space itself has a variety of what may be called language practices, some of which demonstrate more hybridity and lexical innovation than others, though all seem to share a clearly nonstandard Swahili morpho-syntax.

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The matic Session 125 The legitimate speaker in a transforming political economy

Session Chair 1: Flubacher, Mi-Cha Session Chair 2: Del Percio, Alfonso

Session Abstract:

It is the aim of this thematic session to discuss the relation between political economy and the construction of the legitimate speaker in different contexts of social life (Gal 1989). For this purpose, the legitimacy and 'value' attributed to languages and their speakers is brought into connection with current transformations of the political economy. We are particularly interested in how these transformations affect and produce new ideologies, through which language practices and speakers are regimented and through which the access to resources as well as to prestigious positions in society is regulated (Bourdieu 1982). In short, the main focus lies on the articulation and negotiation of the legitimacy of languages and their speakers in the globalised world of late capitalism.

Since the late 1970s and early 1980s, an acceleration of political, economic and social transformations has occurred. This process is known as 'late capitalism', which is characterized by the liberalization and deregulation of national markets on the one hand, the emergence of new markets and new economic actors on the other. Modernist ideologies based on concepts such as fixity, standardization and authenticity have been challenged in this process and are now competing with post-modernist ideologies of flexibility, variability and hybridity. These new ideologies are mirrored in the emergence of new technologies and of improved mobility that facilitate the global circulation of goods, capital, information and people. In different contexts of social life, such as the work place, schools, public administration, health care and other organizational contexts, these socioeconomic transformations have an impact on how speakers and their linguistic skills and practices are valued.

Sociolinguists have paid particular attention to the impact of these transformations with regard to language ideologies and language practices. Studies have been conducted in different spaces in which language is commodified for different purposes, varying from tourism and the globalized workplace of the new economy to sports, pop culture and art. 'Language' was thus found to allow speakers and economic actors to reach transnational multilingual networks (Duchêne & Heller, in press). In other research contexts, 'language' was capitalized on with regard to distinctive, local and 'authentic' features of linguistic practices (Heller 2010). Finally, languages of wider communication were used to perform 'internationalism'.

In line with these studies, we would like to initiate a discussion in this panel on the relation between political economy and the legitimate speaker. This discussion will be empirically driven, i.e. we will discuss the empirical question of how the political economy impacts on how speakers and languages are constructed and valued. Therefore, we would like to discuss if, why and under which conditions the transformations of the political economy lead to the emergence of new language ideologies and practices that construct languages, their speakers and publics as legitimate or not. We will also use the opportunity to draw on the main theme of the conference in opening up a discussion on the dichotomy between the city and rural areas with regard to the articulation of shifting language ideologies and practices. At the same time, we will pay attention to the ideologies and practices that have not been transformed by the shifts in the political economy, but have persisted – sometimes having remained as they were, but appearing under a new form. Our thematic session appreciates interdisciplinary approaches to language and political economy as well as various methodologies. This will open the floor for contributions that address the relationship between political economic transformations and new language ideologies regarding the legitimacy of languages and their speakers from an empirical viewpoint. We would like to encourage an international discussion reaching beyond a Eurocentric analysis of the phenomena that is conducive to a multiplicity of perspectives.

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FLUBACHER, MI-CHA; ALEXANDRE, DUCHÊNE

University of Teacher Education/University of Fribourg, Switzerland

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

HAQUE, EVE York University, Canada

THE NEO-LIBERAL SUBJECT OF IMMIGRANT LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAMS IN CANADA

With an official national history firmly embedded in immigrant settler narratives, Canada has always grappled with questions of regulating migration and settlement. Since Prime Minister Trudeau's celebratory declaration that Canada was 'multicultural within a bilingual framework' (1971), and the corresponding shifts in immigration patterns – particularly the shift south for migrant source countries – language has played an increasingly important role in the regulation of migrants and borders through Canadian immigration and language training policy. Within the current context of global neo-liberal governmentality, the Canadian state has turned decisively to language as a technology for the regulation of immigration and settlement. In this paper, I want to apply Foucault's notion of governmentality as the 'conduct of conduct' to examine two things (Foucault, 1982). First, how the government has used language to control immigration patterns through, for example, an increase in migration points awarded for official language competency. And second, to examine how immigrant language training policy, benchmarks and curriculum implementation documents serve to 'responsibilize' the immigrant language learner as a 'technology of the self' (Burchell, 1996). Thus, the immigrant language learner is subject not only to institutional processes of management, but are also constituted as responsible immigrant language learners in terms of how they self-manage their own learning and mastery of benchmarks and ESL curriculum. In addition to an analysis of these policies and documents which organize immigrant language training programs, the data for this paper also includes 25 interviews with immigrant language training program ESL teachers as well as observations of their classrooms. Ultimately, this paper argues that governmentality provides a productive analytical approach which can foreground how technologies of institutional power interact with technologies of the self to constitute the neoliberal subject of global migratio

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DEL PERCIO, ALFONSO

University of St. Gallen, Switzerland

WHO IS LEGITIMATE TO SELL THE NATION ?: LANGUAGE AS A VARIABLE ARGUMENT IN A COMPETING MARKET

As a reaction to the global economic transformations, the Swiss government mandated Osec, the Swiss Office of Commercial Expansion, to coordinate the worldwide branding of the national economy. The aim of this mandate is twofold: 1) to create and ensure Switzerland's conditions of access to the deregulated global markets, and 2) to transform Switzerland into a business location attracting foreign investors. The mandate further includes the promotion of Swiss goods and services and the marketing of Switzerland as a business location in the context of international fairs and events for potential investors organized by Osec. It is in these promotional events that the decision of which promoters are legitimated (or not) to promote (i.e. speak about, represent, stage, embody, brand) the nation becomes the object of Osec's strategic investment. This paper aims to reflect on who (speaking which language(s)? With which origins? Having what knowledge about Switzerland and its economy?) counts as legitimate to promote the nation in the context of Osec's nation branding activities and on how the legitimization of these promoters is conditioned by the current political economic conditions as well as by Switzerland's strategic positioning in the globalized economy. Based on a critical sociolinguistic discourse analysis of ethnographic data I explain that the legitimate promoter of Switzerland is not stable. The legitimation attributed to promoters, their language(s) and ethnic origins by Osec and the public varies, depending on the kinds of Swiss products marketed, the public addressed or the Swiss location promoted (e.g., the nation as a whole, a region or a municipality). Furthermore, my analysis will highlight the emerging tensions between three communicational challenges: 1) Osec's strategic need to choose promoters which represent a clearly defined and in the global markets highly recognizable brand of Switzerland and its citizens; 2) Osec's political obligation based on Switzerland's federal structure to select someone who is legitimate to represent the linguistic, cultural and economic particularity of every region pertaining to the diverse but also fragmented business location that is Switzerland; and 3) Osec's strategy to address the target markets in their own language and through local speakers. This analysis on the legitimate promoter enables a deep understanding of the interrelationship between. on the one hand, ideologies of language (varieties) and ethnicity and, on the other, logics of the liberalized markets in the context of nation branding activities, highlighting how a nation constructs an ideal of itself, its citizens, languages and cultures as well as who is included in this ideal and who is not.

STEINER, MARIANA

University of Teacher Education, Switzerland

THE PORTUGUESE STATE AND ITS HERITAGE SCHOOLS AT THE AGE OF THE NEW ECONOMY: WHAT KIND OF LEGITIMACY AND FOR WHOM?

There are many countries which, because of a strong tradition of emigration, offer courses of language and culture of origin (heritage schools) to their emigrant communities. This is the case for Portugal, which has made available this kind of teaching in many European and non-European countries since the 1970's. The political and financial support of teaching the Portuguese language abroad involves significant investments on the part of the Portuguese state and, has, today perhaps more than ever, to be legitimised with policy decision makers. Since the time of their creation, the economic and social changes have been numerous, both within the nation and regarding the wider geo-political context, forcing heritage schools to adapt themselves as well as their legitimising discourses to the economic and political requirements of the state. The initial discourse based on principles related to linguistic nationalism, the idea of a return to the country of origin and the linguistic rights of immigrant communities has not disappeared completely but gradually given way) to a new discourse, namely, thatof language as a value in an economic and professional space transcending both the country of origin and the host country. This discourse does not replace the first one; they coexist. This coexistence leads to the difficult situation where heritage schools have to

reconcile the contradiction of claiming a new position, i.e. the enhancement of multilingualism as an added value in the global economic market, based on old values, which are first and foremost national.

Through a historiographical analysis of institutional documents produced by the Portuguese state, my paper will address the following issues: (1) to highlight the context and the conditions that allowed the emergence of these two types of discourse, (2) to understand how these two types of discourse concur in constructing what constitutes the Portuguese legitimate language as well as who is a legitimate speaker of Portuguese, and (3) to highlight areas of ideological continuities and discontinuities underlying these seemingly contradictory discourses.

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UNAMUNO, VIRGINIA CONICET, Argentine Republic

CONSTRUCTING LEGITIMACY FOR EMERGENT SOCIAL SPACES IN BILINGUAL CONTEXTS IN CHACO (ARGENTINA).

Over the last few years, Argentina has witnessed changes in government policies about native languages and their speakers' education. These changes are linked to the new legal visibility of the poblaciones originarias (native populations) in the 1994 Constitutional amendment and the new Education Law (2006). Both recognise the right to collective possession of the land and to plurilingual education (Trinchero 2010). These legal changes, together with the historical struggles of the native populations, have resulted in the creation of new institutions like those devoted to the training of native teachers. In this paper, we analyze the negotiation of the legitimacy of languages and their speakers in education institutions for members of the mocovi, qom y wich communities in Chaco. We analyze different types of data (official documents, classroom interactions, interviews with teacher educators and with pre-service teachers, etc.) with the aim of showing the ways in which the languages ideologies are connected to political, social, cultural and economic transformations in Argentina. We draw on the procedures of interactional sociolinguistics and on an ecological perspective on multilingualism (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008).

In the analysis of the data, we foreground the tensions connected to the revaluation of verbal capitals that are part of the process we observed in Chaco, especially those relative of the incorporation of native teachers in public schools. Verbal competences in native languages and is Spanish are evaluated as resources to access emergent social spaces (like the teaching profession) fought over by native and white populations in the poorest region of Argentina.

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HELLER, MONICA (1); LAMARRE, PATRICIA (2)

1: University of Toronto, Canada; 2: Université de Montréal, Canada

LEGITIMATE LANGUAGE, LEGITIMATE SPEAKERS: WHO OWNS CANADIAN FRENCH?

This paper examines contemporary tensions over who counts as a legitimate speaker of Canadian French, as older ideas of language as embodied membership of an organic nation encounter newer ideas about language as a skill to be deployed by cosmopolitan participants in the globalized new economy. Drawing on ethnographic data from Quebec as well as other Canadian provinces where francophones constitute a minority, we will show how contemporary political economic conditions challenge ideas about what it means to be a francophone. Our data consist of individual and institutional expressions of varied interests in maintaining or contesting dominant modes of defining legitimate speakers, as illustrations of this change and explanations for the tensions involved in it.

Amidst persistent tensions between the authenticating value of the vernacular versus the modernizing value of the standard, we find that new actors are laying claim to being legitimate speakers of French. These include Canadians of British, indigenous and immigrant origin historically distinct from the ethnonational category of 'francophones', as well as new arrivals from Europe and from former francophone colonies. At the same time, the traditional arbiters of linguistic legitimacy, who draw their authority from nationalist ideas about language, identity and nation, find themselves increasingly drawn into globalized networks and markets where their linguistic resources are differentially valued and where their authority is challenged.

Conflicts arise particularly in Quebec, but also in the heart of the francophone institutional network set up with the support of the federal government across Canada since the 1970s. These spaces have produced actors with a vested interest in maintaining control over closed and homogeneous markets, which persist through state investment in linguistic duality as a technique for managing diversity and containing francophone contestation. Those spaces both require new members for their own perpetuation, and have become significant sites of resource distribution in and of themselves, attracting new actors whose legitimacy must be established.

At the same time, French Canadian authenticity, acquired through successful nationalist mobilization, now has new value in a globalized market eager for real cultural experiences (e.g. through tourism or the arts) and authentic artefacts; authenticity is marked by linguistic means, while the marketing requires adaptation to the consumers. Quebec has been particularly successful in branding itself, although other regions of Canada, notably Acadie, have also had success, thereby liberating themselves from the domination of the Quebec market.

These shifting political economic conditions set the stage for tensions over who gets to decide what counts as French and who counts as a francophone, as a criterion for access to spaces which, while they were initially set up as a matter of national rights, now function as nodes in a complex global network characterized by mobility of goods and people. Multiple sources of authority compete in defining the legitimate speaker, as the authentic and the cosmopolitan occupy different positions on the changing scene. WOYDACK, JOHANNA King's College London, University of London

LANGUAGE BELIEFS AND IDEOLOGIES IN A LONDON BASED MULTILINGUAL OUTBOUND CALL CENTRE

In the past fifteen years, call centres have risen to prominence in many countries, as an important source of employment and a revolutionary model of efficient organisation. As a result, they have become widely associated as one of the workplaces of the new economy. Despite their prominent position in the debate on the new economy and often being quoted as an example of language work, increasing commodification of language and controversial language standardisation practices (e.g. scripting entire conversations) in the transforming political economy, there have been few sociolinguistic studies on call centres (Heller 2005). In fact, most of the few studies tend to be on inbound call centres (e.g. Cameron 2000; Duchêne 2009), while little is known about the outbound call centres that are commonly found in global cities like London (Buchanan & Schulte 2000). Drawing on the unusual advantage of long-term ethnography, this research discusses a) the language workers of those types of call centres b) language practices and regimes that can be seen to govern them c) the language ideologies underpinning the organisation and d) how those get produced. Methodologically, participant observation was conducted over four years at an outbound call centre in London (that describes itself as speaking '300 + languages'), and fifty interviews were conducted with the staff.

The study finds the call centre workers to be highly educated employees, hired on a temporary basis and solely because of their language skills. The call centre is often the agent's first job in London after having located there from another country or after having recently finished their higher education in London. The call centre job allows the agents to take advantage of their language skills e.g. as native speakers and the job's flexibility while undergoing what agents refer to as 'London socialisation' and finding a 'real job'. The call centre is seen to rely on these new arrivals to the Londoner labour market, as clients choose London's outbound call centres because of its constant supply of cheap multilingual workers. More generally, I will show the important role that language standardisation practices hold in allowing language commodification, flexibility and low labour costs. Although native speakers are considered to be the ideal employees, the use of language standardisation practices (such as scripts) allows the call centre to recruit new kinds of language speakers (non-native, not fluent but semi-multilingual) who are cheaper to employ and more flexible than native speakers. As a consequence, new language ideologies and labels for language speakers are seen to be created and commodified.

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SHERMAN, TAMAH

Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic

EVOLVING NATIONAL ECONOMIES, PERSISTENT LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES: KOREAN-BASED MULTINATIONALS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

In recent decades, the Czech Republic has come to be known in the global economy a 'low-cost location', meaning that highly skilled labor there is accessible for a lesser financial investment, among others, in the manufacturing industry. Since the 1990s, the country has thus been attractive to foreign multinational companies for the establishment of branches and plants, both short-term and long-term. This development, which has been highly significant for the national economy, is reflected in observable behavior toward language, particularly the national language. Czech. Initially high-profile multinationals in the Czech Republic were largely German-based, but ever more capital is being invested by companies from Asia (Japan, Korea). This shift has led to a change in the dynamics of the languages present. This paper will focus on one of the most recent high-profile multinational projects in the Czech Republic. Based on data (ethnographic observation, recorded interactions, semi-structured interviews, written documents) collected in the Czech plant of a Korean automobile manufacturer as well as in its headquarters in Seoul, we will utilize the language management framework (Nekvapil & Nekula 2006, Nekvapil & Sherman 2009, Sherman et al 2010). This framework which focuses on the way in which various phenomena are noted and evaluated against the background of perceived norms or expectations, and how adjustments are designed and implemented. also providing the means for the analysis of the interplay between the macro and micro levels of behavior toward language. Through the investigation of the official company policy regarding language use, the teaching of languages in the plant, the use of English as a lingua franca, language knowledge as a condition of employment, the linguistic landscape of the plant, the acquisition management of the Korean employees and their families outside of the plant, the paper will focus on the ideologically based legitimatization of particular language management acts. The case of multinationals in the Czech Republic demonstrates that a shift in focus from more or less regional language and power dynamics (Czech-German relations), to more declaredly globalized ones (Czech-Korean economic collaboration) does not necessarily lessen the national element that is brought into the relevant interactions. Emphasis will be placed on the issue of national languages, particularly Czech and Korean, and their constructed legitimacy as languages worthy of learning and use in economic activity.

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WEIRICH, ANNA-CHRISTINE Goethe Universität Frankfurt, Germany

COMMODIFICATION OF LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES ON THE MOLDOVAN LABOUR MARKET

In a sociolinguistic context the term 'commodification' has mainly been used in order to point out two kinds of processes in which in the context of globalisation language becomes an economic resource. On the one hand there are international business activities where certain languages serve as lingua franca for communication across national, cultural and first of all linguistic boundaries. On the other hand linguistic varieties which are associated with tradition and authenticity have contributed to the marketization of certain goods (Heller 2006). This latter process has been seen as one chance of linguistic minorities finding their place in modernity.

Tracing the term back to its Marxian origins offers us the additional opportunity of taking a closer look at what happens to speakers and their linguistic repertoires under those conditions, both on the level of ideology and of practice. Work force as the only commodity that disposes of the prerequisite to create surplus value is at the same time crucial for profit making as for individual subsistence. This being, the (re)production of their work force lies in the sole hands of the workers themselves, including linguistic competence which is a central component of work force under the conditions of modernity. Using examples from my fieldwork in various enterprises and institutions in the Republic of Moldova, I will try to shed light on the various shapes commodification of linguistic resources takes on in different types of labour relations. The analysis will take into account different language ideologies as well as their impact on the processes of 'language learning' (Blommaert/Backus 2011) and 'restructuration' of linguistic repertoires. While doing so I have a focus on two groups of minorized speakers presently facing an emergent new majority – the Russian population as the formerly dominant and largely monolingual one and the Ukrainian population which displays strong traits of assimilation to that formerly dominant group.

Due to the concomitant processes of nationalization and heavy economic problems which lead to a fundamental temporary or permanent exodus of the population, while studying the Moldovan case we are confronted with several seemingly contradictory ideologies. The linguistic nationalism promoted by Romanian speaking elites tries to unify the 'weak state' (Heintz 2008) on a discursive level, creating a strongly purist discourse (referring to the exogene Romanian standard which is foreign to almost the entire population), thus shaping in particular education discourses and practices. At the same time, transnational enterprises have started to exploit the multilingualism of the region's workforce, resulting both from the multiethnicity of the state and the heavy labour migration to European and CIS countries. At the same time 'post-modernist ideologies of flexibility, variability and hybridity' (Gal 1989) are being promoted by EU and US development programs referring to that multilingualism combined with low labour costs as decisive features of Moldovan competitivity.

PUJOLAR, JOAN Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Spain

universitat Oberta de Gataldriya, Spain

MULTILINGUALISM IN THE WORKPLACE: FROM ETHNO-NATIONALISM TO POST-NA-TIONALISM

In this presentation, I shall examine how young Catalans construct their relationship to languages as they enter the labor market. I will show that the beginning of their working life marks a significant shift in the way they manage their linguistic repertoire and in how their construct their own relationship to the languages they speak. I characterize this shift as one from ethno-nationalism to post-nationalism because, in the work context, they consider that language choice must be understood as a professional issue subject to the demands of corporate and market conditions. From this perspective, a neoliberal linguistic ethos emerges that is consistent with the demands of transnational organizations that construct language as an individual skill that enables the mobility of the workforce, the organization of production and the adaptation to different local markets from a global perspective.

The analysis will be based on a qualitative corpus of 24 in-depth interviews and 15 group discussions with respondents aged between 16 and 35 of varying profiles in terms of sex, education and area of residence (Barcelona city as opposed to the rest). Participants were queried to provide life histories with a focus on how they learned and used the various languages of their repertoire, particularly how they adopted the use of Catalan or Spanish when this was not their family or first language. The study identified specific junctures where subjects reorganized their linguistic repertoire: when entering primary school, secondary school, the university, the job market, when creating a new family and when they had children (if they did). We named these changes as linguistic 'mudes', a Catalan term refering to (often reversible) variations in social performance. The job market juncture was clearly where most 'mudes' took place, as many individuals abandoned functional monolingualism and ceased to construct linguistic issues in terms of identity to allow new considerations to come in, such as the need to display availability to use different languages.

Most research participants were Catalan-born or had followed the Catalan education system from an early age. This means that, for all of them, either Catalan or Spanish (or both) was the language first learned at home and they had learned and used both languages at school. However, despite the fact that most people do display a good bilingual competence from an early age, and Catalan speakers apparently switch to Spanish more easily, childhood and adolescence, with its conventional antagonisms around language, race, ethnicity, class and gender, had brought many to avoid or resist the use of the 'other' language with friends or relatives. For many, this changed as they moved to the workplace, the moment where adolescent antagonisms got gradually forgotten and individuals developed an interest to construct language as a skill rather than use it as a boundary marker. From this perspective, we detected significant variations having to do with class, study level and the market position of the various workplaces.

ZIMMERMANN, MARTINA University of Bern, Switzerland

STRUGGLE FOR LEGITIMACY AND (DIS-)LOYALTY WHILE AWAY: INTRA-NATIONAL MOBILITY IN THE SWISS UNIVERSITY CONTEXT

In Switzerland, which consists of largely monolingual regions mirrored in the territoriality principle, universities existed for a long time only in the French and German parts. The economic and cultural weakness of the Italian speaking part (Ticino) was both an obstacle to the establishment of a university as well as a consequence of the non-existence of such an institution. The global economic transformation in the nineties implicated a political willpower to upvalue the region economically and led to the foundation of university in the Italian part of the country in 1996. The 'Università della Svizzera Italiana' (USI), with a focus on economics and with English and Italian as the two official languages, defines itself as an institution that serves as a bridge between

northern Italy and the rest of Switzerland, with the goal of defending and preserving the language and culture of the Ticino. This economic transformation has had an impact on the language ideologies of the region's inhabitants and has offered new economic possibilities and personal options. Despite the opportunity to study in the Ticino, some still choose to migrate i.e., to study at a university in the German part of Switzerland. It is in this context that I am doing an ethnography of a student association of Ticino-dialect/Italian-speaking members, established in the German part in order to investigate which students make their choice in relation to which interests - economic (high fees of USI, high living cost somewhere else) or strategic ones (future chances on the labour market) amongst others. While to some extent, those going away become 'disloyal' with the Ticino and its academic offer, in their student associations (considered as social spaces that offer a social and cultural network), a form of loyalty towards region and culture can be cultivated whilst being away. In this context tension thus emerges oscillating between disloyalty (going away - distancing oneself from the Ticino) and loyalty (constructing oneself as a legitimate member of a Ticino dialect/Italian-speaking student association where one can celebrate elements from the Ticino together with other students who share the same origin and culture while being away). It is the aim of my paper to understand how the internal student migrants in this context legitimize their disloyalty and at the same time practice and justify their loyalty towards their home region and culture on the terrain of different languages and how they construct themselves through these practices as legitimate members of the Ticinese community in the Swiss German diaspora. By a critical analysis of the ethnographic data, I will first argue that languages work as distinctive community features in the context of a mobile group of students (Ticino dialect/Italian distinguish this association from others and enable the individuals to construct themselves as legitimate members). Second I will show how the diglossic situation (Swiss German/Standard German) is highlighted in a discourse of minorisation and social exclusion as well as how it is instrumentalized (future chances on the labour market).

COSTA WILSON, JAMES ENS de Lyon, France

CONTESTED LEGITIMACIES AND NEO-SPEAKERS OF MINORIZED LANGUAGES: WHO HAS THE RIGHT TO BE A SPEAKER?

This presentation aims at analyzing the interplay between the notions of new-speakers (or neo-speakers as they are called in France) and legitimate speakers, drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in two schools in Provence and Scotland between 2007 and 2009. Several issues are at play: what is a new or neo-speaker, and more importantly, who gets to decide who belongs to that category, and thus not simply to the category of 'speakers'? What are the consequences for 'new speakers'? Why does the category apply only to speakers of minority languages? Does it imply that new-speakers speak a 'new-language', i.e. a standardized form of previously mainly oral vernaculars? In this case, a form of competition between forms of legitimacies would seem to emerge between educated forms of speech, generally deemed more legitimate in late-modern societies, and traditional forms of speech, the status of which is generally left unclear by activists, between (covert) rejection and (overt) nostalgia. Those questions are central in the context of minority language social movements where children are seen as both the saviors of the minority language and as a potential threat to it due to both their use of contact forms of speech and their social position as belonging to middle-class families living in urban centers. They are of particular importance in late capitalism where language is used to redefine forms of authenticity and autochthony in view of establishing new roles for languages in the 'new economy'.

I will therefore question the use of the very notion of 'new-speakers' and 'neo-speakers' in sociolinguistics, as it serves to reify a category that may very well be detrimental to those it seeks to describe, and often fails to take into account internal dynamics at play among speakers. My presentation will draw on two specific examples from Scotland and Provence:

in Scotland, the status of Scots remains uncertain, politically as well as for its different types of users. I will draw on moments of negotiation between pupils and myself during interviews on their use of Scots, in which they position the type of language they speak with regard to the language of their parents and grandparents, and integrate into their discourse the more formal Scots of education. in Provence, I will draw on a moment when pupils from a Calandreta school (an Occitan language immersion school) come in contact with the recording of a local elderly woman, and seek to position themselves and their language, which they consider perfectly legitimate, with that of a higher authority embodied by the figure of 'the native speaker'.

Drawing on those examples I will look at the competing dynamics at play in establishing what constitutes a legitimate speaker, and a legitimate form of speech in late modernity among speakers of minority languages in Western Europe.

GAL, SUSAN

University of Chicago, United States of America

DISCUSSION

Discussant of Thematic Session 'The legitimate speaker in a transforming political economy'.

Thematic Session 126

Gesture variation: genre, culture and identity

Session Chair 1: Colletta, Jean-Marc Session Chair 2: Brookes, Heather Jean

Session Abstract:

Variation studies, for the most part, focus on factors that account for variation in speech. However, communication is a multimodal phenomenon, and gesture is an integral part of speaking (Kendon 2004; McNeill 1992). The nature of gestures and the way they are produced also vary. Despite a substantial body of work on variation in speech according to social variables such as class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and style, there is much less work on factors that influence variation in gestures and gestural behaviour. Research on cross-cultural variation of speech-accompanying gestures identifies four aspects of gestural variation: cultural specific form-meaning associations; cognitively different conceptions of space and time; differences in language structure and gestural pragmatics i.e. culture-specific norms that shape gestural conduct (Kita 2009). In terms of gestural conduct, several studies show how gestural conduct indexes social meanings and identities. Among black South African male youth on the city streets, use of gestures and gestural style are a vital aspect of gaining status among peers and appearing streetwise and city slick. Gestural behaviour/style plays a role in indexing urban and local identities and social divisions. Gesture is part of expressing urbanness in contrast to a rural identity that is considered backwards, tribal and primitive. However, excessive use of gesture and certain gestural styles index disrespectability and delinquency in the urban social context (Brookes, 2001, 2004, 2005). Along similar lines, Driessen (1991) describes how gestural styles are part of male identity and sociability functioning to enhance or undermine male status in drinking establishments in Andalusia, Spain. Cultural expectations relating to the nature of different oral genres also shapes gesture. Comparative studies of the narrative genre show differences in gesturing between French and Zulu speaking children and adults (Colletta & Pelleng, 2009; Colletta, Pelleng & Guideti, 2010 ; Kunene, 2010). A comparison of French and Zulu gestures reveal differences in cultural expectations that may be inherited from largely distinct literacy traditions. Genre explains differences in the way Zulu children and adults gesture while narrating. These differences do not show in the French data and are to be related to marked communication styles among the Zulu community. Differences in gesture use may not solely be due to external sources of variation. For instance, work on French narratives show large differences in the rate of gesture as well as in other aspects of the narrative performance such as texture and syntax. Accurate description of internal covariations between language and gesture will help reconsider differences in narrative style.

The aim of this panel is to explore factors that shape gestural variation? In particular, it will look at how social dynamics in the urban environment relating to sociality and identity shape gestural communication and style. The panel will discuss questions about the relationship between internal and external sources of variation; how the communicative economy and characteristics of urban environments and other factors such as cultural expectations, values and norms shape gestural practices and their social meanings; and how gestural variation may differ from spoken linguistic variation, the relationship between the two and how gesture can be considered as part of speech styles.

KLASSEN, DOREEN HELEN

Grenfell Campus, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada

'YOU CAN'T SAY IT WITHOUT USING YOUR HANDS': GENERATIONAL VARIATION IN IDEOPHONE AND GESTURE USAGE IN SHONA NGANO (CANTEFABLE) PERFORM-ANCE

Shona grandmothers in Zimbabwe argue that gesture is integral to the use and understanding of ideophones, a form of verbal expressives characteristically found in Shona Ngano, a type of cantefable. Regional and even idiosyncratic variations in ideophonic usage often render these expressives highly ambiguous, thereby necessitating gestural co-performance for their fuller understanding.

Although scholars may suggest that ideophonic gestures are merely mimetic (Kunene, 1978), these and other gestures and forms of bodily movement have a much broader range of functions within the performance of these narratives (Finnegan 2007). Using a combination of Janis Nuckolls' (1992) and David McNeill's (1992) categorization of language-gesture correspondences based on Peirce's philosophical approaches to iconicity (1955), one may classify gestures in these narrative performances as imaegistic, diagrammatic, metaphoric, deitic, or beats. However, a close analysis of a narrative performance by a masterful storytelling Shona grandmother reveals that through bodily gesture she carefully negotiates between narrational and social space, reveals her understanding of narrative structure (Kendon 1972), and even provides metagestural evaluation of her performance (Babcock 1977). Using the range of gestural expression in this master narrative as a template, this paper will explore generational variation in gesture usage among females in Zimbabwe. The data for this presentation is based on 65 video-recorded storytelling sessions by women of four generations; grandmothers in their sixties, school teachers in their forties, single women in their twenties, and children in Form 1 - 7 of a primary school.

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BROOKES. HEATHER JEAN University of Cape Town, South Africa

GESTURAL STYLES AND IDENTITY AMONG URBAN BLACK MALE YOUTH IN A JO-HANNESBURG TOWNSHIP

Among urban black South Africans in the Johannesburg region, gesturing is a prominent feature in every day interactions. Gestures frequently depict spoken content, and there is a large vocabulary of conventionalised gestural forms. Gesturing is most highly elaborated in conjunction with an urban informal spoken variety used among male youth in the teens and twenties when they gather together on the street corners in their local township neighbourhoods.

Based on ethnographic work involving observation, video-recordings of spontaneous interactions and interviews, we compare gestural styles among young men in one township, identify how they vary and analyse their social meanings. There is a metadiscourse about gestural behaviour among township residents. Gesture indexes two key social divisions within the township, an urban identity versus a rural identity and respectability versus disrespectability. Among male township youth, speech and gestural style are a vital aspect of gaining status among peers and demonstrating an urban, streetwise and city slick identity. Gestural behaviour/style also indexes local identities and divisions among male social networks. Young men talk about three different male youth identities in the township that are marked by differences in language use and styles of gesturing: softies (those who don't hang out much on the township streets) and their associated 'subcultures' including rappers and bhujwas 'bourgeois,' streetwise township males often referred to as maauthi 'guys' or magents 'gentlemen' and pantsulas 'ruffians' including tsotsis 'thugs' who are engaged in antisocial activities and sometimes crime. These three styles vary in terms of gestural space, hand action, how gestures are deployed in relation to speech, their semantic relation to speech and the use of specific gestural forms. These findings on the role of gesture and gestural styles in relation to identity will be discussed in relation to the communicative economy of the urban African environment. The question of what aspects of gesture use are influenced by culture will be addressed. These data will also be considered in terms of our understanding of language as a multimodal variable semiotic system.

KUNENE, RAMONA (1); BROOKES, HEATHER (2) 1: University of Witwatersrand, South Africa; 2: University of Cape Town, South Africa

THE IMPACT OF GENDER ON GESTURAL BEHAVIOUR IN ORAL NARRATIVES AND SPONTANEOUS CONVERSATIONS

This paper focuses on the influence of gender in the deployment of co-speech gesture. We investigate differences in gestural behaviour between male and female speakers of Zulu and Southern Sotho. We also examine how children are socialized into gendered gestural behaviour. Our investigation is based on a two-pronged approach: ethnographic and experimental. In the ethnographic method, data was collected from observations, interviews and recordings of spontaneous conversations among male and female adults ranging from 18 to 35 years. In the experimental condition, narratives were solicited from 32 children between the ages of 5 and 12 years as well as 12 adults. All participants were Zulu speakers. Each subject was shown a two-minute extract of an animated cartoon. They were then requested to recount what they had seen to an interviewer. Results from analysis of spontaneous interactions show that males make more frequent use of gesture per speech clause and utilize a wider gestural space than females in interactions with their peers. Males also make more use of a larger repertoire of guotable gestures and know significantly more of the quotable repertoire than their female counterparts. Users modify their gestural behaviour in terms of frequency and gestural space according to interlocutor's gender and age, familiarity and formality of social situation. Gestural behaviour is a key aspect of indexing a male urban streetwise youth identity. Social norms dictate that women should not gesticulate in the same manner nor make frequent and extensive use of the quotable repertoire. Such communicative behaviour among females indexes disrespectability. Results from the experimental condition, showed no significant difference on the effect of gender on the use of co-speech gesture. However from a gualitative analysis, we note a marked difference in the deployment of gesture space (McNeill, 1992) between genders. Boys, from 12 years of age, and adult males use a bigger region of space around the body whereas girls and adult females restrict themselves to a smaller and frontal region of physical space when using spontaneous gesture. Differences in gestural development and use appear to be related to age, gender, language task and cultural norms of interaction. We consider to what extent gesture variation and speech index similar aspects of identity or whether the different status and values or the two modalities lead them to mark different ones

COLLETTA, JEAN-MARC Université de Grenoble 3, France

GESTURE VARIATION IN NARRATIVE BEHAVIOUR: GESTURE STYLE OR NARRATIVE STYLE?

Although a different medium, gesture varies in the same way as language varies: gesture production varies from one culture to another (Kita, 2009), according to social variables such as age, gender and social class (Brookes, 2004), and according to the language task itself (Colletta, 2004). A far less documented issue is that of cross-individual variability. An investigation on a single controlled narrative task revealed huge cross-individual variation among the subjects: from 0 gesture per narrative up to 155 gestures per narrative, with the rate of gesture per clause extending from 0.00 up to 1.98. What makes so large cross-individual differences? Are there any 'gesture styles'? Does gesture production co-vary with linguistic production? Are there any 'narrative styles' that incorporate gesture styles? Our present contribution to the panel aims at investigating these guestions. The empirical data was collected in 2008 for a study on the development of multimodal narratives in French children and adults (Colletta, Pelleng & Guidetti, 2010). In order to elicit narrative production, a 2'45 video clip extracted from a Tom & Jerry cartoon was shown to 122 subjects among which 38 adults. All narratives were transcribed and annotated using the ELAN software (http://www.mpi.nl/tools/) and a coding scheme designed to code both for speech and gesture (http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/thirdparty). The annotation provided information on syntax, discourse coherence, discourse structure, the processing of the event frame, narratives acts, co-speech gesture, gesture categories, relationship between gesture and speech and over subtle distinctions regarding representational gestures (Colletta & al, 2009). Our study on cross-individual differences is empirically based on the 38 filmed narratives that were produced by the adults. Our first goal was to check

for correlations between gesture variables and other variables. It was based on the guantitative analysis of the coded data. Our results showed that gesture production co-varies with the narrative content and the pragmatic aspects of narrative behaviour, whereas we did not find any evidence for covariation between desture and syntax.

The second goal was to look for gesture styles vs narrative styles. We showed a selection of adults' narratives to a panel of 30 subjects who have previously seen the cartoon story clip. The narratives were presented in random order and in two modalities (auditory + visual / auditory only) to each subject who had to score them on four dimensions: 1. completeness and accuracy of the story; 2. discourse coherence of the narrative; 3. diction and elocution; 4. liveliness of the narrative behaviour. We postulate that differences in the scorings between the two modalities plead for the existence of proper gesture styles across individuals, whereas similar results in the two modalities plead in favour of narrative styles across individuals. The results are discussed within the theoretical frameworks of multimodal speech production and sociolinguistic variation in speech.

CIENKI, ALAN

Vrije Universiteit (VU), Amsterdam, The Netherlands

LANGUAGE AS A VARIABLY MULTIMODAL SEMIOTIC SYSTEM: VARIATION ACCORD-ING TO SOCIAL FACTORS

This presentation will provide a theoretical lens through which the talks in this thematic session on 'gesture variation' can be viewed. The intention is to tie the other presentations together by being the last one in this session.

In contrast to the tradition of (Chomskyan) generative grammar, which takes a modular view of language, the present approach builds on cognitive linguistics (Geeraerts & Cuyckens 2007), which is increasingly considering the degree to which gesture should be included in linguistic theory. This stems in part from the view in this theory that meaning is not 'contained in' the language, but rather, addressees must construct speakers' intended meanings from cues that speakers provide in their communicative behavior (Fauconnier & Turner 2002). One question is what the scope of behaviors is that should be taken into account in a theory of language. The model being developed by the Author (2012) is that language can best be considered a category with a flexible boundary. For example, with spoken language, some co-verbal behaviors have a clearer linguistic status (like 'emblems', such as the thumbsup gesture in many Western cultures to indicate positive evaluation), while others are dependent upon accompaniment by spoken words (such as those schematically referring to spatial forms and constituting speech-gesture composite utterances, as discussed in Enfield 2009).

Building on work in Relevance Theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995), the selective activation of meaning (Müller 2008), and the attentional analysis of meaning (Oakley 2009), I argue that while spoken language forms the prototype in the 'canonical encounter' (Clark 1973) of face-to-face communication, the scope of relevant behaviors is actually dynamic. It is dynamic in that the focus can shift momentarily from words to gestures (or, for example, to a wordless intonation contour); it is also dynamic in that the scope can be narrower (e.g., when focusing intently on someone's words) or broader (when being more sensitive to a speaker's attitude about what s/he is saying). Consistent with the view in cognitive linguistics that semantics and pragmatics form a continuum of meaning-making, the scope of relevant behaviors dynamically moves along this scale moment by moment in the process of interaction. I will argue that a number of the social variables discussed in this thematic session constitute factors that influence the size and point of focus for the scope of relevant behaviors at any given moment. For example, one study in the session reflects the common use of a wide scope of relevant behaviors by contemporary young male speakers of Zulu, with explicit attention to co-verbal gestural style, versus the narrower focus on the verbal level by female speakers, among whom such use of gesture is socially stigmatized. Other variables to be discussed from the talks in the panel include age (generational variation), gender, identity in social networks, and styles of narration. The model proposed can therefore help with the question of how to theorize gestural variation in relation to language.

Thematic Session 127

Language outside of the city: centre-periphery dynamics in multilingualism

Session Chair 1: Pietikäinen, Sari Päiviki Session Chair 2: Kelly-Holmes, Helen

Session Abstract

While the focus of SS19 is on language in the city, this thematic session argues that 'peripheral' contexts outside of the city or any other perceived centres are also 'crucial sites' (Philips 2000) for understanding the current complexities of multilingualism. These spaces are often neglected sites in research, with the focus predominantly on urban spaces for understanding multilingualism. However, both centre and periphery are one of many geographical and spatial categories used in the imagination, circulation and representation of cultural and linguistic identities and multilingual practices. Further, the centre-periphery relationship is never fixed, but instead constantly renegotiated and mutually constitutive. Thus what is interesting are the processes of peripheralization and of centralization, and their impact on languages and their speakers. The session contributions all deal with the centre-periphery dynamics, which by definition involve thinking of language inside and outside of cities - since cities are sometimes central and sometimes peripheral. As such, the session aims to provide a focus for discussing the key topics of the SS19.

In this session, we want to explore the ways in which core-periphery dynamics shape multilingualism. We argue that core-periphery dynamics - and how they are imagined - have a significant impact on the way that multilingualism is conceptualized and practised. This focus calls for a reassessment of what linguistic and cultural centres and peripheries are, under globalisation, and an exploration of how people evaluate and work discursively with these reconfigurations. It also highlights the ways in which speakers seek novel solutions in adapting their linguistic resources to new situations and developing novel language practices.

The aim of this session is to bring together sociolinguistic, ethnographic and discourse analytical research on a variety of practices, spaces and experiences that illustrate centre-periphery dynamics in multilingualism. We are especially interested in minority language contexts, as the minoritization of languages is part of peripheralization processes, and as such subject to the dynamics of renegotiation and contestation characteristic of the centre-periphery relationship. We have observed this dynamics in our research on multilingual minority language practices and spaces, especially in the context of the Peripheral Multilingualism - project. The session contributors all share a common interest in developing concepts and methodologies, while examining situations where multilingual minority language speakers are compelled to take up stances in relation to old and new, traditional and emerging ways of using minority languages and by doing so, to contribute to the making of language boundaries and categories. We aim at providing concrete examples and insights into the various, emerging ways whereby centrality and peripherality are both created and contested by the current flows and mobilities, and circulation of languages and identities, resulting in emerging ways of organising and exploiting linguistic resources. The centre-periphery dynamic opens up new ways of thinking and theorising about multilingualism and cores and peripheries, and necessarily involves a challenge to existing notions of 'straightforward' power relations (e.g. majority-minority; centre-periphery etc.) Discussion questions:

- 1. How are core-periphery dynamics constituted and reconstituted? How are language practices shaped by the core-periphery dynamics? 2. Does centralisation and/or peripheralization lead to particular kinds of multilingual and multimodal practices? What norms are invoked/rebutted in these practices and what ideologies underlie these?
- 3. What tensions arise between established and emerging linguistic practices? What are the material and symbolic outcomes for speakers of these centralising and peripherilising processes and practices?
- 4. What kind of methodological issues and innovations examining of centre-periphery dynamics brings up?

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MORIARTY, MAIREAD

University of Limerick, Ireland

CENTRE AND PERIPHERY CONTESTATIONS IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF AN **IRISH TOURIST TOWN**

This article explores the LL of Dingle, a tourist town on the Southwest seaboard of Ireland. Dingle is the principal town of the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht, one of the seven officially designated Irish language speaking regions in the Republic of Ireland, which are scattered predominately along the Western seaboard, making it an important centre for Irish language speakers. Yet, Dingle represents a peripheral minority language community, given its geographic location and its distance from the large urban centres within Ireland (cf. Kelly-Holmes et al, 2011). For these reasons Dingle becomes an important site in which to investigate core-periphery dynamics in the context of Irish language policy and planning. Specifically, by building on recent theorizing in linguistic landscape (LL) studies, where a discourse analytical approach to LL data is promoted (cf. Coupland and Garrett, 2010; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010; Kallen, 2009, 2010), the study uncovers a number of contesting ideologies regarding the role of the Irish language which circulate in the LL of Dingle. Through an examination of the path followed by tourists through Dingle the trajectory of local linguistic resources and consequences for language ideologies will be revealed. The analysis brings to light a set of conflicting ideologies that are constantly being contested and negotiated by both 'central' and 'peripheral' language actors. On the one hand the State promotes an Anderson-like modernist ideology of 'one Nation one language' where Dingle is a key space where such an ideology can be safeguarded. While, on the other hand, local people promote a postmodernist ideology of multilingualism where the Irish language carries a certain value, but as part of a wider multilingual repertoire. This suggests that the LL can be viewed as a dynamic space that is significant in indexing and performing language ideologies. Overall, the data points to the need for language planning and policy scholarship to address the lived experience of minority languages in peripheral communities.

SELLECK, CHARLOTTE LOUISE RACHEL; COUPLAND, NIKOLAS Cardiff University, United Kingdom

PERIPHERAL MULTILINGUALISM IN 'BRITAIN'S SMALLEST CITY'

In common conception St Davids/ Tyddewi, on the south-western extremity of Wales (itself part of the 'Celtic fringe'), is a markedly peripheral place. But historically its importance was as a staging post for transnational mobility, not least a meeting point for pilgrims and as a religious centre. Tyddewi ('David's House') is the site of St David's Cathedral, which has credentialised it not only as a 'city' but as an ecclesiastical 'Welsh capital'. Tyddewi sits on the Landsker Line/ Y Ffin, a putative isogloss dividing 'Welsh' (more bilingual, northern) and 'English' (mainly monolingual, southern) zones of south-west Wales. In geographical, political, cultural and linguistic dimensions, Tyddewi therefore lends itself almost uniquely to an analysis of changing and multiply contextualised centre/ periphery relations.

The particular centre/periphery dynamic that we analyse here relates to the role of Welsh and bilingualism in the (selective) economic revitalisation of west Wales. In changing economic and cultural markets, Tyddewi and other parts of the west Wales hinterland are increasingly able to market their peripherality, particularly as a high-end tourist destination. Coastal walking and more energetic leisure pursuits are building capacity for hotels/ questhouses, restaurants and for more metaculturally focussed enterprises such as visitor centres, tours and commercial outlets for Welsh-themed services and produce, at least seasonally.

The Welsh language and semiotic Welshness are key commercial resources in these enterprises, at least 'ceremonially' - for example in product branding, establishment names and in metacultural displays and events of diverse sorts, including some associated with the cathedral. Tyddewi and its associated material and cultural resources tend to be marketed for their smallness, simplicity, remoteness, naturalness and cultural authenticity, in a process that can be called a 'centring of the periphery'. By implication, Welsh is iconised as a valued resource in these same dimensions, in contrast to its earlier profile as an endangered minority language of the periphery. Indeed the very peripherality of Welsh, and the 'curiosity' of the region's historic sociolinguistic partition via the Lansker Line, are reconstituted as marketable and consumable commodities.

PIETIKÄINEN, SARI PÄIVIKKI University of Jyväskylä, Finland

MULTILINGUAL CARNIVAL IN SÁMILAND: POLYPHONIC PERFORMANCES ACROSS CENTRE-PERIPHERY BOUNDARIES

'Carnival', argues Bahktin (1968:10) 'can be seen as a temporal liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order'. In this paper, I would like to explore moments and spaces of such carnivalism in a context of shifting and complex multilingualisms in the indigenous, traditionally peripheralized Sámiland. The concept of carnival in the Sámi context seems to provide a way to address changing norms and emerging language and discourse practices across fixed boundaries and categories, now set in motion by the current flows of globalisation. In such a nexus of centralizing and peripheralizing resources and practices – or from a Bahktinian perspective, in a coming together of centrifugal and centripedal forces - we can see creation and commodification of polyphonic performances, important for new identities and creative language practices, and yet at the same time, a challenge to established practices and norms (cf. Pietikäinen 2010, Blackledge & Creese, 2010).

Such polyphonic performances, as illustrated in this paper, test and tease the prevailing norms and employ both fixity and fluidity to create polyphony in which the previous orders and norms are played with, whereby former opposites collide and merge with each other with a sense of humour, and where reflectivity can be used both as a resource and a commodity. To illustrate this argument, I will draw on my longitudinal ethnographic and discourse analytical research on changing multilingualisms in Sámiland (www.peripheralmultilingualism.fi). I will provide examples of polyphonic performances in Sámi tourism and media spaces, illustrating appropriation and circulation of novel ways of contextualising and materialising Sámi languages and other cultural resources beyond traditional categories, practices, and modalities. The multilingual carnivalism in Sámiland seems to manifest, e.g., in multimodal designs, humour, irony and language play. It is also evident in the deliberate displacement and subversion of the dominant, established interaction orders, rules and norms, and simultaneously plays with and against the norms. In this carnival, Sámi resources are reinvented, relived and renegotiated; the various and often rival languages and practices may come together with different social, ideological and economic values and functions attached to them. As a result, carnival multilingualism in Sámiland can be simultaneously reflective, critical and humorous, allowing ambivalent voices and polyphonic performances in complex and creative ways.

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JAFFE, ALEXANDRA MYSTRA

California State University Long Beach, France

POETICIZING THE ECONOMY: MARKET FORCES, HETEROGLOSSIC PERFORMANCES AND LANGUAGE ON THE FRENCH ISLAND OF CORSICA

This paper explores the dynamic relationship between language, performance and power in the heteroglossic space of tourist texts and interactions on the French island of Corsica. These texts include written, graphic and multimodal publications directed at tourists (or located in spaces central to the tourist view), displays, demonstrations and informal oral interactions between tourists and Corsican tourist professionals offering culturally oriented tourist products (tours, crafts, food, musical or other expressive cultural forms), and representations of tourists and tourist interactions in sites or performances targeting an 'inside' (Corsican) audience. The focus is the mise en scène (or staging) of language(s) as a focal point for the negotiation of meanings and identities, and the embedding of language and language practices in economic/commercial practice. The meanings of these performances are shaped by a dynamic process of production and reception; they index, draw their meanings from, take up a position towards and potentially transform collective experiences of 'center' and 'periphery'. For speakers of a minority language (Corsican) on an island 'periphery' of France, these experiences include heteroglossia/diversity itself, as well as dominant discourses and stereotypes about Corsica and Corsican that are inevitably brought into play in the way that the island is imagined and represented to and by tourists and potential tourists. These stereotypical discourses and representations of Corsica and Corsican as commodified 'alterities' in a tourist market constitute a set of stance objects that are mobilized in tourist performances. The analysis focuses on two idealized types of performance that constitute the poles of a continuum of specific ethnographic examples. In the first, dominant linguistic and cultural categories and boundaries remain more or less fixed, and languages are recruited primarily as market tools. In the second, these stance objects are creatively manipulated, recontextualized and reentextualized (Bauman and Briggs 1990; Silverstein and Urban 1996; Agha 2007). The result, to use a term coined by Tony Casalonga, a key cultural figure in Corsica who has been a driving force behind the successful marketing (to Corsicans and tourists) of musical and material culture in the village of Pigna, is the 'poeticization of the economy.' (Casalonga 2010). This poeticization recruits (often heterogenous) language practices (rather than languages) in the service of exchanges which create or presuppose relationships between languages, people and places that blur center:periphery/dominant:minority distinctions. In doing so, it offers the potential for social actors who are often subject to representations of themselves by others to exercise control over the way they, and their languages, are mediated and mediatized (Jaffe 2011).

DE KORNE, HALEY

University of Pennsylvania, United States of America

CENTRALISING DIVERSITY OR DIVERSIFYING CENTRES? NEGOTIATION AND STAND-ARDISATION OF 'MOTHER TONGUE' MINORITY LANGUAGES IN FORMAL EDUCATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

Official languages used in formal education are characterised by prescriptive standards based on centralised target varieties; minority languages often enjoy a greater freedom from prescriptive norms, as they are used in informal spaces, on the periphery of education and official language use. This is the case in the Philippines, where the official languages, English and Tagalog/ Filipino, have written and spoken standards, while many of the 170

other languages are generally not standardised and are often referred to as 'dialects'. These traditionally marginalised languages are increasingly being incorporated into formal education through the implementation of 'Mother tongue-based Multilingual Education' (MLE) policy and programming (RP DepEd 2009), resulting in new negotiated language norms and use. This paper explores the tension between the push to standardise languages and the pull to preserve language diversity and cultural identity, as manifested in a MLE program in the southern Philippines. While MLE policy is issued from the capitol, with further influences from the global humanitarian and academic communities, it is negotiated by the local schools and communities that attempt to put it in to practice (cf. Canagarajah, 2005). Through discourse analysis of national policies and international reports that promote MLE in the Philippines, the language ideologies and goals emanating from the political centre are discussed. In contrast, ways in which these ideologies and goals are contested and negotiated locally are explored through an ethnographic case study of the introduction of an Indigenous minority language in several rural primary schools in 2011, consisting of participant observation and interviews. Differences in spoken dialect, orthographic preferences, identities, political borders and diverse educational goals among the language community all contribute to contestation of language use. There do not appear to be easy solutions to the challenge of combining formal education practices with local language practices, and different ideologies are negotiated during the creation of learning materials, curriculum guides, and assessment measures. The emergence of new language practices and norms is ongoing as education continues to shift from English and Filipino to local languages, and it is likely that conflict and negotiation will be on going as well. MLE programs have the potential to increase the power of peripheral languages and speakers, but they also risk diminishing the power and diversity of local language practices through assimilation into mainstream practices and ideologies. Further study of this community and others would help to better understand the swings of power between centralised prescriptive norms and the local will to manifest difference and diversity.

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KELLY-HOLMES, HELEN (1); ATKINSON, DAVID (2) 1: Unviersity of Limerick, Ireland; 2: University of Limerick, Ireland

'NÍ CHUIREANN AON DUINE BABY SA CHÚINNE' – CENTRALISING AND PERIPHERAL-ISING TENSIONS IN THE MARKETING OF 'COOL' IRISH T-SHIRTS.

As a privileged, minoritised language, Irish is both central and peripheral in contemporary Ireland. It is impossible to classify Irish as either exclusively 'peripheral' (de Swaan 2004) or as 'central' (de Swaan 2004). Irish is clearly central in some domains, being the first official language of the Republic and given a privileged status in the education system and other official domains . However, it is certainly peripheral in other areas, for example, entertainment, media, commerce, etc. Its centralisation or peripheralisation thus varies depending on the actors, location, context etc., and, the periphery-centre dynamic involves constant change and renegotiation.

Attempts to reverse the peripheralised position of Irish by drawing it into the centre can have mixed effects, as for example the implementation of topdown acquisition policy and status policy has shown (cf. Ó Laoire 2008, Mac Ghiolla Chriost 2005). Bringing Irish into central domains such as commerce and media have also had mixed results, and can serve to highlight the centralisation-peripheralisation tensions. (cf. Kelly-Holmes 2010, Walsh 2010). The focus in this paper is on an e-commerce site (hairybaby.com) that sells t-shirts with slogans such as the one in the title of this paper, an Irish rendering of the famous line from the film 'Dirty Dancing' – 'nobody puts baby in the corner'. The inspiration for hairybaby.com was in fact a recognition of the peripherality of Irish culture in the global economy, with the entrepreneurs asking: 'why are there no cool Irish shirts for sale?' (www.hairybaby.com) In this paper, we hope to contribute to the panel by highlighting the complexity of the tensions that characterize centre-periphery relations in the contemporary era, and how this impacts on multilingualism. We examine www.hairybaby.com with the following questions in mind: What norms / normativities can we observe? Are there commercial norms or language trends and if so how do these work? How do they differ from the norms of the established institutions (e.g. education, government)? Do they reflect peripheral or central multilingualism? Do commercial norms centralise or peripheralise a minoritised language? Do they work on the basis of exploiting the existing peripheralisation? And, if so, do they reinforce or challenge this position?

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KAUPPINEN, KATI HANNELE University of Jyväskylä, Finland

WELCOME TO THE END OF THE WORLD! CENTRE-PERIPHERY DYNAMICS AND NEO-LIBERALISM

The current era of globalization opens up possibilities for language minorities of the global periphery not only to step out of the margins but also to restructure their (minority) identities in new, creative ways (e.g. Coupland 2010; Pietikäinen 2010). However, rather than celebrating the emancipatory capacities of these processes, they need to be viewed from the perspective of a multitude of power relations and examined with regard to their connections to current neo-liberalism. As a political rationality that advocates restructuring society according to the logic of the market, neo-liberalism is tied not only to commercialization and globalization, but also to notions like creativity and activity along with the threat Distinct or extinct! (cf. Bröckling 2007). Taking these insights as a starting point and the rapidly expanding heritage tourism as a key site of the processes described above, this paper aims to investigate the dynamics of centre and periphery in peripheral multilingualism. The investigation focuses on the tourist business activities of a female Sámi

artist and entrepreneur living in the village of Inari in Northern Lapland, Finland. In her work she brings together a wide range of diverse resources and current flows, which makes her activities especially apt for investigating centre-periphery dynamics in light of contemporary neo-liberalism. To capture the multiplicity of her activities, I view them as a nexus of different discourses, practices, objects, places and people that come together in a particular historical moment to enable those activities (Scollon & Scollon 2004).

The study draws on data from the entrepreneur's websites where she advertises guest houses located in three different, geographically peripheral locations. From the perspective of centre-periphery dynamics, websites are crucial sites to examine as they constitute a site of agency with global reach. The analysis focuses on the appropriation and mixing of the individual (stressing the personal, creative and artistic), the traditional (culture and nature, highlighted as authentic and exotic), and the post-modern (drawing on global influences) on the websites. The analysis shows, how, on the one hand, the prevalent notion of the peripheral is reinforced and used as an asset and how, on the other, it is being undone, or resignified, by mixing in individual and global elements. These discursive practices seem to challenge the traditional boundaries and meanings of the peripheral and the central. Yet, they also seem to be inextricably intertwined with the logics of the current capitalism. Viewed in the context of minority (identity) politics, then, the question regarding their meaning is anything but a simple one.

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KRZYZANOWSKI, MICHAL

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland

CORE – PERIPHERY LOGIC AND THE SHAPING OF MULTILINGUAL COMMUNICATION IN INSTITUTIONS: ON PRACTICES AND IDEOLOGIES IN INSTITUTIONAL SPACES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

In line with aims of the session on 'Language outside of the city: centre-periphery dynamics in multilingualism', this paper analyses how the coreperiphery logic is crucial in shaping practices and ideologies of multilingualism in institutions. Drawing on extensive fieldwork and ethnography as well as analyses conducted in line with the so-called Discourse-Ethnographic Approach originating at the intersection of anthropology of organisations and critical discourse studies (cf. Krzyzanowski 2010 and 2011), the paper focuses on supranational institutional spaces of the European Union. There, as is argued, the core-periphery logic has not only been salient in key recent politico-economic discourses (about Europe of different speeds, different depths of integration, etc) but also proved pivotal for the ways in which the role and use of different languages is practiced as well as envisioned and regulated. Looking closer at such institutions as, e.g., the European Commission, the paper explores how 'everyday' multilingualism in the EU-institutional contexts is conditioned by a very peculiar gradation which, despite official claims about equality between the Union's 23 'official' languages, introduces far-reaching practical and ideological differences between various languages. While some of them are thus clearly given preference (e.g. the so-called 'working languages'; notably spearheaded by English), other languages are often peripherialised and marginalised with their speakers' (native or selected) democratic or otherwise understood right to work, interact and obtain information in those languages often impaired. As the paper shows, the actual process of constructing the core-periphery differentiation in EU-institutional multilingualism is not only rooted in path dependence of efficiency-driven institutional practices but also stems from very peculiar ideologies of multilingualism held by many senior officials working in the Union's key institutions.

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PIETIKÄINEN, SARI PÄIVIKI

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 128

Sociofuckinglinguistics: Mediatizing Taboo

Session Chair 1: Thurlow, Crispin Session Chair 2: Barrett, Rusty

Session Abstract:

'The moral life of language does not reside in the linguistic properties of utterances alone, nor only in the moment of interaction. The words not spoken, the discourse contexts, the interactional and societal histories, the responses by interlocutors, the conventions of genre, the regimes of language, truth, and knowledge that prevail in the interlocutors' social worlds-all these are relevant as well.' (Judith Irvine, 2011: 35) A symposium themed around Language and the City inevitably concerns languages on the move and, therefore, language under revision. As languages are increasingly 'displaced' and as speakers come into contact in new, complex ways, notions of authenticity, community, society and language itself are brought into question. As a consequence of these social and theoretical shifts, sociolinguists, amongst others, are nowadays obliged to account for 'the hybrid, the translocal, the spectacular, the idiosyncratic, the creative, and the multimodal' (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010: 256). To follow the lead of David Bell (2007), it seems that language and sociolinguistics are being, well, 'meddled' with. Our panel takes up this challenge by turning to taboo language or, more broadly, discourses of taboo.

Taboo language and discourses of taboo are quintessential products of contact between speakers with different cultural norms, styles/registers and ideologies (Thurlow, 2011; cf. also Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010, on 'metrolingualism'). Taboo talk is always emergent or in flux and often fiercely contested. Taboo talk is also complexly embedded in local cultures/histories of language, often creative and playful and/or parodic (cf. Coupland & Jaworski, 2003), and always characterized by complex intertextualities and indexicalities (cf. Silverstein, 2003). Often concerned with what ought not to be said and/ or with what is not explicitly articulated, taboo talk can present something of a methodological challenge since speech is usually the sine qua non of a sociolinguistics and discourse analysis (Billig, 1997). It is this reliance on implicature that can also give taboo language much of its power to police and produce social values/norms, as well as the subjectivities of speakers and their audiences - real or imagined. The presenters in this panel all share a concern to going beyond merely descriptive, symptomatic analyses of the 'denotational semantics' (Irvine, 2011: 34; cf. Allan & Burridge) of taboo language. Although with a more specifically sociolinguistic approach, our panel takes as its starting point a recent special issue of the Anthropological Quarterly on 'Verbal Taboo and the Moral Life of Language' (see Fleming & Lampert, 2011). In this regard, we too are interested in taking a more particularistic and ideological approach to the linguists of taboo in the way that Judith Irvine (quote above) proposes. In an attempt to tighten the focus of our discussion, each paper in this panel will also consider how processes of mediatization sustain or disrupt regimes of linguistic truth concerning taboo talk. Old and new media can be key sites of 'enregisterment' (see Johnstone, 2010), as previously impolite ways of talking or shocking topics of conversation become 'acceptable' or 'normal', or associated with different speakers and social spaces. Pushing the boundaries of writing on 'verbal taboo' but also of sociolinguistics more generally, papers in this panel consider a range of different institutional, cultural and interactional contexts, as well as different linguistic and non-linguistic modalities (e.g. speech, written texts, images, typefaces) and different media (e.g. newspapers, websites, works of art). Needless to say, they also cover topics often omitted from academic discourse.

THURLOW, CRISPIN (1); MOSHIN, JAMIE (2) 1: University of Washington, USA; 2: Marietta College, USA

POLICING AND PERFORMING THE 'UNMENTIONABLE' IN THE NEWS

This presentation is concerned with the apparent absence of language in media discourse. In particular, we examine the often euphemistic depiction of taboo language through a range of typographic and other metalinguistic devices deployed in news reports about, for example, high profile swearing or sexualized body parts. We are particularly interested in the ways these language ideological choices are structured by local institutional norms (e.g. evidenced in newspaper style guides) and by a wider sociocultural politics of privilege and inequality (see Thurlow, 2010). What emerges from our analysis of several hundred print media reports is a kind of 'double repression' that occurs when newsmakers are caught trying to describe the (supposedly) unmentionable while also making events newsworthy and/or balancing their self-proclaimed quest for 'civil' discourse with their commitment to reporting the truth. (In the USA, this tension is complicated in interesting ways by the constitutional protection of 'free speech'.) Invariably, we find newsmakers caught in the act of prudishly policing moral standards as self-imposed arbiters of 'decency' while also pruriently delighting in the frisson of language play. Through these performances of the not-so-unmentionable-after-all, newsmakers reinscribe not only specific language taboos but also the notion of taboo itself. Our analysis is framed with the help of several existing accounts of 'linguistic repression' such as Mary Douglas' (1966) well known observations about the demarcation of symbolic practices into 'clean'/'unclean' and 'acceptable'/ 'unacceptable': Mike Billig's (1997) notions of the 'dialogic repression' and discursive immorality; as well as Michel Foucault's (1978) well-known repressive hypothesis which reveals how the supposed censorship of discourse inevitably provokes its incitement.

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PIZARRO PEDRAZA, ANDREA Conseio Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Spain

STANCE, IDENTITY AND THE LEXICAL-SEMANTIC VARIATION OF TABOOS: THE ABOR-TION DEBATE IN SPANISH ONLINE NEWSPAPERS' COMMENTS AND FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEWS IN CONTRAST

Verbal taboo is at a complex crossroads where many disciplines meet. This has resulted in some theoretical and methodological diffusion, and some pertinent questions have been left quite unattended, or only partially resolved; namely, those concerning the indexical power of variation in the expression of taboo concepts, requiring a sociolinguistic perspective.

As has been demonstrated in Sociolinguistics in the last years, linguistic features are tools at hand for speakers to build their identities in discourse; and their variation is meaningful ('Third Wave', Eckert 2005). This study defends that taboo concepts are extremely revealing in this perspective, because they participate in a complex interplay of social, moral and emotional, deeply-rooted regimes (Irvine 2011), manifested in discourse in a variety of ways. In this paper, we compare the results of two studies on the concept of abortion in contemporary Spanish. The first is based on a corpus of readers' comments on online newspapers' articles the day of the approval of the new Law of Abortion in Spain, on March 2010. The second is a corpus of interviews on sexuality that we collected ad hoc inMadrid. We focus on a subset of questions based on the Law of Abortion.

Our aim is to analyze how opposed discourses of abortion utter the concept, and how they do it in different contexts (written vs. oral, anonymous vs. face-to-face, etc.). In order to cope with the lack of analytical solutions for the study of lexical-semantic variation in Sociolinguistics, we base our method on Cognitive Semantics. We consider that lexical-semantic choices are strategies contributing to the construction of social identities based on differences in conceptualizations (Kristiansen and Dirven 2008).

The results present variation corresponding to different stances, roughly Pro-life and Pro-choice discourses. Both stances are better represented in the anonymous comment's corpus, where there is consequently more variation than in the interviews. The very consideration of abortion as a taboo or not is an ideological statement, therefore, we find contrasting tendencies in the use of the literal abortion vs. non-literal semantic variants (metaphors, metony-mies, etc.). Within these, lexical variation (eliminate, murder... vs. decide, voluntary interruption of pregnancy...) reflects a complex matrix of intertextual, cultural, and historical references that determine the local shape of an international debate.

This mixed method copes with the traditional difficulties of the sociolinguistic analysis of lexical-semantic variation. It achieves to analyze differences at the lexical-semantic level in the discursive construction of opposed stances; and furthermore, to show how these stances are performed differently under the circumstances of contexts like online written comments and oral interviews. The analysis of taboo concepts' utterance is extremely revealing of how identities are constructed in discourse at this level, because they take on very local, social meanings.

JAFFE, ALEXANDRA MYSTRA

California State University Long Beach, France

'FUCK ALORS': STANCE AND TABOO IN FRENCH AND FRANCOPHONE ONLINE CONTEXTS

This paper looks at the use of fuck in French and francophone online expressive contexts. The word fuck is a taboo word that has acquired broad (perhaps world wide) circulation. This circulation situates fuck in an expanded set of semantic, pragmatic and sociolinguistic fields and in turn, turns fuck into a polyvocal stance object, subject to creative deployment and uptake in a variety of communicative contexts. The global circulation of fuck makes it available as a resource that can invoke the English language and/or taboo words in general. It can thus be used as a marked, 'other language' resource in languages other than English, variably acting as a taboo intensifier or mitigator. It is also available as a resource through which speakers/writers/taggers may take up a stance towards English and/or taboo more generally. At the same time, its reentextualization in non-English language communicative and cultural contexts can background, replace or superimpose these indexical ties with local ones. In this respect, fuck can be anchored in and constitutive of particular discourses and communities of practice. This paper examines the use of fuck by speakers, writers and artists who communicate primarily in French, and position themselves as non-native speakers of English. Data is drawn primarily from blogs, online forums and adolescents' Facebook pages and includes graphic displays on t-shirts, virtual stickers/graphics and other semiotic forms that circulate on the web. It examines the performative and illocutionary functions and force of fuck in its relation to French, and French usage of similar (but not equivalent) terms, which act as 'shadow' stance objects. Secondly, the analysis maps patterns of use of and stancetaking towards fuck onto category memberships as evoked in French and francophone blogs and Facebook pages (including, but not limited to esthetic communities, generation, ethnicity and class).

BARRETT, RUSTY University of Kentucky, United States of America

AMATEUR STRAIGHT GUYS: DISCOURSE CONTEXT, TABOO LANGUAGE, AND POWER IN 'STRAIGHT GUY' PORNOGRAPHY

This paper examines the role of interactional context in determining the meaning of taboo language, focusing on the subgenre of 'straight guy' pornography marketed to gay men. There are a wide range of websites specializing in pornography in which men who identify as heterosexual perform sexual acts for a gay male audience. These websites include both sites involving any heterosexual man (*Amateur Straight Guys, Seduced Straight Guys, Straight Men of New York, Broke Straight Guys*, etc) and those involving specific types of men (such as men in the military, firemen and policemen, college students, etc). The videos on such websites follow a fairly rigid 'script' in which the performer establishes his heterosexual identity before engaging in sexual acts with other men. The videos begin with a fully-clothed man sitting across from a television or computer screen showing heterosexual pornography while being interviewed by another (presumably gay) man. The interviewer is not shown on film, although he may come into view to engage in sex with the 'straight' man once the interview is complete. During the interview, the straight man is encouraged to remove his clothes and to begin to masturbate. Although some videos end with masturbation, most result in sexual activity between the 'straight' man and another man. As the videos are intended to exploit gay male fantasies about seducing heterosexual men, these interviews are critical in authenticating the identity of the performers. The paper presents a discourse analysis of these interviews, focusing on the way in which the potential for gay sex redefines the interactional context. The interviews all begin with questions about sexual experiences and preferences, including questions like 'What did you do to the last girl you fucked?', 'What's your favorite position when you fuck a girl?' or 'What do you like most about pussy?'. These questions simultaneously establish the heterosexuality of the performer and attempt to arouse him by triggering memories of prior (hetero)sexual encounters. In other discourse contexts, the exchange of sexual narratives is a typical form of homosocial bonding founded on a shared masculinity indexed through sexual dominance over women (see Kiesling 2002, 2005). However, in the interviews considered here, the heterosexual men often display a reulctance to discuss their previous sexual experiences. Responses to questions about sexuality often involve false starts, long pauses, or a failure to adeuqately respond to the actual question. In contrast to typical heterosexual male banter, the discussions of sexuality in these 'Amateur Straight Guy' interviews position the performers as objects of gay male desire specifically because of their heterosexual identity. A taboo register that typically indexes straight male power over women is inverted to create a context in which the straight man is particularly vulnerable. The analysis demonstrates the central role of discourse context in determining the performative effect of taboo language (Irvine 2011).

COUPLAND, JUSTINE

Cardiff University, United Kingdom

PERFORMING THE GRANNY

At the end of January 2012 a UKnational newspaper reported the experiences of a 40 year-old journalist who spent a day in London'made over' or styled to look 80. She reports feeling 'despised, patronised, pitied, excluded from everything whizzy and new'. She sends her partner a photo of her 'up-aged' self; he cannot look at the photo too closely, and asks her to 'take that stuff off before I get home'. This is just one example of the politics of age being recycled in the British media. It confirms that the normative contemporary gaze is directed away from old people - bodies in old age are found to be 'unwatchable', and fear or revulsion as a reaction to the look of aged bodies merits the label 'gerontophobia' (Woodward 1991). In this value-set, old age seems to be too grim to contemplate, rather than a projection of a potential future self. How, in this age-normative environment, can we make sense of young people's 'granny parties', in which males as well as females perform old age using costume, behaviour and talk? Social categories and identities are quite generally up for playful or creative reformulation in contemporary media, for example in lifeswap-type programming (Coupland 2009). Yet if our appearance-focussed culture values youth, and defines beauty in relation to youthfulness, in the social context of young people's parties where we might assume bodily display and adornment to be at a premium, the performance of granny identities is initially perplexing. If dress, for example, helps to constitute old age (Twigg 2007), why adopt it? Granny parties are of course playful interpretations and representations of gendered old age. But what is the 'origin of the imitation' (Butler 2007) in this practice, and how is the concept of 'granny' interpreted in planning and enacting party performances? Do grannies in performance bear (or do they specifically not bear) resemblances to intergenerationally-known grandparents as models? Or are they based on wider mediated representations of grannydom? Do such commodifications of granny identity liberate us from conventional associations of gendered old age, or do they lock us into ever more restrictive ideologies of ageing?

The paper explores these questions using field notes, photographs and online questionnaire responses from recent undergraduate granny parties. The data provide indexical interpretations of granny performance, including accounts of personal styling through dress, hair, jewellery, body padding, glasses and walking aids, the adoption of fictitious names and stylised ways of speaking and pragmatic frames. These playful identities are based on out-group stereotypes and partly modelled on contemporary media (usually parodic) representations of granny figures, which the paper also briefly examines. 'Try-ing on old age' in granny parties proves to bear very little relation to young performers' own projected ageing or to their intergenerational experiences, other than through grossly age-dissonant stereotypic projections.

HALL, KIRA

University of Colorado, United States of America

DELHI'S NEW BC-MC REGISTER: MIDDLE CLASS CURSING IN INDIA'S GLOBALIZED ECONOMY

This paper examines the increasing use of Hindi curse words, or *gaalis*, by college-educated professional women in urban centers like Delhi. Middle class Indian elites, and especially women, have traditionally avoided this abuse register because of its dense association with the non-English speaking lower classes. The purging of sex-related vocabulary in Indian languages that began in the colonialist period established the ideological ground for this avoidance, leading to an elite register of sexuality that requires English for its articulation. But when an angry telephone conversation between a woman and her boyfriend was posted to YouTube in 2007, a mediatized viewership developed a meta-pragmatic awareness that educated women can curse in Hindi too, inspiring a new generation of what is sensationally depicted in the English-medium press as female 'BC-MC' users. The abbreviation, which stands for the two most salient insults associated with the register—*behan chod* [sister fucker] and *madar chod* [mother fucker], respectively—underscores the taboo nature of this register within the interdiscursive field that defines and produces India's middle class. The resignification of this register as a joking register by young professional women in urban centers across northern India, among them the college students and call center employees in this New Delhi ethnography who study, memorize, and circulate digitized recordings of abusive interactions on their cell phones, suggests that the distribution of speech events by online vendors can have profound effects on sociolinguistic variation. The leaders of the shift to Hindi taboo language are ironically thought to be the women who find themselves speaking English all day in the new global economy. Like other subalterns throughout India's history who have learned to curse (India's 'third sex' *hijras* are a case in point), these professional women are also marginalized, though this time through a transnational service economy that denigrates Indian-accented English. T

JAWORSKI, ADAM

The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China)

TABOO ART: TAKING A TRANSGRESSIVE STANCE

As a semiotic, art holds a special position in the human communicative system. Often associated with the liminal and liminoid spaces of the ritual and the carnivalesque, touching on both the sacred and the profane, held in high esteem yet often perceived as outside of 'normal' life, art and artists appear to have a prerogative to deal with topics that are commonly perceived as a taboo, for example death, sex, religion, politics and violence. This paper attempts to tease out the notion of 'taboo art' as a means of saying the unsayable and commenting on the socially repressed or institutionally censored

themes and activities, including those of artistic self-expression. Taboo topics, acts and activities can be portrayed as overt performances (staged, painterly, photographic, etc.), as recontextualized texts and practices previously censored or hidden from view, or as accessible only through complex inferential processes. Depending on the specific subject matter, level of explicitness and socio-cultural frame of the display, these works of art are judged as regards their transgressive stance, i.e. the degree to which they are deemed to offend, shock, or otherwise contravene the 'accepted' norms of good taste or social conduct. Typically, the uptake and polemic with the transgressive stance of taboo art is played out in public through the mass media giving voice to individuals and groups opposed to the ideological significance of the artwork. The semiotic analysis of taboo art and the metadiscourses around it need to be considered in terms of the three main communicative functions suggested by Halliday: *ideational* (what is put on display or hidden from view), *interpersonal* (who gets affected by it including who gets 'shocked', and for what purpose), and *textual*, including aesthetic, poetic and metadiscursive (what are the formal means and materials used for taboo breaking or creating its shock value). Illustrative and analytic examples include the works of such artists as Marina Abramović, Laurie Anderson, Chris Burden, Marine Hugonnier, Jenny Holzer, Mike Kelley, Robert Mapplethorpe, Chris Offili, David Shrigley, and David Wojnarowicz, among others.

Thematic Session 129 Multilingualism and emotions in urban settings

Session Chair 1: Pavlenko, Aneta Session Chair 2: Dewaele, Jean-Marc

Session Abstract:

In the past two decades, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and Western humanities in general have witnessed an unprecedented rise of interest in phenomena variably referred to as affect, emotions, or feelings (Lutz, 1988; McElhinny, 2010; Wilce, 2009). More recently, these phenomena began to be incorporated in the understanding of sociolinguistics of multilingualism (Dewaele, 2010; Pavlenko, 2005).

Studies of language contact reveal that emotions are implicated in a range of language phenomena from language maintenance (e.g., Mitchell, 2009) to language attrition (e.g., Schmid, 2004). Positive emotions were shown to influence L2 learning and language shift through affective investments into languages associated with desirable identities and urban life styles (Gal, 1978; Kinginger, 2004; McDonald, 1994; Norton, 2000; Piller & Takahashi, 2006). In the 1960s in France, for instance, peasant Breton mothers refused to transmit Breton to their children behaving as if the language itself 'smelled of cow-shit' while French offered affinity and sophistication moving them up the social ladder all the way to urban middle class (McDonald, 1994). Drawing on Foucault (1980), Piller and Takahashi (2006) argued that in some contexts language desire may become a hegemonic instrument through which individuals conspire in their own oppression. They showed that in Japanese urban settings, the English teaching industry draws on the discourse of *akogare*, a desire for West and Western men, to become a powerful intermediary between female consumers and an English-speaking identity. Importantly, affect is never just positive or negative – most of the time, including in the context of language shift, we see a complex interplay of positive and negative emotions. Negative emotions may also come to dominate multilingual interactions. In the context of ethno-linguistic conflicts, ethnic strife, migration, and war, certain languages may become linked to the history of emotional trauma, discrimination, and persecution, leading to language rejection, be it of German linked to the Holocaust (Pavlenko, 2005; Schmid, 2004), Russian linked to the history of occupation (Pavlenko, 2008) or Hindi linked to oppression and domination (Mitchell, 2009).

Rationale of the session and its aims and objectives:

While informative, the research on the sociolinguistics of affect in multilingual settings has been largely descriptive and limited to a narrow range of phenomena, such as language shift, maintenance, learning and attrition. The purpose of the proposed thematic session is to draw on recent advances in the understanding of the role of affect in the new economy (e.g., Heller, 2003; McElhinny, 2010) and postcolonial settings (e.g., Mitchell, 2009) and to open up a more critical and comprehensive inquiry into political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of the interrelation between globalization, multilingualism, and affect, into mechanisms by which languages become vested with affective meanings in contemporary urban settings, and into the factors that shape emotion vocabularies and affective repertoires in multilingual settings.

Discussion questions and the issues examined in the contributions to this session include but are not limited to the following:

- discursive construction of languages and emotions in multilingual settings, with particular attention to the sites of ethno-linguistic conflict and processes by which languages become vested with affective meanings

- affective socialization of bi- and multilingual children and adult migrants
- affective repertoires of bi- and multilingual speakers, including factors affecting emotion term semantics in multilingual settings

- affect and identity performance in multilingual urban settings;

- globalization and neoliberal transformations of emotional labor, including paid and unpaid reproductive work, such as domestic work, child care, elder care, and sex work

- commodification of affect in multilingual urban settings, including the service industry
- affective dimensions of multilingual city landscapes

- globalization of the semantic space, that is adoption and spread of English-language emotion categories, such as 'frustration'

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PAVLENKO, ANETA; JEAN-MARC, DEWAELE Temple University, United States of America

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

ERACLEOUS, NATALYA (1); PAVLENKO, ANETA (2) 1: University of Cyprus, Cyprus; 2: Temple University, United States of America

RUSSIAN IN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF CYPRUS: COMMODIFICATION OF AFFECT?

Research aims.

This paper examines the emergence of Russian as the third most common language of Cyprus and links it to manipulation of affect by the service economy.

Theoretical framework.

The framework of the study merges three strands of sociolinguistic theory. Heller's (2011) work illuminates conditions that have commodifying effects on languages in late capitalism, McElhinny (2011) links the new globalized economy to affect, while Pavlenko (2005) shows that multilinguals' languages differ in perceived emotionality. Bringing these strands together, we examine the commodification of affect or ways in which the tourist industry uses additional languages besides English, not because their speakers do not know English but because the direct appeal provides businesses with a new competitive edge.

Data collection.

Our corpus consists of 1,491 digital pictures taken on a single road in Limassol, Cyprus, in August, 2011. Additional information was collected through open-ended interviews with LL actors (shop owners, restaurant managers) and their target audience (passersby, tourists). Conversations were recorded digitally; when not allowed, detailed notes were taken in writing. Results.

Our analysis of language distribution in the signage reveals that the presence of Russian rivals English and extends across all genres of advertising. This phenomenon is undoubtedly linked to the growing Russian presence in Limassol, yet some aspects of the usage lead us to extend our argument beyond demographics.

To begin with, the use of Russian is not limited to Russian-owned businesses catering to Russian tourists. In many cases, the type and number of errors in Russian signage indicate non-native authorship. Our interviews confirm that L2 users of Russian, from Cypriot Greeks to Bulgarians to Armenians, also use Russian to target Russian-speaking clientele. Secondly, our interviews show that Russian tourists usually have basic knowledge of English and so do Russians living in Cyprus (who also have some knowledge of Cypriot Greek). Why then use Russian and does this strategy extend to other 'tourist' languages? The demographic data provided by the Cyprus Tourism Office show that Russian tourists are far outnumbered by British tourists and arrive in numbers similar to those of German tourists. German, however, does not enjoy the same presence in linguistic landscape. The preference for Russian is best understood in the context of expenditures – Russians tourists are twice as likely to stay in 5-star hotels as tourists from Germany and the UK and spend consistently more per day than either group, which makes them the preferred demographic for direct targeting. Studies by Puntoni and associates (2009) show that manipulation of affect offers a particularly effective marketing strategy because advertising in consumers' native languages is perceived as more emotional than advertising in L2, due to differences in perceived language emotionality. This allows us to argue that in Cyprus – as elsewhere – the service economy saturated with English is looking for a new competitive edge, which is found in commodification of affect, or the use of (preferred) consumers' native languages.

KARJALAINEN, ANU University of Jyväskylä, Finland

MATERIAL ETHNOGRAPHY AS A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO MIGRANT HERITAGE LANGUAGE SPEAKERS' AFFECTIVE REPERTOIRES IN AN URBAN CONTEXT

In recent years material ethnography has been increasingly applied in multilingualism research to study the affective dimensions of language users' linguistic repertoires (cf. Pahl & Pollard 2010, Pahl 2004). This contribution focuses on methodological aspects of studying multilingualism, emotions (e.g. Dewaele 2010, Pavlenko 2005) and the identity performance in urban settings. Drawing on examples of empirical data collected in the context of adult Finnish heritage speakers in the Seattle metropolitan area, I will argue that understanding language as a set of multimodal resources (Bezemer & Kress 2008) is a key in analyzing the role of emotions in the heritage speakers' linguistic repertoires. In my presentation I rely on a methodological approach that conceptualizes material objects as representations of language related emotions, exemplified by multilingual 2nd and 3rd generation Finnish-Americans that possess minimal Finnish language skills. Rather than actually learning the language, they utilize material objects (e.g. music notebooks, photo albums, cookbooks) to perform their heritage identity as well as to represent their affection and desire to the Finnish language in various visible ways. Thus, despite their lack of Finnish skills, material objects provide the Finnish-Americans a strong emotional connection to their roots and a possibility to relive trans-generational memories and experiences related to their heritage language. I will present result of my studies of the informants' narratives about the objects using ethnographical and language biographical (Pavlenko 2007) tools. The key finding of this contribution is to take an opposing perspective to the negative discourses that often circle around the migration related language loss. The empirical results point out that even though linguistic skills might not move from generation to generation in a desired form, the language may still continue being important for its new users in the level of emotions.

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TANNENBAUM, MICHAL Tel Aviv University, Israel

MIXED CITIES, MIXED LANGUAGES, MIXED FEELINGS; FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY IN **ISRAELI ARAB FAMILIES**

Israel is a country with high rates of immigration that also includes an indigenous minority of Arabs distinguished by national, religious, cultural, and linguistic characteristics. In the Jewish majority group, most use Hebrew as their L1. Arabs, who are mostly Muslim with a small percentage of Christians, use Arabic as their L1 and tend to live in separate geographical areas. About ten percent of Israel's Arabs live in 'mixed cities,' a term describing urban jurisdictions including both Jews and Arabs. Since neither side defines them as homogeneous, these cities may afford rich insights about Israeli reality as a space for mediation that results in a 'hybrid urbanism,' an idiom resonating with references to colonial discourse.

Although a 'mixed city' suggests images of integration, data point to an asymmetry reflecting the hierarchical power relations between Jews and Arabs in Israeli society. A growing tendency of Arab parents living in mixed cities to send their children to Hebrew speaking educational settings, especially in pre-school years, could be another reflection of these power relations.

The purpose of the present study was to understand this phenomenon from both sociolinguistic and psychological perspectives, viewing language as closely related to power and identity on the one hand, and to emotions and close relationships on the other. Viewing L1 as a symbol of emotions related to early childhood experiences and to first object relations, and as closely associated with identity-formation, it was hypothesized that these parents might put their communication with their young children at risk. Hindering free and spontaneous communication with their children in L1, hearing their child communicating only or mainly in L2, may have significant effect on the relationships between parents and children, on feelings associated with their own and their children's identity, and on the functionality of the family as a system.

Information was gathered using both quantitative and gualitative techniques, focusing on the parents' motives to send their children to these educational settings and on the impact of this decision on the family's language policy. Overall, findings reveal how the external urban setting interacts with the internal family system in terms of dynamics and relationships. The mixed city context appears to invade the family language policy in mixed ways, and socio-political dimensions appear to interact closely with emotional ones. Findings are followed by suggestions for further research and recommendations to families raising children in such contexts.

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BAIDER, FABIENNE HELENE

University of Cyprus, Cyprus

(GENDERED) BAD FEELINGS IN A POSTCOLONIAL SETTING

Objective: As described in the rationale for this session, languages may become linked to the history of emotional trauma in the context of ethnic conflicts and post colonial societies. This paper looks at how the vocabulary of negative emotions such as hate, fear and anger manifests in an ethnic conflict setting and how 'private feelings' are grounded in public speech.

Methodology: Since negative emotions have been described as the most complex type of emotions (Smith, C. A. et al. 1985), our study is based on a multimodal survey which encompasses a questionnaire given to informants, a web questionnaire to compare results when anonymity is guaranteed (Wilson and Dewaele 2010), semi-structured interviews and a group discussion to record more spontaneous and free flowing data. Although time consuming, interviews are considered to be the most valuable data collection method to investigate a complex phenomenon and process (Berenbaum, H. et al 1995). All oral data were recorded to allow revisiting and documenting for any relevant data at a later stage. The public speech was investigated through newspapers articles, traditional reference works such as dictionaries and television debates.

Results: Our data describes specifically how negative emotion vocabulary is shaped in the site of the Cypriot ethnic conflict. In particular, since concepts cannot be abstracted from the hegemonic context within which they are embedded (Besnier 1990; Pavlenko 2005), the more openly in conflict is the society, the more real becomes the target of bad feelings[1]. However hegemony has to be considered in all its aspects, affective meaning may also be gendered. Indeed, if we consider our results for hate and anger, the most intense the feeling, the biggest difference we found between affective meanings for men and women. Public discursive practices of 'state violence' seem to become more vested into the private affective meaning for men, where social fear and anxiety (well-known to govern subject cf. Adams et al 2009) dominate private affective meaning for women. This paper extends the radical feminist notion to the realm of emotions of how the personal is political.

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OGARKOVA, ANNA University of Geneva, Switzerland

ANGER AND THE CITY: (SUB)CULTURAL FACTORS MEDIATING EMOTION TERM SE-MANTICS IN BILINGUAL URBAN MILIEU.

This talk reports the results of two independent (but mutually informative) studies on the emotion term semantics in bi- and monolinguals. In the first study, an online questionnaire based on the componential emotion theories [1] is used to compare how bilinguals (L1 Russian and L1 Ukrainian) evaluate the meaning of 26 prototypical emotion terms in their L1. Two comparable groups of university students were recruited in the same city (Kyiv, Ukraine). Between-group differences were expected to be minimal because of the typological affinity between the Russian and the Ukrainian languages, and the prevailing (80%) use of cognate emotion word pairs. Although the meaning profiles of emotion terms in the two language groups indeed exhibited minimal overall divergence, systematic differences however emerged in the emotion regulation component. Specifically, both conflict- and fear-related negative emotion terms were rated significantly higher on the emotional control/repression by the L1 Russian Ukrainians than by the L1 Ukrainian group. In the second study, a modified questionnaire [2] with a different set of words (nine Russian ANGER terms, [3]) was administered in the groups of monolingual Russian speakers from Russia and the L2 Russian speakers from Ukraine. Alongside with considerable similarities, the results revealed a significant between-country effect as well. Specifically, Russian monolingual group systematically rated the various anger-related words as denoting significantly less socially acceptable, frequently experienced, or readily/openly manifested emotions, compared to the ratings of the same words made by the L2 Russian Ukrainians

Taken together, the results of the two studies highlight the possibility of the cultural heterogeneity in contemporary Ukraine where L1 Russian Ukrainians exhibit a closer affinity with monolingual Russian speakers from Russia (rather than with their L1 Ukrainian countrymen), and where L1 Ukrainians—in both their L1 and L2—consider socially disruptive emotions like anger or fury to be less likely subjected to regulatory control or societal disapproval. Alongside with cultural factors, several other possibilities (e.g., the impact of academic subcultures on the meaning profiles of emotion words) are also discussed, and the ways of testing their impact in future research are highlighted.

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PAVLENKO, ANETA; JEAN-MARC, DEWAELE Temple University, United States of America

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the second part

DEWAELE, JEAN-MARC

Birkbeck, University of London, United Kingdom

INNER SPEECH AND EMOTIONAL INNER SPEECH: THE LANGUAGE PREFERENCES OF ADULT MULTILINGUALS

To date, relatively little research has been carried out on multilinguals' language choices for inner speech. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the L1 is preferred for emotional inner speech even when this language is partly attrited (Söter 2001). The present study compares the language preferences of multilinguals for inner speech in general, and for emotional inner speech in particular, with their general use of the language. Recent research has shown that multilinguals tend to prefer their L1 to talk about emotional matters (Dewaele 2010, Pavlenko 2005). Languages learnt later in life (L2, L3, L4, L5) tend to be used less frequently to talk about emotions. Individual differences in frequency of use have been linked to multilinguals' linguistic history and current linguistic practices. The main research question present study is: Do multilinguals use their languages with equal frequency for general use, for inner speech and for emotional inner speech? Additional guestions are linked to the effect of various sociobiographical variables, the linguistic history and current linguistic practices of multilinguals on their language preferences for (emotional) inner speech. Our sample consists of 1,459 multilinguals (1,040 females, 419 males) speaking a total of 77 different L1s. There are 221 bilinguals, 362 trilinguals, 390 guadrilinguals and 486 pentalinguals. Data were collected through an on-line questionnaire (Dewaele & Pavlenko, 2001-2003). Friedman ANOVAs confirmed that languages acquired later in life are less likely to be used for inner (emotional) speech compared to early acquired languages. A Wilcoxon Signed Rank test showed significant differences in language choice for general use, inner speech and inner emotional speech in the L2, L3, L4 and L5. These languages were used less frequently for inner speech than for general use, and even less frequently for emotional inner speech.

Multiple regression analyses carried out separately for the five languages (L1-L5) revealed that overall frequency of use of a language was the strongest predictor for use of that language for inner (emotional) speech. Other predictors included socialization in the language, size of network of interlocutors, context of acquisition of the language and number of languages known. Age of onset of acquisition had no effect. Gender, age and education level had some scattered effects.

It thus seems that multilinguals who use different languages in their everyday interactions do maintain a preference for languages acquired early in life for inner speech, and even more so for emotional inner speech.

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SILENCING EMOTIONS IN THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Emotion in language learning has been construed from a variety of perspectives: the emotions felt by the learning process (De los Arcos 2009; Dewaele 2005, Gardner et al. 1997; Scovel 1978), the power of language to unleash a world of creativity and emotion (Kramsch 2006a, 2006b, 2009), and the emotions felt by the language learner when encountering new experiences or the expressing of 'old' emotions in a new language (Dewaele 2010, Dewaele and Pavlenko 2004, Pavlenko 2003, 2005, 2006). This paper will build on this research on language and emotion by adding a new dimension: the impact that ideologies about languages and cultures have on the suppression of emotional stances in language learning. The discussion will be based on two ethnographic case studies; one based on the learning of Turkish in a Greek-Cypriot school in Cyprus, and the other on the learning of Arabic in a university language centre in the UK. Arabic in the UK is often linked with cultures in turmoil and is associated with Islamic religious practices and world-political events. On the other hand, Turkish in the Greek-Cypriot context is associated with a long history of violent conflict between the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities, and, thus, is often seen as the language of the 'enemy'. Taking into consideration the highly charged contexts of the two case studies, the comparison will focus on institutional and educational representations of these languages, students' emotions, and the strategies for avoiding controversy and dealing with 'the other' in the language classroom. We will argue that the discourses and pedagogies surrounding Arabic and Turkish prevent language learners from engaging with the more political and controversial aspects of the culture in an effort to suppress debates about highly charged topics.

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SMAGULOVA, JULDYZ KIMEP, Kazakhstan

SCHOOLING IN KAZAKH: 'SHUT UP AND OTHER WORDS FOR REPRIMANDING'

This paper describes views of parents, Russian-speaking urban Kazakhs, on schooling children in Kazakh. It is based on descriptions of spontaneous metalinguistic commentary that emerged in child-adult talk and post-observation interviews.

Parents' explicit reflections and meta-commentary reveal contradictions in views. On one hand, adults reason that Kazakh might be needed for future social mobility. (Surprisingly, for most observed and interviewed parents the role of Kazakh as a marker of their ethnic identity is less important than its instrumental value). On the other hand, adults' comments systematically re-produce ideology of supremacy of Russian and Russian-speakers. Among the motifs against schooling in Kazakh, one theme comes out quite prominently: a perceived cultural difference between Russian-speakers and Kazakh-speakers. The negative image of Kazakh-school teachers is common among education savvy, western-oriented middle class Russified urban parents who believe that teachers in Kazakh-medium schools who are typically new to urban life (most Kazakh-language school teachers come from rural areas; as a rule, they come to the city to study at the university at age 18 and then stay) lack professionalism, have poor education and are uncultured in comparison to Russian-speaking urbanites.

The analysis of interactions reveals the way the tension between parents and teachers, as members of different social groups, surfaces in the everyday talk in the form of metalinguistic commentary. Examination of metalinguistic commentary shows that only certain aspects of the second language acquisition process are foregrounded in this metalinguistic activity. Ignoring progress in children's acquisition of Kazakh, the adults appear to selectively focus on a particular lexical set of words dealing with discipline. Adults perceive Kazakh that children learn first in schools as limited to rather rude directives such as 'shut up' or 'stand up' they believe kids constantly hear from their teachers. By doing so, parents systematically construct teachers as rude, uneducated, and uncultured and thus re-produce a negative image of Kazakh schools and teachers. Emergence of this selective metalinguistic activity signals about deeper social issues of class and status shaping the processes of Kazakh revival in urban areas. BOLONYAI, AGNES North Carolina State University, United States of America

EMOTIONS, MOBILITY AND BOUNDARIES: HOW AFFECT CONSTRUCTS SOCIAL DIFFERENCE AND SAMENESS IN (TRANS)NATIONAL DISCOURSES

Contemporary sociolinguistics of global mobility and multilingualism has explored some of the ways in which transnational processes restructure timespace relations and people's linguistic repertoires, while generating new identities, new social practices, and new patterns and domains of social differentiation and affiliation. A major focus has been on the increasingly complex and fluid links between language and identity—mediated by notions such as nation, culture, ideologies, boundaries, place and belonging—and how they are both constituted and constitutive of lived experiences of multilingual and transnational subjects (Baynham and De Fina 2005). Although emotions have been tied to culture, identity, and language (Pavlenko 2005), and emotion management has been seen integral to navigating tensions and opportunities associated with mobility (McElhinny 2010), there has been little research that specifically addressed how affect as a situated socio-cultural practice becomes a resource for meaning making in multilingual transnational contexts. The goal of this paper is to investigate how affect is organized by mobility and displacement, through examining the discursive construction of emotions and its co-articulation with processes of social categorization and identification in personal identity narratives of transnational bilinguals. How does affect, and (un)available affective repertoires, figure in particular ways of knowing and 'imagining' self/other, especially in constituting boundaries and spaces of (un)belonging? What kind of discursive resources are used to display emotions and index affective stances and social voices in narrative accounts of transnational encounters?

This paper explores these questions by analyzing bilingual interactional data from a corpus of 70 hours of recorded informal interviews with 50 first and second generation Hungarian-American immigrants. The interviews were organized as small-group dinner-table conversations during which participants reflected on their life-experiences as migrants and gave perspectivized accounts of who they are, who others are, and where they belong. Drawing largely on notions of interactional sociolinguistics (voice, positioning, footing, role, stance, indexicality, emotion words, evaluative devices, deixis, code-switching), the analysis demonstrates how affect and emotion discourses are mobilized to (a) make sense of geographical/spatial (un)belongings and perform 'boundary practices' that create cultural difference/sameness; (b) enact and evaluate culturally privileged emotions, authentic and 'misrec-ognized' social personae, and durable language ideologies; (c) articulate subjectivities and voices anchored to the 'super-diverse', emotionally bounded identity positions (hybrid, homeless, cosmopolitan) in which transmigrants variably find themselves. It is argued that affective practices and repertoires, similarly to linguistic and other social practices, can be seen as part of 'indexical biographies' (Blommaert and Backus 2011) that provide a way of tracking the effects of mobility and multilingualism in people's lives.

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PAVLENKO, ANETA; JEAN-MARC, DEWAELE Temple University, United States of America

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 130

Language in Multilingual Cities: Immigration and Education

Session Chair 1: Wiley, Terrence

Session Abstract

The Language Policy Research Network (LPREN) of AILA proposes a four-part, all day session to feature the work of international scholars. All papers will focus on the conference theme, 'Language and the City,' with a common focus on 'multilingualism.' This session will provide comparative perspectives from cities in a variety of countries to analyze the intersection of globalization, immigration, and language contact with language policies. Researchers will draw from theoretical frames of reference in order to include critical applied linguistics and post modern perspectives, as well as research methodologies, including ethnographic, gualitative, linguistic landscape, and interpretive policy analyses, grounded in the work of Block (2006), Chriost (2007), and Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, and Barni (2010), among others.

This thematic session will be divided into four subthemes:

1. Globalization and Language in the Multilingual City, Chair: David Block

2. Language Policy in the Multilingual City, Chair: Bernard Spolsky

3. Immigration and Education in the Multilingual City, Chair: Terrence Wiley

4. Linguistic Landscape and Identity in the Multilingual City, Chair: Elana Shohamy

Discussion Questions:

How is multilingualism manifested in different cities?

How do policies regulate and manage language in multilingual contexts?

How do policies legitimize or delegitimize the statuses of different language groups? How is language contact negotiated?

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BAGNA, CARLA

University for Foreigners of Siena, Italy

HOW DO ITALIAN POLICIES REGULATE AND MANAGE LANGUAGE IN MULTILINGUAL **CONTEXTS?: IMMIGRANT LANGUAGES BETWEEN AUTHORIZED USE AND NEGATION OF EXISTENCE**

Structural analysis of the five million immigrants in Italy and their language use, especially in urban contexts, confirms that immigrant groups have assumed an active role in the make-up of the Italian urban linguistic landscape. This is a prevalently bottom-up manifestation of plurilingualism as lived and made visible, and contrasts with top-down policies such as:

a) Recognition of immigrant languages (restricted to certain sectors such as cultural mediation).

b) Choices made in education.

c) Choices made in language policy (regulations making it obligatory for monolingual signs in immigrant languages to become bilingual, with the Italian more prominent).

d) Making it obligatory to have knowledge of Italian in order to have a long-term resident's permit and live in Italy.

These factors are rapidly modifying linguistic landscapes: a first cycle characterized by a maximum visibility of immigrant languages (thanks also to a boom period for immigrant businesses) is giving way to a LL where language use and presence are controlled and regulated. The urban context, the site of maximum linguistic freedom, becomes a site of 'sanctionable' visibility.

A recent annual report (December 2011) on the quality of life in Italy, confirming that in medium/small cities (thanks sometimes to local policies) immigrant languages are not in contrast to urban and social integration, has not prevented these bans (as in Bologna in January 2012). Another top-down choice that we hypothesize may influence immigrant language use and visibility is the Accordo di Integrazione. On 11 November

2011 the Accordo di integrazione tra lo straniero e lo Stato (Agreement on Integration between Foreign [i.e., non-EU] Citizens and the State) became law in Italy, and will come into force 12 March 2012. This law, following on from an article contained in the 1998 law on immigration imposes a specific integration programme on new arrivals in Italy. It establishes that the Agreement is to be written in Italian and the foreigner's home language, but it also specifies that if translation into this language is not available then the languages to be used will be English, French, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, Albanian, Russian and Filipino (Tagalog). This is the only point where reference is made to immigrant languages. The focus of the Agreement is on use of Italian. Competence in immigrant languages, which is never measured in migrant-flow final-destination countries, is only considered if instrumental for the Agreement on Integration or other state policies on language and/or immigration (or for social work involving immigrant communities). We intend to base ourselves on these choices of language policy and analyse how immigrant languages coexist between authorized use and negation/ refusal of their existence in Italian urban contexts.

BALE. JEFF Michigan State University, United States of America

'GOETSCH IN DIE PRIMATENSCHULE!' RACE, CLASS AND LANGUAGE IN SCHOOL **REFORM IN HAMBURG**

'Send Goetsch to primate school!' So read the slogan on a sign - held by a 6-year-old child - at a fall 2009 protest against a planned school reform measure in Hamburg. At the center of the reform was restructuring the Hamburg school system: Grades 0-6 in the newly named Primarschule ('primary school' - hence the troublesome play on words in the slogan cited above) and two secondary tracks instead of three. The measure was proposed by Christa Goetsch, a Green Party politician and until 2010 Hamburg's education minister. In justifying the planned reform, policy makers toggled between two rationales of preparing Hamburg's youth for a globalized economy and social justice for immigrant students. The protest against the measure was organized by Wir Wollen Lernen ('We Want to Learn'), a citizens' network formed in 2008 to oppose the measure. The group successfully led a ballot initiative that blocked the main provisions of the reform, which ultimately contributed to dissolution of Hamburg's government and new elections in early 2011.

That policy actors invoked the needs and/or perceived problems of German language learners in framing this reform is not merely rhetorical: well over 30% of incoming 1st-graders are dominant in a non-German language; German language learners repeat a grade at disproportionately high rates; they are grouped at disproportionately high rates in vocational and basic secondary institutions; and they leave school without gualifications at disproportionately high rates.[1]

I frame my analysis of this contested policy reform with Jane Hill's notion of language panics. For Hill, language panics emerge from social conflicts that present as questions of language use in society. However, they tend to employ a highly racialized discourse that targets minoritized communities as specific threats to members of a dominant class, cultural and linguistic identity. That a 6-year-old child was given a protest sign advocating that Goetsch be sent to the 'primate school' is one indication of how this panic manifested. In addition to media images and texts, this interpretive policy analysis draws on the following sources: official education ministry policy documents, documents and communications from the anti-reform coalition, and (pending grant funding) interviews with policy-relevant actors. This paper focuses on two findings from the analysis described above. First, although official policy actors framed the reform in public and to the media as aiding German language learners, official policy texts themselves were silent on this rationale. Instead, official texts foregrounded Hamburg's need to compete in a globalized economy and the role of schooling in that competition. This gap between political rhetoric and official policy aims left immigrant voices out of the policy process, and allowed opposition voices to insist - with some credibility - that their rejection of the reform was not based on race or anti-immigrant sentiment.

Second, while the opposition coalition repeatedly asserted their status as ordinary concerned citizens of Hamburg, a closer read of their advocacy against this measure indicates that theirs was a perspective of a local economic elite trying to maintain a school structure that benefits their own elite status.

FEE, MARGARET SARAH (1); MOORE, SARAH CATHERINE (2) 1: Center for Applied Linguistics, United States of America; 2: Center for Applied Linguistics, United States of America

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CAPITAL IN THE MULTILINGUAL CLASSROOM: EDUCATING IMMIGRANT YOUTH IN NEW YORK CITY

The Bronx, New York, is a multilingual city home to residents who speak at least thirty-two languages, including adolescent immigrants labeled Students with Interrupted Formal Education (SIFE), or SIFE students, because of limited prior schooling in their home countries. New York's rich multilingualism and significant number of SIFE students have resulted in the emergence of newcomer schools designed to meet the needs of this particularly ethnically and linguistically diverse population of recently arrived immigrant students.

This paper illustrates how ELLIS Preparatory Academy, a newcomer school in the Bronx, offers immigrant youth an environment that recognizes and builds on the sources of social capital (Coleman, 1988) and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) they bring to the classroom. Upon arrival in the U.S., the students at ELLIS face obstacles similar to those identified in the theoretical framework of segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993). These obstacles are thought to contribute to the struggles and 'failures' of many immigrant youth in large urban areas such as the Bronx. At ELLIS, pedagogy is based on an educational experience that incorporates students' linguistic and social needs in a way that otherwise may not be available in traditional schools. ELLIS builds on students' social capital by encouraging parental involvement, building community relations, and coordinating summer-long internships in professional settings. ELLIS staff strives to utilize the rich sources of cultural capital students bring to school by making connections with students' cultural funds of knowledge and by valuing students' multilingual proficiency and capacity for translanguaging (García, 2009).

Segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993) is a valuable typology for framing the ways in which immigrants incorporate into segments of American society. Prior frames imagined only limited versions of immigrant assimilation, often presuming patterns of necessary language loss and cultural shift in pursuit of the mainstream majority. While segmented assimilation as a theoretical framework may be limiting in how it accounts for the complex process of immigrant integration, it is a starting point for acknowledging how young immigrants simultaneously adapt to new surroundings while also dealing with the pressures of maintaining a home country identity. Because of the approach to pedagogy, ethnic diversity, and multilingualism espoused by the leadership at ELLIS, students maintain ties to their ethnic and linguistic community, while also gaining an understanding of their new context, its assumptions, and expectations. This paper demonstrates how one school adapted education policies to its students' needs, therefore building a valuable educational model for immigrant education in the multilingual city.

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KAGAN, OLGA EUGENIA UCLA, United States of America

MULTILINGUAL LOS ANGELES: THE IMPACT OF IMMIGRANT LANGUAGES ON THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

According to recent census data, over 57 million people in the U.S. —that is, nearly 20% of the population—speak a language other than English at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006-2010). The State of California has the largest number of foreign born residents in the nation (over 10 million), followed by New York state and Texas (over 4 million each). Los Angeles County has the largest foreign born population, with 56.4% of residents speaking a language other than English at home. Los Angeles Unified School District reports that its students speak 91 different languages.

This paper will report on the linguistic landscape of Los Angeles and the impact that the presence of heritage[i] language speakers has on its public educational system. Such characteristics as speakers' identities, language attitudes and motivations, as well as linguistic competencies will be discussed (Carreira and Kagan 2011). The data has been collected in a survey conducted by the National Heritage Language Resource Center at UCLA, one of the 15 National Language Resource Centers funded by the U.S. Department of Education (http://nhlrc.ucla.edu/). Additionally, data from some in-depth interviews with second and 1.5 generation Russian immigrants will be presented.

Taking as a premise that '...there is no contradiction between an ethnic identity and an American identity' (Zhou 2004, p. 153), I will argue that the maintenance of home languages contributes to the vitality of Los Angeles. Robust education in the heritage languages can play an important role in the wellbeing of communities and families in the city. In creating a better-educated population, heritage language education can promote rather than hinder the upward mobility of the children of immigrants.

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POTOWSKI, KIMBERLY

University of Illinois at Chicago, United States of America

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN CHI-CAGO, ILLINOIS

Chicago, Illinois is a multiethnic city of nearly 3 million with a rich cultural and linguistic heritage. Of the 410,000 students enrolled in Chicago Public Schools, nearly 170,000 enter school with knowledge of a language other than English. While 86% of these are Spanish speakers – and most people know that Chicago ranked in the U.S. 2010 Census as the fourth largest Latino city in the U.S. – fewer realize that it is home to the second largest Polish-speaking community in the world after Warsaw (Nowicka McLees & Dziwirek 2010), that it has a longstanding Lithuanian community (Tamosiunaite 2012) and that its public schools offer programs in Arabic, Chinese, Korean, Russian, and Urdu, to heritage speaking youth. This presentation reviews several recent public and private educational initiatives in Chicago that seek to promote linguistic diversity. These include the Chicago Public Schools' Bilingual Education and World Language Commission (2010), which is promoting the establishment of dual language and heritage language programs, centralization of world language and international studies programs, and a high school newcomer center, as well as several private

Saturday school options for heritage speakers of Chinese, Greek, Lithuanian, and Polish. It analyzes these programs within discourses related to immigration and as an example of a 'reason[...] for optimism'(Wiley 2010:266) regarding potential national policies that embrace societal multilingualism.

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TANG, YUEN-MAN

University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China)

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY POSITIONING OF MULTILINGUAL SOUTHEAST-ASIAN SOJOURNERS IN HONG KONG – USING SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS TO HIGHLIGHT CONCENTRIC COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICES

Modern transportation has given rise to mobility of population. Among this population, much has been studied on their permanent migration. Yet, in the field of sociolinguistics, very few have stressed the temporary movement of group who is named 'sojourner'. In addition, previous research predominantly focus on non-English speakers sojourning to an English-dominant country (Haneda and Monobe, 2009; Lee, 2008; Own, 1999), but seldom conducted in Asian multilingual context. Adopting a qualitative and ethnographic approach, a small scale research is conducted in a higher education dance school in Hong Kong and three sojourn students who are from multilingual countries (two from Singapore and one from Malaysia) are recruited. This study examines talk-and-interaction between Hong Kongers and the sojourn students and identity positioning of the sojourners. In particular, it tackles a more complex language contact situation in which two lingua franca are available, namely English and Mandarin. Collaborating Social Network Analysis (Milroy, 1980) and Community of Practice (Wenger, 1998; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992), it is found that there are three concentric communities of practices in this dance community: 1. three sojourn students are bound together by strong ties and English is the dominant language used among the three 2. weaker ties are extended to other overseas sojourn students and both Mandarin and English are adopted; and 3. they form relatively weakest ties with local students and in lieu of Mandarin and English, Cantonese is the lingua franca. In other words, the sojourn students have to acquire and accommodate

the code choice of the majority, i.e. the locals. Instances of trilingual code-mixing and code-switching are found in the interaction among the sojourners and the Hong Kong locals. These two theories are complementary to accounting for social organization of concentric multilingual communities. Social Network Analysis helps to analyze the multiple clusters developed in this small community, while Community of Practice examines the negotiation and shared linguistic and non-linguistic practices of both the community and its clusters. Even though the sojourners may have weak ties with locals, it is found that the sojourners still conform to the community of practices including dress-code and English dancing jargons. Furthermore, this study demonstrates the complexity of concentric multilingual communities in which language in contact takes place in Hong Kong.

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Thematic Session 130

Language in Multilingual Cities: Globalization and Language

Session Chair 1: Block, David Martin

BÄCKMAN, LINDA

Åbo Akademi University, Finland

RETHINKING LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY AMONG SPEAKERS OF SOUTH ASIAN LAN-GUAGES IN BIRMINGHAM

Despite its more than 300 languages spoken on an everyday basis, Britain remains one of the most monolingual countries. The English language is often portrayed as having a uniting effect on the population, and viewed as a key element in British national identity. At the same time, languages other than English - and languages such as Bengali, Punjabi and Urdu in particular - have been characterized in politics and the media as problematic and threatening both for social cohesion and the representation of 'Britishness'. Through recent language legislation, the government has tried to address guestions related to immigration and integration, calling for proficiency in the English language in order for immigrants to obtain citizenship and indefinite leave to remain. The state school curriculum puts little value on community languages, which are instead taught in evening and weekend classes in complementary schools by the communities themselves. Still, these languages continue to be spoken in a variety of contexts, and are actively passed on from generation to generation. At the moment, monolingualism and multilingualism appear to exist in parallel, with seemingly little influence on one another. These topics have been addressed in detail among others by Adrian Blackledge, who has argued that today's discourse around multilingualism can be seen as a way of constructing and reproducing social difference (Blackledge and Creese 2010, Blackledge 2005, Pavlenko & Blackledge (eds) 2004). In this paper, I will present findings from an ethnographic study conducted in February 2011 among speakers of South Asian languages in Birmingham on the topic of language and identity. The informants came from a range of ages, occupations and language backgrounds, and included first- and second-generation immigrants to Britain. The results suggest an image of multilingualism that differs considerably from the one conveyed by the media and politics. The interviews revealed strong identification with the English language, as well as widespread agreement and conformity with current monolingual ideals. At the same time, the informants also saw other languages as central to their everyday lives, even if in some cases their proficiency in these languages was self-reportedly rather weak. These languages were often connected to 'roots' and heritage and to the notion of 'home', but also had instrumental value and were used in a range of everyday situations. Moreover, many informants were prepared to invest considerable effort in acquiring and maintaining them. Most importantly, these different elements of identification did not seem to exclude one another, but, for these speakers at least, appeared to be complementary and flexible.

HADJ, BOURI

University of Oum El Bouaghi, Algeria

ETHNOLECT IN THE ARABO-BERBER CITY OF OUM EL BOUAGHI: A SOCIAL NET-WORK STUDY

Geograhically speaking, the Algerian East comprises two major dialects of Imazigen language: First, is the Kabyle, a dialect spoken in the North next to the capital Algiers. The second is the Shawia, a dialect spoken in the north east of Algeria next to the Tunisian Borders. Oum El Bouaghi, a large city in the Norh East of Algeria, is a geographical region that consist of two linguistic systems: Berber and dialectal Algerian Arabic. The former linguistic system is spoken by four major ethnic groups two of them are considered as dominant tribes and the others are regarded as submissive ones. The latter system, on the other hand, is spoken by arabophone speakers coming from different parts of the country for different social and economic purposes. This is why language diversity is crystal clear for the laymen as well as the variationists. We undertake this research to clarify the linguistic situation in this region.

Besides, there is a substantial demand of such studies that really counts at both macro and micro levels of sociolinguistics. Previous Berber studies focused on remote regional dialectal varieties or on glottopolitical issues of the language. This is why this paper, as other carried on studies, came to describe a linguistic situation produced by a variety of ethnic groups and analyse the effect of pople's relationships on the language practices. The research seeks to compare individual's ethnic differences in the degree of integration in relationships that exert normative pressures on their linguistic behaviour. Our description of the linguistic situation is two fold: The data will be collected and analysed in terms of ethnic and group networks in different types of contact. Using analysis of variance (ANOVA) on each ethnic index of the exchanged networks helps tremendously in predicting for each individual's language choice patterns

LUK. JASMINE CHING-MAN

The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China)

BILINGUAL LANGUAGE PLAY AND LOCAL CREATIVITY IN HONG KONG

As a cosmopolitan city in Asia, Hong Kong has since the colonial days adopted a bilingual policy in education and public administration. The use of bilingual texts, however, has mainly been confined to information transmission at public level. The present paper explores the increasing use of bilingual texts at societal level for playful and publicity functions. Through several examples of bilingual texts showing linguistic creativity collected from the mass media in Hong Kong, I analyze the formal properties of the bilingual language play, their sociocultural meanings, and how the texts were used in the particular context of Hong Kong. The analysis reveals three distinct strategies of bilingual language play, namely phonological/morphological cross-over, semantic parallelism/complementation, and language-spatial arrangements. Apart from displaying features of commercial use of language play to attract attention, some of the examples reveal the desire to mock government policies, and achieve nonsensical mental pleasure. These examples of bilingual language play provide evidence of local creative use of bilingual resources. As part of the 'metrolinguistic' landscape, these bilingual language texts constitute sophisticated authentic use of bilingual resources and call for language teachers' consideration as to how such resources could be most optimally utilized and capitalized on to promote a motivated use of bilingualism.

MAR-MOLINERO, CLARE; CADIER, LINDA; VIGERS, DICK; WILCZYNSKA, SYLVIA University of Southampton, United Kingdom

IMPLICATIONS OF LINGUISTIC SUPER-DIVERSITY IN THE URBAN WORKPLACE FOR SOCIAL COHESION AND LANGUAGE POLICY: A STUDY OF THE CITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

This paper will explore the impact of linguistic super-diversity in the City of Southampton (UK), and seek to highlight policy implications particularly for languages in the workplace in a non-global city context. This will build on well-established work on transnationalism (Portes et al 1999; Vertovec , 2009), 'place' and translocality (Kearney 1995; Vertovec, 1999), and urban transnationalism and glocalization (Smith, 2001). Recent theoretical debates have developed the concept of 'super-diversity' as a way of describing the complexity of relationships and interactions found in modern urban societies (Vertovec, 2006; Blommaert & Backus, 2011) and especially that of 'metrolingualism' (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010). Our findings show that language as a tool of control and authority is undergoing negotiation, reconfiguration, hybridity and fusion.

Southampton is characterized by 21st century social mobilities typical of a port city and gateway to the UK. Its economy of light industry, service industries, tourism and two large universities attracts a workforce from all over the world, some of whom have settled here for decades, whereas others are part of the European 'new' migration or the many international university students.

Our findings arise from a series of linked ethnographic studies exploring social and linguistic cohesion in Southampton. These include work with Southampton Airport to analyse the language repertoires and attitudes of its staff and customers; a case study of a smaller service sector workforce looking specifically at local restaurants: the practices of their staff (frequently migrant workers of diverse ethnic backgrounds) and as a site of public consumption; research examining linguistic super-diversity and translocality in the public sector through a case study of medical interpreters in the maternity hospital; an exploration of transnational musicians and the venues where they play; a study of the interaction of the City's (multilingual) local football team with the wider community. These and related studies are providing us with data on language practices in Southampton, and their relationship to existing policies from the perspective of large and small private enterprise and the public sector. We explore the workforce of these sites, comprising a range of nationalities, ethnicities and languages, and representing microcosms of complex, interacting social hierarchies.

Our main Research Questions are:

- How is super-diversity experienced in the language practices of these kinds of workforces and their customers, and whether it is valued and evaluated?

- What implications does this have for planning for social cohesion within the workplace and in the City as a whole, in particular in a time when so many city residents are likely to be foreign-born?

QUARCOO, MILLICENT, AKOS

Wisconsin International University College-GH, Ghana

CODE SWITCHING AS STYLE AND SYMBOLISM IN GHANAIAN HIP HOP MUSIC

Ghana is a linguistically diverse country with many languages spoken. Code switching between English and the various indigenous languages in everyday conversation is a common phenomenon. CS in the music industry however is relatively new because most song lyrics are written in Twi a dialect of Akan (the biggest language spoken in Ghana) and a few in Ga/Ewe (all are languages in the southern part) with very little CS. Those written in the latter two sometimes have their Akan equivalents in the same song. Very rarely is a song lyric written in English. The introduction of hip hop music seems to be changing this trend because more of these songs are written in CS and a few in English. Unlike CS in spontaneous speech which is unconscious, CS in music is a deliberate choice of the artist. This work shows that the selection of the six languages in the lyrics of 'Angelina' (Twi, English, Pidgin, Ga, Ewe and Hausa. All these languages operate at various levels in the urban communities) is a form of literary device to produce literary effects like alliteration, repetition, onomatopoeia, rhyming scheme, etc. which are all stylistic forms. This work also shows that CS in Ghanaian hip hop music is used as a symbol of language unity and in extension national unity.

TKACHUK, TARAS Vinnytsia State Teachers' Training University, Ukraine

UKRAINIAN-RUSSIAN BILINGUALISM IN URBAN SETTINGS

In this research, we analyze the language situation in Vinnytsia - a post-soviet city situated in Central Ukraine. According to 2001 census, the majority of Vinnytsia's residents were ethnic Ukrainians (87.2%) [1]. However, the Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism is a common phenomenon in the city, due to the historically dominant position of Russian [2]. Our main research question concerns current bilingual practices of city residents in various urban settings. We examined this question with the method of socio-linguistic survey in which respondents answered 16 questions regarding their everyday use of Ukrainian and Russian (e.g., communication with family, friends, or colleagues at school, work, or Internet). The total number of 2000 participants (13-80 year-old) answered our questionnaire. They represent six social groups: school students, university students, service workers, state workers, entrepreneurs and retirees

The results of the survey confirm a high level of individual bilingualism in Vinnytsia. The participants' answers to the question about the language used with their collocutors show that they usually respond in the language of the collocutor: 92% of respondents answer in Ukrainian if addressed in Ukrainian, and 74% of respondents answer in Russian if addressed in Russian. Based on the available information, we define main internal and external factors affecting the language choice of a speaker. The external factors include the general language practices dictated by the urbanized society and the current informational environment of the city (e.g., radio, television, press, and Internet). Among the internal factors we define the language conformity of the city residents and the 'complex of marginal', which forces many residents of the city periphery to change their social status by changing the language of their previous environment. The high linguistic conformity of the respondents is evident in their Internet communication. Although 83% of respondents have identified Ukrainian as their native language, the vast majority of them (72%) use Russian in their social webpages. The survey also shows that there is important influence of the city environment on the language of students coming from the city periphery: e.g., among all the respondents that identify Ukrainian as their native language and communicate within their families exclusively in Ukrainian, 22% switch to Russian with their new city friends. We have also analyzed various areas of language use: e.g., formal, informal, literature, and mass media (e.g., Internet, literature, periodicals, and television). The survey results show that Ukrainian dominates in formal and educational sectors (it is used in official institutions, schools, and universities), but significantly loses in interpersonal communication and in media, where Russian dominates independently of the ethnic or other factors. To conclude, the analyzed facts show asymmetric nature of the use of Ukrainian and Russian in an urbanized society. The results of the survey suggest that most of the external and internal factors contribute to the intensive development of Russian in all social areas except for official and educational environment.

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WEI, RINING (1); SU, JINZHI (2)

1: The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China); 2: Institute of Applied Linguistics, Ministry of Education, Beijing, China

SITUATION OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN CHINESE METROPOLISES: AN ANALYSIS OF THE BEST AVAILABLE DATA

In 2001, an unprecedentedly large-scale systematic national survey entitled 'Survey of Language Situation in China' was completed. Some findings have been published by the Steering Group Office for Survey of Language Use in China (hereafter SGO, 2006). In-depth analyses of the survey data (e.g. Wei and Su, 2008; 2011), published in Chinese, are emerging. This report, as the first English-medium one in this series of papers arising from the in-depth analyses, aims to update the international academia about the foreign language situation in China based upon published and unpublished data from the survey.

This survey utilized a systematic probability sampling scheme (see SG0, 2006; 315-38 for technical reports). The representativeness of the sample render the findings generalizable to the whole population (SGO, 2006: 325), i.e. residents aged between 15-69 living in China excluding Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan (SG0, 2006: 299). The survey covered 165,000 households from 1,063 municipalities, districts and counties. It began in early 1997 and was coordinated by eleven ministerial-level governmental organs including the Ministry of Education, the National Language Commission, National Bureau of Statistics and China Social Science Academy.

This paper analyzes the self-reported data from the national survey concerning residents' foreign language reading proficiency, spoken proficiency and frequency of foreign language use, with a focus upon seven metropolises including Beijing and Shanghai. It also examines the extent to which the general public in these metropolises supports using a foreign language as a medium of instruction in local primary and secondary schools. The results provide useful empirical data for profiling multilingualism in cities and shedding light on the grassroots support for Chinese-English bilingual education or Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), where English is used to teach part of the content matter of non-language subject(s).

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Language in Multilingual Cities: Language Policy

Session Chair 1: Spolsky, Bernard

BECKER, SUSANNE

Goethe-University Frankfurt/Main, Germany

HOW DO DIFFERENT SPACES ENABLE MULTILINGUALISM IN THE CITY OF MUNICH? LANGUAGE POLICIES AND THEIR MANIFESTATION IN SPACE

In my presentation I want to discuss preliminary findings from my ongoing Ph.D. project in which I examine negotiations about (the value of) multilingualism in the city of Munich, Germany. I will analyse municipal language politics, national discourses on multilingualism in Germany and everyday language practices in two districts of the city. In this presentation I want to focus on the question how language policies are manifested in different urban spaces and how this enables different language practices.

What can be observed empirically is that in the area of 'Schwabing' which is perceived as a middle-class area there are a lot of private bilingual nurseries where children can learn English. French Italian or Spanish in addition to German from a very early age. In their self-representation (e.g. on their homepages) these institutions promote multilingual language skills as helpful for later success in life and as important for personal development. They produce spaces in everyday life where the children are encouraged to make use of their bilingual speaking abilities. Thus multilingualism is recognised as valuable. In contrast to that in the area of 'Hasenbergl' which is perceived as a socially deprived area with a high percentage of migrants, educational institutions and social services provide a variety of offers to improve migrants German language skills or to compensate an assumed lack of German language skills. (Obligatory) German language courses are offered by social services in cooperation with local schools. There are no bilingual nurseries in this area and the multilingualism of the inhabitants is mostly addressed as a handicap. Because the institutional settings in this area focus on the promotion of German language skills there are only a few institutionalized spaces for multilingualism. Therefore public spaces and so called non-places (Marc Augé) which are not as highly regulated by local language policies become relevant for multilingual language practices. The local shopping centre, bus stops, underground stations as well as buses and underground trains are places where multilingualism takes place in everyday life. Although the language policies promote monolingual German language skills in this area multilingual spaces do emerge after all.

While the overall language politics of the city is aiming at acknowledging all languages equally, the spaces that are created by local institutions are not always supporting multilingual language practices. Whether the spaces that are created do enable multilingualism depends on the area of the city and the main actors there. I argue that in the area of 'Schwabing' institutionalised spaces are created which enable multilingualism whereas in the area of 'Hasenbergl' spaces are created which delegitimize multilingual practices. This is why public spaces and non-places (Marc Augé) become important in this area when it comes to multilingualism. These non-places allow negotiations about the legitimacy of multilingualism because they are not as highly regulated by language policies as institutional spaces are. So these are the places where language conflicts can be negotiated.

BROHY, CLAUDINE

University of Fribourg/Freiburg, Switzerland

FOSTERING MULTILINGUALISM OR PROTECTING MINORITIES? PRACTICE AND DIS-**COURSE IN OFFICIALLY MULTILINGUAL CITIES**

All cities of the world are multilingual, individual and social multilingualism being the norm rather the exception. However, cities with an officially multilingual status are scarce, even in officially quadrilingual Switzerland. In this contribution, I will mainly concentrate on two officially multilingual Swiss cities, Biel/Bienne and Fribourg/Freiburg, drawing comparisons with some officially multilingual municipalities elsewhere. The research questions were: How far does official and private discourse on multilingualism map? To what extend does linguistic landscape mirror discourse and demography? What is the status of the migrant minorities compared to the local 'legitimate' minority? How do schools react to social, economic and cultural needs for multilingualism? In a diglossic situation, how is the dialect integrated in the issues surrounding multilingualism? Is English a threat to local, indigenous multilingualism or an extension of the linguistic repertoire? Methods combine the analysis of public and media documents and ethnographic analysis. The research shows that although some general conclusions can be drawn, each officially multilingual city represents a unique linguistic niche shaped by history, culture and individuals. Citizens react differently to official multilingualism. For some informants languages and multilingualism are a constant challenge at different levels, for others, they rate far behind in the multiple challenges life represents.

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ILIĆ, MARIJA (1): BULJANOVIĆ, SANDRA (2): BALLA, MÓNIKA (2) 1: Serbian Academy of Science and Arts; 2: University of Belgrade

HUNGARIAN IN CONTEMPORARY BELGRADE: A CASE OF COMPARTMENTALISED LANGUAGE?

This paper attempts to open a dialogue on monolingualism / multilingualism in the city of Belgrade today. The city of Belgrade, has more than 1,700.000 inhabitants, with more than 10% of the population whose native language is not Serbian. Apart from the majority Serbian, languages spoken in the city can be roughly divided into two groups: that of Serbian national minority groups (such as Hungarian, Albanian, Roma, Romanian, Greek, etc., and a recently formed one - Chinese) and that of so called 'world languages' (such as English, German, French, Russian, Spanish, Italian, etc.). Beyond any doubt, the most popular and widely spoken language in Belgrade after Serbian is English, which serves as the lingua franca between native Belgraders and foreigners. Nevertheless, native languages of the Belgrade ethno-linguistic minority groups are very rarely spoken in public places being mostly confined to institutions whose programmatic objectives are to promote the use of those languages (e.g. languages schools) or to family domain. This paper thus aims to problematise the notion of Belgrade as a multingual city, i.e. to analyse what type of multilingualism in this case we can really speak of. This we hope to achieve by using a case study of the Hungarian language. Hungarian language use in Serbia has been a subject of many studies, but almost all of them have been related to Vojvodina, the northern Serbian province, where Hungarians represent a significant minority. Nevertheless, the use of Hungarian in Belgrade has been overlooked by academic concerns, probably due to the small number of Hungarian speakers, with no more than 2,000 native speakers. We would like thus to indicate possible trends in the Hungarian language use in Belgrade today. The data collection instruments used in this research are sociolinguistic guestionnaires. For the data analysis we use methods of quantitative analysis, interactive and critical sociolinguistics. By analysing domains of Hungarian language use, in a previous research, we came to the conclusion that Hungarian can serve as an example of 'compartmentalised language'. Namely, we found that Hungarian is confined only to those public domains in which its use is institutionalised, e.g. Department of Hungarian Language and Literature of the University of Belgrade, the Hungarian Embassy, and the Catholic Church of St. Peter. In this paper, we would like to take a step forward by comparing data from our survey regarding the domains of language use, on one hand, with data on interpersonal communication and interactive settings, on the other hand. Our work has thus several theoretical and practical implications. The main theoretical implication of this research is to be found in (re)thinking multiingualism in the big cities of South-East Europe, such as Belgrade. In this respect, a critical stance will be taken on monolingualising tendencies of the state and its institutions. Furthermore, practical implications of the research will be in pointing out those urban localities in Belgrade which have potentials for a developing multilingualism and to put an effort into enhancing the preconditions for the city's multlingualism development

NOVAK LUKANOVIČ, SONJA

Institute for Ethnic Studies, Slovenia, Department of Comparative and General Linguistics, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana Slovenia

MULTICULTURALISM IN BORDER TOWNS IN SLOVENIA

The historical background, political changes, migration processes, EU membership and the current socio-linguistic situation have all influenced language policy and language planning in Slovenia, especially in border areas. The paper will focus on the most important aspects of language policy in Slovenia with special emphasis on the concept of linguistic diversity.

Selected empirical results from a research project in the border regions of Slovenia (Slovene/Italian, Slovene/Austrian, Slovene/Hungarian), especially three border towns (Nova Gorica, Gornja Radgona, Lendava) will be presented. The presentation will be based on the following hypotheses: languages in contact in three border towns have different roles and positions; people living in border towns accept measures aimed at intercultural communication (learn the language, use media, cooperate in different ways, etc.); the value of language on the 'language market' is presumed to be the dominant force in the choice of language learning in border towns; the presence of a minority group and minority language in a border area/towns affects intercultural communication as well as speakers' perceptions of linguistic and cultural diversity. The paper considers the implications of this research for language planning and language rights in border regions.

PELED. YAEL

University of Montreal, Canada

LINGUISTIC NATIONALISM IN MULTILINGUAL URBAN SPACES: TOPONYMY, IDENTITY AND

Multilingual urban spaces offer a distinct and unique perspective on the perceived linguistic homogeneity of contemporary political communities. This is especially the case for political communities whose civic ethos is deeply rooted in notions of linguistic nationalism. The dynamic linguistic ecology of highly multilingual city spaces, such as London, Montreal, Berlin, Singapore and Jerusalem, challenges prevailing conceptions and policies of linguistic homogeneity, and more broadly the politics of identity prioritisation from which they emerge. Within this dynamic equilibrium between the political and the linguistic, toponymy (placenaming) plays a central role, as conflicts over the naming of space (official/minority language; ancient/modern and local/ borrowed names; codeswitch and hybrids; sequencing on multilingual signage) are often closely intertwined with political identity conflicts. Employing a broad transdisciplinary framework that draws from current research in politics, philosophy, linguistics and urban planning, the paper explores the importance of toponymic research as a key to understanding the interplay between a civic ethos of linguistic nationalism on one hand, and the pluralistic dynamics of multilingual urban spaces, with their openness towards competing spheres (local, regional, transregional, global), on the other. As a test case, the paper examines the recent controversy over Hebrew/Arabic toponymythat accompanied the construction of the new light rail in Jerusalem, in the context of the Hebrew linguistic nationalism ethos and the Israeli-Arab conflict.

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TONKIN, HUMPHREY University of Hartford, United States of America

INVENTED CITIES; INVENTED LANGUAGES: ESPERANTO AND URBAN TEXTUALITY, 1887-1914

In a 1905 letter to Alfred Michaux, L. L. Zamenhof, author of Esperanto (1887), seems to locate the origins of Esperanto in the multilingual environment of his native city, Bialystok, then in Russia, now in Poland. Divided by language, the four ethnic groups in the city were constantly at odds. A common language, Zamenhof seemed to suggest, could have brought them together.

Esperanto owed its early popularity to the emergence of an urban middle class nurtured by universal education and imbued with cosmopolitanism. Members of this class, linked by a new language, had the money and leisure to look beyond their own communities. They were endowed with faith in technological progress and a corresponding belief in the achievement of common values manifest in such phenomena as universal expositions and early international organizations (the Red Cross, the Universal Postal Union, the International Telegraph Union...). Zamenhof's success came from his realization that Esperanto was not simply a language, but a textual community.

In his book Reading Berlin (1996), Peter Fritzsche has argued that the modern city came into being through shared text: 'In an age of urban mass literacy, the city as place and the city as text defined each other in mutually constitutive ways.' Berlin, Vienna, London, Paris created a sense of themselves constantly reinforced by the popular press, whose texts became mirrors of these cities' identity. Esperanto began as an inter-urban self-reinforcing ag-glomeration of written texts, shared and held in common, linking its followers through periodicals, printed books, and above all by correspondence. This linguistic experiment was therefore also a social experiment, seeking common values in the shared experience of the cities of Europe and the imagined community that they represented. The expansion of Esperanto in the early 1900s was driven primarily by belief in its value to commerce and science. Increased middle-class mobility in due course made it a spoken as well as a written language. The first world Esperanto congress was held in 1905; subsequently, such congresses were held annually in different cities across Europe.

The virtual community that Esperanto texts created helped reinforce a common ideology of peace and internationalism, overlaid on the immediately practical goal of promoting commerce, and leading to the emergence of a universalist identity situated in an emergent common language. A careful reading of Zamenhof's letter leads the reader to the conclusion that Zamenhof saw the fundamental problem in Bialystok not as ethnic division but as anti-Semitism. Recent biographies of Zamenhof by Korzhenkov (Homarano, 2nd ed. 2011) and Künzli (L. L. Zamenhof: Esperanto, Hillelismus und die jüdische Frage, 2010) stress the parallels between Zamenhof's experiments with language and his search for a kind of post-Zionist universalism. This less evident, yet urgent, agenda created a marked tension between what we might call the utilitarian goals of collaboration in commerce and science, and the idealistic goals of the brotherhood and sisterhood of all.

ZEMARYAM, YONATTAN ARAYA Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia

LANGUAGE POLICY, LINGUISTIC INEQUALITY AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN A MULTI-LINGUAL CITY: THE CASE IN ADDIS ABABA

This study attempted to reveal linguistic inequalities and job opportunities among the major ethnic groups in Addis Ababa where a number of indigenous languages are spoken. Of these the major ones are Amharic, Oromo, Guraginya and Tigrinya. Amharic is used as the medium of instruction, administration and as a medium of examination in recruiting applicants in the city; whereas the other languages are not used for any administrative and instructional purposes. For the study, data was gathered through interviews from selected participants. In addition, data was collected from various documents. Thereafter, the data was analyzed following critical discourse analytic approach. The federal vacancies are posted for all Ethiopians who speak different languages with Amharic as recruitment medium. Thus, it is axiomatic that the recruitment favors the native speakers of the Amharic language and hence results in inequitable job opportunities of the citizenry. This phenomenon is laid bare in the Federal Civil Service Agency's (2008) census report that the Amhara linguistic group has occupied more than 40 percent of the capital city's total job opportunities which is the lion's share, compared with Oromos, Tigrayans and Guragies, who have occupied 16 percent, 8 percent and 5 percent, respectively. Accordingly, it is concluded that Addis Ababa is a multilinguistic group are overtly reflected and politically legitimized.

ZENTZ, LAUREN RENÉE

University of Arizona, United States of America

LANGUAGE ECOLOGIES, POLICIES AND SHIFT IN A GLOBALIZING INDONESIA

In this ethnographic description of local language policies and ideologies in an urban university context in Central Java, Indonesia, I explore shifting access to Javanese, Indonesian, and English linguistic resources. I will demonstrate that modernist ideologies have constructed Javanese as sometimes a language and other times a non-language form of communication; English as sometimes a symbol of prestige and mobility, other times a highly commodified good that the most privileged might access; and Indonesian as increasingly a language of local identity expression and modernity. The most recent Indonesian national language policy encourages citizens to 'love' their local languages, 'use' their national language, Indonesian, and 'study' foreign languages. This policy and its precedents have led to the creation of languages and of contexts delimiting the spaces in which languages may be used inside national confines. Indonesia's nationalization and modernization over primarily this last century (Keane 2003, Smith-Hefner 2009, Cole 2010), the state's 'creation' of bahasa Indonesia (Heryanto 2006, Foulcher 2007), and contemporary and multiple global flows of finance, media, and technology (Appadurai 1996, 2001), all set the scene for this analysis of language- and nation-hood in Indonesia in its 65th year of official existence. To analyze shifting language ecologies in one urban context in Central Java, Indonesia I will expand Blommaert's (2005, 2010) use of 'access' to refer not only to mostly state-driven institutions that gatekeep linguistic resources, but also to address any linguistic resources, institutional or otherwise (ie community and family settings), and all influenced by state political ideologies. Through this lens I explore how state modernization has necessitated the institutionalization of local, national, and global languages but by doing so it has 1) iconized local languages: Javanese now represents the past and rurality; 2) commodified English: expensive and higher educations are accompanied by

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Language in Multilingual Cities: Landscape and Identity

Session Chair 1: Shohamy, Elana

BLACKWOOD, ROBERT University of Liverpool, United Kingdom

LANGUAGE POLICIES, MINORITY LANGUAGE REVITALISATION AND THE CITY: THE CASES OF NICE AND AJACCIO

Although characterised as a highly centralised polity which manages language policies from Paris, France provides an interesting forum for the evaluation of language revitalisation, since national legislation permits city councils to pursue their own language management strategies so long as the supremacy of the French language is not challenged. Based on fieldwork from Ajaccio (gathered in August 2010) and Nice (July 2011), we will examine closely variation in language policy within two port cities, each identified with a minority language. Using the linguistic landscape, and as part of a longer project into regional languages in the public space in the Mediterranean, we will investigate the different policies enacted by the two city councils, both of which are engaged in language revitalisation efforts, but to strikingly different extents. Taking Kallen's 2010 'spatial frameworks' model, we will analyse the degrees to which these city councils are placing their respective regional languages in the public space as part of revitalisation work which, critically, extends beyond what has become the recent tradition of teaching the regional languages in schools for a few hours per week. By comparing the visibility of Nissart and Corsican in transport networks, local services, and public buildings, we can evaluate the extent to which the city is being used by Ajaccio City Council as a space for language revitalisation in a way not mirrored by Nice City Council.

DE BRES, JULIA

University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

MULTILINGUALISM IN COMMERCIAL ADVERTISING IN LUXEMBOURG CITY

With its own national language (Luxembourgish) and three languages of administration (French, German and Luxembourgish), Luxembourg is one of the most multilingual countries in the world. This is ever more the case, as a result of the presence of an increasing number of migrants attracted by the country's favourable economic situation. These include historical waves of Italian and Portuguese migrants (the latter of whom now make up 20% of the resident population), migrants who come to work at EU institutions and multinational companies, and daily migrants from Belgium, France and Germany. This international migration is centred on Luxembourg city, where today a majority of residents originate from other countries. This growing ethnolinguistic diversity is reflected in written form in the city's public texts and spaces, including in commercial advertising. Advertisers contribute to the construction of identities, by attempting to identify with (and thereby mirroring) identity constructions present among the target population. In multilingual Luxembourg, language choice is an important means of identifying with target audiences, and this use of languages also reveals broader patterns regarding the contemporary shape of multilingualism in Luxembourg. This paper presents results from a study of multilingualism in commercial written public texts in Luxembourg city, drawing on discourse analysis of advertising materials from the banking, insurance, telecommunications and retail sectors (including newspaper ads, billboards, brochures, etc). The focus of the paper is on how companies strategically employ different languages to commercial ends, how these language choices reflect the changing status of the different languages of Luxembourg, and what this language use reveals about tensions between old and new forms of multilingualism in the city.

CURTIN, MELISSA L. University of California, Santa Barbara, CA United States of America

COSMOPOLITANISM IDENTITIES IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF TAIPEI

This project seeks to contribute to research on linguistic landscape (LL) and identity in two key ways. Firstly, whereas most LL research involves synchronic investigations of a locale (Pavlenko, 2009), this is a diachronic study of an urban environment, Taipei, Taiwan, which has undergone remarkable change over the past 15 years. This diachronic, ethnographically informed investigation is thus able to more fully capture the dynamic nature of the LL in relation to both the processes of identification and the production of place. Secondly, in tracing the development of varieties of cosmopolitanism in Taipei's LL, the analysis integrates theorizations of cosmopolitanism with those of identity and place. A review of LL scholarship reveals that the concept of cosmopolitanism has thus far been undertheorized in the field, with scholars employing mostly generalized references to the notion, such as (i) a cosmopolitan city (e.g., Tel Aviv — Waksman and Shohamy 2010), (ii) a cosmopolitan practice (e.g., dining in 'ethnic' restaurants in Washington, D.C. - Leeman and Modan 2009), (iii) a language script indexing a general cosmopolitanism (e.g., English in Thailand — Huebner 2006; English in Tokyo — Backhaus 2007), (iv) 'exotic' orthographies indexing an achieved, localized cosmopolitan identity (e.g., English, French, Japanese and 'vogue European' in Taipei — Curtin 2007), (v) a script denoting an aspirational, prestige cosmopolitan identity (e.g., English in Poding-tse-Rolo in rural South Africa — Kotze 2010), or (vi) the general coexistence of modernity and cosmopolitan identity (e.g., symbolized in streetwise English in French advertising in DR Congo — Kasanga 2010). However, guite sophisticated theorizations of the phenomenon have been developed in a range of fields, including sociology and transnational anthropology (e.g., Vertovec and Cohen 2002; Beck and Grande 2010), global studies and cultural anthropology (e.g., Nederveen Pieterse 2006), and economic geography (e.g., Donald, Kofman and Kevin 2009). Drawing upon these scholars' work, this paper aligns with Hannerz' (2006) call for an ethnographically grounded, multi-centric understanding of different varieties of cosmopolitanism. Specifically, it analyzes particular cosmopolitanisms as these are indexed in orthographic scripts employed in several domains throughout the city's LL: (i) traditional Mandarin Chinese characters and various Romanization systems thereof, (ii) non-Chinese scripts in official and unofficial domains, and (iii) graffiti. Furthermore, each script domain contributes to particular varieties of cosmopolitanism, labeled 'presumptive, distinctive, and transgressive' cosmopolitanisms (respectively, these labels draw upon social indexicality

(Silverstein), distinction (Bourdieu), and transgressive semiotics (Scollon and Scollon; Pennycook)).

Importantly, the cosmopolitanization of these scripts is best understood in relation to two main continua of Taiwanese identities: (1) Taiwanese-Chinese Identities and (2) Taiwanese-East Asian-Global Cosmopolitan Identities, Taken as a whole, then, each script domain contributes to the 'achieved, bona fide cosmopolitan sensibility' of current-day Taipei, while concomitantly indexing various aspects of Taiwanese identities in relation to divergent constructions of place and belonging. This study thus demonstrates that cosmopolitanism is best apprehended as highly situated and multi-faceted, yet also as recursive and multi-centric (non-West-centric). Moreover, it shows that the LL is a key semiotic resource in constructing different cosmopolitan identities and spaces of belonging in today's globalized, multilingual city.

KOTZE, CHRISMI-RINDA

University of the Free State, South Africa

LANGUAGE POLICY AND LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE IN RURAL, POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

One of the most prominent manifestations of language is the linguistic landscape (LL) – language in its written form situated in the public space. This form of communication has unique semiotic properties, including those of permanency and visibility. The LL reflects a visual manifestation of the discrepancy between official and de facto language policy, between top-down and bottom-up language policy actions. Certain countries have very strict LL regulations, fining sign owners who do not adhere to the regulations, or, taking the opposite approach, benefitting those who do. Often governments provide no or insufficient LL quidelines. As a result there are often great discrepancies between policies and the LL as well as between bottom-up and top-down signage initiatives. These discrepancies are even more obvious in highly diverse settings, and are further enhanced when complicated language policies or LL regulations are in place.

The most effective way to draw useful information from this linguistic guagmire is to approach it from an analytical framework based on the three variables generally operable in LL's; agency, locality and functionality.

Both top-down and bottom-up agencies act on their own initiative in the LL. Top-down LL-actions often do not comply with the LL regulations, particularly when the latter are open to interpretation. Bottom-up agencies tend to disregard LL regulations altogether, especially in areas where the regulations are not restrictive

Locality can refer either to the type of area where the signage is found (commercial, administrative, residential) or an area that is sociolinguistically delineated. It is not uncommon to find 'quarters' with unique sociolinguistic characteristics in diversified settings. A further complication in multilingual settings is the multitude of linguistic codes between which the actor has to choose in order to achieve the maximum effect on the target audience. The same actors make differing choices within different localities (see for instance the interesting studies on the LL's in Jerusalem). The LL-options available are also dependent on the functionality of the sign (identification, informative).

These three factors, agency, locality and functionality, provide a useful framework for an LL approach to analysing the degree to which a multilingual society (whether in an urban setting or not) depends on language policy or regulates language usage by itself. I propose to apply this analytical framework to data from the nine rural towns comprising the Kopanong Local Municipality in the southern Free State Province, South Africa. These towns are representative of the area and reflect the socio-political and economic changes and challenges facing post-apartheid South Africa. Including a rural component will add another, necessary dimension to the discussion on language policy in dynamic, multilingual settings.

TUFI, STEFANIA

University of Liverpool, United Kingdom

THE LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF PLACENESS. THE CASE OF VENICE.

The intensification of mass tourism has profoundly affected Venice as visited space and lived space. Sources have in fact gone as far as saying that Venice is not just visited but actually inhabited by tourists (Davis & Marvin 2004), who have therefore appropriated the Venetians' place as a socio-historical product. This appropriation is both metaphorical and physical and it is historically stratified. The linguistic landscape of Venice can be seen to narrate a city that does not belong to Venetians, but first and foremost to humanity.

The city is so iconic that visiting the most celebrated landmarks such as San Marco and Rialto Bridge simply reinforces the visitor's acquired images and representations of Venice. Some of Foucault's attributes of heterotopias or 'other spaces' can be applied to Venice. The act of entering Venice is similar to a rite of purification which individuals go through in order to complete a pilgrimage. In addition, in Venice the heterotopia of the Carnival as a transitory event and that of the eternity of an open-air museum coexist.

The paper will discuss the linguistic landscape of Venice in relation to the distribution of its dwellers, be they passing tourists or permanent residents. The analysis will highlight the role of Venice's languages and how they construct the unique placeness of the city. The discussion will also include considerations about the wider semiotic landscape when constructed in non-linguistic terms and when the display and use of its objects allows the consumption not of Venice itself, but of its images (Baudrillard 1996 [1968]).

Thematic Session 131

Latino Social networks in the city

Session Chair 1: Marquez, Rosina Session Chair 2: Martin Rojo, Luisa

Session Abstract:

The contributions to this panel investigate different aspects of social networks in urban Latino migrant communities with strong connections to their homelands and to members of similar diaspora in other major world cities. In particular they examine the role that language and linguistic ideologies play in the construction of such networks. Some of the questions addressed are:

- What role does the native language of the members of the diaspora vis à vis the predominant/prestigious language of the city they inhabit play in the construction of social networks and social mobility for first and second generation migrants as well as for other generations which were born in the city?

- How do members of Latino diasporas communicate with their friends and family in their homeland and with friends and family in similar diaspora in other cities?

- Are there any differences in the construction of friendship and close interpersonal ties within own nationality groups and others within the Latino diaspora?

- Does the contact with friends and family in the homeland, in similar diaspora in other cities and within the same city diaspora help to maintain the use of Spanish or is there a preference for other languages?

- Are there any differences in the use of Spanish and other languages across different generations of Latinos and/or related to the types of jobs they have? If so, what is the relationship, if any, between these differences and the participants' competence in Spanish and in the prestigious language(s) of the citv?

- What type of bilingualism do different generations of Latinos and Latinos carrying out different jobs within the diaspora exhibit? - Do they consider themselves to be native speakers of any of the languages they speak? - How do they position themselves with respect to the prestigious language(s) of the city? and.

- What is understood by 'Latino' in the different communities and cities examined for the members of the diaspora and those outside it? Contributors will take an interdisciplinary approach to these broad questions, both in terms of the communicative settings examined and range of analytic frameworks deployed. The contributions include public interactional environments such as schools, shops and private environments such as the personal use of relatively new communication technologies e.g. Facebook. The analytic frameworks range from (critical) sociolinguistics, ethnography of speaking, linguistic anthropology and (interactional) pragmatics.

PATIÑO, ADRIANA

Pompeu Fabra University, Spain

BEING A LATIN AMERICAN IN LA SAGRADA FAMILIA: THE DISCURSIVE NEGOTIATION OF EMERGING IDENTITIES AND REPORTED AGENCY

La Sagrada Familia, in Barcelona, is one of the busiest areas in the city due to the interest in Gaudi's work. There, we find, on the one hand, the unending stream of tourists from all over the world who come to see the state of what is probably one of the last great building projects in European church history. At the same time, we find migrants of different origins who have found a variety reasons to settle in the neighbourhood. The main purpose of this paper is to focus on Latin Americans, one of the biggest visible groups living in the heart of this symbol of all things Catalan, in order to study the identities they display, their positionings (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Marshall, 2007) within the local community, as well as the social and inter-ethnic consequences of such ways of positioning.

Initial ethnographic observations have allowed us to identify some of the ways this group, mainly consisting of people of Ecuadorian, Colombian and Peruvian origins, draws on certain symbolic and material resources in order to establish themselves economically. One of them is the commodification (Heller, 2003) of Latin American identities through a 'Latino network' where restaurants, bakeries and supermarkets emerge as places to recreate practices from people's countries of origin, but at the same time to offer native, though often modified products, to the local community and tourists. Language uses play a central role in the service encounters taking place between vendors and customers, as well as the ways they manage multilingualism in the co-official languages of the Region, Catalan and Spanish (albeit in its different Latin American varieties), as well as English, interactionally categorised as the language of tourists.

A sociolinguisitic ethnographic approach will allow us to triangulate diverse language practices in order to look at the tensions that emerge in such a complex context and the ways participants negotiate their identities and positionings. Thus, reported agency in participants' narratives will be contrasted with transcribed daily exchanges and observation of the communicative practices of participants carried out in these places, including multimodal and literacy practices. Results should allow us to explain participants' ideas of what it means to be a Latin American in Catalonia.

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COMMUNITY AND CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY: DOMINICANS IN PUERTO RICO

According to the American Community Survey 2005-2007, the population of Puerto Rico (PR) consists of 3,926,678 people, with 99% reporting Hispanic-Latino origin. Of this Hispanic-Latino population, 2% (n=67,083) report Dominican ancestry; in other words, their immigrant roots are in the Dominican Republic

According to Labov (2006), 'the linguistic behavior of individuals cannot be understood without knowledge of the communities that they belong to' (p. 380). One of the uses to which the linguistic behavior of individuals is put is the construction of individual and community identity. Given Labov's view, a reasonable first step towards understanding the linguistic behavior of Dominicans in PR, and the identities which they construct, is an understanding of the community with which they are in contact in PR.

In PR, the largest number of Dominicans is concentrated in the San Juan-Caguas-Fajardo combined statistical area (n=63,262). This paper focuses on two barrios in these areas: Barrio Obrero and Barrio Savarona. It raises the following questions: Do the Dominicans in these two barrios form communities? Do they form a wider Dominican community within Puerto Rico? How is the identity of the Dominican immigrant community constructed with respect to the wider Puerto Rican host community? It considers these questions in the framework of Coupland (2010) who approaches the conceptualization of community as 1) community-as-demography and 2) community-as-value. As Coupland points out, 'the local dynamics of socio-cultural organization...; the subjective experience of communal participation; the linguistic/discursive means by which a valued sense of community is achieved; and the subjective...outcomes of community participation' (p.102) all shed light on the subjective community-as-value.

To answer these questions, this paper draws on census data, published accounts of Dominicans in PR, and critical discourse analysis of local press. It also draws on fieldwork initiated in 2007, which includes both tape-recorded interviews and ethnographic observation, and a 'give back' (Schilling-Estes, 2007) project carried out in Barrio Obrero.

Preliminary results indicate that the Puerto Rican host community constructs the Dominican immigrant community in terms of the opposition of 'us' Puerto Ricans and 'them' Dominicans. Puerto Ricans are constructed as speaking good Spanish, white, educated, and clean. Dominicans are constructed as speaking bad Spanish, black, non-educated, and dirty. Thus, the Puerto Rican host community imposes an identity on the immigrant Dominicans, and the immigrant Dominicans must form their communities and construct their identities inside of this imposed identity.

This paper contributes to research on Dominicans in the diaspora, communities, immigrant and host communities in contact, and the construction of identity.

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PAZ, ALEJANDRO IVAN

University of Toronto, Canada

EDUCACIÓN IN DIASPORA: REGISTERS OF MODERNITY AND TRADITION AMONG UR-BAN LATINO LABOR MIGRANTS IN ISRAEL

What role do language and communicative practice play in how diasporic Latinos conceive of their relation to their homeland? Generally, scholars have concentrated on how Spanish contributes to Latino ethnolinguistic identity, especially in the highly-studied US context (e.g., Urciuoli 1996, Bailey 2002, Mendoza-Denton 2008). This emphasis positions Spanish as the prime linguistic means for conceiving of Latinos' sense of diasporic displacement. Such work correctly notes the role played by the Herderian ideology of distinct languages and cultures in many diasporic situations. However, as far back as Haugen's 1953 foundational study (also Auer 1988, Mendoza-Denton 2008), sociolinguists frequently note that diasporic speakers are not certain about the boundaries between supposedly distinct codes.

In contrast to this emphasis on Spanish, and to overcome the problem of assuming a clear language boundary (Auer 1984, Woolard 2004), this paper considers how Latino language ideologies and communicative practices of educación ('politeness') foster an ethnolinguistic identity that ties Latinos to their diasporic homeland. Specifically, I look at the little known case of non-Jewish Latino labor migrants in Israel, mostly from Colombia and Ecuador. These labor migrants began to arrive in Israel to marginal jobs in the nineties at a time that Tel Aviv was transformed into a global city after neoliberal restructuring. Given this history, I can examine the linguistic repertoire of the pioneer generation and their children growing up in Israel. While many do not consider that Latino children speak Spanish natively, they are convinced that all Latinos share educación, and that this distinguishes them from Israelis. At the same time, Latinos consider certain Israeli interactional practices, like speaking directly (Katriel 1986), to represent more modern forms of communication than the perceived formality of traditional educación. The tensions between tradition and modernity, as well as between marginal and powerful social roles, contribute to producing an interactionally-based sense of living in diaspora. Following work by Silverstein (1998) and Agha (2007) on the cultural dynamics of registers, I use ethnography, recordings of natural conversation and perception interviews to consider how educación ultimately grounds their ethnolinguistic identity. Thus, I suggest that linguistic difference is not simply the background upon which diasporic experiences take place, but rather that the social constitution of diasporic displacement reconfigures linguistic boundaries.

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ROSA, JONATHAN DANIEL

University of Massachusetts Amherst, United States of America

GLOBAL URBAN CENTERS AS ETHNOLINGUISTIC RITUAL CENTERS: LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES, LINGUISTIC PRACTICES, AND LATINO PANETHNIC FORMA-TIONS IN CHICAGO

In this paper I seek to analyze the role that global cities play in the contemporary creation of diasporic ethnolinguistic identities. I focus on Chicago as an urban sociolinguistic context and 'Latino' as an emergent ethnolinguistic category-concept that encompasses Latin American national groups. In the context of Chicago's Latino population, which is predominated by Mexicans and Puerto Ricans (Cruz 2007), a linguistic repertoire of culturally valorized varieties of English and Spanish structures a striking paradox: the Spanish language is positioned simultaneously as an icon of Latino panethnicity and intra-Latino distinction. From many out-group perspectives, Spanish is a unified language that indexes Latino identity. These perspectives equate the Spanish language with Latino identity; this means that many U.S. Latinos are positioned as members of the Spanish language community regardless of whether they possess pragmatic control of the Spanish language. Meanwhile, from in-group perspectives, Mexican Spanish and Puerto Rican Spanish often play a central role in defining Mexican-Puerto Rican difference. These competing constructions demonstrate the centrality of language ideologies and linguistic practices to the creation of Latino identities.

This paper investigates the sociolinguistic fashioning of a panethnic Latino category in a recently created Chicago public high school whose student body is more than 90% Mexican and Puerto Rican. Through the negotiation of ethnolinguistic identities in this context, minute features of language are enregistered – given cultural value as a coherent set – as high stakes signals of ethnoracial and institutional affiliation (Silverstein 2003, Agha 2007). While Mexican and Puerto Rican students demonstrate varying proficiencies in Spanish and English, Spanish is stereotyped as the primordial Latino tongue. Yet, English language hegemony characteristically organizes students' interactions and presentations of self in the context of this American public high school. These dynamics inform students' investment in speaking 'unaccented' English and manifesting their Latino identities by referencing Spanish. I rework notions such as 'crossing' (Rampton 2006) and 'bivalency' (Woolard 1998) to argue that students navigate these competing demands by enregistering Spanish and English forms into a set of practices that I call 'inverted Spanglish.' I show how this register formation, which consists of Spanish lexical items and English phonology, becomes a sociolinguistic icon and enactment of U.S. Latino ethnolinguistic identity. This analysis informs my suggestion that the unique (im)migration, political-economic, and social histories characteristic of global cities such as Chicago, structure ethnolinguistic transformations such as the emergence of Latino panethnicity.

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KELSALL, SOPHIE J.

King's College London, United Kingdom

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AT A LATIN AMERICAN SCHOOL IN LONDON

In London, Latin Americans constitute one of the 'new migrant groups' (Kyambi 2005); they have also been described as an 'invisible minority' (McIlwaine et al. 2011). The Latin American school ELA (Escuela Latino Americana) is one of the spaces that provide visibility and a meeting place for Latin American Londoners. Located in an inner-city neighbourhood, it offers Spanish lessons and artistic workshops every Saturday. Like many other complementary schools, ELA's objectives are: language maintenance, cultural learning, heritage celebration, and community building. Funded by the local authority, charity grants, and parental contributions, ELA is primarily directed at young people – aged between 3 and 16 – who are of Latin American descent, but it is also 'open to all.' As an institution whose 'fundamental purpose is to maintain our language (SPANISH)', according to its leaflet, ELA constitutes an invaluable site for exploring (a) the functioning of a Latino social network in a global city, (b) the significance of local language ideologies, and (c) the impact of differences between and across generations.

This paper draws on ethnographic data obtained as part of AHRC-funded PhD research, which involved participant-observation and semi-structured interviews carried out at the school over a period of sixteen months. It focuses on the articulation, among teachers and parents, of a dominant ideological discourse according to which ethnic affiliation is realized through language orientation and 'parallel bilingualism' (Heller 2006) is favoured over the mixing of languages. It also explores how teachers and parents dealt discursively with the students' overwhelming preference for English. Overall it finds that (a) there was a disjuncture between purist language ideologies and hybrid, asymmetrical language practices, and (b) perceived language orientation formed the basis of evaluative and stratifying discourses about community members.

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KLUGE, BETTINA Universität Bielefeld, Germany

THE LATIN AMERICAN BLOGGING COMMUNITY IN QUEBEC, CANADA

In an ongoing project on blogs about migration to Québec, written by francophone, anglophone, lusophone and hispanophone migrants and / or migrants-

to-be, we observe the interaction between bloggers and their readers (Kluge 2011, Frank-Job / Kluge in press). Especially among Latin American bloggers, new members to the emerging community of practice (Wenger 1998) are welcomed enthusiastically by older members and are helped along in the immigration process, receiving crucial emotional support during this difficult, life-changing transition period.

Blogs have been portraved as an ideal medium to stay in contact with friends and family (McNeill 2005, Stefanone / Jang 2008). While this would also be possible via social networks such as Facebook, many bloggers also express their desire to give public testimony of their personal migration experience. thereby returning a favor previously given to them by strangers (i.e., receiving information about life in Quebec). Finally, the Latin American blogging community in Canada has also used this medium to raise attention to the topic of allophone immigration to Quebec. An example of the latter is the Jornada de bloggeros latino-canadienses (August 2008), where thirty bloggers based in Canada or still 'on their way' simultaneously published their personal immigration experiences on each other's blogs. The ensuing discussion among bloggers and readers on different blogs reveals a very close-knit, supportive community (also in comparison to anglophone and francophone blogs). Some Montreal-based bloggers also have met 'offline'.

My present talk will focus on the linguistic means used by bloggers and readers to interactively construct themselves as (legitimate) members of the community, and on the joint construction of a supra-national identity as a Latin American (instead of Argentine, Paraguayan, Mexican, Colombian, ...) immigrant. The analytic framework chosen for this analysis is inspired by conversation analysis as well as Androutsopoulos' (2008) proposal of discoursecentred online ethnography.

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GONCALVES, KELLIE

University of Bern, Switzerland.

LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN VARIOUS SOCIAL NETWORKS: THE CASE OF LATINO DO-MESTICS AND THEIR ENGLISH-SPEAKING CLIENTS

This paper explores the sociolinquistic consequences of a language contact situation between Portuguese and Spanish-speaking domestics and their Anglophone clients in a multilingual cleaning company in New Jersey, USA. Language attitudes and ideologies about English for many of these domestics index their national identities as well as their migrant identities with reference to their particular Portuguese (Luso-Brazilian Portuguese & European Portuguese) and Spanish varieties. Their beliefs and desires to eventually return to their home countries influence their minimal investment (Norton 2000) in English. In addition, testimonies of their strong and dense ties of their social networks within their local community, namely, the 'Ironbound' section of Newark, New Jersey are also scrutinized. Within the city of Newark, 32.3% of the residents are Hispanic and as a result, neighborhoods such as the 'Ironbound' accommodate to Portuguese and Spanish-speaking residents, who are not forced to speak the majority language (English) since interactions of everyday life at banks, post offices, the doctor's, lawyer's, travel agencies, restaurants, cafés, and supermarkets can indeed be carried out in Portuguese or Spanish.

Results reveal that Latino domestics residing in the 'Ironbound' do not rely on English in their private, daily lives and only 'really' require English in the workplace, but to a limited degree. The domestics with no or low proficiency in the target language cannot directly communicate with their clients. As a result, the main employer of the cleaning firm and several first-generation daughters serve as 'language brokers' between domestics and clients. In this study I employ multimodal corpora to gain a holistic perspective about this unique language contact situation. The data collected stem from ethnographic research, video footage and semi-structured interviews. The transcribed speech comprises the discourse of 20 migrant Portuguese, Brazilian and Honduran women aged 26-65, four bilingual language brokers aged 17-64 and 23 Anglophone clients. Employees' perceptions of language learning, the question of access to the target language and target language speakers represent principle foci.

CORONA, VICTOR (1); UNAMUNO, VIRGINIA (2) 1: Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona; 2: CONICET (Argentina)

LATINO IS NOT SPANIARD: SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF LATINOIDENTITIES BETWEEN YOUNG PEOPLE IN BARCELONA.

Recent studies on educational results in Catalonia show that Latino youth have the highest dropout rates in secondary education (Serra & Palaudàrias, 2010). While a multitude of reasons may explain these results, the discourse of teachers and that of the media suggest that they are related to their socialization among peers, specially, to their participation in gang culture (Corona& Unamuno 2008; Patiño & Martin Rojo 2007; Patiño 2008). In this paper we explore aspects of youth Latino socialization in Barcelona based on the analysis of classroom interactions, interviews and conversations among peers. Fieldwork for this study took place in two secondary schools in Barcelona, between 2006 and 2010. Data collection methods included ethnographic observation, audio-recorded interviews, and audio or video-recording of naturally occurring interaction in school and community environments. We consider the ways in which young people appropriate different varieties of Spanish and some Catalan verbal forms in the public production of Latino identity: the role of the discursive genres (Bakhtin, 1986; Puiolar, 2001) that bring about this production; and the symbolic relationships between Latino. masculinity and anti-school culture (Willis, 1977), which we consider to be explanatory of the educational processes in which the Latino youth of our study take part.

These data will also allow us to review some concepts of contemporary sociolinguistics, such as emerging varieties (Hewitt, 1986; Bailey, 2001), global-

speaking communities (Harris, 2006) and processes of transterritorialization (Blommaert, 2010), in order to problematize the essentialist view of identity generally deployed to explain school experiences of young Latinos in Spain.

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MARQUEZ, ROSINA

University of Surrey, United Kingdom

LINGUISTIC AND MIGRANT TRAJECTORIES IN THE LONDON LATINO DIASPORA*

Latin Americans are a relatively small and recent migrant group in the UK. They are largely concentrated in London (ONS 2005). As part of their social networks they have created distinctive commercial and media spaces in the city, particularly in the areas of Elephant and Castle and Seven Sisters. These spaces specialise in the selling of homeland products and the provision of related services. Many migrants rely on these spaces to connect with their homeland and, more importantly, to facilitate social interaction in the city given their sometimes illegal status and their general inability to speak English or access 'good value for money' English lessons in order to obtain better jobs and gain social mobility. The aim of this paper is to examine the relationship between the participants' migration and linguistic trajectories. To explore the extent to which they are intertwined, the social circumstances behind them, the cultural and linguistic ideologies that help to explain them and the degree to which they impact on social mobility

The paper is based on non-participant observation and semi-structured interviews with Latino migrants from different national origins, recruited at the above sites: political refugees, economic migrants and their descendants. It investigates how linguistic capitals (Bourdieu 1986) influence social achievements, professional trajectories and social networks at the different stages of the migration process . It also seeks to elucidate what factors (e.g. socioeconomic background, legal status, etc.) facilitate and/or constrain access to these linguistic capitals (e.g. Martin Rojo 2010). The paper also addresses the following questions:

What type of monolingualism and bilingualism do different generations of Latinos and Latinos carrying out different jobs within the diaspora exhibit? How do they position (De Fina 2003) themselves with respect to the prestigious language of the city, to their own language, to different varieties of the same basic language (e.g. Marguez Reiter 2011) and to the different communities? And, finally, what do these participants consider to be 'Latino' .

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CASHMAN, HOLLY R.

University of New Hampshire, United States of America

QUEER LATINA/O NETWORKS IN THE CITY: LANGUAGES, IDENTITIES AND THE TIES THAT BIND

Coming out, or the process by which a gay or lesbian person asserts a gay/lesbian self-identification with relatives, friends, co-workers and other social network ties, has long been considered fundamental to the construction of a gay/lesbian identity in the U.S. Coming out can be seen as a threat, however, to an individual's ties to her or his family-based social network, the very social structure that has traditionally been viewed as the locus of language maintenance in immigrant communities. This paper examines the sociolinguistic consequences of identity construction and social network among U.S.

Latina/o gays and lesbians living in the interstices of the (imagined) Anglo, English-monolingual LGBT community and the (imagined) heterosexual, Spanish/English bilingual Latina/o community. This paper on gay and lesbian social networks, Spanish language maintenance and shift to English is part of a broader sociolinguistic ethnography of gay and lesbian Latinas/os in Phoenix. Arizona that draws from a number of theoretical traditions and encompasses sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and discourse and conversation analysis.

Phoenix, the fifth largest metropolitan area in the U.S. is home to a large Latina/o community that reports a high degree of bilingualism. The analysis departs from the notion that 'ethnicity and sexuality...are not separable, nor are they separate from language' (Bucholtz 1995: 369); furthermore, identity in terms of ethnicity and sexuality are viewed as mutable, strategic and interactionally-achieved. Data analyzed consist of in-depth, semi-structured ethnographic interviews with 30 gay and lesbian Latina/o participants, extended participant observation, questionnaires and recordings of spontaneous conversational interaction. The paper examines how gay and lesbian Latinos/as see the relationship between their ethnic and sexual identities, and how this vision affects and is affected by linguistic practice, specifically the maintenance of Spanish versus shift to English within their linguistic repertoires and within their social networks, which extend across the city, across the southwestern U.S. and across the border with Mexico.

POTOWSKI, KIMBERLY

University of Illinois at Chicago, United States of America

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY AMONG MEXICANS, PUERTO RICANS, AND 'MEXIRICANS' IN CHICAGO

Chicago, IL, is the fourth largest Latino city in the U.S. and the only one where Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, the two largest Latino groups in the U.S., have been sharing community space for generations. One increasingly common result is the 'MexiRican,' an 'intralatino' individual with one Mexican parent and one Puerto Rican parent. Important differences in Mexican and Puerto Rican immigrant histories, legal status, and workforce participation shape their experiences, and it is unfortunately the case that these groups, in addition to being negatively stereotyped by the hegemonic majority, engage in negatively stereotyping each other: Mexicans are accused by U.S. Puerto Ricans of being illegal immigrants, stealing 'their' jobs, and being too docile, while Puerto Ricans are typically criticized by U.S. Mexicans for being on welfare despite having legal status, being too loud and brash, and not speaking 'proper' Spanish.

The Spanish language, in fact, is 'an especially salient object around which to produce difference' (DeGenova & Ramos-Zavas 2003:145). This presentation analyzes hour-long Spanish interviews produced by 125 Chicago Latinos - 39 Mexicans, 40 Puerto Ricans, and 46 MexiRicans, evenly spread across three sociolinguistic generations - exploring connections between language and identity through the following three guestions: (1) Are there differences in the ways in which these groups view the role of Spanish proficiency and dialect variety in the construction of U.S. Latino identity? (2) Among individuals who exhibit accommodation to the lexicon and/or phonology of the other group (Potowski & Torres 2011), what do their narratives reveal about their motivations for doing so? (3) How do MexiRicans fashion an ethnolinguistic identity, including navigating negative stereotypes (particularly from their own family members) and perceptions of their dialectally hybridized Spanish (Potowski 2008)? Although most MexiRicans say they have not experienced serious challenges to their steadfast claim that they are 'equally Mexican and Puerto Rican.' the phonology of most of them marks them ethnolinguistically as one or the other.

This project aims to make contributions to conversations about shifts in Latino identity resulting from dialect contact and hybridized ethnolinguistic backgrounds, issues that are moving to center stage given the increasing heterogeneity of the U.S. Latino population in large cities across the U.S. and the dearth of scholarship on intralatino subjects.

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Thematic Session 132

Re-Writing and Engaging with Urban Spaces via Linguistic Landscape

Session Chair 1: Shohamy, Elana Session Chair 2: Ben-Rafael, Eliezer

Session Abstract:

This thematic session offers new perspectives for understanding the city via multiple types of linguistic landscapes (LL). LL pertains to the construction of the public space by means of linguistic tokens designating all material and immaterial public objects. These LL facts demonstrate how LL research can provide new interpretations of spaces, especially in urban settings. This session draws conclusions from former LL research in the city (Shohamy, Ben-Rafael, Barni, 2010) while considering the transformation of new city spaces. We capture how far mega-cities like New York, London or Berlin have become large areas of immense businesses, ever bigger department stores, places where world firms sell their products en masse, and where cinemas are grouped in large complexes called 'cinema cities'. These spaces hardly respond to the notions of 'city institutions' as they represent world financial and commercial institutions depending on anonymous extra-territorial entities. At the same time, these urban spaces are also poles of attraction of populations from all over the world who build up diasporas everywhere: Chinatowns, Turkish quarters, Moghrabin casbahs, Latin-American communities, Oriental-European migrant groups or African neighbourhoods that retain daily relations with their fellows in their original homelands and continue to use their languages of origin and imprint their presence in the public space via diverse forms of LLs. Thus, the city is drawn to new shores. Whether willingly or not, the original local population accommodates to these developments that somehow dislocate their ways of living, leaving room to new forms of social organizations and cultural patterns. It is in this context that this thematic session explores how LL reflects and shapes new urban spaces. The ses-

sion is divided into two parts, the first addresses LL expressions of present-day transformations of the city and its redefinitions; the second focuses on how people residing in the city engage and interact with these changed LLs. a. Re-writing the city

- 1. One paper demonstrated the generation of new linguistic forms at the heart of Berlin; another focuses on how LL is instrumental in the farreaching transformation of a specific part of Berlin into a new middle class neighbourhood. Another paper explores the metro-linguistic landscapes of city markets, focusing attention on languages in motion. The fourth paper analyzes LL data of immigrants in Italian cities demonstrating how LL contributes to re-construction of the space, while the last proposed paper shows how LL reflects sub-urban centers of multi-Asian immigrants and connects with contemporary commercial developments and multiculturalism. b. Humans engaging with urban LL
 - 1. One paper in this second part of the symposium presents an interactional sociolinguistic analysis of how language ideologies and cultural identities of Chinese American young women shape their engagement with the linguistic landscapes of Hong Kong. Another paper presents children's shoulder high take of the linguistic landscape of an immigrant neighborhood; Yet, another proposed paper shows how the engagement of local youngsters with documenting LL in a mixed Jewish-Arab city causes them to change their self-concepts. Another paper examines the variety of LL devices used by contesting groups in the process of defying top down authoties, their impact and uses in the social protests inTel Aviv.

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HAVAZKI, RICKI Tel Aviv University, Israel

A TRAVEL DIARY IN JAFFA: THE EFFECT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AWARENESS ON ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS AMONG JEWISH AND ARAB TEENAGERS

While Linguistic Landscape (LL) exists in urban spaces all around, there is little awareness of it by the 'walkers'. Thus, there is currently growing attention in the research on LL to ways of increasing the awareness of 'walkers' as well as reports on their experiences and engagements with the languages of their surroundings. Questions are asked as to the extent to which these experiences and engagements influence attitudes and perceptions (Garvin, 2010; Trumper-Hecht, 2010).

This paper reports on an experiment in which fifteen Jewish and Arab teenagers, all residents of the mixed town of Jaffa, were exposed to a semiindependent task in which they were given a number of activities aimed at increasing their awareness of the LL of their surroundings in Jaffa. The tasks included walking in the streets, photographing signs and then analyzing them; drawing maps of Jaffa, and interviewing stores-owners about their LL preferences relating to the signs on their stores. The goal was to examine whether these activities would increase the teenagers' awareness of LL. Thus, three research questions were posed: 1) What were the teenagers' attitudes toward Jaffa and its LL after performing the tasks? 2) How is LL reflected in the participants' drawings? 3) What did they learn from the documentation of the LL as reflected in narratives they produced regarding their attitudes and perception of the city within the context of minority-majority relations? Results showed that both groups claimed they paid more attention to signs after the research and their drawings showed they viewed the LL signs not only from informative perspectives but also in symbolically. Yet, there were major differences between the groups. The Arab participants were more specific than the Jews in terms of noticing the LL, as each group generated different narratives. While the Arabs exhibited richness of narratives including great details regarding their thoughts and emotions concerning LL, especially in relation of the low representation of Arabic, the Jewish participants were unable to see it in the same detailed manner.

The study calls for further research on how walkers experience LL as part of language policies, especially in situations of majority-minority in conflict ridden areas. It is also recommended that the majority group learns more about the minority group, especially when they perceive their language as a symbol of their identity.

JÄRLEHED. JOHAN University of Gothenburg, Sweden

BALANCING AUTHENTICITY AND ANONYMITY. THE USE OF TYPOGRAPHY IN BASQUE AND GALICIAN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPING AND NATION-BUILDING.

This paper examines the relationship between the processes of nation-building and linguistic landscaping in urban space in Galicia and the Basque Country, focusing on the use of fonts - an often anonymous but efficient resource for social meaning-making and identity formation (Kallen & Ní Dhonnacha, Kamusella, Kress).

In both regions specific letter-forms have been cultivated for centuries in cemetery stones and rural house fronts. At the beginning of the 20th century they were appropriated by early nationalists and promoted as 'authentic' expressions of 'their' cultures. During the transition to democracy in the 1970's and 1980's these rustic letter-forms were copied and transformed into widely used fonts in both commercial signage and political pamphlets circulating in the Basque linguistic landscape (LL), while the so called 'Galician' fonts were hardly seen in the Galician LL. However, since the turn of the millennium the use of the latter has increased, and in both cases one can witness an ongoing stylization of the 'national' typefaces - particularly obvious in the branding of cities and public institutions.

Through this stylization process the Galician and Basque communities face the same problem of balancing authenticity and anonymity (cf. Woolard). Whereas the traditional letter-forms index rural life, genuineness and folklore -central but increasingly contested values in both Basque and Galician nationalism-, as a result of the often implied decontextualization and deterritorialization the stylized fonts risk not being perceived as authentic enough or not even as 'Basque' or 'Galician' at all.

In order to understand the social and ideological conditioning of this act of balance, I argue that we need to pay special attention to local political institutionalization and so called linguistic normalization, on the one hand, and global processes of privatization, commodification (Harvey) and semiotisation (Lash & Urry) or urban space, on the other,

For my argument I draw on an analysis of three types of LL-items: i) the signs and menus of 'regional' and 'traditional' restaurants; ii) local commercial signage; and iii) the logos, brands and corporate identity displays of cities and public institutions.

In sum, the paper presents a qualitative and comparative approach to LL analyzing the transformations of the form and meaning of a specific LL-feature, i.e. fonts, in different textual genres and social settings in two cases of nation-building in urban space.

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LOU, JACKIE JIA

City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China)

BUBBLES, ITINERARIES, AND SHOPPING MALLS: UNDERSTANDING PLACE-IDENTI-TIES THROUGH LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES IN HONG KONG

This paper examines how ten individuals interact with linguistic landscapes in Hong Kong in order to understand place-identity, defined as the aspect of self-identity consisting of a person's cognition of the physical world in which the individual lives (Proshansky et al 1983, Myers 2006), As research on linguistic landscapes flourished in the past 15 years or so, this body of work has moved towards a more contextualized view. Linguistic landscape is increasingly analyzed in its broader social, economic, or political contexts as well as the textual flow of other texts, thus constituting the foci of a 'nexus of practice' (Scollon and Scollon 2004) or 'an ecological arena' (Shohamy and Waksman 2009). In addition, contextualizing linguistic landscape has also meant seeing it as a context of human interactions (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010). This view does not reduce linguistic landscape to a mere backdrop. but, as this paper argues, offers a new tool for understanding how individuals' identities are shaped by and continue to shape their interaction with their spatial environment, including its linguistic components.

This yearlong ethnographic study traces ten individuals' spatial trajectories in Hong Kong, including local Hong Kongers, expatriate sojourners, and mainland Chinese visitors. Through focus group discussions, interviews, participant map drawings, and observations during walks throughout the city, several metaphoric montages emerge, namely 'bubbles', 'itineraries', and 'shopping malls'. I argue these montages are the individuals' conceptual representations of Hong Kong and their varied relationships to the city. At the same time, these representations are shaped by multiple politico-economic forces, such as the reversal of transnational migration, the development of regional tourism economy, and the intersection of global and local consumerism cultures

Thus, this paper not only contributes to research on linguistic landscape in its interactional focus and ethnographic approach, but it also engages with the ongoing quest for a Hong Kong identity under post-colonial conditions (Abbas 1997) by demystifying it as a homogeneous entity.

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PAPEN. UTA

Lancaster University, United Kingdom

COMMERCIAL DISCOURSES. GENTRIFICATION AND GRAFFITI: THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF PRENZLAUER BERG. BERLIN

Since reunification in 1990, Prenzlauer Berg, located in the former East Berlin, has turned from a cheap and neglected area into a popular middle class neighbourhood. The area's new character is reflected in its linguistic landscape. These days the signs of posh shops and trendy bars adorn its streets. But alternative views are noticeable too. Graffiti is present even on the most expensively refurbished buildings, residents put up slogans to protest against their flats being refurbished and sold to new owners and citizens' groups use walls and lampposts to display posters expressing their disagreement with new development projects. This case study of the changing graphic environment of Prenzlauer Berg shows that despite the strong influence of commercial discourses the public space remains an area of contestation between civil society, private investors and the state. The particular approach to linguistic landscape I have developed combines textual and visual analysis with interviews with sign producers. It follows other linguistic landscape researchers in adopting a contextual approach to the study of the graphic environment. This has enabled me to show how the linguistic landscape both reflects as well as shapes social change and urban development in Berlin since reunification.

SHOHAMY, ELANA (1): WAKSMAN, SHOSHI (2) 1: Tel Aviv University, Israel; 2: Levinski College, Israel

DISMANTLING THE CITY VIA LL: INTERPRETING NEIGHBORHOODS OF TEL AVIV AS **NEW CITY SPACES**

While the theme of this conference addresses the concept of cities, our main claim here is that cities are mostly institutionalized entities driven by bureaucratic ideologies and instrumental considerations similar to those of nation-states with their defined and closed borders. 'For me Tel Aviv is just an address', claims Effi Banai in the process of describing his affiliation with his neighborhood of Kfar Shalem (considered part of the municipality of Tel Aviv) as he dissociates himself from its municipal borders. The idea that there is a stark difference between the authoritative voice of Tel Aviv and other voices of neighbourhoods was discussed in an earlier study (Shohamy and Waksman, in press) pointing to the diversed LL (linguistic landscape) devices which were used by excluded groups to call attention to 'the others'. In this paper we argue from the perspective of urban and spatial theories (Portugali, 2000) that the bureaucratic entities stand in contradiction to other criteria such as vitality, identity, and dynamics of other spaces (Shohamy and Abu Ghazaleh-Mahajneh, 2012), in line with the linguistic enclaves as described by Creese and Blackledge (2009). Thus, this research challenges the municipal notion of the the city and focuses on neighborhood as other spaces.

Our research focused on five central neigborhoods in the city of Tel Aviv. We documented the LL of all items in a number of streets that included building and street names as well as notes and other language displays. Our findings pointed to the uniqueness of these areas in terms of their multilingualism and diversity as the neighbohood not only differed from one another but also stood in stark difference to those claimed by the official documents of the municipality and its homogenous ideology. The LL data was accompanied by interviews with residents of the neigborhoods as well as city officials respondping to a set of guestions regarding the meaning of 'a Tel Aviv identity'. The study reveals the unique patterns of the neighborhoods in relation to their collective identities as well as to a tense relationship and contradictions with the city's vision which overlooks diversity for the sake of homogenous ideology. The paper calls for new types of language policies of neighborhoods of which one manifestation is the display of LL so it can be on par with the needs and practices of people and their practices. The data in this study provides support for the need to dismantle cities as authoritative entities for the sake of self governence within the realm of LL and other devices in order to create more just local spaces.

VANDENBROUCKE, MIEKE Ghent University, Belgium

DIVERSIFICATION IN LANGUAGE DISPLAY IN BRUSSELS

This paper addresses the way in which inhabitants of urban Brussels interact and engage with the city's changed, linguistic reality as reflected in its linguistic landscapes. In the current globalized era, this everyday reality in Brussels is marked by the presence of two official languages (French as the city's lingua franca and Dutch holding a minority position), migrant languages of ethnic minorities (e.g. Turkish, Chinese), tourist languages as well as the conspicuity of global English; the latter three a result of globalized diasporas and transnational mobility from both 'below' and 'above' (Baeten 2001). These intensified mobilities result in the global city's transformation into an increasingly multilingual, multi-scalar and poly-centric locality, characterized by the 'hyperdiversity' of its social and linguistic reality in everyday neighborhood life (Vertovec 2007; Collins & Slembrouck 2007). This interplay of languages is also prominently reflected in the city's public space and multilingual landscapes, in which traces of a wide variety of languages can be found. Similar to the city's transformation, this paper argues that the display of traditionally non-local languages such as English, tourist and ethnic migrant languages in Brussels has also changed insofar that they have received new, territorialized and localized meanings (Blommaert 2010), constructed and displayed by local inhabitants of Brussels. As such, the display of a language in the LL is no longer exclusively indicative of the presence of a community in the area or of vitality per se, but instead can also index a variety of new, appropriated meanings, uses and explanations. English, for example, is globally relevant as the world's lingua franca and fueled in its prominence in Brussels by the local presence of EU and NATO headquarters; but is currently also interpreted and displayed by LL-actors as a neutral vehicle and means of compromise in the Brussels language conflict between French and Dutch. Another example of such transformed display and locally acquired meaning involves so-called 'language fetish' displays in which a language is commodified as a 'selling strategy' and meant to symbolize and invoke associations and values attached to it locally (Kelly-Holmes 2000; Leeman & Modan 2009). It is this paper's aim to address such diversification of language display and confluence of signage's meaning in Brussels' LLs with reference to the wav people rewrite and construct language functions in the city's increased and complex multilingual reality.

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BACKHAUS, PETER; MURATA, KUMIKO Waseda University, Japan

ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN TOKYO'S LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

In this paper we look at the use of English as a lingua france (ELF) in Tokvo's linguistic landscape and its role in the city's transformation from a formerly 'monolingual' into an increasingly multilingual environment. The paper focuses on the occurrence of ELF in this setting, seeing its use from a perspective slightly different from most previous research on English and Japanese bilingual signs. English in this paper is not defined by its 'native' speaker norms but regarded as being owned by users from different language backgrounds as a means of communication in their contact situation.

Although research in Tokyo's linguistic landscape with a view to investigating the use of English was conducted extensively in the past (see Backhaus 2007 for an overview), often English texts were treated as examples of 'inter-language' (see, for example, Kallen and Dhonnacha 2010) apparently 'incomprehensible' to native speakers of English. This paper, by contrast, explores how ELF signs are effectively and creatively used as a means of communication, where space and cost-wise, multi-language signs are not an option. In particular, we focus on 'how ELF users exploit the resources of the language to communicative effect' (Seidlhofer 2011: 95). One example is enhancing clarity and explicitness of otherwise rather lengthy and politenessorientated expressions in original Japanese signs such as too-biru wa shuujitsu kin en desu (lit. 'Smoking is not allowed in this building all day long'). The English version on the sign simply reads 'NO SMOKING'. This rendition makes it possible to achieve the pragmatic function of requesting most economically and with less processing effort so that it can easily be accessed and understood by people from different language backgrounds. Thus, a special focus of the paper will be placed on the distinctiveness of ELF messages as opposed to their corresponding Japanese counterparts. A closer analysis of data collected in the centre of Tokyo reveals noteworthy patterns such as the omission of spatio-temporal information and common politeness features as seen in the above example. Our findings suggest that such examples in the context of ELF use can be regarded as an effective and creative means of communication in Tokyo's linguistic landscape.

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MAYOR, BARBARA MADELINE (1); HANNAWI, NAY (2) 1: Open University (UK), United Kingdom: 2: Arab Open University, Kuwait

INTERPRETING THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN LANGUAGES AND SCRIPTS IN THE LIN-**GUISTIC LANDSCAPES OF KUWAIT AND THE UK**

This presentation examines the creative interplay between languages and scripts on display in the streets of Kuwait and the UK, and specifically some of the ways in which one language is represented via a script conventionally associated with another. It goes on to explore how such signage is interpreted in context by a diverse range of readers/receivers.

Much work in the field of linguistic landscape has concentrated on the quantification and classification of languages and scripts in the multilingual environment. Previous research has identified challenges in the classification and interpretation of such signs, including the complex semiotic relationship between the contextual and spatial distribution of languages (Spolsky, 2009). This presentation will argue that conclusions about the 'language' in which a sign is written based solely on the choice of script are likely to misrepresent the often complex semiotic processes involved in the production and reception of signs.

Previous research (see Seargeant forthcoming) has identified three creative processes involved in the production and addressivity of signs in a multilingual environment (specifically, the way the linguistic practices of the intended audience influence the composition):

- the use of 'simulation' typefaces which may represent English words but, through the use of fonts drawn from non-Roman scripts, serve to index other cultures stereotypically in the manner of 'foreign accents';

- product and company names which use typographical distinctiveness or diacritical marks for similar purposes;
- the transliteration of English words into another script, akin to lexical borrowing.

Depending on the knowledge and experience of each reader/receiver, such multimodal and/or metaphorical signs may or may not be interpreted as 'English', or as indexing Anglophone culture. There is no guarantee that any ideational meaning will be recognised beyond the symbolic idea of 'Englishness' or, in some cases, 'Frenchness'. Indeed what is verbal to some may be interpreted as simply visual or decorative to others.

Scollon and Scollon (2003) were amongst the first to argue for an ethnographic approach to the interpretation of signs in the linguistic landscape. In this tradition, we examine the responses to a diverse range of signage in our two contexts by subjects of different ages, genders, linguistic and cultural backgrounds, drawing on three levels in the reception of signs identified by Smith (1992), namely intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability.

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SARUHASHI, JUNKO (1); ARAI, YUKIYASU (2); HIGUCHI, KENICHIRO (3) 1: Aoyama Gakuin University, Japan; 2: Hokkaido University, Japan; 3: Sugiyama Jogakuen University, Japan

LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF ETHNIC BUSINESSES IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF JAPAN

Recent linguistic landscape (LL) studies in Japan mainly focus on multilingual signs and billboards in public spaces in order to capture the attitude of the host society toward foreign residents and/or foreign tourists. The research outcomes have shown that the urban cities and sightseeing sites in Japan are gradually opening their doors to foreigners along with a growing awareness of languages other than Japanese.

In this study, authors focus on the LL of ethnic businesses in the areas around Tokyo, especially small businesses such as restaurants, ingredient shops, travel agencies, etc. There are some concentrated areas which are widely recognized as 'ethnic districts' or 'ethnic towns', but in most cases ethnic shops and restaurants are scattered, or several units are adjacently distributed. Some are even invisible to the host society, but are serving important roles for the certain ethnic group of people as a place of getting acquainted one another, exchanging information and providing job opportunities and so on. Therefore, carefully paying attention to small ethnic businesses in the metropolitan area is important not only to consider preferable language policy but also to grasp the reality of, to read signs of and to find the obstacles to the development of ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic vitality.

In this group research project, two kinds of LL data were collected; one is photographic images of signs, billboards, menus, product packages inside and outside of stores and the other is interview data with shop owners, workers, consumers and passersby talking about the backgrounds and the effects of those signs. Authors approached the same LL data from three different perspectives respectively: language policy, consumption culture and communication process. The first view takes shop owners and workers as language planners who may receive influences from the central/local governmental language policies. They may need to make decisions what to display in what language(s) in order to send their message effectively, while there are various restrictions such as official language policies and/or the residents' opposition. The second view ascribes LL is the manifestation of consumption culture. This is an attempt to grasp the transformation of the present Japanese society, using an analogy of transformation from 'the landscape of production' to 'the landscape of consumption', which was described in George Ritzer's book titled Enchanting a Disenchanted World. And the third view ascribes LL items as snapshots which were taken in the middle of interaction among stakeholders. LLs might have been considered as the result of interaction. At the same time, once the items are displayed, they start affecting relations and interaction between senders and receivers of the message. Then the findings from three perspectives are compared in order to consider the possibilities and limitations of the multidisciplinary approach in LL studies in the future.

BANDA, FELIX

University of the Western Cape, South Africa

MATERIAL SEMIOSIS, LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPING AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF POST-APARTHEID IDENTITIES AT THREE WESTERN CAPE UNIVERSITIES

The three major universities in the Western Cape Province (Stellenbosch, Cape Town and Western Cape) have different demographic and linguistic histories, owing to the apartheid policy and planning of 'separate' development for assumed ethnic/racial groups. Following and extending Scollon and Scollon's (2003) geosemiotics, Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) grammar of visual design and the emerging linguistic landscaping theories and approaches (Shohamy, Ben-Rafael and Barni 2010; Blommaert and Huang 2010); Shohamy and Gorter 2009; Stroud and Mpendukana 2009), the paper showcases data not only on language in spaces and places, but also the (placement of) buildings, signage and (social interaction of) people as social semiotics that produce meanings that contribute to the different identities of the three universities. Focusing on place semiotics and visual semiotics, the paper particularly pays attention to how the dialogic positioning (Bakhtin) of the sites of the three universities, the building architecture, names of buildings, street signage and linguistic landscapes generally, contribute to the material world of the institutions, which in turn gives them social meaning and different identities. In the process, I introduce the notion of material semiosis to account for dialogic positioning of the material resources that constitute the semiotic landscapes of the universities (cf. Banda 2009; Banda and Munshi forthcoming).

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AIESTARAN, JOKIN (1); CENOZ, JASONE (1); GORTER, DURK (2) 1: University of the Basque Country, Spain; 2: Ikerbasque (Basque Foundation for Science)

MULTILINGUALISM AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR IN THE CITY OF DONOSTIA/SAN SE-BASTIÁN

The study of the linguistic landscape is particularly interesting in multilingual environments. The linguistic landscape, defined as the conglomerate of the written languages visible in public space, establishes a bidirectional relationship with the sociolinguistic context, since it can both reflect and influence the relative power and status of different languages (Gorter, Aiestaran and Cenoz, 2012). Our study investigates the interplay between the two official languages in the Basque Autonomous Community: Basque as the minority language and Spanish as the majority language, along with other languages. Our focus in this paper is on the private sector. We will use our database of over 15.000 digital pictures which were taken in different neighborhoods of the city of Donostia/San Sebastián, in the Basque Country, Spain. Our aim is to compare the way the languages are displayed vis-à-vis each other in different types of private establishments and on commercial signs. The characteristics of the signs, such as the hierarchy of languages on multilingual signs, the size of the fonts or the amount of information in each language, are indicators for the relative importance given to each language. The results reflect the dominance of Spanish as the majority language and main source of information, while Basque often appears as a translation, a complement, or merely symbolic language. Although there is a strong language policy to promote Basque, the private sector is only partially affected. We also observe an increasing presence of English, in particular in the city center, but other languages are used less often and seem to have different functions. Differences in the allocation of languages on the signs among the different types of establishments provide valuable insights about the strategies of the various actors who take part in the shaping of the multilingual cityscape. The study demonstrates that linguistic landscape research can contribute to clarify the how and why of different uses of languages in specific areas of activity in the private sector.

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BARNI. MONICA

University for Foreigners of Siena, Italy

RE-WRITING THE CITY THROUGH LL: IMMIGRANTS LANGUAGES IN ESQUILINO

The focus of the presentation is the city of Rome, Italy, and, in particular, its most multiethnic neighborhood, the Esquilino. It is the area in the city with the greatest number of foreigners and with the highest percentage of foreigners relative to the total number of residents. Although some ethnicities are prevalent, the quarter can not be described as a diaspora quarter, as a China Town or a Mograbin casbah, but it is more a place of encounters, residence and business of people with different languages and cultures. It is a guarter almost in the centre of Rome, next to the main railways station, rich in services and commercial activities (one of the biggest markets of the city is in the center of the Esquilino). The quarter was built at the end of the 1800 when Rome became the capitol of Italy to be the residence for the new Italian State bureaucrats and employees. The commercial activities were once run by locals, but in the last twenty years they have been replaced by immigrants.

The presence of immigrant has deeply changed the demographic composition of the guarter, its commercial asset, its guality of life and its linguistic landscape. The use of the languages of origin of immigrants is evident in urban space. In other contributions we have dealt in detail with the survey of languages in the neighbourhood (Bagna, Barni, 2006) using statistical and demographic analysis and linguistic landscaping;

In the present contribution we wish to analyse how LL reflects the demographic and social transformation of the guarter, the ways in which languages imprint their presence via diverse forms and how the original local population reacts to these changes in their attitude towards languages and in their language uses.

As we will see, in the Esquilino, the attitude towards diversity by local people is contradictory. As we have showed (Barni, Vedovelli, in print), LL is perceived as an arena where the fight against linguistic and cultural diversity takes place, but it can also be assumed as a place where to show cultural beliefs about the presence and the value of different languages via the use of Italian and other languages, codes, scripts, mixed to create new and evocative meanings.

WILEY. TERRENCE

Center for Applied Linguistics & Arizona State University, United States of America

RETURNING TO THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF ASIAN IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN THE VALLEY OF THE SUN: FURTHER EVIDENCE FROM MULTI-MODAL REPRESEN-TATION IN PHOENIX

This paper presents new findings from a follow up study to DeKlerk and Wiley's (2009) multi-modal linguistic landscape analysis of three sub-urban centers of multi-Asian immigrant commercial activity in Phoenix, Arizona, the fifth largest city in the United States.

Following Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), it analyzes public and informal signage and announcements located in public or private business space as indicators of linguistic vitality (Barni & Bagna 2009). Theoretically, it draws on Shohamy and Waksman (2009) viewing the linguistic landscape as a form of meaning construction in public space where multiple modes of representation come together.

The study analyzed U.S. Census and American Community Survey (ACS) data to determine Asian immigrant population densities proximate to Asian commercial sites as an initial indicator of linguistic vitality. Next, within the commercial sites, an analysis was undertaken of external signage on commercial buildings, internal signage as well as print advertising and news media within those buildings, and informal print announcements posted on bulletin boards, noting which languages were used in each context.

Through this analysis of formal and informal signage, advertising, and announcements, the paper argues that the linguistic landscape of 'anchor' commercial centers in suburban Asian communities provides evidence of the vitality and persistence of ethno-linguistic social networks despite the lack of high density ethno-linguistic populations among Asian immigrant groups (as indicated by recent American Community Survey, ACS and U.S. Census data), and despite a political environment that is generally hostile to languages other than English. Arizona is a state with a history of English-only and restrictive language policies.

The paper concludes that, despite low population density, there is strong evidence of linguistic vitality for Mandarin, Korean, and Vietnamese in suburban environments in Arizona, which demonstrates the resilience of these Asian immigrant communities in maintaining strong social networks. Whether these social networks will be sufficient to maintain community languages overtime remains a question for ongoing research.

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MILANI, TOMMASO (1); WILLIAMS, QUENTIN (2)

1: University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; 2: University of the Western Cape, South Africa

SPACES OF FEAR, SPACES OF DESIRE: LANGUAGE, GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN **CAPE TOWN AND JOHANNESBURG**

Over the last few years, academic work on cityscapes has gained considerable momentum in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, showing the different and complex ways in which languages are employed in a variety of urban spaces. In this paper, we want to contribute to this growing body of academic work, focusing however on two aspects which have remained largely unexplored in the study of language in urban spaces, namely gender and sexuality. We will do so by analysing the ways in which a variety of social actors talk about two re-creational meeting points: Mzoli's in Cape Town and

Love & Revolution in Johannesburg. Through detailed analysis of interview data, photographs and other semiotic artifacts, we will offer a glimpse into the multilayeredness of two South African cities. More specifically, we will show that inhabiting non-normative gender and sexual identities can indeed be a potentially life-threatening behaviour in these cities: but we will also illustrate how these cities offer 'queer' spaces where individuals can express themselves beyond the constraints of identity categories.

BEN-RAFAEL, ELIEZER; BEN-RAFAEL, MIRIAM Tel-Aviv University, Israel

WHERE LANGUAGE BECOMES SUPERFLUOUS

Studies of LL generally emphasize linguistic variations in LL as a function of social, cultural or political contexts. They mostly focus on the varying uses of the legitimate language, the impacts of ethnic groups on LL or the importance of international codes such as, and more particularly, English. This latter pattern is especially visible in the commercial centers of the present-day megapolis. Though, in recent years, one witnesses in this area a new phenomenon that gains in importance up to the point of becoming the prevailing model along the streets of commercial streets and squares. This model consists of the nearly exclusive use of names of firms to designate shops, boutiques, department stores or commercial buildings. These names may have French, Italian, English or German origins or connotations, but they in themselves do not have necessarily any other literally significance than their naming given firms. This phenomenon will be illustrated with data from Ku'dam and Friedrich strasse in Berlin that yield new considerations regarding contemporary urban LLs. These data lead, indeed, to new perspectives on the evolution of the linguistic dimension of consumption culture. When viewed in comparison with secondary centers of the megapolis marked by ethnic cultures and localism, these data also open the way to new understanding of the growing polarization between downtowns and peripheral neighborhoods. Last but not least, these data throw a new light on the relative and changing significance of the status of 'lingua franca' in this era of globalization.

LAMARRE, PATRICIA (1); METTEWIE, LAURENCE (2) 1: Université de Montréal, Canada: 2: Université de Namur, Belgique

'DID YOU GET IT': INTERPRETING BILINGUAL WINKS IN MONTREAL'S LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

In Quebec, legislation regulates the language of public and commercial signage. As intended, this has transformed the LL of Montreal, which looks more French than just three decades ago. But if we stop looking and actually listen to the city's soundscape, what is clear is that Montreal is a much more bilingual and multilingual city with a population increasingly able to read signs both in English and in French. Interestingly, in the Montreal LL can be found a number of commercial signs that are nothing less than wry 'bilingual winks' that circumvent legislation by playing with French and English, sometimes with quite wicked skill. These bilingual winks can be interpreted as manifestations of increasingly complex linguistic identities and ways of speaking, but also of a bilingual aesthetic that revels in disrupting and claiming space (Sommer, 2004). A great deal of research on LL has been essentially descriptive, rarely going beyond the flat surface of the text. This leaves in suspense many questions such as who has the skills to read the text and who is left out? Calvet (1994) proposes that the texts of cities are not easily accessible to all and that texts are sometimes cryptic and aimed at an audience of readers who are culturally and linguistically able to decipher their meaning. While this is pertinent in 'unilingual' settings, looking at who can or can't decipher a text in contexts where bilingualism and multilingualism are major traits of the local population becomes a potent area of investigation.

This is exactly what we tried to find out in a recent study conducted in the fall of 2011. Citydwellers in informal contexts, such as street corners and cafés, were approached and asked if they could help out by reading a photographed shopfront bearing a bilingual wink. Some immediately caught the wink, while others, as expected, read the sign unilingually in either French or English. Most of these short encounters with readers of the LL provided commentary and interesting insights into how people position themselves in respect to sign law and language in Montreal. Some of the normative discussion on bilingual play revealed how discourse on the need to uphold the boundaries of language (a.k.a. language 'purity') is tied to the political discourse of collective identity and the maintenance of ethnolinguistic frontiers. For others, the 'codemixing' on signs was perceived as reflecting something that is hip and modern, fine for commercial signs, but not acceptable on public signs authored by the state. The study of bilingual winks in Montreal reveals the need for continuing critical analysis of the LL, by no means a neutral space but rather one that is tied to struggles for position ongoing in other 'fields of force'.

Thematic Session 133 Ethnicity, Language and Culture in a Post-Soviet Multi-Ethnic City

Session Chair 1: Zabrodskaja, Anastassia Session Chair 2: Kosmarskaya, Natalya

Session Abstract:

The last decade has witnessed a rise in scholarly interest towards the post-Soviet language situation. The agenda remains being dominated by research in language policy and macro-sociolinguistics (Korth 2005, Hogan-Brun et al. 2008) as well as overall descriptions of the status change of Russian (Pavlenko 2008a, 2008b).

Under post-Soviet conditions one of the most topical socio-linguistic dilemmas covers variety of issues related to changing language hierarchies (Russian versus titular languages). Numerous manifestations of this radical turn include top-down initiatives of the so called nationalizing states (incl. the legislative measures) as well as shift in individual linguistic behaviour and cultural orientations (in the everyday life, in career building, educational choices, marriage preferences, etc.). Big cities, especially capital cities, provide a very good site for exploring these changes, with their thick communicative environment; variety of cultural products produced and consumed; rapidly changing public spaces; visualization of 'national revival' measures embodied in changes in toponymy, re-symbolization of city space, appearance of new cultural markers, etc. In addition, population of many cities of the New Independent States (NIS) has undergone serious ethno-cultural transformation after the break-up of the USSR, starting with massive outflow of the so called Russian-speakers (ethnic Russians and other non-titular Russophones) during the 1990s, and ending with influx of transnational and/or internal rural migrants during the current decade.

The general aim of the session is to throw light on everyday linguistic practices and identities' (re)negotiation of urban dwellers contextualized within transformation of post-Soviet urban socio-cultural and linguistic environment. As far as more concrete objectives are concerned, we expect contributions which will take into account striking heterogeneity of regions within post-Soviet space and between the countries within these regions in what is related to *de facto* and *de jure* status of the Russian language and popular perceptions of challenges provoked by changes in socio-linguistic situation. Thus, as minimum, two distinct regions might be defined; these are the Baltic countries and those of Central Asia (the cases polarity of which in regard to Russophones' position and Russian language status is deeply rooted in the pattern of colonization of the two regions). These territories within the post-Soviet space, in their turn, provide a contrasting picture in comparison with Ukraine, Byelorussia and Azerbaijan, also being the regions with a noticeable presence of Russian-speakers.

Questions to be raised by the session participants may include, but not are limited to, the following ones:

- Can mastering of Russian as a native language be taken as a synonym of urban culture and a base for urban identity?
- Do parameters of cultural identity overlap or not with those of ethnic self-identification?
- What urban ethno-cultural groups are most liable to this kind of divergence/convergence?
- How is identity negotiated in bilingual (multilingual) environments?
- To what extent do post-Soviet cities of the NIS, being multi-ethnic, still retain practices of Russian or titular monolingualism?
- What ethno-cultural groups are most successful in maintaining/enriching these practices?
- Can Russian linguistic and cultural space in post-Soviet cities be taken as a 'Cheshire cat smile', functioning without Russians themselves? What
- could be the factors contributing to maintenance/erosion of this space?

The other themes of interest might include:

- Russian-based cultural urban spaces versus those dominated by titular languages;
- Monolingual versus multi-lingual public spaces (linguistic landscapes);
- Pragmatism versus cultural nostalgia as motors of titulars' interest towards studying of the Russian language;
- Last but not least, differences in attitudes towards above-mentioned issues among Russian-speakers, members of titular groups and non-Russian and non-titular minority groups.

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ZABRODSKAJA, ANASTASSIA

University of Tartu / Tallinn University , Estonia

YOUNG URBAN RUSSIAN-SPEAKERS IN ESTONIA: LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

Although Estonian urban spaces are not shaped by international migration, one could speak about diversity in two urban environments: bilingual capital Tallinn and predominantly Russian-speaking North-Eastern border town of Narva; both are characterized by the size of the Russian-speaking population whereas, in Tallinn, there are areas with the majority of the Russian-speaking population (e.g. Lasnamäe) and West-Tallinn areas where there are more Estonian-speakers than Russian-speakers. Russian-speaking local majoritized minority are descendants of those who came to live here after World War II during the period of Soviet occupation (1940-1941; 1944–1991).

The purpose of the present study is to analyze ethnic and linguistic affiliations by young Russian-speaking urban-dwellers who have a better command of Estonian than their parents and use the Russian language as a strategy to communicate with their parents but are essentially moving towards the primary use of Estonian as they become socialized into the larger society. Due to such rapid bilingualisation and the lack of oppositional identity, these young Russian-speakers in Estonia have acquired a more diffused character of ethnic and linguistic identities, whose result can be seen in the emergence of non-monolingual varieties of Russian. Their Estonian Russian varieties exhibit increasing Estonian influence in lexicon (code-switching), morphosyntax (bilingual constructions, word order, argument structure), and discourse pragmatics. What makes the research of identity construction by younger generation of Russian-speakers particularly interesting is the context in which they were formed, namely the turbulent transition from Soviet to post-Soviet independent Estonia.

The qualitative research was carried out through oral individual and in-group interviews held in Russian among Russian-speaking youth. Contributing to the research on identity construction, the present study takes a closer look at features of their emerging identities such as: 1) variation depending on regional context, 2) variation depending on a level of official language proficiency, 3) language choices, 4) language attitudes, 5) social networks, 6) cultural preferences, 7) perceptions of Estonia, 8) informants' view of themselves and of other Russian-speakers in the rest of Estonia, 9) informants' assumptions of what surrounding people think about them.

According to Johnstone (2004: 69), 'regions have come to be seen as meaningful places, which individuals construct, as well as select, as reference points. Identification with a region is identification with one kind of 'imagined community'.' The findings show that the Russian-speaking youth is not homogeneous in terms of ethnic and linguistic identity. The Narva informants have a very strong local identity. Other identity categories identified in the responses may be summarized as 'Estonian Russian', 'Estonian', 'European' and 'Russian'. To get voice and agency in Estonian-speaking linguistic environment, Russian-speaking youth have to change their language behaviour and social networks, switching from Russian to Estonian. Russian-speaking young people change their cultural behaviour to position their new identity, new ethnic status – Estonian Russian. In general, not only has the Russian-speaking North-Eastern border town remained a country inside the country with its own customs, cultural preferences, behaviour patterns but many Russian-speakers who live in Tallinn celebrate differing from Estonian mainstream events, anniversaries, and/or memorial days.

RAMONIENE, MEILUTE; GEBEN, KINGA Vilnius University, Lithuania

LANGUAGES AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MULTILINGUAL TOWNS OF LITHUANIA

Our choice of language or linguistic variety or a manner of speaking does not only reflect our personality, but also helps to construct or reconstruct it (Joseph 2004). Neither our identity nor our language is static, both of them are constantly changing in the context of interpersonal communication, and our linguistic behaviour always shows our belonging to a particular social group (Llamas and Wat 2010). Language choice can unite people into a linguistic community of some sort, such as family, ethnic group, nation; conversely, it can distinguish a person from the group and weaken community bonds. Language lies at the core of the construct of identity and often is the key element of acculturation and adaptation. Lithuania is relatively monoethnic and monolingual in comparison with the other Baltic States as approximately 84 per cent of its population are ethnic Lithuanians. In Soviet times, Lithuania was also distinct from the other Soviet republics – Lithuanian was spoken by as many as 38 per cent of its Russian population (Ramoniené 2010), whereas, for example, in Estonia, Estonian was spoken by only 15 per cent of its Russian population (Verschik 2005). This factor (alongside with other factors such as applying 'zero option' citizenship or creating a system for teaching and testing Lithuanian as the state language) facilitated greater social integration of non-Lithuanians since the restoration of Lithuanian independence in 1990. However, in spite of the favourable conditions for a successful integration, the Russian-speaking population of Lithuania have been facing the problems of reconstruction of their linguistic and national identity in a changed sociopolitical situation.

The paper draws on the recent quantitative and qualitative sociolinguistic research in Lithuanian cities and analyses the relationship between the linguistic profile (language learning, attitudes and use) of city inhabitants and their national identity. The paper discusses those aspects of the reconstruction of national identity of multilingual city inhabitants which are connected with learning and using Lithuanian as the state language in public and private life as well as with the factors of age, education and social status. Attention is given to learning and using Russian in relation to the construction of national identity. The paper mainly focuses on the link between national identity and linguistic behaviour and attitudes of the Poles (the largest ethnic group), the Russians and other Russian-speaking ethnic minority groups. The talk compares the sociolinguistic data of cities and towns and analyses the features of the newly emerging identities characteristic mainly of bilingual and multilingual communities including Russians, Poles and other ethnicities. The talk also looks at the civic dimension in the identity of city inhabitants, particularly the younger generation non-Lithuanians, which has already been investigated by sociologists (Leončikas 2007).

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LAZDIŅA, SANITA Rēzekne University College

IS LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE SUFFICIENT FOR UNDERSTANDING THE FULL MEAN-ING OF PUBLIC SIGNS? EXAMPLES OF CULTURE-DEPENDENT SEMIOTICS IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF CITIES IN THE BALTIC STATES

The dominating languages on public signs of the Baltic States are the three state languages of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian respectively, English and Russian. My paper presents qualitative and quantitative data from a large-scale project which connects research according to the Linguistic Landscape approach to regional cultural studies and regional development in six medium-size towns of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The quantative data which I discuss shows not only patterns of language use, elements of language contact and linguistic hierarchies, but also includes many instances of semantically ambiguous meanings of names (particularly in private signs).

My qualitative data provides additional information on these signs taken from interviews with the sign producers such as public officials, employees of shops or hotel owners. In these, they identify their aims in producing the signs and reasons for, for instance, giving one or another name to e.g. a shop or a café. This motivation in sign production will be contrasted to the perceptions of sign readers, and to how much and which information they are able to decode. In this way, I will analyse the intended readership of signs, how linguistic decisions (consciously or unconsciously) exclude certain groups from information and participation in society, and why certain symbols are used. In addition, I will pay attention to the semiotics of some signs in the interplay of local, national and international symbols: Which signs provide additional cultural information which go beyond their pure linguistic side and which either only 'true' locals can understand, or for which understanding of trends of globalisation is essential?

BEVER, OLGA A.

The University of Arizona, United States of America

NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES AND IDEOLOGIES IN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES IN AN URBAN SPACE OF POST-SOVIET UKRAINE

In the last decade, Linguistic Landscapes have become a powerful analytic tool in examining ideologically, linguistically, socially and culturally charged processes of power relations, nationhood formation and identity construction and negotiation. After the breakup of the Soviet Union, post-Soviet Ukraine has been experiencing ongoing tension between official monolingual Ukrainian language policy and multilingual language practices. As a part of post-Soviet transformations towards nation building and creating Ukrainian national identity, Ukrainian became the only official language and Russian received minority language status. The negotiation of language policy and linguistic practices have become evident in Linguistic Landscapes in urban public spaces, where local, national and global ideologies and discourses coexist in the visual domain of language use.

In this research, Linguistic Landscapes (LLs) represent texts of advertising posters, billboards, personal ads and signs of the establishments in an urban space of post-Soviet eastern Ukraine. Historically, Ukraine is a multilingual state with two dominant languages, Ukrainian (dominant in the west of the country), Russian (dominant in the east), wide spread Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism and Ukrainian-Russian mixer surzhyk. The processes of globalization and European integration have brought English and other world languages and Roman script into public spaces. This talk examines how publicly displayed texts of Linguistic Landscapes reveal the negotiation of 'competing' and 'coexisting' local, national and global ideologies and discourses in an urban area in the eastern part of post-Soviet Ukraine. The multilingual multimodal texts employ Ukrainian, Russian, English, and Cyrillic and Roman scripts on different levels of representation. The major focus is on how the construction of signs of different establishments articulates compliance with the official language policy, while manifesting local identities, and integration to the global community.

The paper shows that despite the official Ukrainian language policy with the Ukrainian as the official language and the Russian as the minority language, the long historical division of Ukraine into Russophones and Ukrainophones continues. Ukrainian society today remains a de facto bilingual state (Ukrainian and Russian) with the gradual addition of the language of globalization (English) and Roman script.

The genetic closeness of Ukrainian and Russian enables a powerful textual tool, 'bivalency'. Bivalency involves overlapping features of different languages and scripts at different linguistic levels: alphabetic, phonological, morphological and syntactic. Bivalency contributes to negotiation of the local, national and global discourses and ideologies by reconciling linguistic conflicts through overlapping written elements on the different levels. The multilevel analyses of the signs unveil the interplay of linguistic and semiotic devices employed in the construction of the signs. The signs capitalize on linguistic patterns and regularities at different representational levels. They demonstrate linguistic creativity, translation and transliteration. The linguistic behavior in the texts of the signs reveals multiple aspects of languages contact, orthographies contact, and ideologies and discourses contact.

GAIDAI, OLEKSANDRA

Institute of History of Ukraine National Academy of Science of Ukraine, Ukraine

MEMORY OF THE SOVIET PAST IN UKRAINE. CITY OF VINNITSA

Analyzing the memory policies in contemporary Ukraine we need to take into consideration the fact that transition of one political system into another is a long-term and painful process. The former political system does not vanish, as it has created and left behind immense material and cultural resources, so the new, often less strong system is not able to obliterate or eliminate them completely. One version of the history is being replaced or transformed into another in order to legitimize the new political system. This process raises the following questions: what should be forgotten? What should be preserved? What should be changed? The new model of historical memory is shaped according to the answers to these questions.

The majority of Ukrainian researchers have focused on the historical memory and related policies in such culturally diverse cities as Kyiv, Lviv and Donetsk. Their concepts of historical memory, constructed on that basis, were automatically expanded on the whole geographic regions: West, Center and East. Such approach caused perception of Ukraine divided on Western and Eastern regions with nationalistic and post-Soviet patterns of historical memory respectively. However, such scheme simplifies the real situation.

The main issues examined in the paper are the following:

1. Definition of the peculiarities of perception of the former Soviet heroes and villains in contemporary historical memory:

a. Analysis of inclusion or exclusion of the Soviet heroes and politicians (such as Vladimir Lenin and regional heroes and politicians) into/from modern Ukrainian historical memory.

b. Analysis of the perception of Stepan Bandera in different Ukrainian regions.

2. Examination of the people's attitude to the Soviet time events.

- a. The perception of the Second World War: a great victory or the beginning of occupation?
- b. Commemoration of the Soviet festive dates and holidays in contemporary Ukraine: May 1, March 8, February 23.
- c. The memory about Soviet athletic and space exploration achievements.
- d. Soviet cinema in contemporary Ukraine as the representation of the Soviet way of living.

3. Scrutinizing the process of shaping of memory about the victims of the Soviet authorities as the main basis of national narrative in Ukraine.

- a. The perception of Holodomor.
- b. The memory about deportation and repressions in the Soviet period.

Using this questions I'll analyze the historical memory in the city Vinnitsa, the Ukrainian city with the population approximately 450 thousands people. Since Vinnitsa is situated in the central Ukraine and was part of both Russian and Polish states in different times, it has compromise and moderate version of the historical memory, which includes both national and soviet interpretations and symbols. Also some pages of its history are very problematic, among them the history of Jews.

This research will be based on the materials of central and regional media; official documents and statements of the state authorities on establishment and commemoration of the nationwide and regional festive dates and holidays; resolutions of the state authorities concerning establishment or destruction of the commemoration sites; results of public opinion polls on historical memory-related issues conducted in Ukraine. **CABAL-GUARRO, MIQUEL** University of Barcelona, Spain

LINGUISTIC VITALITY, USES AND ATTITUDES IN A POST-SOVIET MULTI-ETHNIC CITY: THE CASE OF THE CRIMEAN TATAR YOUNGSTERS OF SIMFEROPOL

On the basis of the data obtained from the survey that I took in 2011 amongst the students of several Crimean Tatar schools throughout the peninsula of Crimea, the proposed article focuses on the results of the upper grade students of the Simferopol school N°42, the only Crimean Tatar school of the Crimean capital city.

Notwithstanding the difficulty to assess the vitality of a language with empirical methods (McEntee-Atalianis 2011), this article attempts to figure it out of the data, as well as at the light of the first-hand field observation. Despite the language is seldom or never spoken, it's still the main identification element of the Crimean Tatar identity.

The paper also insists on a legacy from the Soviet times: native language versus first language, a terminological problem that contributes to mislead many of the survey-based ethnolinguistic investigations in the post-Soviet space (Shulga 2009). The paper illustrates the divergence between the declared native language and the stated everyday language uses (Kulyk 2011). The article describes as well the extremely politicized approach to the linguistic issue in Ukraine and especially in the Crimean peninsula, and analyses the concept of ethnicity (natsionalnost) in contrast with that of the linguistic identity (Arel 2002; Wylegała 2003), in order to finally reveal, on the one hand, the linguistic attitudes of the Crimean Tatar youngsters of Simferopol regarding Crimean Tatar, Russian and Ukrainian languages and, on the other hand, the language uses in the everyday life.

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MUTH, SEBASTIAN

Universität Greifswald, Germany

LANGUAGE REMOVAL AND IDENTITY FORMATION IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES OF NAGORNO-KARABAKH

The disintegration of the Soviet Union resulted in major demographic shifts and drew new boundaries in a once physically borderless region. Especially the South Caucasus, an area that has always been characterized by its linguistic diversity witnessed one of the most destructive interethnic wars on the territory of the former USSR, the Nagorno-Karabakh War that lasted from 1988 until 1994. Fought between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the Armenian enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh located in Soviet Azerbaijan, it caused the lives of roughly 30,000 people and resulted in the removal of the Azeri population from the area. Two decades later the political status of the self-declared Nagorno-Karabakh Republic remains unresolved, but apparently a new linguistic self-identity of the population takes shape. While possibilities for extensive sociolinguistic research in the area are limited, linguistic landscape research provides insights into patterns of individual and public language use. This presentation analyzes the linguistic landscapes of urban Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh and establishes functional domains of the languages visible. The discussion is backed up by a corpus of approximately 500 signs surveyed in September 2011 in a predetermined area of the inner city. Furthermore, it traces remnants of an Azeri linguistic landscape in abandoned settlements throughout Nagorno-Karabakh and documents patterns of language use in rural parts of the territory. Information on the present demographic situation suggest an overwhelming majority of 95 percent Armenians, yet both our quantitative and discursive observations point towards a bilingual language situation that includes both Armenian and – to a large extent – Russian as a language of prestige and wider communication. On the other hand the study shows the link between the removal of Azeri language from the public sphere and the eradication of Azeri culture in general.

KOSMARSKAYA, NATALYA

Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Federation

STAYING URBAN, BECOMING URBAN IN POST-SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA: CULTURAL WORLDS AND LANGUAGE BEHAVIOR IN BISHKEK

Bishkek (former Frunze), capital of Kyrgyzstan, provides a unique ground for exploring diversity of cultural orientations and practices in a post-Soviet transitional society and their inter-linkages with language behavior of various ethno-cultural groups. From the one hand, Kyrgyzstan has followed route of many other former Soviet republics launching 'national revival' campaign which, together with a socio-economic turmoil, provoked massive out-migration of Russians and other Russian-speakers during the first post-Soviet decade. From the other hand, due to a combination of subjective and objective reasons, Kyrgyz turned out to be one of the most Russified ethnic groups in the FSU and the most Russified in Central Asia. As a result, Kyrgyz population of the capital consisted, by 1991, mainly of the so-called urban Kyrgyz — Russified, modernized and tangibly different from their rural co-ethnics. Another consequence of Russification of titular group lies in the legislative sphere: Kyrgyzstan is one of the few post-Soviet states where Russian was proclaimed (on a constitutional level) as the official language. Two more contradictory factors contribute to a specificity of Bishkek as a ground of linguistic and cultural interaction. The country's openness to external (Western) cultural influences supports modernizing trend in the urban linguistic-cultural landscape. Massive inflow of Kyrgyz seeking better life in the city (since the late 1980s it has tried to withstand pressures of the three waves of internal migration from depressive rural areas) contributes, on the contrary, to de-modernization of urban order and lifestyle. One might expect the city to be divided into two cultural worlds, with this division being supported by a spatial and linguistic boundary: city centre and micro-districts of multi-storied buildings of late socialism — zone of habitual settlement of 'old residents' (Russians-speakers and 'urban Kyrgyz') widely using Russian both in private and public spheres, in inter- and intra-ethnic communication, versus 'migration belt' of Bishkek — vast zones of small self-built houses, without modern facilities, where only Kyrgyz is spoken.

However, the picture is more complicated and diverse at both ends. The paper seeks to highlight vibrant diversity of cultural worlds in present-day Bishkek as they are experienced and narrated by the city residents of various ethno-cultural origin. Questions of a special interest for the author include:

- interdependence between individual's ability to upgrade cultural repertoires and her/his linguistic competence, as compared with the respective role of educational level and social status;
- forms and scale of resilience to pressures of ruralized popular cultures brought by rural migrants;
- urban cultural spaces as scenes of cultural encounter between 'old residents' and migrants of different waves;
- incorporation of traditionalized cultural practices into urban cultural setting; rise of 'symbiosis cultures';

- most efficient strategies of 'staying urban', for the 'old residents', and 'becoming urban', for rural migrants, under existing conditions of social turmoil in present-day Kyrgyzstan.

Field-work was conducted in autumn 2008 and spring 2011 within the framework of the international research project 'Exploring Urban Identities and Community Relations in Post-Soviet Central Asia' funded by the Leverhulme Trust (the UK, 2008-2012).

PEROTTO, MONICA University of Bologna, Italy

THE PRESENCE OF ITALIAN LANGUAGE IN MOSCOW LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

This work focuses on the study of the multilingual urban setting of contemporary Moscow city with particular regard to the presence of the Italian language in different social or productive domains. Since 1928, when the famous Russian linguist B.A. Larin underlined the importance of encouraging multicultural and multilingual byt in big cities in order to promote the integration of languages and ethnic cultures, Soviet and Russian sociolinguistics has been studying what is known as 'city language' (jazyk goroda or jazyk metropolii). The classical works on this field are mostly oriented to investigate the Russian koiné in its different variations of standard and substandard forms, while in the last years more attention has been devoted to the semiotic approach (lingvosemiotika goroda), culture-bound (kul'turologija goroda) or even to the 'linguistic landscape' approach. 'The city represents a mirror, reflecting and focusing all cultural processes, taking place in modern society' affirms Trušina (2001).

From this point of view, Moscow street advertising and signs are trying to convey the image of a new, multilingual and multicultural place. However, if on one hand Russian is de-facto the dominant language in Moscow urban setting, on the other hand it should be analyzed which other languages reveal their considerable presence and play a defined role in it. Language visibility is always related to historical tradition, to language policy and planning, but also to material and symbolic culture. The present work will try to investigate the role of the Italian language in Moscow landscape, its material and symbolic value as well as the image of Italian culture which can be associated to it.

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RYCHKOVA, NADEZDA VASILEVNA; RYCHKOV, SERGEY IYRIEVICH Kazan National Research Technological Univercity, Russian Federation

ETHNICALLY MARKED LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF KAZAN

Linguistic landscapes of Kazan, capital of Republic Tatarstan, form following factors:

- · Polyethnic structure of the population (more than hundred ethnoses for which language is an ethnic marker);
- · Centuries-old experience of interaction of three language groups (Turkic, Finno-Ugric, slavic);
- The state status of the Tatar and Russian languages, the right of all ethnoses to using the native language;
- · A situation of 'language asymmetry';

• transformation processes in economy, ethno-demographic environments of a cultural landscape of Republic.

The analysis of a linguistic landscape multi-ethnic cities, capitals of national Republic, the subject of the Russian Federation, in conditions of the ethnic Renaissance and globalizations of economy is actual. Result of the ethnic Renaissance became increase in Kazan's ergonimikone names which reflect culture of the ethnoses living here. Signboards of cafe, restaurants, shops, etc. at which there are Tatar, Uzbek, Ukrainian, Russian and other words, are visualization of 'national revival', a part of language space of city.

Kazan's ergonimikone areflects reaction of a linguistic landscape to globalization. As a result of development of market space by world brands there is a westernisation of linguistic landscapes. In daily speech, for example, Russian, Turkic, Finno-Ugric, Anglo-Saxon and other language units enter.

In Kazan as a result of development of commercial sector of public space some models of multilingual signals were generated. 1. The same information is given in several languages (stops of public transport are duplicated in Russian, Tatar and English languages; signboards of grocery shops, libraries, drugstores). 2. The information moves in one language and partially on other (advertising Media Markt in Russian with addition of the Tatar phrases). 3. Different parts of the information are given in different languages with partial imposing (advertising of the federal operator of cellular communication 'Beeline'). 4. Different parts of the general information are broadcast in different languages - is used in the Tatar-speaking information space more often. The ethnic variety of a linguistic landscape of Kazan is formed by different subjects. Bodies of the government and municipal management act as developers and guarantors of realization of language policy. Their initiative - edition of 20-th clause of Law RT 'About languages of people of Republic Tatarstan' enables to insist on necessity of the publication of advertising in two state languages. Ethnicity gets in an orbit of market communications. Business start to consider ethnicity as the tool of increase of competitiveness and means to resist to world brands which use ethnicity as a way of adaptation to regional conditions (glocalization). As a whole the language situation in commercial sector of public space basically corresponds with the law about bilingualism and a level of demand on ethnicity. The presence of language in public space is one of factors of its increase ethnolinguistic vitality. Bilingual advertising diversifies a linguistic landscape of the postsoviet Tatarstan and becomes an additional symbol of social and cultural tolerance of its inhabitants. The work was supported by the RHSF, the project 12-01-00018

ZOUMPALIDIS, DIONYSIOS; PAPAPAVLOU, ANDREAS University of Cyprus, Cyprus

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC REFORMATTING OF THE PONTIC GREEK COMMUNITY IN A RUS-SIAN POST-SOVIET TOWN

This paper examines the current sociolinguistic situation of the Pontic Greek community in the town of Essentuki, which is located in the area of north Caucasus, in the southern part of Russia. The major influx of Pontic Greeks into Essentuki took place in the mid 1950s/beginning 1960s, mainly from the mountainous villages of Tsalka (the ex-Soviet republic of Georgia) where they compactly resided. After their settlement in Essentuki, Pontic Greeks, who in their vast majority were Turko-phone, came into linguistic and socio-cultural contact with the local, predominantly Russian-speaking, population. This process of urbanization as well as the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 had a specific sociolinguistic impact on the Pontic Greek community. More specifically, the present study focuses on the linguistic and cultural changes that the Pontic Greek community has undergone during the last 20 years in 'new' Russia and on how socio-political changes in the early 1990s have contributed to the current sociolinguistic situation within the community in question. 111 questionnaires were used and 19 interviews (17 individual and 2 group) were conducted for the purposes of the present study. The preliminary results suggest that there has been a significant linguistic and ethno-cultural transition within the Pontic Greek community since their settlement in the town of Essentuki and especially since the break-up of the Soviet Union. On the linguistic level, Pontic Greeks are actively trying to shift from Turkish to Russian as the language of home. On the ethno-cultural level, ethnic allegiance of Pontic Greeks has not been shattered and is manifested in the foundation of various non-governmental, usually culturally-oriented, organizations where Pontic Greeks practise traditional dances and are given the opportunity to learn Standard Modern Greek. It is important, therefore, to identify those factors that have contributed to the ethno-cultural prosperity of Pontic Greeks and to the rapid process of language shift and how these

Thematic Session 134

Using multilingual written internet data in language contact studies

Session Chair 1: Dorleijn, Margreet Session Chair 2: Verschik, Anna

Session Abstract:

Multilingual internet data are often studied in their own right. Topics such as typical CMC-features like emoticons, typographic matters, the use and adaptation of different alphabets as well as pragmatic issues, style etc. have mainly be discussed for CMC-data per se.

The innovative language use, the specific CMC-driven features have been highlighted in several studies (cf e.g. Danet and Herring (2007). The majority of these studies has an interactional approach or is concerned with macro sociolinguistic issues such as language choice. Surprisingly little use is made until to date of CMC-data for linguistic aspects of binlingual speech (code-switching, code-copying, structural convergence etc). The problem is acknowledged by e.g., Danet and Herring, pioneers in CMC-data research (2003)

We want to discuss in how far internet data can be considered a reflection of spoken data. In this thematic session we wish to investigate in what sense, if and if so, to what extent CMC data can be used for linguistically oriented research. We want to investigate CMC-data from two general perspectives:

1. from the perspective of CMC put on a par with spoken data: can CMC data be considered a reflection of spoken data, and as such be used for the study of language contact features?

2. highlighting the specific character of CMC data. Can it offer insight in mechanisms of contact-induced language change that are hard to uncover

on the basis of naturalistic data? 1: In studies on the nature of internet communication, it is often noted that CMC is a hybrid somewhere between speaking and writing, which is indeed what internet users intuitively feel to be the case. Hence the term 'written speech' that is often used to refer to CMC. Moreover, CMC fulfills many of the same social functions as spoken conversation (cf. Herring, 2010 for discussion and references)

We want to investigate to what extent multilingual internet data) can be useful in the study of phenomena that are normally studied in naturalistic (spoken) data such as (structural aspects of) code switching, any kind of contact-induced structural change etc.

As to 2: Intenet data imply more deliberation than speech (as it is still writing), providing thus a solid basis for a study of conventionalization/innovation/ awareness in language contact phenomena.

We want to discuss whether the inherent characteristics of internet data as opposed to spoken data may serve to offer insight into several issues that are central in the language contact debate such as:

-processes of propagation and conventionalisation (Croft 2000, Johanson 2002) (where potentially huge amounts of data that have a supra-network - potentially even global - spread, has the potential to shed a light on mechanisms that would have remained in the dark otherwise)

-related to this: the role of deliberate manipulation and awareness of language users (or lack there off) in the processes mentioned above . (e.g: does usage of different orthographies reflect linguistic awareness? For instance: a code-switched stem in Latin characters and inflectional morphology in Cyrillic characters etc.)

-The contributors will be requested to present a paper on a specific language pair that they have investigated on the basis of CMC data. In each individual contribution at least one of the aspects mentioned above will be addressed, as well as the specific advantages and disadvantages of CMC data. The varieties discussed are mostly used in urban multicultural settings.

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DORLEIJN, MARGREET University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

DETECTING CONVENTIONALISATION PROCESSES: IN HOW FAR ARE INTERNET DATA **USEFUL?**

In general, bilingual lects of (recent) migrant communities are considered to be instable, in the sense that they allow for very much variation; internal norms and intuitions of speakers about their bilingual varieties are often considered to be either non-existant, or at best only social network-internal, and may therefore vary considerably from network to network. This is attributed to the fact that in general immigrant communities are involved in a process of rapid language shift. Nevertheless, impressionistic observation of naturalistic data (collected within the framework of the 'Dutch roots of ethnolectsproject' www.rootsofethnolects.nl (amongst other data sets and field observations; see also some data presented in Eversteijn 2011) among the Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands suggests that there may be an emergent set of usage patterns that exceeds local network norms. (Dorleiin, Boumans & El-Aissati 2005; Eversteijn 2011). The question is, in how far these usage patterns are in the process of conventionalising - or possibly have already conventionalised, in the sense that speakers' allowance for variation is reduced. In other words where on the cline from Code Switching to Fused Lect (cf. Auer 1998) can the bilingual Turkish-Dutch lect be localized?

After providing some examples of possibly conventionalised items it will be discussed in how far these are reflected in internet data. Can internet data be considered a reflection of spoken data and therefore be helpful in detecting conventionalisation processes? Some qualitative examples as well as quantitative results will be presented. The conclusion will be that the internet data can reveal tendencies better than spoken data, also because of their sheer quantity and time-depth. It will be argued however that one should treat the with caution in the sense that (semi-) written data even if they resemble spoken data in crucial ways (cf Dorleijn & Nortier 2009 and references there) are still a different mode and therefore may entail different linguistic behaviour. It will be argued that a grammaticality judgement list can be compiled on the basis of internet data which should be administered to the speakers. It will be suggested that such a three-way method of data collecting will provide reliable insight in conventionalisation processes.

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BARASA, SANDRA

Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

ATI! DID I DO THAAAAAAT??? CONSCIOUS VS SPONTANEOUS CODE-SWITCHING (CS) IN COMPUTER MEDIATED COMMUNICATION(CMC)

This paper examines the presentation of code-switching(CS) in Computer Mediated Communication (CMC). The research presented is based on the hypothesis that the motivation of CS determines whether the CS occurrence is 'natural' or deliberately manipulated. The examined CMC data is derived from Kenyan University students and is in form of various CMC modes including Short Message Service (SMS), Email, Instant Messages (IM) and Social Network Sites (SNS) e.g. Facebook. The languages in focus are Swahili- Sheng-English and vernacular languages which are spoken in Kenya, whereby Swahili and English are the official languages while Sheng is a youth code (slang) and the vernacular languages depend on the region where one is from. The approach and findings of this research are based on the motives of code-switching which is a profitable contribution to previous studies whose approach focuses on the different modes of CMC.

BÜNDGENS-KOSTEN, JUDITH Universität Duisburg-Essen, Germany

CODE-SWITCHING IN A LANGUAGE LEARNING BLOGGING COMMUNITY

This study looks at code-switching and related phenomena at a language learning blogging community, lang-8. Language learning communities online combine features of the traditional language learning classroom and of computer-mediated communication. Their explicit emphasis on language learning, often as their primary communicative purpose, is reminiscent of classroom settings, while they are also influenced by their specific technological makeup and the affordances this provides and by the association with pre-existing online genres, such as the diary-style blog ('journal').

This paper focuses on blog posts with the L2 English. According to Mizumoto et al 2011, lang-8 has more than 200,000 users, 142,311 of which are learning English, the most frequently studied language on lang-8 (Mizumoto et al. 2011, 148). Data basis is a collection of 116 blog posts with English as a target language, written by 115 users speaking 15 different L1s, posted on two different dates. 31.9% of blog posts in this corpus show evidence of code-switching or related phenomena. This data is analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative measures. The paper will address:

- Types of code-switching and translation work observed.
- Effects of native language/country of origin, age and gender on code-switching behavior.

The analysis will not only look at what happens, but also what does not happen, looking both at code-switching avoidance and at types of code-switching conspicuously absent.

This analysis will not only help understand how code-switching operates in this environment, but will also hint at how learners conceptualize the specific communicative situation here, i.e. how they understand language learning communities to function and which role in their learning process they attribute to their audience.

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DE DECKER, BENNY; VANDEKERCKHOVE, REINHILD Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

(G)LOCAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION: THE APPROPRIATION OF ENGLISH IN THE CHAT LANGUAGE OF FLEMISH TEENAGERS

The research we want to report on is based on an extensive written chat language corpus (nearly one million words) produced by Flemish teenagers from the central provinces of Brabant and Antwerp. The paper focuses on the presence and exploitation of English in the corpus and combines a quantitative and a qualitative approach.

The dominant variety in the chat discourse of the teenagers is a mixed code which combines standard Dutch, supraregional Flemish and local dialect features. In addition, most chatters insert English words and to a minor extent English phrases in their chat discourse. Although Dutch always remains the matrix language, the impact of English appears to be considerable in quantitative terms. The data reveal the multilingual practices of a generation the socialization process of which partly proceeds via electronic media which, especially for the die-hard gamers amongst them, are essentially English oriented.

Dorleijn, M., J. Nortier: Code Switchin and the Internet. In: (B.E. Bullock & A.J. toribio (eds.): The Cambridge Handbook of Code Switching. 2009. Cam-

- The effect of the specific communicative setting, especially assumptions about the audience of ones blogposts, on language choice, as well as

The paper deals with the relative presence of several word categories amongst the English loans, with the switch types, and with the way the loan words are integrated into the teenager chatspeak. Through graphematic, morphological and semantic adaptations the teenagers appropriate the English loans and 'localize' them to a minor or major extent (cf. Androutsopoulos 2010). This combination of endogenous (local) and exogenous (global) elements into one single lexeme results in 'glocalisation' on a micro-linguistic level. Generally speaking, the chat practice of the Flemish teenagers reveals an eagerness both to adopt English and to turn the loans into words or phrases that will appear appropriate, fancy and even playful to the local audience. While the graphematic adaptations are typical creative products of the written chat medium, the other adaptations may occur in the spoken interaction of these teenagers as well. Consequently the chat data seem to offer an intensification of a double dynamics which most probably transcends the medium (or can be assumed to do so): the 'foreignness' of English is at the same time fostered and neutralized. The global language is exploited for local peer group identity construction.

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MONTES-ALCALA, CECILIA

Georgia Institute of Technology, United States of America

ISWITCH: SPANISH-ENGLISH LANGUAGE MIXING IN COMPUTER-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION

Technology in the 21st century has rapidly transformed the means of communication and written expression among monolingual and bilingual individuals alike in several ways. First, electronic correspondence (e-mail) seems to be slowly replacing traditional handwritten and/or typed letters (snail mail). Second, personal and professional blogs have emerged as publicly accessible journals for any individual who is willing to share their thoughts online. Finally, social networks appear to be the fastest growing mode of communication in the world. As an example, it is estimated that about 190 million 'tweets' are sent via Twitter every day.

Therefore, it seems obvious that the Internet era has opened the door to a fertile ground of research for sociolinguistics in general and bi- or multilingualism studies in particular. What takes place when bi- or multilingual individuals sit at the keyboard has been the focus of several studies exploring computer-mediated communication (CMC), a few of which specifically deal with language mixing (see, for instance, Paolillo (1996), Georgakopoulou (1997), Dascalu (1999), Warschauer's et al (2002), Hinrichs (2006), Montes-Alcalá (2005), Montes-Alcalá (2007) and Negrón Goldbarg (2009) among others). The present work analyzes computer-mediated communication among Spanish-English bilinguals in an attempt to further explore the still relatively new field of 'electronic' code-switching. The study aims to find out whether bilingual individuals mix their languages when writing online and, if so, what their main motivations are. To this end, I compare bilingual data from different computer-mediated communication sources including electronic mail, blogs, and social networks such as Facebook and Twitter.

The underlying hypothesis is that these individuals' online writing will display many of the socio-pragmatic functions traditionally ascribed to oral codeswitching (see, for example, Valdés-Fallis (1976), Jacobson (1977), Poplack (1981), McClure (1981), Gumperz (1982), and Zentella (1997) among others.) Furthermore, it intends to draw attention to the cultural nature of code-switching, an important component that has often been overlooked in the search for grammatical and pragmatic constraints.

The main conclusions of this study indicate that: (1) the subjects actually engage in code-switching when writing to other bilinguals online; (2) their language mixing fulfills specific socio-pragmatic and stylistic functions similar to those attested in oral code-switching; (3) electronic code-switching would seem more socially acceptable than its oral counterpart; and (4) these individuals possess ample linguistic and cultural knowledge of both languages; thus, their language choices reveal that bilingual individuals live between two cultures and two languages they can and must use to fully express themselves both online and in real life.

NORTIER, JACOMINE

Utrecht University, The Netherlands

THE CONSTRUCTION AND EXPRESSION OF ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN YOUTUBE COMMENTS

The main question in this colloquium on written Internet data is whether Internet data are useful in language contact studies (cf. also Dorleijn & Nortier, 2009). If this is the case, it will save researchers a lot of work (data collection, transcription, etc.). In my paper I will argue that Internet data can be valuable and very useful, although they are not the same as 'real' data in terms of spontaneity, and sociolinguistic background information is difficult to obtain. In 'normal' face-to-face communication interlocutors convey a large part of their message through non-linguistic cues, for example by the use of gestures, but also by drawing conclusions on the basis of what they see and hear (Koole, 2002). They don't need to tell the other explicitly that they are male or female, young or old, black or white, poorly or better educated, native speakers, etc.

In chat boxes, MSN, discussion groups, etc. on the Internet, however, the extralinguistic information has to be made explicit in other ways. The only thing available to the interlocutors is their keyboard. In that sense, users have to be more creative to express their identity as far as they consider it relevant to the discussion in which they are participating. When they know the right means, they can even construct a desired identity which is not necessarily true in real-life situations.

In my presentation I will analyse the way identities are expressed linguistically in reactions to a youtube video by a group of young rappers from Utrecht, the Netherlands. This group, 'Relschoppers' (meaning trouble makers, rioters) consists of plm. 14 year old boys with Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds. Thousands of reactions have been given since the video was released which provide an extremely rich source of data.

Attention will be paid to the way identities are constructed and expressed, both explicitly and implicitly. The focus will be on ethnic identities and the role multilingual urban youth vernaculars play in this construction. I will show that small cues are meaningful to the interlocutors.

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T. Koole: 'Communicative principes: betekenis geven als activiteit', in: Th. Janssen: Een Inleiding in de Taalwetenschap, Den Haag: SDU, 2002, pp. 131-142. [Communicative principles: the construction of meaning as an activity] VERSCHIK, ANNA Tallinn University, Estonia

APPLYING CODE-COPYING FRAMEWORK TO ESTONIAN-RUSSIAN LANGUAGE CON-TACTS IN BLOGS

The paper attempts to explain Estonian impact in Russian-language blogs with Code-Copying Framework (CCF, Johanson 2002). Russian-speakers in Estonia are becoming increasingly bilingual since the restoration of Estonia's independence in 1991. Both languages are rich in inflectional morphology, which makes application of various contact linguistic models potentially useful for theory development. CCF describes all kinds of contact phenomena (lexicon, morphosyntax, semantics, pragmatics) within a single terminological framework. The process behind contact-induced innovation is copying. A linguistic item has four types of properties: material, semantic, combinational, frequential. If all four are copied, the result is a global copy (code-switching, borrowing); if only some are copied, a result is a selective copy (changes in morphosyntax, meaning, combinability). In multi-word items (compounds, analytic forms) mixed copying occurs when some components are copied globally and some selectively (Estonian pähe õppima 'learn by heart' > Russian učit' pähe). Mixed copies are usually overlooked in other language contact models, yet oftentimes lexical innovations such as code-switching cannot be separated from morphosyntactic changes (Backus 2005).

A corpus of 201 Russian-language blog entries (63470 words) from 3 users (2008 until present) yields 422 global, 27 selective and 47 mixed copies. While the prevalence of global copies (overt Estonian-language items) is expectable, the low number of selective copies in all three users requires an explanation. Code alternations (stretches of monolingual Estonian) were disregarded because of their limited relevance for CCF. One explanation could be that there is little structural change in local Russian but in the light of the studies on oral data (Verschik 2008) this is unlikely. Another explanation is that this has to do with the genre of blog (less spontaneous than oral speech and real-time CMC genres). There are more mixed copies than selective copies and, compared to what has been attested in oral data, these are more diverse in their structure; an outline of possible typology of mixed copies will presented.

Graphic properties (present in blogs but absent in oral speech) can be included into CCF. Difference in script (Russian = Cyrillic, Estonian = Roman) and choice thereof sheds additional light on bloggers' language awareness, for instance, Estonian noun stems in Roman and Russian case markers in Cyrillic. Mixed copies can be rendered entirely in Cyrillic script but use of Roman script for the Estonian components illustrates (оставили läbivaatamata 'dismissed'). However, choice of Cyrillic is not equal to an item's conventionalization in local Russian but is rather a matter of convenience and personal preferences.

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BACKUS, AD

Tilburg University, The Netherlands

DISCUSSION

Discussant of Thematic Session 'Using multilingual written internet data in language contact studies'.

Thematic Session 135

The sociolinguistics of football

Session Chair 1: Gerhardt, Cornelia

Session Abstract:

On the one hand, football is a simple rule-based ball game. On the other hand, it is also a world-wide socio-economic phenomenon cutting across continents, cultures, and languages. Thus, football captures the attention of scholars from various disciplines within the humanities (for linguistics cf. Lavric et al.). Sport historians have shown the immediate connection between the development of sport and the city: 'The underlying dynamic behind the emergence of spectator sports was urbanization' (Jhally 1984:43). The proposed panel on the sociolinguistics of football embraces not only topics directly related to the main conference theme of urbanity, but also many classic themes in sociolinguistics (e.g. class, gender, ethnicity, language and the media). Considering the wealth of sociological literature on football (Giulianotti 1999) and the range of topics involved (e.g. politics, economics, media, nationalism, racism, globalization, fan cultures, social identity), it seems surprising that this domain has not been investigated in any depth in sociolinguistics. In keeping with the conference theme 'Language and the city', the panel will explore inner-city rivalries, different linguistic practices demarcating the territories of local rivals: this may include rituals at local derbies, linguistic practices in the stands (cheering, singing, use of profanities...) and the many other modes in which the fans' group identities are indexed (Baderman in Stockwell 2001:36-38). Also, talk-in-interaction, e.g. Monday mornings in offices, factories, and schools, when the latest football results are discussed and affiliations re-enacted, are part of the sociolinguistics of football. The panel will also be interested in comparative work: urban fan cultures, tribes, social networks or communities of practice across continents, languages, and cultures.

Moreover, football is a rich site for classic fields of sociolinguistic research such as class, gender and ethnicity. For instance, the 'myth of 1966', England's only World Cup win (against Germany) has been described as having at its bottom 'nostalgic nationalism, an unequivocal masculinity and a submerged reference to class' (Critcher 1994: 86). Also, the apparent paradox between ticket prices and merchandising on the one hand and the working class

image of football on the other hand can be approached from a linguistics perspective. The as a rule gendered nature of sports in surfaces in many discourses about football (e.g. Mean 2001). This year's FIFA Women's World Cup in Germany provided a wealth of topics in this respect. Furthermore, ethnicity and also racism are a common topic in scholarly research on football (e.g. Leite Lopez 2000) which merit attention in sociolinguistics. Finally, language and the media, a field of long standing at the Sociolinguistics Symposium, will also be in focus. The FIFA World Cup is the biggest media event in terms of worldwide coverage, bigger than the Olympics. Modern association football cannot be envisioned without the spread of mass media. There is a plethora of mutual influences of interest to sociolinguistics: on a micro level, for instance, the connection between the game on the pitch and its linguistic representations in the form of sports announcer talk, newspaper reports, live internet clockwatches... and their various registers and styles. On a macro level, the connection between politics and football (e.g. when it comes to pairings such as Argentina versus England) can be analysed through mass media discourse. Finally, the panel will also take into account the behavior of fans watching football on television, whether in a pub with friends or at home with the family (Gerhardt 2009).

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GERHARDT. CORNELIA Saarland University, Germany

IS ANYTHING HAPPENING ON THE PITCH? CONSTRUCTING NOTABILITY IN TALK

In my presentation, I will analyze the behaviour of television viewers while watching matches of the men's FIFA World Cup live on television. The main focus will be sudden unannounced shifts from focused talk-in-interaction between the participants to a complete orientation to the happenings on television

I will start with a general account of the talk in this setting with its shifting 'contextual configurations' (Goodwin 2000) ranging from full orientation to the TV set to e.g. 'story telling frames' during which only 'view signs' (such as e.g. posture of the viewers, Scollon 1998) differentiate this talk from regular conversations. I will then propose the term 'notability' to account for sudden shifts in the data. When the viewers decide that the media text offers a 'notable' scene, they may shift frame without any prior interactional work. In other words, no pre-sequences, discourse markers or other means of signalling new agendas are used. These shifts are instantiated through interjections which function as contextualization cues indexing the relevance of the scene on television. Their indicative nature (Wilkins 1992) shows that a viewer is at that moment orienting to the media text and no longer to his/her co-viewer. These interjections do not represent 'pre-s' marking an upcoming action, but their employment signals that such a shift has happened. If the co-viewers ratify the 'notability' of a given scene in the match, no signs of dispreference or repair work can be found in the ensuing interaction. Even the highly marked case of other-interruption goes unnoticed. Since notability is negotiable, the interjections may be followed by evaluations accounting for the notability of the scene. The scalar nature of notability can be realized through a number of non-lexical modalities, such as increase in pitch and loudness, gaze, facial expressions, gesturing, or even jumping around are used by the viewers. The more modalities are used and the more different they are to the surrounding behaviour, the more a scene is interpreted and flagged as notable by the viewers.

In contrast to tellability which is concerned with the construction of past events in talk, notability strives to account for the construction of current events as they unfold at the same time as the talk produced by the viewers. Hence, instead of past events, it describes how to make current events available through talk. For this reason, it is an important notion with regards to the linguistic behavior during televised live sports events.

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BALDAUF-QUILLIATRE, HEIKE ICAR, France

DOING PLAYING FOOTBALL

Football as a game does not generally solicit thoughts about verbal interaction. Even if communication is necessary for playing (e.g. when discussing strategies, commenting changes or analyzing constellations), the game itself is nonverbal. However when the play is not 'real', but 'virtual', that is, when people play computer- or video games together, the situation changes. In this case, players do not need to make physical efforts which hamper verbal communication; they are generally in a place which is much smaller, where face-to-face communication is easier than on the field; also they need to communicate in order to coordinate their activities on the screen (cf. Mondada 2011 and in press). In this way, playing football together on video game consoles or computers is not only physical, but also verbal interaction. Looking closer at the players' verbal actions, we can find activities from a recipient's point of view (e.g. assessments, comments) as well as activities from the football player's point of view (e.g. directives).

I will focus on the question how the game players mark their activities as 'playing football', that is, which verbal activities they use to signal that they are now 'in a football game'. As I will show, this does not only have to do with football-vocabulary in the largest sense, but also with the way they construct the play verbally. Directives, verbalizations of football players' activities, projections, assessments etc. serve to 'put football playing in words': The game players do not only comment on what they or their avatars are doing in the game (cf. play-by-play commentary), they also interact with each other and influence their own actions and those of their partners.

The main argument in this paper will be the role of assessments in this constellation. I am less interested in assessments as a form of (emotional) involvement or as a sort of analysis of the play. Rather, my study draws on assessments as evaluation of playing strategies in medias res, related to the general knowledge about the game's rules (Gerhardt 2008) or as a special form of directives: When do the game players assess the actions of their avatars? How and what do they assess? Above all, how do these assessments contribute to the development of the game? This perspective of 'doing playing football' does not only allow to learn more about how people play video games together, it also shows how football is conceptualized as a team play, how it is developed as team play and how the game players position themselves between competition and amusement. Insofar the paper aims to contribute to the study of a special kind of game as interaction and to our knowledge how this interaction is verbalized. The analyses are based on 1h30 of a video-recorded football game (Fifa08 for playstation PS3), during which two adolescents play together against other players via the internet.

DOSEV, VLADIMIR TODOROV

University of Economics - Varna, Bulgaria

FOOTBALL HATE SPEECH

Football hate is related to other social factors such as class, regional identity, and historical background. This paper explores the hate speech used by football fans in the biggest Bulgarian cities. Football crowds at the stadiums are social groups having their own folklore, ritualized verbal practices, and specific lexical characteristics. The language behavior of the football crowds resembles in many ways of both Ancient armies and Dionysian processions (carnivals) in Ancient Greece. A significant part of the football chants are the insulting, obscene, ribald, and especially aggressive lexis. Bulgarian 'Law on Protection of the Public Peace during Sports Events' (2004) tries to control the verbal behavior of the football spectators. This Law, however, has not functioned in the stadium so far and has not influenced significantly the language behavior of the crowds, consisting at times of tens of thousands of fans. On the other hand, social changes in Bulgaria (1989 – 1990) caused a revolution in media language. In their aspiration for verbal attractiveness, some sport media have started to use invectives, aggressive lexis and phrases typical of the chants of the football crowds. Research methods: I. Sociolinguistic analysis of the speech behaviour of the football crowds and the communication in football social groups. It includes internet pages, fans placards, and records of the speech of the football crowds at Bulgarian stadiums (made by the method 'Hidden microphone'). II. Media discourse analysis. The language material from the media is especially from newspapers '24 часа' ('24 hours'), '7 дни спорт' ('7 days sport'), 'Меридиан мач' ('Meridian mach'), 'Топ спорт' ('Top sport'). The paper comments on the usage in media of hate speech typical of the football crowds.

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AIJÓN OLIVA, MIGUEL ANGEL Universidad de Salamanca. Spain

STYLING THROUGH GRAMMAR IN FOOTBALL BROADCASTING

Current advances in the analysis of syntactic variation show that the symbolic view of grammar promoted by cognitivism and related approaches (e.g. Goldberg 2003, Langacker 2009) can prove very fruitful for the study of speech as a tool for the development of situated identities and interpersonal relationships, that is, as an element of style (Eckert 2000, Coupland 2007, etc.). This is due to the inherently meaningful nature of linguistic choices, which makes it possible for them to generate meanings at any possible semiotic level. The internal, cognitive foundations of grammatical constructions are not unrelated to its discursive, pragmatic and social effects (cf. Serrano & Aijón Oliva 2011). Variation thus entails the possibility to choose whatever can be communicated within some context.

Following this line, a case study will be presented of the narrative of a Spanish League football match between two second-division teams, as broadcasted by a radio station from the holding town. The analysis will focus on several interrelated Spanish grammatical phenomena, namely variable subject expression and placement, as well as variable object position and object-verb agreement through clitic affixes. These formal facts and their contextual effects seem to be explainable by considering the relative degrees of cognitive salience achieved by subject vs. object referents (e.g. Aijón Oliva 2006). All three broadcasters taking part in the narrative show some preference for the variants enhancing referent salience when talking about players in the local team, while the opposite obtains when they refer to the visitors. The most significant examples are found when some player attacks or even harms a rival, these being kinds of events coming close to Langacker's canonical event model - the way such physical clashes are syntactically described can reveal a particular, subjective perception of the extralinguistic event. Interestingly, through such choices the broadcasters not only project a certain view of the players and of their actions, but at the same time are shaping their own images as speakers. The subtle suggestion of bias towards the local team will foster identification with the audience and thus be positively evaluated in the context of football broadcasting. Finally, the analysis will show that, even if individual morphosyntactic choices may not be salient enough to be perceived as stylistically motivated, the patterned conjunction of a number of them can embody a particular socio-communicative style, aimed to configure some image of the self and others. This stresses the need to improve quantitative sociolinguistic analysis through the systematic incorporation of the qualitative, interactional facets of variation.

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WALKER, JIM Université Lumière Lyon 2, France

FOOTBALL TALK AND LANGUAGE CHANGE - A VARIATIONIST PERSPECTIVE

Despite the huge cash flows generated by the business that football has become and the immense wealth afforded to star players, it remains a quintessentially working class sport, one that is furthermore unusual in its geographic spread in the United Kingdom. No other team sport comes close, either socially or geographically. Rugby Union, for instance, maintains associations with the upper middle class and is little played in northern England. These characteristics mean that 'football speak' - that is, the language used by managers and players, as well as the varieties used by commentators, sports journalists and people discussing matches at work - is a rich seam for sociolinguists, both quantitatively and qualitatively, inasmuch as it provides extensive data for dialect research.

In previous work on football register (Walker 2008, 2011), I have not only explored the extent to which lexical and phraseological elements of football language permeate the general vernacular, but a more elusive hypothesis: that the popularity of football and its media exposure has led to an increase in an unusual, some would say anomalous, use of the Present Perfect in British English to narrative a sequence of past events, as in the following example from a football manager in a post-match interview, where a non-standard Preterit is followed by an arguably anomalous Perfect and a standard Preterit: *He done really well to last the 90 minutes and he's nearly scored with a header near the end, you know, it hit the bar.*

It will be shown that this usage is associated, in people's minds, with football, and using the fact that almost every dialect of British English is well represented in the footballing fraternity, we will be trying to unpick the tangle: has football speak been responsible for this innovation, if indeed it is one, or merely for its popularisation? In so doing, we will be setting our paper within a wider context of reflections on the effect of media and cultural phenomena on long-term language change of the most profound syntactic kind.

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BERGH, GUNNAR; OHLANDER, SÖLVE University of Gothenburg, Sweden

FOOTBALL TALK, FOOTBALLSPEAK, FOOTBALLESE. PROPERTIES OF ENGLISH FOOTBALL LANGUAGE, ITS PRINCIPAL USERS AND DOMAINS

Reflecting a truly global and popular sport (e.g. Goldblatt 2007:xii ff.), the language of football can be seen as the world's most widespread special language (cf. Sager et al. 1980:68), where English has played – and still plays – a dominant role. However, in contrast to many other special languages, e.g. academic and legal English, relatively little research seems to have been carried out on its linguistic properties, both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective (Lavric et al. 2008:5). A similar lack of coverage can also be noted as regards football language from a sociolinguistic point of view, where there are many interesting connections, on and off the pitch, between different user groups and football repertoires that warrant further scholarly study (cf. e.g. Stockwell 2002:36-38).

The present paper discusses certain features of English football language, from different perspectives. On the one hand, it deals with the specificity of the register as such, especially vocabulary, including its relationship to general language and sports language (cf. e.g. the use of side-foot versus win and semi-final). On the other, it identifies the principal domains relating to the main subvarieties, or codes, of football language, spoken as well as written, i.e. (i) official language, as used in the documents issued by FIFA and UEFA, e.g. The field of play must be rectangular; (ii) journalistic reporting, as used in live broadcasts and post-match commentary in newspapers, e.g. It was a good time to score; (iii) participant talk, as used on the pitch and in the dressing-rooms, e.g. Man on!; and (iv) supporter language, as used in fanzines, supporter blogs and on the terraces, e.g. You are not singing any more. It is argued, among other things, that while football language can be seen as a fairly well-defined register on its own, it also contains highly specific features and formulae that can be distinctly related to specific user groups, be it administrators, journalistic reporting and supporter language. All in all, then, football language appears to offer a variety of sociolinguistic angles or dimensions.

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FEST, JENNIFER RWTH Aachen University, Germany

THE FOOTBALL WORLD CUP AS A LINGUISTIC EVENT: AN ANALYSIS OF REGISTER FEATURES IN BRITISH MEDIA COVERAGE

Football has, since its development in the 19th century, become the most popular sport in Europe and has gained economic and even political importance that reaches far beyond the events on the pitch itself. Especially during big events such as European or World Cups, everything else seems to come second to the matches of the national teams, and the facts that players are treated like rock stars and politicians make huge spectacles of visiting stadiums and teams show the impact on society and make the world of football an interesting field to study. Within this framework, the media coverage plays a very particular part (cf. Beard 1998) and especially newspaper journalists find themselves in the difficult situation of dealing with a target group who assumedly has watched the matches – entirely or partially – live on TV and accordingly has already formed an opinion about the events before reading

an article about them. Furthermore, this opinion will most likely be shared by most people throughout a country when it comes to the success or failure of the own national team. Journalists covering a World Cup can thus safely afford a certain degree of subjectivity themselves – it might even be expected from them – and can thus build up a very different relationship to their readers than journalists in many other branches. On the basis of these assumptions, this study takes a closer look at the newspaper coverage of the World Cup 2010 in British tabloids by analysing a corpus comprised of 352 articles. The data was part-of-speech tagged for this purpose and, on a theoretical foundation of approaches to media impact theory (Schenk 2007; Bonfadelli 1999), was examined mainly along the lines of register features as described by Halliday (e.g. 1989, also Halliday & Hasan 1989), namely the factors of field, mode and tenor of discourse. Of these, as expected, the aspect of mode, dealing with the relationship between the discourse participants and its reflection in the language usage, proved especially interesting as the distance between the journalist and the intended readers on the one and the journalist and the team on the other hand were found to be closely related, though varying constantly depending on the national team's performances. The important role of the author as a pivotal point in this constellation is thus reflected in the way the assumed opinion of the target group is taken up and processed in the articles with relation to the developments of the tournament.

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HAUSER, STEFAN

University of Zurich, Switzerland

FOOTBALL 'ONLIVE' – ASPECTS OF MULTIMODAL NARRATIVITY IN WEBBASED LIVE TEXT COMMENTARIES

It is a relatively recent phenomenon of media history that live sports can be followed in written form on a computer screen and not only on the radio or on television. The so called 'live-ticker' (also 'event-tracker' or 'matchcast') is a webbased genre that enables the users to follow a football game as a hypertextual and multimodal narrative. On the one hand the ongoing events are described almost simultaneously in short intervals and are presented in inverted chronological order. On the other hand the written presentation of the match is accompanied by rich event-related information in various semiotic forms and structures (statistics, pictures of players, different kinds of live-graphics etc.). So, one major point the contribution wants to shed light on the various forms of multimodal narrativity that are observable in live-tickers. What makes the live-ticker a fundamentally new form of live-broadcasting is the fact that the modularity and hypertextuality of the presentation offers numerous individual ways of following the events. The recipients have the option between different semiotic ressources that are organized in different modules. By individually selecting and activating different informational units the users are not only involved in the composition of the information but also in the narrative representation of the events that are simultaneously reported. There are different kinds as well as different degrees of interactivity which contribute to a new type of multimodal and simultaneous narrative. Furthermore the users can comment on either the events that are reported or on comments that are posted by other users. Thus, a second major interest of this paper is how interactivity is involved in the production and the perception of the events.

There is another important aspect that is crucial for a sociolinguistic perspective on the live-ticker as a new means of sports coverage. It is the combination of linguistic elements taken from written reports with elements of oral live-broadcasting known from radio and tv. The convergence of oral and written style elements has specific reasons in live text commentaries. What forms of written orality occur in the live-ticker and what role they play is the third and last question of this presentation.

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HEANEY, DERMOT BRENDAN

Università degli studi di Roma 'Tor Vergata', Italy

'I WILL NOT STEP INTO THE GROUND UNTIL HE'S GONE.': AN ANALYSIS OF DISCUR-SIVE FAN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN AN UNOFFICIAL ONLINE FORUM.

The football manager has emerged as an undisputed protagonist in contemporary football, especially in the English Premier League. This fact is recognized by recent and current series on this figure in the major media in Britain (Ronay, Brackley, Peston). In June 2011, it was rumoured that Birmingham City FC manager Alex McLeish was about to move across the city to manage local rivals Aston Villa. The media rumour brought a storm of protest from Aston Villa Fans, a number of whom demonstrated outside Villa Park, while others expressed their views on the of the major unofficial online fan forum Vitalastonvilla.

This response indicates just how much attention managers can now attract from the fan base, and how much controversy the appointment of an unpopular manager can generate. Even before the appointment, the club's CE posted a preemptive reply to assuage the malcontents, stirring up a hornets' nest of claims as to who represents the club - the fans or its American owner and CE - introducing further national and corporate complications into the issue of fan and club identity. The focus of this paper is football fan discourse in response to the appointment of unpopular manager, and in particular on aspects of discursive fan identity construction and self-image construction (Luhrs), in contributions to a club's main unofficial online fan forum in response to a posting by Aston Villa CE General Kulak. The analysis will focus on various forms of identity work, particularly spatial identity work (Billig, Benwell/Stokoe, Gunn) and ingroup and out-group identity work, and their related discursive strategies, particularly the deployment of place and person deixis, linguistic impoliteness, derogation, denial (Wodak), and demotic language use. This analysis will be used to correlate discursive identity realizations across a spectrum of fan positions with key discursive identity construction strategies, and to explore how these interact in an ongoing (re)negotiation of fan and club identity in the face of corporate strategies and appointments that are perceived to threaten or betray them.

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KYTÖLÄ, SAMU MIKAEL

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

PEER NORMATIVITY AND SANCTIONING OF LINGUISTIC RESOURCES-IN-USE: ON NON-STANDARD ENGLISHES IN FINNISH FOOTBALL FORUMS ONLINE

This paper (based on Kytölä forthcoming) approaches co-authored, interactive football web forums from a sociolinguistic viewpoint as layered, socioculturally developed domains for languages, varieties, styles, memes, and other semiotic means. The cases documented and discussed here come from the largest Finnish online football forums, Futisforum and Futisforum2.org. While their default target audience is framed as Finnish-speaking Finns, the members have, during the forums' life-spans, developed various multilingual, symbolic discourse practices, which form a heteroglossic constellation with the by-default-Finnish 'core' discussion entries (cf. Androutsopoulos 2011). Moreover, rather expectable in a globalizing world, and with a general topic as international as football, not all participants are Finland-based Finns, or understand Finnish, which creates a further potential tension.

Here I discuss how the uses of differently framed 'non-standard Englishes', in particular, are negotiated and regulated within the forums' football/fandom discourse, and how these linguistic resources become - explicitly and implicitly - discussed in skeins of ideology-laden normative meta-language talk and competing views of (online) football fandom. This is illustrated by two different discourse skeins: in the first sequence, an online football fan lacks resources to acceptably and equally participate (non-standard 'erratic' English as 'bad', 'inferior symbolic capital'), while the second chain of events illustrates an excess of individual repertoire (dialectal/sociolectal English use as a feature of 'unauthentic' football fandom). Both of these are deemed unacceptable in emergent interaction skeins, leading to discriminative discourse sequences. However, both usages of 'non-Standard' English also become 'memes', new models for key forum members' discourse styles, and the display of these non-standard varieties quickly becomes emblematic of the 'savvy' when used deliberately, ironically with awareness of, and distancing from, the 'face-value' original usages.

Drawing from Hymes (1996) and Blommaert (2005, 2010), I suggest that in these 'ways of writing' about football, (mis)use of particular communicative resources or features inextricably brings about an imbalance of symbolic capital (in the Bourdieuan sense). This imbalance may then become manifest in downright abuse of (online) influence, where the linguistic and the football-cultural - two potentially volatile topics - become intertwined in a complex of meanings, attitudes and hate-talk. Investigating these controversies with an ethnographic lens adjusted to the world of football sheds light on the dynamics of multilingual communication and metalinguistic awareness - in a world experience now increasingly mediated by computer-based applications.

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FILE, KIERAN A.

Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

'TO BE PERFECTLY HONEST, IT JUST BORES THE SHIT OUT OF ME!' ETHNOGRAPHIC INSIGHTS INTO THE POST-MATCH INTERVIEW GENRE

The post-match interview has become a seemingly obligatory component of the live televised sporting event, yet it has received little attention from researchers in linguistics or other social science disciplines. This presentation will provide an insider perspective into the connection between the game on the pitch and its linguistic representations in the form of this relatively unexplored media genre through an exploration of ethnographic data highlighting attitudes and approaches to the post-match interview held by the stakeholders directly involved in it.

The presentation draws on data from thirty-six ethnographic interviews that were done as part of a wider project exploring the genre of the post-match interview. The stakeholders that were interviewed were involved in one of the following sports: football, rugby, tennis and golf. These stakeholders were sports players, ex-players, broadcast interviewers, journalists, media managers, a sports psychologist and a sports public relations agent.

Drawing primarily on the ethnographic interviews with football stakeholders, and focusing more specifically on the interviewers and interviewees, this presentation will first provide a picture of how stakeholders feel about the post-match interview speech event, highlighting aspects of the social context in which these interviews take place. This will include features such as interviewer and interviewee attitudes and approaches to post-match interviews, beliefs about the purpose of this interview and the dangers they perceive relevant in this context. Second, the presentation will explore some of the linguistic strategies that speakers employ to negotiate the potentially difficult social context of the football post-match interview. These have been identified from a discourse analysis of a data set of 80 televised post-match interviews. The findings will be discussed briefly in relation to findings from ethnographic interview data sets and post-match interview data sets from the three other sports (rugby union, tennis and golf). Connections will be made between these complementary data sets for illustrative purposes and in part to highlight the contribution an ethnographic component can make when conducting a genre analysis - a methodological rarity in many approaches to genre analysis.

GAMAL, MUHAMMAD YAHYA University of Canberra, Australia

IT'S A RED CARD! AND IT'S THE INTERPRETER WHO IS SENT OFF

Although football is dubbed the international language of sport as it is practiced in virtually all cities in the world, the game is increasingly becoming 'linquistic' as teams, at the club and national levels turn their attention to foreign coaches and players. The word 'foreign' is now part and parcel of football and to make the foreign 'element' meaningful and relevant interpreters are being used. The presence of interpreters for coaches and players has been a noticeable feature of football since FIFA introduced the colour cards in 1970. The cards, were introduced after the communication failure in sending a player off the field in 1966 World Cup. However, the sociolinquistic impact of interpreters on football has attracted little attention in the sport media, the game bodies and academia alike (Gamal: 2011). Research in Egyptian football discourse show that the language of football has vast sociolinguistic impact on the masses (Dawood: 2005) and that the terminology of the foreign game has not only taken root but started to develop its own discourse (Gamal: 2008). Over the past decade or so, Egyptian football discourse, has been focused on the most famous foreign coach Egypt has known, Manuel Jose, a Portuguese who coaches Egypt's top club Al Ahly. This was done through Jose's interpreter Ahmad Abdou, till his demise! The interpreter's saga with a top team deserves to be investigated. Likewise, the saga of the Portuguese interpreter of Japan's national team's coach Zico deserves a closer attention as it explores the latitude sport interpreters should be given and can claim. In a context characterised by passion, emotion and motivation how 'professional' should the interpreter be and what is the vardstick for being professional. This could also raise the question of gender: could females do the job of a football interpreter? Similarly, the Spanish interpreter of the Chinese national team has had his own fair share of the blame. Interpreters should be proficient in both languages and of course fluent in the terminology of the subject matter but should they also be native interpreters in order to understand the emotions of the players or simply focus on the message of the foreign Spanish coach! The paper examines the role football interpreters play and the impact they have on the culture of football. While the examples are primarily taken from Egyptian, Japanese and Chinese contexts more examples from other contexts will be cited . The rationale being: football interpreters, though not team mates, they are certainly team players!

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ANDROULAKIS, GEORGE

University of Thessaly, Greece

RITUAL AND DISCOURSE IN FOOTBALL POST-MATCH PRESS CONFERENCE ACROSS LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

This paper focuses on the press conference which takes place after a football match with the participation of the two teams' managers and, in some cases, of selected players. The approach adopted by the paper is sociolinguistic and pragmatic, as the treatment of the press conference is made in terms of the setting, the rules, the context, the conditions, but also of the content and the discourse patterns reproduced in it. Examples for the analysis are taken from football leagues in five European countries and cultures: England (the Premiership), France (Ligue 1), Spain (La Primera), Italy (Serie A) and Greece (Superleague).

Cross-linguistic and cross-cultural remarks are made on the practices, the ground rules and the interaction patterns of the press conference in the European leagues mentioned above. In general, this is a largely interactive communicative event (van Dijk, 1988, 8). The setting and organisation of the event, the stages and turn-taking are generally culture-specific; for instance, the importance of the secondary audience (fans watching on television) determines the staging of the press conference in many ways. The balance between monologue and the question-answer model (Ghadessy, 1988) seems to be context-specific, too. Thus, one-to-one communication (an interviewer posing questions to the interviewee) is more common in Italy, Spain or Greece, while the one-to-many model (an interviewer posing questions on behalf of all the journalists accredited to the football event), is frequent in England and France. Moreover, humour and irony are more tolerated and expected in England and Italy than in Spain and Greece. Links to local (Marr, Davis & Randall, 1999) and genre identities are also obvious in many sequences across the cultures studied. On the other hand, the techniques of neutrality or partiality in the journalists' questions or the managers' strategies of answers and evasions tend to be more universal, whereas the opposition between winning and losing managers turns out to be relevant from a discourse point of view. Some aspects of the content are particularly sport-specific and explain marked differences with the news interviews (Clayman & Heritage, 2002), but others seem more global, like (rare) references to non-football matters. In fact, the links between football and other social phenomena look weak in our data from press conferences across Europe. Finally, a last issue of interest concerns the interpretation of discourse produced (necessary when an interviewee does not speak the local language of the audience), its patterns, constraints and biases.

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WILTON, ANTJE

University of Siegen, Germany

A COMMON EXPERIENCE: INTERVIEWS WITH FOOTBALLERS AS A RECONSTRUCTIVE GENRE

Around the world, a professional football match may be a significant event which through its presentation and staging in public media enables millions of people to share it. To satisfy the audience's need for entertainment and information, mass media provide different forms of football commentary, including live commentary, interviews with players, coaches and other experts, reports and live tickers. Not infrequently, though, complaints are voiced about the quality of interviews conducted with football players right after a match. Well-known criticisms target the use of empty formulaics, vague language, avoidance of straight answers by the players, but also inadequate and misleading questioning by reporters. In line with that criticism, footballer interviews seem to be a rich source for linguistic material that is exploited for humorous effect (www.fussballkultur.org).

Interviews as part of football commentary have been investigated in various disciplines (sports studies, media studies and linguistics), which analyzed their quality, their general structure or the use of metaphors. This presentation reports on a study which takes a slightly different focus: as work in progress, it investigates the relationship between the characteristics of interviews with football players after a match and their function for football commentary and the wider social context. The corpus consists of television interviews conducted with players from the German football club FC Bayern München during the 2011 season. The interviews are analyzed using a conversation analytic approach that focuses on the relationship between verbal and visual elements, between micro- and macrostructures and between form and content. The study proposes that interviews with footballers are to be seen as communicative genres in the sense of Bergmann & Luckmann (1995), having an inner structure determined by the choice of linguistic material and an outer structure connecting the genre to a wider social and media context. Furthermore, it is argued that interviews with footballers are a type of reconstructive genre which creates the feeling of an event having been shared by players and audience, thus serving to establish and enact an imaginary community (Chovanec 2008, Mikos 2006). It will be shown that many of the typical – and sometimes criticized – characteristics of those interviews are employed deliberately to manage and maintain parasocial interaction and relationships between players and audience (Gleich 2009). As such, football interviews take their place in the communicative 'budget' of a society (Bergmann & Luckmann 1995).

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GERHARDT, CORNELIA Saarland University, Germany

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 139

The City Speaks: Variation and Change in São Paulo

Session Chair 1: Bentes, Anna Session Chair 2: Mendes, Ronald

Session Abstract:

As one of the largest and most diverse cities in the world, São Paulo has received little attention from variationists to date (Mendes, 2009; Rodrigues 2009). While it has been documented through research projects such as 'NURC-SP' (Urban Cultivated Norm – Castilho and Preti, 1986), 'Gramática do Português Falado' (Spoken Portuguese Grammar – Castilho et al., 2006) and, more recently, 'Projeto Para a História do Português Brasileiro' (Project for the History of Brazilian Portuguese – Castilho, 2009), the Paulistano variety has mostly been studied indirectly (Oushiro 2011). This thematic session aims at gathering presentations that focus on cases of language variation and change in São Paulo, in order to build an overview of the Portuguese spoken in that city and indicate directions for future work.

Theoretically, this session aims at discussing language complexity. We assume that language can be conceived of as a set of processes and products in continuous variation and change. The components of such complexity are not linear, but rather dynamic and multidirectional, and linguistic items display grammatical, lexical, semantic and discourse features simultaneously. Those features are gathered in Grammar, Semantics, Lexicon and Discourse (products) as well as in grammaticalization, semanticization, lexicalization and discoursivization (processes), in a way that there is no necessary hierarchy among them. Such perspective implies a commitment to transdisciplinarity (Castilho 2009: 131). Based on these assumptions, core questions under discussion will include: (i) Is São Paulo one single speech community? (ii) How can we account for the current linguistic complexity in the city? (iii) What does it mean to sound like a Paulistano? (iv) Beyond sociophonetics, are there grammatical variants associated with the city? (v) To what extent do cultural models provide elements for linguistic choices (Geeraerts 2003)? The first and second questions address the theoretical and methodological problem of how to approach, as a sociolinguist, a city that is so huge (11 million people) and so diverse (home both to people born and raised there, and to immigrants from all over Brazil as well as the rest of the world). The second question, specifically, leads us to fields like Social History, Sociology and Historical Linguistics. The third question concerns current research projects that deal with the relationship between phonetic variation and the expression of Paulistano identity, from both the perspective of perception and of production. The fourth question speaks to whether certain grammatical variables in São Paulo are used differently, in relation to other Brazilian varieties that have been more extensively described. Finally, the last question looks into possible relationships between language variation and change and how

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KEWITZ, VERENA

Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil

DISCUSSING LANGUAGE COMPLEXITY IN A COMPLEX CITY: THE CASE OF SÃO PAULO

It is quite inevitable nowadays to face language studies in terms of complexity, once language, as well as its speakers, belongs to such field. Independently on what linguistic object is analysed, it must be conceived of from an interdisciplinary, dynamic and heterogeneous point of view. In the complexity perspective, social and physical aspects cannot be separated from the cognitive ones. As Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008, apud Nascimento 2009: 67) point out, 'the mind develops as part of a body constantly interacting with the physical and sociocultural environment'. More daring perhaps is to understand the functioning of language in a complex speaking community. This paper aims at discussing the challenge of dealing with language as a complex system in a complex city like São Paulo. Several questions might arise, as why people speak the way they do, what social elements must be taken into account, how speakers perceive and/or conceive of the way they speak, and so forth. Far from proposing a closed framework, I will suggest some guiding questions for further research. To begin with, a language perception test will be applied among native Portuguese speakers either born in São Paulo or not, in order to find out how they face their language variety of Brazilian Portuguese. This first step is the basis for a qualitative analysis, in which cultural models are involved. In other words, it is my aim to examine to what extent cultural models provide the elements for linguistic choices, as Geeraerts (2003: 52) puts it: stereotypical knowledge about groups of speakers (Paulistanos relative to themselves and other groups relative to Paulistanos) and what expectations such groups present regarding sociolinguistic behaviour.

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BENTES, ANNA CHRISTINA (1): MARIANO, RAFAELA (2) 1: UNICAMP, Brazil; 2: UNICAMP, Brazil

MANOS' SPEECH: IS IT POSSIBLE TO TALK ABOUT A PAULISTA POPULAR REGISTER?

Our main goal in this communication is to present some early results of the analysis developed within the research project 'É nois na fita': a formação de registros e a elaboração de estilos no campo da cultura popular urbana paulista, funded by Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo. We argue that to describe sociolinguistic variation in the city of São Paulo, it is important to understand that (i) São Paulo speech community is socially heterogeneous, culturally complex and highly stratified; (ii) different social groups in different contexts will make use and manipulate different linguistic and discursive resources so they can continuosly redesign their own social identities (iii) there is a deep connection between the emergence of linguistic variation and the conditions of textuality and co-textuality under which social actors produce their discourses.

In order to participate of the discussion proposed in this session by the question 'Is São Paulo one single speech community?, we assume the notion of register postulated by Agha (2007): 'a register exists as a bounded object only to a degree set by sociohistorical processes of enregisterment, processes whereby its forms and values become differentiable from the rest of the language (i.e., recognizable as distinct, linked to typifiabel social personae or practices) for a given population of speakers.'(p. 168) The author also emphasizes the importance of the mutal relationship between the repertoire of forms of a register and its uterrances in context when describing and analyzing language registers.

Our corpus consists of different communicative situations in which 'manos de São Paulo' (male adult workers and hip hop artists) speak: a public discourse performed by a famous rapper, 03 interviews with members of a television program audience, a conversation in a car and a debate/informal discussion between hip hop artists. In relation to the linguistic level, we focused on variation of nominal and verbal agreement and on the variable use of discourse markers. In relation to the textual level, we focused on the following phenomena: the management of discourse topic and the use of specific textual superstructures.

The first results show that (i) the performance of nominal and verbal agreement variation is closely related to textual adequacy (for example, the major use of the stigmatized variable occurs inside narrative sequences which were not demanded; commentary was demanded) and also to the social images/identities the speakers intend to display: (ii) certain discourse markers ('né': 'e') can be seen as typifying mano's register if we relate their occurrences with the textual sequence (Adam, 2008) that structures the discourses produced in the different communicative situations; (iii) it is possible to postulate that complex relations between linguistic and textual/discoursive resources are responsible for the popular nature of manos' speech.

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OUSHIRO, LIVIA

Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil

HOW TO RECOGNIZE A PAULISTANO

Social descriptions of the city of São Paulo often allude to its diverse and multicultural population, which is highly heterogeneous as to its inhabitants' geographical origin, socioeconomic class, and cultural background. This diversity naturally brings with it a number of variable linguistic phenomena. This paper addresses one of the core questions of this thematic session, 'What does it mean to sound like a Paulistano?'. We address this question through a systematic analysis of sociolinguistic perceptions and evaluations of Paulistanos about their own speech and identity, gathered as part of 100 one-hour long sociolinguistic interviews with speakers stratified by sex/gender, three age groups, two levels of education, and two areas of residence within the city.

The interviews included the following questions: (i) 'When you were in (another city), did people recognize you as a Paulistano? How?'; (ii) 'When you are in the city, do you notice if another person is a Paulistano or not? How?': (iii) 'When you meet a Paulistano, do you recognize if the person is from a specific neighborhood or region in the city? How?' In answer to the first two questions, speakers almost invariably said 'yes', and mentioned the manner of speech and style of dress as the main reasons. However, speakers were rarely able to point to local internal sociolinquistic identity indices. Unlike other cities such as New York (Labov, 2006) and Toronto (Hoffman & Walker, 2010), there do not seem to be enclaves with recognizable local 'lects'. It seems that in spite of its social diversity. Paulistano speech is fairly homogenous in terms of speaker perception.

Specific guestions in the interview were also aimed at eliciting speaker reactions to three sociolinguistic variables: realization of nasal /e/ as a monophthong or a diphthong (in words such as fazenda 'farm'), nominal agreement (e.g. as casas vs. as casa 'the houses'), and realization of coda /-r/ (in words such as porta 'door'). Whereas Paulistanos rarely recognize the diphthongization of nasal /e/ as a salient sociolinguistic feature in their speech, variable nominal agreement tends to be viewed as an index of socioeconomic differentiation and variable coda /-r/ as an index of geographical origin. As a large multicultural city that has received little attention from variationists (Mendes, 2009; Rodrigues, 2009), this analysis supports the combination of emic and etic approaches to social categorization and contributes to defining parameters for future sociolinguistic research in the city.

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MENDES, RONALD Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil

PARAIBANOS IN SÃO PAULO: WHERE /R/ THEY?

Migrant speakers present a challenge for sociolinguistic research on the Portuguese spoken in São Paulo, Brazil. Even when such speakers are longtime residents, they may sound different from those born and raised in the city who identify themselves as 'paulistanos'. This paper analyzes the speech of 10 'paraibanos' (from the state of Paraíba in Northeastern Brazil), focusing on coda /r/, a linguistic variable salient in identifying regional and social dialects in Brazil (Brandão 2008, Callou et al. 1996). We analyze coda /r/ gualitatively and guantitatively in the speech of these ten migrants, comparing them with the results of perceptual and production studies of native paulistanos (Mendes 2009; Mendes, in press; Mendes & Oushiro, in press).

In São Paulo, coda /r/ is most frequently pronounced as an alveolar tap, though it occurs as a retroflex about 25% of the time (Mendes, in press). In general, the latter variant is negatively perceived as caipira (country-like) by paulistanos who wish to be identified as cosmopolitan. As for the paraibanos, the retroflex variant is absent in their original dialect, where a third variant, the velar fricative [x], is most frequent. This variant is also negatively evaluated in São Paulo, being perceived as either carioca (from Rio de Janeiro) or associated with Northeastern Brazil. The paraibanos in this sample appear to retain some usage of the velar fricative, which indicates that their accommodation (Bell 2001) to the paulistano standard is not categorical. However, they make some use of the retroflex as well as the more predictable alveolar tap, which may indicate that retroflex /r/ is more strongly constitutive of São Paulo speech than prototypical paulistanos would like to believe, or may be gaining in prestige. Moreover, the analysis presented in this paper shows possible pathways for the future inclusion of migrants from other areas in Brazil in the sociolinguistic study of São Paulo.

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ROCHA, RAFAEL STOPPA University of São Paulo, Brazil

SENTENTIAL NEGATION IN PAULISTANO PORTUGUESE

A preliminary study of variable structuring of negative sentences in Paulistano Portuguese has revealed that the non-standard form is favored by sons of non-Paulistanos individuals and by women (Rocha, 2011). The first result leads to a contact approach of how the non-Paulistanos individuals have interacted linguistically with Paulistanos ones and how their sons interact with the other inhabitants of the city. In this paper, we present results of multivariate quantitative analyses and discuss them in light of contact of varieties. There are three possible sentential negative structures in Brazilian Portuguese: (i) NEG1 [Neg V] (Não vou); (ii) NEG2 [Neg V Neg] (Não vou não); and (iii) NEG3 [V Neg] (Vou não) 'I won't go'. NEG1 is traditionally considered the standard canonical form, as it is almost categorical in written language (llari & Basso, 2006). Some authors argue NEG2 and NEG3 are frequent in northeastern Brazil or even caracteristic of the region (Marroquim, 2008 [1945]; Schwegler, 1991 apud Mello et al., 1998; Barme, 2005; Schwenter, 2005). In a sample of 12 sociolinguistic interviews with native Paulistano speakers, NEG 3 is barely present (less than 1%), but non-canonical NEG2 is relatively frequent (11% of the total data) and highly favored in non-Paulistanos sons' speech (.78). In face of these results, since São Paulo (located in southeastern Brazil) has received a large number of northeasters though the last six decades - over 2.5 millions individuals from 1970 to 1991 (CUNHA et alli, 2000) -, this paper discusses this case of variation especially in reference to Paulistanos parents' homeland

Thematic Session 141

Taking over the squares: the role of linguistic practices in contesting public

Session Chair 1: Martin Rojo, Luisa

Session Abstract:

The first sparks started to fly in Arab countries, where thousands of people took to the streets, squares and other public spaces making use of multilingual banners and signs to challenge government economic policies, and demand higher citizen participation in political life. This was soon followed in lceland, and soon after in Spain. In spite of the differences in terms of the contexts, demands and motivations, these grassroots movements are characterised by diversity in terms of class and gender. They are primarily being led and constituted by people, who in different ways suffer the consequences of basic service cuts, and/or reject the economic system behind the current financial crisis, and behind their political regimens.

The conviction that only global actions can confront global problems explains the strong international focus of these movements, and the attempts to spread the flame of protest throughout the word (http://takethesquare.net/). Other principles which define these movements are leaderless and horizontal forms of organisation; open assemblies as the main forums whereby consensus is reached on actions to be taken, and the movements' demands; the central role of online social networks and of public spaces as places of intervention, communication and reunion. It is precisely within the context of all these new political practices that new linguistic practices may emerge. The focus of this panel is to assess the innovative nature of these practices. Specifically, their labels and slogans (*Dégagez, Indignados, From Tahrir to Sol*) and the languages used by the demonstrators circulate through the Internet and the media, and pass from one country to another, thus interconnecting movements. These struggles share a global outlook, and make a particular use of multilingualism to address both global and local interlocutors, to create chains of interconnected discourse in order to join forces and build up new communities. Thus, the first aim of this panel will be to analyse the forms taken by this mobilisation of resources from different languages.

Besides this pervasive multilingualism, other transformations in the modes of production and circulation of discourses can be attested. In fact, the introduction of new political practices seems to require correlative discursive changes. In particular, the principles of horizontality and collective intelligence result in collectively produced discourses, deliberately anonymous, which challenge traditional authorship patterns. Other political practices also seem to have an impact in the production and circulation of discourses. In particular, it would be worth analysing the impact of the use of several online tools, and of the constantly monitoring of how the movements are portrayed in the media. Thus, the second aim of this panel will be to analyse the potential transformation of discursive practices in connection with some ideological features of these movements.

Finally, this panel will also analyse the implications and contradictions, which could emerge, or the tensions and inconsistences derived from the articulation between the local and the global. Some of the questions to be addressed will be:

1. Are there any new linguistic practices at play in this context? And if so, is this novelty rooted in the particular features and objectives of these new social struggles?

2. What are the new modes and sites of production and circulation of these discourses?

How is multilingualism enacted in the context of social struggle? Is it a merely rhetorical phenomenon or is it an effective means to articulate global and local dimensions, and in that case, what could be the impact of these multilingual practices on previous local forms of multilingualism?
 Can the commodification of multilingualism be at play here

GOUTSOS, DIONYSIS; POLYMENEAS, GEORGE University of Athens, Greece

IDENTITY AS SPACE: LOCALISM IN THE GREEK PROTESTS

The public gathering of tens of thousands of Greek indignados or 'aganaktismeni' in Syntagma square outside the Greek parliament for about three months (May to August 2011) has been one of the most important events in the recent cataclysmic developments following the economy 'crisis' in Greece. As has already been suggested (Sotiris 2011), these protests took place in an altogether different context from that of other countries, shaped by previous struggles against austerity measures taken by the Greek government and the EU-IMF-ECB 'Troika'. They were also influenced by the widespread social and political tension regarding the updated version of the Memorandum of Understanding, the Medium Term Economic Program, which was to be discussed and approved in the parliament before the end of June 2011. Thus, although public assemblies in Syntagma brought to the fore demands for political change, authentic democracy and popular sovereignty in ways similar to other movements, especially Sol square in Madrid and Al-Tahrir in Cairo, they focussed on organizing a concrete anti-Memorandum movement, hugely critical towards government's fiscal and financial policies. This local perspective seems to favour an ethnocentric view of struggle, co-existing with its international dimensions (e.g. as a threat to European economy). Taking this context into account, in this paper we combine corpus-based methods with CDA's analytical tools in order to investigate how social subjects and social situation are discursively constructed in the Greek movement, as well as how social/political identities and social/public space are co-articulated. Our hypothesis is that processes of self- and other-definition in the Greek data mainly implicate space deixis ('here' vs. 'there'), construing identity in terms of space.

In particular, we study the proceedings of 48 public assemblies (220.000 words) and the 36 announcements voted by the public assemblies (15.000 words), along with supplementary material, including slogans, posters etc. This data were retrieved from two official sites and relevant literature, but we also rely on our personal observations, since we attended most of the assemblies and casted our votes for the issues discussed. We thus analyze a multiplicity of resources through which protesters define themselves and their actions in relation to other social agents in Greece and the rest of the world, with the aim of exploring both global and local dimensions in the movement of Greek aganaktismeni and their articulations. Our focus is on personal and relational identity (Joseph 2004: 81), as it appears in 'us' vs. 'them' contrasts (van Dijk 2000, Chilton 2004, Hart 2010). In the Greek case the 'us' comprises the Greek aganaktismeni, other anti-government and anti-Memorandum groups, as well as international movements, whereas the 'them' involves agents such as the Greek government, the banks, Troika and occasionally all parliamentary parties, even if some supported the movement's goals. Finally, we touch upon the identification of participants as global citizens and local actors and the formation of collectivities through monolingual and multilingual practices, as well as the role of affect and evaluation in this process.

ABOELEZZ, MARIAM Lancaster University, United Kingdom

LOCAL MOVEMENT, GLOBAL MOMENTUM: THE GEOSEMIOTICS OF PROTEST MES-SAGES FROM TAHRIR SQUARE

The year 2011 saw unprecedented waves of people occupying key locations around the world in a statement of public discontent. These movements were unprecedented not only in numbers, but also in the extensive media attention and documentation made possible by modern technology and globalisation. This was evident both in the role that technology played in mobilising protesters as well as in the protest messages that appeared to continue an overarching dialogue of anti-government protests. These messages reflect the bi-dimensional nature of the protests with 'local' and 'global' properties in interplay.

This paper presents the case of protest messages from Tahrir Square, exploring the extent to which the location of the protests played a part in shaping the protesters' messages through a quantitative analysis of a corpus of approximately 2000 protest messages from Tahrir Square, extracted from 1000+ images captured between 25 January and 11 February 2011. The analysis draws from the field of geosemiotics which posits that all discourses are 'situated' both in space and time (cf. Scollon & Scollon 2003). It is argued that the protesters were aware of the place semiotics of Tahrir Square which had become the epicentre of anti-government protests. Elements of situatedness may be divided into a number of aspects: concrete geographical references, (intertextual) references to local culture and heritage, and language choice. Geographical references to Tahrir Square could be found frequently in the protestor's messages. There were also references to historical landmarks and aspects of ancient Egyptian history and heritage. The analysis also returns scores of intertextual references to local Egyptian culture as well as an abundance of religious references, locating the protests in the wider Egyptian community. In terms of language choice, Arabic (not just Standard Arabic but also significantly Egyptian Arabic) made up the overwhelming majority of protest messages in the corpus. Languages other than Arabic could also be seen frequently, with English being the most common foreign language. However, messages in English were not necessarily directed at a foreign audience; many of them contained local references which could only be understood by someone who is bilingual and well-acquainted with Egyptian culture. The points above capture the 'local' dimension of the protests, but the messages also reflect a clear 'global' connection with much to suggest that the protesters were aware of the extensive attention from international media. This was seen in the numerous messages directed to the 'outside world'. particularly to the US administration. On a different level, it could also be seen in the technological theme that many messages adopted. A final aspect of the global dimension is explored by looking at how the Egyptian revolution was connected to other popular movements outside Egypt. This is achieved by studying intertextual references to the earlier Tunisian revolution, and the later recontextualisation of key slogans from the Egyptian revolution in antigovernment protests in other parts of the world, as demonstrated by other papers in this panel.

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UNGER, JOHANN WOLFGANG Lancaster University, United Kingdom

OCCUPY GLOBAL, GLOBALISE OCCUPY: THE LINGUISTIC HEGEMONY OF GLOBAL RESISTANCE PRACTICES

This paper will attempt to explore the complex relationships between language, hegemony, and the social and political movements and protests of 2011 (e.g. the Arab Springs, Occupy, UK riots) within a critical discourse studies framework. In doing so, it will examine not just the nature of the challenges (verbal, visual, physical) offered by the participants in the movements to symbolic and de-facto representatives of political hegemonies, but also the role of various technologies in causing or facilitating, complicating or frustrating activists' efforts at communication, multilingual, monolingual or non-verbal, within and beyond their movements.

While the mainstream English-language media has often presented a compelling narrative of 'liberation, democratization and social change caused by 'Western' technology', the reality is of course often much more complex. This is shown particularly by the protests that have taken place in majority-English-speaking countries themselves. Protestors have made use of numerous technologies, non-digital and non-electronic in nature, to communicate and further their aims. An example is the 'human mic', systematic repetition by the crowd of what a single speaker is saying, which was used at Occupy gatherings to ensure individual voices could be heard by the whole group, or to challenge amplified voices (in one famous example, protestors interrupted a speech by Barack Obama). At the other end of the technology spectrum, protestors, officials, observers and commentators used Twitter to frame events in particular ways and for particular purposes during major protests - one such example are the claims and counter-claims about looting in the riots that took place in UK cities in Summer 2011. These claims, many which were subsequently proved to be false, were repeated by broadcast media and had a role in shaping public opinion and subsequent governmental policy decisions. What was notably absent from many contexts was much engagement with the broader global resistance movements. While they were multi-modal, encompassing physical actions, sound, visual elements on placards and banners, and also online actions such as Facebook and YouTube posts, tweets, etc., they were not particularly multilingual, in marked contrast to the Arab Springs and other protests outside the Anglo-American world. It is thus noteworthy that global networks allow social and political movements around the globe to influence each other using the same technologies and networks as other globalised phenomena. And as with other such phenomena, this process has not necessarily been a two-way street. Thus, the paper concludes that while the 'West' has 'occupied protest' in less 'privileged' parts of the world in various ways, including linguistically, the reverse has not always been true.

STEINBERG, R LILA University of California Los Angeles, United States of America

OCCUPY DISCOURSE – THE CO-CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNITY AND COMMON GROUND

The global Occupy movement brought together participants across the political spectrum to explore durative physical proximity along with and toward renewed, co-constructed discourses about human rights, human dignity, and the nature of fairness. The encampments themselves provided geographic spaces which enabled the necessary time-in-place for these explorations. Although some attention has been paid by mainstream media to the people's mic (the practice of many repeating the floor-holder's utterances, given in short phrases, so that large groups can hear what is said) as well as the use of hand signals, these have largely been as novelties, revealed only in two or three-second video and audio clips or still images. And yet these and other emergent discourse practices are at the center of the significance of the Occupy movement. These embodied practices, situated within reclaimed quasi-autonomous space, allowed for collective and individual reevaluations of relationships between personal and political meaning. At Occupy sites, common ground (in its duel sense) was occupied, structured, restructured, and maintained.

Solidarity is built interactionally through the sequential organization of linguistic and gestural actions between dyads or larger groups (Clayman 2002). In participatory democracy, proposals take forms which are influenced by the local ecology (Mondada accepted) and renew and are renewed by it in ongoing negotiation. Each global Occupy site empowered itself to create local systems for the practice of participatory democratic deliberation. U.S. Occupy participants utilized models from international protest websites. In this way, locally emergent discursive practices were informed by and then fed back in to ongoing global practices.

The people's mic not only amplifies the auditory range of an utterance, but provides group embodiment and reenactment of an individual's utterance. One US feature resulting from the multimodal simultaneous use of hand signals and the people's mic is the appearance of double and possibly multiple stances realized through the body of a single participant. How does this type of distributed speakership (Goodwin 2007) influence group decision-making and collaboration, as well as consensus-forming? How does this practice reconstitute the body politic? Using conversation and discourse analytic methods, including gesture analysis with the use of video data collected at the Occupy Los Angeles site, this presentation will analyze segments of consensusbuilding activities and discuss how the emergent discursive practices of the Occupy movement reflect the larger themes and goals of the movement on a global scale.

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CHUN, CHRISTIAN W.

University of Southern California, United States of America

LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES AS DEMOCRACY IN ACTION: OCCUPY LOS ANGELES AND CITY HALL

In late 2011, large protest movements against systemic social and economic inequalities erupted in cities across the U.S. This paper features a critical multimodal perspective on the interfaces between the animated linguistic landscape (LL) constructed and mobilized by the Occupy Movement in Los Angeles, and the accompanying production of politicized space anchored on the lawn of Los Angeles City Hall. My data are drawn from the visual documentation in the photographs I took of the hand-lettered and illustrated multilingual protest signs prominently featured on the lawn and near vicinity of Los Angeles City Hall, and a filmed workshop on exploring language in the mainstream media with fellow Occupiers.

Employing the theoretical perspective of Lefebvre (1991a, 1991b) on space and the critique of everyday life, and drawing upon the work on multimodal social-semiotics (Kress, 2010; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006), linguistic landscapes (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009), sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert, 2010), and mediated discourse analysis (Scollon, 2008; Scollon & Scollon, 2003), I first examine how diverse people in the movement took up both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses in their articulations of ideas, emotions, grievances, and observations represented in their multilingual, multimodal signs constituting a unique LL, which was a central feature of the Occupy encampment of City Hall.

The discourses featured in this LL will then be explored in their recontextualizations in a workshop I conducted at the People's Collective University, a school set up in the Occupy encampment. The workshop, entitled 'Critical language in action' and posted on YouTube, engaged with the Occupiers and workshop participants the ways in which cultural assumptions and motivated agendas involved in neoliberal global capitalism has shaped how language is used in current political, economic, and cultural discourses and their ensuing interpenetration into everyday 'common-sense' discourses. In tracing how the discourses in the Occupiers' LL were resemiotized in the workshop discussions and how these interconnect with the globalized discourses of dissent and revolt, I argue that in transforming the public space of City Hall from a neutralized, de-democratized institutional landscape into a politicized linguistic space in which democracy was resemiotized in ways that contested dominant 'common-sense' meanings, the Occupiers vividly enacted a dynamically-infused, living LL.

This paper will address questions including:

1. What role did the Occupiers' LL play in focusing public attention on their issues, and how were these messages addressed by the mainstream media?

2. How were the discourses in their LL taken up by the workshop participants?

3. In what ways are these specifically-located LL discourses interconnecting with global actions, movements, and articulations?

4. What are the relationships between the production of texts in the LL and the production of politicized spaces in the environs of Los Angeles City Hall?

GARCÍA AGUSTÍN, ÓSCAR (1); AGUIRRE DÍAZ, FÉLIX (2) 1: Aalborg University, Denmark; 2: Universidad de Valparaíso

CHILEAN STUDENT PROTESTS AND THE SMART MOBS: THE LANGUAGE OF MULTI-TUDE

The Chilean student movement rose on the 12th of May 2011 with a demonstration gathering 20.000 people in Santiago. From May to November an average of 200.000 demonstrators took over the streets whenever a demonstration was organized. This is the largest number of people mobilizing in Chile since the beginning of the 70s. Despite of the high number of marches during these seven months only few clashes between (a minority of) violent demonstrators and riot police occurred. The creativity demonstrated to create a peaceful atmosphere during demonstrators. The objective of this paper is to analyze how the Chilean student movement uses a joyful grammar of protest, which refers to a global repertoire but is applied nationally. Based on the idea of smart mobs (Rheingold 2002), we look at demonstrations such as flash mobs and collective performances organized through social media and new technologies to disrupt the use of public places and the dominant discourses trying to criminalize the student movement. In order to carry out this analysis we use the methodological tools of Discourse Analysis, and especially the role of intertextuality and interdiscursivity (Fairclough 1992; 2003) to redefine discursive practices, on the one hand, and theories about multitude and creative ways of expressing collectivity, on the other.

The alternative demonstrations of student movements in Chile are inspired by pop and mass culture. In the case of mainstream pop music, protests take the form of flash mobs. Students, dressed as zombies, dance to the sound of Michael Jackson's hit Thriller in order to express their critique of the current system. They also made a 'Gagazo' (a neologism mixing Gaga + the Spanish suffix -azo, which refers to a violent or sudden action) where Lady Gaga's Judas was performed. This sort of music, which belongs to the global imaginary, is recontextualized and used for a political purpose. Flash mobs can be considered transgressive semiotics (Scollon & Scollon 2003) of decontextualized and universalized symbols (as the music video) which add a political dimension to the action.

The case of Gendikama ('spirit sphere') for Education refers intertextually to the famous cartoon tv-show Dragon Ball. By use of irony, the text from the tv-show is read publicly and adapted to the students' fight against the (powerful and evil) government. Two discourses (the fictional and the real) and genres (tv-show and demonstration) are intertwined. The parody representation of the protesters as multitude (a diversity that stay together) against the common enemy is also found in the flash mob superheroes against villains. We argue that Chilean protesters as multitude develop a global language (flash mobs, collective performances) which contributes to the constitution of an emotional sphere (Bifo 2003) in which the joy of being together not only concerns a temporary occupation of the public space but also the claim for equality and social justice.

DANG-ANH, MARK; EBLE, MICHAEL Universität Bonn, Germany

RE-OCCUPY THE SQUARES: MEDIATIZED PROTEST AGAINST RIGHT-WING MOVE-MENTS IN THE CITY

Based on the concept of Mediatization, it is assumed that discursive practices change by the use of particular media (Frank-Job 2010). Especially digital media is regarded as facilitating political participation (Van Aelst/Walgrave 2004) by increasing speed, access and mobility. Our assumption is, that the mobile use of Twitter within protests enables the organization of collective action leading to the occupation of public places by the use of specific mediainherent functions (Twitter-practices) in combination with linguistic practices, most notably geo-referencing. The study thus aims at emphasizing specific mediatized political discourse practices by means of medial and linguistic evidence. The corpus researched consists of tweets that are collected within the context of demonstrations in Dresden/Germany in February 2012 on occasion of the annual commemoration of the Dresden bombardment in 1944. Since about ten years, extreme right-wingers march through the city at this date and counter-demonstrations occur as forms of protest against this occupation of civic space. While the researched movements are not genuinely new ones, participant numbers have risen to thousands recently and communication strategies have changed significantly by the use of mobile media. As pre-study data from 2011 demonstrations indicates, both groups use specific hashtags as contextualization clues (Cook-Gumperz/Gumperz 1976). thus create intertextuality and consequently use Twitter as a tool for the practices of coherent spatial organizing and mobilizing, especially in confusing street protest situations. Empirical analysis is based on a mixed-methods-approach. Tweets are analyzed in a qualitative content analysis in order to identify patterns of strategies of mediatized protest communication, with special regards to the construction of place. In addition, we quantitatively code Twitter-practices: hashtagging, retweeting, hyperlinking, and addressing/mentioning. By annotating linguistic geo-references and mapping them, it is possible to (visually) highlight the intersection between the virtual public space created by ad-hoc-publics in the Twittersphere (Bruns/Burgess 2011) and the occupation of physical space in the city. Triangulating linguistic spatial information with Twitter-practices sheds light on both interpersonal and discursive references in order to spontaneously organize change of locations. The study focuses on the innovative use of language in mobile media in the context of local movements clashing in the city. It thus might enrich the discussion about new discursive protest practices opening up an interdisciplinary perspective at the intersection of linguistics and media studies.

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NEW MOVEMENTS, NEW LINGUISTIC PRACTICES

In this paper we present some results of the research project 'ALICE: Strange Mirrors, Unsuspected Lessons: Leading Europe to a new way of sharing the world experiences', financed by the European Research Council and coordinated by Professor Boaventura de Sousa Santos. Specifically, we will comparatively analyze the discourses and practices of the new social movements that have emerged worldwide since 2010, considering the singularities and shared assumptions, both in the North as in the Global South, and the possibilities of dialogues and intercultural translations they offer to reactivate processes of social emancipation/regulation (Santos, 2003 and 2009). The discourses focus on the fundamental issues of social justice and democracy, understood as alternative way to make politics.

The cases studies of Madrid, Lisbon, Atenas, New York and London will show how the discourses and dynamics merge in the construction of a subaltern cosmopolitanism, based on diversity and expanded through shared imaginaries.

For this purpose, we will approach or the discursive construction of this cosmopolitanism from a sociological analysis discourses perspective (Conde 2010, Alonso 1998, Maingueneau 1984). This approach will deepen our understanding over the interrelations created in the use of languages, situated practices and the social context where they are produced, and their effects and intertextualities. Regarding the innovations that the emergence of this new linguistic practices represent, the camps and occupation of public squares will be further considered, since they have been the social spaces for the enunciation of multilinguistic practices. These practices represent a new symbolic appropriation to recreate politics and to develop new self-organizing models for direct democracy. In fact, the cases studied so far, show how their discourses and practices are referential to each other mutually feeding and how the power of languages are translated into constitutive practices. This is quite evident in the case of the new yorker square Liberty, where the demonstrators used the same speeches shouted in Madrid in their banners, images, digital productions, or used Tahir as symbol 'From Tahir Square to Times Square'.

Finally, once the innovations and commonalties among the different case studies are examined, the aim of the paper is to reach a better understanding of the subjectivity of these new movements, from an approach that departs from linguistic practices to establish the differences with the cycle of collective action that began in the mid-nineties with the altergobalization movements, and to explore the key features of a emergent subaltern cosmopolitanism. The data used for this analysis is based on interviews with people engaged with the movements, activists ethnographies, transcripts of meetings and public documents that these movements have disseminated in the networks (research, interviews, workshops, etc..).

DUCHÊNE, ALEXANDRE University of Fribourg, Switzerland

DISCUSSION

Discussant of the Thematic Session 'Taking over the squares'.

KELLY-HOLMES, HELEN

Unviersity of Limerick, Ireland

DISCUSSION

Discussant of the Thematic Session 'Taking over the squares'.

Thematic Session 142

Deconstructing the urban-rural dichotomy: language dynamism in indigenous language contexts

Session Chair 1: May, Stephen

Session Abstract:

Following Rampton's (1995) watershed contribution on linguistic crossing, subsequent work in critical sociolinguistics has increasingly turned to the study of urban language varieties, with a particular focus on their dynamism, hybridity and transnational origins and influences. This work has been particularly important and influential in terms of highlighting more nuanced ethnographic understandings of the complex multilingual repertoires of speakers in urban environments. It has also developed alongside an increasing focus in multilingual research on 'superdiverse' patterns of migration and post-migration and their implications for language use. Both developments challenge, in turn, the conception of languages as bounded systems (see, Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2010).

However, attendant upon the increasing focus and celebration of these 'new' urban language varieties, and what they represent for the development of critical sociolinguistics, is, we believe, their unnecessary dichotomization with so-called 'localized', often indigenous, language varieties. Indigenous language varieties in these critical sociolinguistic accounts are implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, viewed as ossified and/or static (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). In line with recent ethnographic accounts of language policy (cf. McCarty, 2011), this colloquium directly contests these presumptions. It will argue that the urban-rural dichotomization of language varieties understates, even ignores, the complex dialectic clearly evident in many indigenous language contexts, including the interaction of local and global language ecologies (Canagarajah, 2005), overlaps and fissures among generations of speakers, and the simultaneity of transmigration and rootedness (Levitt & Glick-Schiller, 2008). This failure to recognize fully the dynamism of indigenous language contexts, in turn, ironically reinforces rather than deconstructs a modernist conception of languages and a related hierarchization of language varieties (May, 2012) – a supposed bête noir of critical sociolinguistics.

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MAY, STEPHEN

University of Auckland, New Zealand

TOO HIP TO BE SQUARE: PRIVILEGING THE 'URBAN' IN CRITICAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS

This paper provides an overview of the key theoretical arguments advanced in this colloquium. I argue that the increasing focus in critical sociolinguistics on 'urban vernaculars' too often and unnecessarily juxtaposes such language varieties with so-called rural 'indigenous languages'. By way of example, I critique the work of Makoni and Pennycook (2007) who assert explicitly in the African context that 'there is a discernible shift from indigenous languages towards urban vernaculars...' (p.26; my emphases). This position is developed within their wider dismissal of indigenous languages as ossified and fixed (in time and place) in comparison with their more 'emergent', 'dynamic', 'hybrid' urban counterparts. I argue that this urban-rural dichotomization of language varieties understates, even ignores, the complex 'rural'-'urban' dialectic evident in many indigenous language contexts. It tends also ironically to reinforce rather than deconstruct a modernist conception of languages and a related hierarchization of language varieties – a supposed bête noir of critical sociolinguistics. And it fails to provide a convincing basis for the dismissal of indigenous language rights, a related feature of recent critical socio-linguistic contributions along these lines (see also Wee, 2010; Blommaert, 2010; Pennycook, 2010).

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KING, KENDALL AMY; HERMES, MARY FONG Univ of Minnesota, United States of America

OJIBWE LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION, MULTIMEDIA TECHNOLOGY, AND FAMILY LAN-GUAGE LEARNING IN URBAN CONTEXTS

Within the United States, there are fewer than 5,000 living speakers of Ojibwe, most of whom are elderly. Recent community activism and language revitalization efforts have given rise to a growing number of immersion schools and increased attention to the ways that new technology can support efforts to teach and renew endangered languages such as Ojibwe. However, most research on multimedia and learning endangered languages thus far has focused on individual, adults in contexts of higher education (e.g., Coronel-Molina, 2008). In contrast, the present research project examines how a recently released immersion software program, Ojibwemodaa, might support Ojibwe language revitalization among urban (non-reservation) Ojibwe families learning at home. Intentionally designed to revitalize Ojibwe as an everyday spoken register, this software uses unscripted video conversations as the basis for all language content.

Scholars and supporters of language revitalization have long pointed to the family as a critical domain for language transmission and regeneration (Fishman, 1991). Decades of research have indicated that school-based efforts --- while effective in teaching some vocabulary, grammatical structures --- alone do not promote use and transmission of the endangered language outside of school (e.g., King, Schilling-Estes, Fogle, Lou & Soukup, 2008). Further, most Ojibwe speakers do not live in Native communities, but rather in urban centers, thus making home the crucial context for Ojibwe language learning and use.

In light of these challenges, given a software tool that attempts to re-create informal conversation, what is the potential for restoring productive speech in home use? Can urban families use this tool as a starting point to bring Ojibwe back into family routines? Is it possible that multimedia could replicate or spark usage events? To begin to answer these questions, this project analyzed data from eight families collected over a two-month period. Each family was visited weekly for language and technology-based observations (that is, using the software) and interviewed about their language learning and use; each family also self-recorded Ojibwe-language interactions and kept a language log. Findings suggest the range of ways in which families utilize the software productively as well as the challenges they face in using Ojibwe off-line in face-to-face home interactions. This presentation analyzes how technology-based language learning was incorporated into existing family dynamics, and was helpful in providing a starting point for learning and language use within established urban-rural extended networks.

ZUNINO, FRANCESCA

University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, Italy-Dep.of Linguistic Studies on Textuality and Translation

AN ECOLINGUISTIC OVERCOMING OF THE RURAL-URBAN SEPARATION: THE MULTI-DIMENSIONAL LANDSCAPE OF THE VALLEY OF MEXICO'S INDIGENOUS COMMUNI-TIES.

The bilingual, multidimensional interrelations between the 'traditionally rural' and the 'new urban' identities and productive spaces of the predominantly Mazahuas and Nahuas indigenous communities in the Valley of Mexico's megacity represent a creative example of these two spheres' artificial separation's overcoming. The 'rural-urban' conventional ideological polarity can be analyzed as part of the Whorfian Standard Average European languages 'cultural prerequisites' (Silverstein, 1977), 'metaphors we die by' (Romaine, 1996; Goatly, 1996), and 'false dichotomies' (Harré et al., 1999:117), disconnecting humans from the environment. The 'Nature-Man/Culture' hiatus, one of these binary 'core contradictions of our social praxis' (Bang & Døør, 1993), is a 'pervasive ... powerful and Westernised separation ..., a boundary ...' (Döring et Al., 2008:11) including explicit and implicit dichotomies and binomial metaphors as the 'rural-urban', 'natural-supernatural', 'wilderness-peopled', 'powerful-vulnerable', 'anthropocentric-non anthropocentric', etc. Thus, this predominant Eurocentrism has defined a competitive, fragmented universe representing a reductionist, reifying, quantifiable reality, contrasting with other languages' holistic cosmovisions. It also diverges from contemporary linguistic research that reflects the world's dynamic, hybrid complexity through systemic thinking and cross-disciplinary Gestaltic cooperation.

Therefore, 'the very boundary between nature and culture is a linguistic construct' (Mühlhäusler, 2003:27), and it is decisive that social actors verballyactively reconstruct the 'urbanrural', 'naturalcultural' (Döring & Zunino, in press) integrated socio-ecosystemic interface. This can be appreciated examining the multidimensional linguistic, environmental 'symbiotic interaction context' (Ávila, 2005:20) of many indigenous communities, both original and migrant, permanently urbanized and commuting, in Mexico City's and its Valley's metropolitan area. Despite the historical and modern forced castilianization, other integrationist policies and racist discourses (van Dijk, 2003), and also through intergroup solidarity and social movements for land and status maintenance, these indigenous communities are creating a dynamic 'naturalcultural' stance. Their megalopolis-countryside frontier blurs into a constructive ecolinquistic landscape of urban agricultural-herbalist sustainable knowledge and practices, socio-economic interactions and cultural visibility, resourceful diglossia and bilingualism (with crosslinguistic influences and transfers mostly between Spanish and Nahuatl/Mazahuan), where the two languages, identities and environments extraordinarily converge and exchange inclusive outcomes.

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AOUMER. FATSIHA

University of Bejaia, Algeria

AN ARABIC DIALECT IN THE BERBER TOWN OF BEJAIA (ALGERIA). THE URBAN-RU-**RAL DICHOTOMY AND ACCOMMODATION**

The widespread language shift from Berber to the dialectal Arabic in Algeria and North Africa in general is mainly the result of the islamisation of this region and the arabicisation language policy led by the different states. Berber, the indigenous language in North Africa, is now everywhere a minority language. It has mainly been maintained in mountainous and rural areas and in the Sahara away from any contact with Arabic. This paper deals with the evolution of the sociolinguistic situation of the Mediterranean town of Bejaia situated in the north west of Algeria and in the important berber speaking region of Kabylia, taking account of the accommodation processes according to the urban-rural dichotomy. It is interested in the presence of an Arabic dialect in some districts of the old centre of this berber town and its relation with the kabyle dialect. This Arabic variety which is strongly influenced by Berber and spoken with a berber accent is attributed to the oldest town dwellers, the 'elite families' of Bejaia considered of a foreign origin, since urbanity was not admitted as an indigenous fact. The Arabic variety which is in a diaglossic situation with the classical Arabic is connected with urbanity (high prestige) and Berber (Kabyle), with rurality (low prestige). To accede to urbanity considered as valorizing, speakers arriving to the old town center used to learn and shift towards the prestige arabic variety by accommodation. However, a changing context due to an increasingly important rural exodus which led to a geographical expansion and an economic development of the town and the social and institutional valorization of the berber language has turned the speakers' convergence with the prestige urban variety downward and has allowed the emergence of an urban kabyle variety which in its turn is used to distinguish between the town dwellers and the arriving rural speakers.

MCCARTY, TERESA: ROMERO-LITTLE, MARY EUNICE Arizona State University, United States of America

WORKING THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC BORDERLANDS--SPACE, TIME, AND PLACE IN IN-**DIGENOUS LANGUAGE PLANNING IN THE U.S. SOUTHWEST**

This paper pushes beyond the binaries of space (local-global), time (elder-younger), and place (urban-rural) to examine language loss and recovery within the sociolinguistic borderlands of the southwestern United States. A borderlands conception recognizes movement across multi-planes of space, time, and place, acknowledging shape-shifting identities within local and global linguistic ecologies (Appadurai, 2001; Canagarajah, 2005), overlaps and fissures among generations of speakers (Romero-Little, Ortiz, & McCarty, 2011), and the simultaneity of transmigration and rootedness of peoples within histories of places (Feld & Basso, 1998; Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2008). Drawing on ethnographic and sociolinguistic data from Navajo, Pueblo, and Yuman language communities, the paper first contextualizes the current situation of language loss and recovery within reservation-town-cityscapes and among multi-generations of speakers and language learners. Focusing on youth language practices, ideologies, and communicative repertoires, the paper then provides a comparative analysis across these language communities, illuminating the ways in which intergenerational, space-and-place crisscrossing social networks serve as agents of both language reclamation and change. This analysis positions youth as social agents who physically and symbolically navigate dynamic and multiple sociolinguistic borders (Bucholtz & Skapoulli, 2009). How do youth negotiate Indigenous place-based knowledges and values (e.g., reciprocity, contribution) across social networks and spaces? How are their language practices and ideologies configured in this borderland space? What insights does this analysis reveal for youth's ability to 'bring their languages forward' (Hornberger & King, 1996), while accessing languages of wider communication? The paper concludes by drawing out theoretical implications for (re)imagining sociolinguistic spaces, places, and temporal frames (Blommaert, 2010), and the grounded realities of Indigenous language planning within complex and ever-changing sociolinguistic borderland ecologies.

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MARTIN, KYLIE ANNE Hokkaido University, Japan

HYBRIDITY AND MIXING IN TOKYO: NEW CONTEXTS OF LANGUAGE USAGE AMONGST AINU YOUNGER GENERATION IN THE URBAN DIASPORA OF TOKYO

The Indigenous Ainu of Japan have often been represented as a 'dying race', rooted in their traditional homelands of Hokkaido in northern Japan and assimilated into mainstream Japanese society. A number of Ainu people have sought to re-invent themselves or 'escape' from Hokkaido to the urban environment in and around Tokyo. This 'escape' or change has been motivated by a variety of social, economic, ideological and educational factors, and is often a means of escaping entrenched cultural and social stereotypes and discrimination. While the urban and dynamic locality can result in marginalisation and social displacement, it can also lead to social and cultural empowerment in the articulation of different urban Indigenous identities. Within this Tokyo urban diaspora, the younger generation of Ainu has now become both symbols for and agents of sociolinguistic change. This group appears to be 'living their Indigenousness' (Nicholas 2009) through the hybrid performance of music and dance, mixing traditional Ainu music and dance with contemporary genres such as hip-hop and electronica, with global reach. These performances are based around the composition of new Ainu songs written in the Ainu language to capture the modern realities of being Ainu in urban Tokyo. The new contexts of language usage show the hybridity and mixing of this new urban identity in which the Ainu language is seen as a vehicle for connecting the past, present and future. In such a context, these new songs and the associated performances can be regarded as a new marketable skill or commodity (Heller 2003), which can lead to socio-economic benefit and/ or financial gain for the Ainu people. This mixing of new and old shows the shifting of values and functions of the Ainu language from being a language of past rituals and a means for identity politics to being regarded as a resource of originality and authenticity in an urban diaspora. In this presentation, a sociolinguistic ecological paradigm will be adopted to explore the dynamic nature of new contexts of Ainu language usage in this urban locality of Tokyo (Mühlhäusler 1996; Mufwene 2002, 2004). The focus will be on two younger generation Ainu performance groups to illustrate the development of hybridity in cultural identity and how the local interactions in an urban diaspora are connected to the broader dynamics of the larger Ainu revitalisation movement within the global Indigenous context.

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PATRICK, DONNA (1); BUDACH, GABRIELE (2) 1: Carleton University, Canada; 2: University of Southampton

URBAN-RURAL' DYNAMICS AND INDIGENOUS URBANIZATION: THE CASE OF INUIT LANGUAGE USE IN OTTAWA

In Canada, the establishment of cities by European settlers has figured conspicuously in the displacement, dispossession, and marginalisation of Indigenous peoples. Despite this, more than half of the Indigenous population now resides in cities, and urbanisation continues to increase. Associated with this migration has been the enactment of complex, interconnected practices that cross a divide conventionally described as 'urban-rural'. These practices include those associated with movement between cities and reserves and other communities and the mobility of cultural objects and language. The ways in which urban Indigeneity is being enacted, however, contest conventional 'urban-rural' dichotomies. This is largely because Indigenous homelands do not readily fit into the category of traditional 'rural' spaces — a category that itself need to be reconceptualised, given that 'rural' spaces have undergone a significant transformation and can no longer be seen either as occupied solely by those with economic ties to the land or as culturally or economically 'backward' (cf. Williams 1973).

In this social-geographical context, our paper examines Inuit mobility and migration and the dynamics of Inuit language use in Ottawa. While urbanisation might be assumed to increase the demand among Inuit to access the dominant linguistic resources of southern urban centres, our work with a group of Inuit educators from across the Arctic suggests otherwise. Surprisingly to us, the focus of this group was not access to valued English-language resources driving educational and economic mobility, but rather maintaining and promoting Inuit linguistic and cultural resources. These semiotic resources are used by urban Inuit in the construction of narratives, intertwining past and present, and the maintenance of meaningful social relations and connections to Inuit homelands.

By analysing linguistic interaction in urban lnuit family literacy activities, we show how 'non-urban' lnuktitut language forms and the social values attached to them are reproduced and reinforced in urban contexts. As our findings show, what is important in this context is not that this is an 'urban' environment creating new forms of language use. It is that continuity and linkages across 'non-urban' Arctic regions, and the sociolinguistic practices associated with these, construct lnuitness and connect lnuit across (so-called) 'rural-urban' divides.

THORNE, STEVEN L

Portland State University & University of Groningen, United States of America

ANCESTRAL LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION, NEW MEDIA, AND HOPE FOR A CONTEST-ED OBJECT

Central Yup'ik is a highly endangered language spoken in Southwestern Alaska. In order to arrest and potentially reverse language shift to English, a number of Yup'ik language immersion schools have been established in the region (Hinton & Hale, 2001; Kipp, 2000). However, the immersion schools possess few materials rooted in traditional Yup'ik epistemology and cultural practices. Additionally, the goal of ancestral language revitalization extends beyond the use of the focus language in instructed contexts, yet schools as potential catalyst for out-of-school social and interpersonal communication has been under-examined in Alaska. The grant funded project discussed here, called *Piciryaramta Elicungcallra* (Teaching our Way of Life through our Language), involves university-school-community collaborations that are working to enhance teacher agency and collective action, to develop culturally relevant Yup'ik learning materials, to initiate or reestablish school-based Yup'ik language classrooms, which in turn may enhance school, local community, and regional senses of individual and collective identities.

This article will focus primarily on this latter issue -- technology-enabled Yup'ik language use and learning materials created for elementary Yup'ikmedium schools. As our theoretical and pedagogical framework, we draw from the notion of expansive learning (Engeström, 2001; Engeström & Sannino, 2009) and Vygotsky's methodology of 'double stimulation' to explore ways in which the demanding task of ancestral language revitalization can be usefully addressed through the incorporation of contemporary communication technologies and attendant expressive-communicative practices. In working to conceptualize and practically integrate new media into Yup'ik language immersion education, one recurring question posed by the teachers has been: 'How do we make it [technology] Yup'ik?' In essence, the question raised by the researchers, teachers, and the Yup'ik community is, what are the expressive capabilities that might be enhanced through the uses of new media, and reciprocally, how will interactional, cultural and linguistic processes and representations created with and through new media transform and (re)create Yup'ik language and culture? In partial response to these questions, this presentation will describe examples of media use by Yup'ik students and community members and will discuss how technologies mediate and extend Yup'ik linguistic and cultural activity while also eliciting questions of accommodation, resistance, and appropriation.

FERGUSON, JENANNE KIRSTEN University of Aberdeen, United Kingdom

URBAN-RURAL MOBILITIES AND THE FLUIDITY OF SAKHA-RUSSIAN CODE-MIXING

In my doctoral research in Social Anthropology, I examine language policies and practices among bilingual speakers of Sakha (Yakut) and Russian in the northern city of Yakutsk in the Republic of Sakha-Yakutia in Russia's Far Eastern Federal District. These languages have been in contact for 350 years, and today bilingualism is well-established among indigenous Sakha. Due to a decline in agriculture and pastoralism since the early 1980s, many indigenous Sakha are relocating from rural areas to the city of Yakutsk, and in far higher numbers than ethnic Russians. Thus, Yakutsk is a rich site for examining how public language usage in the city is shaped by the migration of Sakha speakers from the villages, how village and city language practices differ for individuals, and how these 'ways of speaking' (Hymes 1974) are shaped by mobilities both physical and metaphoric (through communication technology, e.g. mobile phones).

Ways of speaking, as Blommaert (2010) notes, should be seen fundamentally through the lens of a 'sociolinguistics of mobile resources'; as the movement between rural and urban becomes more frequent and fluid, so do the ways of speaking of those who are moving. In the Sakha case, language mixing happens most often at the word-level; however, variants of borrowed words exist that are considered 'more Sakha', or 'more Russian', not either/ or. For example, the words *'suruunalyn'* and *'zhurnalyn'* both are accepted variants of the accusative form of the word 'journal, magazine' (borrowed from Russian *'zhurnal'*). However the former variant is seen as 'more Sakha' due to the phonological changes it has undergone; the latter is seen as more Russian. These examples speak to the necessity of conceptualizing language in a way that focuses less on the delineation of separate, distinct languages (Bailey 2007; Canagarajah 2006; Blommaert 2010), but seeks to understand how 'the real and situated linguistic forms are deployed as part of the communicative resources by speakers to serve their social and political goals' (Makoni and Pennycook 2006:22). This paper will analyse common patterns of urban speech and how speakers negotiate and understand these variations; I will then discuss how Sakha ways of speaking can index different kinds of belonging, depending on where the speaker originates and whether they are speaking in the city or the village, demonstrating that these ways of speaking, despite the mobility of speakers, are also rooted in localized practices (Pennycook 2010).

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HORNBERGER, NANCY H

University of Pennsylvania, United States of America

'UNTIL I BECAME A PROFESSIONAL, I WAS NOT CONSCIOUSLY INDIGENOUS': ONE INTERCULTURAL BILINGUAL EDUCATOR'S TRAJECTORY IN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

Drawing from long-term ethnographic research in the Andes, this paper examines one Quechua-speaking indigenous bilingual educator's trajectory as she traversed - and traverses -- from rural highland communities of southern Peru through development as teacher, teacher educator, researcher, and advocate for Indigenous identity and language revitalization across urban, peri-urban, and rural spaces. Nery Mamani grew up in highland Peru and at the time I met her in 2005, was a bilingual intercultural education practitioner enrolled in master's studies at the Program for Professional Development in Bilingual Intercultural Education for the Andean Region (PROEIB-Andes) at the University of San Simón in Cochabamba, Bolivia. Drawing from my ethnographic research at PROEIB that year, situated also within a broader context of my ethnographic research on bilingual education in the Andes across several decades and Nery's life trajectory across those same decades, this paper analyzes her narrative as it emerged in a four-hour interview with me. Nery's narrative recounts how her early pride in her family's Quechua roots coexisted with a rural/urban Quechua/Spanish dichotomy, but later evolved into recognition and advocacy of the importance of using Quechua in educational, urban, and employment spheres. As a child she lacked a conscious sense of indigeneity. She grew up in the relatively urban environment of Sicuani, but maintained contact with her parents' community during school vacations when she and her sisters stayed with their grandparents in her hometown in Callalli, herding sheep and alpacas. They dressed in the colorful hand-embroidered clothing typical of the region, which they would also automatically change out of when they left Callalli to return to their studies in Sicuani. Thus a sharp distinction between Spanish language, Western dress and urban space on the one hand, and Quechua language, Indigenous dress, the countryside and agricultural work (sheep herding) on the other, existed for Nery as a child. Through her experiences, mobility, studies and work as bilingual teacher, teacher educator, and researcher, those distinctions have gradually blurred in her practices even as her identity has become more consciously Indigenous. Now, she assumes a personal language policy of using Quechua in public, urban, and literate spaces in her daily life in order to break down the dichotomies and their attendant language and identity compartmentalizations. She and her Indigenous peers engage in - and valorize -- translanguaging and transnational literacies, border-crossing communicative practices drawing on more than one language or literacy, and using multiple and dynamic varieties of these different languages and literacies - vernacular, formal, academic, as well as those based on race, ethnicity, affinity or affiliation, etc. - for varying purposes in different contexts. Recognizing, valorizing, and studying these multiple and mobile linguistic resources are part of what Blommaert (2010) refers to as a critical sociolinguistics of globalization that focuses on language-in-motion rather than language-in-place.

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Thematic Session 143

Language Change in Central Asia

Session Chair 1: Ahn, Elise S. Session Chair 2: Landis, David

Session Abstract:

According to the World Bank (2009), over 50% of the world population is considered urban dwellers. By development standards, the percentage of urban dwellers is an industry accepted indicator that emerging economies are modernizing their infrastructures in order to position themselves as actors in a 21st century global economy. This has been true when looking at the Central Asian Republics, which include: Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and the different ethno-linguistic groups represented within these borders and their diasporic populations. In these countries, 65% of their total populations are considered urban dwellers. But what does this mean and what implications does this have for the social transformations that began in the late 1980s and continue to the present?

In the Central Asian case, urbanization has not been strictly the process of people moving to urban areas because of various push factors like more economic opportunities, education, resources, etc. Urbanization has also triggered other processes like accelerated social stratification, overcrowding in public schools, as well as what Alex Danilovich (2010) refers to as the 'ruralization' of Kazakhstani cities, a concept that can be extended to the other Central Asian cities as well.

And while cities are and continue to be important sites to for social scientists to observe transition and change, in this region, the macro-context they are situated in still fundamentally shape policy agendas. A top priority for these national governments is their establishment as independent and legitimate political and global entities. Equally important is the construction of national identities (Schlyter, 2003). An added layer of complexity is the continuation of the political maneuvering from the international community that took place during the last few centuries, i.e., the 'Great Game' which continues today in soft power domains, e.g., economics, language, and culture. These external and internal power dynamics are further complicated by the enormous challenges that many of these countries are facing including: ethno-linguistic and religious conflict, population movement, poverty, unemployment, and increasing social stratification. All of these processes have been accelerated and linked to the rapid processes of urbanization that many cities in these countries have been undergoing post-1992.

This thematic strand will explore the way societies are changing by examining the various linguistic reforms that are being debated and implemented in urban spaces in this region, particularly focusing on:

- In what ways have the construction of urban cores and the creation of wealth contributed to the formation of new social elites and changing notions of what constitutes socio-cultural-linguistic capital?

- What has been (and continues to be) the impact of urbanization and demographic change on language change, particularly as it relates to language shift and revival, as well as education reform in Central Asia?

- How is the institutionalization of language and literacy policies through education with a focus on affirming ethnic languages and the composition of national historiographies contributing to the construction of particular national identities? and

- How has language been used as a tool in the politicization of transnational identities and histories (e.g., pan-Turkism, pro-Russian, pro-EU movements)? Papers within this thematic strand should consider one or more of the aforementioned questions in relation to current discussions about national identity, language policy and planning processes, education and social stratification, and changing notions of socio-cultural capital in Central Asia, which is currently experiencing dramatic contextual change as a result of economic change and varying degrees of geo-political instability. The overall aim of this thematic strand is to encourage discussion about these different lines of research that will contribute to the broader field of Sociolinguistics by examining this understudied and emerging region.

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SHEGEBAYEV, MAGANAT KIMEP, Kazakhstan

KAZAKHSTAN: LANGUAGE ISSUES IN BUSINESS ACTIVITIES

Research is lacking on the important issue on how linguistic competence influences the ability to conduct business worldwide, particularly in a specific geographic region or industry. The lack of linguistic and cultural awareness, or negligence towards it, can seriously impact a company's performance and operations. This becomes especially relevant in today's globalized world, since as more and more businesses enter new markets, the workforce is also becoming more mobile and new communication technologies more widespread. Businesses have begun to recognize the linguistic component as a key element in business communication, networking, decision making, marketing activities, professional development and in other related fields. There is also a growing understanding that the inability to consider and value linguistic competence may cost a company its competitive advantage, its reputation, or in some cases, even its business. This issue is especially crucial in places that are linguistically and culturally diverse, such as the European Union, the former USSR, and South East Asia, which are places that also have been experiencing substantial economic changes in the last two decades. This study aims to contribute to an understanding of the effects that linguistic competence has on the conduct of business and to provide a focus on one specific geographic area and industry in particular, the oil and gas industry of Kazakhstan, a dynamically developing and exceptionally diverse sector of the national economy. This industry, marked by the presence of numerous multinational companies working together with local ones, is a cultural crossroads where issues of linguistic competence are particularly essential

It should be noted that the Republic of Kazakhstan is characterized by a wide variety of languages spoken. Amongst them indisputably rise the two that have got the biggest influence and power in politics, business and other fields of life. Kazakh and Russian, which are also the languages of two biggest ethnic groups of the country. Various sources give different assessment and realities of languages in polyethnic Kazakhstan today; but it is obvious that the current situation in the field of language utilization in Kazakhstan has been due to many factors, ranging from historic to political and sociocultural. Now Kazakh is the state language with Russian being the official.

The government of Kazakhstan has been putting a lot of effort to regulate the language issues, and particularly to bring back Kazakh from oblivion to make it function as a fully-fledged state language in public administration and business communication. There is also a state strategy of 'Triunity of Languages' that includes Kazakh, Russian and English, which should help Kazakhstani citizens respond to the challenges of the new globalized world. Thus it is inevitable that those initiatives, as well as present day language realities, will have a growing influence on the activities of businesses operating in Kazakhstan, no matter which industry or field they belong to.

AHN, ELISE S.

Kazakhstan Institute of Management, Economics, and Strategic Research (KIMEP), Kazakhstan

THE NEGOTIATION OF A CIVIC AND MARKET IDENTITY: THE CASE OF LANGUAGE AND KAZAKHSTANI HIGHER EDUCATION

The perspective of language as being one of the components of the philosophical matrix of creating a civic identity within the nation-state is not singular to Kazakhstan but reflects the dominant attitude of Western governments towards the symbolic and substantive value of language in the unquestioned (and pragmatic) approach of nation-state building the 19th and 20th centuries. However, Kazakhstan's language policy approach has some unique characteristics both in the field of language policy and planning, as well as regionally. This paper provides a brief overview of the Kazakhstani language policy case, but focuses on the nuances of this process as observed specifically in its higher education (HE) sector. Since the establishment of the Republic after the demise of the Soviet Union in 1992, the government has been negotiating a fine line between actively constructing a Kazakhstani civic identity and not alienating its Russian speaking Slavic (23.7%) and other minority populations (Gradirovski & Espova, 2008). And as part of this process, while the Kazakh language has been elevated to the level of official language, Russian was given state language status (and also remains the language of wider communication in urban areas). Into this mix then is the emphasis on English language acquisition as part of becoming a globally competitive country (Kazakh, n.d.; Russian; n.d.). Kazakhstan's official linguistic trifecta then is Kazakh, Russian, and English. Against this somewhat delicate socio-political backdrop of Kazakh and Russian language planning, as part of internationalization processes, i.e., the Bologna Process, (Bologna declaration, 1999)), there is pressure for higher education institutions (HEIs) to provide an adequate number of courses in languages of wider communication. But while political discourse regarding internationalization and becoming global players in various sectors is both diffusive and effusive, the implementation processes have had challenging ramifications for all the different stakeholders impacted by these processes. This paper also examines the relationship between space, place, and aforementioned issues like access to higher education, etc. by adapting the view that studying space can provide insight into education-related issues of accessibility, location, and mobility. Moreover, tools like Geographic Information Systems (GIS) allow different variables like location of universities and students, poverty/income ratios, rural/urban demographics, and access to affordable and quality education to be layered onto place, revealing interesting patterns of uneven geographical development. Thus, the aims of this paper are two-fold. By looking at the socio-cultural impact that policies like the Bologna Process have had on the Kazakhstani HE sector, this paper examines the discursal contradictions and tensions that exist in trying to construct a national civic identity and a market-driven. international one. Moreover, by extending the discussion to demographic information and other indicator data through the development of a GIS database, the link between social processes, space, and place are observed. This paper aims to contribute to existing body of language policy literature by taking an interdisciplinary approach in looking at the larger socio-economic contexts in which language policies are produced.

ALTYNBEKOVA, OLGA

Al-Farabi Kazakh National University, Kazakhstan

LANGUAGE SHIFT IN EDUCATION IN KAZAKHSTAN

During the Soviet times, the Russian language occupied a privileged position in communicative domain of the Republic of Kazakhstan, pushing the Kazakh language outside the framework of the social and political life of the population. Particularly, the Russian language dominated in urban language realm - education, toponymy, media, everyday life, etc.

After disintegration of the Soviet Union and acquisition of sovereignty by Kazakhstan in 1991, ethnic and language situation has dramatically changed. It was mainly due to the processes of migration of the population to and from the country. In particular, emigration of the Russian-speaking population in the first years since disintegration and the increasing repatriation of ethnic Kazakhs - oralmans from foreign countries have considerably influenced the ethnodemographic and language situation of the Republic. The spheres of usage of the State Kazakh language have widened while the functionality of the Russian language has decreased.

Considerable language shift that took place in education can serve as an indicator of the language future of Kazakhstan. If in 1991 in schools only 32.4% of pupils studied in the Kazakh language, 65.1% - in Russian, and 2.5% in other languages, then in 2011 - 20 years after independence of Kazakhstan, the situation for Kazakh and Russian is diametrically opposite: 62.5% studied in Kazakh and 34.7% students chose Russian as the language of instruction in schools. Another clear illustration of the language shift is in the example of language choices in technical institutes: if in 1991 only 12.6% of students studied in the Kazakh language, in 2011 - this number was 55.0%. In regards to university education, the Russian language dominated for a longer period of time - this can be explained by the fact that most of the Universities are located in the cities of Kazakhstan. Only from 2009, more than half of students began to choose to study in Kazakh. In 1991, only 13.7% of university students chose to study in Kazakh; in 2011 - that number was 51.6%. However, these data is generalised for the whole country and does not illustrate historically developed differences in ethnolinguistic situations in the regions of Kazakhstan, as well as the differences between urban and rural areas. Notably, the proportion of pupils studying in Russian in cities is higher than proportion of pupils choosing Russian in rural areas: out of all pupils who studied in Russian, 64% lived in cities and 34% in rural areas and out of all pupils who studied in Kazakh, 58.5% lived in villages and 41.5% in cities. Thus, there are significant disproportions in the language realms between urban and rural areas of Kazakhstan, which can be demonstrated with the choice of the language of instruction by pupils and graduate students. This is due to different ethnic composition of cities and villages, regional differences and continuing processes of internal and external migration. Nevertheless, the general dynamics of changing language priorities among the students of schools, colleges or universities clearly demonstrates the strengthening of the position of the State language in education in Kazakhstan.

SMAGULOVA, JULDYZ KIMEP, Kazakhstan

THE REVIVAL OF KAZAKH: ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES

The paper focuses on revival of Kazakh in urban areas. The purpose of the paper is to gain understanding of educational language choices and the language policy decisions at the state and public levels with reference to the specific social, demographic, political, and economic processes at work in urban Kazakhstan. My approach is analogous to other research on multilingualism and language in education in bilingual contexts which are grounded in poststructuralist and critical theory (e.g., Gal 1989; Heller, 1999; Tollefson, 1991, 1995).

The paper first outlines the wider sociolinguistic and historical context by identifying factors that lead to the drop in Kazakh-medium school enrollment and language shift from Kazakh to Russian in urban areas the late 1960s and re-emergence of Kazakh nationalism and native language revitalization efforts after 1991 Independence. This is followed by the description of the mass-survey results (2555 respondents) on reported proficiency and use of Kazakh across age groups. The material for the paper comes from a variety of sources: past and current legislative and official documents, mass-media coverage, the results of questionnaire-based survey among various groups of population collected in Kazakhstan in 2005-2006.

The survey data suggests that the state intervention in education (re-establishing Kazakh-medium schools, curriculum changes and introduction of Kazakh as a required subject in Russian-language schools) effectively led to Kazakh revitalization in urban areas. However, despite the measurable success of the 'Kazakhization' campaign, the survey data detects issues that signal complications and contradictions in the revival movement: Russian remains the dominant language of public domains; Kazakh lacks appeal to socially powerful middle-class urban Kazakhs; and lack of natural intergenerational transmission of Kazakh in urban families.

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BARTHOLOMÄ, RUTH

Justus-Liebig-Universität, Gießen, Germany

THE CHANGING PERCEPTION OF THE KAZAKH LANGUAGE IN THE DISCOURSE ON LANGUAGE POLICY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

After gaining independence in 1991, the language policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan was aiming at the active promotion of the Kazakh language, especially through education, and at establishing the knowledge of Kazakh for every citizen of the state, regardless of the citizen's ethnic affiliation. The construction of a national (in the sense of supra-ethnic), so-called 'Kazakhstani' identity for all citizens seems to be a major concern of the government in the last years. Visible signs are, e.g., the renaming of the 'Assembly of the Peoples of Kazakhstani' in 'Assembly of the People of Kazakhstani' in 2007 or the aims formulated in the so-called 'National Unity Doctrine'. When Dave (2007: 7) speaks about 'the state's unwillingness to engage in an identity construction project', this seems to be incorrect, at least for the last years.

The Kazakh language played and plays until today an important role in the construction of a national identity (Schlyter 2003: 166). To name a current example, 'developing the Kazakh language' is referred to 'as the priority for the national unity' in an article with the title 'National Unity Doctrine to Help build Stronger 'Kazakhstani' Identity' (2010: 2), published in an online publication by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Nevertheless, at the same time the Kazakh language is, of course, seen as an important marker for the Kazakh ethnic identity, which leads to conflicts and influences the way the Kazakh language and its role are seen by various actors in Kazakhstan. So the doctrine was considered as an attack on ethnic Kazakh identity, language and culture (Kesici 2011: 54).

Language is in a double position: On the one hand, it is the object of the government's language policy and thus a subject-matter of praise as well as criticism in the discourse about language policy, and on the other hand it is the medium in which this discourse takes place: Various and changing meta-phors are used to describe the role of the Kazakh language over the last years.

In my talk, recent developments and changes in the discourse on the Kazakh language will be described by means of a discourse analysis following the DIMEAN-model of Spitzmüller/Warnke (2011). Sources are (1) relevant laws and official programmes, launched by the government, (2) public statements in newspapers, magazines, internet forums, blogs and other publications, as well as (3) statements expressed in sociolinguistic interviews, conducted in Almaty and Astana in March 2011.

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LANDIS, DAVID KIMEP, Kazakhstan

INVESTIGATING CONNECTIONS BETWEEN AFFIRMATIONS OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE AND COMPOSITIONS OF NATIONAL HISTORIOGRAPHIES IN THE FORMATION OF NA-TIONAL IDENTITY IN KAZAKHSTAN

For more than 100 years, national governments have created ties between ethnic languages and national historiographies in order to form national identities. This proposal explores these connections by looking at how national governments used ethnographic research to create the links for the purposes of building support for key values and forming national identities. This proposal reviews the example of the Soviet empire, which used ethnographic research to create ties between ethnicity and the composing of a national historiography to create Soviet identity. Then the proposal considers the recent example of nation building in Kazakhstan. Examples of pupils' ethnographic research in local communities are investigated to see how their research efforts also make connections between ethnicity, national historiographies and 'Kazakhness' as identity.

SHAIBAKOVA, DAMINA

Justus-Liebig University, Germany

FEATURES OF CONTEMPORARY DISCOURSE ABOUT THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN KAZAKHSTAN

This report represents an analysis of verbal explications of meanings emerging in the opposition Kazakh – Russian language. The material for the analysis was extracted from newspaper and internet publications from recent years, as well as oral utterances. The description of the actual discourse about the national language policy is based on a system of meanings that defines the consciousness of Kazakh society. The transition from a stratificational type of society, where social relations were more important , to the ethnic focused society, where the value of the Kazakh culture and Kazakh language are dominant, put forward new semantics of communication. Accordingly in the view of the Kazakh language ethnic and national meanings are dominant, while in the view of the Russian language the social and political contexts are more important. The comparison of the two strategies (with the social and ethnic component) is possible using the following parameters: quantitative, qualitative, axiological. Assessment, manifested in the word, now beginning to be studied more actively. We pay attention to assessment because that is what the word can transform the public opinion and direct the interpretation of social phenomena. There are several semantic models, sets of invariant meanings in the discussion about languages in Kazakhstan. If the invariant is 'Kazakh language should prevail' the negative options (among others) are that you need to remove the Russian language, while positive options are that it is mandatory to help people who do not speak Kazakh. The invariant 'Russian language should have equal rights with Kazakh' has the negative option 'Russians have brought the civilization and culture to Kazakhs and Kazakhstan is their ancestral land'. The positive option is that Kazakh and Russian languages can mutually enrich each other. New meanings are defines in opposition: an own – a stranger, Kazakh – Russian, shala- Kazakhs – nagyz- Kazakhs, the past

- the future, russification – derussification, colonization – decolonization.
In the discourse about the Kazakh language the requests 'need, must, should, have to' are dominating. The power of such usage is low. The semantic information is not updated because the verbal forms are standard and familiar. People are accustomed to accept such statements. To write about Kazakh language means to give regular advice: what we have to do to achieve that the people start to speak Kazakh. So the people say: in the promotion of the Kazakh language there is more propaganda than practice. Everybody agrees with this assertion. The divergences are in the assessment of one's relation to the Kazakh language. Information about the assessment is prevailing, especially with negative connotations.
Regarding Russians, Kazakh authors in the Russian speaking mass-media of Kazakhstan predominately use the imperative 'Russians in Kazakhstan must throw away their prejudicies, stretching from the past'.

In general, estimated discourse about the language question is stimulating as interactionizm. Tactics aim at reducing of the opponents credibility. The prevalence of estimated information provokes irradiation of the meanings and provokes of linguistic aggression.

Conflicts in the city, cities in conflict? Romano-Germanic encounters in the Low Countries

Session Chair 1: Peersman, Catharina Fernanda Session Chair 2: Vosters, Rik

Session Abstract:

For centuries, the Low Countries have been at the intersection of Germanic and Romance cultures and languages, where various cities have become metaphorical epicenters of language contact. Whether in peaceful coexistence or at the heart of heated conflicts, these Romano-Germanic encounters have made their mark on the sociolinguistic landscapes of present-day Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, and left a fascinating paper trail for (historical) sociolinguists to investigate.

Past research has often focused on internal aspects of language contact (e.g. lexical borrowing, Geeraerts & Grondelaers 1999). In recent years, however, linguistic encounters in the Low Countries have also sparked up a considerable amount of interest from sociolinguistic angles, often within a larger European framework (Darquennes 2010). It is well-known that contact between languages – or better: contact between language users – implies conflict as well, and language is often used to index underlying socio-political oppositions (Nelde 1987). In Belgium, the current governmental crisis goes hand in hand with the highly politicized tension between francophone and Dutch-speaking communities, where contemporary conflicts are often framed in historical terms (De Keere & Elchardus 2011).

In the past, cities have especially served as focal points for sociolinguistic events: Coutrai and Bruges as the mythicized places where 'French oppression' was halted by the Flemish in 1302 (Lambert 2000), Brussels as the multilingual capital of the new Belgian nation and its policy of Frenchification in the nineteenth century (Vanhecke & De Groof 2007), and Luxembourg city as a language planning laboratory of the twentieth century (Horner 2009). But sites of intense contact and conflict can also be found in other areas, such as the German-speaking territories in Wallonia, which posses considerable amounts of cultural and linguistic autonomy as a result of the language struggle in the rest of Belgium.

In this panel, we would like to bring together an international group of experts on Romano-Germanic encounters in the Low Countries, focusing on language contact and language conflict in urban contexts. We welcome papers on both the historical and the present-day situation, from any subfield of sociolinguistics (language policy, language ideology, discourse analysis, language and identity studies, etc.). The languages under discussion are Dutch, French, German and Luxembourgish. Possible research topics include:

- language legislation and the protection of minority and majority languages

- French as a prestige language in the history of the Low Countries
- migration and language shift, for instance in French Flanders and in Brussels
- multilingualism in the Low Countries: status, corpus and acquisition planning
- Flemish language identities in urban contexts
- language education and education policy
- competing language ideologies and the position of French in Flanders
- language policy and linguistic identities in Luxembourg city
- the German-speaking community as a 'privileged minority' in Belgium?
- French as the language of trade and diplomacy in late medieval and early modern urban life

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VOGL, ULRIKE University of Vienna, Austria

IDEOLOGIES OF MONOLINGUALISM IN A MULTILINGUAL REGION

During the Middle Ages and Early Modern times, the Low Countries were a linguistically diverse region, with a continuum of Germanic and Romance varieties spoken between the North Sea and the present-day border of France and Belgium. Language contact and mixing were a common phenomenon, especially in the urban centres that attracted migration from across the Low Countries and beyond. Present-day Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg can equally be characterized by multilingual practices, in (varieties of) Germanic and Romance languages as well as in migrant languages. Again, cities are centres of linguistic encounters and conflict (cf. Jaspers 2009).

Nonetheless, the present-day Low Countries are commonly depicted in terms of juxtaposed monolingual entities – the Dutch-speaking Netherlands, French-speaking Wallonia, Dutch-speaking Flanders – with mixed Brussels as a 'problem', trilingual Luxembourg as an exception and urban multilingualism (e.g. in migrant languages) as a threat. More importantly, also the linguistic history of the region is generally written from the perspective of the modern standard languages and their respective roles as national languages - the Dutch/French language; accordingly, every instance of language contact and societal multilingualism is usually depicted as an aberration on the way to territorial monolingualism and linguistic homogeneity. Language historiography of this type helped (re)produce 'myths', for example about the complete Frenchification of public life in Flanders under French occupation from 1795 onwards – a Frenchification which was probably not as far-reaching as depicted from the viewpoint of 'national language histories', as recent empirical research shows (cf. De Groof 2004).

The main aim of this paper is to give an overview of the sociolinguistic history of the Low Countries where the focus is on discrepancies between the multilingual reality and a language ideology with the ideal of a standard language as its core. Standard language ideology has its roots in Early Modern times and is the dominant ideology of language in Europe today (cf. Gal 2009). According to us, it obscures, in many conflict situations, the actual multilingual practices of the language communities involved. One recent example would be the region around Brussels (Vlaamse Rand) with a linguistically mixed population typical of the margins of urban centres which is, however, in political/linguistic debates in Flanders, construed as a region where the homogeneity of the Flemish language region is threatened (cf. Vogl & Hüning 2010).

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PEERSMAN, CATHARINA FERNANDA FWO & K.U.Leuven, Belgium

CONSTRUCTING A FLEMISH IDENTITY: LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN THE NARRA-TION OF THE FRANCO-FLEMISH CONFLICT (1297-1307)

On the 11th of July 1302, the Flemish troops unexpectedly beat the French army before Courtrai. This event coincides with the growing link between the concepts of 'language' and 'nation' and with the decisive rise of the vernacular written languages (Goyens-Verbeke 2003). Moreover, the battle symbolizes the historic birth of the Flemish community and of the current Belgian language problems (Lambert 2000, Trio et alii 2002). The highly politicized tension between francophone and Dutch-speaking communities, such as during the 2010-2011 governmental crisis, is often framed in historical terms (Elchardius - De Keere 2011). From a sociolinguistic perspective, the historical event of 1302 thus becomes a high-profile Romano-Germanic encounter.

Our contrastive case study focuses on the construction of identity in the narrative sources describing the Franco-Flemish conflict (1297-1307). We only take into account the sources predating 1408, when the first language ordinance concerning Flanders was issued by John the Fearless (Willemyns 1994). These pre-language policy sources represent the two opposing sides of the conflict and they are written in Latin, French and Dutch. On the explicit level, the chroniclers obviously try to vilify the enemy and/or to glorify their own cause. This attitude translates for instance into language judgments such as 'des Flamens car sa gent si sont mal parlans et c'est au roy trop grand laidure' (Buchon 1827: 43). Although the explicit message seems to convey a considerable degree of self conscience, the implicit message is not automatically identical. The critical distance between the explicit and the implied construction of identity will be analyzed by means of the use of identity markers (frequency of names of languages and people, loan words, multilingual fragments) and of the indirect speech (particularly the conscious use of the adversary's language). By means of the use and the perception of languages in medieval Flanders, we reconstruct the creation of identity on two different levels. In other words, we learn how the image and language of the 'other' were negotiated in the camps of both Flemish and French after the 1302 conflict.

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KNOOIHUIZEN, REMCO

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, The Netherlands

THE CITY AS A SAFE HAVEN IN LANGUAGE CONFLICT? MIGRATION AND LANGUAGE IN 17TH-CENTURY DUNKIRK, FRENCH FLANDERS

The region of French Flanders, centred around the city of Dunkirk, has undergone a slow but steady language shift from Dutch to French in the past centuries, especially after the area's annexation to France in the mid- to late-17th century. Although some of the language shift can be explained by France's restrictive policies towards minority languages (Martel 2001), migration and integration between the two language groups also played a significant role (Knooihuizen 2011). The integration would form both a motive and a mechanism for language shift, while an apparent bias against integration through intermarriage may explain why Dutch persisted as a first language long into the 20th century, despite an unbalanced language contact situation (Ryckeboer 2004).

My study of migration and intermarriage in 17th-century Dunkirk used two different measures to identify an individual migrant's language background: one geographical, based on the majority language in a person's location of origin at the time (Ryckeboer 2000), and one onomastic, based on a person's name (Debrabandere 2003). Although there was a significant correlation between the two measures in general, there were also quite a number of mismatches. In this paper, I examine in detail the mismatch between location- and name-based language allocations, suggesting that these may have been indicative of differences in societal and individual language preferences. I investigate whether language conflict may have been a contributing factor in the migrants' decision to move to Dunkirk. I further trace individual migrants' behaviour of integration or segregation through their choice of marriage partner in Dunkirk, aiming to answer the guestion of whether the multilingual city functioned as a safe haven for linguistic refugees by offering them an opportunity for language maintenance.

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RUTTEN, GIJSBERT (1); VOSTERS, RIK (2) 1: Universiteit Leiden; 2: Vrije Universiteit Brussel

FRENCH MEETS DUTCH IN THE LOW COUNTRIES (17TH-19TH CENTURIES)

In this paper, we will discuss the interplay of varieties of Dutch and French in the Low Countries in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century. when French is generally assumed to have been a prestige variety, also for many speakers of Dutch. We will focus both on ideological aspects of the language contact situation and on contact phenomena in actual language use.

In the first part of the paper, we will address the issue of French and Dutch language contact from a language ideological perspective. Whereas the period under discussion has often been described and criticized as one of frenchification (verfransing), both by contemporary commentators and by later (language) historians, this view has come under severe attack since Frijhoff's seminal 1989 paper. More recently, Vandenbussche (2001), Ruberg (2005) and Vanhecke & De Groof (2007) have shown that, despite contextually bound preferences for French, Dutch remained widely in use, also within the alleged Francophile upper classes. Ruberg, for instance, shows that only 17% of elite correspondence from around 1800 is in French. We will discuss the impact of these recent studies on the debate about frenchification, and explore the possible repercussions of this new view on both the status and the form of Early Modern Dutch.

In the second part of the paper, we will report on case studies into the actual influence of French on the grammar of Dutch, by focusing on loan suffixes such as -age (as in French courage, bagage), which have made their way into the Dutch morphological system (e.g. lekkage 'leak', with a native verbal base). As historical corpus-based studies into language contact phenomena are largely lacking, we will restrict ourselves to exploratory case studies in a variety of corpora of historical Dutch currently at our disposal, comprising both private letters and administrative and legal documents, from both the Southern and the Northern Netherlands.

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BOEMER, MAGALI MARIA University of Namur, Belgium

LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY IN GERMAN-SPEAKING BELGIUM: A HISTORICAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

In my presentation I will present some preliminary results of my ongoing PhD project that intends to provide a historical sociolinguistic analysis of the evolution of language-in-education policy in the German-speaking Community of Belgium (GC).

In the course of the 20th century, the GC - like many other areas located along the Romano-Germanic language border - became a laboratory for research on individual and societal language contact phenomena. Since the 1960s, special attention has been given to the empirical investigation of changes in the linguistic composition and/or behavior of the population living in the GC as an area of French-German language contact (cf. Darquennes 2006 for an overview). Concerning language-in-education policy, one finds a number of descriptive synchronic sketches. However, a systematic analytical account of the evolution of language-in-education policy over the last 90 years is not yet available.

Given the fact that the GC is situated at the Romano-Germanic language border, it has been subject to a certain number of (geo-) political changes during history that had an impact on the organization of (language) education: the period of linguistic assimilation following WW I (1919-1940), the period of annexation to Germany (1940-1945), the period following WW II and leading to the (coordinated) language laws (1945-1963), the period of the creation of (cultural) communities following the state reform of 1970/71 until the transfer of school authority to the communities in 1989 (1963-1989), the period leading to and following a new law on language-in-education adopted in 2004 (1989-2012).

For each of the time frames, an analytical account based on a careful study of relevant formal and more informal documents related to language-in-education policy retrieved in libraries, the national archives and the archive of the local newspaper (Grenz Echo) will be provided. The corpus of relevant texts will be analysed by means of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In addition, face-to-face interviews with important stakeholders in language-in-education policy will be conducted, at least for the more recent time frames. The interviews should allow me to obtain information that has not been registered before.

In this talk, I will address the results of archival research. In line with the topic of the thematic session, I will concentrate on a discussion of official documents (e.g. bills of law and decrees concerning language use in schools) and the way in which these documents have been commented upon in the local press in the GC. These documents will allow me to illustrate how the different actors influencing the language-in-education policy in the GC have either perceived the German-French language contact and the (asymmetrical) societal multilingualism to which it has given shape as a problem, as an opportunity, or as both a problem and an opportunity in the course of the reform of the centralist Belgian state into a federal one. References

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VANDEN BOER, ANNELEEN Anneleen Vanden Boer, Belgium

GERMAN-SPEAKING BELGIANS: PROTECTED OR NEGLECTED? – FUTURE SCENARI-OS FOR THE GERMAN-SPEAKING MINORITY IN A CHANGING BELGIAN STATE

Language conflict caused by the tension along the romano-germanic language border is at the heart not only of the very foundation of Belgium as an independent nation, but also of the state reforms which turned the unitary monarchy into a federal state. Moreover, the romano-germanic encounters led to the birth of a partly autonomous German-speaking Community in Belgium. This German minority, however, is often neglected in the Belgian political exchange. Its minority rights are not the result of its own emancipation, but rather an outcome of negotiations done by the Dutch-speaking Flemish and the French-speaking Walloons. Based on the theories of language conflict as described by Kremnitz (1990), Goebl, Nelde, Starý, Wölck (1996) and Haarmann (1990), I investigate the influence of the language policy 'top-down' on the experiences of the language user 'bottom-up'. I asked German-speaking and non-German-speaking Belgians to evaluate the current minority policy and to characterize its desired and undesired (side-)effects. This study is unique as it captures 'conflict potential' before it becomes overt. It also examines which interactions between (German speaking) citizens and the state can be useful to address specific needs created by the current German minority policy. I will attempt to find an answer to the following questions:

- What kind of conflict potential exists between the German-speaking and non-German-speaking Belgians?
- Which variables influence the conflict potential between the German-speaking and non-German-speaking Belgians?
- overt?

The raw data are drawn from a 2008-2009 survey, the most comprehensive in its kind so far (1137 respondents). It opens up debate scenarios about the possible effects of a further decentralization of power in the Belgian state, and even of its alleged future disintegration.

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HORNER, KRISTINE (1); WEBER, JEAN-JACQUES (2)

1: University of Sheffield, United Kingdom; 2: University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

EDUCATION AND THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE IN LUXEMBOURG, A SMALL MULTI-LINGUAL CITY

In this presentation, we discuss language in education policy in Luxembourg, a small state situated at the Romano-Germanic border in Western Europe. Due to its smallness, issues of cultural and economic survival have been at the centre of Luxembouroish narratives of national identity. The country is officially trilingual (Luxembourgish, German and French), with Luxembourgish widely used as a spoken medium of communication. Because of the close linguistic relatedness between Luxembourgish and German, basic literacy skills have been taught via standard German in state schools. However, enormous demographic changes have taken place since the 1970s, with an influx primarily of Portuguese-speaking immigrants as well as speakers of other Romance languages. As a result, the school population in many of today's primary classrooms, especially in Luxembourg city, consists of a majority of children whose home languages include Romance (rather than Germanic) language varieties. We first discuss how, as a reaction to the popular view of multilingualism as problematic or even bad, an academic view of multilingualism as unconditionally good has spread widely and is at times promulgated somewhat uncritically. We then show that this view relies upon untheorized concepts of 'language' and 'multilingualism', and that it has led to rather problematic distinctions such as the distinction - or continuum - between more or less multilingual schools (e.g. Cenoz 2008). We argue that a much more useful distinction is that between fixed and flexible multilingual education (Blackledge and Creese 2010; Weber and Horner 2012).

We briefly trace the historical development of the Luxembourgish education system and, in light of this, analyse a recent language ideological debate about the possible implementation of a two-track literacy programme in a primary school in Luxembourg city, with one track offering literacy through German (the existing system) and the other literacy through French. The proposal, which was put forward by a group of teachers in Luxembourg city, would have had the effect of introducing greater flexibility into the system and hence facilitating the educational success of a much wider range of students. However, it was rejected by the Ministry of Education, and we will show how the Ministry drew upon the discourse of cultural survival and the 'multilingualism is always good' ideology as a way of justifying their decision.

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- Which measures can be taken to prevent the conflict potential between the German-speaking and non-German-speaking Belgians from becoming

JANSSENS, RUDI: VAESEN, JOOST Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

THE REALIGNMENT OF POLITICAL CLEAVAGES. LANGUAGE AND TERRITORIALITY IN POST WAR BRUSSELS.

'Nationalism, once thought by many intellectuals of both Left and Right to be a declining or dying force, has seemingly returned with renewed vigor in recent decades' (Delanty & Kumar, 2006, 1). Nations and nationalism are defined by cultural markers of which religion, ethnicity and language are the most important tools (McCrone, 2006, 240). The latter marker is fundamental in the post war political polarization in Belgium in general and Brussels in specific (Witte e.a., 2005). This crucial cleavage structures the political system and thus the service provision in key domains (such as education) in the Belgian capital, while influencing the identification pattern of its citizens (Janssens, 2010). At the same time, recent societal and governmental transitions have grifted on the existing cleavages. On the one hand globalization with its inherent influx of immigrants and their multilingualism sorted an impact on both national/regional and local issues. This is certainly an issue in countries or regions featuring more than one official language (Kavadias & Stouthuysen, 2011) and thus, due to the relationship between language, ethnicity and social boundaries (Olzak, 1992). It provokes tensions and conflicts implying an often precarious balance between the language groups involved. Thereby Brussels, characterized by the presence of two traditional language communities and an important influx of immigrants, provides an interesting case. On the other hand scholars described a profound governmental transition featuring the 'erosion' or 'reshaping' of nation states, implying the rise of regions and cities and the relevance of supranational institutions (Müller & Wright, 1994). In Belgium, the process of federalization has reshaped the political system fundamentally (Deschouwer, 2009). It is clear that these transitions have an impact on the traditional politico-linguistic cleavage in Belgium in general and Brussels in specific.

This presentation focuses on the role of the educational system. The case of Brussels is therefore highly relevant, since its educational context is shaped by the presence of the two traditional language communities (Dutch - French), who control each separately a unilingual component of this sphere. The changing role of both languages over time resulted in a shift from a bilingual to two monolingual educational system, with recently the demand to shift to new forms of bilingual education. Brussels is also characterized by a major influx of immigrants and a strong demographic rejuvenation, putting extra strains on the existing model. Therefore the current sociologically diverse linguistic situation clashes with the official bilingual (or dual unilingual) environment. Recent political and administrative transitions have affected the current model as well, leading to an embryonic regional (bilingual) political identity (Vaesen, 2008) that gives an impetus to the transformation of the current dual educational system.

Thematic Session 146

Language at preschool in urban European settings

Session Chair 1: Kuiken, Folkert Session Chair 2: Michel, Marije Cornelie

Session Abstract:

For many European children, especially those growing up in an urban context, language at school is not the same as language at home. This may be because children are raised in a mother tongue, which differs from the language used outside home. But even if a child is raised in the language, which is used outside home, there may be large differences between the variety spoken at home and the particular academic language used in a school setting. It is also the case that often the use of another mother tongue at home coincides with a low economic status of the parents. For these reasons many children suffer from a low language proficiency level in the target language when they enter primary school, which prevents them from attaining higher forms of education and consequently to obtain higher qualified jobs.

This thematic session focuses on the challenges children and educators are faced with in the multilingual urban European context at the earliest years of education, that is, at preschool. In this session various questions will be addressed. For instance: most European countries have started investing large amounts of money in preschool programmes for young children, but how effective are these programmes? What are successful ways to prepare children for their entry to primary school, in particular, regarding their (second) language skills, e.g., lexicon, grammar, communicative competence a.s.o.? Are there possibilities for content and language integrated learning at this age? And what is, in all this, the role of parental stimulation, individual differences between pupils, language policy at/concerning preschools, and preschool teachers' competences?

The session will bring together scholars from various multilingual Western European countries (e.g. Sweden, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, and the UK), specialized in academic language and/or in language problems of pupils at preschool in an urban context. As the majority of young children in (Western) Europe grow up in an urban setting nowadays, many of whom suffer from a low proficiency level in the language used at school, the topic is of particular relevance to the conference theme. The session intends to identify these problems and to present solutions and good practices from various European countries that may serve as an example for other countries.

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KUIKEN, FOLKERT University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

COMPETENCIES OF PRESCHOOL TEACHERS IN THE NETHERLANDS: LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE AND DIDACTIC SKILLS

In the last few years the Netherlands have invested much money and energy in the early education of 21/2- to 6-year old children in an effort improve the quality of this type of education. Great care is taken that the conditions for a successful preschool education are fulfilled. With respect to the preschool teachers these conditons concern their language proficiency level, their knowledge about language and language acquisition, and their didactic skills. Reports of the schools inspectorate indicate that in many cases these competencies leave to be desired. Measures have been taken in order to improve these competencies. In this paper the contents of these measures and their results will be reported. We will focus on the city with the largest amount of preschools and preschool teachers: Amsterdam.

In 2009-10 the language proficiency level of 657 preschool teachers was tested. It turned out that only half of the teachers had reached the required level (CEF level B2 for speaking and reading, and B1 for writing). Those who failed the test were offered free language lessons. By the end of 2011 more than 1100 teachers have been tested of whom almost 85% have now obtained the required level. It has also become apparent that teachers often lack knowledge about the desired language level of a child at a particular age. Therefore language goals have been formulated for children at the age of four and six. These goals may help teachers to structure their language input and to evaluate whether a child uses language in a way that may be expected from a child of similar age. Nevertheless concerns remain if the teachers are prepared well enough for this task during their vocational training.

These worries also concern the didactic skills of the teachers. Therefore observations schemes have been developed in order to be able to judge the didactic competencies the teachers during their daily practice. The implementation of these observation schemes is now evaluated. The actions undertaken in Amsterdam have contributed to new insights with regard to the language policy in preschools and in teacher training colleges. Possibly they will also lead to changes in the teacher training curriculum. An interesting subject for future research is the question if these measures will lead in the end to a better language proficiency of the children. These and other challenging issues will be discussed in the paper.

OFNER, DANIELA; MICHEL, MARIJE; THOMA, DIETER; TRACY, ROSEMARIE University of Mannheim, Germany

WHAT PRESCHOOL TEACHERS (SHOULD) KNOW ABOUT LANGUAGE - A GERMAN PERSPECTIVE

In many Western countries the need to support the academic language skills of children with and without an immigrant background has become a major challenge (Halle et al. 2003). In many German cities, for instance, already every second child is born into a family with a migration history (cf. German Federal Statistical Office). It is highly probable, that preschool or kindergarten is the first place where these children receive relevant input and support in German - an essential prerequisite for their future success within the educational system. As a consequence, there has been a surge of language support initiatives and intervention programs. At the same time, evaluations of many of these measures reach pessimistic conclusions concerning their overall effectiveness (Baden-Württemberg Stiftung 2011). We suggest that in order to better understand the reasons for this mismatch between obvious efforts and disappointing outcomes, it is important to take a closer look at the professional competence of preschool teachers (Darling-Hammond 2000, Dickinson 2011) including their knowledge about (multilingual) language acquisition, the structure of the target language, and communicative strategies supportive of language learning.

Hundred-fifty preschool teachers took part in a computer-based study that reflects the model of language-training competence by Hopp et al. (2010). First, we assessed basic knowledge in linguistic areas such as phonology, morpho-syntax, and language acquisition. Second, participants watched authentic video-taped child-preschool teacher interactions, were asked to make relevant linguistic observations, and to select appropriate language intervention methods. Results indicate that preschool teachers scored slightly above chance in the knowledge and observation task. Less than one third of their intervention choices were appropriate. Detailed analyses revealed interesting individual differences. Preschool teachers with high levels of secondary education scored significantly better than less educated peers. Teachers with substantial language-specific training selected more appropriate intervention methods.

The discussion evaluates preschool teachers' performance against control groups with expected high, middle and low language-training competence, respectively. Control groups are speech pathologists, vocational school teachers, and members of highly communicative professions such as hair dressers. Our study supports the call for a (more) academic preschool teacher qualification with a substantial linguistic component. This should prepare preschool teachers better for the manifold language-related challenges of educating young children.

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MROZ, MARIA; LETTS, CAROLYN University of Newcastle, United Kingdom

EARLY YEARS EDUCATION, LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

For a number of years there has been concern that children from more socially deprived areas of the UK come to formal schooling at age 5 with poor language skills. A large sample of 1266 children aged 2;00 to 7:06 years were tested for language comprehension and production as part of the standardisation of a redeveloped language test (NRDLS, Edwards, Letts & Sinka 2011). Data was available on years of maternal education and the indices of social deprivation for the child's school or nursery. Comparing children of mothers with minimum years of statutory education (i.e. leaving school a 16) with those whose mothers had further or higher education, there was a significant effect on performance, limited largely to children up to age 3;06 after which performance was similar across both groups. There was also a significant effect for postcode area of school/nursery for language production only, with a non-significant trend for the younger children to be most affected.

The findings will be discussed against a review of current practice and recent changes to the curriculum and assessment for children in Foundation Stage provision (aged 3-5). The potential impact of training in speaking and listening available to staff in such provision will be considered as will the possible influence of initiatives designed to improve the communication skills of children in the Foundation Stage. The current situation with regard to training, curriculum and assessment of speaking and listening skills in the Foundation Stage will be discussed against the findings from the authors' 2001 research project 'Children's Speech and Language Development: an investigation of the knowledge, skills and understanding of early years professionals.'

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AXELSSON, MONICA

Stockholm University Sweden, Sweden

SWEDEN: LINGUISTIC INTERACTION IN MULTILINGUAL PRESCHOOLS – A PREPARA-TION FOR EDUCATIONAL KNOWLEDGE?

A child's learning and linguistic development within the family starts in situations where language is rooted in an immediate context of time, space or situation. Bernstein (1975) has characterized this as 'commonsense' knowledge as opposed to the more specialized educational knowledge learned in school. Bruner (1970) noted that middle class children learned to use language without dependence upon shared percepts or actions, solely relying on the language of the message. In audio recordings of a large number of children interacting with their mothers at home Wells (1986) got similar results for class, as did Hasan (1988). Painter (1999) added a developmental perspective in the study of her son's learning through language. In multilingual preschools language is an additional factor since many children with another mother tongue than Swedish enter preschool around one year of age and spend up to 40 hours there every week. This leaves the development of both situation-dependent and situation-independent Swedish very much to the preschool environment.

My research questions are, i) what linguistic features characterize the discourse in a multilingual urban preschool in Sweden? ii) to what extent does situation-independent language appear in preschool and how is it used by multilingual preschool children? Children's language use will be analyzed using systemic functional linguistics especially focusing the appearance of situation-independent language.

In my presentation I aim at describing the use of different semantic choices made by preschool teachers and five year old multilingual children, based on data collected in preschools with a majority of multilingual children (Axelsson, 2005 and 2010), using video and audio recordings as well as digital photographs. Analyses comparing data from five preschools show that the use of situation-independent language coincides with topic of interaction, preschool teachers' language use and type of literacy.

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VAN GORP, KOEN; MOONS, CAROLINE Centre for Language and Education, KU Leuven, Belgium

CREATING RICH LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENTS FOR MORE THAN ONE LANGUAGE: A WORK IN PROGRESS IN FLEMISH PRESCHOOLS

Dutch language learners (DLLs) lag behind in school. The Flemish educational system doesn't seem to succeed in creating powerful language environments which ensure equal education. This failure puts pressure on the preschool system to take part in fighting the underachievement of DLLs. Preschools are pushed to provide rich language learning environments in which DLLs learn enough Dutch to make the transition to primary school without (too many) language arrears. However, no systematic preschool (language) programmes are offered to daycare centres. They therefore develop their own 'methods' and, as a result, tend to copy primary school practices.

The focus on Dutch language stimulation in preschool has brought up many language-related questions in caregivers: how do we best work with the multilingual repertoires of children, how do we stimulate the acquisition of Dutch, what is the impact of the home language on the acquisition of Dutch? Parents too have questions concerning the impact of the home language on children's Dutch language development. Until recently, there was no consensus on any of these questions. As a result, contesting voices were heard and daycare centres carried out conflict-ing language policies. For instance, some centres opted for 'majority language use only' ('language bath') and ruled out the use of minority languages, considering low-status languages as an obstacle to later educational achievement. Other centres developed more pragmatic, context-sensitive practices, or began experimenting with a functional use of home languages.

In recent policy papers a clear position in favour of multilingual practices has been voiced by the most influential Flemish public ECEC organization: 'Kind en Gezin' (Verhelst et al., 2010); a voice which was publically endorsed by the Minster of Early Childhood Education and Care. 'Kind en Gezin' published a study in which professionals are adviced on how to create a rich language learning environment for Dutch as well as valorizing the home languages of the children.

These new policies are a starting point. Now caregivers need additional support to put policy into practice and to overcome their insecurities in working with multilingual children.

The Centre for Language and Education developed materials ('Tatertaal' /'Tattle Talk') as well as coachings to support caregivers in working with the multilingual reality in their daycare centres. 'Tattle Talk' was implemented in the province of Vlaams Brabant. Over 250 caregivers were trained in using the materials and were coached in creating a rich language environment that meets the needs of multilingual children (and parents). This paper will discuss the changing discourses and practices in early educational settings in Flanders of the last five years. The findings are based on small scale qualitative studies concerning stakeholders' beliefs and observed actions in ECEC contexts in general and in the province of Vlaams Brabant in particular. The findings show that the majority of childcare centres in Flanders strive to create a powerful Dutch learning environment in which home languages other than Dutch are acknowledged and sometimes even used as a resource.

Thematic Session 148 Child Language Variation: Socio-geographical Significance and Formal Approaches

Session Chair 1: Lacoste, Véronique

Session Abstract:

Child language variation has been mostly in the domain of sociolinguistics, in which it has been noted that it is useful to consider variable rules and constraints in relation to acquisition of rule systems and norms of the speech community (Labov 1989); however, more recently it has been claimed that current frameworks in linguistic theory can deal with variation. The goal of this proposed panel is to move toward a unified account of variation in child language by bringing together research from the sociolinguistics tradition and formal accounts in syntactic and phonological theory in which variation is intrinsic to the grammar rather than peripheral (Green 2011). Research in variationist sociolinguistics has shown that children acquire categorical aspects of the grammar but also that there is developmental and socially motivated variation in early stages of acquisition. An 'integrated theory of grammar' (Cornips and Corrigan 2005) is argued to benefit from usage-based accounts of language (Tomasello 2003; Bybee 2010; Ambridge and Lieven 2011) and exemplar theories (Pierrehumbert 2001). In phonology, the latter models have reported the existence of phonetic variation in mental lexical representations; children have been shown to engage in ambient exemplar modelling of linguistic variation and categorisation where frequency plays a role in the acquisition. In second language learning, seven-year-old children have been shown to display variable sensitivity to input frequency in the classroom (Lacoste 2012). In syntax, it is argued that children acquire target-consistent variation of word order early on while other types or word order variation are acquired later (Anderssen et al. 2010).

In moving toward a unified account of child language variation, the panel will consider the developmental path of linguistic structures in the language of children who are growing up in rural and urban areas and acquiring the vernacular-standard varieties. Rural children are anticipated to undergo sequential dialect acquisition of the vernacular and then the standard, the prestige variety being acquired mostly outside home. In rural areas, minimal multilingualism is expected, especially perhaps in postcolonial societies. The 'supralocal variety' is acquired first; the standard is acquired later (Cornips and Corrigan 2005). The reverse of the hypothesis is that urban children would be more likely to display simultaneous, though unstable, dialect acquisition due to the multi-dialectal and multilingual character of cities. They would encounter more opportunities to become sensitive to standard norms at an earlier age than rural children, so it is important to raise the question about the extent to which urban and rural 'place' impacts on the children's acquisition of the standard-vernacular socio-situational boundaries. The question about variation and the development of vernacular-standard varieties in rural and urban areas will also be addressed from the perspective of inherent variability. For instance, it is often assumed that the use of standard constructions in non-standard varieties represents influence from the standard or mainstream variety; however, both non-standard as well as forms that are compatible with the standard variety are an integral part of the grammar of inherently variable systems such as African American English.

This panel will also examine the extent to which variability as a developmental phenomenon in children's language is a matter of 'interdialectal' negotiation, and whether 'interdialectal' variability is likely to be greater as a developmental/ inherent phenomenon than 'intradialectal' variability. 'Intradialectal' and 'interdialectal' processes of variation will be investigated in relatively stable, traditional, non-mobile communities where multilingualism is potentially minimised and in 'super-diverse' cities (Vertovec 2007).

By bringing together scholars from the sociolinguistic and formal linguistic traditions, this panel offers a fresh perspective on the developmental path and socio-geographical significance of child language variation in different parts of the world.

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ROBERTS, JULIE

University of Vermont, United States of America

ACQUISITION AS PARTICIPATION IN A RURAL SPEECH COMMUNITY

One of the assumptions of this symposium on a unified account of child language variation is that in rural areas children will acquire the local vernacular, then the standard (Cornips and Corrigan 2005). However, logical as this assumption is, as is almost always the case, the data, in this case in sociophonetics, present a more complicated picture. The local first model also assumes that the rural dialect is robust enough to be passed on more or less intact to the next generation. In fact, in many areas, rural dialects are undergoing a leveling process. The language serving as input for the language acquiring child is, therefore, a mixture of local forms and supralocal (or leveled) forms, depending on the order, rate, and progress of the obsolescent features. Northwestern Vermont, located in the New England region of the U.S., presents a rural community with a leveling vernacular dialect but one whose features show a markedly different rate of merging with supralocal forms if they do so at all (Roberts 2006, 2007). /au/ raising has almost completely reversed in all but the oldest, male speakers., but /ai/ raising reversal is progressing more slowly with evidence of this feature even in some of the 9-year-olds recorded. Finally, /t/ glottalization is a robust and possibly increasing feature of the Vermont dialect with the highest application rate in the high school aged speakers.

What, then, do young children do with this mixed input? This paper attempts to answer this question by examining the speech of 4- and 5-year-old children in local preschool and kindergarten programs. Tokens of /ai/, /au/ and glottalized /t/ were perceptually and acoustically analyzed. Results revealed that none of the children raised /au/. On the other hand, some of the children variably produced raised /ai/, suggesting that this feature will 'survive' in simplified form for another generation. All of the children produced glottalized /t/ but the overall rates and patterns were highly variable, although the phonological constraints had been largely acquired. Some of this variation could be explained by home input, although all of the children attended school programs full time. In addition, some children showed emerging patterns of differential glottalization based on the activity taking place, a form of emergent stylistic variation as well as an indicator of the underlying form. These results allow us to make the following suggestions: 1. Models of rural dialect acquisition should include situations of change, particularly when the direction of change is generally toward a more supralocal variety. 2. In addition to contributing to learning theory, acquisition studies also suggest directions and rate of future change in the variety itself.

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HABIB, RANIA

Syracuse University, United States of America

URBAN VOWEL SPREAD IN RURAL CHILD AND ADOLESCENT LANGUAGE

This study examines the variation and change in the use of the rural vowel variables (o), (o:), (e), and (e:) in the vernacular Arabic of rural, non-migrant children and adolescents in the village of Oyoun A-Wadi in Syria. These variables are realized as [o]/[a], [o:]/[a:], [e]/[a], and [e:]/[a:] respectively. The second vowel in each set is the urban counterpart that shows wide spread among the younger generation. The village's variants are determined by two phonological rules and some morphological conditioning. Rule (1) holds that short and long round vowels occur in word-final syllables in the environment of [r] or emphatic sounds. Rule (2) holds that short and long mid front vowels occur in other word-final syllables and are sometimes morphologically conditioned. Despite some slight social factors influence, the acquisition and loss of urban and rural linguistic rules is observed to be the main force behind these vowel variations.

The data set consists of 11208 tokens taken from the naturally occurring speech of 50 speakers ages 6-18. The participants are equally divided into four age groups: 6-8, 9-11, 12-14, and 15-18. Age groups are equally divided into girls and boys. Mother's origin and residential area are also considered. Quantitative analyses show significant gender, age, and area effects concerning the use of some variants. Boys use more round vowels than girls. The restrictiveness of the linguistic environment of Rule (1) makes the round vowels a more distinctive feature of the village's variety, and thus the village's identity to which boys are highly loyal. The youngest age group shows the lowest use of the rural vowels, which indicates that children initially acquire their mothers' urban forms. Afterwards, they acquire the village's rules. While children can acquire different rules from their caregivers' at a later age, the complexity of the linguistic situation in which they live leads to fluctuation in their application of the newly acquired rules. Previous studies examined variation in second dialect acquisition in migrant children and adolescents and showed that the age of arrival is a determinant factor of the acquisition of new linguistic rules (Chambers 1992). This study deals with variation in the speech of non-migrant rural kids who are in contact with urban features through various sources among which are out-of-town mothers, relatives and friends living in cities, and television shows implementing urban forms. This observed vowel variation is the result of the acquisition of two different sets of rules. Initially, kids acquire their mother's urban forms and the associated phonological rules. Subsequently, they acquire the rules of their home village. Thus, there is a reversal in the acquisition of rules, and this reversal contrasts with the common pattern of acquisition: rural first and then urban. This indicates that kids are capable of recognizing and acquiring the various linguistic rules in their environment after the age of eight (Payne 1980). Although this leads to variability in their speech, it highlights the development of sociolinguistic competence throughout their life-span, as they acquire the various sociolinguistic patterns present in their environment

VAN HOFWEGEN, JANNEKE Stanford University, United States of America

INTRA- AND INTER-DIALECTAL VARIATION IN AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH ACROSS THE EARLY LIFESPAN

Although the vernacular structures of African American English (AAE) have been scrutinized in great detail over the last half-century, the phenomenon of whether/how the dialect is co-acquired and co-utilized alongside mainstream American English has only recently been studied in a truly longitudinal framework. Although many of the canonical studies of AAE (e.g. Labov, Cohen, Robins and Lewis 1968; Wolfram 1969; Fasold 1972; Rickford 1999) have posited a correlation of age with vernacular dialect variables, there has been disagreement about how to address the following questions: 1) Is there a way to quantify the extent to which a non-standard variety is acquired and used across the lifespan? 2) Are there uniform or heterogeneous trajectories of usage exemplified by different individuals? 3) What models do children emulate in their usage at different points in time? 4) Do bi-dialectal children exhibit metalinguistic awareness and the ability to style shift?

Drawing upon a unique longitudinal database, a series of studies (e.g., Van Hofwegen and Wolfram 2010; Van Hofwegen 2011; 2012; Van Hofwegen and Stob 2012; Renn and Terry 2009; Renn 2011; Callahan-Price 2011; Kohn and Farrington 2012) have embarked on the task of answering these questions. This remarkable dataset, compiled by researchers at the Frank Porter Graham Child Development Institute in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, USA, comprises natural language samples from 67 African American children, gathered yearly from birth in 1991 to the present day. The data set also includes language samples of the subjects' primary caregivers and peers in adolescence. Finally, academic, social, and psychological measures were also collected regularly for each child. In sum, this database is the most comprehensive longitudinal corpus of African American language development ever collected. These studies have used a Dialect Density Measure (DDM) to quantify non-standard linguistic usage at the different longitudinal time points. The DDM is a token-based calculation in terms of dialect features per communication unit or word, based on an inventory of canonical vernacular AAE features (cf. Renn 2009; Craig and Washington 2006; Oetting and McDonald 2002). As such, the DDM can be statistically analyzed as a composite or in terms of individual features.

Using the DDM, these studies have been able to identify a 'roller-coaster' trajectory of vernacular dialect usage over time. Before schooling, AAE vernacular usage is quite high, but dips sharply (to near zero in some cases) once formal schooling (in the standard variety) begins. In early adolescence, the trend reverses, with most children exhibiting their most vernacular usage at that time. Finally, in later adolescence, a majority of children reduce their vernacular usage to level closely approximating their parents'. While the children are highly variable in their usage of morphosyntactic AAE features, they show very stable phonetic variation over their lifespan. Additionally, children show greater metalinguistic awareness as they age, illustrated in increased abilities to style-shift between varieties as needed.

CONNER. TRACY

University of Massachusetts Amherst, United States of America

WHEN IT'S NOT AN OPTION: PROBING THE LIMITS OF VARIATION IN POSSESSIVE MARKING IN CHILD AFRICAN AMERICAN ENGLISH THROUGH MULTI-METHOD RE-SEARCH

The majority of research investigating the patterns of African American English (AAE) has come from sociolinguistics. Researchers have sought to characterize possessive marking by adult speakers as optional given data from speech samples (Labov & Harris, 1986). Green (2011;196) has shown that even children acquiring AAE use some overt 's marking, but most often use zero morphological marking ('ø) for prenominal possessives.

- (1) a. and then Carl pour milk into baby's cup
- b. Carl poured chocolate milk into baby'ø cup

Other types of data are required to understand the distribution of possessive marking in AAE as prenominal possessive constructions do not provide insight into phrase-final contexts-possessives in which the object (cup above) is unspoken or elided (e.g. the baby's). My analysis of speech sample data from 45 AAE-speaking children from the Dialect Sensitive Language Test (DSLT) (Seymour, Roeper & de Villiers, 2000) revealed that phrase-final possessives comprised only 12% of all possessive types, explaining why little focus has been placed on phrase-final contexts in previous analyses of possessive optionality in AAE. In this paper, I provide multi-source data from varied elicitation tasks, speech samples and story retells, and use syntactic analysis to illustrate that unlike the optionality of prenominal possessives reported in the literature, possessive marking in phrase final contexts is obligatory.

I analyzed data from elicitation tasks on the DSLT to provide evidence that possessive marking is not strictly optional. After being shown pictures of a dog, a cat, a horse, and bowls containing food for each animal, 568 AAE-speaking children ages 4-12 were asked to respond to the following prompt. (2) Tell me whose food that is. (Pointing to the dog's food.)

When participants produced prenominal possessives, these forms were 'ø-marked (i.e. the dog'ø food) 70% of the time. On the other hand, when phrase-final possessives were produced, only 45% were 'ø-marked (the dog'ø). This difference is a nod to a preference for overt marking in phrase-final contexts. We should expect an even greater difference in percentages if phrase-final possessive marking were obligatory, yet even Standard American English-speaking children taking the DSLT 'ø-marked phrase finally (%12). To rule out potential effects of the DSLT prompt-specifically, that Wh-elements like 'whose' are being discussed as potential licensors of 'ø-marking in phrase-final responses-an experiment was designed to elicit phrase-final possessives from child and adult speakers using sentence completion tasks.

- Monkey, Diego, and Dora all brought lunch. (3)
 - Monkey has salad, the salami belong to Diego. There's a pizza.

That pizza must be _____. a. Dora's

b. Dora'ø

Only 14% of phrase-final responses occurred with 'ø-marking (3b), which is even greater confirmation than the DSLT experimental results that phrase-final possessive marking is obligatory. Syntactic analysis of these constructions suggest that 's is required phrase finally to licenses object ellipsis (Conner, forthcoming). Ultimately, my analyses show that with multi-method research-naturalistic, experimental, and theoretical-we can arrive more precise linguistic descriptions and generalizations by which to examine the acquisition of variable systems like AAE.

HENRY, ALISON

University of Ulster, United Kingdom

ACQUIRING INHERENT VARIABILITY: CHILD LANGUAGE ACQUISITION OF BELFAST ENGLISH

Work in syntactic theory has tended to consider grammars as intrinsically invariant. From Chomsky's original proposal that we should investigate the grammar of an ideal speaker-hearer in a homogeneous speech community, to the anti-optionality view inherent in notions of economy within Minimalist syntax, it has been a central facet of work in syntactic theory that variability either does not really exist or is inherently unstable (see for example Tortora 2011 on Appalachian English).

This paper discusses children's acquisition of a number of structures that exhibit variability in the adult input, including negative concord, inversion in imperatives and . The focus is on singular concord (Henry 1995), where a plural non-pronominal DP subject can appear with a singular or plural verb form:

- 1. The toys is broken
- 2. The toys are broken

The study shows firstly that in adult input there is variability in these structures, and that the presence of a child does not lead the adult to use less variation than in talking to adults. It is shown that, faced with such variable input, children acquire both variants. This is even the case with variants that appear rather infrequently in the adult input. For example, singular concord occurs on less than 10% of possible occasions in adult input, but is nevertheless acquired by children, calling into question Lightfoot's (1991) suggestion in relation to parameter (re-)setting that something that occurs less than 30% of the time in the input will not be acquired. This should not in fact be surprising, because children acquiring a grammar not generating a structure that occurs in 30% or even 10% of the input of that structure, are left in a position where a substantial amount of the input cannot be parsed by their grammars.

The paper concludes that acquisition does not favour invariant grammars, but rather allows the learning of variable grammars which we know from sociolinguists to be characteristic of adult linguistic competence, and to be able to persist from generation to generation without one variant necessarily 'winning out' over the other in some kind of 'grammar competition'

SMITH, JENNIFER (1); DURHAM, MERCEDES (2); ROGERS, DEREK (1) 1: University of Glasgow, United Kingdom; 2: University of Aberdeen

'I Ø NA LIKE THE FAIRIES... I LIKE THE SNAILS' NEGATION AND COMMUNITY GRAM-MARS IN THE SPEECH OF CHILDREN AND CAREGIVERS IN A SCOTTISH DIALECT

Research over the past two decades in sociolinguistic research has demonstrated that complex patterns of variation evident in adult speech are acquired by children from the very earliest stages of language development (e.g. Chevrot et al 2000, Foulkes et al 2005, Roberts 1997, Smith et al 2007, 2009, in press). More recent attention has turned to how competing theories on acquisition best deal with such variation (e.g. Adger & Smith 2010). In this paper, we combine variationist analysis with more theoretical concerns in the analysis of negation in 29 preschool children (2;10-4;2) in interaction with their primary caregivers in a small community in north east Scotland. Specifically we target do absence in present negative declaratives in (1):

1. I ø na want my chicken dipper....I do na want it on my hand. (Ellie 3:2)

2. I don't want my chicken dipper... I don't want it on my hand.

On the surface, this looks like a form arising from the developmental stages in the acquisition of negation (e.g. Bloom 1991). However, Smith (2001) shows that do absence is frequent in the adult community grammar, with highly complex constraints on use: 1) grammatical subject plays a major role in governing the variability, where do is variable in all subject types except 3rd person singular contexts; 2) the fully variable contexts show an effect of subject type, lexical verb and following complement: do absence is favoured with 1st person, the verb ken and sentential complements. Analysis of over 1000 contexts in the caregiver data reveal the same rates and linguistic conditioning on use, despite this being a highly circumscribed, non-standard form. More crucially, these constraints - both categorical and variable - are mirrored in the child data. We appeal to both universal grammar and more usage-based accounts to interpret these results. Do is categorical in contexts where an overt inflection is required and these data suggest that this parameter is set from the earliest stages of language acquisition (e.g. Snyder 2007). More usage-based models are called upon to explain the variable patterns, where frequency plays a part in the choice between do and no do (e.g. Tomasello 2003). We discuss the ramifications of these findings for theories of language acquisition in the context of variable community grammars.

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Thematic Session 149

Interactional Dialectology

Session Chair 1: Nilsson, Jenny Sofia Session Chair 2: Öqvist, Jenny

Session Abstract:

In this thematic session, we explore how interactional analyses of dialect data can enrich and diversify traditional dialectology and sociolinguistics as well as interactional linguistics.

In studies of social and regional language variation, researchers often focus on the relation between certain linguistic features and social variables such as age, gender, social class, and social networks (c.f. Milrov 1987, Laboy 2001). In our view, a dialect is not only a linguistic system or a realisation of a number of context-less linguistic variables, but is always used within a social context - dialect features may have different meanings in different interactional contexts. The framework of sociolinguistics/social dialectology would therefore benefit from the addition of an empirically based interactional dialectology. In this thematic session, we invite researchers to explore the communicative functions of dialect (and standard language) features in social interaction. Questions that will be addressed in the session include: How can interactional analyses contribute to dialect research? What are the essential features of an interactional dialectology? How can we combine an interactional approach to dialect data with more traditional sociolinguistic and dialectological approaches in a fruitful way? We welcome studies of vernaculars in urban as well as in rural settings. An interactional dialectology places itself theoretically within the framework of interactional linguistics (c.f. Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001). In an interactional linguistic perspective, language is, first and foremost, a tool for talk in interaction. Consequently, linguistic structures and patterns of language use are analysed as resources used to fulfil interactional functions (Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001:3). So far, regional variation has received very limited attention in interactional linguistic studies. An interactional dialectology would contribute to filling this gap. Furthermore, since dialect recordings have quite a long history in many European countries, an interactional dialectology can add a diachronic dimension to the study of language in use, another aspect largely absent in interactional linguistics.

The methodology for analysing data within interactional linguistics is heavily influenced by Conversation Analysis (CA, c.f. Sidnell 2010). CA has established that conversations are sequentially organized as every speaker's turn is both shaped by, and shaping, the sequential context (c.f. Sacks et al. 1974:722). A central question for CA is why that now, i.e. why a certain utterance is spoken at a particular point in time. An interactional dialectology therefore seeks to answer why certain dialect features are used at a certain point in a conversation, and what consequences this might have for the following interaction.

In the past years, guite a few studies have used an interactional approach to dialect in use (c.f. Lappalainen 2004, Selting 2004, Wide 2009, Ögvist 2011, Bockoård & Nilsson to appear). These studies have shown, inter alia, that an interactional perspective on dialect data can help to explain phenomena

such as stylistic variation and intra-individual variation within the same conversation. It is also evident that regional features – on all linguistic levels – may be used to fulfil particular interactional functions.

This thematic session is a step towards establishing interactional dialectology as a theoretical and methodological framework. We suggest that it is both fruitful and important to study dialect features in the interactional and social context in which they occur. An interactional perspective on dialect studies contributes with new perspectives on dialect use and dialect change. By focusing on the interactional significance of regional variation, it also contributes to interactional linguistics.

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NILSSON, JENNY SOFIA; ÖQVIST, JENNY; BOCKGARD, GUSTAV Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore, Sweden

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

WIDE, CAMILLA University of Turku, Finland

THE USE OF DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AS PRAGMATIC MARKERS IN FINLAND-SWEDISH VARIETIES

As shown by Hayashi & Yoon (2006), demonstrative pronouns in many languages can be used non-referentially as pragmatic markers 'to monitor the flow of the production of utterances'. One of the languages where demonstratives are used in this way is Finnish. Also in Finland Swedish, demonstratives are used to monitor the discourse in the sense discussed by Hayashi & Yoon. An example of this is shown in (1) below.

(2) FS: #jå:# dedäran (1.1) va sku vi nu börja me (.) PRT DEDÄRAN what shall-PST we PRT start with 'okay, DEDÄRAN, what should we start with'

> va sku ni säja om att diskutera (.) fördomar what shall-PST you.PL say about to discuss prejudice-PL 'what would you say about discussing prejudices'

Whereas only the proximal pronoun tämä 'this' is used for monitoring the discourse in Finnish, both the proximal pronoun den här 'this' and the distal pronoun den där 'that' are used as pragmatic markers in Finland Swedish.

In Sweden Swedish demonstrative pronouns are not used as pragmatic markers for monitoring the discourse. The use of den här and den där as pragmatic markers can hence be seen as an outcome of language contact. Earlier studies of the use of the two pronouns as pragmatic markers in Finland Swedish have focused mainly on Helsinki Swedish and other varieties that are closely related to (Finland-Swedish) standard language (Saari 1994, Londen 2000). However, as shown by Wide (2011), demonstrative pronouns are used as pragmatic markers throughout the Swedish-speaking area in Finland. The same functions as in Helsinki Swedish (and Finnish) can be found also in more rural or regional varieties of Finland Swedish. In some areas, the pronouns, however, seem to have a wider range of functions than in others. In my paper I will look closer at the geographical distribution of the different functions of the pronouns as pragmatic markers.

The theoretical-methodological point of departure of the paper is Conversation Analysis (CA) and Interactional Linguistics. In CA studies of pragmatic particles the focus has generally been on standard language or varieties closely related to standard language. As I will show, studying geographically more diversified data provides a fuller understanding of how pragmatic particles are used and become pragmaticalized in languages.

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SOCIAL VALUE ASCRIPTIONS TO LEVELLED DIALECT FEATURES AMONG YOUTH

The Danish speech community is predominantly standardised, and a recent real-time study (Schøning & Pedersen 2009, also Schøning 2010) illustrates a dialect levelling process in which adolescents only occasionally use traditional dialect features. Nonetheless, despite no longer being the default language variety among youth, the dialect features are ascribed significant social values (Agha 2007), denoting social norms and structures. Speakers' knowledge and orientation towards these ascriptions function as meaning potential, exploitable in social identity work (Blommaert 2005, Zimmerman 1998). This aspect of linguistic practices, however, goes unnoticed by traditional dialectology and descriptive sociolinguistics. In this presentation I demonstrate how the inclusion of interactional sociolinguistic (Rampton 2006, 2009, 2011) to traditional dialectology and sociolinguistics helps elucidate the use and symbolic meaning of traditional dialect features among Standard-speaking Danish adolescents in two peripheral areas in the Western part of Denmark.

This is illustrated by data from a project on the use of dialect features as identity and stylisation practices (Schøning 2010) and by data from my ongoing PhD project on poly-lingual practices (Jørgensen 2010, Møller 2009), including dialectal practices, and place. The data consist of self-recordings made by 13-17 year-olds. I show sequentially based microanalyses of dialect use which suggest that adolescents ascribe social values relating to place, gender, especially masculinity, and age to traditional dialect features in stylisation processes (Coupland 2007). I propose how the linguistic practices of the adolescents' use of traditional dialect features may be considered a poly-lingual practice in line with their use of other linguistic features not associated with the local place, such as English. This perspective helps explain the use of dialect features among standard speaking Danes.

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FORSSKÅHL, MONA University of Tampere, Finland

MARKING ACCESS TO KNOWLEDGE IN SWEDISH DIALECT INTERVIEWS

In interactional linguistics a natural starting point is the notion that certain linguistic structures and features are made relevant by the interactional situation or activity and the sequential context (Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001). On the other hand, a use of certain structures and features shapes the sequential contexts that are required in order for a certain situation or activity to be at hand. Thus linguistic structures, sequential contexts and situations or activities respectively shape each other. In this study, I will focus on the dialect interview as a communicative project and how it is related to the linguistic structures used.

Within dialectology interviews are a common method for collecting data (see Bockgård 2010). Dialect interviews are usually carried out by linguists i.e. academic scholars, perhaps with connections in the dialect area at hand. There are certain topics typical for dialect interviews: how life used to be in the area, typical activities, traditions, other local phenomena, such as persons, places, tools. An important characteristic of dialect interviews is that it is not actually the content of the interaction that is of interest to the interviewer, but the form. The interviewer's main communicative project is to elicit as much talk as possible. This means that the balance between the participants' knowledge and access to knowledge is important. If the interviewer already knows facts and stories that the interviewee, on the other hand, can be expected to express knowledge and mark access to relevant knowledge in the situation. In my paper, I will analyse a set of responsive constructions are clauses beginning with an expletive or anaforic pronoun (det) and the copula in present tense (är) followed by a complement. For this presentation I have limited my analyses to cases with responsive functions. My analysis shows that there are certain constructions marking direct, unquestioned access to the topic discussed and others marking no, or limited, access to the topic. The dialect interviewers, with some interesting exeptions, avoid constructions suggesting certainty in relation to the topic, whereas the interviewees use such structures frequently.

In line with Bockgård's (2010) results my data suggests that there is a relation between dialect interviews as an activity and certain linguistic patterns. My conclusion is that the specific situation with an imbalanced access to knowledge influences and is shaped by the linguistic structures used. My study can thus spread some light on the relation between linguistic form, sequential context and activity.

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NORDBERG, BENGT K. R. Uppsala university, Sweden

INTRAINDIVIDUAL CONVERSATION-INTERNAL VARIATION: INTERACTIONALLY OR LINGUISTICALLY MOTIVATED?

One of the tasks of interactional dialectology is to describe and explain speakers' intraindividual variation within one and the same conversation and to do so first and foremost with reference to the local context of the utterance. The goal is to explain why a specific variant is used by a speaker at the specific point in the interaction where it occurs. This approach, it is argued, would be most rewarding in studies of conversations between speakers of different varieties, e.g. two regional dialects or a local vernacular and a standard variety. It is hoped that the findings of this kind of qualitative studies will give a more reliable explanation of linguistic variation and change than the more quantitative approach of traditional sociodialectology or at least be a complement to the solutions offered by structurally based studies. (See, for example, Bockgård & Nilsson 2011, Nilsson 2011.)

There are mainly two interrelated phenomena involved in this line of reasoning. Based on accommodation theory it is argued that a good deal of a speaker's variation during a conversation can be seen as convergence to his/her interlocutor (there is much less talk about divergence). This may appear as recycling of a word or phrase that a/the former speaker has uttered and/or switching from one's normal variant to that of one's interlocutor. This behavior is interpreted as an expression of liking and solidarity with the other speaker or as a way of mitigating disagreements. Another function of switching a sound, a form or a word is to signal a change of topic or change of roles and reciprocal relations.

Very seldom, however, are the findings of this type of analysis compared with and evaluated in the light of the results that a close scrutiny of the variant's structural properties might yield. The purpose of my contribution is to make such a comparison on the basis of a large corpus of spontaneous everyday speech, collected in the latter half of the 1960s in Eskilstuna, a medium-sized Swedish town 120 kilometers west of Stockholm. The corpus consists of quite informal dialogs and interviews with socially varied informants of all age groups. I take up three variables, two morphologic and one morphophonologic, viz. personal pronoun 3rd person plural 'de', variants dom~di, past part. of verbs 2nd conj., variants -t~-i, byggt~byggi, and neuter nouns definite form sing., variants -t~-Ø, huset~huse. They have been analyzed in accordance with the methods of variational linguistics, i.e., apart from external social variables, according to grammatical, phonological and prosodic characteristics. The results suggest that language internal factors are at least as important as interactional ones as independent variables. I will also discuss some theoretical and methodological problems with this branch of interactional analysis.

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NILSSON, JENNY SOFIA; ÖQVIST, JENNY; BOCKGARD, GUSTAV Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore, Sweden

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 151

Language and Hyperdiversity in the Global City: Re-thinking Urban Contexts

Session Chair 1: Moyer, Melissa Session Chair 2: Baynham, Mike

Session Abstract:

The first urban dialect studies by Labov (1972) and others in the nineteen sixties, emphasized language variation in relatively static, settled communities in urban neighbourhoods. That these settled communities were often an effect of mobility over time was always recognized, but never made the central focus of investigation. However, more recently, sociolinguistic inquiry from an ethnographic perspective has become concerned with explaining the complexities of a new sociolinguistic reality stemming from social processes connected with globalization, flows and mobility. The increased and intensified mobility of people, objects and information has brought about a new and complex social, linguistic and cultural reality which Vertovec (2006, 2007) has referred to as hyperdiversity. Cities have become the contact zones described by Pratt (1991) where hybrid linguistic practices, identities and autoethnographic texts get produced by migrants of different legal statuses, entitlements and restrictions of rights, divergent work experiences, discrete gender and age profiles, and different patterns of spatial distribution or mobility. These new global cities (Sassen 2006) are becoming places where a transnational professional elite responsible for top level work of running global systems are sharing city spaces with a new workforce of migrants and minoritized groups who perform the work of servicing and taking care of these new managerial classes. It is in this context that language emerges both vertically and horizontally as a fundamental element in new ways of enacting social relations of power and resistance but also of new and complex forms of local and transnational social networking. The presentations in this panel explore the language practices, often complex blends involving spoken, written, electronically mediated language and image, both generated from and producing the new sociolinguistic realities of the global city. The panel examines how the resultant hybrid and multilingual language forms are used to ne This proposal takes up the conference theme in two interrelated ways: theoretically, it problematizes accepted constructs for understanding the city and its spaces in urban sociolinguistics while also presenting work which engages empirically and methodologically with the new and emerging realities and spaces of the hyperdiverse contemporary city.

- The goals of this session are:
 - · To problematize static settled notions of urban space, such as the neighborhood, inherited from urban sociolinguistics
 - \cdot To re-theorize such notions as contact zones with global/local dimensions in contexts of hyperdiversity
 - To emphasize both vertically (class/power/institutionally mediated) and horizontally networked communication • To ask how identity, positioning and stance operate discursively in such contexts

The questions addressed seek to improve knowledge about

(a) how can we productively re-think the city and its spaces for a sociolinguistics of urban hyperdiversity? (b) What are the empirical and methodological issues involved in researching language practices in hyperdiverse urban spaces?

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MOYER, MELISSA; BAYNHAM, MIKE universitat autònoma de barcelona, Spain

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

ZIEGLER, EVELYN

Universität Duisburg-Essen, Germany

PERCEPTION AND RECOGNITION IN THE CONTEXT OF VISUAL MULTILINGUALISM: THE RUHR METROPOLIS

The investigation into visual multilingualism in Germany will focus on the Ruhr Metropolis, the largest urban agglomeration in Germany. The Ruhr Metropolis is characterized by a high degree of ethnic diversity and a long history of migration, which started in the 19th century with migrants mostly from Eastern Europe. Building on the hypothesis that visual multilingualism can be looked upon as a window onto processes of social inclusion and exclusion, community building and segregation, a theoretical approach will be introduced to investigate these processes more closely. This approach allows a genuinely intersubjective perspective on language choices and language use in displayed multilingualism by making use of the concepts of 'perception' (Preston 1999, Collins/Slembrouck 2007, Aiestaran et al. 2010) and 'recognition' (Taylor 1994, Honneth 1996). Whereas the concept of 'perception' Preston 1999, Collins/Slembrouck 2007, Aiestaran et al. 2010) and 'recognition' refers to core values such as identity, authenticity, and solidarity. Perception, in the above-mentioned sense, can be conceived of as a basic prerequisite for any act of social recognition. Applying the concepts of 'perception' and 'recognition' to the study of linguistic landscapes provides a framework for integrating macro-sociolinguistic approaches to the study of social groups and their standing in a community as well as micro-sociolinguistic approaches to the study of literacy practices (related to the standard or to non-standard varieties).

To evaluate the relationship between majority and minority groups in the Ruhr Metropolis three questions will be addressed:

- 1. How do we present ourselves to others in displayed multilingualism?
- 2. How do we perceive the others in displayed multilingualism?

3. How do migrants participate in and contribute to visual multilingualism in the Ruhr Metropolis? Exemplary analyses of authentic data will illustrate the usefulness of the approach and offer insights into different modalities of perception and the (hidden) grammar of social relations, e.g. dominance relationships, marginalizations, and cases of misrecognition. The results indicate that a further distinction should be made between 'factual recognition' and 'strategic recognition' ('faktische Anerkennung', 'strategische Anerkennung'). Whereas 'factual recognition' has a normative basis and acknowledges the particular needs of social groups, 'strategic recognition' doesn't. 'Strategic recognition' is primarily motivated by pragmatic intentions and goals. Finally, the claim will be made that sociolinguistic perception always wavers between 'recognition' and 'misrecognition' of languages and social groups.

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orhood, inherited from urban sociolinguistics in contexts of hyperdiversity prizontally networked communication ontexts

SABATE DALMAU, MARIA Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona, Spain

MIGRANT STRUGGLES OVER LANGUAGE IN THE INFORMAL ECONOMY: DIVERSITY OF COMMUNICATIVE POWERS IN URBAN PERIPHERIES

Transnational migration has caught the attention of many researchers in today's increasingly hyperdiverse Catalan network society (Castells, 2004). However, the complexity that characterises these multi-layered networks with very diverse linguistic backgrounds and legal and work statuses (Vertovec, 2006) in terms of their access to social networking and communicative power enacted by their differing language capitals has largely passed unnoticed. In this paper I analyse the unseen struggles among heterogeneous groups of migrants for accessing the social capital required to overcome marginalisation and to negotiate identity via the mobilisation of their hybrid, multilingual linguistic capitals and repertoires. More specifically, I focus on the languageregulated power dynamics of twenty migrants (employers and employees) organised around an informal migrant-tailored call shop (a locutorio) located in a peripheral contact zone (Pratt, 1991: 33) in the outskirts of a global city, Barcelona.

Firstly, I investigate the relationships of dependence/subordination between the documented middle class migrant business entrepreneurs who achieve upward mobility via the establishment of these informal businesses, on the one hand, and their under-salaried migrant employees, whose precarious legality statuses depend on their bosses' entrepreneurial will, on the other,

I claim that, for the owners, the new migrant workforce's non-elite linguistic capitals are a commodity that successfully attracts the emerging groups of clients who are non-Western literate, as well as those who choose to communicate in a migrant-regulated space outside the institutional regimes of Spanish multinationals. The workers, by contrast, find themselves offering real multilingual customer services and acting as informal linguistic brokers (Martin-Jones & Jones, 2000) to survive transnationally, bridging language barriers with no protection, at times undergoing linguistic exploitation. I conclude that these highly disruptive social relationships between a new powerful managerial class and a new army of overworked labourers hinge upon the complex language-triggered power dynamics between those migrants who enact a business-minded cosmopolitan identity and those migrants who, from the margins, fight for a place of their own in the urban spaces of the globalised new economy. I claim that this is a new venue for exploring how vertical (top-down; institutional) and horizontal (grassroots; bottom-up) networked communication among these two groups works within the emerging hyperdiversity in the Catalan context, on the one hand, and for putting a renewed lens on the silenced reproduction of social inequality, on the other. The data include participant observation over two years of fieldwork (2007-2009), in-depth interviews with locutorio workers and locutorio users, and visual and documentary materials (SMS, notes, posters, videos, ringtones).

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REDDER, PROF. DR. ANGELIKA; SCARVAGLIERI, CLAUDIO Hamburg University, Germany

LINGUISTIC ACTION SPACES CROSSING URBAN SPACES – THEORETICAL CONCEPTS AND EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

Starting points for discussion will be the linguistic notion of 'action space' and the pragmatic concept of 'chains of multilingual speakers and hearers' (Rehbein 2010). The purpose is to contribute to a deeper insight into the complexity of urban contexts and to discuss dimensions of the so-called hyperdiversity from a critical point of view (Heller 2011).

Reality is an action space constituted through societal formation. Modern societies are characterized through a far-reaching institutionalization of their practice, even of their linguistic practice. In accordance with Functional Pragmatics as an action theoretical approach to language (Redder 2008), in institutions, the action spaces of actants are frequently separated in a characteristic manner; agents realize institutional purposes and act on the basis of institutional knowledge; clients, on the other hand, are actants who avail themselves of institutional purposes for their individual goals and act on the basis of practical experience. It is in these institutional settings that intercultural discourse may emerge, if agents and clients don't share cultural and linguistic knowledge (Bührig 2009).

We want to put this finding one step further: It is rarely at the centre (Mover 2011) but at the borderlines of institutional settings that clients and agents negotiate or try out innovative forms of multilingual communication and thus adapt action spaces to the new reality of urban multilingualism (Redder fc.). Our hypothesis is: The linguistic action space within institutional settings is mutually re-constructed from its periphery in order to fit the needs for both groups, clients and agents. And this will be managed by a non-additive view of multilingualism and language choice.

Empirical evidence will be given from entering and opening-up constellations of institutional settings where ubiquitarian linguistic speech acts like questions or even smaller linguistic exchanges like back channels in different languages serve to open up the gates of institutional interaction. Relying on those basic linguistic actions that fulfil the communitarian function of language, innovative, so-called hybrid means for more specified teleological functions of language can be evolved. The data stem from our pilot-study in the cluster of excellence (LIMA Hamburg).

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Georgetown University, United States of America

DIVERSITY AND THE NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITIES IN URBAN TRANSACTIONAL SPACES

Recent sociolinguistic research (Collins, Slembrouck and Baynham 2009; Blommaert, and Rampton 2011) underscores the importance of revisiting traditional conceptualizations of the relations between language, identities and spaces, emphasizing how processes of globalization and new forms of social and linguistic contact have led to increased language diversity and to the accentuation of hybridity in identities and social practices, particularly in urban centers. The notions of diversity and of new 'contact zones' proposed as focal in this session are central for investigating another characteristic element of late-modern urban life: transnationalism. Immigrant groups and networks within cities continuously create and/or participate in new transnational spaces defined by specific linguistic and communicative practices. The analysis of these practices illuminates ways in which individuals and groups deal with the diverse identities related to their simultaneous participation in different communities and to their everyday contact with different languages and language varieties. In this paper I focus on one such (virtual) space: a Spanish language radio station in the Washington metropolitan area. Data come from approximately 9 hours of broadcast including news, advertising and call shows, recorded between 2009 and 2011 and from texts published on the station's webpage. The radio station addresses an audience of mostly first generation Spanish speaking immigrants living and working in the metropolitan area. I focus on ways in which the contradictions among different attachments and categories of belonging that being transnational involve are negotiated in this environment. I pay particular attention to the strategies used in the construction of a distinct Latino identity by different agents (the radio as a commercial enterprise, the radio hosts and the callers) and on the role of (often hybrid) language practices enacted in different programs and media in the construction of diverse identities.

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WILLIAMS, QUENTIN EMMANUEL (1); STROUD, CHRISTOPHER (2) 1: University of the Western Cape, South Africa; 2: Stockholm University

MULTILINGUALISM IN TRANSFORMATIVE SPACES: CONTACT AND CONVIVIALITY

South Africa is a highly mobile country characterized by historical displacements and contemporary mobilities, both social and demographic. Getting to grips with diversity, dislocation, relocation and anomie, as well as pursuing aspirations of mobility, is part of people's daily experience that often takes place on the margins of conventional politics. A politics of conviviality is one such form of politics of the popular that emerges in contexts of rapid change. diversity, mobility, and the negotiation and mediation of complex affiliations and attachments. The questions in focus for this paper thus pertain to how forms of talk, born out of displacement, anomie and contact in the hyperdiverse urban contexts of South Africa, allow for the articulation of life-styles and aspirations that break with the historical faultlines of social and racial oppression. What are the linguistic building blocks for the emergence of conviviality, and for a politics of association and transformation? How do displaced identities in flux find productive points of contact and exchange? In this talk, we suggest that language is central to such a politics in ways different to how language is thought of in more contemporary liberal, deliberative, politics. We first expand upon the idea of (marginal) linguistic practices as powerful mediations of political voice and agency, an idea that can be captured in the notion of linguistic citizenship, the rhetorical foundation of a politics of conviviality. We then move on to analyze the workings of linguistic citizenship in the multilingual practices of two distinct manifestations of popular culture in translocal sites, namely hip hop and a performance by a stand-up comedian in Mzoli's meat market in Gugulethu, Cape Town. The talk concludes with a general discussion on the implications for politics of multilingualism.

HALONEN. MIA University of Jyväskylä, Finland

A PROCESS OF INDEXICALISATION IN URBAN HELSINKI: A CASE OF SHARP FRONTED -S

In this paper, I will explore the relation between a process of indexicalisation and non-linguistic perceptions of the so-called Helsinkian, urban, sharp fronted sibilant -s. I will explore ways in which the perceptions of the sibilant enable it to become an index of a group called Pissis-girls (cf. e.g. British 'Chavs'). I will also issue how the use of -s is, in turn, shown in the linguistic practices of the girls who claim or identify themselves as being Pissis. According to linguistic literature, the perception of sharp fronted -s as Helsinkian, is purely a social construction. The phonology of Finnish includes only one sibilant, a voiceless medioalveolar /s/. This means that the phonetics of -s vary may vary in quality quite a lot without the semantics of the words changing; most of the variation depends on the phonetic context of the -s and the somewhat individual place of articulation. This, in turn, makes the variation of the -s vulnerable for various ideological associations; for example the sharp fronted -s is perceived by most Finns as an index of an arrogant urban stance which again is linked with Pissis-girls. The perception strengthens the strongly negative stereotype of Pissis-girls which includes e.g. tasteless clothing and heavy drinking. On the other hand, also Pissis-girls themselves make use of the stereotypes and claim their being a Pissis as a feminist act. My study joins the former and on-going discussions dealing with perceptions and construction of 'Helsinkian -s' in folk linguistics (e.g. Vaattovaara, in press) along with theories of indexicality (Silverstein 2003) and language ideological processes (Irvine & Gal 2000). As data I will use various discourses in the social media and schools in Helsinki either concerning Pissis-girls or by them, my methods being ethnography and sociolinguistically informed semiotics (cf. Blommaert & Rampton 2011). By connecting various methods and theories I will discuss some aspects of the relations between the language ideological processes, indexicalisation and the social constructional nature of linguistic features.

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MOYER, MELISSA (1); BAYNHAM, MIKE (2) 1: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain; 2: University of Leeds, United Kingdom

IMAGINING SPACES FOR LEARNING ENGLISH. LANGUAGE TRAJECTORIES AND REAL LIFE EXPERIENCE IN THE CITY OF LONDON

London is a mosaic of urban spaces (often thought of as urban villages) that attracts learners of English from around the world. It is a particular kind of imagined community theorized by Anderson (1991) where what is somehow imagined as authentic British culture and language can be experienced and acquired firsthand. It is composed of geographical (neighbourhoods, areas, urban villages) and networked spaces of contact as described by Pratt (1991) where hybrid practices, identities, and autoethnographic texts get produced by persons who travel there to learn English in an assumed 'authentic milieu' which however due to its hyperdiversity no longer fits the imagined ideal speech community characterized in the same way as Labov's urban dialect studies (1972)

The present paper draws on data from an on-going study of autoethnographic texts produced by six persons in their late twenties and thirties who have primarily traveled to London to learn English in order to improve their chances of obtaining employment in their country of origin. Oral narratives obtained from in-depth interviews of their life experience in London and migration trajectory serves to question the ideologies about ideal spaces for language learning as well as the imagination of London as an authentic space to learn English. The data also problematizes language and its users as belonging to more defined and static speech communities which language learners who come to London envision.

The narrative analysis, while examining on one hand the construction of these contact zones as spatial practices (de Certeau 1988, Harvey 1989) will also foreground the construction in narrative of mobile subjects, through an examination of identity work achieved through expressions of stance, positioning and alignment (Baynham 2011) in relation to networked communication practices and interactional sites, and will illustrate the way new superdiverse translocal spaces which are no longer constrained by defined locations and time get constructed and (re)produced by mobile subjects. The data also show how the emergence of language practices both horizontally and vertically is a fundamental element in enacting social relations of power and resistance and how forms of local and transnational networking interact within the super-diverse context of the networked neighbourhooded city as described by Vertovec (2006) and Sassen (2006).

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VIGOUROUX, CÉCILE Simon Fraser University, Canada

DISCUSSION

Discussant of Thematic Session 'Language and Hyperdiversity in the Global City'

Thematic Session 153

Working in the City: Talking and transitions

Session Chair 1: Angouri, Jo Session Chair 2: Marra, Meredith Helena

Session Abstract:

The concept of a 'job for life' is outdated. Employees now regularly move between jobs and even professions during their working lives. Workforce mobility is particularly intense within and between national and international urban workplaces (Eriksson and Lindgren, 2009). Overall career journeys involve increasingly complex paths, for both white and blue collar workers. A changing employment market means frequently crossing boundaries into new organisations, new linguistic environments and new countries. This affects the enactment of professional identity which is necessarily fluid and dynamic, responsive to the continuous crossing of boundaries.

A range of disciplinary areas, methodological traditions and theoretical stances aim to capture the dynamics of these transitions. The stance we take is that they are inevitably enacted linguistically. The workplace is the interactional context where group norms, wider societal ideologies, professional and expert identities are constructed through talk (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003; Angouri and Marra, 2011). Within the subfield of sociolinguistics which inves-

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tigates workplace discourse, the focus is firmly on naturally occurring interactions (Sarangi and Roberts, 1999). Using discourse analysis, researchers attempt to connect the here-and-now of the interaction with the wider socio-cultural context. A range of datasets and approaches is useful in illuminating different lavers of meaning (Litosseliti, 2010).

Accordingly, in this session, our goal is to bring together scholars with diverse views, including discursive approaches to (cultural) identity, the role of multilingualism and considerations of power relationships (Holmes, Marra and Vine, 2011). In each case our interest is the process of socialising into a new group and how individuals scrutinise their own understanding of how things work, simultaneously negotiating their place and (re)creating group norms. This process is multilayered and includes the ongoing redefinition of personal, social and professional identities. We pay special attention to the strategies that individuals adopt for navigating the boundaries (language, workplaces, country etc), and we suggest that this process is not linear, but is rather in constant negotiation by the employees. In particular, we focus on the urban workplace environment and discuss issues of the enactment of identities, the deconstruction of 'culture', the negotiation of norms, and the process of moving from the periphery to integrating into new groups.

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SPENCER-OATEY, HELEN; REISSNER-ROUBICEK, SOPHIE; HARSCH, CLAUDIA University of Warwick, United Kingdom

TRANSITIONING TO INTERNATIONAL WORKPLACES: REFLECTIONS FROM GLOBAL LEADERS AND MOBILITY STUDENTS ON THEIR INTERACTIONAL CHALLENGES

The internationalisation agenda of higher education frequently refers to the need to prepare young people to become 'global employees' (e.g. British Council Going Global 2012 themes; numerous university 'vision statements'). Similarly, in the business world there is an extensive training industry devoted to helping staff become interculturally competent. Yet there is much less clarity over the skills that such programmes entail. Various conceptualisations of intercultural competence have been proposed across several disciplines (e.g. foreign languages: Byram 1997; communication studies: Chen and Starosta 2005, Gudykunst 2004; business studies: Schneider and Rarsoux 2003), all of them including communication. However, linguists have made little contribution to the conceptualisation debate, and few (if any) of the current frameworks explain clearly what the components really mean. The competencies are usually presented as decontextualised lists or descriptions of attributes (e.g. 'flexibility', 'message skills'), with little or no mention of the interactional contexts in which such attributes are needed or the ways in which they are operationalised. What is needed, therefore, is a contextualized approach that first identifies the interactional challenges that people face when transitioning to international workplaces, and then explores the interactional skills that are needed to handle these challenges. This paper reports a study that focused on the first step. In-depth interviews were carried out with two sets of respondents: 30 Directors or Deputy Directors from a very large public organization with offices throughout the world and 9+ (data is still being collected) university students who had returned from a year's work placement abroad. The respondents were of various nationalities and each had recently transitioned to a culturally unfamiliar workplace. They were asked to reflect on their transitioning experiences and to describe any challenges they had encountered in interacting with others at work or in connection with their work. The Directors and Deputy Directors reported on the issues that they had experienced from a 'new manager' perspective, and the students reported on the issues they had encountered as novice employees. In this presentation we report the challenges they experienced in relation to communication issues and relationship management, noting that these elements were often interconnected and that absence of communication was also identified as problematic. After this we consider the implications of the findings for researching workplace transitions and outline the next steps needed for developing a more contextualized understanding of intercultural interaction competence.

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BUEHRIG, KRISTIN (1); REHBEIN, JOCHEN (2)

1: Universitaet Hamburg, Germany; 2: Middle East Technical University, Turkey

MULTILINGUALISM AND WORK EXPERIENCE IN GERMANY

During the last decade, multilingualism at the workplace has been dealt within the conceptual framework of 'diversity management'. Nowadays the benefit of multilingualism is a matter of interest for several scientific, societal and economic groups. But what are the multilingual workers' and employees' experiences? At the workplace of multilingual workers 'empractical' (Bühler) language in monolingual German (as a lingua franca) is required, but in international enterprises, a multilingual communication with a variety of discourse types appears. In the constellation of narrativity as reproduction of workplace experience 'reflexive language' with commenting, reasoning, laughter, knowledge structures etc. creates distraction and relief from the pressures of the workplace. The paper outlines three types of 'reflexive language' workers and employees use when speaking about their multilingual work experiences.

The data stem from biographical interviews with migrants working in the eighties and employees of more recent international enterprises taken in their homes. A combination of pragmatic and ethnomethodological methods is applied to analyse story telling fragments selected from transcribed recordings in German, Turkish and English (about 20 sessions of 2-3h each). Knowledge structures, discourse types, and linguistic devices of rendering of workplace structures are concepts by which 'language of reflexion' is characterized.

scale of Denmark contra many other much larger (English-speaking) countries leads its internationalized citizens to negotiate this space in similar ways, and in this our individual academic can be said to be representative of at least one general way of co-negotiating the juxtaposition of Danish and international identity.

FRANZISKUS, ANNE University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES, META-LINGUISTIC DISCOURSE AND THE POSITIONING OF **CROSS-BORDER WORKERS IN A MULTILINGUAL WORKPLACE ENVIRONMENT**

The present contribution proposes to investigate the ways in which cross-border workers reflect upon, challenge and deconstruct established views on language use in multilingual Luxembourg. Focusing on cross-border workers is particularly salient for capturing the dynamics and complex interplays between increased workforce mobility and language use that characterize Luxembourg's changing workplace realities. Given that cross-border workers come from countries where there is one official state language (France & Germany) or where two languages fulfil this role but in clearly separated regions (Belgium), it can be assumed that they are generally less multilingual than Luxembourgers, who have been educated and socialised in a highly multilingual context. The multilingual workplace environment is thus likely to impact on the cross-border workers ability to use their own linguistic resources, and brings about the need for participants to negotiate their legitimacy in this sociolinguistic environment. In such situations of instability and change, language ideologies are likely to play a significant role in intergroup interactions.

Much research on language ideologies focuses on the analysis of meta-linguistic discourse elicited through interview data. However, such meta-linguistic discourse does also appear in naturally occurring interactions between colleagues at work. The analysis of this contribution will be based upon naturally occurring spoken data recorded at three different workplaces in Luxembourg: a supermarket, an IT-company and a distribution company, thus combining both blue collar and white collar workplace settings. This data provides insights into the ways in which participants draw upon and challenge established language ideologies in Luxembourg in order to negotiate their own positioning within this multilingual environment. Meta-linguistic discourse appears in the interactions of cross-border workers both as overt discussions with colleagues about the language situation in Luxembourg, as well as more implicit comments about language use at work. General trends in this meta-linguistic discourse include: contesting the boundaries between what counts as a language, challenging the use of certain languages at work, as well as commenting upon language skills of other colleagues or clients. The contribution will show how cross-border workers employ these language ideologies to protect and promote their own place within a multilingual workplace environment

SUNI, MINNA

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

WORKING AND LEARNING IN A NEW NICHE: ECOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS ON **WORK-RELATED IMMIGRATION**

Finland is a Western welfare state receiving more and more immigrants. Situated up in the North and having two national languages (Finnish and Swedish) not so widely spoken on the globe, it has no edge over its competitors in the globalising work market. What attracts international job-seekers to urban areas of Finland, however, is the good reputation of Finnish innovation industry, education system, and living conditions.

This paper discusses the linguistic issues involved in work-related immigration from an ecological perspective. 'Ecology' refers to the deep interrelatedness between each individual and the surrounding social and physical environment (van Lier 2000). Each language user or learner is seen as a part of a larger social system, which continuously reacts to various changes in the environment and affects the options and opportunities available for the individual. The globalising work market is an obvious environmental factor influencing the general dynamics of immigration, but local work communities are those restricted niches in which individual immigrants primarily operate in their daily lives.

Case studies from the Finnish information technology, health care, and education sectors will be presented to discuss the specific properties of the linguistic breeding grounds available for newcomers in each setting. How do workplace language policies nourish or restrict the use of different languages at work? How can a spiral of peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger 1991) be avoided when one lacks sufficient or socially relevant language skills? How to maintain one's professional identity (e.g. Kramsch 2009) as a not yet competent speaker of the language commonly used at work? The data come from the project Finnish as a work language: A sociocognitive perspective to work-related language skills of immigrants (Department of Languages, University of Jyväskylä, Finland).

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FABRICIUS, ANNE H. Roskilde University, Denmark

THE INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC AT THE CROSSROADS: BETWEEN THE LOCAL AND THE INTERNATIONAL AT THE UNIVERSITY

This paper will look at a series of examples of interactional negotiation of the identity of the international academic in a one-to-one interview with a Danish-born-and-educated researcher with a personal history as an exchange student in an English-speaking country. This individual's own negotiation of the pressure on academics to perform in international professional contexts in English is counterpointed all the time with the negotiation of local Danish identity and context, an identity that ultimately 'means the most', as the interviewee demonstrates in various ways, while also affording the possibility of a 'space between', giving a reflective distance from the local. These examples of reflective workplace talk illustrate one individual's response to the local-global tensions of the international, but locally-anchored, university work place. Several extracted examples from the interview will demonstrate how this particular academic works with his own understanding of how his personal, social and professional identities intertwine the locally-anchored and the supra-national bonds he has at one and the same time. As the thematic session places special attention on 'the strategies the individuals adopt for navigating the boundaries (language, workplaces, country etc)... in constant negotiation', we will see this exemplified in sociolinguistic cues such as diversified code-use and shifts of perspective in the interview. The paper suggests that the population

FILLIETTAZ, LAURENT; LOSA, STEFANO University of Geneva, Switzerland

GAINING SOCIAL LEGITIMACY IN AND ACROSS CONTEXTS: APPRENTICESHIP IN A 'DUAL' TRAINING SYSTEM

This talk advances a new perspective for approaching the role of language and discourse in vocational education and training (VET), a perspective that sees these ingredients not as peripheral components of the training curriculum, but rather as central mediating tools for vocational learning. According to this perspective, apprentices are not only exposed to vocational knowledge in the range of contexts in which training takes places. They also encounter specific discourse practices and face numerous and often implicit or invisible expectations regarding the ways these discourses may be enacted and conducted. It is by engaging with these discourse practices that apprentices gain access to knowledge, develop practical skills and may endorse legitimate social positions within the multiple communities they belong to during their training. These language and communication skills are neither transparent nor self-evident. Like other components of vocational training, they have to be seen and most importantly learnt. Some apprentices are very successful in identifying and acquiring the specific discursive demands underlying the range of practices included their training programme. Some others are not and may encounter rather challenging experiences in their journey to a VET gualification. In a research programme recently conducted at the University of Geneva these various ideas have been elaborated and discourse analytic methods have been implemented to address vocational education issues. Analysing discourse and verbal interaction among apprentices, trainers and workers, it is proposed, can contribute to a better understanding of the complex learning processes associated with initial vocational training and illuminate the multiple challenges faced by apprentices when accomplishing the transition from school to work. In this talk, we focus on the relationship between trainers and apprentices within dedicated training centres and workplaces and wish to highlight how discursive and interactional processes can lead participants to establish legitimate, recognized and valued social positions within specific communities of practice. Following an interactional perspective on social recognition and impression management, we address the following range of questions. How do apprentices negotiate their participation to communities of practice? How do they actively contribute to their legitimacy in face-to-face interaction? What kinds of semiotic resources do they use for doing so? Reciprocally, we are also interested in investigating the perspective of trainers and experienced workers. How do trainers shape interactional participatory practices for apprentices? What sorts of resources are afforded to them and how may these specific resources support or hinder social recognition for apprentices? A contrasted data analysis based on audio-video recordings recently collected in the Geneva area shows how various apprentices may respond differently to the specific requirements set towards communicative tasks depending on their capacity to adapt to the social expectations underlying the wide range of training practices in which they engage during their training period.

KIRILOVA, MARTA

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

WHO GETS THE JOB? INTERACTIONAL STUDY OF JOB INTERVIEWS AND WORK-PLACE IDEOLOGIES

When job candidates try to achieve the goal of paid labour, job interviews are regarded as one of the most significant interventions. Ideally, a job interview's purpose is to secure the match of each candidate's gualifications and personality with the demands of the workplace which he or she is applying at. Yet, especially when it comes to candidates with a foreign background, the evaluation of gualifications and personality seems to be influenced by a certain public discourse of growing stereotypes and negative attitudes towards candidates with non-Western cultural and linguistic behavior. This public discourse is a huge intervention for both parts: while the employers tackle it by drawing on gate-keeping strategies, the candidates strive to present an identity that the employers appreciate of. However, if candidates try too hard on an identity that they believe leads them to the job, it will stigmatize them even more, and in the end, cost them the job.

This paper is based on a qualitative study of 40 authentic job interviews with non-native job candidates for both academic and non-academic positions in the public sector in Copenhagen, Denmark. It draws upon the theory and methods of Interactional Sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz 1982, Erickson and Schultz 1982, Auer 1998, Roberts & Sarangi 1999, Rampton 2006). It also includes discursive studies in attitudes and ideologies (Billig 1996 & 2002, Blommaert 2005) and interactional studies of language attitudes (Liebscher and Dailev-O'Cains 2009). The analysis demonstrates how job interviews can be successively accessed through an interactional micro perspective and an ideological macro standpoint, thus illustrating how job candidates' struggle to be seen as both what they are and what they are not, is deeply rooted in the 'outside' mindset.

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KUSMIERCZYK, EWA Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

'I CONSIDER MYSELF A SPECIALIST' – A MULTIMODAL PERSPECTIVE ON BELIEV-ABLE PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN A JOB INTERVIEW

The job interview is a crucial stage in an individual's transition into new employment. It forms an integral part of workplace discourse and is typically carried out in urban settings. As a gatekeeping encounter, it reflects the existing workplace ideologies and is a site of professional and social identity construction. Research on job interviews has shown that establishing trust with the interviewer (Kerekes, 2006) and constructing a believable professional identity (Roberts & Campbell, 2006) are key elements that promote positive outcomes. In order to achieve it, prospective employees are expected to demonstrate situational competency characterized by their ability to synthesize various discourses (ledema, 2003).

This process takes place in a face-to-face setting in which speech is only one of many resources available to the participants - modes such as gesture, gaze, as well as written text all intersect with speech in meaning-making, hence need to be considered. This paper extends the existing research on gatekeeping by applying a multimodal approach. Such a methodology considers interaction as an 'ensemble' in which participants utilise different resources in realizing social functions and co-constructing meaning (Jewitt, 2009).

In my presentation I investigate how various modes build upon each other in the process of negotiating candidate's professional identity. Multimodal Interaction Analysis is employed as a tool for observing how interview participants action personal, professional and institutional discourses for selfpresentation. I observe how these actions contribute to different styles of self-promotion which can move along an authoritative-mitigated-self-effacing continuum. I focus in particular on a candidate's background presentation which typically opens the interview and becomes a site for initial identity construction. I draw attention to the notion of 'co-authoring' (Roberts & Campbell, 2006) as it emerges through the interviewer's contributions to the candidate's self-presentation and discuss it as evidence of accumulating trust and perceived credibility.

The main contribution of this paper lies in gaining a more comprehensive understanding of the subtleties of identity construction in workplace discourse. Observing how the candidate's professional identity is interpreted and reinterpreted across different modes can shed more light on the process of evaluation and assist in providing tools for enhancing candidates' and interviewers' awareness of their practices.

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SCHNURR, STEPHANIE (1); VAN DE MIEROOP, DORIEN (2)

1: University of Warwick, UK; 2: University of Leuven, Belgium

CO-CONSTRUCTING LEADER IDENTITIES IN PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL INTER-VIEWS

Although there is little agreement among scholars as to how to define leadership, recent trends conceptualize this complex notion as a performance or an activity and acknowledge the crucial role of discourse for the construction and enactment of leadership (e.g. Fairhurst 2007, Tourish & Jackson 2008, Angouri & Marra 2011). In line with these developments, recent research has started to explore some of the discursive processes through which leadership is enacted and through which leader identities are literally talked into being (e.g. Holmes et al 2011, Schnurr 2009).

We intend to foreground this constructionist nature of leadership by focusing on the way one interlocutor constructs her identity as a leader in four performance appraisal interviews that were audiotaped in a Dutch medical lab in 2011 and complemented by two ethnographic interviews (one with the interviewer and one with an interviewee). Although these performance appraisal interviews are highly pre-structured by means of a questionnaire and thus demonstrate a relatively high degree of similarity, the way the interviewer talks her role as a leader into being on a turn by turn basis, differs quite strongly depending on a number of contextual reasons that are explicitly made relevant within these interactions.

Our analyses demonstrate that the interviewer sometimes explicitly orients to the interviewee's hierarchical position, ambitions, track record and interactional personality traits and modulates a different level of negotiation accordingly. Of particular interest is the observation that these negotiation levels, which reflect the continuum between hierarchical authoritarian and interpersonal egalitarian leadership styles (Wodak, Kwon & Clarke, 2011), do not only fluctuate from one interaction to another, but also within each interaction. As a consequence, there are different amounts of collaboration in the meaning making process between interlocutors.

Particularly interesting in this respect, is the way the interviewer's minute taking is interactionally dealt with. Since the minutes of this meeting form the basis of the appraisal report regarding the interviewee, these have an important influence on the way such interactions get institutionalized. Zooming in on the collaborative and negotiated nature of the formulation of these minutes and by investigating which information from the previous discussion is filtered in this process, we illustrate how interlocutors negotiate and co-construct their roles and identities with a particular focus on how they collaboratively construct the interviewee's leader identity as it shifts from one turn to the next and from one interaction to another.

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KEREKES. JULIE ANNE OISE/University of Toronto, Canada

LANGUAGE MENTORING AND EMPLOYMENT IDEOLOGY: INTERNATIONALLY EDU-CATED PROFESSIONALS IN CANADIAN CITIES

The success rate of qualified internationally educated professionals (IEPs) seeking employment in Canada is significantly lower than that of their Canadian-born counterparts (Boyd & Schellenberg, 2007). This discrepancy can be attributed, in small part, to the fact that some IEPs have weak English language skills; this problem is being addressed by newly initiated immigrant support programs, such as Enhanced Language Training offered by settlement agencies and Occupation-Specific Language Training offered by colleges. Many other IEPs who fail to find adequate employment opportunities speak fluent English, however; their failure has more to do with miscommunication based on subtle, ideological and sociolinguistic nuances in communicative styles than with second language ability. IEPro, the Internationally Educated Professionals Project, seeks to uncover areas of miscommunication that can be improved in order to benefit job seekers.

With a theoretical grounding in sociolinguistic literature on language and identity (Buckingham, 2008), gatekeeping encounters and co-membership (Kerekes, 2006), this study, which is a part of IEPro, compares the cases of two internationally educated engineers (IEEs) seeking employment in Toronto. They participated in 10 to 14 mentoring sessions designed by City Center for Newcomers[1], to help them to improve their employment prospects. Two of the IEPro researchers volunteered as mentors for these IEEs, and recorded the mentoring sessions (approximately 30 hours of recorded data) for the purpose of subsequent analysis. The mentoring sessions included sociolinguistic interviews, English language tutoring, and lessons in employment-seeking strategies, including creating effective résumés, practicing job interview skills, and professional networking. While both of the participants had learned English as a Foreign Language and immigrated to Toronto to seek better professional opportunities, their outlooks and outcomes in Canada were strikingly different across the following emergent themes: their developing theories about Canadians and Canadian culture; their perceptions and reports of others' perceptions regarding their work prospects; and the relationship between their language use, the discursive construction of their mentoring sessions, and their employment trajectories. Transcripts of the data also provided rich sources of languagelearning data, enabling the researchers to analyze retention and application of language concepts addressed, sometimes repeatedly, over the course of the mentoring sessions. These included features of English grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, and pragmatics. This presentation considers the roles of not only language ability and professional background in job seekers' experiences, but also how IEPs' individual attitudes, circumstances, and their adaptation to Canadian life have influenced their varied employment trajectories. Pedagogical implications as well as implications for employment policies and practices are considered.

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ANGOURI, JO (1); MARRA, MEREDITH (2); HOLMES, JANET (3) 1: University of the West of England, Bristol, United Kingdom; 2: Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand; 3: Victoria University of Wellington, New 7ealand

NEGOTIATING GROUP NORMS IN THE URBAN WORKPLACE

Entering the urban workplace for the first time or moving to a new one is demanding, not least in terms of adapting to new ways of communicating. Becoming familiar with the interactional norms of new communities can be very challenging as they often operate at the interface of linguistic, professional or national borders and employees need to effectively and efficiently cross these boundaries on a daily basis. When problems do arise, 'cultural differences' have often been targeted as explanations. 'Culture' then becomes a convenient shorthand for explaining away complex issues. In this paper we challenge accepted categories based on nationality or ethnicity and we explore ways in which individuals navigate competing group norms. The research builds on previous investigations of diverse workplaces. Using analyses of naturally-occurring talk in workplaces where ethnic distinctions were foregrounded, the Wellington Language in the Workplace team recently proposed a complex theoretical model aimed at accounting for the 'layered simultaneity' (Blommaert 2005) of factors which impact intercultural workplace interaction (Holmes, Marra and Vine 2011). Drawing on a range of professional environments the data analysis in this paper tests the robustness of the theoretical model by exploring various manifestations of 'culture', from national and ethnic group affiliations, through various organisational and occupational alliances, to the many possible hybridisations of these categories. Thus we problematise static assumptions and challenge a conceptualisation of culture that highlights difference or deficiency. Guided by an 'appreciative inquiry' stance and focusing on multicultural talk at work, we are interested in the ways in which professionals negotiate their integration as newcomers into existing communities. Instead of attributing difference to 'culture', in this paper we analyse how perceptions of difference at the level of the team are handled, exploring the views of employees who join a new workplace. We report on a pilot project which tracks international participants through their integration by recording their workplace interactions during phases of socialisation. We identify strategies which seem to support a positive trajectory from peripheral to core membership. Our analyses indicate that successfully integrating into a new workplace foregrounds issues of power and identity. While existing research seems to view 'otherness' as a problem, this paper sees group distinctiveness as a resource. In the process, we challenge fixed understandings of 'culture' in favour of a more dynamic and negotiable view of group identity. We close the paper by showing how 'the way things are done around here' in multicultural urban setting is discursively enacted and (re)negotiated.

HOLMES, JANET Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

A tale of six cities: a diachronic approach to languages and urbanity

Session Chair 1: Wilton, Antje Session Chair 2: Mullen, Alexandra Louise

Session Abstract:

The specific role of radio and television in language change has been debated throughout the history of sociolinguistics (Milroy & Milroy 1985, Chambers 1998). By now it seems generally accepted that the media do play a role in language change, but an indirect one. The media present viewers with language features they may not be exposed to in their daily interactions, and in this way enhance the construction of shared knowledge of varieties, norms of usage, and stereotypical characteristics of the users of different features (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007, Coupland 2009). The panel will continue the discussion of the role of the audiovisual media in relation to linguistic change, but it will do this indirectly by zooming in on the changing norms of language *in* the media, the image of language that the media promote.

In many studies of the role of the media in language change, media language is either seen as monolithic or focus has been on how a single (type of) program has promoted certain linguistic varieties and stereotypes for the listener or viewer. Examples of the monolithic type are when national broadcasting media are seen as propagating the standard language, e.g. RP through the BBC or GA through the news networks of the U.S.A. An example of a single influential program is the British East Enders which is perceived as promoting certain images of users of th-fronting which spread the use of this feature into new areas. However, few studies have empirically investigated the linguistic output from audiovisual media and the ways in which this output and its concomitant norms vary across genre and change over time. Presumably different genres have always given room for different language norms. The panel welcomes participants who compare the language of different genres, in particular variation in the traditional sociolinguistic sense of accents and dialects. Within the last decade, the Internet has made it possible for media institutions to make their archives available to the public, and to an increasing degree institutions are exploiting this possibility. A case in point is the BBC online archive (www.bbc.co.uk/archive). For sociolinguistics this means access to data that allow us to investigate the language of the media diachronically. It is reasonable to expect that the language in the media changes along the same lines as language in the society at large, but the media's role as either prime movers or as a conserving force is open to investigation. In addition to diachronic changes in the media language as reflective of linguistic changes in the community, the social norms of the media have also changed from the early broadcast media viewed as an educator, to a more modern view of the media as entertainer. The panel thus also welcomes participants who compare the language of the media also participants who will m

On a more general level, the panel explores the role of the media in a variety of processes of standardizing (national) languages all through the 20th century, and their more recent role in language destandardisation. The conference theme 'Language and the City' is only peripherally touched upon, but we note that the language norms of the media have traditionally been associated with the linguistic norm(s) of the city *-* the city *standard* for news and 'serious' media, and the city *vernacular* for entertainment and soap operas. This picture is now being challenged through (organizational) regionalizations of the media institutions and through a greater emphasis on listener and viewer participation in the media. Discussion guestions:

- to what extent are changes in the national, standard language reflected, promoted or counteracted in the media language;
- to what extent have changes in the media landscape and media norms had an effect on the linguistic norms of the media;
- · in what way is a standard language (and its concomitant ideology) implicitly and explicitly communicated by and through the media?

MULLEN, ALEXANDRA LOUISE

All Souls College, University of Oxford, United Kingdom

A DIACHRONIC APPROACH TO LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

A new driving-force in our study of languageandurbanity is the appearance of Linguistic Landscapes as an independent field of research within sociolinguistics. Central challenges for researchers lie in defending the independent existence of LL, in defining its parameters and content, and establishing secure theoretical perspectives and methodologies. In confronting these challenges, collaboration with historically-focused researchers, who have effectively been investigating LL for many decades, must be encouraged.

Pavlenko (2009) has suggested that diachronicity remains an under-exploited aspect of research into LL. We have to take a wide historical view to understand the diachronic complexity which influences the synchronous composition of written display. Elements of transformation in LL, including change, replacement, relocation or erasure of signs, can only be fully understood with knowledge of evolving socio-political circumstances. These elements are by no means modern phenomena, the policy of damnatio memoriae, for example, where names of Emperors who had fallen from grace were systematically scratched from inscriptions across the Empire, offers a striking manifestation of erasure.

Research on earlier periods may also assist in establishing the theory and methodology of LL. LL has thus far largely focused on cities, but we may query this. Historians have always warned that urban centres are by no means easy to identify and, for many societies, past and present, display of writing can be just as important in 'rural' contexts and signs are commonly found associated with routes into and between cities. The ostentatious written display

in Greek and Roman necropoleis ('cities of the dead') outside urban centres, and lining routes to them, may fuel the argument against restricting LL to urban centres. Such sites also encourage us to interrogate the nature of the divide between public and private, and whether LL should be restricted to the former.

The displayed written word has always held a central position in the study of past societies. The ancients themselves were interested in the written word around them, the third-century author Philochorus, being our first known collector of inscriptions in a cityscape. Recent developments have rescued these texts from their existence as words in books hors contexte and scrutinized their context using archaeological expertise (Baird and Taylor 2011; Mullen and James forthcoming). We now study every written scrap (e.g. ostraca, graffiti on ceramic or walls), not just the incised monuments. Modern studies are forced to restrict their evidence; for the past, the evidence is restricted for us: what difference does this make? How do we build up our understanding of past and present contexts, and what role do preconceptions play in both?

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TAMOSIUNAITE, AURELIJA

University of Illinois at Chicago, United States of America

IN SEARCH OF PAST IDENTITIES: LITHUANIAN CHICAGO

As noted by Pavlenko (2010), most of the recent (as well as pioneering) studies of linguistic landscape (LL) focus on the present-day 'urban linguistic mosaic', without giving too much attention to the past. The diachronic approach to LL, however, brings its own challenges, such as the dynamic and temporary nature of written signs and, therefore, limitation (insufficiency) of the available data. According to Coulmas (2008), a study of a historical LL 'must make do what is left, that is, inscriptions that have survived from the past'. The selection and limitation of sources are even more problematic when reconstructing the history of the LL related to one particular immigrant group, living in a large multiethnic city. In this case the analysis of one particular public space of LL might help to at least partially reconstruct the presence of immigrant language in a city and its vitality in diachronic perspective. For this research I chose to take a closer look at the LL of two Chicago-area Lithuanian cemeteries – St. Casimir's Catholic Cemetery (located in Chicago, IL) and Lithuanian National Cemetery (located in Justice, IL). Historically the establishment of these two Lithuanian cemeteries is connected with the rapid growth of the Lithuanian community in Chicago at the turn of the 20th century. Thus, the history of linguistic landscape of these two places mirrors the 100 year presence of Lithuanian community in Chicago. In order to understand the diverse nature of the Lithuanian community and reconstruct the manifestations of its linguistic and cultural identity over time I will share the results of the linguistic analysis of 1000 tombstone inscriptions (covering the period from 1903 to 2000). My research will be guided mainly by three questions: a) how LL of this public sphere can actually represent the dynamics of ethnic community?

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JAMES, PATRICK

University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

THE LANGUAGE OF THE COUNTRYSIDE OF ATTICA, BUT NOT OF THE CITY OF ATHENS?

In the second and third centuries ad, Greek writers throughout the Graeco-Roman world strove to revive the language of the Athenian authors of the fifth and fourth centuries bc in contrast to the long-established and widespread Koine Greek of their day. These so-called Atticists avoided non-classical and non-Attic vocabulary, employed morphology that had long since ceased to be part of the language of administration or even of literature, and reclaimed obsolete syntactic structures. Their achievements in these areas have already been the subject of comprehensive studies. However, the question of how the Atticists actually spoke during their performances, declamations and diatribes has remained largely a matter of assumption. By this period, the pronunciation of Greek was very much closer to that of Modern Greek than that of Classical Athens. It is often asserted that an educated pronunciation, probably resembling that of Classical Attic, co-existed with the Koine pronunciation (see, e.g., Horrocks 2010: 159nn. 1-2 and 4-6, 243nn. 1-2) and that Atticists employed this pronunciation (e.g. Swain 1996: 31 and Bowie 2004: 65-67). However, when the Atticists' conservative speech is discussed, treatments quickly turn away from phonology to issues of word choice, morphology, and syntax. These assumptions about pronunciation remain in need of corroboration and elaboration.

Nevertheless, it seems very unlikely that these Atticist authors and rhetoricians, who were very particular about using only approved words, about the rhythm of their prose, and about every other aspect of their self-presentation and performance, would be content to sound just like the masses from whom they otherwise sought to distinguish themselves.

My research aims to substantiate the claim that a conservative, and distinctively Athenian or Attic, pronunciation could have been adopted by the Atticists, since inscriptions demonstrate that the Koine Greek of first- and second-century Athens and Attica was conservative in its phonology as well as in its morphology. Literary testimonia, the Atticist lexicographic tradition, and the evidence provided by the epigraphic studies of Teodorsson (1974, 1978) and Threatte (1980, 1982, 1996) have been drawn upon to support this case. This paper will concentrate on the literary testimonia for the Atticists' pronunciation. These often intriguing passages are of particular interest in that they reflect debates about where the correct pronunciation was to be found and provide a window on to ancient attitudes to language. For many Atticists, the language of the city of Athens – at that time a greatly admired university city and cultural centre – was debased and contaminated by foreign influences. By contrast, the language of the Attic countryside and Athenian farmers, as idealised in Atticist literature, was characterised by the purity that the Atticists sought. To the cost of the language of the city (however conservative it also had remained), the language of an idealised countryside, once despised as 'rustic', backward, unrefined, and unsophisticated by an urban(e) elite, came to be prized by the Atticists as the language of literature for the Graeco-Roman world.

RINDLER SCHJERVE, ROSITA University of Vienna, Austria

TRIESTE IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY HABSBURG EMPIRE: A MULTILINGUAL CITY AT A CROSS-ROADS OF CONFLICTING NATIONALITIES AND LANGUAGES

From the late 19th century onwards Trieste has been a multicultural city characterized by the particularly conflictive encounters between Italians and Slovenes. The cultural divide between Italians and Slovenes which continues to persist, though less perceptible in more recent times, can be seen as the result of a historical legacy rooted in the inter-ethnic struggle over hegemonic power, ideological contest and ethno-linguistic self-determination in the 19th century, when Trieste was the highly privileged and Italian-dominated città fedelissima in the Adriatic Lands of the Habsburg reign. Although the conflicting construction regarding language as a marker of social and national belonging was primarily restricted to Italians and Slovenes, it eventually also involved German as the language of the state power and of a small group of German-speaking elites.

The present paper will elaborate on the social constructions concerning the languages of the various speech communities which affected the communicative practices and perceptions of the people living in Trieste at the time. Here, the focus will be on reconstructing the values and meanings which the languages endorsed for their speakers in this urban context, and on identifying the power relations associated with the function and status assigned to these languages. It can be hypothesized that the intercultural controversies evolving from the social constructions of the various languages strongly emerged between 1880 and 1910, i.e. when the numerical strength of the nationalities was determined by language census. Relying on this assumption, the present study will concentrate on census data of the period in question as well as on discourses reflected in the local newspapers of the time. With the help of discourse analytical approaches the study will show how in the late 19th century Trieste as a traditionally Italian-dominated city turned into a multilingual setting of competing nationalities. The public space of the city which was linguistically dominated by Italians as the hegemonic local force well into the 1890es, opened up to the Slavic population in specific domains only at the end of century. German as the language of state power and of a small cultural elite maintained its privileged position and eventually lost ground with the collapse of the Empire.

The multilingual construction of the urban space is primarily to be seen in the light of rising nationalism, which the Habsburg policies of language equality attempted to appease through the implementation of the nationality rights laid down in the 1867 Constitution. Therefore, focusing on these tensions will help to further clarify how Trieste as a primarily Italian town re-defined its urban space in terms of a multilingual city which came to bear the stamp of the Italian, Slovenian and German encounters. Moreover, the study will show that the conflict between Italians and Slovenes, which still intensified after World War II, is deeply rooted in the historical development of the time when Trieste was still an old-Austrian city.

FEDOROVA, KAPITOLINA

European University at St. Petersburg, Russian Federation

SOCIOLINGUISTIC HISTORY OF HARBIN: CONTESTING IMAGES AND PROBLEMS OF (MIS)COMMUNICATION

For a long period in history the border between Russian Empire and China was a place of intensive cultural and language contacts. With the start of the Chinese Eastern Railway construction in 1896 (Urbansky 2008) Russian settlements appeared in Manchuria, and new city of Harbin was established as an outpost of Western and Russian technology and culture in Chinese Empire. After the revolution in Russia and defeat of the White Army in the Far East many Russians emigrated to China and especially to Harbin. As a result so called Russian Manchuria sprang up and for the next 30 years existed as a multiethnic and multicultural phenomenon. Unlike emigrants to the West where they had to accommodate to the dominant culture of a given country, emigrant groups in Manchuria tended not only to preserve their own way of life and communication but even to ignore the fact that they were now living in other country with a culture of its own. Both in everyday communication and official domains including education and mass-media they used their native language (Oglezneva 2007). Their contacts with Chinese were restricted by several spheres, and as a mean for communication in these contacts they used either Russian or so called Russian-Chinese pidgin, the contact language which had been broadly spoken in the Russian-Chinese border area since the 18th century (Stern 2005). At the same time Chinese authority and nationalist movements tried to develop Harbin as a Chinese city and put many efforts into promoting Chinese. Therefore in the 1930-1950s Harbin existed as a divided city with two speech communities having their own and sometimes contesting (e.g. Russian vs. Chinese names for streets) images of the city and each others. After the Cultural revolution in China many nonnative citizens left the country and Harbin became another one Chinese provincial city; its Russian background is still visible through some old buildings and linguistic landscape. At the same time 'the old Harbin' was recreated in many memoirs and literary works written by its former dwellers (e.g. Bobin 1994). In a way the contest between Russian and Chinese versions of the city is still actual: whereas Russian émigrés describe it as absolutely Russian. 'home away from home'. Chinese sources underline the role of Chinese majority and depict Russians as just one of minority groups (Carter 2002). The proposed paper aims at comparing these versions and revealing sociolinguistic history of Harbin. Special attention is paid to the role of Russian-Chinese pidgin in communication between different communities since it served both as a communicative tool and as a linguistic and cultural barrier maintaining social distance between contacting groups.

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KALINER, JASMIN (1); WILTON, ANTJE (2) 1: Friedrich-Woehler-Gymnasium Singen, Germany; 2: University of Siegen, Germany

GERMAN, ENGLISH AND LATIN IN MODERN AUGUSTA TREVERORUM (TRIER): A SCHOOL PROJECT IN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

This paper reports on a school project which gives students of a German secondary school the opportunity to explore the public use and function of languages in a German city with a classical heritage.

The school project is part of an initiative to 1) foster cross-linguistic and cross-curricular cooperation and 2) introduce sociolinguistic topics into the language classroom in German secondary schools. Although cross-linguistic cooperation in the language classroom is mainly focused on modern foreign languages (Hufeisen & Lutjeharms 2005), the ELIK (Englisch- und Lateinunterricht in Kooperation, Doff & Kipf 2007) initiative specifically includes Latin as an important language in the language curriculum.

A close cooperation between English and Latin opens up the traditional range of topics to include a historical perspective in cooperative language teaching and learning. Furthermore, it provides the opportunity to integrate sociolinguistic issues in the language classroom (Denham & Lobeck 2010). The paper argues that the sociolinguistic study of linguistic landscapes (Auer 2010) is a suitable approach to help students to explore a city through its unique display of languages.

Trier (Augusta Treverorum) in south-west Germany is a city with a rich, ancient history as an important city in the Roman empire. This history is still visible and reflected in many remains of ancient buildings and sites. Together with modern German and increasingly also English signs, the extant Latin inscriptions present a multilingual environment that tells the modern visitor and language user about the variety of functions of written language in public spaces of the city's past and present. In the project, which is scheduled for March 2012, students prepare, conduct and evaluate an excursion to Trier which aims at documenting and analysing such language use.

The paper illustrates how, by documenting and analysing the occurrence of German, English and Latin on signs and inscriptions, students are made aware of the various and different functions of those languages in the city. On a general level, they are able to understand the specific relationships between sign and audience (or recipients) and the relevance of the materials and situatedness of signs. More particularly, students learn about the way in which the structures given to a particular space by the use of written language changes in the course of time and for different societies within the same city. Lastly, students are introduced to sociolinguistic research methods and linguistic analysis.

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SUJOLDZIC, ANITA Institute for Anthropology, Croatia

THE CITY OF PULA: MULTILINGUAL LANDSCAPES AND POLITICS OF NAMING THROUGH HISTORY

This article examines the spatial and multiple temporal trajectories of the linguistic landscape of the city of Pula, a major tourist resort and regional urban centre in Croatia. The city's discursive location - as part of the bilingual border region of Istria, with a significant population of Italian nationality and other ethnic groups from the Balkan area, and a social memory that is linked to the socialist Yugoslavia, Italian and Austro-Hungarian past, creates a complex social context of contested and changing multilingualism and imaginaries embedded in relations of power. The paper studies the evolution of the historical discourses and ideologies underlying linguistic landscape through reconfigurations of space and time at both 'popular' and 'official' levels. Theoretically the research is interdisciplinary, based on sociology of space, sociolinguistics, ethnography and visual culture, and it adopts multimodal semiotic analysis to examine the juxtaposed multiple times and spaces through three interrelated aspects: 1) the historical aspect through analysis of old city postcards and public advertisements from the Austro-Hungarian era as a cultural text that reflects popular discourses of place and identity. 2) the synchronic aspect through analysis of present city public signs, and 3) transformation of street names throughout history. In the discussion historical versions of the popular urban imagery of cosmopolitanism are contrasted with observed contemporary forms of proclaimed multicultural coexistence and its spatial linguistic forms. The relation between memory and identity as revealed in present official street naming is discussed as well as the extent to which their selection add new layers of meaning to urban space and reflect mixture through history, piecing together local heterogeneities, competing memories and a plurality of historical voices.

WILTON, ANTJE University of Siegen, Germany

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 155

Changing linguistic norms in the audiovisual media

Session Chair 1: Thoegersen, Jacob Session Chair 2: Kristiansen, Tore

Session Abstract:

The specific role of radio and television in language change has been debated throughout the history of sociolinguistics (Milroy & Milroy 1985, Chambers 1998). By now it seems generally accepted that the media do play a role in language change, but an indirect one. The media present viewers with language features they may not be exposed to in their daily interactions, and in this way enhance the construction of shared knowledge of varieties, norms of usage, and stereotypical characteristics of the users of different features (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007, Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007, Coupland 2009). The panel will continue the discussion of the role of the audiovisual media in relation to linguistic change, but it will do this indirectly by zooming in on the changing norms of language *in* the media, the image of language that the media promote.

In many studies of the role of the media in language change, media language is either seen as monolithic or focus has been on how a single (type of) program has promoted certain linguistic varieties and stereotypes for the listener or viewer. Examples of the monolithic type are when national broad-casting media are seen as propagating the standard language, e.g. RP through the BBC or GA through the news networks of the U.S.A. An example of a single influential program is the British East Enders which is perceived as promoting certain images of users of th-fronting which spread the use of this feature into new areas. However, few studies have empirically investigated the linguistic output from audiovisual media and the ways in which this output and its concomitant norms vary across genre and change over time. Presumably different genres have always given room for different language norms. The panel welcomes participants who compare the language of different genres, in particular variation in the traditional sociolinguistic sense of accents and dialects.

Within the last decade, the Internet has made it possible for media institutions to make their archives available to the public, and to an increasing degree institutions are exploiting this possibility. A case in point is the BBC online archive (www.bbc.co.uk/archive). For sociolinguistics this means access to data that allow us to investigate the language of the media diachronically. It is reasonable to expect that the language in the media changes along the same lines as language in the society at large, but the media's role as either prime movers or as a conserving force is open to investigation. In addition to diachronic changes in the media language as reflective of linguistic changes in the community, the social norms of the media have also changed from the early broadcast media viewed as an educator, to a more modern view of the media as entertainer. The panel thus also welcomes participants who compare the language of the media across time, and also participants who will make theoretical suggestions about the changing role of the media and its effect on the linguistic output of the media.

On a more general level, the panel explores the role of the media in a variety of processes of standardizing (national) languages all through the 20th century, and their more recent role in language destandardisation. The conference theme 'Language and the City' is only peripherally touched upon, but we note that the language norms of the media have traditionally been associated with the linguistic norm(s) of the city – the city *standard* for news and 'serious' media, and the city *vernacular* for entertainment and soap operas. This picture is now being challenged through (organizational) regionalizations of the media institutions and through a greater emphasis on listener and viewer participation in the media. Discussion guestions:

- to what extent are changes in the national, standard language reflected, promoted or counteracted in the media language;
- to what extent have changes in the media landscape and media norms had an effect on the linguistic norms of the media;
- in what way is a standard language (and its concomitant ideology) implicitly and explicitly communicated by and through the media?

COUPLAND, NIKOLAS JOHN Cardiff University, United Kingdom

SOCIOLINGUISTIC CHANGE, VERNACULARISATION AND BRITISH MEDIA

Language standardisation implicates a fusion of linguistic and social changes, for which the phrase 'sociolinguistic change' is apt. This is also true of the converse process, which can provisionally be labelled vernacularisation (or destandardisation, already theorised by Tore Kristiansen and others). There are prima facie reasons to believe that a process of vernacularisation (which remains to be fully clarified and evidenced) is ongoing in aspects of contemporary social life inBritain, particularly in and through popular media. Existing treatments by Lynda Mugglestone and Asif Agha make this general case, but they mainly interpret it as linguistic change, according to formal/ descriptive criteria (pointing to new features entering Received Pronunciation) and distributional criteria (pointing to more attested use of vernacular varieties in public life).

I develop a range of criteria for analysing vernacularisation as a mediated process of sociolinguistic change, suggesting that formal/ descriptive and distributional criteria are relevant, but not in themselves sufficient. Following Agha's general semiotic principles, evidence of sociolinguistic change should be based in identifying at least (a) new indexical relations constructed in, for example, TV and radio performances, and (b) new discourses of indexicality through which media consumers make sense of the class-related speech variation they encounter in those media.

In relation to (a) I draw attention to some particular, arguably new, indexical relations characterised in contemporary British TV broadcasting – dialectbricolage constellations, social role-exchange programme formats, and several new ways in which Received Pronunciation and vernacular voices are severally associated with 'sociolinguistically surprising' circumstances of social context. In relation to (b) I analyse discourses of indexicality connected to two specific media episodes, one from BBC Radio 4 and one from BBC 1 television. Each episode thematises 'posh speech in the media'. Online discussion threads relating to each episode show that commentators tend to reject the indexical values that sociolinguists have up to now associated with RP and vernacular varieties. Like the new broadcast indexicalities themselves, commentators' accounts suggest a general process of vernacularisation at the level of language-ideological engagement with mass media. MOSCHONAS, SPIROS A. University of Athens, Greece

CHANGES IN LANGUAGE STANDARDS AS CHANGES IN STANDARD LANGUAGES: THE CASE OF MEDIA NORMS

This paper proposes a performative theory of standardization. Language standards are seen as metalinguistic speech acts that have a metalanguage-tolanguage 'direction of fit' (J. R. Searle), i.e. their perlocutionary effect is ultimately locutionary. Under particular 'felicity conditions' (in particular sociolinguistic settings), such metalinguistic acts may raise language awareness within a community and manage to effect or inhibit linguistic change. According to this performative theory, standard languages are subject to restandardization as language standards are subject to redefinition. The theory is applied to the case of changing standards in contemporary Greek media. A corpus driven approach is employed that allows us to study a particular type of a metalinguistic speech act, which we call a corrective. Correctives typically assume the form: 'one should neither say nor write X; instead, one should say or write Y, because Z'. Such triplets, containing a prohibitive (X), a normative (Y) and, optionally, an explicative part (Z), are fairly easy to locate in texts that prescribe on media language usage. Our study draws on a variety of texts about media usage: advice columns in the Greek newspapers, relevant radio and television broadcasts, and style guides for the print and audiovisual media. Correctives tend to form repertories that recur in prescriptive texts of this kind.

Recent corrective repertories are compared to the ones that prevailed immediately after the language reform of 1976, which officialized a norm based on the low variety (demotic). It is shown that the major prescriptive repertories of the earlier period have now assumed the status of descriptive principles and prevail in reference works about Modern Greek. More recent repertories place emphasis on 'syntax', phraseology and idiomaticity, regardless of any grammatical differences between the low and the high variety, which were the focus of earlier prescriptivism. External loans do not seem to be the targets of recent purism. On the other hand, internal purism is still being exercised against the high variety, but the high variety is now being understood as a finite set of cliché phrases. Media prescriptivism, in particular, seems much preoccupied with the niceties of the more esteemed media genres (news and information).

Despite such changes in language standards, the standard language is considered by many to have remained essentially unaltered since the language reform of 1976. Could such changes in language standards account for changes in the standard language? Correctives are, after all, about X/Y variation: X is prohibited because Y has not prevailed. Thus, correctives are equally revealing about actual (X) and prescribed (Y) usage. It is argued that the changes in corrective repertories bear testimony to a process of restandardization, which has affected mainly the 'serious' media and their higher monologic register.

ARDEN, MATHIAS

Catholic University Eichstätt, Germany

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY AND MORPHO-SYNTACTIC VARIATION IN BRAZILIAN TELEN-OVELAS

Within the Brazilian media landscape, TV Globo, one of the world's leading networks, stands synonymous for quality production of telenovelas. Among their most successful is the so-called novela urbana, a prime-time format set against the backdrop of modern Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, with plots revolving around every-day concerns of the urban middle and upper-middle classes. There is a common claim among Brazilian linguists that most of the characters portrayed in these novelas make use of a prestigious vernacular form of Brazilian Portuguese (BP), reflecting the spoken norms of educated speakers of major cities.

Given the enormous popularity of telenovelas in Brazil, and the hypothesis of television functioning as a vehicle for the representation and possibly even diffusion of spoken standard varieties, several studies on linguistic change in BP have attempted to correlate the degree of contact with the media (namely telenovelas)and its possible impact on the assimilation of standard language features (Naro & Scherre 1996) or prestigious regional variants (Carvalho 2004).

On the other hand, a recurring theme in the plots of urban telenovelas is the striving for social rise, typically associated with characters depicted as coming from rural areas or the socially disfavored urban periphery, the favelas. The speech of these characters often resembles a stereotypical account of the português popular, a collective expression for the stigmatized vernacular varieties of BP-speakers with little or no formal education. This fictional rendition of the clash between different social varieties provides a favorable setting for the study of language variation and its ideological implications in the media, the correlation of which to date has remained largely unexplored in Brazilian television. Based on corpus data drawn from the fictional dialogues of two urban telenovelas, the presentation discusses differences in the characters' use of two morpho-syntactic variables: 3rd person object pronouns, and nominal/ verbal agreement. In Brazilian linguistics these variables have proven useful for classifying registers and social varieties of BP. Building on the concept of second order indexicality of linguistic forms, i.e. the stylistic use of variants by speakers as social symbols (Eckert 2008; Reich 2009), it will be shown how the choice of grammatical forms can project different aspects (personae) of an identity, and therefore contribute to shaping the specific social profile of a fictional character. In a broader perspective, the findings provide empirical evidence for the role of fictional television dialogues in conveying, and possibly even reinforcing attitudes towards linguistic variants.

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MRÁZKOVÁ, KAMILA

The Institute of the Czech Language of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Czech Republic

CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING IN MEDIA TALK: LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION AND LAY PERCEPTIONS

Due to its complicated history, the standard variety of Czech differs in many aspects from the central vernacular, a widespread interdialect known as Common Czech. This variety, differing mainly in phonological and morphological features from the standard (Sgall et al, 1992; Eckert, 1993), is spoken not only in Prague, but also throughout Bohemia and even in some western parts of Moravia (in total, approximately two thirds of the Czech Republic). As a sort of paradox, speakers of other local dialects and interdialects from Moravia (about one third of the Czech Republic) feel their language is closer to the standard than Common Czech, and they often associate the vernacular (not the standard, as many might expect) with the power exercised by the nation's center, i.e. the capital, Prague (Wilson, 2010). During the period of the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia (1948-1989) the mass media were owned and governed only by the state and the usage of non-standard varieties was restricted to a few genres. Since the fall of the regime in 1989, private media have filled the public space and both social and linguistic norms have shifted, even in public television and radio. As a consequence of this development, Common Czech began spreading in a more intense manner (Hedin, 2005). In this paper, I analyze two television programs which differ in genre (a political debate and a media talk show) in which code-switching and/or code-mixing occur, focusing on their perception by two groups of viewers – native speakers of Common Czech and speakers from northern Moravia.

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BELL, ALLAN

Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand

LEAVING HOME: THE DE-EUROPEANIZATION OF POST-COLONIAL LANGUAGE VARIETIES

The past four decades have witnessed considerable shifts in media technologies and configurations and in the orientation and distribution of language resources in the media. Such changes have affected Europe, but also those major sectors of the world which were once colonies of Europe. This paper examines vernacularization in post-colonial language and media in New Zealand, interpreted through a lens of 'de-europeanization' of a standard (Bell 1983). The contention is that in increasingly mediatized and digitalized societies, the circulation of languages, styles and genres through media can shape language change at a macro level, with repercussions through to the micro level of specific pronunciations.

Until the 1980s New Zealand had arguably colonialistic attitudes towards language, especially in the media, which I both instantiated and challenged in a 1982 article entitled 'This isn't the BBC'. This included practices such as employment of mostly British-born announcers to be the voices on New Zealand national media, and re-broadcast of BBC World Service news. I take New Zealand as a case study in real-time linguistic change, resampling four radio stations first recorded nearly 40 years ago (Bell 1988).

The study is underpinned by consideration of sociocultural and political changes in New Zealand since the 1980s. These include:

- broad shifts in sociopolitical ideologies and practices such as market liberalization, state divestment and globalisation
- institutional shifts affecting media organizations such as privatization or commercialization of once-public broadcasting channels
- technological developments proliferation of outlets, availability of traditional media through new online platforms, increase of interactive capabilities
- genre developments often derived from the technological developments, e.g. the ready ability to do live interviews, the embedding of video or audio clips on internet newspaper sites, the creation of new genres such as blogs and chatrooms.

The investigation quantified one linguistic variable, determiner deletion in naming expressions, yielding real-time confirmation of three predictions I had made in the 1980s. The variable has gone from near-absence on all stations in 1974 to almost categorical presence in locally and youth oriented stations in 2011, while maintaining its near-absence on the prestige stations, the BBC and Radio NZ National. Secondly and more broadly, in 2011 the youth station shows a striking degree of conversationalisation across its phonology, syntax, discourse and lexicon. I theorize the first shift as a re-standardisation of NZ news language away from a European and towards an American norm. The second set of shifts are in part also a re-standardisation, but towards a NZ vernacular. They are also in part a de-standardisation away from the formality of the prestige stations and towards a colloquial norm.

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VAN HOOF, SARAH (1,2); JASPERS, JÜRGEN (1,2)

1: University of Antwerp, Belgium; 2: Research Foundation Flanders (FWO)

FACT AND FICTION IN FLEMISH PUBLIC BROADCASTING. LINGUISTIC EVOLUTIONS IN TELEVISION SERIES

Similar to other western public service broadcasters, the Flemish public broadcasting corporation (VRT) was set up as a centrally organized, monopolist public service, addressing its viewers, the inhabitants of the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (Flanders), as citizens of the Flemish nation and pursuing a policy of civil emancipation and popular elevation. Moreover, from its foundation in 1931 as a monolingual Dutch broadcaster within the still unitary Belgian state, the VRT was a precursor of Flemish cultural autonomy, paving the way for a openly nationalist broadcasting policy. The linguistic policy

ensuing from these modernist and nationalist ideas advocated the use of Standard Dutch in all broadcasting. The VRT's broadcasting policy went through extensive changes after the liberalization of the Flemish TV market in 1989. The age-old emancipatory and pro-Flemish ideals gradually gave way to an increasing focus on entertainment. The VRT's language policy, however, stood fast and insisted on Standard Dutch. Even so, the general impression among linguists and commentators in Flemish Belgium today is that especially since the advent of commercial broadcasting, language use in certain TV genres, notably fiction and entertainment genres, has shirked from that policy, succumbing to an evolution of vernacularization that has also been noticed in other Western European countries. Particularly a so-called 'in-between variety', lying structurally in between 'proper' Standard Dutch on the one hand and 'real' dialects on the other, seems to have gained ground. Focusing on the genre of fiction, the purpose of this lecture is to substantiate the abovementioned impressions by comparing language use in the series broadcast by the VRT in the early 1980s (1977-1985), at the end of the monopolist period, with language use in contemporary fiction (2008-2009). The data consist of a corpus of 21 series, which were analyzed by means of both quantitative, variationist and qualitative, interaction-oriented methods. Our findings indicate that contrary to general impressions, fiction has been heavily permeated by non-standard language use for at least thirty years. At the same time, however, language use in fiction has changed shape: whereas language use in 1980s fiction was still quite heterogeneous and covered the entire spectrum between Standard Dutch and basilectal dialects, contemporary fiction is dominated by a much more uniform use of the in-between variety, with both dialects and Standard Dutch having virtually disappeared from the genre. Our purpose is to demonstrate that these linguistic changes are part of wider changes in the genre of fiction over the last 30 years, which in turn can be situated within the foundering of the nationalist and educative broadcasting project. We will argue that as a result of these evolutions, fiction today has become a more problematic genre for the VRT's language policy than it was in the 1980s, but that at the same time, and somewhat paradoxically, it is precisely due to that emphatic standardization project that both dialects and Standard Dutch have become largely unusable in the genre.

NESSE, AGNETE University of Bergen, Norway

WHAT IS A DESTANDARDISED LANGUAGE? A NEW STANDARD OR A DIALECT?

When discussing the destandardisation that many speech communities have experienced during the last decades of the 20th century, it is not always clear how the outcome of the destandardisation should be evaluated. One possibility is that there still is a spoken standard in the speech community, but that this new standard is changed, and that the changes come from 'below' – often from the vernacular in the major city of the speech community in question. The new standard (the 'destandardised standard') is used within the same domains and by the same people as the former standard. Another possibility, which can also be referred to as destandardisation, is that the spoken standard remains (more or less) unchanged, but that this variety is no longer used in as many domains as earlier. Instead, those domains are taken over by dialects, or a mix between dialect and standard. The destandardisation of Norwegian is often referred to as 'the dialect wave', thus suggesting that the latter form of destandardisation has taken place, a development that can be seen as a result of the emphasis on regional culture in the forming of a Norwegian identity since the 19th century. In my paper, I will draw upon a large material of broadcasted radio programmes from the 1930s until the 1990s in exploring the language used in the NRK (Norsk rikskringkasting = The Norwegian National Broadcasting). Important questions are not just how the change in the radio language should be evaluated, but also when the change took place, and how this can be analysed in light of the general political and cultural tendencies in Norway at the time.

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KRISTINSSON, ARI PÁLL

Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, University of Iceland, Iceland

WRITING FOR THE EARS. ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS IN AUDIOVISUAL MEDIA.

In this paper I will:

1) OUTLINE some results of an investigation into the linguistic differences between two radio genres: talk shows versus news in lcelandic radio. The differences were quantified in terms of relative frequencies of certain language features. A statistical comparison showed, among other things, that the use of a particular relative clause conjunction (cf. below) belongs to a set of features which characterise lcelandic radio talk shows but not radio news. 2) DISCUSS some different options as to how the study of variation and change of linguistic norms in radio and television may profit from empirical investigations into linguistic differences between genres of audiovisual media, such as those in 1) above. One major question is what – if anything – empirically established evidence of different language use across radio and television genres reveals about the implicit propagation of an ideology of (de) standardisation. Put differently, we may look for some putative effects of language ideologies on how media staff and interviewees reproduce particular language norms when they are on the air. Furthermore, different media genres enjoy different levels of overt and covert prestige, which in turn may have implications for their language norms (and on a similar note, there is Allan Bell's notion of 'audience design'). From a different perspective, it might prove useful to look at the proportions of monologues versus dialogues in different genres, and the implications of this for the overall language profiles of genres.

This paper, however, focuses on the implications of written text manuscripts in audiovisual media. An analysis of the language of two lcelandic radio genres (above) suggests that different production processes (scripted vs. non-scripted) can be decisive for some of the linguistic output of the two genres. Taking the different distribution of relative clause conjunctions in two different genres, mentioned in 1) above, as an example, I will demonstrate how the mere process of writing manuscripts may be responsible to a large extent for the use/non-use of certain linguistic features. I argue that if radio employees prepare their texts in writing they make a number of linguistic choices mechanically/subconsciously by applying a number of constraints that filter out various features of spoken language - even if these are valid, unmarked features of most norms of spoken language, and even if the radio employees have taken specific courses in radio journalism on the skill of 'writing for the ear'. In other words, the production/planning process itself does influence the oral linguistic performance of radio journalists.

3) CONCLUDE that when interpreting the results of studies of the linguistic characteristics of different media genres, the 'spoken-written dimension' can prove to be an extremely complex one. While it is well known that many written genres enjoy more prestige than a number of oral text types, we also need to acknowledge the more subtle implications of the writing process in the production of particular texts for audiovisual media.

TAMAŠEVIČIUS, GIEDRIUS

Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Lithuania

TV CELEBRITIES AS PROMOTERS OF INFORMAL NON-STANDARD VOCABULARY IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

A typical paradox in Lithuanian broadcast media in recent times is that people who have become popular TV hosts are actually those who for many years had been criticised for their incorrect language, especially for using the vocabulary of the lower social strata. However, broadcasting corporation executives often ignore language gatekeepers' requests to dismiss certain 'bad' speakers, because usually it is precisely these hosts' participation as celebrities which guarantees high programme ratings. In this paper, I shall explain the situation as an ideological conflict between two concepts of broadcast media. The traditional concept sees radio and television as an authoritative educator whose mission is to spread the norms of the standard variety. The new concept reflects the global movement of media discourse towards conversationalisation and informalisation, and the media's efforts to build 'intimacy at a distance' with the audience.

The paper deals with three leading Lithuanian TV personalities, who are assumed to be the model speakers of standard Lithuanian. Before becoming TV celebrities, all three of them were acknowledged as professionals in their primary field of activity. Two of them (a rock singer and a comedian) are the most requested TV hosts of entertainment programmes, whereas the third one (a professor of history) hosts interview programmes about popular science. All three TV hosts can be distinguished for their active participation in a wide range of broadcast programmes (talk shows, interviews and debates) during the research period of 2009-2011.

The analysis of the transcripts of 15 different programmes aims to identify how speakers' lexical choices are influenced by the main settings of broadcast communication: the genre, the speaker's role and the level of familiarity between interlocutors. The paper also intends to describe how informal vocabulary is used as a tool for constructing leading TV personalities' identities.

NUOLIJÄRVI, PIRKKO SINIKKA

Institute for the Languages of Finland, Finland

LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN ELECTION DEBATES ON THE FINNISH TELEVISION FROM

THE 1970S TO THE 2010S

Television debates are an important part of election campaigns today and they play a significant role when citizens make their voting decisions. Important criteria for the voters include the candidates' way of arguing and expressing themselves in the discussions, together with the variety they use and the way they interact. Every election is a central topic in the media, and the TV channels broadcast a great number of related programmes. The newspapers discuss and report on the television debates and they also comment on the linguistic differences between the candidates.

This paper investigates the change of varieties in election debates on the Finnish television (The Finnish Broadcasting Company) during 40 years, examining the phonological and morphological differences and similarities over that period. On the basis of linguistic analysis, it discusses the nature of Standard Finnish during these four decades. The question is whether there is a real norm change in progress or not. Another significant question is whether there are processes of informalisation and vernacularisation in progress, as well.

KNOTHE, BENINA WWU Münster, Germany

VOWEL VARIATION ACROSS THE LIFESPAN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH II, QUEEN BEAT-**RIX AND DAGMAR BERGHOFF**

Vowels have frequently been subject to phonetic as well as phonological research. Apart from playing an important role in dialectal variation, they frequently undergo diachronic change. Germanic languages such as English, Dutch and German have all been affected by vowel shifts which include diphthongization, monophthongization and/or vowel reduction into schwa. However, cross-linguistic comparisons of diachronic changes concerning vowels - especially the lowering of them - are missing.

Most research describing sound change employs the apparent-time method, and focuses on variation within communities (cf. Labov 1994 & 2001; Trudgill 1974). The question whether individual speakers change their pronunciation over time is thereby typically neglected. While, among others, Sankoff & Blondeau (2007) provide some justification for this, I will argue that it is desirable that apparent-time data are supplemented with longitudinal studies. As an example, I will discuss the English of Queen Elizabeth II (cf. Harrington 2006&2007) as well as the Dutch of Queen Beatrix (cf. van Oostendorp 2008), which are known to have changed gradually over the years. I will then relate these data to the pronunciation of the German newscaster Dagmar Berghoff.

Regular audio recordings over a period of 25 to 50 years will be the means of a lifespan study of the three speakers. As part of the research I will compare the formant frequencies diachronically both with the data of the same speaker as well as with the other two speakers. Naturally the three speakers are difficult to compare with respect to their different social rank and personal background. In addition, at first glance, three individual speakers are not likely to attest for a sound shift of a whole community. However, I will argue that the three speakers have an impact on the pronunciation of a larger group of people by their prestigious status as well as by their dominance in the media landscape.

The aim of my research is to investigate whether the three reputable speakers of standard pronunciation have rather diverged or converged crosslinguistically. In the talk I will firstly correlate the English and the Dutch data that have already been allocated in prior studies with the data of the German speaker. Secondly I aim to present arguments of why the study of these three individual speakers is relevant with respect to a wider community.

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STENBERG-SIRÉN, JENNY; ÖSTMAN, JAN-OLA I University of Helsinki, Finland

PROCESSES OF STANDARDIZATION THROUGH THE MEDIA IN MINORITY LANGUAGES: SWEDISH IN FINLAND

Studies on ideologies of language standards (Kristiansen 2001, Mattheier 1997, Kristiansen & Coupland 2011) indicate that although e.g. in Denmark late modern notions of globalization and democratization are at work, the ideologies of a standard language remain strong while the standard itself is changing. We ask whether a similar change is taking place in minority languages. For minority-language speakers broadcasts in their own language on TV and the radio are typically their only oral authorities; this is so in Finland where Swedish is a minority national language. We focus on the role of audiovisual media in Swedish-language Finland.

The national public service broadcasting company YLE has two Swedish-language radio channels and one TV-channel aimed at Swedish speakers. In 2010 about 99% of the Swedish speaking population listened to or watched Swedish-language programs (www.yle.fi). Any change in the language of the YLE media can therefore be presumed to have a major impact on the listeners' and viewers' conception of what the standard of spoken Finland-Swedish is like.

We investigate changes in the audiovisual media language in Swedish-language Finland during the last 40 years (1970-2010) by focusing on a set of 40 phonological features (e.g., reductions, assimilations, vowel quality) of reporters and interviewees in news reports and of hosts and participants in entertainment programs. The material consists of one program per genre and medium from each year, 164 programs in total. The sociolinguistic variables we look at are formality, acceptance of regional features, and influence from Finnish. We compare news programs with entertainment programs, radio with television, journalists' language with that of interviewees and news hosts, and spontaneous speech with texts read out loud. We find that language in the audiovisual media has become more informal, but the change is mostly due to changes in program formats with a general increase in entertainment features. News reporters' language is still extremely conservative and formal, very clearly pronounced. The informalization in the news is coupled with an increase in live elements, as in live reports and studio discussions; these, in turn, display the change in the role of the media in late modernity. In entertainment programs the linguistic changes are more noticeable due to live broadcasts with listener participation. The recent more positive attitudes to regional varieties in the media are not directly reflected in the amount of dialectal features heard in the Swedish-language audiovisual media. In entertainment programs regional varieties are as such acceptable, but hardly any local dialects are heard. In the news, what used to be the standard in the media (with influences from the high-status Helsinki variety) is giving way to a more neutral standard, which lacks regional features

This change has taken place due to increasing pressure from the majority language Finnish, and due to the great variety found in the local dialects of Swedish in Finland. These factors have caused a need for a neutral standard language, which comes close to a reading-of-the-writing variety (cf. Auer 2005, Östman & Mattfolk 2011).

THOEGERSEN, JACOB (1); HEEGÅRD, JAN (2)

1: University of Copenhagen, Denmark; 2: Copenhagen Business School, Denmark

CHANGES IN LINGUISTIC STYLE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF CHANGING MEDIA NORMS. FINAL SYLLABLE REDUCTION AS AN INDICATOR OF 'CONVERSATIONALIZATION'?

In sociolinguistic theory, 'style' refers to intra-personal variation, i.e. changes in language as a consequence of the genres and activities a speaker is involved in and the interlocutors she interacts with. 'Style' has been described as a unidimensional scale dependent on 'attention to speech' (Labov 1972), as fundamentally a consequence of the interlocutor, whether present or imagined (Bell 1984), or dependent on a whole range of contextual variables (Hymes 1974). When dealing with media language, it is tempting to redefine the concept of style to mean 'the variety used in a particular genre', e.g. 'news reading style'.

This paper investigates changes in the 'style' of news reading in the Danish national public radio's program 1 over a span of 8 decades (1936 – 2010), a total of approx. 6 hours of transcribed news readings. We are particularly interested in the articulation, and potential reduction, of final syllables in adjectives, verbs and past participles. Danish has minimal sets with the ending -et vs. -ede (e.g. 'male' ('to paint): 'malede' (verb past tense), 'malet' (past participle) and 'malet'/'malede' (adjective singular/plural)) and -te vs. -t ('læse' ('to read'): 'læste' (verb past tense), 'læst' (past participle) and 'læst'/'læste' (adjective singular/plural)). In 'informal' styles, the longer endings, -ede and -te, almost obligatorily undergo syllable reduction making the sets homophones ending in [að] and [d]/[t] respectively.

We assume that the national media in Europe is undergoing a change in media norms, from 'public enlightenment' to 'infotainment', and as a consequence a re-interpretation of their audience, seeing them as consumers in a free market. We want to investigate whether these changing media norms lead to changing audience design (Bell 1984) and analogously whether we can spot tendencies along the lines of what Fairclough calls 'democratization' (1992) and 'conversationalisation' (Fairclough and Mauranen 1998). Previous studies (Thøgersen in press) have shown a general increase in speaking and articulation rate in the news readings, which we take as individual evidence for a degree of 'conversationalization' and which we hypothesized would also lead to an increase in syllable reduction.

In order to investigate whether such a possible 'conversationalization' is expressed by phonetic means, we constructed an experiment in which we listened to all occurrences of potential homophones of the above mentioned types in the corpus of radio news readings and evaluated their articulation (n≈2200). The results show a tendency for an increased degree of syllable reduction, but nowhere near what we could expect from contemporary corpora of 'spontaneous' spoken Danish (DanPass and the Lanchart corpus). We conclude that the news reading style is changing towards more informal style, but that it is still a distinctly 'unreduced' style More surprisingly we have almost as many evaluations of '-t' pronounced [de] and -te pronounced [eðe].

i.e. the opposite tendency of syllable reduction. In our paper we will discuss the reasons for this; specifically whether it is an artifact of the experimental method, or a consequence of listeners' preconceptions about the style. This will raise questions of more general implications for diachronic studies of language change.

THOEGERSEN, JACOB University of Copenhagen, Denmark

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 156 Mobile Literacies in Late-modern Cape Town

Session Chair 1: Dyers, Charlyn Session Chair 2: Deumert, Ana

Session Abstract:

If modern cities are indeed both 'attractive and terrifying', they provide spaces in which people are forced to maintain existing social networks while building new ones in creative, multimodal ways. For most people, the mobile telephone is the central component of such networks – allowing mothers to manage their households, families and friends to stay in touch, places of worship to distribute notices, students to make up on lost work and employers and employees to stay connected. According to Deumert (2010:1) South Africa has the highest user rate in sub-Saharan Africa. 'Among the youth in particular, mobile phones have opened up new spaces for creative and playful leisure literacies...The linguistic practices associated with these media are transient and in flux: new forms and variants occur regularly, and norms are continuously changing'. This thematic session looks at practices of mobile socializing among adults as well as cyber-socializing genres developing in younger users in Cape Town, a 'multilingual habitus' (Coetzee, 2010) affected by a rapidly developing superdiversity as a result of intense translocal as well as transnational migration. The session includes the impact of mobile messaging on the literacy practices of families, together with a closer examination of the notion of community of practice; the language of intimacy as part of an appropriate register and genre of social media chatting, and finally social networking applications as a space for the performance of the (modern) ludic self and the carnivalesque (Bakhtin) in the genre of 'flirtation' among university students.

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BOCK, ZANNIE

University of the Western Cape, South Africa

CYBER SOCIALISING: EMERGING GENRES AND REGISTERS OF INTIMACY AMONG YOUNG SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS

The popularity of social network media for socialising among the youth is well documented. Researchers point to the importance of these media as sites for engaging and affirming friendship networks, negotiating identities and remaining socially visible and integrated (Thurlow and Poff 2012, Boyd 2007). Much has been written on the emerging norms of textese or textspeak. However, becoming a proficient user of textspeak involves more than simply mastering this code: it requires knowing the appropriate genres and registers of chatting.

This paper aims to explore these conventionalized genres and associated styles from a discoursal perspective drawing on the genre and register theories of Hyland (2008), Johnstone (2008) as well as Systemic Functional linguists such as Eggins and Slade (2005). It analyses data collected by undergraduate students at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa, who use the application, MXit, for chatting with friends. The context is multilingual and diverse and, as a result, the data reflects a number of localised linguistic features, such as code mixing, which Blommaert and Backus (2011) refer to as a 'localised supervernacular'.

The analysis shows how, despite the seeming unrestrained and non-standard nature of MXit chatting, it is highly conventionalised and structured. It shows how student participants use a range of predictable stages to initiate and establish contact as a preparation for the 'exchange of news' which forms the kernel of the conversation. It also shows how 'communicative competence' in this context requires being able to use the appropriate 'register of intimacy' for this genre which relies heavily on evaluative language and affective markers and serves to establish and affirm the friendship bonds between users.

This paper argues that despite its conventionality, the genres and associated registers are fluid and hybrid. They establish a creative and potentially transgressive space in which linguistic innovation and creativity can flourish. This enables users to style for themselves identities which combine elements of global sophistication with local situatedness and construct themselves as artful, slick users of the linguistic repertoires at their disposal. They allow users to signal solidarity and alignment with an alternative 'cool' reality shared with their peers and to 'dis-identify' with the dominant mainstream reality and its norms of formal standard written English.

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COETZEE, FRIEDA

University of Cape Town, South Africa

IM NOT A GANGSTER I JUST SIMPLY LOVE BRITISH: ADOLESCENTS' SELF-PRESEN-TATION STRATEGIES IN INFORMAL DIGITAL LITERACIES.

Im n0t a gAngsTeR I jUst sImpLy LoVe British: adolescents' self-presentation strategies in informal digital literacies. Goffman's (1959) 'dramaturgical' approach interprets presentations of the self as acts of performance. Ling (2002) has used Goffman's idiom to discuss the self-presentation of teenagers via their mobile phones. This paper examines how Cape Town adolescents' acts of self-presentation, are performed in their informal digital literacy practices. The construction of 'profiles' on a mobile instant messaging service (called MXit) is examined as examples of such 'performances' of self-presentation and compared to the decoration of bedroom walls with handwritten slogans. Of particular interest are the adolescents' expression of loyalty to local criminal gangs. Although the participants in the study are not gang members, they live and move between areas were gang-culture is powerful. The paper examines how participants draw on their multilingual habitus, and adopt a personal 'performance' style in their on-line conversations (that correspond to 'locally meaningful' gang culture as acts of toughness and authenticity. Nicknames, slogans, colours, hand gestures, and lexical items of 'gang language' are used to index a particular gang identity. The paper forms part of a one-year ethnographic study of family literacy practices in a multilingual, Afrikaans-dominant urban Coloured neighbourhood in Cape Town. Data are drawn from a case study of a teenage girl's (Kay, 14) mobile phone practices. In addition, examples are drawn from focus group sessions conducted with learners in a local high school. The results indicate that Kay constructs different and often conflicting identities on MXit. Blommaert and Varis (2011:4) describe 'identity practices as discursive orientations towards sets of emblemic resources'. 'Emblems' of gangsterism are easily worn and discarded on-line, where 'judgment calls' of her authenticity are made by contacts (including people that participants have not physically met). Ethnographic research sheds light on how and why the participant's on-line expressions of her gang-identity, may differ from that what she chooses to express in face-to-face interaction.

Furthermore, on-line social networking offers opportunities and limitations for self-presentation (Van Cleemput 2008). The results show that although the participants have low-end mobile phones, and the interface of MXit is restrictive (compared to other on-line social networks), the participants stage-manage these limitations. For example, they construct identities by giving self-descriptions in spaces where they are simply required to supply their names and surnames.

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DYERS, CHARLYN

University of the Western Cape, South Africa

LITERACY AS A PORTABLE RESOURCE: THE ROLE OF MOBILE MESSAGING AMONG A GROUP OF TOWNSHIP WOMEN IN CAPE TOWN.

While many studies on mobile messaging have tended to focus on the communicative practices of the urban young (Kurniawan, Mahmud, & Nugroho, 2006; Thurlow, 2003; Bolin & Westlund, 2009; Rafi, 2009), this paper considers the role of mobile messaging both as a communicative resource as well as a form of literacy enhancement among a group of middle-aged working class women in a South African township in Cape Town. The paper examines the purposes for which these women use mobile messaging and what these messages reveal about their literacy levels as well as how they mix and blend the different communicative codes present in their environment. In addition, the paper explores how this form of late-modern communication is adding to four of their existing literacies – text, numeracy, visual and personal. The paper therefore adopts a multiliteracies approach (Mills, 2011:96) within the context of portable literacies (Dyers and Slemming 2011) - literacies which have been learned and developed in other areas, but have been successfully transferred to new spaces and taken up by others, providing the women with particular strategies for managing their lives.

DEUMERT, ANA: KLEIN, YOLANDI UCT, South Africa

MARGINAL DIVERSITIES AND DIGITAL CONFORMITIES – THE STRUCTURE OF MULTI-LINGUAL PERFORMANCES

The reflexive individualization of social practices and identities has been identified as a hallmark of late modernity in social theory: 'We are not what we are, but what we make of ourselves' (Giddens 1991: 75). As noted by Coupland (2007: 29): 'modernity tended to keep people in their allotted places'; late modernity, on the other hand, offers 'release from social strictures ... detraditionalizes and destabilizes life'. Thus, the standardization and homogenization imperative of modernity (and its associated institution, the nation state) has given way to fragmentation, heterogeneity and a general fluidity of boundaries (Bauman 2000). Digital technologies, in particular, have been described as being conducive to the expression of highly individualized communication practices (Wellmann 2001). They facilitate - together with other social processes such as new patterns of migration - the formation of a social world characterized as 'super-diverse' (Vertovec 2007). At the same time, the potential for diversity does not necessarily translate into reality, and social normativities have been shown to interact in complex ways with individual creativity.

In this paper we focus on Cape Town, a multilingual city whose diversity index - as reflected in official statistics - has been on the rise since the early 1990s. Digital data was collected from 2008 to 2012 (ongoing), and includes SMS corpora, screen data (Facebook, Twitter, MXit, Yoza, Kontax), a largescale survey (N=450), as well as focus group and interview data with a broad range of users (in terms of age, gender, ethnicity and linguistic background).

Taking a bird's eye view, the results show a normative expectation of, and strong preference for, 'English' (understood as a complex, ideological construct as well as set of linguistic features). However, such a birds-eve view obscures the intricate – although often marginal – multilingual (as well as polylingual) performances that occur regularly in the digital domain. In other words, 'glocal' English-linked normativities notwithstanding, a wide variety of 'local' languages are used for the expression of authenticity and distinction, as well as for the performance of 'spectacular' practices (Blommaert & Rampton 2011). Structurally, they frequently appear at the margins of utterances, within particular communities of practice, or in liminal genres (such a ioking or flirting: generally communications of conviviality, but also moments of cultural or emotional gravity). That is, they are located outside of the linquistic space governed by dominant sociolinguistic normativities. In this paper, we will discuss digital performances of three of 'Cape Town's languages' in a comparative and ethnographic perspective: Afrikaans, Arabic and isiXhosa.

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Thematic Session 157

Dialect perceptions in the city

Session Chair 1: Cramer, Jennifer Session Chair 2: Montgomery, Chris

Session Abstract:

The notion of place has been the main concern of dialectology throughout its history as a field. This type of research has traditionally aimed to present a picture of some dialect landscape, using phonological and lexical items as the basis for dialect groupings, with place being a physical, objective, and bounded entity. In doing so, traditional dialectology has ignored a 'socially rich' (Britain 2009, 142) interpretation of space and place and has largely disregarded perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs nonlinguists have about connections between language, space, and place.

Perceptual Dialectology (PD) is a branch of folk linguistics that attempts to redress the balance somewhat by focusing on what nonlinguists think, say, and understand about linguistic variation. This includes where they think variation comes from, where they think it exists, and why they think it happens. Thus, in this tradition, place becomes less objective; it is not only geographic or political facts that guide nonlinguists' ideas about language but also their social realities. PD allows researchers to question the assumptions often made about the close connections between place, language, and identity. It can also provide support or contradicting evidence for the ways in which traditional dialectology divides the linguistic landscape.

As a field of inquiry, then, PD provides the right tools for understanding how place conditions nonlinguists' thoughts about language. PD can aid in our understanding of how people in cities view the linguistic landscape in ways that are often different from but sometimes similar to people outside of city limits. Previous research in New York City (Preston 1989), along with further cites in the United States (e.g. Fridland and Bartlett 2006; Cramer 2010) and others across the globe (e.g. Romanello 2002; Bijvoet and Frauru 2011), has exemplified the ways in which PD can be used to determine how city dwellers view their own way of speaking as well as that of nearby communities.

Research in the UK outwith cities has highlighted the importance of urban areas in perception (Montgomery and Beal 2011). The important role that these urban areas play in the perceptual picture of the country appears to tally with the increasing role of such areas in the development of supra-regional linguistic features (cf. Watt 2002). As countries become increasingly urbanized, the role of cities and their inhabitants will be of further interest to scholars in sociolinguistics, and perceptual studies should not neglect this important development.

Key discussion questions in this thematic session will include the following:

- How do city dwellers perceive their linguistic landscapes?
- How are these perceptions different from/similar to those of people outside of cities?
 - What effect does life in a city have on dialect perceptions?
 - How are city dwellers perceived by outsiders?

- Do the perceptions of nonlinguists align with the production data from traditional dialectology studies? The session's aims are to address the specific theoretical and methodological issues associated with the examination of dialect perceptions in and of cities, drawing on current advances in PD to examine how the urban setting influences those perceptions. Its objectives are to present new work looking at dialect perceptions in and of cities, and to use such work to provoke discussion about new ways of investigating this important area of research.

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PRESTON, DENNIS RICHARD

Oklahoma State University, United States of America

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

CRAMER, JENNIFER

University of Kentucky, United States of America

THE PERCEPTION AND PRODUCTION OF REGIONAL IDENTITY IN A BORDER CITY

Within traditional dialectology, nonlinguists' perceptions have often been considered secondary to the analysis of 'real' data, such as phonetic and lexical variables. Perceptual Dialectology, however, has shown that perceptual data can provide insights that are complementary to production data. In this paper, Louisville, Kentucky, located on a river, at a state border, on the edge of what is generally defined as the South, is presented as an example of how perceptual and production data can be used together to better understand how borders impact speakers' linguistic acts of identity. This paper addresses the ways in which Louisvillians constantly negotiate and contest their regional identities, shifting between Southern and non-Southern identities, in the active and agentive expression of their amplified awareness of belonging brought about by their position on the border. Following the models of mental mapping discussed in much of the Perceptual Dialectology research (cf. Preston 1989), subjects in Louisville were given a map of a small region of the United States and were asked to draw lines around areas they consider to be dialect regions. Subjects were also asked to complete a language attitudes survey, where they listed the labels used on their maps and, using a four-point scale, rated these varieties in terms of the following social characteristics: difference (with respect to their own variety), correctness, pleasantness, standardness, formality, beauty, and education. Data analysis presents the perceptions nonlinguists in this city have about variation in the region, with specific focus on how Louisvillians distinguish themselves from the rest of the state.

Additionally, production data from a reality television show. Southern Belles: Louisville, are presented to show how the perceptual data complements the realities of production. Specifically, recalling Laboy, Ash, and Boberg's (2006) classification of Louisville as a Southern city, I examine the production data for elements of the Southern Vowel Shift. An acoustic analysis of the speakers' variable use of the different stages of the shift is presented. Results show that Louisvillians do recognize the border nature of their city as represented in their mental maps and language attitudes surveys. Louisvillians appear to distance themselves from an Appalachian dialect or other Kentucky dialects through physical separation in maps and through negative evaluations in their language attitudes surveys. However, they seem to value certain aspects of both Midwestern and Southern dialects, varying on which categorization to give Louisville depending on which region was known for a particularly positive attribute. In a similar way, the analysis of the production data reveals that, likely because of Louisville's border position, speakers have access to Southern and non-Southern systems, and their fluid regional identities are represented in their seemingly random selection of vowel variants.

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EVANS, BETSY E. University of Washington, United States of America

'CITY TALK' AND 'COUNTRY TALK': PERCEPTIONS OF URBAN AND RURAL ENGLISH IN WASHINGTON STATE

This paper will bring perceptions of the rural to the conversation about language in the city via perceptual dialect data collected in Washington state (USA). While the role and importance of the city in modern life is undeniable, they rely in part on the juxtaposition of perceptions of the rural and urban. Understanding perceptions of rurality are essential for a discussion of language in the city. The exploration of linguistic variation in rural contexts has received little attention since the shift to the study of urban areas accelerated by Labov (1966). So in turning attention to the city, sociolinguistics has ignored rural communities (with some exceptions, e.g. Frazer 1983, Lippi-Green 1989, Hazen 2000, Ito 2000, Marshall 2004). Britain (2009) argues that the patterns of variation sociolinguists seek are not only found in urban areas: 'the very same cultural, economic, social and political processes and conflicts can affect rural areas as affect urban [areas]' (238). Lichter and Brown (2011: 565) call for 'greater conceptual and empirical integration of urban and rural scholarship' in order to recognize the interdependence and symmetry of the urban and the rural.

The data examined here suggest that the socio-cultural and linguistic distinctions of urban and rural are very salient for non-linguists. For example, when asked for a label for areas where they perceive English to be 'different' in Washington (WA), respondents' (N=178) most frequent category label (86/336 labels or 25%) related to notions of rural life. This category, called country is comprised of labels such as 'hick', 'farmer talk', and 'country'. Figure 1 is a composite map of the spatial representation of the country category. These country labels were most frequently associated with regions in eastern WA. Eastern WA is, in fact, predominantly rural (US Census 2000). The labels and their geographic distribution seem to reflect standard language ideology in that they suggest that respondents doubt that standard English is spoken in rural areas. While inhabitants from urban and rural areas seemed to agree on this, there were a few rural respondents who attributed labels like 'normal' to their own regions suggesting they are unaware of the perceptions of their region as non-standard. This points to the complexity of spatial perceptions and linguistic variation in urban and rural contexts.

MANN, STEPHEN L.

University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, United States of America

EXPANDING THE 'URBAN'/ 'RURAL' BINARY: EVIDENCE FROM LISTENER PERCEP-TIONS OF GAY MALE SPEAKERS OF SOUTHERN AMERICAN ENGLISH

Highlighted in interviews and focus groups I conducted in the U.S. American South is a folk belief that 'sounding gay' and 'sounding Southern' are contradictory concepts. I provide an explanation for this folk belief by examining how prevailing ideologies of gender, class, and rurality shape listener attitudes toward speakers of gay male varieties of American English. The analysis I present is based on folk linguistic approaches to the study of language attitudes and use (Niedzielski & Preston 2003 [2000]). Folk dialectologists strive to differentiate between the etic views of language studied by linguists and the emic views of language held by non-linguists (Preston 1986).

Data are drawn from three sources. I conducted interviews with eight self-identified gay men and four self-identified straight men in a mid-sized city in the southeastern United States. Interviews total approximately fifteen hours of recorded speech. I then used short speech samples from the interviews in an online attitude and perception study, using a survey instrument adapted from Campbell-Kibler (2007). I also conducted two focus groups using the speech samples from the attitude and perception study. My analysis focuses primarily on two of the men whom I interviewed: David and Andrew (both pseudonyms). Both men were consistently identified as southerners in the attitude and perception study and during the focus groups. David, however, was consistently identified as gay, and Andrew was consistently perceived to be straight.

My findings suggest that judgments of sexual orientation are complicated by ideologies of gender, class, and rurality – ideologies, which are also linked together in complex ways. If a male speaker who 'sounds southern' is judged to sound masculine – such as Andrew – then he cannot also be heard as 'sounding gay.' Ideologies of masculinity in the South rely on images of hypermasculine, rural, working class men, which conflict with local attitudes toward and beliefs about homosexuality. If a male speaker who 'sounds southern' is judged to sound feminine or effeminate, however, he can be judged by listeners to 'sound gay.' Listeners do not associate these men – such as David – with the rural, working class South. Instead, they are referred to as either middle-class 'provincial,' i.e., as being associated with a small town in the South, or as 'blue blood,' i.e., as being from the upper class in a prominent southern city. Attitudes toward and perceptions of gay male speakers in the American South, therefore, provide evidence that a simple 'urban' / 'rural' dichotomy is not sufficient to explain dialect perception in this region. Listeners instead create links between 'rural,' 'provincial,' and 'urban,' on one hand, and working class, middle class, and 'blue blood,' respectively, on the other.

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MONTGOMERY, CHRIS

Sheffield Hallam University, United Kingdom

PERCEPTUAL PROMINENCE OF CITY-BASED DIALECT AREAS IN ENGLAND

Previous perceptual dialectological research in England (Inoue 1996) has demonstrated that non-linguists recognise large city-based dialect areas when completing 'draw-a-map' (Preston 1982) tasks. Composite maps derived from Inoue's (1996) respondents' maps further demonstrate the importance of cities in perception. Inoue's composite maps use labels based on those given by respondents and include areas in the north of England labelled accord-ing to colloquial city names (including 'Geordie' and 'Scouse', as well as York). In this way, Inoue's perceptual data appears to provide support for theories of regional dialect levelling which point towards an increasing tendency towards supra-local varieties (cf. Milroy & Hartley 1994; Watt & Milroy 1999; Watt 2002). In addition to adding weight to such theories, Inoue's composite maps demonstrate an amount of correlation with primary isoglosses on other maps which are based solely on linguistic criteria, such as those drawn by Trudgill (1999) based on SED data.

Although Inoue's data appear to provide support for both primary isoglosses and the influence of regional dialect levelling, they do not show the emergence of new city-based dialect areas in England. Recent research in England (Montgomery 2007; Forthcoming) has argued that perceptual dialectology has a role to play in identifying emergent dialect areas, and that the role of cities is important in this respect. This paper will discuss the burgeoning perception of the concept of a 'Manc' (Manchester) dialect area. By contrasting research undertaken between 2005 and 2010 with that performed by Inoue in 1990, the impact of 'cultural prominence' on perception will be examined. The paper will argue that increased media exposure to Manchester has assisted in its recognition as a distinctive and emergent area in the dialect landscape of England.

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BRABER, NATALIE

Nottingham Trent University, United Kingdom

DIALECT PERCEPTION AND IDENTIFICATION IN NOTTINGHAM

Linguistic variation in the city of Nottingham (in the East Midlands) has long been neglected. Although Wales (2000) comments that the East Midlands may be the geographical centre of England, it is not in any sense the perceived centre of England. It is an area which can be hard to locate and is referred to by Wales (2000:7/8) as 'neither here nor there', and by Montgomery (2007: 352) as a 'no-man's land'. There has been no survey of dialect in the region since the Survey of English Dialects in the 1950s. It is, moreover, striking that existing publications that aggregate the findings of earlier surveys and more recent localised studies to present an overview of regional speech in the UK either lack up-to-date research data from this area or simply ignore the region completely. Despite this lack of empirical evidence, anecdotally it appears that language in Nottingham remains distinctive and locals insist there is considerable difference, for instance, between speech in the major urban centres of Nottingham, Derby and Leicester (see for example Scollins and Titford 2000).

The focus of this study is the examination of dialect perception and identification within the city of Nottingham. Although the East Midlands doesn't have an official regional capital, Nottingham is treated by many as such. However, it seems that local accents are not easily recognised by young people who live there (Braber, in process). This seems to contradict theories showing that people are more accurate at recognising local accents (Wells 1982; Williams et al. 1999). This study examines perception of local language varieties with 200 sixth-form students, male and female, rural and urban in the city of Nottingham. The question being asked here is whether lack of recognition could be to do with the lack of cultural salience of this particular area. Furthermore, this study has also shown that these speakers have very negative attitudes towards their own linguistic variety. Could these two aspects be related? Are young Nottingham speakers misidentifying local accents as part of a 'denial' phenomenon (see Montgomery & Beal 2011; Williams et al. 1999).

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LONERGAN, JOHN DAVID University College Dublin, Ireland

PERCEIVED VARIATION IN DUBLIN ENGLISH

Previous research has identified a number of phonetic variables that are sociolinguistically important in Dublin English, but comparatively little is known about the geographic and social distribution of this variation. Similarly, we know little about how this variation is viewed by Dubliners themselves. This paper reports on an attempt to combine perceptual dialectology and phonetic analysis to provide new insights into variation and change in Dublin English.

Recent work (Hickey, 2005) argues that Dubliners use either a characteristically local form of English or a rapidly changing 'supraregional' variety. He describes participation in this language change as led by young Dublin women maximising their distinctiveness from the local variety. Hickey describes social class as less important than issues of identity and no area-specific varieties of Dublin English are described. This is in contrast to earlier work by Bertz (1975, 1987), who noted differences between working class communities around the city. In addition, Hickey's (2005) own perceptual work suggests that Dubliners believe that area-specific varieties of Dublin English exist. When asked to mark dialects areas on a blank map of Ireland, a majority of Hickey's Dublin-based respondents divided the city into northern 'strong' and 'hard' variety and a 'posh' southern one. The research to be reported in this paper will further explore Dubliners' perceptions of sociolinguistic variation in the city. Subjects were asked to mark perceived varieties on a map that was limited to the greater Dublin area, allowing more than a simple north-south split. This is the first attempt known to the author to modify Preston's map drawing task for use in a small, densely populated area, and this paper will explore the challenges of processing this data and combining it in graphical form. Subjects also answered open questions about each variety they described and rated them for correctness, pleasantness and degree of difference from their own variety.

Early results suggest that the most salient perceived linguistic variety in Dublin is its southeast coast. This is unsurprising given negative media coverage of the 'Dublin 4 accent'. Subjects were surprisingly ambivalent about this perceived variety, however, with very variable marks for pleasantness, but reasonably high marks for correctness. This can be contrasted with a more negatively rated perceived variety spread across much of the rest of the city. These findings, and others, informed the sampling regime of a broader study of Dublin English. This project aims to use a combination of historical data, perceptual dialectology and acoustic research to generate a more detailed description of the social and geographical distribution of variation and change in Dublin English than has previously been attempted. It also aims to provide new insights into the nature of linguistic awareness and ideology in Dublin.

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STJERNHOLM, KARINE University of Oslo, Norway

DIALECT PERCEPTIONS IN OSLO – DELINEATING THE LINGUISTIC COMMUNITY?

This talk will present the major findings from the author's PhD project where changes in the Oslo dialect the past 40 years have been examined. The main challenge of the project has been to define the physical and linguistic boarders of the study.

A large linguistic project conducted in Oslo 40 years ago (the TAUS project) showed great variation in the Oslo dialect. The variation was connected to several social variables, but geography turned out to be the most pertinent factor for variation. This geographically-based dialectological method was well suited to describe linguistic communities 40 years ago when dialect was mainly dependent on locality, and by defining a geographic area, a linguistic area was defined as well.

Today, the situation is different, and the connection between geography and dialect in Oslo do not seem to be as strong as before. In today's linguistic landscape the social and linguistic situation is complex and earlier speech varieties seem to converge (Opsahl and Røyneland 2009).

In an attempt to map the linguistic variation of today, we conducted an online survey on the web site of an Oslo-based newspaper during 2010. In the survey, respondents were asked to give their perceptions about several variants of the Oslo dialect. One aim of the survey was to investigate how city dwellers in Oslo placed themselves in the linguistic landscape of the city, and hopefully these perceptions would contribute to delineate speech communities in the city based on the idea that speech communities can be defined by participation in a shared set of norms (see e.g. Hudson 1980, 27). Another aim was to find out if these perceptions can be connected to the language changes the past 40 years (see e.g. Preston 1989, 2).

Approximately 100 000 people from throughout Norway answered the survey in a few weeks, an interest for the survey that indirectly shows that the situation for the Oslo dialect is complex on a national level as well.

The talk will mainly focus on the results from the online survey and see how reported perceptions can contribute to delineate one or several speech communities in Oslo, and thereafter these perceptions will be aligned with production data from a speech corpus from Oslo (The NoTa corpus). At last I will propose that perceptions of physical places in the city may play a pertinent ideological role for linguistic variation today, that the sense of a place can be a significant variable in speech variation in the sociocultural complex places that cities are. Speech variation is among other factors dependent on connections to the ideology of physical places or districts in cities and the sociocultural connotations inherent in these, without this factor necessarily being concomitant with place of origin or where one lives.

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SVENSTRUP, CHRISTOPH HARE

University of Freiburg, Germany

LINGUISTIC AWARENESS AMONG ADOLESCENTS IN THE STUTTGART AREA

Baden-Württemberg, the southwestern part of Germany, is traditionally seen as being a dialectal stronghold where the geographically bound dialects are widely used except for in formal and public speech (Ruoff 1997: 145). Nevertheless, more recent studies show that there is a development going on towards a spoken vernacular characterised by its lack of 'traditional' dialect and 'standard' features (Spiekermann 2004). Perception studies involving adolescents from the area show a decline of 'prestigiousness' of the local dialects on the attitudinal level (Svenstrup forthc.).

This paper is concerned with what adolescents in Stuttgart (the capital of and largest city in Baden-Württemberg) and the surrounding area have to say about the linguistic styles (Coupland 2007) they use and encounter in their day-to-day interaction. A series of 14 group interviews was conducted to investigate their metalinguistic awareness, giving the adolescents a possibility to comment on their perception of the linguistic setting of the area and their everyday lives.

The interviews show how the informants negotiate and enregister (Agha 2007) linguistic styles and stereotypical labels like Hochdeutsch ('standard' German), Schwäbisch (Swabian, the local dialect), Strassensprache (street language), and Kanaksprache (wog/foreigner (derogatory) language). It is revealed how they perceive these styles and labels, and how access to the available styles is not only a matter of knowledge but also determined by an interplay between contextually conditioned restrictions, ideologies and language norms, and social persona.

All in all the informants' account of the linguistic situation is in accordance with Spiekermann (2004). There is no doubt that Schwäbisch is used to a lesser extent than what Ruoff (1997) describes. Even informants born and raised in some of the smaller study locations do not think they can lay claim to be speaking 'pure' Schwäbisch, or their access to use it is disputed by their peers. Hochdeutsch is important for school and career and 'must' be learned, but Strassensprache is much more interesting and important to them – regardless if they have, or are allowed, access to use it or not.

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MOOSMÜLLER, SYLVIA

Austrian Academy of Sciences, Acoustics Research Institute, Austria

PRODUCTION AND PERCEPTION OF THE VIENNESE DARK LATERAL

Introduction

The phoneme inventory of the Viennese dialect contains one lateral – an alveolar lateral approximant. In certain phonetic contexts, namely word-initially, after alveolar and postalveolar consonants, and between back vowels, this lateral is velarised. Moreover, unlike other velar or velarised laterals, the air escapes only on one side of the tongue. This velarised, monolateral articulation of the lateral (dark lateral) is restricted to the area of Vienna and is, highly salient and subjected to negative evaluation. Moreover, the process of velarisation is mainly applied by male Viennese dialect speakers, female Viennese dialect speakers avoid the application of this process (Moosmüller 2011). Salient features are strongly susceptible to stereotyping; i. e., the production of the dark lateral is linked up with attributes such as 'Viennese', 'uneducated', 'plebeian', or 'aggressive'. In imitation, speakers employ stereotypical features (e.g. Preston 1992, Neuhauser & Simpson 2007; for a different view see Evans 2002). Again, in evaluating a dialect or an accent as authentic or imitated, listeners strongly rely on stereotypical patterns and fail in correctly teasing apart the authentic from the imitated voices (see e.g., Neuhauser & Simpson 2007). The current presentation will add to the discussion whether listeners rely on stereotypes only or whether they additionally make use of phonological and phonetic knowledge.

Method

Five actors and actresses and ten speakers of the Viennese dialect were asked to transform a text into the Viennese dialect. For the perception test, 180 listeners judged a list of 50 utterances taken from the read texts with respect to their dialect authenticity. Results

Overall, none of the actors/actresses passed off as a Viennese dialect speaker, because for any speaker, some speech samples were judged as inauthentic. This result corroborates the view that inconsistency in performance is perceived and evaluated accordingly. The most intriguing result concerns the perception of female speakers. Actresses who produced the velarised lateral were not judged as inauthentic Viennese dialect speakers. This result suggests that the production of the dark lateral is expected to be realised by women. However, if the application of the dark lateral is overgeneralised to bilabial or velar contexts, this misapplication is judged as inauthentic when produced in strong prosodic positions.

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JEON, LISA; CUKOR-AVILA, PATRICIA

University of North Texas, United States of America

URBANICITY AND LANGUAGE VARIATION AND CHANGE: MAPPING DIALECT PERCEPTIONS IN AND OF SEOUL

Studies in perceptual dialectology conducted in the U.S. (cf. Dennis Preston, 1989) have shown that people have strong opinions about the number and placement of dialect regions. Similar studies in other parts of the world have corroborated these results in Japan (Long 1999); France (Kuiper 1999); the Netherlands (Rensink 1999); and in the UK (Montgomery 2007). There has been relatively little research conducted in this area on Korean, however, with early studies using only short language attitude surveys. An exception is Long and Yim (2002) who conducted the most extensive study to date incorporating the methods of perceptual dialectology and language attitude research. The present study is an extension of Long and Yim (2002), but differs in its method of investigation in an important way. This study highlights the importance of urban areas in perception (Montgomery and Beal 2011). It uses ArcGIS to geo-reference hand-drawn maps from over 200 Koreans living in areas that represent the dialect regions outlined in Long and Yim (2002). During this process, dialect categories for subjects' perceptions in and of Seoul were identified and mapped. In addition, demographic information was correlated with results showing how subjects' perceptions are stratified by factors like age, sex, socio-economic class, social networks, and time spent living in the dialect region. A preliminary analysis of these data suggests that Koreans' perceptions of dialect variation unassociated with geographic borders, but also taps into the way people connect ideas about language and place (Johnstone 2010). These findings shed new light on the relationship between urbanicity and language variation and change in Seoul. The results from this study have implications for perceptual dialectology, language attitudes research, and urban linguistic ecologies.

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GASQUET-CYRUS, MEDERIC

Universite d'Aix-Marseille, France

THE ACCENTS OF MARSEILLES: PERCEPTIONS AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE

Although it is still known for its strong monolingual ideology (Spolsky 2004), France begins to discover its own linguistic diversity: regional or immigrant languages, accents and dialects constitute contemporary objects of research. Urban sociolinguistics, which have been considerably developed in the last decade (Bulot 2011), have generated the construction of a theoretical framework for the study of variations, emerging norms, discriminations but also perception of language in France's large cities. The present proposal, devoted to the perceptions of accents in Marseilles, is part of this field, and from the perspective of both ethnographic methods and discourse analysis, a synthesis of the sociolinguistic landscape of Marseilles will be drawn. France's second largest town and European Capital of Culture in 2013, Marseilles is well-known for what is considered as the most famous accent of the country, the so-called Marseilles accent, often described stereotypically. But the social complexity of this town, its strong identity, a long history resulting from the presence of immigrants, and the configuration of its legendary '111' districts has had an impact on the sociolinguistic landscape. There is not one single 'accent of Marseilles', but some varieties existing in a continuum, with many differences as to how they are perceived in the population. Previous inquiries have outlined the existence of at least three accents associated with specific areas of the town (Binisti & Gasquet-Cyrus 2003), which are not objective places, but social areas functioning as territories. The variable delimitation of these territories reflects strong social tensions and can explain some recent linguistic changes, as it has been shown through the study of the imitation and diffusion among people of various social classes of the 'North-accent' (Jamin & al. 2006; Gasquet-Cyrus 2009), primarily considered negatively as a 'foreign' accent. The changes are so acute that the study of a new category of immigrants, the 'neo-Marseillais', has shed light on new processes of perception and linguistic change through gentrification (Trimaille & Gasguet-Cyrus, forthcoming).

Arguing for the combination of urban sociolinguistics, perceptual dialectology and ethnographic approaches, this paper will analyze how the perceptions of city dwellers are shaping both the sociolinguistic landscape and the ongoing linguistic change in this major Euromediterranean town.

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PRESTON, DENNIS RICHARD Oklahoma State University, United States of America

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 158

Language biographies and migration experiences in urban contexts

Session Chair 1: Stevenson, Patrick Session Chair 2: Mar-Molinero, Clare

Session Abstract:

In an early discussion of a 'sociolinguistics of globalization', Blommaert (2003: 608) argues that we should not lose sight of the importance – amongst other things - of trying to understand 'what language achieves in people's lives'. This apparently simple exhortation invites us to investigate the implications of recognizing the complex ways in which experiences with language condition and shape individual pathways through social life. Contributions to this workshop will take up this challenge by analyzing ways of telling and reading 'language biographies': life stories in which experiences with language play a central role (see, for example, Adamzik and Roos 2002; Burck 2005; Busch et al 2006; Franceschini 2010; Franceschini & Miecznokowski 2004; Pavlenko 2007; Schüpbach 2008; Stevenson and Carl 2010). In particular, they will focus on the language (hi)stories of individuals with experience of migration in a range of urban settings.

The key guestion that each paper will address is: how can we contribute to an understanding of 'super-diversity' in contemporary urban contexts by studying ways in which people weave together narratives about language and other salient dimensions of their personal and collective experiences? Returning to his theme more recently, Blommaert (2010: 6-12) points out the descriptive and theoretical challenges of recognising super-diversity in contemporary cities and the inadequacy of conventional 'horizontal' notions of diversity, which tend to invite a discursive homogenization of urban spaces (eq as 'Turkish areas' or 'Polish neighbourhoods') and reduce local diversity to single dimensions (eq country of origin, language, religion). How then can we account for the coexistence of multiple, complex repertoires resulting from complex migration trajectories? This raises questions about objects of study (eq ethnolects, multilingual styles and practices, language knowledge) and methodological issues (eg observation of interaction, surveys of language use). The aim of the workshop will be to show how the construction and analysis of language biographies offer one means of responding to these guestions by generating and exploring metalinguistic reflections on experiences with language. Indicative questions that contributions to the workshop may address include (but are not restricted to) the following:

- How do migrant individuals organise their life stories around encounters with different languages and language regimes?
- How do they characterize and evaluate their sociolinguistic repertoires?
- What similarities and differences are there between language stories narrated by 'new' and 'established' migrants? - Are relationships between these categories - and other emergent ones, such as transient, circular, commuting, return migrants - relevant in such

stories? Papers will be welcomed on a wide range of geographical, social and linguistic contexts.

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FRANCESCHINI, RITA

Free University of Bozen, Italy

'BECOMING MULTILINGUAL IN URBAN CONTEXTS' SEEN THROUGH LANGUAGE BI-**OGRAPHY LENSES**

Biographical approaches grant a detailed insight into people's subjective experiences, but this truism reveals methodological difficulties when it comes to biographical narrations.

This contribution is based on a corpus of language biographies collected in different parts of Europe. It will focus on aspects of the process of 'becoming multilingual' in urban contexts, i.e. how the surrounding multilingualism in cities has been exploited for language acquisition and has boosted the development of a finely-tuned language awareness.

The narratives examined are valuable not only in giving accounts of a lifetime's language contact: the analysis of the mode, type and choice of language of narration is in itself a challenge. The narrations are not regarded as essentialist; the expression of attitudes, for example, has to be taken as an interactional achievement; in the same way the relationship to the urban context is an interactional work, 'making plausible' to the interviewer the own experiences.

- How do they give meanings to their life experiences by arranging chosen episodes in relation to language problems, challenges or opportunities?

Since our data are based on in-depth narrative interviews (following F. Schütze's framework 1987) we have to deal mostly with intertwined perspectives:

the interactional relationship between narrator and interviewer: the narrator is the expert, the interviewer is mainly back-chanelling;
 the narrator perceives the content of his/her story as almost completely subjective, whereas an external person can tend to see the individual narration as a prototype;

3) the type of narration is culturally sensitive: telling one's own story is wrapped up in different styles and is dependent on who the story is being told to;
4) in going back and forth through a transcript, the analysis itself offers a time-independent, permitting detailed insight;

5) the analysis of a large quantity of interviews allows to see inter-individual regularities, which the individual narrator cannot be aware of. These methodological considerations require an increased awareness of the high sensitivity involved in the careful handling of such intimate narrations. Our contribution will first focus briefly on methodology, then discuss the role of urban contexts: the narrations of these highly multilingual contexts will be taken as one example of how people make sense of their multivariate experiences. We will then indicate that the shaping forces and social embeddedness of these narratives can be seen through the lenses of a language biography.

Finally, we will question the extent to which these narrations are individually constructed, and how much they reflect and/or contribute to collective representations; in our specific case: the collective representation of multilingual urban areas.

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BUSCH, BRIGITTA Universität Wien, Austria

WHEN SPEAKERS OF TRANSLOCAL HETEROGLOSSIC REPERTOIRES ENCOUNTER MONOLINGUAL ENVIRONMENTS

Biographical migration-related narratives often refer to an indispensable adaptation to unfamiliar language regimes. This usually includes a re-evalutation of available communicative resources which make up an individual's linguistic repertoire. Such a process has often been described as stressful, especially when migration is linked to traumatic experience. Under these circumstances, language ideologies which emphasize the importance of a single unitary language can aggravate feelings of displacement and powerlessness.

My contribution draws on empirical data from a transdisciplinary research project in Vienna, Austria. It focuses on how speakers with complex translocal repertoires experience encounters with public institutions that mainly deploy a monolingual habitus. In this project, we have taken a biographical approach which includes multimodal language portraits – i. e., representations of an individual's linguistic repertoire through creative drawings and metalinguistic commentary (Busch 2010) – as well as extensive biographical interviews.

In the first part of my contribution I will focus on the notion of linguistic repertoire which is one of the key concepts in language biography research. This concept was originally developed by Gumperz (1960) within an interactional framework. Re-examining this concept from a poststructuralist point of view, allows to account for the fluidity of linguistic practices in contemporary urban environments as well as for the power of languages as discursively or ideologically constructed categories.

The second part of my contribution will deal with specific aspects of the representation of linguistic repertoires in biographical narratives of displacement: How can we link particular ways of speaking to stressful or traumatising experience? How can the non-recognition of translocal heteroglossic repertoires by monolingually oriented public institutions cause additional stress and feelings of powerlessness? How can individual linguistic resources be mobilized as a source of resilience?

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SLEZAK, GABRIELE University of Vienna, Austria

LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN THE UNILINGUAL COURTROOM. EXPLORING AN URBAN CONTRADICTION FROM A BIOGRAPHICAL POINT OF VIEW.

Transcultural courtroom interaction is clearly asymmetric in character and usually associated with complex language practices. Due to diversified sociocultural backgrounds, familiar frames of reference may turn dysfunctional and need re-evaluation (Eades 2008). In this highly demanding setting, mutual recognition of the participants' linguistic resources and competences can be seen as a prerequisite for meaningful communication (Maryns 2006). My contribution will draw on empirical data from a transdisciplinary research project in Vienna, Austria, which focuses on courtroom interaction between migrants of a complex translocal linguistic background and judges as representatives of a unilingual judiciary. This project is based on a biographical approach. By means of drawing language portraits and carrying out narrative interviews its aim is to establish the participants' individual language biographies and thus bringing the applicable linguistic repertoires to the fore (Busch 2010). In my talk I will bring together and juxtapose selected biographical features as well as underlying assumptions, beliefs and attitudes towards language use of both migrants and judges.

The overall results show that courtroom talk in a linguistically diverse urban context is highly influenced by the individual agents' own long-term experience (socialization) with language regimes and power relations regulating language use. From this follows that repeated feelings of rejection, communication failure or speechlessness, for example, directly affect the mobilization of one's own repertoire as well as the recognition of one's counterpart's resources. The results also show that the applicable repertoires contrast starkly with the strong constraints which are predominant in Austrian courtroom talk. In these circumstances the decision makers often added further to already existing constraints by a simple act of non-recognition or unnaming, i.e. declassifying migrants' language resources as 'vernaculars' or 'non standard varieties' and thus making them virtually irrelevant. The involved migrants also frequently underestimated the consequences of adapting to the dominant unilingual language ideology deployed by the courts. Making the participants' communicative resources mutually visible may be seen as a first step towards the recognition and mobilization of heteroglossic repertoires, leading eventually to more equality in Austrian courts.

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GIAMPAPA, FRANCES; KEDZIERSKI, MACIEJ University of Bristol, United Kingdom

SKILLED MIGRATION AND GLOBAL ENGLISH: THE LINGUISTIC NARRATIVES OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN PROFESSIONALS.

The new realities of super-diversity (Blommaert 2010; Vertovec 1997), and rapid technological change leading to time-space compression, have resulted in new professional and personal opportunities and challenges for present-day migrants. As patterns of migration become marked by increasing transnational mobility as well as multiplicity and non-linearity of migration routes, the linguistic repertoires of skilled migrants arriving in the UK are character-ised not only by diverse linguistic competencies in their native languages but, in some cases, also in the languages of their pre-UK settlement countries, alongside English – the global lingua franca.

This paper explores the Bristol-based findings from a multi-site ethnographic World Universities Network project (Canagarajah et al. 2009) examining the role of language (i.e., English and other indigenous languages) in shaping Sub-Saharan skilled migrants' life trajectories and engagement in professional and development endeavours. The project aimed to offer an alternative to previous demographic studies (Bleakley & Chin, 2004; Chiswick & Miller, 1995, 2002, 2007; Dustmann, 1994; Dustman & van Soest, 2001 & 2002; Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003) which focused primarily on the economic imperative for migration and the relationship between expertise in the dominant language and migrants' levels of success – calculated in relation to levels of income in the host country.

Drawing from ethnographic interviews and questionnaires, we examine how language influences the different channels and trajectories of migration; the impact of language in shaping skilled migrants' levels of professional and personal success; and how skilled migrants' linguistic repertoires are utilised and transformed within and across transnational contexts (i.e., within/outside Africa). Our findings point to the linguistic and cultural complexities of modern transnational movements but also acknowledge the central role English plays in shaping these trajectories and the ways in which it facilitates temporary and permanent settlement in the various locations, often leading to gradual attrition of native languages in the younger generations.

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LANZA, ELIZABETH; GOLDEN, ANNE University of Oslo, Norway

TELLING LIVES: PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES AT THE CROSSROADS IN A MIGRATION CONTEXT

Migration has led to a global marketplace where language plays a significant role as symbolic capital. In this paper, we focus on linguistic identity construction occurring in the presentation and positioning of self in social experiences related to migration and labor among a group of highly skilled migrants, namely psychiatrists. As psychiatrists depend upon language for diagnosis and treatment, language plays a decisive role in their life in a new urban context. Narratives in language biographies provide insight into conceptions of the self and the other within a cultural context, as narrators affirm aspects of their own identity and of the identity of others via the presentation and evaluation of behaviors. In our paper, identities are conceived of as negotiated and emergent in interpersonal communication, with narratives as an excellent tool for investigating identity construction. In our paper we address the ways in which psychiatrists with a migrant background construct their identities in interaction in narrating about their own linguistic and cultural background and that of Scandinavia, their new home. We examine the episodes they choose to narrate in relation to language problems, challenges and opportunities, and especially in regards to their professional life. We address their lexical choice in their narratives, especially the metaphorical expressions they use to give meanings to their life experiences. Metaphors are construed in line with Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980, 1999) as a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, with the primary function being understanding. To use metaphor as a tool in the study of identity is promising as interlocutors' choice of metaphors often reveals their attitudes and values (Cameron 2008). Data for this presentation come from a database of focus group discussions consisting of two to three psychiatrists with a migrant background, along with one or two interviewers. Our analysis focuses mainly on the language biographies of two wom

gone back to the country from which she originally emigrated before returning to Oslo, Norway, their current residence. Each woman presents her complex migration trajectory in her narratives, which provide occasions for reflection and evaluation of her personal life experiences and particularly of her professional life in a new country. Both language and culture are recurrent topics in these narratives. We examine how these migrant doctors negotiate agency in their identity construction through their use of metaphorical expressions in their narratives. Agency is 'the socioculturally mediated capacity to act' (Ahearn 2001: 109) and speakers negotiate various degrees of agency along a cline of empowered to diminished agency (cf. De Fina 2003). Notions of power are inevitably drawn into discussions about identity among migrants and as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) note, the dimension of power and power relations should be given more attention in constructivist approaches to the study of identity. Results will be discussed in light of the role that language plays as capital at the personal, professional and community level for this group of migrants.

LORENTE, BEATRIZ

National University of Singapore, Singapore

TRACING TRAJECTORIES OF AGENCY: THE LANGUAGE (HI)STORIES OF TRANSNA-TIONAL DOMESTIC WORKERS

With contemporary migrations more likely to be transient and complex, there is a need to account for how transnational migrants make sense of the sociolinguistic disjunctures they may experience as they navigate multiple chains of movement and translocal interconnections between spaces. In this paper, I analyze the language (hi)stories of transnational Filipino domestic workers (FDWs). In particular, I trace how transnational FDWs construct their agency in their encounters with different languages, registers and orders of indexicality in: (1) towns and cities in the Philippines before they migrated, (2) Singapore where they work for various households (e.g. Singaporeans, expatriates, etc.), (3) their hometowns or cities in the Philippines where they temporarily return for vacations in between their work contracts, and (4) the various cities they migrated to as housekeepers, domestic workers, au pairs, etc. after their stint in Singapore, i.e. Copenhagen, Dubai and London. These stories were initially collected during in-depth interviews conducted with 19 Filipino domestic workers in Singapore. The narratives of three of these Filipino domestic workers were later updated and expanded to include their stories after they left Singapore to work in Copenhagen, Dubai and London. In analyzing the stories of these transnational FDWs, I discuss how they focus on the disjunctures they experience as their movements across spaces - spatial and temporal, vertical and horizontal - change the value of their linguistic resources, in particular of their English. I examine how the women use their own notions are central to their sense of individual agency. Finally, I explore the alignments between these individual stories of sociolinguistic 'flexibility' and 'adaptability' to characterize and evaluate the sociolinguistic repertoires they have developed and how such notions are central to their sense of individual agency. Finally, I explore the alignments between these individual stories of sociolinguistic 'flexibility' and 'adap

THIETZ, ANNE Universität Leipzig, Germany

LINGUISTIC IDENTITY OF GERMAN HUGUENOTS

The starting point of my research is the assumption that language acts as a constitutive element constructing multiple identities (Schiffrin 1996, Bamberg et al. 2011). Facing postmodern research on identity including processes of globalisation, of pluralism and diversity, the construction of the self is linked to language which is not merely an instrument; it depends on language and language use, more precisely on narration (Franceschini et al. 2010). Drawing on my on-going thesis I reflect on the Model of multiple linguistic identity (Kresic 2006) to consolidate this new approach in the sociolinguistic theory. This interdisciplinary work is based on the integration of linguistics, psychology, philosophy and sociology to expand different theories of multiple identity and linguistic identity, emphasizing the idea of autobiographical narratives as the fundament in which identity constructions are created (Lucius-Hoene/ Deppermann 2002). Due to the general agreement of the language's relevance in individual biographies, the conception of language biographies emerges as a reasonable instrument to study identity constructions (Adamzik/Roos 2002). The reconstruction of narrative identities in sociolinquistic research has grown in the last years in favour of a focus on actual cases of migration and multilingualism (de Florio-Hansen/Hu 2007, Miecznikowski 2010). My source material is built up of the language biographical data of Huguenots in Germany, whose history of Diaspora offers a case of migration over 300 years ago. Their linguistic inconspicuousness these days enables the characterization of the general task that language fulfils when creating identities. When language is regarded as a constitutive element in the construction of postmodern identity my research project tries to make a contribution to elucidate the function of the French language in the descendant's identity constructions and its perception in everyday social life. Language biographies also provide multifaceted possibilities to study individual evaluation of languages in different regions, cities and rural areas - including the research on historical, cultural and ideological circumstances in Germany - and the composition of Huguenot's identity. The aim of my research work is a comparative survey of actual Huguenot's identity constructions and the alternative development of an abstract model to describe linguistic identity.

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STEVENSON, PATRICK University of Southampton, United Kingdom

BERLIN STORIES: MULTILINGUALISM IN MARESCHSTR. 74

Research on the increasing complexity of urban societies has highlighted a range of dimensions of diversity in terms of language knowledge and linguistic practices. On the one hand, for example, comprehensive 'home language surveys' reveal the vast range of languages used in major European cities (Extra and Yağmur 2004, Brizić and Hufnagl 2011) and Eversley et al (2010) map the 233 languages attested by London schoolchildren to show their spatial distribution. On the other hand, many studies have been devoted to research on innovative styles of 'mixed' language use ('ethnolects', 'languaging' etc), both in face-to-face interaction and in mediated forms (e.g. Freywald et al 2011, Pennycook 2010, Androutsopoulos 2006). In this paper, I suggest that these demographic and interactional approaches should be complemented by a biographical perspective in order to develop a more refined, multi-dimensional understanding of the 'linguistic texture of multilingual societies' (Gogolin 2010). The paper draws on a current project in inner city districts of Berlin characterized by a high degree of migration and multilingualism. It is concerned with ways in which individual migrants reflect on how their 'experience with language' (Busch 2010) has shaped their 'life worlds'. Individuals' repertoires and their reflections on them are then seen as characteristics of 'superdiverse subjectivities' (Blommaert and Backus 2011) in highly dynamic social contexts: 'Repertoires are biographically organized complexes of resources, and they follow the rhythm of human lives' (see also Franceschini 2010). Inspired by Liebmann (2002) and others (e.g. Block 2006), I explore these ideas through the language biographies of inhabitants of a single apartment block, which in its ethnic and linguistic composition is a kind of microcosm of the city. My aim is to show how the individuality of language experiences arising from different migration patterns is an important and necessary counterweight to larger scale investigations of language knowled

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LIEBSCHER, GRIT (1); DAILEY-O'CAIN, JENNIFER (2) 1: University of Waterloo, Canada; 2: University of Alberta, Canada

'MY GERMAN IS NOT AS GOOD AS THEIRS': PROFICIENCY, ATTITUDES AND SENSE OF PLACE IN CANADIAN GERMAN LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES

This paper investigates the relationship between language biographies and the construction of sociolinguistic spaces by Canadian German immigrants. Language biographies in this context are their narrated experiences of first and additional language socialization. Sociolinguistic space is a notion that has only recently been introduced into sociolinguistics by e.g. Baynham (2003), Blommaert (2005), and Stevenson and Carl (2010). It relies on the distinction between place and space as conceptualized in cultural geography and sociology (e.g. Harvey 1990, de Certeau 1998). Sociolinguistic space comes into being through meaningful practices by individuals, which include language use, positioning, attitudes, but also language biographies. The data on which our work is based stem from the urban German-speaking immigrant community in Canada. The data set is made up of 77 conversational interviews with 91 participants of different ages and immigrant generations, and whose immigrant backgrounds include Germany and Germanspeaking speech islands in Europe. These interviews were conducted in two Canadian urban centers, Edmonton and Kitchener-Waterloo, by two Germanspeaking research assistants who discussed questions of immigration and language experiences with the participants. For this present paper, we selected stretches of talk from these data, in which participants narrate aspects of their own and others' language biographies. We then analyzed these metalinguistic reflections on experiences with languages using a discourse analysis that combines content with interactional sociolinguistic analysis as outlined in Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2011). In this presentation, we will focus in particular on narrated aspects of language proficiency (i.e. how 'well' the language is spoken), language varieties, and senses of place. We find that these aspects become linked to the construction of multilingual subjectivities (Kramsch 2009), in which agency over particular linguistic forms is tied up with symbolic processes of language use and socialization. Language biographies can then be analyzed as ways of constructing as well as rationalizing these subjectivities as part of the construction of larger sociolinguistic spaces.

Our analysis essentially focuses on drawing out the vertical dimensions of the space, i.e. ways in which participants construct hierarchies and their own positions in relation to those. This speaks to the workshop's goal to go beyond the homogenization of urban contexts and to investigate local diversity.

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DIVITA, DAVID

Pomona College, United States of America

LANGUAGE, BIOGRAPHY, AND PERFORMANCE: STAGING THE SPANISH MIGRANT **EXPERIENCE IN PARIS**

Scholars in applied and sociolinguistics have turned in recent years to language (auto)biographies as a source for understanding the subjective dimension of language acquisition and multilingual experience (Benson and Nunan 2004; Kramsch 2009; Pavlenko 2007; Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000). Focusing on narratives produced in institutional and professional contexts-that is, by foreign language students and writers of literary memoirs-this body of research has provided insight into the relationships among an individual's experience of language learning, the role that language plays in her biographical trajectory and the narratives through which she constructs it.

In this paper, I seek to expand this pool of data by examining an act of collaborative storytelling among a group of immigrants at a day center for Spanish seniors in a suburb north of Paris. The majority of Spaniards who attend the center participated in a wave of migration to Paris in the 1960s, pursuing possibilities of social mobility that were not available to them in Spain. They arrived in France as monolingual Spanish speakers; over time and in naturalistic settings, however, they acquired French to varying degrees of proficiency and now make use of their multilingual repertoires in ways that partly reflect their experience of the sociohistorical conditions in which this acquisition occurred.

With the historical particularities of this community in mind, I draw on ethnographic data that I collected in the Centro's weekly theater workshop, examining over 20 hours of audio and video recordings made as students created and rehearsed a performance for the annual Día Mundial del Libro celebration—a series of sketches that explore a woman's conflicted decision to return to her pueblo from Paris. Through anthropological accounts of performativity (Bauman and Briggs 1990), I analyze the theatrical texts alongside the interactions through which they were produced, focusing on moments of disagreement among individuals about what this representation of their past should or should not include. My data not only highlight the variation that must be resolved in order for a community to construct a coherent narrative about itself, but they also reveal how local systems of value-here, between France and Spain, city and country, monolingualism and multilingualism—provide a scaffold in relation to which community members articulate individual narratives of migration.

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NOSSIK, SANDRA

Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, France

'THEN' VS 'TODAY' : LANGUAGES AND CHRONOTOPES IN NARRATIVES OF POST-SO-VIET MIGRANTS

This paper aims to examine the symbolic values of the languages mentioned in life narratives of migrants coming from post-Soviet republics. Thanks to tools offered by the Discourse Analysis field (Pêcheux 1981), we shall analyze shared verbalizations that respond to each other from one narrative to another, and that draw one same chronotope (Bakhtin 1938) of USSR, characterized in the narratives by its stability and tinged with nostalgia. The corpus of this paper is composed of thirty interviews in Russian with migrants from various post-Soviet republics of Caucasia and East-Europe (Chechnya, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldavia, Belarus, Ukraine...). Recently arrived in France, these tellers, all Russian-speaking and plurilingual, all emigrated as a matter of urgency, because of ethnic conflicts, sudden political changes, or precarious economic situations.

Life narratives will be here considered as emplotments (Ricœur 1983) that give coherence and meaning to the experiences told. Our object is this linguistic reconstitution and re-categorization of the word. We will also pay attention to the dialogism (Bakhtin 1952) of these speeches, i. e. to their dialogic echos, to their inscription in previous speeches. The narratives will be moreover considered as the situated result of a co-construction by the interviewer and the interviewed, whose interpersonal relationship must be taken into account while analyzing the narratives.

The discursive study of these narratives shows shared verbalizations concerning Russian language : associated with the chronotope of USSR, a sublimated past time, this language crystallizes in the narratives a serene and missed period of interethnic peace, which is opposed to a chaotic present. Sometimes these verbalizations echo formulas coming from Soviet speeches, that tellers can both seize and distance themselves from while telling their story.

In a less homogeneous way, French language is the subject of various speeches, depending on whether the narratives are optimistically oriented toward the future promised by the migration situation, or on the contrary organized around a regretted past.

Thus, the narrative and discursive analysis of these linguistic biographies reveal a common interweaving of public history and private stories, of political events and biographical turning points, and of languages and narrative chronotopes.

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MONONEN, KAARINA (1); PÖYHÖNEN, SARI (2) 1: University of Helsinki, Finland; 2: University of Jyväskylä, Finland

RURAL PEOPLE AND THE BIG CITY – INGRIAN FINNS' AUTOBIOGRAPHIC STORIES ABOUT LANGUAGE USE IN THE ST. PETERSBURG AREA

This paper discusses personal experiences about a rapidly altered linguistic situation in a city, St. Petersburg and its surroundings, as narrated by Ingrian Finns of two generations. We will illustrate how personal stories on language use can be seen as explaining the linguistic challenges and choices the Ingrian Finnish informants have met and made during their life time. By analysing both the sociohistorical context and content of stories as well as linguistic interaction it is possible to understand the present day positions of the informants (cf. Pavlenko 2007). Ingrian Finns constitute an old migrant group from Finland in the area around the contemporary St. Petersburg (Leningrad Region). Finnish-speaking population started moving to the area from 1617 onward until the 1930s, when about 50 000 people were transported to Siberia and Central Asia. After Stalin's death, many Ingrian Finns moved back to the area. St. Petersburg, established in 1703, has always had a great impact on the history of Ingrian Finns and their personal experiences in various settings: education, religion, work and cultural contacts with Russians and other ethnic groups. Our paper is based on two ethnographic studies, conducted among Ingrian Finns in St. Petersburg in the late 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s in two settings: an old people's home and a school specialised in the Finnish language. The data consist of interviews, free conversations, written autobiographies, and field notes. In the first setting, the informants are four women who were born in the early 1900s to 1920s. They represent the first generation of Ingrian Finns, who were born in a rural area in the 'Finnish villages' around St. Petersburg, went to Finnish school, and practiced the Lutheran religion but experienced great societal changes and later some of them went to work in Leningrad. In the second setting the informants are teachers of Finnish, born in 1930s to 1960s and represent the second generation of Ingrian Finns. They have also experienced life in the villages but lived most of their life in the big city, and moved back and forth in the Soviet Union. This migration has also caused language loss for most of them. Both groups have had personal experiences of forced transportation and oppression as well as the ethnic and linguistic revival in the late 1980s. In this presentation we will discuss the following questions: How do the changes in linguistic environment come out in interviews and conversations, and in written autobiographies? What are the main differences in autobiographic narratives between the older and the younger generation in respect to language maintenance and loss?

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ROSSATO, LINDA; ANTONINI, RACHELE University of Bologna, Italy

THE USE OF NARRATIVES AND SURVEY METHODOLOGIES IN THE STUDY OF THE ROLE PLAYED BY YOUNG MIGRANTS IN MEDIATING BETWEEN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES, AND OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THEIR IDENTITIES

Compared to other European countries, mass immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon in Italy (Bevilacqua 2001/2002; Tapia 2000). Until thirty years ago, Italy was a country of major emigration (Braun 1999). Following the economic growth and the demographic decline in the 1990s, Italy witnessed a substantial influx of immigrants who tended to settle in the regions experiencing high economic growth. Over the past few decades, governments of countries with a longer and more established tradition of immigration, e.g. the US and the UK, have been helping immigrants cope with the language and cultural problems they encounter when interacting with the institutions of the host country, by enacting special policies devised to assist them in this respect and which include the use of multilingual information material, the employment of community interpreters, cultural advocates and so on (Hall and Sham, 2007). In Italy, the measures implemented are scarce, and so far the country has not been well-equipped to deal with the ever growing request of language services for the new migrant population. The role played by children in helping their families interact with the host country had never been investigated in Italy until the start of the research project In MedIO PUER(I) in 2007. This study was launched to contribute to the relatively scarce literature produced at both national and international level (cf. Tse 1996; Orellana 2009; Hall 2004: Antonini, 2010). A multi-method approach was adopted to observe the phenomenon from the widest perspective possible. and to cope with the multifaceted complexity of the multiethnic Italian school landscape. Data were collected in a time-span of three years, at different schools across the region Emilia Romagna, where the school population shows comparatively high proportions of first- and second-generation migrant children (Caritas-Migrantes 2011). The methodologies used ranged from interviews with providers of public services (Cirillo and Torresi forthcoming; Cirillo, Torresi and Valentini 2010); to focus group interviews with former child language brokers (Bucaria and Rossato 2010); guestionnaire surveys among primary and post-primary teachers and pupils, and schoolchildren's written and graphic narratives about language and cultural brokering activities. For the purposes of this paper, the experience of immigrant children and adolescents serving as language brokers in Italy will be presented via examples of written and graphic narratives, as well as the results obtained by the questionnaire surveys. The present paper attepts to illustrate a)how these linguistic and cultural mediation practices are affecting the children of immigrants' life stories, b)how these children have come to play a fundamental role in the adjustment process of their peers to a new language and educational system and c)how the brokering activities may have positively and/or negatively impacted the identity construction process of these children.

RELANO-PASTOR. ANA M.

University of Castilla-La Mancha, Spain

LANGUAGE NARRATIVES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF TRANSFRONTERIZO IDENTI-TIES AT THE SAN DIEGO-TIJUANA BORDER

This presentation focuses on language narratives of a group of transfronterizo students who cross the San Diego-Tijuana border to attend private and public schools in San Diego (California). It analyzes how transfronterizo students construct local notions associated to language-s, language use and speakers, and the organization of everyday linguistic practices in stories related to language events as part of their border-crossing experience. In multilingual, transnational settings, narratives of language are complexly intertwined to ideologies of language and notions of power and identity (Bailey 2002; Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; De Fina 2003; Relaño Pastor 2008; Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity 1998; Zentella forthcoming). In addition, language ideologies are manifested in individuals' discourse, constructing values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels (Blackledge 2008). In the border space these transfronterizo students navigate everyday, linguistic practices not only shape their social identities as border-crossers, but these are also transformed by the multiple interactions with diverse social networks in the schools they attend (e.g. trolos, sociales, fresas, cholos, nacos, pochos, chicanos, Mexicanos, Mexicano Americanos, Tijuanenses, and Mexicanos from the rancho, among others - Relaño Pastor 2007-). Data consists of 40 individually tape recorded interviews with border-crossing university students who attended schools in San Diego. The presentation analyzes how transfronterizo students make sense of who they are in narratives of language experiences at the border. Results indicate the fluidity of language ideologies at the border and the emergence of a transforming border identity that challenges exclusive ethnic and cultural identifications with either Mexican or Mexican-descent groups on the San Diego-Tijuana border.

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VIGERS, DICK University of Southampton, United Kingdom

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 160

Languages in contact in Brazil: Maintenance, loss and representation in the scope of Sociolinguistic Studies

Session Chair 1: Savedra, Mônica Maria Guimarães Session Chair 2: Salgado, Ana Claudia Peters

Session Abstract:

This session presents some studies that are being developed in different situations of languages in contact in Brazil, as the result of the immigration/ colonization (allochthonous languages); the contact between the Brazilian Portuguese and the indigenous languages (autochthonous languages) and also the result of the contact among linguistic groups situated alongside the borderline of Brazil. The researches that are being carried on are based on the theories and methods of sociolinguistic studies for analyzing the linguistic maintenance or loss and how they are related to the different functional uses of these languages in different communicative environments: family, society, school, work.

Some selected situations to be presented: 1) Germany colonization in Juiz de Fora/MG: This research aims at tracing back the Germanic languages and dialects which arrived in a city in Brazil which was a Germanic colony founded in 1857 and why these languages/dialects and related cultures disappeared with the years, once the influence of this colonization was quite strong economically speaking; 2) Italian immigration in Juiz de Fora/ MG: This research aims at tracing back the Italian language/dialects and related cultures maintenance/loss in different communicative environments in Juiz de for a/MG; 3) Germans and Germanic dialects in the South of Brazil and their maintenance related to its functional use in the church; 4) The spoken german

dialect in Espírito Santo, its maintenance and language and education policies; 5) The francophone border of Brazil and its multilingual context: portuguese, french, french creole and indigenous languages.

Also, it will be discussed here some relevant aspects involved with actions related to linguistic politics such as; quantitative, juridical, functional and symbolic aspects. These latter ones imply representations, which is a complex notion rooted in social psychology and are with strong interaction with linguistic practice. The study of linguistic representation allows us to comprehend the relation established by the speakers between them and their own language, which may suggests a new perspective towards languages in contact, language teaching and linguistic politics.

SCHAFFEL BREMENKAMP, ELIZANA Federal University of Espirito Santo, Brazil

SOCIOLINGUISTICS ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE CONTACT: COMPARISON OF A CASE OF MAINTENANCE AND LINGUISTIC REPLACEMENT IN ESPÍRITO SANTO

The massive immigration flow of the nineteenth century allowed the state of Espirito Santo, Brazil, receiving thousands of immigrants of different nationalities, mainly European, and among them were the Pomeranians and the Dutch. The first immigrants were 2,224, while the latter were 323 individuals (APEES, 2010). These foreigners were trying to escape the economic crisis ravaging their country. But in the capixaba's soil, immigrants of both nationalities, who were attracted by the promises they have received, have gone through many difficulties, especially economic and political. Despite the similarity in the stories, the Pomeranians and the Dutch have distanced themselves from a fundamental aspect of their ethnic identity: the Pomeranians maintained their language, and the Dutch replaced Zeeuws by others. About the Dutch, it is known that the language has very few speakers, and that young people heard less and less the dialect of their ancestors. Given the statistics and as the Language Vitality and Endangerment, UNESCO (2003), the language is critically endangered, and this is due to several factors, such as the small number of Dutch who came to Espírito Santo, the isolation of the Dutch community ; mixed marriage, especially with Pomeranians, the permanent character of Dutch immigration to the state, the large number of descendants of other European nations than the Dutch, internal migration, which isolated many immigrants, the linguistic prejudice, the change of religion. of Calvinism to Lutheranism, the integration policy, which occurred in the 1930s, which aimed at the destruction of allochthonous languages and thus prohibited the use of any other language that was not the Portuguese; and formal education. As for Pomeranians we know that some of these situations were also present in its history, in Espirito-santense's lands, such as discrimination, isolation, prohibition of language immigration, formal education in the Portuguese language, mixed marriage, etc.. These circumstances, however, did not cause the disappearance, on the contrary, some of which made possible the preservation of language. Our goal is therefore to assign a degree of vitality to the Pomeranian language, to analyze the factors involved in this maintenance and compare them to those who are related to the replacement of the language of Dutch immigration. To this end, we will compare our previous research, which interviewed 76 (seventy-six) of Dutch ancestry living in the communities of Espírito Santo, with interviews of 80 (eighty) descendants of Pomeranians residents in the municipality of Santa Maria de Jetibá, known as the most Pomerano of the state. With this research, we intend to answer the following questions: how the same situation can lead to two opposing phenomena, language maintenance and replacement? What extralinguistic factors influence them? In light of these issues, we will discuss the language attitudes of speakers in relation to the Pomeranian and Dutch languages, the areas of use of both languages mentioned above and to the factors involved in the maintenance/linguistic replacement.

HÖHMANN, BEATE UFF, Brazil

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AMONG DESCENDENTS OF POMERANIAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE BRAZILIAN STATE OF ESPÍRITO SANTO

This session presents some studies that are being developed in different situations of languages in contact in Brazil, as the result of the immigration/ colonization (allochthonous languages); the contact between the Brazilian Portuguese and the indigenous languages (autochthonous languages) and also the result of the contact among linguistic groups situated alongside the borderline of Brazil. The topic presented by Beate Höhmann deals with aspects of language maintenance and the description of the language revitalization program of Pomeranian in the Brazilian state of Espírito Santo. Pomeranian, which is still spoken by the descendants of the emigrants who arrived in the second half of the 19th century in Brazil, is already extinct in the region of its origin. After the introduction, in which an overview of the research situation and the socio-demographic data is provided, there are presented quantitative data on language preference and intergenerational language transmission of the studied language community. In addition, are analyzed the contributing factors to language maintenance, respectively language loss.

The latest standardization activities of the minority language which are related to the language revitalization project PROEPO are presented. This part includes the preparation of the Pomeranian-Portuguese Encyclopaedia, the process of formation and lexicalization of neologisms, the representation of culture of the minority in school and the involvement of the linguistic group in the language revitalization project PROEPO. The planned regional coofficialization of the Pomeranian language and resulting rights, conditions and consequences will be discussed. Finally, perspectives for language preservation are discussed. In addition, the use of the minority language in education and the resulting research desiderata are stated.

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PERES, EDENIZE PONZO (1); LORIATO, SARAH (2) 1: Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Brazil; 2: Faculdade Brasileira

LANGUAGES IN CONTACT: PORTUGUESE AND ITALIAN IN ESPÍRITO SANTO, BRASIL

Located in the Southwest region of Brazil, the state of Espírito Santo has hosted many immigrants, mostly European immigrants from Vêneto in the North of Italy since the second half of 19th century. These laborers, despite much effort and hardships, have managed to settle in their lands also preserving their language and culture. The contact between Portuguese and the foreign languages has, over the past years, favored the former thus gradually eliminating the latter. To understand this process, we carried out a sociolinguistic research on the contact between Portuguese and the Italian dialects in the ten most important cities colonized by immigrants from the North of Italy in the state of Espírito Santo. The study has been building up a database of speech data through recorded interviews with Italian descendants from those places being selected in accordance with their age (from 8 to 14, from 15 to 30, from 31 to 50, and over 50), gender (male and female), education (up to 4 school years, from 5 to 8 years, and over 8 school years), and geographic origin (urban area and rural area). This study aims to show part of the results obtained along with the data collected from 06 (six) of these municipalities. According to our informants' data, we seek to primarily describe the linguistic phonetic-phonological consequences of this contact as well as social factors - the power of social interaction and enactments, school and discrimination - that have gradually replaced the immigration language with Portuguese, mainly by descendants who live in urban areas. In rural areas, Vêneto dialect has still been preserved by elderly descendants in meetings with their relatives and friends, religious ceremonies, and events for immigrant memory. Also, this work aims to show efforts and attempts of both public institutions and civil society in some of these communities to preserve their ancestors' language and culture. Keywords: Sociolinguistics; Portuguese-Italian linguistic contact; Italian immigration in Espírito Santo.

SALGADO, ANA CLAUDIA PETERS (01); SOARES, MARIANA SCHUCHTER (02) 1: Federal University of Juiz de Fora, Brazil; 2: Federal University of Juiz de Fora, Brazil

THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES IN JUIZ DE FORA/BRAZIL: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC WORK HIGHLIGHTING THE LINGUISTIC CONTACT. CHANGES AND LOSS

The aim of this work is to deal with the questions related to the changes and loss of the Germanic languages in the city of Juiz de Fora, located in the Southeastern part of Brazil. As referred to by the literature (Oliveira, 1953; Stehling, 1979; Oliveira, 1994; Borges, 2000; Esteves, 2008) the migration flux of Germanic peoples to this city was as large as those ones directed to other parts of the country where we can still find the languages or marks of some cultures and dialects (Borstel, 2011; Pereira, 2005). It is relevant to consider that there are already some studies about 'German' immigration in Juiz de Fora. Although these studies were focused only on socioeconomic and historical aspects. This work brings the linguistic perspective into consideration based on the fact that the Germanic groups that arrived and settled down in this city were composed of speakers of different Germanic languages/ dialects, once they came from varied regions of Europe (Clemente, 2008). Thus the present work proposes to investigate and analyze how this linguistic heterogeneity, linguistic contact, lack of education and religious assistance, among other aspects, were responsible for the huge changes and loss of traces of the Germanic culture and languages. To conclude, we intend to bring about the ecological environment (Mufwene, 2004) which involved the process of silencing the languages.

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SAVEDRA. MÔNICA MARIA GUIMARÃES Universidade Federal Fluminense, Brazil

BRASILDEUTSCH: A DIALECT VARIATION OF GERMAN?

The latest version of the Ethnologue published 2009 provide a listing of the 6.909 known living languages of the world, wich are known to have 5,959,511,717 living speakers who learned them by transmission from parent to child as the primary language of the day-to-day communication. According to the distribution of languages by number of first-language speakers Germans is at tenth place with 90.3 million living speakers distributed in 43 countries /regions. German is a pluricentric language with three main areas of usage: Austria, Germany and Switzerland. But the variation of standard German can be also discussed as the only official language (Germany, Austria, Liechtenstein); as co-official language (Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Italy - Alto Adige) and c) as a minority language (Australia, Brazil, Cameroon, Croatia, Denmark, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, USA, France, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Namibia, Netherlands, Paraguay, Poland, Czech Republic, Romania, Russia, Tajikistan, Togo, Ukraine)I

In this paper we discuss not only the variation of standard German but the dialect variation of German as a minority language in Brazil which touches on the use of ethno-cultural diversity in particular historical, social, political and geographical context and that is called in several cases as Brasildeutsch. Brasildeutsch is a generic name for German dialect spoken in the southern States of Brazil (mainly Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul). German dialects are in use in Brazil as a result of German settlements, made by Germans, Swiss and Austrians. These dialects evolved through foreign borrowings. They were influenced by other German dialects, other immigrant languages — especially Talian, and Brazil's national language. Portuguese, The most commonly spoken Brazilian German dialects are Riograndenser Hunsrückisch, a Brazilian variation of the Hunsrückisch, Donauschwäbisch, Pomeranian or Pommersch and Plautdietsch

We also discuss the place of Brasildeutsch as a special dialect variation to the standard German considered both as a regional identity that perpetuates the language, culture and the origins of the German immigrants of the nineteenth century and also as the product of language contact between different dialect variations of German in contact with the Portuguese of Brazil. The discussion is based on the dialect variations of German in Brazil and some aspects of the identity conflict such as loss of identity, loss of memory, identity conflict; identities in motion; migrant identity.

Thematic Session 161

Commercialism and language use

Session Chair 1: Ikuta, Shoko Session Chair 2: Tanabe, Kazuko

Session Abstract:

Although there could be some minor variations depending on the nation's political system, urban cities in general can be characterized by their brisk commercial activity distinct from suburban areas. Most cities have dense shopping districts constantly providing commodities and services to the consumers. Tokyo, the capital of a liberal capitalistic Japan, is a typical of such cities. Martinez (1999) offers a view of Japan as a postmodern consumer society. Jameson (1997), known for his analysis of contemporary cultural trends, describes postmodernism as the spatialization of culture under the pressure of organized capitalism. The use of language in such a highly commercialized society cannot be free from such pressures. In this panel, we aim to bring together research focusing on language use as a reflection of urban (sub)cultures in relation to commercialism. In particular, the panel will present case studies on how voice quality variables can be associated with urban commercialism and how speakers can use them to project/manage different identities.

One focus is placed on the phenomenal use of voice quality with nasalization in Japanese, especially with formulaic expressions such as 'irasshaimase' (lit. 'welcome (to our shop)'), currently spreading among the language use of sales clerks working in Shibuya, one of Tokyo's commercial and cultural centers, especially known as an epicenter of consumption and subcultures unique to younger generations. It is the suprasegmental practice of nasalization over a whole sentence/speech act, which has emerged within the last decade and is rapidly spreading to the extent that it cannot be simply attributed to individual habit of pronunciation or idiolect. This type of nasalization is clearly different from the prevocalic segmental velar nasal (bidakuon) [n], which is nearly extinct in contemporary Tokyo dialects. Historically the bidakuon has been attributed to the regional dialect in Kanto (including Tokyo) area and reported to have been disappearing and replaced with the velar stop [g]. Although voice quality in Japanese such as intonation patterns, voice pitch, or the prosodic focus of the negative morpheme 'nai' has been studied in relation to socio-cultural roles or style shifting (Inoue 1998, Yuasa 2008, Takano 2008), nasality has been neglected in Japanese dialectology or sociolinguistic studies. Voice quality in English varieties has been studied in relation to social dialects (Trudgill 1974, Esling 1978). Laver (1980) indicates voice quality can be an index to membership of occupational groups. Lately, there has been a stream of publication in sociophonetics (Preston & Niedzielski 2010, Di Paolo & Yaeger-Dror 2011, Thomas 2011) as well as in prosody in interaction (Reed 2011). Applying insights from sociolinguistics and sociophonetics, this panel explores the following questions.

- 1. What are the sociolinguistic factors motivating the emergence and the diffusion of some particular characteristic voice guality variables?
- 2. How are those variables associated with urban commercialism?
- 3. In what ways are those variables used for the projection of the speaker's personal/social/professional identity?

4. How do the speakers shift between the use of those and natural vernacular style to profect/manage different identities? As a whole, the panel seeks the social indexicality of such innovative use of voice quality. In addition, the panel would like to address topics such as urban dialect formation, youth language, social identity, and stylistic variation in relation to urban (sub)culture or commercialism. Contributions from researchers investigating similar phenomena from different cultural backgrounds will be especially valuable.

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IKUTA, SHOKO Meiji Gakuin University, Japan

NASALITY AS A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY MARKER IN URBAN JAPANESE

Based on the insights from sociocultural and sociophonetic perspectives, this study explores the formation of a new-type urban dialect and its social indexicality. In particular, it focuses the phenomenal use of nasal voice quality, especially with polite formulaic expressions such as:

1. <<nasal> irasshaimase > (lit. 'welcome (to our shop)')

2. <<nasal> doozo goran kudasaimase > (lit. 'please take a look').

The use of nasal voice quality is currently spreading among the language use by urban young sales clerks working in 'fashionable' Tokyo shops targeting younger generation. This type of nasalization is clearly different from a segmental velar nasal (bidakuon) as a phonologically controlled allophone, which is nearly extinct in contemporary Tokyo dialect. The use of voice quality with nasalization, on the other hand, is widely observed among young shop clerks in Tokyo. It is a suprasegmental practice of nasalization over a whole sentence/speech act (indicated by <<nasal>> in the above examples), and seems to have emerged within the last decade.

Analyzing data collected by recording their calls at the shops and interaction with customers, the study discusses how such distinctive voice quality can be associated with urban commercialism. One factor motivating the use of such nasalization is the users' projection of self identity as a worker engaged in an ultrafashionable (but not classy in a traditional sense) industry, and the other the need to draw customers attention to their shops in densely clustered competitive shopping district. The brisk commercial activity is no doubt accelerating such a characteristic language (voice quality) use by those who regularly serve and interact with customers.

Also focusing an intrapersonal aspect of variation, the study discusses the style shifting between the use and non-use of such nasalization, and explicates how speakers project and manage different social identities in interaction.

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TANABE, KAZUKO

Japan Women's University, Japan

THE HISTORY OF JAPANESE COMMERCIAL CALL

In Japan the commercialism has created the wide variety of culture. The traditonal commercialism began to develop from the late of 16th century, the Edo peirod. Omi-merchants are said to be the originators of the Japanese traditional business system. Omi means one of the areas of Kansai district (the west part of Japan). As the trade business was growing, the local personal commercial activities also became higly activised.

The commercial callling, which sellers adoptin order to draw the attention of the customers in the town. They called loudly the name of their goods by the characteristic tune or intonation. Depending on the goods, it has thier own style of callings.

The calls of 'goldfish', 'bamboo', 'stone-steamed sweetpotato' are very famous. Based on these commercial conventions, a sort of business greeting 'Irassyaimase' (welcom to my shop) are nasalized in order to express their identity strongly. This presentation analyzes the distribution of the distinctive cry of the shopkeepers across area, goods, target generation and the training for the new sellers.

YAMAGUCHI, MASATAKA University of Otago, New Zealand

EVALUATING IRASSHAIMASE IN A LANGUAGE LEARNING CLASSROOM: JAPANESE LANGUAGE LEARNERS' LEXICAL REPERTOIRES FOR REPRESENTING 'GENDERED' VOICES IN SIMULATED RESTAURANT ENCOUNTERS

Inspired by the 'sociolinguistic perspectives on metalanguage' (Coupland and Jaworski 2004), this paper is concerned with the issue of the 'associations of characteristic voice quality variables with urban commercialism.' Specifically I present the results of a pilot study in which the responses to the 'gendered' voices of irasshai mase are made by 13 learners of Japanese in New Zealand. My focus is on the lexical repertoires for evaluating the simulated voices of male and female Japanese speakers. While adopting the techniques developed in the traditions of language attitudes and folklinguistics (e.g. Garret, Coupland and Williams 2004; Preston 2004), I propose a new perspective on the perception of the Japanese 'gendered' voices by second language learners of Japanese (cf. Ohara 2002). The major claim is: the male voice is negatively perceived while the female voice is evaluated favorably. In order to gain a more nuanced understanding, however, I argue that we should also conduct discourse analysis by focusing on the uses of the lexical repertoires. Method:

The stimulus is taken from the CD recording of a textbook An Integrated Approach to Intermediate Japanese for Japanese language learners (Miura and McGloin 2008). In the recording, both male and female voices for irasshaimase are heard. The male voice is enacted by a chef in a sushi restaurant while the female voice appears at McDonald's. By playing the 'gendered voices' I conduct a questionnaire, based on Garret, Coupland, and Williams (2004),

and Zahn and Hopper (1985). In the questionnaire each subject answers five-scale questions and describe their perceptions in an open-ended way. The scaled questions include: Overall, do you like the speaker?; do you think the speaker is attractive?; How JAPANESE do you think the speaker sounds? Results and Discussion:

Major findings are: (1) the female voice is evaluated in positive terms: 'cute, nice, gentle, young, polite, pleasant, friendly,' although there are exceptionally 'negative' reactions such as 'too cute and I don't like her'; (2) the male voice is perceived in negative lexical repertoires: 'authoritative, angry, rushed, fast, forceful, loud, impolite, scary, funny, not gentle, commanding, bad pronunciation.' However, there are some 'positive' characterizations such as 'cheerful, confident, strong, and mature.' The results of the scale-questions also support the claim. Thus it is hypothesized that the male voice of irasshaimase is perceived negatively while the female version is evaluated positively in the commercial settings. In order to test the hypothesis, I propose that we conduct the questionnaire to the statistically significant number of learners. However, we should also analyze the parts in which the learners describe their views on the 'gendered voices' in an open-ended way. In doing so, I argue that we can find 'socially structured meanings and values for talk' (Coupland and Jaworski 2004). The focus is on how the lexical repertoires in the questionnaire are used in a contextually-sensitive way. In the end, I discuss pedagogical implications for teaching and learning Japanese as a foreign language by focusing on the issue of '(critical) language awareness' (James and Garret 1991; Fairclough 1992).

FELECAN, OLIVIU; FELECAN, DAIANA

North University Center of Baia Mare, UTCN, Romania, Romania

THE TYPOLOGY OF ROMANIAN FIRMS IN URBAN AREAS

Starting from the analysis of a linguistic material that consists of firm names, the present study[1] aims
to illustrate the semiotic (pragmatic) relationship established between the owner (as name-giver) and the addressee (as interpreter of the semiotic message sent by the former party), in order to discover the linguistic and social motivation behind firm names, by taking into consideration the implicit communicative relation between the sender-owner and the receiver-customer;
to discuss the formation of firm names, thereby highlighting various corresponding aspects: the grammatical component, the lexical-semantic configuration, the onomastic level, the names' origin.

The corpus we will analyse was gathered either from field research or from specialized publications (Pagini aurii) and websites. It contains names of firms from certain Romanian cities (Bucharest + cities in the counties of Cluj, Maramureş, Suceava). With reference to its onomasticon, the contemporary public landscape is varied, cosmopolitan and multilingual, as opposed to what it looked like during the communist regime (before 1989). To illustrate this, we will take into consideration both smaller firms (shops, pubs, restaurants and the like) and those that can be found in malls.

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[1] The paper refers to a more consistent research project called Onomastics in the Contemporary Romanian Public Space: Socio- and Psycholinguistic Research, funded by CNCSIS, through the Human Resources PN II program, for the stimulation of the building of young independent research teams (TE), code 3, contract number 57/2010; the project spans three years (2010-2013).

BENGHIDA, SONIA

Cardiff University

URBAN YOUTH LANGUAGE IN MULTICULTURAL FRANCE: CASE STUDY IN LYON OPEN-AIR MARKET

The paper I plan to present is the result of interviews conducted in an open air market in Lyon (France); the purpose of these interviews was to understand how immigrant youth use urban youth language as a means of creating an identity for themselves. The multiethnic youth language is not adopted by immigrants for their lack of proper French but is a means used for their relations with their peers. The research intends to demonstrate how the situation particular to modern France has affected the lives of youngsters with an immigrant background, especially in their use of the French language. The urban youth language is revealed to be more than just an immigrant dialect; rather it is an important tool in the creation of unity among the young population of suburbs who are touched by segregation. In addition, by examining market-driven practices in a range of individual contexts this research offers an in-depth examination of the relationship between the existing languages and the market process. Therefore, this paper does not only underline the characteristics of the urban youth language, but it also demonstrates the importance of the community in the development of an identity among the multiethnic youth.

IKUTA, SHOKO

Meiji Gakuin University, Japan

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 162

North and South: Aspects of urban linguistic practice and performance in the Greek-speaking city

Session Chair 1: Tsiplakou, Stavroula Session Chair 2: Sophocleous, Andry

Session Abstract:

This thematic session aims to bring together and to discuss critically ongoing research on aspects of linguistic practice and performance that are arguably relevant to 'city' as the ecological context for lifestyle(s), social networks and the development of 'urban' sociolinguistic identities. The special focus of the panel is the Greek-speaking city and, crucially, constructs of urban 'center' (or urbanity qua 'center') and 'periphery' as loci of linguistic variation and identity work. The constructs of 'center' and 'periphery' are in turn viewed as mutually dependent, since the construction of peripheral, or even liminal, sociolinguistic spaces can be seen as entailing the notion of an imagined 'center', towards which 'peripheral' linguistic practices orient in different ways. In this thematic session we wish to explore whether the urban metropolis constitutes such an imagined central sociolinguistic space in the Greek-speaking context. In this regard, we propose examining two socially and linguistically rather different capitals, Athens and Nicosia. Athens has historically been the financial and administrative center and the largest city of Greece, its population totaling more than half the population of the country due to massive internal migration since the 1970s. Nicosia, a city of 200,00 inhabitants, also historically the administrative and financial center of Cyprus, is a very different story: its Cypriot Greek and Cypriot Turkish speaking populations were segregated as early as the 1960s, and the city is divided by an UN-controlled green line/dead zone following the events of 1974. Post-1974. Nicosia has been the host of large numbers of Greek Cypriot refugees from the northern areas of Cyprus; since the 1990s, both Nicosia and Athens host large numbers of non-Greek immigrants and immigrant enclaves tend to be located in Athens' historical center and in Nicosia's semi-abandoned inner city, in areas close to the dead zone. Both cities are seen as 'traumatized', Nicosia due to its de facto division during the last 40 years, and Athens due to ongoing social upheaval as a result of the economic crisis. Athens is typically perceived as Greece's linguistic 'center', since Athenian is often treated as synonymous to Standard Modern Greek, the variety which emerged as a result of dialect levelling and diglossia resolution in the 1970s (Mackridge 2009). Again, Nicosia is guite a different story: it is a dialect-speaking metropolis, as the Cypriot Greek variety (the L variety in Fergusonian terms) or, rather, varying registers thereof, including an acrolectal one that arguably displays dense code-mixing with the H variety, Standard Greek), are used in a range of domains, both public and private (Sophocleous in press; Tsiplakou et al., 2006; Tsiplakou 2009, in press). Current research (Kailoglou 2010, Theodoropoulou 2009) has shed light on local and/or subcultural linguistic practices within the urban domain (stylization of Athenian speech, Athenian and Nicosian youth slang); one of the offshoots of this research is that such practices are largely contingent upon the implied construct of an urban standard. The thematic session then aims to address issues relating to varying constructions of the two Greek-speaking capitals as sociolinguistic 'centers' and the contingent construction of 'peripheries' and liminalities. Of particular relevance are variationist approaches to levelling and the emergence of urban koinés and linguistic features thereof (emergent variants, 'uptalk', politeness mechanisms, code-mixing), as well as folk linguistic perceptions of 'city' speech; linguistic practices and identity work within urban social networks/communities of practice, including school/youth subcultures etc.

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KAILOGLOU, ELEFTHERIOS

University of Worcester, United Kingdom

LANGUAGE AND LIFESTYLE IN ATHENS

Traditional variationist approaches linked linguistic variation to social class and place of residence (NORM). In late modernity, sociolinguistic variation is increasingly linked to the notion of lifestyle. A lifestyle can be defined as a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity (Giddens 1991:81). According to Featherstone (2007:84), 'the new heroes of consumer culture make lifestyle a life project and display their individuality and sense of style in the particularity of the assemblage of goods, clothes, practices, experiences, appearance and bodily dispositions they design together into a lifestyle'. Chatterton and Hollands (2003) distinguish three main types of nightlife consumption spaces: mainstream, residual, and alternative. Looking at three communities of practice (Eckert 2000), I will discuss the urban styles employed by their members. Each group consists of patrons of 3 central squares in Athens. These squares are associated with different lifestyles, music subcultures and urban tribes: Kolonaki Square (businessmen/businesswomen, intellectuals, stars, artists, politicians,) Exarheia Square (Anarchists, Rockers, Students, Hardcore, Electro), Mavili Square ('Alternative' youth, Rockers, Students, Hardcore, Electro). According to my findings, stylistic variation is linked to consumption places (mainstream and alternative) related to different subcultures.

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THEODOROPOULOU, IRENE Qatar University, Qatar

SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF 'THE RIGHT TO THE CITY': THE CASE OF CONTEMPORARY ATHENS

Big cities have been traditionally seen as focal points for radical movements (e.g. London in 2011, to mention just one recent example). This is the case also in Athens, Greece, where the December 2008 uprising after the murder of a young pupil, Alexandros Grigoropoulos, by a policeman has become a reference point for both state authorities and reactionary non-state actors (Vradis & Dalakoglou 2011: 78). More specifically, the aforementioned murder has triggered a series of urban riots with participants claiming the right to occupy and use certain urban spaces to their benefit, mostly as the organizational base for their revolts. Such behavior can be seen as identical to what Lefebvre has labelled 'right to the city', namely a 'radical restructuring of social, political, and economic relations, both in the city and beyond' (1996:34). This translates into a right for physical access, occupation and use of the urban space. A key dimension of this process is language and the ways it is employed by people to claim their right to a specific space - it can include the linguistic landscape of the area, inhabitants' everyday discourse pertinent to the space and even sociolinguistic representations of the urban space on mass media and popular culture. Against this backdrop, the aim of my presentation is to discuss how language constructs this 'right to the city' in the case of Navarinou Park, a space in Exarcheia, a central Athens neighborhood, where radical, anarchist and far-left spaces and political activity are concentrated. Navarinou Park makes an interesting case study, because as a former parking lot turned into a lived space, organically integrated into the life of Exarcheia, it can be seen as reflecting and affecting political developments in the country. Through a sociolinguistic stylistic (Coupland 2007) and multimodal (Kress & Leeuwen 2001) analysis of the linguistic landscape of the area, informed by ethnographic participant observation, it is argued that this urban space operates as a symbol of the struggle for the control over meanings produced by the city space.

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CANAKIS, COSTAS

University of the Aegean, Greece

THE WRITING ON THE WALL: ASPECTS OF THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE IN THE **GAZI/KERAMEIKOS AREA IN ATHENS**

As linguistic beings, people occupy space producing language that endows it with a distinctive character (or 'identity'). Public signage, mottos, slogans, graffiti, and advertised commodities are typical ingredients of the linguistic landscape (cf. Curtin 2009). Drawing on recent sociolinguistic research (cf. the contributions in Shohamy & Gorter 2009), this study investigates the role of language in the symbolic/ideological construction of space, focusing on the area of Gazi/Kerameikos, in central Athens. Our goal is to show that linguistic landscapes are formed, among other things, by the discourse currently circulating in a certain place. As aspects of this discourse find their way on city walls in the form of written messages (slogans, etc.), they eventually come to stand in an indexical relation to the place in which they were created (at a certain historical moment). By the late 1990s, Gazi was gentrified and was emerging as a hub of Athenian nightlife for younger crowds; more significantly for the purposes of this paper, it has since developed into the mainstream Athenian gay neighborhood par excellence (cf. Yannakopoulos 2010). This development is crucially indexed by the various semiotic means (cf. Shohamy & Waksman 2009) composing the linguistic landscape of the area. Specifically, there is a variety of written messages that contribute to the construction of the area as 'gay space'; indeed, a space where different views on (homo)sexuality and identity are launched and contested in an attempt to claim and appropriate space (cf. Curtin 2010):

(1) Η ΕΤΕΡΟΦΥΛΟΦΙΛΙΑ ΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΥΣΙΚΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΟΡΜΑ ('Heterosexuality is not natural it is the norm') (2) ΣΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΟΜΟΚΑΝΟΝΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ ('Shit on homonormativity')

(3) TO GAY LIFESTYLE BPΩMAEI OMOΦOBIA ('Gay lifestyle stinks of homophobia') Meanwhile, changes in the social fabric are also marked by the language produced in public space. As Gazi is changing and the mainstream gay scene gradually moves north, so do the slogans in the main square begin to be replaced (by e.g., run-of-the-mill hip-hop graffiti) leaving less prominent space to messages with sexual relevance. This fact underscores the dynamic character of the linguistic landscape and lends support for its investigation as a component of sociolinguistic inquiry.

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PAPAZACHARIOU, DIMITRIS University of Patras (Greece), Greece

THE SPECTRAL SPACE OF THE OLD MEGAREAN/ATHENEAN DIALECT. COMPARISON WITH THE STANDARD MODERN GREEK KOINE THAT IS SPOKEN IN ATHENS

The aim of this paper is to present an attempt for the retrieval of the vowel system of the old dialect of Megara, which is considered as the dialect that was spoken at Athens before the koinezation of the Standard Modern Greek (SMG) (Trudgill 2003).

Archakis, Lampropoulou & Papazachariou (2009) showed that a speaker who did not use the dialect of her place of origin in her casual speech, was able to perform the dialect while imitating the speech of her parents and old neighbors while she was narrating stories from the past.

Extending this outcome, we argue that the act of performing an older version of the dialect in narrations of stories of the local past, by locals who have been exposed in this older version but do not use it in their casual speech any more, can reveal interesting information about this older form of the dialect, even allowing us to determine the spectral space of its vowel system, although it is not spoken anymore.

In particular, our study has shown that, although middle-aged and elderly locals from Megara use a vowel system of five vowels in their casual speech, in their narrations of the local past, they imitate the voice of previous locals using six vowels, confirming previous descriptions of the Old Megarean dialect (Newton 1972, M π ερναρδής 2006), about the existence of six vowels in the old dialect of Megara. Furthermore, acoustic analysis has shown that the old Megarean dialect had realizations for [i] and [a] which are different from the ones found in present day casual speech.

The proposed method allows us to formulate a reasonable hypothesis about the spectral space of the vowel system of the local dialect that was spoken in Athens before the creation of the SMG Koine, with two interesting consequences: we have the necessary information for understanding the mechanism of phonological leveling – as a linguistic mechanism to Koinezation –; furthermore, the particular data is in accordance with Trudgill's hypothesis (2009) that the Vowel Dispersion Theory is a result of the process of koinezation, and that further acoustic study of dialects will not support the Vowel Dispersion Hypothesis.

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TSIPLAKOU, STAVROULA

Open University of Cyprus, Cyprus

CHARTING NICOSIAN: PROPERTIES AND PERCEPTIONS OF AN EMERGENT URBAN DIALECT VARIETY

Cypriot Greek stands in a diglossic relationship to Standard Modern Greek; this still by-and-large prevalent (socio)linguistic situation has led to the folk linguistic construction of Cypriot Greek as a unitary variety, usually termed kypriaka 'Cypriot' or even xorkatika 'peasanty'. Recent variationist research (Tsiplakou et al. 2006; Tsiplakou 2009) however indicates that Cypriot Greek is in fact a dialect continuum comprising a host of geographical basilects, which are undergoing heavy levelling, and an emergent koiné, which is divested of identifiable local features (Tsiplakou et al. forthc.). This koinéized variety is sometimes treated as identical to Nicosian, the variety of the capital, and hence it is also termed a 'metropolitan' or 'urban' koiné (Karyolemou 2000).

In this paper I argue for the availability of an emergent urban variety/register that is (perceived as) distinctly Nicosian, despite its numerous overlaps with the koiné. Based on findings from the ongoing Mapping the Linguistic Landscape of Cyprus project, I show that new Nicosian is not the substratal geographical subvariety of the capital and the surrounding Mesaoria area. Rather, new Nicosian can be viewed as an acrolectal register of the Cypriot Greek koiné in some respects, in the sense that it approximates Standard Greek (the H variety) in certain aspects of its phonology and morphosyntax, notably (a) in the availability of palatal stops in words such as [ce] 'and' in lieu of the Cypriot koiné palatoalveolar affricate [t]]; (b) the avoidance of hardening/stop formation in words such as [erxume] 'I am coming (Standard Greek: [erxome], Cypriot koiné: [erkume]); (c) Standard Greek future/counterfactual marker [θa] in lieu of the koiné [en:a], etc. Such approximations to Standard Greek are coupled with features such as (a) avoidance of intervocalic fricative elision, e.g. [koruðes] 'girlies' in lieu of Cypriot koiné [korues], which gives the impression of 'carefully enunciated' speech; (b) aspirated stops in words such as [pharkaro] 'I park' in lieu of Cypriot koiné [parkaro] and (c) an intonation contour with a high-rising terminal in statements (Nicosian 'uptalk'). This paper further reports on findings from a perception and a rating experiment, which indicate that Nicosian is indeed perceived as a distinct variety/ register but also that attitudes towards it are mixed: while for a subset of the participants Nicosian 'riponcey'/'foo-foo', which indexes both an urban register and (perceptions of) the Cypriot urban lifestyle.

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'YOU SOUND NICOSIAN': SPEECH MELODY AS AN URBAN IDENTITY MARKER.

Recent variationist research on Cypriot Greek indicates that 'Nicosian' is an identifiable acrolectal urban register of the Cypriot Greek koiné (Tsiplakou 2009, in prep.). This study examines two distinct intonation contours which are identifiable as indexing a distinctly 'Nicosian' identity, namely the 'hello' tune and the High Rising Terminal (HRT) contour in statements. The 'hello' and HRT tunes are strikingly absent from both Standard Greek, the 'H' variety in Greek-speaking Cyprus, and from more mesolectal or basilectal registers of Cypriot Greek. The 'hello' tune resembles the tune used in punch lines of jokes about blondes. The tune consists of two parts, namely a L+H* L-H% followed by a H*L-H%. It appears to be an innovation favored by young Nicosian females but dispreferred by males. It surfaces mostly in in-group settings and it typically signals irony and/or condescendence; metapragmatically, it also arguably indexes a kind of 'urban affectation'. The High Rising Terminal (HRT) statement contour (popularly known as 'uptalk') is a fairly recent phenomenon whereby a tonal pattern that sounds superficially interrogative is used with utter-ances that are clearly intended as statements (cf. Ladd 2008: 125-7). Arguably, the HTR is also a fast-spreading innovation especially among younger dwellers of Nicosia. The Nicosian HRT is similar in its functions to the HRT statement contour found in New Zealand and New York (cf. Ching 1982, Warren & Britain 2000, Britain 1992); it is deployed mainly as a politeness strategy, reducing the pragmatic cost of imposition on the addressee, especially when a request is intended.

This paper presents an experimental study exploring the structure of the tonal pattern of the 'hello' and the HRT tunes and comparing them to the CG polar question tonal pattern. Furthermore, a perception and a rating experiment exploring attitudes towards these two melodic patterns are presented, the results of which indicate that both melodies are identified as Nicosian innovations, i.e. as an integral part of the emergent Cypriot Greek urban register.

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SOPHOCLEOUS, ANDRY

University of Nicosia, Cyprus

LANGUAGING IN THE CITY: IDENTITY, POSITIONING, AND PERFORMANCE IN YOUNG FEMALES' WRITTEN INTERACTIONS

Even though Standard Modern Greek (SMG) is the 'legitimate' language variety normally employed in writing, systematic use of the Greek Cypriot Dialect (GCD) is evident in scripts of television series, political satires, theatrical or school plays and in folk literature and songs. Interestingly, recent data illustrates that Greek-Cypriot youth employ Roman characters in Computer-mediated communication to express themselves in GCD but also to create, negotiate and manipulate their social relations and group memberships (see Sophocleous & Themistocleous 2010). Interestingly, these writing trends apparent in CMC have permeated other writing arenas such as note-passing in class among female youth (Themistocleous & Sophocleous 2011). Language is social; language is cultural and it makes little sense to study it without a close examination of the intentions with which it is used (Jøer-gensen 2008). Hence, the examination of why we use language the way we do, will contribute to our understanding of what speakers do with language and why.

This paper focuses on how speakers use language to create and express themselves in relation to others in writing. Important aspects that need to be addressed are the issues of identity, positioning, and verbal performance. Positioning can provide a useful analytical framework to examine the interactional constructions of selves and others, the stylistic choices made and discourse identities unfolding in moment to moment interaction (Bamberg 1997; Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou, 2003). Similarly, performance (Bauman 1975) deriving from work in folklore, the ethnography of speaking, literary stylistics and sociolinguistics, can be used to examine creativity and verbal art as a communicative phenomenon. The aim of this study is to investigate how speakers use language creatively as a means of communicating in writing, but also how they use it as a medium through which they construct their identities and position themselves vis-á-vis others. Data collected from a group of sixteen year old female students from an urban school in Lefkosia (capital city), indicates them 'doing' language: communicating between them by using means such as special codes, figurative language (metonymy), formal stylistic devices (rhyme, vowel harmony) and folkloric features resembling traditional Tsiatista [Toriorriorid] in their effort to key performance and communicate ideological and cultural beliefs.

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INTERGENERATIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS TEXTS WRITTEN IN THE GREEK CYP-RIOT DIALECT: GREEK VS. ROMAN CHARACTERS

Spoken language is widely investigated within the field of sociolinguistics. Written language, however, has attracted relatively less attention, despite the fact that it has obvious connections with ethnicity, ideology and identity (Sebba 2007). In this paper, we investigate language attitudes towards the written form of the Greek Cypriot Dialect (GCD).

GCD is a non-standard variety of Greek spoken on the island of Cyprus. It does not have a standard, official orthography and it is rarely used in writing, with the exception of folk literature, advertising, script plays and cartoons.

With technological advance and the emergence of the internet and mobile phones, written GCD is now widely used in text-based Computer-mediated Communication, especially among members of the younger generation in Cyprus (Themistocleous 2008). What is interesting, however, is the fact that instead of using the conventional Greek characters, many Greek-Cypriot CMC users employ Roman characters in their written interactions, even though Greek fonts are nowadays available in this domain. Furthermore, data obtained from a group of young girls at an urban school in Lefkosia (capital city), indicates that usage of Romanised GCD is no longer solely a characteristic of CMC language, but has been transferred from CMC to the girls' everyday handwritten interactions (Themistocleous & Sophocleous 2011).

There are numerous studies on language attitudes in Cyprus; however, most of them focus on spoken aspects of GCD (Sophocleous 2009, Tsiplakou 2004). The aim of this study is to investigate intergenerational attitudes towards written GCD. Instead of using recorded spoken data, we are adapting the matched-guise technique to investigate language attitudes towards examples of written texts obtained both form CMC and offline sources. We illustrate examples of written texts to our participants, written in either Roman characters or in the Greek alphabet. An intergenerational comparison of attitudes emerges from two focus groups in Lefkosia: a) a middle-aged group (aged 50-65) and b) a young group (aged 19-26). Quantitative data was also collected using semantic differential scales, where issues such as reading difficulty, degree of seriousness, and novelty of writing are examined. The results indicate that language attitudes differ between the two age groups, with senior participants feeling considerably less positive towards Romanised GCD, especially outside the domain of CMC.

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Thematic Session 163 Variation and change in the city of Rio de Janeiro

Session Chair 1: de Oliveira Cavalcante, Silvia Regina Session Chair 2: Lopes, Célia Regina dos Santos

Session Abstract:

Rio de Janeiro is the 15th biggest city in the world, with a population of about 6.5 million people living in a very heterogeneous and unequal socioeconomical scenario. This megacity may be a fertile soil for discussions about language variation and change in the city concerning the methodological issues that arise in doing present day sociolinguistics field work. In this sense, this Thematic Session proposes to discuss linguistic variation and change considering the vicissitudes of Rio de Janeiro both in synchronic and diachronic perspectives. In order to do so, we count on different corpora available for research that have been organized following sociolinguistic patterns, such as age, gender, level of education, place of living in Rio de Janeiro, date of recording. The data for analysis come from different corpora, built with specific purposes. On one side, we take into consideration three major corpora built between 1970 and 2011 with informants born in Rio de Janeiro with different levels of education: NURC (http://www.letras.ufrj.br/nurc-rj/), PEUL (http://www.letras.ufrj.br/peul/) and Concordância (http://www.letras.ufrj.br/concordancia/). And, based on Labov (1972, p. 43-44), we will analyze a sample of 'anonymous observations in public places', specific for the study of pronominal forms of address. The main goals of this thematic session are (1) to discuss grammatical variation in the spoken variety of Rio de Janeiro, considering the socio-historical conditions inherent to this megacity; (2) to present apparent and real time studies of different variable phenomena; (3) to compare the carioca variety of Brazilian Portuguese with other urban varieties, such as European Portuguese and African Portuguese varieties; (4) to raise methodological issues concerning the sociolinguistic investigation held in megacities; (5) to discuss the impact of the changes in the socio-demographic structure and the population mobility in linguistic phenomena. We encourage abstracts that discuss variable phenomena in the city of Rio de Janeiro, especially the ones related to the main goals of this session. We also encourage panel and trend studies of linguistic phenomena connected with the socioeconomic and demographic scenario of Rio de Janeiro in the past 40 years. Besides that, we promote the integration of sociolinguists with historians and anthropologists in order to understand the correlation between language and society.

BRANDÃO, SILVIA FIGUEIREDO Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

euerai University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

NOMINAL AGREEMENT: URBAN VARIETIES OF PORTUGUESE IN CONTRAST

Questions concerning the loss of inflectional morphology and rules of agreement are important parameters for defining the status of varieties emerging from the contact between linguistically and culturally distinct populations. In this sense, studies about nominal and verbal agreement have served as the basis for the formulation of different interpretations about the emergence and development of varieties of Portuguese, as well as to characterize the Portuguese-based creoles.

In the last three years, studies performed under the Project Study of agreement patterns in African, European and Brazilian varieties have demonstrated that, in urban areas, there are high rates of canonical agreement, both nominal and verbal, although we find similar social and structural constraints to the non-implementation of the number morpheme when confronting certain national varieties. In the current study, carried out according to the theoretical and methodological assumptions of variational sociolinguistics, and based on representative corpora of European Portuguese (EP), Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and Portuguese of São Tomé (PST), we intend (i) to highlight similarities/differences regarding the non-implementation of the plural number mark in NP in the speech of individuals living in urban areas, (ii) in order to discuss, the status (categorical, semi-categorical or variable), as proposed by Labov (2003), of the agreement rule in each variety. The sample takes into account 54 informants (18 per variety) distributed by sex, three age groups and two levels of instruction and monitoring eight linguistic variables in addition to those three social variables.

We assume the following hypotheses: (i) structural constraints that operate in some varieties of Portuguese refer to components of cognitive-processual nature which reveal themselves in sound, syntactic and semantic levels, which could occur within any language; (ii) external factors, whose actuation must be interpreted in light of the socio-history of each variety, are the key elements for the implementation of such restrictions.

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MOTA, MARIA ANTÓNIA

Faculdade de Letras - Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal

SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT IN PORTUGUESE. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PHONOLOGI-CAL AND PHONETIC PHENOMENA

The aim of this study is to identify, in Portuguese language varieties, the significance of the phonological variant features and their phonetic realizations in the agreement within the SV domain.

Building on data from spoken European, Brazilian, and African varieties of Portuguese (EP, BP, AP), we will try to determine how meaningful is the status of agreement in the grammar(s) of Portuguese, and to ascertain the relevance of a number of phonological and phonetic variant features in the markdness of person and number categories.

Taking into account the results of two Brazilian-Portuguese research projects, in what the European varieties are concerned, as well as personal work, it is clear that the amount of 'non-canonical agreement' in EP varieties is insignificant. By that we mean that the absence of overt agreement marks in the verb are statistical negligible. The observation of the European data suggests that phonological factors are the most important to explain the default agreement/the variable agreement. Those factors are mainly limited to (i) a variant treatment of the /vowelN/ final syllable of the third plural person – this phenomenon may lead to syncretism between P3 and P6: ele~eles sabe (he/she~they know) vs. ele sabe, eles sabem, the last one with /vowelN/), and to (ii) the elision of final /S/ of the P4 marker -mos.

It is appealing to deepen the understanding of this kind of phenomena, in order to calculate their relevance as linguistic factors in Portuguese agreement in general. To do so, we will analyse samples of spoken EP, BP and AP, and try to dress a tentative portrait of the convergence vs. divergence among varieties. In sum, our aim is to find answers to three main questions: What is the status of agreement in Portuguese? Is agreement a morphosyntactic phenomenon or a morhophonosyntactic one? What is the relative weight of phonological and phonetic factors in the variable agreement in Portuguese?

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VIEIRA, SILVIA RODRIGUES

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

VERB AGREEMENT IN RIO DE JANEIRO: VARIATION AND CHANGE

Verb agreement has been considered one of the most important topics which allow us to delineate varieties of Portuguese. Several researches have demonstrated that Brazilian Portuguese presents strong linguistic contrasts motivated by social restrictions which are related not only to educational levels and social classes, but also to the opposition concerning rural versus urban dialects (cf. Lucchesi et al., 2009; Naro, Scherre, 2007). The present study aims at analysing the presence or absence of 3rd person morphological marks of verbs, by describing recent corpus built between 2007 and 2011 with informants resident in two urban cities from Rio de Janeiro – Nova Iguaçu and Copacabana – with different levels of education (fundamental, second-

ary or universitarian grade). Taking into consideration the Theory of variation and change, postulated by Weinreich, Herzog & Labov, 1968, linguistic and social factors have been tested according to statistic treatment of data provided by Goldvarb-X. Results acquired in the present study will be compared with other results (Naro, Lemle, 1977; Graciosa, 1991; Vieira, 1995; Naro, Scherre, 2003) concerning contemporaneous and non-contemporaneous data. from urban and rural varieties. By comparing these studies, it will be possible: (i) to discuss the impact of the intense urbanization of Rio de Janeiro in linguistic phenomena such as verb agreement; (ii) to establish the productivity of 3rd person marks in the past 40 years; (iii) to evaluate the influence of social factors like gender and educational level; and, finally, (iv) to determine the structural factors which constrain the phenomenum, independent of social characteristics of linguistic samples. Besides that, we hope the investigation provides a panoramic view of the very heterogeneous scenario which represents Rio de Janeiro.

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LOPES, CÉLIA REGINA DOS SANTOS (1); DOS SANTOS, VIVIANE MAIA (2)

1: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; 2: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

VARIATION OF 2ND PERSON PRONOUNS IN RIO DE JANEIRO/BRAZIL: SOCIAL STRAT-**IFICATION IN BIG CITIES**

Present day Brazilian Portuguese shows variation between tu (you.SG.NOM) and você (a grammaticalized pronoun derived from Vossa Mercê Your Mercy) in subject position. There are at least three sub-systems of forms of address in subject position: (i) tu (ii) você and (iii) você ~ tu. In some regions the frequency of você is higher or even exclusive while in other regions tu is the most frequent form with (2rd person verb) or without verbal agreement (3rd person verb). In most parts of Brazil however, there is some variation between você and tu. In some places, the new pronoun você is the neutral lessmarked form, whereas the original pronoun tu is used in higher level of intimacy. In other locations, though, the pronoun tu is the neutral form, while the form você is used to represent politeness.

The aim of this work is to analyze the forms of address tu and você (you) in subject position considering both social and internal factors for the variation and change (WHL, 1968) in the city of Rio de Janeiro, having in mind the preference in usage for the third subsystem in Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, in Rio de Janeiro, the pronoun tu without agreement is increasingly frequent in directive acts to indicate proximity, intimacy and social identity. However, the social significance of each variable has not yet been described in this urban space. An overall social impression considers that the pronoun você is a prestige variant, while tu is a socially stratified marked-form.

Our problem with this phenomenon is that the interviews based on question-answer sociolinguistic methods cannot capture address forms used by the speakers, because they are exclusively used in the questions by the interviewers. Therefore, based on Labov (1966/2006), the data set for this analysis was extracted from recordings of dialogues with people on the streets: 'a systematic use of rapid and anonymous observations in a study of the sociolinguistic structure of the speech community' (Labov, 2006:168). The samples were organized following a similar method used in Labov (1966/2006), by which the interviewer approached the informant on the streets asking for directions to a particular place. The trigger-question was How do I get to the street X? (Como eu chego à rua X). The answer would normally be Tu (or você) vai por essa rua (You-SG-NOM turn into this street). The social constraints regarded the comparison of different occupational groups (manager, salespeople in stores - formal trade - and salespeople from the streets - informal trade) and geographic location.

Despite the scale of social stratification controlled in the samples, there has not been a strong difference in the variation tu~você. The results show, however, some pReferences the variant você is more frequent than tu as a less-marked form among women, whereas the subject pronoun tu is frequent among young man, mainly salespeople from the streets (informal trade).

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DE OLIVEIRA CAVALCANTE, SILVIA REGINA

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

ARBITRARY SUBJECTS IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE: CONTRASTING THE VARIETIES OF RIO DE JANEIRO AND SALVADOR

Changes undergone by Brazilian Portuguese pronominal system have led to a preference for visible pronominal definite and arbitrary subjects, as shown by some empirical researches (Duarte 1995, 2000). There is also, on the other side, a decrease in the use of pronominal clitics, among them the clitic 'se', used with third person singular verbs to mark indefinite reference. Such a decrease resulted in the preference for visible nominative pronominal subjects with arbitrary reference, such as a gente (we) and você (you). However, the system also allows third person null subjects with arbitrary reference (Galves, 1987), contrary to what happens in European Portuguese, as shown in examples (1a) and (1b):

(1) a. Nos dias de hoje não usa mais saia. (Galves, 2001, p.46)

Nowadays, pro doesn't wear skirts anymore.

(1) b. Aqui conserta sapatos. (Galves, 2001, p. 110)

Here, pro fixes shoes.

In this paper, I present an analysis of the representation of third person null arbitrary subjects in a study of the change in 'short term real time' (Labov

1994), based on two samples of spoken language produced by highly educated speakers (Nurc/RJ), in order to find the favoring contexts of such a kind of null arbitrary subject. Both linguistic (main verb; tense: modal verbs) and non-linguistic factors (year of the interview, age of the informant) have been controlled. The results show that there is an increase in the frequency of null arbitrary subjects in the speech of younger people in the most recent sample. As for the linguistic factors, the generic and habitual sentences, marked with present and imperfect tense and the presence of modal verbs, favor the null arbitrary subject.

CALLOU, DINAH MARIA ISENSEE (1); SERRA, CAROLINA RIBEIRO (2) 1: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, CNPg; 2: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

VARIATION AND CHANGE IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE: **TWO COMMUNITIES IN CONTRAST**

The analysis focuses on two linguistic processes in Brazilian Portuguese: R-deletion in final coda position (viaja[f]'to travel') and the ongoing replacement of the morphological simple future by the periphrastic future (cantarei 'l will/shall sing' ~ vou cantar = 'l am going to sing'). The data are extracted from four samples of two urban centers of Brazil, Salvador (Northeastern region) and Rio de Janeiro (Southeastern region), recorded in two different periods of time, for a short term real time study (Labov, 1994). The analysis makes use of sociolinguistic methodology (Labov, 2004) and the theory of prosodic hierarchy (Selkirk, 1984).

Our hypothesis is that we must deal with a range of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in seeking explanations for phonetic and morphosyntactic variable phenomena and it is necessary to consider the socio-history of the speech community, its demographic characteristics and the identifying power of the dialect in order to explain the trajectory of the linguistic processes.

The results for both phenomena reveal age-group differentiation, show structural and social constraints, but the processes are evolving along different paths. As regards R-deletion, we conclude that, besides linguistic (morphological class - verb -- cantar 'to sing', versus non-verb -- mar 'sea'; melhor 'better') and extralinguistic variables (age group and region), the prosodic structure also plays a role in the process. As regards the periphrastic future, there is a certain stability in Rio de Janeiro (89% à 95%), from the 70's to the 90's, and Salvador shows a significant increase of use of the periphrastic form, from the 70's to the 90's (65% à 99%).

It is possible to observe that both processes do not affect the two varieties equally, maybe due to the socio-history of each city. In the 70's, there was still a dialectal difference, but in the following two decades there was a convergence of usage. On the one hand, Rio de Janeiro, the former capital of the country and the second largest city of Brazil, with more than six million inhabitants, presents, in the 70's, a literate population of more than three millions (around 77%), a very significant rate in the national scenario. Salvador, on the other hand, displays an estimated literate population of about 60%, at the same period, and reaches 70%, in the 90's. For the past 30 years, the city has shown a pattern of constant internal and external migration: its resident population doubles from one million to two million inhabitants and the migrant population almost triples. As remarked by Weinreich (1963) and others, mutually intelligible dialects do have an effect on one another in contact situations and very often, when two speakers of different varieties of the same language which are completely mutually intelligible come into contact and converse, items (and uses, by extension) may be transferred from one of the varieties to the other.

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MARTINS, KELLEN COZINE; PAIVA, MARIA DA CONCEIÇÃO DE Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

MAINTENANCE OF THE MORPHOLOGICAL PAST PERFECT IN WRITTEN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

The Variationist Sociolinguistics assumes that variability is inherent in human language and can be explained by the correlation between linguistic variants and social and structural factors. Based on the theoretical-methodological presuppositions of Sociolinguistics, this paper focuses on the variation between two forms to indicate that an action in the past finished before another action in the past (Past perfect): the canonical morphological form with the morpheme -ra (as in falara) and the periphrastic form (as in tinha falado or havia falado). In Brazilian Portuguese, this kind of variation can be attested exclusively in written language since the morphological variant is unusual in spoken language with a temporal sense and is about to disappear from de linguistic system. We analyse the resistance contexts of this variant in a sample of texts published in different newspapers in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The analysis shows the relevance of two variables: the presence of an adverbial in the sentence and the type of newspaper. The morphological form of past perfect is favored in sentences with time adverbials, mainly the adverb antes. This tendency can be interpreted as an attempt to ensure the temporal relation between two related state-of-affairs in the past. Concerning the type of newspaper, we show the maintenance of the canonical variant in less popular newspapers like 0 Globo and Jornal do Brasil. On the contrary, newspapers like 0 Povo and Extra, that are more popular, tend to use the periphrastic form that is closer to speech patterns. In view of the results, we may conclude that the users are sensitive to some variable process that characterizes the sociolinguistics diversity of Rio de Janeiro city.

PAIXÃO, VIVIAN BORGES (1); ALMEIDA, ERICA SOUSA DE (2); CALLOU, DINAH MARIA ISENSEE (3) 1: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Brazil: 2: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Brazil: 3: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Brazil

THE VARIABLE USE OF 'OPINION' VERBS IN RIO DE JANEIRO DIALECT: MORPHOSYN-TACTIC AND PROSODIC ANALYSIS

This paper discusses variable use of the subjunctive versus the indicative mood in Brazilian Portuguese and focuses on embedded clauses with verbs which denote 'opinion' (pensar 'to think' and crer/acreditar 'to believe'), based on oral samples of standard and non-standard Rio de Janeiro dialect, recorded in two different periods of time.

We analyze two sets of data, consisting of informal interviews, stratified for level of education; 1046 embedded clauses with the verb achar, 16, with the

verb pensar, 50, with the verb acreditar/crer, in standard dialect; 492 of achar, 25 of pensar and 21 of acreditar, in non-standard dialect. Recent papers (Almeida & Callou, 2009; Almeida, 2010) confirm that the use of subjunctive in embedded clauses is related to the semantic/lexical component of the main clause (the matrix verb) and that verbs which denote 'opinion' (believe, suppose, think, seem) and convey the same referential meaning may behave differently with respect to mood choice. Another conclusion is related to the fact that the most frequent verb of 'opinion', achar 'to find/ to think', has a multifunctional use: originally a verb of perception (meaning I - 'to find'), acquires an opinion value (meaning II - 'to believe') and it may occur, in some contexts, a semantic bleaching, with loss of the morphological feature itself (meaning III - 'maybe'). With meaning I and II, achar still has a verbal value (e.g. 1), and with meaning III it corresponds to an epistemic modalizer (e.g. 2).

(1)	eu	não	acho	que	casar	е	ter filhos	seja	uma coisa	natural,	da vida
	1	don't	think	that	to marry	and	to have children	is	omething	natural	in one's life
(2)	Acho que		alvez	no estágio atual		fosse	mais	interessante.			
	[1] think that		maybe	in the current stage		it would be	more	interesting.			

The prosodic analysis, using the software Praat (version 5.1.43), based on intensity and fundamental frequency (F0) parameters, showed that the difference between them relies on the fact that, with meaning II, achar has a prosodic contour similar to other verbs of opinion, such as pensar 'to think', with emphasis at the verbal item. When achar is just an epistemic modalizer, the emphasis relies on other elements, such as the verb of the embedded clause or the negative particle.

Our hypothesis is (i) that other 'opinion' verbs - cret/acreditar 'to believe' and pensar 'to think' - presents similar behavior to the verb achar 'to think'/to suppose' and might correspond to as epistemic modalizer and (ii) the prosodic contours of indicative mood embedded constructions are similar to the subjunctive mood constructions, regarding the three verbs.

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OLIVEIRA, JOSANE MOREIRA DE

Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana, Brazil

THE REALIZATION OF THE FUTURE TENSE IN THE SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LAN-**GUAGE OF RIO DE JANEIRO**

We analyze variation in the expression of the future tense in Portuguese with data from Rio de Janeiro city in a trendy study, covering the 70's and the 90's of the 20th century. Spoken and written language is included. All of our data can be considered standard style. For the written language, we use newspaper editorials; for the spoken language we use interviews of college graduated professionals. Our data reveal six variants: a) the simple future tense (viajarei amanhã); b) the present tense (viajo amanhã); c) the periphrasis with ir in the present tense + infinitive 'be going to + infinitive' (vou viajar amanhã); d) the periphrasis with ir in the future tense 'will go to + infinitive' (irei viajar amanhã); e) the periphrasis with haver in the present tense 'have to + infinitive' (hei de viajar amanhã); and f) the periphrasis with haver in the future tense 'will have to + infinitive' (haverei de viajar amanhã). Based on Labovian quantitative sociolinguistics and on the principles of grammaticalization, we controlled some linguistic and social factors and we reached the following conclusions.

a) the simple future tense remains more or less stable in the formal written language, where it is still the preferred form; b) the present tense is used more in the spoken language and continues to be used in certain very specific contexts from the historical point of view; c) periphrastic constructions with haver + infinitive decrease in use throughout the observed decades; d) periphrastic constructions with ir + infinitive are becoming increasingly common in the written language and even surpass the simple future tense in the spoken language; e) a process of grammaticalization of ir + infinitive is underway, with a shift from full verb to auxiliary in the periphrastic form with the infinitive for the future tense; and f) some linguistic and social variables have a specific role in the selection of the variants. This phenomenon is not limited to the Portuguese language; on the contrary, it is well documented in other languages such as English, Spanish, French, Italian, Romanian, and Sardinian, according to the tendency for SVO languages to favor periphrastic forms rather than synthetic forms. One might cogitate a change in progress in the direction of the replacement of the simple future tense by its periphrastic alternative, as suggested by our short-term real-time study of the 20th century data presented here.

Thematic Session 165

Language, Place and Identity

Session Chair 1: Svendsen, Bente Ailin Session Chair 2: Quist, Pia

Session Abstract:

Movement and transition are typical key points when scholars characterize our late modern times: We live in the times of globalization (Bauman 1998), of urbanization (Castells 1996) and migration (OECD, 2011). Some even talk about 'the mobility turn' in social sciences (Urry 2008, 2010). At the same time 'place' and the 'sense of belonging to a place' continue to play an important - practical as well as symbolic - role for individuals, groups and nations in processes of identity constructions and negotiations (Quist 2010). People in the countryside define themselves in opposition to people in the big cities, and people in the cities construct local identities in relation to their local neighborhoods (Mæhlum 2010). Traditional dialects, linguistic styles - linguistic semiotic signs in a broad sense - are used as resources in such processes of making 'place' a meaningful part of and background for identity constructions. We propose a session of thematically related papers which from different angles address the symbolic and discursive character of 'place' in late modernity. Session papers can address questions such as:

- How are ideological connections between language, place, and identity constructed in contemporary discourse?
- How are 'place' and the sense of belonging to a place constructed in public and private discourse?
- How is 'place' used as a resource in public and private discourse?
- How are ideologies of language and place experienced by individuals who change social and/or geographic place?
- identity?

Papers may focus on urban youth practices, speakers' experiences and attitudes connected to ideologies of dialect and standard, geographic and social mobility, representations of language and place in public discourses.

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QUIST, PIA; BENTE AILIN, SVENDSEN

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

INTRODUCTION

Introduction: Language, Place and Identity

CUTLER, CECELIA

City University of New York, United States of America

DISCURSIVE PRIVILEGING OF URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD IDENTITIES IN US HIP-HOP

There has been a great deal of interest in sociolinguistics regarding the globalization of U.S. African American hip hop culture and its subsequent indigenization to suit the linguistic and social needs of people at the local level (Alim 2009, Ibrahim et al 2008, Pennycook 2007). Yet, despite its pan-national and global popularity, U.S. hip hop culture still places great importance on place, and rappers commonly mention their borough, neighborhood, the housing projects where they grew up, and particular streets where they congregate in their lyrics (Melnick 2005). In New York City (NYC), these neighborhoods tend to be located in the outer boroughs (e.g. the Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn and Staten Island) and in neighborhoods with housing projects and large African American and Latino populations (e.g. South Bronx, Harlem, Bushwick, Bedford-Stuyvesant). The origins of hip hop culture in the streets, clubs, and community centers of particular neighborhoods has imbued these places with a great deal of social and symbolic capital among its followers (Bourdieu 1986). Participating in this economy of place are White hip hop youth who highlight their ties to hip hop's origins via assertions of geographical proximity to African American and Latino neighborhoods within NYC. Drawing on interviews, performance and interactional data with hip hop youth, this paper examines how participants locate themselves discursively within hip hop culture's symbolic economy of place. Although New York City already enjoys a high status within hip hop culture. White youth must go beyond simply invoking their NYC origins and suggest ties to particular African American and Latino neighborhoods in order to authenticate themselves. Thus, one young man, after explaining that he lived in Borough Park, Brooklyn, made a point of clarifying that he actually spent most of his time with his grandparents in Canarsie, a predominantly African American neighborhood in Brooklyn. Another young man from Astoria, Queens pointed out that his neighborhood was close to the Queensbridge Houses project where the famous rapper Nas grew up. Examples of this sort of geographical positioning abound in the data. Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of social and symbolic capital, this paper analyzes the economy of place in the ways that White hip hop youth foreground urban, neighborhood identities in rap performance and in interactional discourse. Using the tools of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1989), it examines how the privileging of particular neighborhoods by hip hop youth acts as a counter-narrative to hegemonic discourses that stigmatize urban African American and Latino communities as dangerous and undesirable.

VERLOO, NANKE

University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

SOCIO-SPATIAL NARRATIVE: A FRAMEWORK TO UNDERSTAND URBAN CONFLICT

European cities become increasingly complex as the populations become ever more diverse. Cities are the place where social and policy-mobility. diversity, and integration-are negotiated in everyday interactions. This has made the neighborhood attractive as a realm for policy intervention. From the perspective of residents, however, the neighborhood remains a primarily domain for identification. One common outcome is the contestation of urban policies by residents seeking to claim ownership over their living environment. In these moments of contestation, underlying tensions bubble over and surface standing grievances and experiences of marginalization. Meaning and identity get renegotiated in these episodes of contestation (Davies and Harré 1990). Thus urban conflicts offer a lens for analyzing modern society in a bounded socio- and spatial environment, the neighborhood.

In this paper, I propose a framework to help unravel the complex relationship between space, language, and action that the experience of neighborhood

- What strategies do individual speakers use to navigate within and between alternative, and perhaps competing, ideologies of language, place and

draws together. I call this framework a socio-spatial narrative of urban conflict. Through an ethnographic description of an urban controversy in The Hague, I illustrate the fine-grained insights that this framework can provide into the language of emotions and into the way language and space mediate the construction of self and other.

This controversy developed in a new town development. When first-generation residents were forced to close the neighborhood center they had founded and managed to make way for a center organized by a professional welfare organization, they experienced marginalization at the hands of the local authorities. The residents responded by trying to assert their power and interests and recover a margin of control and respect. The local authorities could not see their tactics and strategies (De Certeau 1988) as political participation, however, and their responses contributed to a pattern of escalation. Relationships deteriorated as public and semi-public places were contested and parochialized (Lofland 2007). Groups held different places in the neighborhood hostage at different time. The contestation escalated to episodes of physical violence against professionals and the police.

The tenor of these ongoing 'negotiations' changed when a new professional entered the story. His first move was to acknowledge the loss and grief of the early settlers and to strengthen the relationships between the residents and public officials through a process of engagement rooted in local priorities and concerns. The recognition and engagement of emotions that developed in this new pattern of practice created the room needed to strengthen the relationships among the parties. The case study presents this transitions in this narrative from unacknowledged loss and grief among the members of a marginal and desperate group to restoring their role as organizers of the community in which they live.

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AG, ASTRID; SCHØNING, SIGNE WEDEL

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

PLACE AS INFLUENTIAL FACTOR IN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS IN SUPERDIVERSE DENMARK

Place as influential factor in identity constructions in superdiverse Denmark Astrid Aq, astridag@hum.ku.dk

Signe Wedel Schøning, sws@hum.ku.dk

University of Copenhagen

To capture the complex processes of globalization, recent sociolinguistic studies have developed new conceptions of established notions such as language, identity and place (Blommaert 2010, Pennycook 2007). This is due to language users having access to multiple linguistic and cultural resources, which make their identity resources and linguistic repertoires less predictable and more complex. Vertovec (2010) describes this social condition as 'superdiversity'.

The aim of our study is to illustrate how sociolinguistic superdiversity assumes character in central and peripheral urban areas in present-day Denmark. By focusing on two different places in Denmark, we scrutinise how place plays an important role both in the construction and negotiation of identities and in the social value ascriptions to linguistic features.

In the presentation we compare poly-lingual practices (Jørgensen 2010, Møller 2009) in inner city Copenhagen and in a small town in a peripheral place in the Western-most part of Denmark. We ask the following questions:

1) How do adolescents in different parts of Denmark construct and negotiate social relations and social identities?

2) How do the local place and sense of belonging influence these constructions?

To answer these research questions we carry out sequentially based micro-analyses, inspired by Rampton (2006), of social interaction in everyday encounters. Poly-lingual practices tend to be associated with highly urban areas. However, our analyses suggest that similar social and linguistic processes are employed in both centre and periphery, but that identity constructions, linguistic practices and linguistic scales (Blommaert 2006) are influenced by and oriented towards the geographical, local place. In our analyses we look at linguistic features ascribed to different registers (Agha 2007), such as Urdu, English, and traditional West Jutland dialect. We discuss how these are employed in identity work and how they are evaluated and ascribed different social values by adolescents in the centre and periphery, respectively.

The data consist of self-recordings made by adolescents with peers and family members and interviews. The data are part of two sociolinguistic and ethnographic studies in Copenhagen and in a small town, respectively. The participants in the Copenhagen study are primarily linguistic minorities and the participants in the small town study are primarily linguistic majorities.

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ERDUYAN, ISIL University of Wisconsin-Madison, United States of America

BERLIN, BELONGING, AND LANGUAGE: WHAT SPACE TELLS US

In his analyses of modernity and urban life, Lefebvre (1974) argues that social space is a social product and it serves as a means of control and domination of power. The problematization of space as such has also been adopted up in sociolinguistics (e.g. Li, 2011; Blommaert, et al. 2005), such that multilingualism should not be seen as something acquired, but something the space enables or disables through interactions, linguistic and semiotic. For Blommaert, once 'space can be filled with all kinds of social, cultural, epistemic, and affective attributes' it becomes 'place' and people speak from a place, 'on which senses of belonging, property rights and authority can be projected (2005, p. 222). Seen in this way, analyzing space has a lot to offer in analyzing the complex multilingual practices of urban immigrants, for whom language plays an ideological role. Language classrooms in urban schools with high immigrant populations are important venues for such analyses through their microcosmic character and the symbiosis they create within. In this paper, I look into the meaning, confrontation, and negotiation of space and belonging in the experiences of multilingual Turkish students in their language classes at a high school in the center of Berlin. In addition to being an iconic destination of Turkish immigration to Europe, Berlin today is one of the most complex transnational cities, with one seventh of its population non-German in origin. My research school is based in the Kreuzberg district, known as the Turkish quarter in local terms; and enrolls more than 90 % Turkish students. In the critical ethnographic study that I have conducted for 1,5 years, involving German, Turkish, and English classroom observations; audio-recordings; and interviews with students and teachers, I pose the following questions:

How do space and belonging play out in the language classes? What sorts of linguistic practices are involved in this process? Findings from a critical analysis of classroom discourse reveal that multilingual practices in each class serve for confrontation with an array of spaces, imagined and experienced, which help build multilingual identities. In interacting with the spaces they encounter, or create for themselves, students tend to deconstruct conventional terms of belonging, and rather exploit the cosmopolitan resources they acquire by living in Kreuzberg, Berlin, and Europe. Doing so, they speak from different spaces, locally, nationally, and transnationally, than the discourse of Turkish migration history in Germany suggests. This includes, among other things, internalizing the mobility and transparency of their lives against the regimes of marginalization and discrimination; as much as rejecting dualities, such as German/non-German, or European/non-European, and replacing them with more de-centered linguistic identity affiliations.

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KLEIN, YOLANDI

University of Cape Town, South Africa

BOORLINGE, BURGERS AND INKOMMERS: THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF PLACE IDENTITY/IES IN PACALTSDORP, SOUTH AFRICA

In sociolinguistic studies, people are often grouped according to their physical location or place of origin. It is assumed 'that identifying where someone is, where someone is from, and who else is from there is unproblematic because the relevant criteria are objective and categorical' (Johnstone 2004:65-66). It is only recently that scholars started to incorporate notions of 'place' as subjectively experienced and constitutive of a group's local, emic social categorisations. In this paper 'place' and 'place identity' are discussed in line with Modan's (2007) work. Place identity can be defined as a social identity articulated by groups or individuals in terms of alignment with a specific geographical and socially meaningful place. Historical processes, existing social structures, spatial arrangements, power relations, and discursive contexts all contribute to people's perceptions about what it means to be from and in a certain place (Pansters 2005).

The paper describes how the sense of belonging to a particular place is constructed in the personal narratives of residents from a peri-urban, Afrikaansdominant area called Pacaltsdorp (located in South Africa's South Cape region). Pacaltsdorp was founded in the early 19th century by the London Missionary Society, who transformed an existing indigenous Khoi settlement into a new, transnational Christian 'place'. In South Africa, 'place' has been highly politicized due to its history of colonialism and Apartheid. During the 20th century, for example, people were forcibly removed from surrounding areas and resettled in Pacaltsdorp. In addition, a new low-cost housing neighbourhood was formed post-1994, which contributed to an increase in inmigration of South Africans to Pacaltsdorp during the last two decades.

Based on interviews with residents (N=75; aged 13-80) and ethnographic fieldwork (June 2010-July 2011), the articulation of three kinds of local identities in personal discourses is explored. Newcomers to the town are referred to as inkommers (lit. 'incomers') by the more established residents. Pacaltsdorpers referred to as boorlinge ('natives') lay claim to several generations of ancestral residency. Integrated residents are referred to as burgers ('citizens'). The discourse analysis of these narratives shows, among other things, that knowing about the history of Pacaltsdorp is highly valued by boorlinge and linked to the moral geography of the town where religion plays an important role. Crime and substance abuse are linked to discourses about troubled neighbourhoods and the inkommers living there. The argument is made that community members position themselves and others as authentic or marginal Pacaltsdorpers through language, and in the process construct various moral spaces based on communal ideologies – where 'moral' refers to 'the negative characterisations of other places to bolster the positive qualities' of the places people align themselves to (Modan 2007: 298).

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MONKA. MALENE University of Copenhagen, Denmark

MOVING TO THE CITY - LANGUAGE CHANGE IN REAL TIME

Mobility - both geographically and socially - is becoming more and more widespread in late modernity (Adey 2009). In sociolinguistics social and geographical mobility have always been considered very influential to both dialect levelling and language change at large (Labov 1966, 1967, 2001, Chambers 2002). There have been a rather small number of studies (e.g. Bowie 2000, Omdal 1994, Andersson & Thelander 1994), which - with a few exceptions - have been synchronic (Mees & Collins 1999, Auer et al. 2000). However, social and geographical mobility still needs further attention within sociolinguistics.

This paper reports on a real time panel study of the effect of social and geographic mobility on language change. It examines the language change of 24 speakers from three towns in old and new recordings (1978 and 2008) and focuses on six informants - one man and one woman from each town - who moved to Copenhagen for educational purposes between the two recordings.

Quantitative analyses of morphological and phonological variables show significant language change between the two data sets. However, the change is not found in the language of the mobile informants - as one might expect. It is first and foremost the non-mobile group who has changed linguistically. As some synchronic studies (e.g. Bowie 2000, Omdal 1994) suspect but have no possibility of testing, it turns out that the mobile informants already distinguished themselves linguistically as children as they used fewer dialect features than their non-mobile peers, i.e. the starting point of the mobile informants was closer to standard. The analyses show that the language of the six mobile informants change in different ways, and the quantitative results suggest a connection between the language use and the hometown of the informants. Processes of dialect levelling have set in at different times in the three towns, and this is mirrored in the language of the mobile informants.

The quantitative results trigger the need for qualitative analyses that gives special attention to 'place' and 'sense of belonging' (Quist 2010, Johnstone 2010), i.e. to the mobile informants' image of Copenhagen and their hometown, respectively. The image of Copenhagen was guite similar. When moving to Copenhagen all the informants perceived it as a 'big' and 'chaotic' city but soon it changed from being an unknown 'space' into 'place' and their 'home' (Cresswell 2004). However, the informants' images of their hometowns differ and this seems to play an important role for their linguistic strategy. A strong 'sense of belonging' to a 'place' (the hometown) implies awareness of the language of the 'place' and affects the informant's language use. If the informants' perceive their hometown and it's dialect positively, this is reflected in their identity constructions, which again is mirrored in their language use.

RØYNELAND, UNN University of Oslo, Norway

THE PLACE OF STANDARD SPEECH

Oral standards (orthopey) are by some definitions supposed to be abstracted from place (e.g. Swann et al. 2004). In Europe, however, spoken standard norms tend to be based on urban upper class speech, and may accordingly be highly socially and geographically localizable (cf. Auer 2005; Deumert & Vandenbussche 2003; Kristiansen & Coupland 2011). This paper considers evidence from media, CMC and everyday discourse on the connection between notions of standard speech and urban dialects in contemporary Norway.

There are two official written standards of Norwegian, Nynorsk and Bokmål, both quite heterogeneous (e.g. Jahr 2003). While attempts at establishing a spoken Nynorsk standard have never born significant fruit, the effort to determine a spoken standard based on Bokmål has been much more successful. This standard may be pronounced with a range of different (urban) accents. However, it is a contentious issue whether this variety may be conceived of as an orthopey proper (e.g. Sandøy 2011).

Dialects in Norway are well preserved, enjoy a relatively high status and are used in both private and official settings. Hence, communication between Norwegians from different areas is most often polylectal. Generally, the Norwegian language community is characterized by a rather weak standard ideology and a rather fuzzy and unclear standard norm (e.g. Røyneland 2010).

Recent media and CMC-data demonstrate, however, that if any version of spoken Norwegian could aspire to the label 'standard' it seems to be the urban speech of the capital, though not necessarily upper middle class Oslo speech. Across Europe the traditional orthopeys are undergoing processes of demotization, re-standardization and to some extent also de-standardization (cf. Mattheier 1997; Kristiansen & Coupland 2011). I argue that a similar development may be observed in Norway where a 'modern' standard reflecting younger Oslo speech seems to be gaining ground.

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ECKERT. PENELOPE Stanford University, United States of America

DISCUSSION

Discussant of the Thematic Session 'Language, Place, Identity'

SVENDSEN, BENTE AILIN University of Oslo, Norway

BETWEEN LOCAL ROMANTICISM AND DANGEROUS PLACES

Language, Place and Identity in Contemporary Discourses on Young People in Ethnically Mixed Neighborhoods During the last decades there has been a great deal of interest in sociolinguistics regarding ways of speaking in ethnically mixed urban neighborhoods (e.g. Kotsinas, 1988; Rampton, 1995; Quist & Svendsen, 2010). The main foci have been on the description of linguistic features 'deviant' from a standard variety to examine an alleged emergence of contact based varieties, and on how various linguistic resources are used in interaction in identity constructions. The symbolic and discursive construction of 'place' among these young people is as yet more rarely discussed, such as the dialectic relation between how these young adolescents use 'place' as a meaningful tool in self staging and identity constructions, and the way traditional mass media tend to homogenise both the adolescents, their purported 'language', and the ethnically mixed neighborhood they are living in (cf. Androutsopoulos, 2010; Milani, 2010). In Oslo, Norway, these areas tend to be located in the inner city and in the outer boroughs (e.g. Gamle Oslo, Holmlia). Holmlia became known for being the scene of the first (officially stated) racist motivated murder in Norway, where the 15 year old boy, Benjamin Hermansen, was killed. (Michael Jackson dedicated his 2001 Invincible album to him.) Holmlia, with its abundant linguistic and cultural heterogeneity, is in focus for this paper. Drawing on interviews, peer conversations, performances and data from traditional mass media, the paper explores the dialectic relation between homogenisation and heterogenisation forces in the construction of language, place and identity by examining how the adolescents at Holmlia represent their local neighborhood discursively; how they both participate in the reproduction of stereotypes and create counter-discourses to public discourses in which Holmlia is projected as a harsh and dangerous place to be and live. This 'double portraying' or self staging has pervaded Holmlia and its young people with a certain symbolic and cultural capital, also at the linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1991). The folk linguistically labeled speech style 'Kebab-Norwegian' is tied to Holmlia and imbued with prestige in certain contexts (in-group), but definitely not for other stake-holders. The discussion will be anchored in Agha's (2007) theoretical framework on metapragmatic typification and valorization of registers.

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THISSEN, LOTTE

Maastricht University. The Netherlands

LANGUAGE-USE. MORAL GEOGRAPHIES AND BELONGING IN SUPER-DIVERSE ROERMOND

The aim of my talk is to discuss ongoing research about the meanings and feelings behind language use and its connection to claims and ascriptions of cultural elements to 'us' and 'them' within Roermond. This city is located in the province of Limburg, in the southern part of the Netherlands. Limburg is imagined as a peculiarity within the Netherlands: its inhabitants claim to have their own dialect and distinct culture and to be 'warmer' than inhabitants from the north of the country (Knotter 2009). Roermond is an interesting place because of its position between the outspoken north and south of the province and its super-diversity (Vertovec 2007). The linguistic and cultural landscape of the city (cf. Landry & Bourhis 1997) is highly diversified because of the variety of ethnicities and social positions of its inhabitants and the prominent use of different Limburgian dialects (like Roermonds which differs according to neighbourhood, 'city- centre Roermonds' or 'Velds Roermonds', and dialects from the surroundings) and new linguistic varieties.

The traditional linguistic paradigm is challenged by this super-diverse context in which 'linguistic territories and boundaries' are constantly crossed because of the 'de-territorialization' or 'untying' of linguistic and cultural resources from places and bodies (Blommaert 2010; Quist 2008). It is therefore necessary to explore the framework of language-culture to unravel the impacts of globalization on daily language-use. Language-culture looks into the dynamic processes in which cultural resources and linguistic repertoires are used as mediators in social interaction within particular places in the city of Roermond to imagine and mark boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. On the one hand this may result in people using a variety of linguistic resources while, on the other hand, this may result in constructing fixed moral geographies and language ideologies about places in order to construct a 'pure' language, dialect, identity and place (Jacquemet 2005; Modan 2007; Woolard & Schieffelin 1994). Moreover, it is important to investigate how people feel at home within this globalizing context. By exploring the concepts of languaging, culturing, senses of belonging and identifications, this research gives insights into processes of place-making and identity construction.

With this focus on processes of semiotic and cultural meaning making of places on the one hand and power structures and moral normativities on the other, it is possible to answer questions like: how should a person from the neighbourhood of 'het Roermondse Veld' speak and what meanings are behind these beliefs? Which spaces are seen as good or bad and what cultural and linguistic resources are believed to be appropriate in these spaces?

Where do inhabitants of Roermond draw boundaries on their mind-maps of the city and how are these boundaries prompted by senses of (un)belonging and identifications of 'us' and 'them'? How are groups of 'us' and 'them' identified and legitimized by linguistic and cultural norms? This paper answers these questions by analyzing a case-study from ethnographic fieldwork in Roermond.

DIAO, WENHAO (1); CUI, JIE (2)

1: Carnegie Mellon University, United States of America; 2: University of Pittsburgh, United States of America

ALA ZANGHAI NIN: STYLIZING COSMOPOLITAN-NESS IN A POST-COLONIAL CHINESE CITY

Our paper studies the stylization of a cosmopolitan Shanghainese identity through using ala zanghai nin ('us Shanghai people' in Shanghainese) in discourse. By examining excerpts from a popular stage show performed primarily in Shanghainese, we explore the link between language, place, and the 'imagined' cosmopolitan identity in a city that is historically associated with the West and is today a symbol of globalization in China.

China has undergone complex transformations since its Open-Door policy in 1979. The state's nation-building project in globalization emphasizes a homogenous identity through promoting standardized Mandarin (Putonghua) and popularizing English education, which leads to marginalization of regional varieties of Chinese (Graddol, 2009). The massive migration and enormous foreign investment further complicate the sociolinguistic situation. Though still scant, research on Chinese languages has shown tension between the local, national, and global. For instance, Zhang (e.g. 2005) has shown phonological features in Beijing Mandarin are now associated with an out-fashioned identity in the workplace. Other researchers, however, have demonstrated borrowing from local varieties allows the construction of a youth identity (e.g., Liu, 2010).

Situated within this context, our paper studies the link between the local discourse and identity in today's urban China where the processes of migration, globalization, and standardization intersect. We ask how the local identity is discursively constructed and is connected to a cosmopolitan lifestyle in big cities. We focus on Shanghai because it attracts huge numbers of migrants but meanwhile its local language lacks mutual comprehensibility with Putonghua. In addition, the emergence of Shanghai was a fairly recent and unique phenomenon. Coming into shape about three centuries ago as a colony, Shanghai is still best known for its Bund that features Western style architectures built in the early 20th century.

Our study draws upon research on 'stylization' (Coupland, 2007; Auer, 2007), i.e., the discursive use of stereotyped images and values associated with types of people, social group, and situations. In this study we examine how the comedian uses ala zanghai nin in his 150-minute stage show to discursively stylize a consistently fashionable and Westernized lifestyle of Shanghai over the past thirty years since China's Open-Doors.

Our study suggests that ala zanghai nin serves as an alternative to Putonghua and the cosmopolitan style is connected to Shanghai's colonial past. The findings will have implications for us to better understand the relationship between the local and global in today's China, and the connection between language and place in post-colonial cities in globalization.

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WU, LI-YING

Wenzao Ursuline College of Languages, Taiwan, Republic of China

TALE OF METRO KAOHSIUNG: THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE AS IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN THE MOBILITY TURN

With 'the mobility turn' (Urry 2008, 2010), it is generally assumed that people, information, capitals and even ideologies are on the move and flow around the globe. Given the fact that urban areas receive most of such a global flow, this paper argues that the urban place can be a site for ideological struggle realized in the practice of language. Accordingly, it discusses how tourism, a form of mobility, is perceived in the 'linguistic landscape' (Bourhis and Landry, 1997; Gorter, 2006) of an urban place, that of Metro Kaohsiung in Taiwan. The urban place in question accords with Massey's (1977) global sense of place treating place as having 1) multiplicity of essence, 2) fluidity of process as well as 3) open space without limits of boundaries. In context of the urban place, two spatial frameworks (Kallen, 2010), the night markets and tourist attractions of the urban place, Metro Kaohsiung, will be explored. To be more specific, on the one hand, Metro Kaohsiung is an urban place that is in accordance with the global sense of place receiving a large regional flow of tourists from Mainland China and has to respond to such a flow; on the other hand, there exist practices of defiance to such a regional flow in Metro Kaohsiung which is traditionally known, within the island of Taiwan, for being in defiance of Chinese hegemony. In Metro Kaohsiung, the differentiated linguistic landscape of the night markets and that of a particular tourist attraction where the mid-19th century British Counselor building still exists become the site of and witness to such ideological defiance.

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BRANNICK, JAMES PETER University of Birmingham, UK

ALTO ADIGE È ITALIA! AND SÜDTIROL IST NICHT ITALIEN! LANGUAGE, PLACE & IDENTITY IN BOLZANO-BOZEN

Especially in this age of global capitalism, where the focus on identity and difference is often on those who migrate, there remain in Europe, especially central and eastern Europe, zones which have 'migrated' from one state to another. In these zones, there are people who have or have had sociocultural, linguistic and political ties that are historically different, sometimes antagonistic, to the polities in which they find themselves. Bolzano-Bozen, a northern Italian city near Austria, is one such place. At the end of the First World War, this overwhelmingly German-speaking city 'moved' from the Habsburg Empire to the Kingdom of Italy. Annexation saw aggressive Italianisation and proscription of the German language and culture from the public sphere. Later, such overtly repressive language policies were replaced by more subtle means. Accompanying these policies, large scale in-migration of Italian speakers, transformed Bozen-Bolzano- into a majority Italian-speaking city (ASTAT 2004). Responses to such policies, particularly since the Second World War, have ranged from peaceful/political to acts of violence, leading to a thirty year process of UN conflict resolution. Solutions included adopting a complex consociational model of democratic representation, which ensures that no ethnolinguistic minority may make important decisions without the consent of the others. Yet today more than ever, issues of language and place are central to public and private 'ethnic' discourses; especially regarding language in public signage (i.e. place-names) and the monuments dating from the years of Italian Fascism. Place, '... the human or lived experience or sense of presence in a space...' (Scollon & Scollon 214:2003), becomes a site in which identity is contested by those who align in various ways with the polarised histories of the city. However a binary division of discourses along ethnolinguistic lines presents too simplistic an understanding, as individuals and institutions from both groups of language-speakers take the position of the apparent other, in their constant renegotiations of identity and place.

In this paper data is presented from a linguistic ethnography focusing on bilingualism in Bozen-Bolzano. The principal data is from the Semiotic Landscape (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010), which illuminate how '…written discourse interacts with other discursive modalities…' (ibid.), and are (re-)entextualised in the complex matrix of discourses on identity and power within ethno-nationalist frameworks, and the individual and institutional responses to them.

Scollonian geosemiotics (2003), with its focus on human action, provides a route to unpacking the 'discourses in place' (ibid.), allowing analysis of the indexical nature of the discourses therein.

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MELUZZI, CHIARA

University of Pavia - Free University of Bozen, Italy

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN A MULTILINGUAL CITY: THE CASE OF THE ITALIAN IN BOZEN (SOUTH TYROL)

OBJECTIVES: This work aims to investigate the linguistic self-perception and identity of the Italian speaking community in a peculiar multilingual city, i.e. Bozen (South Tyrol). Although the dominant language of South Tyrol is German (and German dialects), the main town Bozen is characterized by a great number of Italian L1 speakers, sometimes with low knowledge of German. The Italian community has grown during the last fifty years, through a strong immigration from other parts of Italy; this immigration marks in different ways the districts of the city. Morevoer, it is a matter of fact that a unique Italian dialect does not exist in Bozen: according to the previous works, Italian speakers would use a common Standard Italian. This study aims to investigate this Italian variety, and it also explores the presence of some dialectal features in this Italian variety, at least in speakers' self-perception. METHODS: The analysis takes into account the data from a recently collected corpus of about 40 interviews with Italian L1 speakers living in Bozen for almost thirty years. The informants were selected according to age, quarters of residence, and family origins. The informants are asked to evaluate their own Italian variety, its linguistics peculiarities and the presence or absence of dialect features. The results of the interviews are then compared to the general assumptions concerning Italian language in South Tyrol.

RESULTS: The analysis of the data shows a strong linguistic identity of the Italian group: it is possible to say that they perceive themselves as a 'minority' in the town of Bozen and, more generally, in South Tyrol. The informants also show a strong linguistic self-perception, by marking out some peculiar features of the Italian language of Bozen, both at lexical and phonetic/phonological level. For example, according to the informants, words like foto 'photo', topo 'mouse'and moto 'bike' are pronounced with a close /o/ by Bozen speakers, while non-Bozen speakers would use an open vowel /ɔ/. It is also interesting to note how there is a large disagreement on the scholars' classical assumption that in Bozen people speak Standard Italian (SI). A presence of dialectal features, especially from Venetian, is assumed by a great number of informants, especially those living in former 'Italian-only' districts. CONCLUSIONS: This study shows how the Italian community in Bozen has a strong self-perception and linguistic identity. The speakers themselves identify some specific features as characteristic of the Italian of Bozen. The data shows a great awareness of Italian speakers of what characterizes their speech and their speech community in this peculiar multilingual context. A difference between the different quarters is also observable. It is also remarkable that most of the features self-identified by the speakers do not emerge in previous' scholars works.

HOVMARK, HENRIK University of Copenhagen, Denmark

THE ROLE OF BACKGROUNDED INFORMATION IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF PLACE AND IDENTITY

In this presentation I explore the way in which place is constructed in discourse by Danish dialect-speaking informants. I focus on the construction of place as part of the backgrounded setting, the 'background orientation' in narratives (Chafe 1980, Johnstone 1990), and I discuss the role of backgrounded information in the construction of place and identity. I argue that the informants' use of seemingly inconspicuous, backgrounded markers of spatial language (in this case directional adverbs) play a significant role in the informants' continuous construction of identity, conceptualizing their local homebase as either 'center' or 'periphery' (Hovmark 2012). Data stem from interviews with dialect-speaking informants in a small Danish, rural community; both quantitative and qualitative methods were applied.

The 'spatio-temporal complex' (Prince 1982) is an important part of the setting of a story and typically includes information about specific geographical places, buildings and surroundings (the school, Berlin, Room 2.5.11). However, information about space and place can also be conceptualized and encoded in other linguistic elements, for instance adverbs. In Danish the basic image schema centre-periphery (Croft & Cruse 2004) can be encoded in the use of directional adverbs like ud 'out' and ind 'in': out to the school, in to Berlin (seen from the speaker's/agent's central point of view). Through linguistic and social routine, the choice of adverb is quickly generalized and gives an impression of the mental map of the informants and their speech community. One of the interesting findings when looking at the informants' consistent, shared uses of the directional adverbs in question, was that the centreperiphery schema entered into discourses that conceptualized and characterized the local community both as centre and periphery, i.e. they entered into apparently contradictive constructions of local identity. However, analyses of the communicative contexts suggested that this intra-group variation could be systematically linked to two specific discourses, each related to different levels of entrenchment: 1) a traditional, dialectal discourse anchored in very basic daily practices (the island seen as centre), and 2) a more recent discourse anchored in a modern socio-cultural setting, mass media, and politics (the island seen as periphery) (Hovmark 2010).

The study points to the existence of orientation markers in narratives which are conveying very general background information: the conceptualization of the local place as either central or peripheral (cf. 'contextualization cues', Gumperz 1992, Levinson 2003). However, seen in careful connection with the foregrounded content of the specific discourses, the general and backgrounded information about the local place takes on a more specific, socioculturally informed meaning. I give examples of the use of the adverbs in both everyday stories and more dramatic narratives, and I argue that orientation markers of this general kind deserve attention and might carry important socio-linguistic information, exactly because they belong to relatively unconscious levels of conceptualization and are enacted continuously and persistently in linguistic and social routines.

ZUENGLER, JANE

University of Wisconsin-Madison, United States of America

THE CITY AS SMALL SPACES: IMMIGRANT/REFUGEE CHILDREN'S LANGUAGE AND **IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT IN A COMMUNITY CENTER PROGRAM**

Urban residents experience 'the city' as the various spaces that comprise their daily lives. While some of the lived experiences of urban residents may span the metropolis as a whole (e.g., voting for mayor, serving on the city school board), many daily sites of communication constitute spaces of smaller scope. For youth, a major site occupying much of their year is the formal school. Yet, for many immigrant/refugee as well as locally-born youth, daily life also consists of spaces outside of the formal educational system for developing language as well as cultural identity. These are often constituted as community-based centers or complementary schools (Creese and Blackledge, 2011; Lee and Hawkins, 2008).

There are several reasons for sociolinguistic research on youth to focus attention outside of the formal educational system. Among them is the relative lack of research in such sites. Firth (2007), pointing out the need for out-of-school research, states that formal classroom settings continue to be the primary focus in a lot of research. Moreover, out-of-school, community-based sites may offer advantages over the formal classroom, especially for minority language and immigrant/refugee youth.

The presentation draws on an ethnographic microanalysis (Erickson, 1995) that was conducted of an eight-week summer program on Philosophy. The program was offered by a community learning center within a low-income housing complex in a US city. Children attending the program came from Hmong refugee, African immigrant, Latino, and African-American families. The presentation will focus on one of the program's activities, which asked the children to capture, through filming or photography, philosophical concepts like 'love,' 'fear,' and others. Data from the interactions of children undertaking this activity show how the event enabled both language and identity development, illustrating that 'communication processes do not just proceed through 'a language' but through specialized and particular pieces of language' (Blommaert, 2010; 102-3), and that the children's physical space, made available within the city, afforded opportunities for language to emerge within these 'contexts of interaction' (Otsuii and Pennycook, 2009; 247). Blommaert, J. 2010. The sociolinguistics of globalization. Cambridge.

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PAVLIDOU, THEODOSSIA-SOULA Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

CONSTRUCTING COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES THROUGH PLACE IN INTERACTION

The aim of the paper is to explore how collective identities are constructed in Greek talk-in interaction through the deployment of geographic place formulations. As Johnstone (2010) has pointed out, '[L]ocalities are products of experience and discourse' and '[D]ifferent ways of interacting with space lead to different ways of delimiting and describing places'. Moreover, the choice of a term for referring to 'place' is sensitive to the particularities of an interaction (Scheqloff 1972); these include not only the 'here-and-now', i.e. the place and time coordinates of the interaction, but also its membership composition, the activity being done, etc. In this paper, I would like to argue that particular place formulations function as 'recognitionals' (Sacks & Schegloff 1979) –based on participants' common experience– that allow them to invoke geographically defined membership categories (Sacks 1992, Schegloff 2007) and corresponding category-bound activities/properties. Based on (audio-taped and fully transcribed) informal conversations among friends and relatives (about 500.000 words) from the Corpus of Spoken Greek, I first examine the means employed in the data to denote geographical location. These include indexicals ('here', 'down there'), prepositional phrases ('in Crete'), etc., and related collectivities, such as 'we here', 'the Athenians', 'we in Crete'. The category-bound properties and activities -implied or explicitly brought up- are then explored, with particular attention to intersubjective meanings as signaled by the use of 'we' (Pavlidou 2008) and the topicalization of linguistic behavior and dialect characteristics that are associated with such collectivities. It is shown that, against the background of such geographically delineated categories, different levels of collective identity (Brewer & Gardner 1996) are constructed and negotiated - from very local ones, involving all participants (or subsets of them), to more global ones pertaining at first glance to geography but also to nationality, class, etc. (e.g. province vs. the capital, south vs. north, at home vs. abroad, Greeks vs. Germans).

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RØYNELAND, UNN University of Oslo, Norway

DISCUSSION

Discussant of Thematic Session 'Language, Place and Identity'

Thematic Session 166

Indigenous Minority Languages in Urban Areas

Session Chair 1: Hilton, Nanna Haug

Session Abstract

The topic of the proposed thematic session for SS19 is the dynamics that exist in urban areas between speakers of indigenous minority languages and other speech communities. By focussing on speech communities in urban areas the session aims to host a discussion relevant to the main theme of the conference

Language contact between minority languages and majority languages in European urban centres is a topic that has been given quite a lot of attention in sociolinguistic studies in recent years (e.g. Svendsen and Røyneland, 2008, Cheshire et al. 2011). In North America, language change in heritage languages in large urban centres is also a topic that has received attention (e.g. Nagy, 2011). In general, however, previous sociolinguistic studies of language contact in urban environments have focussed on the intersection of speakers with non-native, immigrant backgrounds and speakers of national majority languages. The current session would aim to add to our knowledge of language contact between minority and majority groups by looking explicitly at processes in urban contact situations that occur in the mix of *indigenous* minority languages with national majority (and other) languages. One reason why a focus on indigenous minority languages is particularly interesting is the rather different social status that these varieties hold compared to that of immigrant languages. In Europe many indigenous minority languages have, for instance, been given official recognition with the growing amount of ratification of the Charter of Regional and Minority Languages (Council of Europe, 1992), but are at the same time often viewed as 'rural' or even 'peasant-like' (Gal, 1978, Hilton et al. 2010). Another reason why the focus of indigenous minority languages in urban centres might be so interesting is that speakers of such languages tend to have a drastically different social profile from that of speakers with an immigrant background. What the minority speakers all have in common, however, is their relatively recent arrival into larger urban areas. Furthermore, it is true for a number of indigenous minority languages throughout the world that they are linguistically very closely related to the national majority language (the case of West-Frisian and Dutch, for instance, or Catalan and Castilian Spanish). The linguistic outcome of contact situations between these languages might therefore be rather different than that with languages from different language families in the mix.

Some discussion points that would be raised in the thematic session are:

What is the role that ethnic, or national, identity plays for language change in contact situations between indigenous minority language speakers and other speech communities?

Which language maintenance efforts are put into place in urban environments by speakers of indigenous minority languages?

What is the impact of an official status on power relations between a minority and a majority speech community?

What are the linguistic outcomes of contact between speakers of closely related languages with different official statuses in urban areas?

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AMERY, ROBERT MAXWELL

University of Adelaide, Australia: Kaurna Warra Pintvandi (KWP)

RE-INTRODUCTION OF A SLEEPING LANGUAGE: KAURNA, THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF ADELAIDE, CAPITAL OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Kaurna, the original language of Adelaide, a city of more than one million inhabitants, was last spoken on an everyday basis in the early 1860s. The Kaurna population plummeted as a result of introduced diseases and those remaining were sent to missions outside Kaurna country. A distinct Kaurna identity was extinguished, only to be re-established as people were once again allowed to return to Kaurna country since the mid-twentieth century. Today. Kaurna people are a small minority of several hundred people dispersed throughout a large city. All the while, a strong Aboriginal identity or Nunga[i] identity remained, strong to this day. Following the re-establishment of a Kaurna identity, the Kaurna language has been undergoing a remarkable revival over the last twenty years and more (Amery, 2000), based on somewhat limited written historical records compiled principally by German missionaries in the mid-19th century. The reclamation of Kaurna is informed heavily by linguistics and knowledge of closely-related neighbouring languages.

The revival of Kaurna began in 1980 with naming activity, followed by the writing of songs in the 1990s, language workshops and the introduction of Kaurna into school programs. Kaurna is now taught to relatively small numbers of students at all levels of education from pre-school to tertiary and is beginning to be used increasingly within the Kaurna community, though its primary function is within the public domain. Kaurna serves as an auxiliary language for its speakers, all of whom are first language English speakers whose families have been speaking English for many generations. Even so. many Kaurna people regard English as a foreign language, the language of the invader, yet for many of these same people, their knowledge of their own Kaurna language is minimal. Whilst a relatively small number of Kaurna people have actively participated in revival efforts, all draw strong pride in the fact that their language is being revived.

What is the future of the Kaurna language and what is the nature of 'revived' Kaurna? It is still too early to answer these questions with any certainty. though early indications and recent trends will be discussed.

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[i] Nunga refers to an Aboriginal person from southern South Australia. Most Nungas are bidialectal, speaking a distinctive Aboriginal English variety called 'Nunga English', as well as Standard Australian English. Some are also relearning their ancestral languages.

HORVÁTH, ISTVÁN

The Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, Romania

BILINGUAL LANGUAGE USE AND IDENTITY. THE CASE OF BILINGUAL HUNGARIANS OF ROMANIA

The 1.5 million large Hungarian ethno-linguistic minority living in Romania is one of the largest of European indigenous minorities. Beside its size, the degree of territorial concentration, the legal and institutional support speakers of Hungarian benefit of confers a considerably solid sociolinguistic position for this language. Nevertheless if considering the internal diversity of this group in terms of the linguistic structure of the local speech communities we can easily observe a considerable internal differentiation. Though (with some insignificant exceptions) all Hungarians have some degree of competence of Romanian roughly one third of them are living in virtually only Hungarian speech communities (with the major exception of the institutional domains subordinated to the central government). While the rest - in order to be fully functional in their daily lives - need to alternate in a rather large variety of domains and contexts Hungarian with Romanian. The rather different experiences of bilingual practices are grounded in rather different language use norms, that finally result a differentiated view of the linguistic social order and the cultural self as part of this order. Or, to put it differently, different type of bilingual practices are indexical for different types of societal structures (Baetens Beardsmore 1986; Mansour 1993) providing for a different context of identity construction and negotiation.

Drawing on a recent large scale survey on a representative sample of Hungarians of Romania (N-3200), based on variables related to bilingual practices, language use norms and forms of valuation and validation of the use of Romanian by the native Hungarian speakers a typology of ethno-linguistic identity of this minority group will be outlined.

ABDUL GHANI, BIBI AMINAH

Curtin University Sarawak Malaysia, Malaysia

INDIGENOUS MINORITY LANGUAGES IN MIRI, SARAWAK

This paper looks into the languages of the community in the Sarawak coastal town of Miri. Miri, since the discovery of oil in the 1900s, has attracted migrants from outside the country and also from the rural areas of Sarawak who seek for jobs and fortune, and education opportunities. With the existence of more than 30 minority groups in its territory, the language contact between the minority and majority groups is inevitable. The amalgamated culture and the harmonious adaptation of the intercultural situationare very clear in this urban town, where people from different ethnics need to find a way to live together in harmony. This is where the processes of adaptation, accommodation and assimilation of cultures and languages occur. This data for this paper is based on participant observations.

While studying the Miriek community an urban ethnolinguistic minority in Sarawak, the Kayan, Kenyah, Penan and Kedayan community, and also observations on the Kelabit, the author see similar patterns of accommodation and assimilation phenomena among the groups i.e. adapting a 'modified' local lingua franca (Sarawak Malay) as mode of communication for survival.

The paper begins with an ethnographic and the language ecology of Miri town. Although the minority languages are recognized by its community as an important marker of their identity, most are not favoured due to the rapid socio-economic change that necessitates the shift in the language ecology of the urban society. Despite the official recognition of the existence of these languages, some feel that their language is useless and ancient. Language maintenance effort is usually very minimal across generations. Therefore, the outcome of the contact situations has changed the landscape of the minority language forever.

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MÆHLUM. BRIT University of Trondheim (NTNU), Norway

STIGMA AND PRIDE. NEGOTIATIONS OF SAMI IDENTITY IN LATE MODERN NORWE-**GIAN SOCIETY**

This paper explores the unusually harsh rhetoric employed in the debates around the possible inclusion of the northern city of Tromsø in the Sami language administrative district. This would have made Tromsø, the main urban centre of Northern Norway, officially bilingual. The discussion will relate the classical Sami idiom to an urban-rural dichotomy, and attempt to recapture some of the ideological principles that once governed minority politics in Norway

During the last decades Norway has been considered a leading nation with respect to the official ethnolinguistic rights of indigenous minority groups. There exists, for example, an independent Sami parliament, and since 1992 Sami has been recognized as an official language of Norway. However, concrete rights entailed by this status is restricted to the so-called Sami language administrative district, which consists of 8 municipalities situated - with one exception - in Northern Norway. These developments in legal status are accompanied by changes in the perception of Sami language and culture, both among the majority population and within the Sami population itself. After a long period of vigorous assimilation politics, enforced by various official agencies, the stigma and shame connected to the Sami identity is gradually replaced by openness and genuine pride in being of Sami heritage (e.g. Johansen 2009, Mæhlum 2007).

The Tromsø case, which exploded in the media during the winter 2010/2011, seriously undermines this progressive narrative. In 2010 the elected city council of Tromsø began to review the possibility of applying for inclusion of the municipality in the Sami language administrative district, and in June 2011 the application was deposited. While a council majority took a favourable view, it turned out that the majority of the population in Tromsø dissented strongly. Local newspapers and websites were filled with aggressive and harsh comments on the proposal. The least aggressive opposition was expressed by headlines such as, 'We must prevent Tromsø from becoming a Sami city', and 'Let us keep our identity'. Procedurally the case came to an (preliminary) end in September 2011, when the opposition fought and won the local election on an agenda which included withdrawing the application. This act, however, resulted in a new wave of aggressive wrangling in the media.

In my paper I will inquire the rhetoric that appear in this concrete case, partly by recapitulating some of the ideological principles that once conducted minority politics in Norway. One significant theoretical dimension will be to relate the classical Sami idiom to an urban-rural dichotomy (cf. e.g. Makoni & Pennycook 2007). But first and foremost the ongoing discourse has to be analysed within an overarching post-colonial frame.

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JOHANSEN, ÅSE METTE University of Tromsø, Norway

HIGHLY PRAISED, STRICTLY CONTROVERSIAL: IMPLEMENTATION OF SÁMI LAN-**GUAGE RIGHTS IN THE URBAN ARCTIC**

Tromsø is with its 68 000 inhabitants the largest urban area in Northern Norway. The cultural and linguistic diversity of the city embraces people and languages from more than 100 different nations; this includes the historical presence of a rather large Sámi community. The Sámi population is considered indigenous in accordance with the ILO Convention no. 169 which Norway ratified in 1990.

The first part of this paper examines how this legislative context shapes the visual presentation of Sámi culture and language in an official and stateowned institution, i.e. the University of Tromsø (UiT), including the Unversity Hospital of Northern Norway (UNN). The importance of UiT/UNN - both in Tromsø and in the region as a whole – makes its semiotic space particularly interesting. Since the 1990s, the institution has presented itself as Sámi. The semiotic practices of the university have so far caused no controversy whatsoever, neither at the university itself, nor in the city or in the region as such. On the contrary, it has been praised as forward-looking, just and fair.

In 2011, however, implementation of Sámi language rights became a controversial topic in Tromsø. The Municipal Council applied for the city to join the so-called Sámi Administrative Area. So far, nine Norwegian municipalities, none of which are cities, constitute this area. These nine municipalities have specific obligations in relation to the Sámi population and the Sámi language(s): Sámi is an official language on a par with Norwegian. All children have the right to being taught Sámi as a first language or as a second language. All official bodies are obliged to be bilingual; letters written in Sámi should be replied to in Sámi; street signs and signs on official buildings should be bilingual, etc. The application created an enormous stir among the population, not the least when it came to the discussion of the new bilingual municipality sign. The local media was full of angry letters to the editor, some of them with lots of factual errors concerning the ethno-historical background of the area. Finally, last fall, the right-wing parties won the local elections and reversed the application.

All these anti-Sámi expressions and sentiments that found their way to the local newspapers and other forums of discussion form a striking contrast to UiT/UNN's attitudinal approach to multiethnicity and multilingualism. The institution has for several years practised many of the very same rules and regulations that apply to the Sámi Administrative Area, and which would apply to the municipality if Tromsø became a part of it. The second part of this presentation therefore deals with the following question: How come that the multilingual and multicultural semiotic landscape of the university is so highly praised while attempting to implement the same principles in the city or municipality as a whole is strictly controversial?

KLEEMANN. CAROLA BABETTE Finnmark University College, Norway

ROLE-PLAY IN TWO LANGUAGES

The indigenous minority of Norway, the Sámi, are about 40 000 (Statistics Norway, 2010), and about 23 000 speakers of Sámi in Norway (The Norwegian Sámi Parliament). The majority of Sámi-speakers live in Finnmark. Although Finnmark traditionally has been a multilingual area, the contemporary situation in the urban localities on the coast, is predominately monolingual Norwegian. However, these urban localities are regional centres, and a new multilingualism is now emerging, where Sámi speakers have moved in and there is at the same time a local language revitalisation of Sámi. There is a need for education in Sámi for the new generation of bilingual children, which is provided by Sámi kindergartens and some municipal schools offer Sámi education

My phd-project is part of 'The including kindergarten', funded by the Norwegian Research Council. I am studying the way bilingual children, perhaps being a minority within a minority, use their languages. I analyze sequences of role-play during periods of free play, an in-group child-driven activity in the kindergarten.

In this presentation I will discuss the discovery I had during fieldwork, that in bilingual role-play, role-play as situation/setting motivates language alternation. I set out with an idea of role-play somehow mirroring the language society at large of the children, but have been made to see that it is the language pattern of a far smaller society that governs language choices: that of the peer group, or even the single interaction of two role-players. It is important that role-play is social interaction and confirmation of relation between children as well. Most of all, the rules of form of role-play seems to govern language alternation. Still, play is an arena for improvisation over a theme and sudden shifts, so there are no absolute rules. In role-play there are different sets of motivations to be considered; the social motivation for interaction and choice of language and the formal motivation for following the rules of role-play including keeping order with different levels of reality. To analyze sequences of play, I use the tradition from Auers Bilingual Conversation (1984) with its inspiration from Conversation Analysis. And since role-play as a situation, or form, also is motivating, terms and aspects from Myers-Scottons Markedness Model in Social Motivations for Codeswitching (1993) are also useful to discuss the complex interaction of role-play. Role-play is performed in two languages in my material, and I use the terms 'language alternation' and 'codeswitching'. Important in the discussion on how to use the terms, is whether to treat language as 'the' code, or 'a' code. Some of the earlier research, like Peter Auer and Carol Myers-Scotton, has been done with a somewhat monolingual bias (see Gafaranga 2007 and Alvarez-Caccamo 1998 for discussions on this), and the field of bilingualism might look different if you were to take a bilingual perspective. Gafaranga (i.a. 2007) brings in 'bilingual medium' to explain the linguistic praxis of bilinguals: they can use either of the monolingual mediums they command for appropriate situations, or they may, in the right situation, use a bilingual medium – a third choice.

NANCE, CLAIRE University of Glasgow, United Kingdom

SCOTTISH GAELIC IN GLASGOW: PHONETIC VARIATION AND LOCAL IDENTITY

Scottish Gaelic is often associated with rural areas of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Recently however, this geography has changed dramatically and currently nearly half of all Gaelic speakers live in central urban Scotland (MacKinnon 2010). The demographic makeup of these speakers has also changed: previously Gaelic speakers living in urban areas were economic migrants from Highland areas (Withers 1998), but since the opening of Gaelic medium schools in central lowland Scotland, many young people from urban backgrounds are growing up as fluent Gaelic speakers. This paper draws on ethnographic and phonetic analyses of Gaelic-speaking teenagers in Glasgow. The teenagers in this study come from largely English-speaking families, but have learned Gaelic through immersion primary and secondary education. Whilst they are fluent Gaelic speakers, they choose to speak English among themselves. I here present a phonetic analysis of the vowel /u/ in their Gaelic and English productions. Data are from 21 individual interviews conducted with 13-14 year olds in Glasgow. Tokens of /u/ were labelled in Praat and measures of the first three formants were derived in Emu-R. (Harrington 2010). I here address three research questions: [1] what is the outcome of contact between Glaswegian English and Scottish Gaelic? [2] Is Glaswegian Gaelic a distinct new variety? [3] Do phonetic productions pattern with local and social identities in a language that these young people never speak to one another? In order to assess the possibility of a new Glaswegian Gaelic dialect, the young people from Glasgow are compared to 18 Gaelic speakers from the Isle of Lewis, a traditional Gaelic-speaking area. 12 of the participants from Lewis were also aged 13-14, and the 6 others were older native speakers of the language.

Results of the phonetic analysis are as follows: Glaswegian Gaelic vowel productions are different from Highland and Island Gaelic, indicating that a new distinct variety of the language could be developing. For one group of Glaswegian speakers, Gaelic vowel productions are similar to their English vowel productions, indicating that their Gaelic may be influenced by language contact from English. However, this is not always the case: a second group of young Glaswegians produce acoustically different vowels in English and Gaelic. There is a relationship between the participants' friendship groups and the phonetic realisation of their vowels.

The result that phonetic variation patterns with social identity in the Gaelic of these young Glaswegians is striking: it appears that identity can influence phonetic production even in a language that young people do not speak to one another. I discuss the implications of these results for studies of language variation and identity, and studies of new dialect formation.

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LEINONEN. THERESE

Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, Finland

PHONETIC QUANTITY AS DIALECT MARKER IN URBAN VARIETIES OF FINLAND-SWEDISH

The Swedish population in Finland comprises almost 300.000 people and is concentrated to the western and the southern coastlines. The historical background to the Swedish population is the fact that Finland was part of Sweden for almost 700 years until 1809. Swedish settlers started to come to Finland in the 13th century.

At the end of the 19th century the Swedish and Finnish population in Finland lived geographically virtually separate from each other. The language structure changed dramatically during the 20th century, as rapid industrialization and migration led to fennicization of the cities in the Swedish-dominated coastal areas (Tandefelt & Finnäs 2007). Today, some rural areas still have a Swedish majority, but in urban areas the Swedish population lives as a local minority. An exception is made by the Åland Islands, which are officially unilingually Swedish with a small Finnish minority.

The varieties of Swedish spoken in Finland have been influenced by language contact with Finnish. One such feature is quantity: Helsinki-Swedish has been characterized by exceptionally long durations of voiceless obstruents in V:C sequences. In rural Finland-Swedish dialects, on the contrary, the C durations in V:C sequences tend to be much shorter than in Sweden. Both the long C durations in Helsinki and the short C durations in rural dialects seem to be a result of language contact.

The large acoustic distance of the durations in V:C syllables in different varieties of Finland-Swedish has made this feature a salient dialect marker. Long consonant durations are strongly associated with Helsinki and have been regarded as posh. Helsinki-Swedish is not generally regarded as Standard Finland-Swedish by all Finland-Swedes, and typical Helsinki features are stigmatized and made fun of by speakers from other areas (Östman & Mattfolk 2011)

Acoustic measurements of phonetic quantity so far only exist for highly educated speakers from Helsinki (Reuter 1982) and for rural dialects (Schaeffler 2005). The aim of this paper is to study phonetic quantity in Swedish spoken in four cities in Finland. The four cities have different demographic language structures. In Helsinki and Turku only 5-6% of the population are Swedish-speaking. Vaasa has a Swedish minority of 25% and is surrounded by a dominantly Swedish-speaking countryside. Mariehamn on the Åland Islands is dominantly Swedish (89%).

Spontaneous speech data from 46 speakers in two age groups and with different social backgrounds were analysed. The results, which show significant differences between the four cities, can be explained by language contact and by attitudes within the speech community.

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HILTON, NANNA HAUG

University of Groningen, The Netherlands

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 167

Fine phonetic detail and sociolinguistic ethnography

Session Chair 1: Kirkham, Sam Session Chair 2: Pharao, Nicolai

Session Abstract

Ethnographic approaches are now well established in variationist sociolinguistics for their ability to capture local perspectives on language usage, social practice, and community dynamics. Studies employing ethnographic methods have been instrumental in the development of the community of practice construct (Eckert 2000; Alam 2007; Mendoza-Denton 2008), in facilitating a deeper understanding of the relationship between social practice and social categories (Moore 2010), and in enriching our knowledge of the social motivations behind linguistic variation (Labov 1963).

Concurrent with the increased focus on ethnographic research, there has been a growing interest in the role of fine-grained phonetic detail and the ways in which it is used to communicate social information (Foulkes et al. 2010). Sociophonetic studies generally focus on vowel variation, but an increasing body of work has begun to investigate phonetic detail in consonants (Stuart-Smith 2007), the suprasegmental aspects of speech (Podesva 2007), and the co-occurrence and perception of linguistic forms (Campbell-Kibler 2011). This has significantly expanded our perspective on the aspects of variation above and below the level of the segment that can be used for constructing identities and creating social meaning.

The convergence of socially sensitive and phonetically sophisticated approaches has much to offer to the study of variation. Approaches combining the two are vital in understanding the stylistic capabilities of human language use and the cognitive processing of linguistic variation. Ethnography has opened up sociolinguistic perspectives on the social uses of language and provided a way to model social behaviour in a more ecologically valid way.

The phonetic findings from these studies also have serious implications for cognitive models of phonetic detail and how social and phonetic information are stored in tandem (Drager 2010). In this panel, we aim to bring together researchers working on fine phonetic variation in ethnographically-informed sociolinguistic research with the following aims and objectives in mind:

- 1. To illustrate the benefits of combining ethnographically-informed social analysis with detailed analysis of the gradient phonetic properties of speech.
- 2. To explore the range of phonetic parameters across which social meaning is made.

3. To examine the advantages of combining ethnographic insights with production studies and perception experiments on the same groups of speakers. **Discussion questions:**

- variation, social meaning, and cognitive processing?
- speakers?

3. How can studies of fine phonetic detail be used to relate ethnographic studies to the study of on-going sound change in the surrounding speech community?

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KIRKHAM, SAM; PHARAO, NICOLAI

University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

HALL-LEW, LAUREN University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

NARRATIVES OF SOCIAL CHANGE AS PREDICTORS OF SOUND CHANGE

Ethnographic studies have provided invaluable evidence that speakers use phonetic variability as an everyday resource for the construction of styles and identities (e.g., Eckert 2000, Mendoza-Denton 2008). The macro-social structures that characterize a given locale emerge from the iteration of these (and other) micro-social actions. This process is guite evident for stable linguistic variables, but is somewhat more complex for changes in progress, which may be both 'less well-defined' but 'leave more room for local interpretation' than stable variables (Eckert 2008;471). Independent of any theoretical interpretation, it can be observed that linguistic changes will always co-occur in parallel with social changes, simply because the available linguistic resources in a community shift in tandem with the relevant social meanings; it is then just a correlational fact that the available social meanings of a given sound change in progress are, at least potentially, always slightly different at different stages of change. An important and entirely open empirical guestion is if, for a phonetically gradual change, it may be possible for very fine-grained phonetic differences to index very fine-grained indexical differences. If so, the question is how fine-grained these differences can be, both socially and phonetically. In this talk I focus on one piece of this puzzle, which concerns modeling the differences between community members' representations of their community's social history. While there are some broad narratives that unite individuals, there are also many differences between how individuals conceive of the development and change in their community. These differences in narrative cluster in interesting ways with locally meaningful social groups, which may be at least part of the reason sound changes in progress are often so well-correlated with macro-social categories. The present analysis takes speakers' contrasting understandings of social history as the primary social variable in a quantitative model of phonetic variability, in order to (begin to) test the hypothesis that very fine-grained phonetic differences in a sound change in progress may index very different social meanings at different stages of social change. The results suggest that, at least for some speakers, one's narrative of local history may be more important in accounting for one's production of a sound change in progress as is one's membership in the usual macro-social categories. Such a result follows from an ethnographically sensitive understanding of the relationship between sound change and social change, and the observation that the construction of locally salient macrosocial categories is more of a consequence of that relationship than it is a driving force.

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1. How can we generalise from ethnographic research (which generally takes the form of specific case studies) to the broader processes of phonetic

2. How can the study of fine phonetic detail inform our understanding of the social work being done with speech variation within communities of

ZIPP, LENA (1); DELLWO, VOLKER (2)

1: English Department, University of Zurich, Switzerland; 2: Phonetic Laboratory, University of Zurich, Switzerland

THE SOCIOPHONETICS OF PROSODIC PARAMETERS AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN THE LONDON INDIAN DIASPORA

English segmental features have been shown to exhibit varying degrees of influence by heritage languages in the speech of first- and second-generation Indian-heritage speakers of English (e.g. Alam & Stuart-Smith 2011, Evans et al. 2007, Kirkham 2011, Lambert et al. 2007, McCarthy et al. 2011); at the same time, the speech rhythm of Indian-accented English is generally claimed to be located towards the syllable-timed end of the rhythm continuum (e.g. Loukina & Kochanski 2010). In this paper, we investigate if and how prosodic features (rhythmic durational and intonation) exhibit the same sociolinguistic variation as segmental features, with a focus on speakers who are in contact with both syllable-timed and stress-timed varieties of English, i.e. first- and second-generation London residents with a Hindi or Gujarati language background.

Prosodic parameters like intonation and rhythm present challenges for the study of stylistic variation in free speech, because syntactic and lexical variation cause high variability even within the utterances of the same speaker. We are using a new method that allows for an intra-speaker comparison of prosodic variables between two spontaneous styles, the 'read speech normalization' (RSN), in which differences between spontaneous utterances that result from different sentences are normalized using read versions of these sentences (Zipp & Dellwo 2011). The two styles are specified according to the social parameters 'familiarity/distance' and 'ethnicity', based on the respective interlocutor during the experiment (a customized map task). We show that there is significant and consistent stylistic intra-speaker variation in prosodic variables, and that this variation correlates with social parameters such as immigrant generation, familiarity/distance, and ethnicity, as well as with patterns of identity construction in questionnaire and interview data. The interviews record narrative reflections on identity construction in the Indian diaspora, community dynamics, linguistic and cultural stereotypes, and components of ethnic identity such as self-categorization and labelling, evaluation and in-group attitudes, and ethnic behaviours (Phinney & Ong 2007).

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KIRKHAM, SAM

University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

PHONETIC DETAIL AND SOCIAL IDENTITY: /T/ REALISATION IN A MULTIETHNIC HIGH SCHOOL

Studies that combine the analysis of fine-grained phonetic detail with ethnographic observation of the community under study have offered new insights into the range of phonetic features that can be used for making social meaning, as well as revealing the extent to which phonetic detail can be used for identity work (Drager 2009; Alam & Stuart-Smith 2011). This talk contributes towards this growing research enterprise by exploring the ways in which multiple phonetic parameters intersect in the creation of socio-indexical meaning. I draw upon speech data collected during a 15-month ethnographic study of a multiethnic high school in Sheffield, a city in the north of England, in order to analyse the realisation of word-initial /t/.

Data were collected from 68 adolescents of 5 ethnicities in the school (White British; Pakistani; Somali; African Caribbean; Yemeni). Tokens of /t/ in wordinitial stressed syllable onsets were extracted from the data for analysis. Acoustic profiling was first carried out in order to identify clusters of acoustic parameters that characterised different types of /t/ realisation (Docherty & Foulkes 2005). The data were then subject to a number of acoustic measures that captured durational (VOT), spectral (intensity, centre of gravity) and noisiness (zero-crossing rate) properties of the stop.

The results show that, while demographic conceptions of ethnicity explain some aspects of these data, categories grounded in the participants' social practices better capture the overall variation. The phonetic analysis also demonstrates the utility of considering multiple dimensions of the speech segment, which is discussed in relation to debates surrounding the conception of the sociolinguistic variable (Lavandera 1978; Campbell-Kibler 2011).

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RUCH, HANNA

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany

/S/-ASPIRATION AND SOUND CHANGE IN TWO VARIETIES OF ANDALUSIAN SPANISH

This paper is concerned with variation and change in the pronunciation of syllable final /s/ in Andalusian Spanish, where this sound is usually weakened to [h] or even deleted (pasta 'paste/pasta' ['pahta] vs. pata 'paw' ['pata]). For /sp, st, sk/ in Andalusian Spanish there is some evidence for variety-dependent variation: the East Andalusian (i.e. Granada) variety seems to realize the /C/-/sC/ contrast by pre-aspiration [hp, ht, hk] and the C/V-ratio (Gerfen, 2002), the Western (i.e. Seville) variety shows, in addition to closure lengthening, a preference for post-aspiration [ph, th, kh] (Torreira, in press; Parrell, 2012), especially among younger speakers (pilot research). The question of a sound change in progress from pre- to post-aspiration (['pahta] > ['pahtha] > ['patha]) has not yet been addressed systematically.

Our study addresses this issue from a sociophonetic perspective, comparing Spanish from Seville (i.e. capital of Andalusia) and Granada (i.e. major town of Eastern Andalusia). Following the apparent-time method we tested whether young and older speakers of both varieties had different strategies to contrast /t/ vs. /st/ in production. We hypothesized that young speakers of Seville Spanish would use primarily post-aspiration as an acoustic cue of /st/, while the other speaker groups would use other cues such as pre-aspiration or the C/V-ratio. We analysed five trisyllabic words with medial /st/ (e.g. /pes 'tapa/ 'eyelash') and two comparable /t/-words (e.g. /e 'tapa/ 'leg, stage') from 48 speakers; 24 from Seville, 24 from Granada, each divided into two age groups. The dependent variables included the difference of post-aspiration (i.e. VOT) and of C/V-ratio between /st/ and /t/, and occurrence of pre-aspiration in the /st/-words. An ANOVA showed that post-aspiration-difference was significantly larger among younger speakers not only in Seville (p < 0.001), but also in Granada (p < 0.05), and younger speakers in both varieties (p < 0.05). Furthermore, among the younger speakers, women showed a larger VOT-difference than men (p < 0.05). Our results show different stages of an on-going sound change from pre- to post-aspiration, which seems to be leaded by women. Furthermore, our findings indicate how the realization of the same phonological contrast varies according to social variables. The question remains if the emerging post-aspiration in Granada is contact-induced or if it is the result of an independent articulatory or perceptual based process. A perception experiment is planned to investigate which social variables listeners associate with the innovative phonetic variants, what may shed light on the issue of whether these fine phonetic details may carry social meanings (Foulkes et. al, 2010).

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BRAÑA-STRAW, MICHELLE CRISTINA University of Gloucestershire, United Kingdom

A SOCIOPHONETIC STUDY OF PRICE AND CHOICE, COMPARING BRITISH BARBADI-ANS AND ANGLOS IN IPSWICH

Traditionally, sociolinguists researching linguistic variation have tended to rely on externally imposed social categories to account for the patterns observed within a speech community (Bayley 2002). However, a number of studies have demonstrated the importance of using ethnographically-informed analyses to further our understanding of the social meaning of linguistic practices, particularly in ethnically diverse communities (Alim 2004, Mendoza-Denton 2007, Rampton 1995, 2006).

This paper combines fine-grained phonetic analysis, with ethnography to draw out the social meanings of linguistic patterns found within the ethnically diverse community in Ipswich, England. Focussing on two ethnic groups, Barbadians and Anglos, I investigate the possible merger of the PRICE/CHOICE vowels and explore the extent to which an ethnographic analysis can account for the variation and change. Ipswich is the main urban centre of the, largely rural, English county of Suffolk. It has a small Barbadian community (established since the 1940s) that has developed strong social networks, including family ties in both Barbadian and Anglo communities. Barbadians also advocate for ethnic minorities through political and community engagement (Author 2011).

Demographic and linguistic data were collected in lpswich, between 2000 and 2002 employing participant observation and recordings [semi-structured interviews and word lists]. I present the results of the PRICE/CHOICE vowels - /ai/ light, price, /oi/ boy, enjoy - for 12 Barbadians and 12 Anglos. Linguists have often commented that the raised/centralised pronunciation of [ai] is one of the most distinctive characteristics of Barbadian speech as compared to other Anglophone Caribbean varieties (Blake 2004, Roberts 1988, Van Herk 2003, Wells 1982). Traditionally, similar phonetic variants were found in Southern English varieties including Suffolk, but many varieties are losing their raised/centralised variants along with their distinctive regional identification (Kerswill & Williams 2002).

ARNOLD, ARON

Laboratoire de phonétique et phonologie (UMR 7018 - CNRS / Université Sorbonne nouvelle), France

GENDERED VOICES/ GENDERING VOICES

Gender identities are performatively constituted through social practices (Butler 1990, 1993; Garfinkel 1996; Kessler et McKenna 1978). Among these practices, voice and speech play a determinant role. As specific uses of pitch, timbre or voice quality are associated with femininity and masculinity (McConnell-Ginet 1978; Henton 1995, 1987; Mount & Salmon 1988; Sachs, Lieberman & Erickson 1973; Van Borsel, De Pot & De Cuypere 2009), speakers use them to be perceived and, this way, be interactionally constituted as 'woman', 'man', 'feminine' or 'masculine'. This paper focuses on the manner five Male-to-Female and three Female-to-Male transgendered speakers use voice and speech to pass as 'women' or 'men'. An analysis of phonetic and ethnographic interview data shows how gender stereotypes influence transgendered speakers in their production of

a gendered voice and the strategies/techniques used by these speakers to produce their own gendered voices. After discussing the problematic stances stereotyped gendered voices can index, data will be presented to illustrate how some transgendered speakers completely reject these stereotyped gendered voices and produce alternative gendered voices.

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KIRKHAM, SAM; PHARAO, NICOLAI University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 168

Sociolinguistics of revolution in world's capital cities: from organization to realization

Session Chair 1: Theodoropoulou, Irene

Session Abstract:

The year 2011 can be characterized as the year of global revolutions: Tunis, Cairo, Tripoli, Tel Aviv, Madrid, Athens, London, and recently New York are some of the most prominent examples of major world capitals, where - in some cases still ongoing - revolts between common people and authorities have taken place. The common thread that runs through these cities is their transformation under the current form of globalization, characterized by stretched social relations, increasing interpenetration of local and global processes, the intensification of interactions and flows, and the development of a global, transnational infrastructure (Mac Giolla Chríost 2007: 75). This state of affairs has led to a worldwide economic and political crisis, translated into high rates of unemployment and general dissatisfaction with government-initiated austerity measures, both of which generate social unrest triggered by the example of one country and then spread more broadly.

A key factor in both the organization and the realization of these revolutions is language, instances of which can be found in all aspects of revolution: from Facebook invitations to participate in major anti-authority gatherings in central squares to revolutionary manifestos; from people's cries against the authorities to graffiti and placards created by active revolutionaries. Both offline and online, written and spoken uses of language contribute towards the construction of revolution, which in turn as both an ideology and a practice channels people to particular uses of language. These uses of language have a social impact, hence they fall under the scope of sociolinguistics, and more specifically the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2010, chapters in Collins and al. 2009 and in Coupland 2010), an emerging strand of research focusing on mobile resources, framed in terms of trans-contextual networks, flows and movements (Blommaert 2010: 1).

Against this backdrop, the aim of the panel is to bring together scholars interested in analyzing major contemporary urban social phenomena, and more specifically recent revolutions, from a sociolinguistics (of globalization) perspective. Globalized sociolinguistics of revolution seeks to answer a wide range of questions that problematize traditional concepts of sociolinguistics, such as 'community of practice' and 'multilingualism', to name just a few. How would we characterize the masses of people involved in these revolutions across different countries? Are they a community of practice, given their orientation to the lived texture of the situated experience of revolution? But then, if we accept that they are, then what is their shared repertoire, which is one of the core features of a community of practice (Wenger 1998)? In other words, how can multilingualism be seen as a shared repertoire in the context of globalized revolution? What are the social meanings attached to the discourses of revolution that index the ideology of revolution? How does this ideology translate into revolutionary (socio)linguistic practices in both online and offline contexts? What is the role of sociolinguistic repertoires in this translation process? How do these repertoires mediate between the organization and the realization of revolution and what can this mediation tell us sociolinguistically?

The panel welcomes papers, which focus on case studies from the aforementioned (and other, if relevant) cities of the world and deal with the social aspects of the language used in the organization and realization of revolution. Case studies can include ethnographically collected data analyses of actual activists'/revolutionaries' uses of language in various contexts and/or the analysis of linguistic landscapes (e.g. chapters in Gorter 2006) associated with revolution. The ultimate aim is to come up with a theoretical framework, informed by diverse data sets from different urban sociopolitical contexts, which describes and interprets revolutionary sociolinguistic repertoires and their role in the context of globalization.

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PANOVIC, IVAN

University of Oxford, United Kingdom

VERBALISING REVOLT, IN WRITING: FROM AN ONLINE CALL TO DEMONSTRATIONS TO TRANSIENT LINGUISTIC CITYSCAPE(S) OF CAIRO

To say that language has played, and continues to play, an important role in what is commonly referred to as the Egyptian Revolution, would be an understatement. In many ways, language has been constitutive of it. Ever since the initial uprising started throughout the country on January 25, 2011, with its focal point being Tahrir Square in downtown Cairo, different ways in which language is put to work have been as important as bravery and persistence. In fact, it is exactly through verbal art and skilful manipulation of various linguistic resources that participants, both active and potential, are mobilised, informed, encouraged and motivated. While it is difficult, if at all possible, to postulate a direct, causal relationship between contemporary reconfiguration of the Egyptian sociolinguistic setting on the one hand, and on the other ongoing expressions of dissent and resistance among many Egyptians, there are reasons to argue that there is a correlation between the two phenomena. Starting from an online call that was circulated on the Internet (primarily through Facebook) on the eve of the demonstrations scheduled for January 25, 2011, I examine linguistic features of a number of written revolution-related textual products, such as tweets, Wikipedia articles, post-January-25 books, posters, signs and banners displayed in Tahrir Square, as well as, mostly short lived, graffiti. I situate this analysis within my broader ethnographic findings on 'a changing linguascape' in contemporary Egypt where Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) constitute the theoretical poles of what has traditionally been understood as 'the diglossic continuum.' The Egyptian sociolinguistic setting, however, is here understood as being redefined and reconfigured by the increasing socio economic importance of yet another linguistic variety - English. Relevant examples and linguistic details are discussed with reference to a broader socio-cultural context and local language ideologies surrounding the production and reception of a rapidly growing number of texts that employ a variety of features and draw on different linguistic resources, thus often defying, in the outcome, the hegemonic ideological projection that writing is the domain of MSA. The inventory of linguistic resources variously employed by various writers in various circumstances is identified to contain re-combinations across three linguistic varieties, MSA, ECA and English, and two scripts, Arabic and Latin. By and large, these re-combinations and language choices are shown to be strategic, locally meaningful, yet often indexical of global flows and aspiring cosmopolitanisms.

This ethnographically grounded account of a dynamic, changing and diversified character of revolution-related writing practices in present-day Egypt, exposes inadequacy of the concept of diglossia, of which the Arabic sociolinguistic setting is often cited as a textbook example, and calls for a more flexible framework that would account for the trans-/metro-lingual character of the local practice of revolt.

DABBOUR, KHALED MOHAMMAD Al-Azhar University, Egypt

THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF TAHRIR SQUARE PROTEST SIGNS AND EGYPTIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

There has been an increasing research interest of the linguistic landscape (LL) among linguists during the past decade. (see Backhaus 2007, Gorter 2006 & Landry and Bourhis 1997). The present study intends to contribute to this field of research through a study of Tahir square of Cairo, the urban capital city of Egypt. This is a research of the languages that occur in Tahrir Square at the heart of Cairo during the revolution in 2011. Unlike several LL studies which mainly examine public and commercial signs such as street names and shop signs, this study proposes a vivid perspective to the LL research by investigating the Egyptian revolution protest signs. During the revolution, the spectacular LL was protest signs. Objective: The main objective of this study is to show how the LL of Tahrir Square protest signs can offer some insights into Egyptian national identity. Methods: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) methodological approach was adopted as it suits the purpose of this study. CDA scholars (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) view language as a 'social practice' and give distinctive consideration to context as well as to the relationship between language and power. This paper has investigated the LL of Tahrir square settings during the revolution which may reveal a particular relationship between language and power. The unit of analysis was each protest sign in search for a dominant pattern that represents the Egyptian national identity. The emphasis of this study was on Arabic and English languages. Arabic is the official language of Egypt and English is the international language with a great significance in world. Results: Following the term used by Landry and Bourhis (1997), I suggest that all protest signs may be considered to be bottom-up signs. The main pattern found in these signs was a sense of humor pattern which is a unique identifier of Egyptian national identity. Tahrir square demonstrators used their hilarious handmade signs to build a sense of safe community among themselves as well as to mobilize the rest of the population. They have succeeded. The safety feeling was reiterated by holding their children - even their toddlers- while carrying their humorous protest signs. In a spontaneous response, millions of Egyptians turned out in large numbers, for eighteen consecutive days, not only in Tahrir square but also in most of major cities all over Egypt. As a result, an end of a dictatorship era in the Middle East was seen live on TV channels.

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KITIS, E. DIMITRIS King's College London, United Kingdom

STREET SLOGANS IN GREECE: THE GENRE, SOCIAL PRACTICE AND RECONTEXTU-ALIZATIONS OF AN ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN YOUTH CULTURE.

The focus of the presentation is a transgressive type of graffiti, which is common in urban environments in Greece and is here termed street slogans. The term 'street slogans' is used to differentiate this heterogeneous genre of radical communication from the broader phenomenon of global urban graffiti cultures. Street slogan discourse, however, is also enacted in other formats, such as print media (posters, fliers, banners, placards, newspapers, magazines), electronic media (social media, digital video, blogs, corporate media websites, file sharing and activist networks) or verbally by groups in demonstrations. The data viewed in this presentation consists of a) street slogans in photographic and printed format; b) my own experience from fieldwork; c) digital text/image/video from various online fora. In order to analyse street slogans, I see them: firstly, as texts, secondly, emplaced within urban space and, thirdly, through their various uses in action. Consequently, I have respectively used: a) multiple linguistic tools for their analysis as texts; b) photography and semiotics; and c) videos to analyze street slogans as performances. As a natural extension of this analysis, I also look at the recontextualizations of street slogans in the mass media by adopting a discourse analytic perspective on (video) excerpts from the news. The analysis of the data has led to the following findings: a) street slogans are a hybrid, multimodal genre comprised of short forceful utterances and humorous puns that effectively subvert linguistic norms and widely accepted truths; b) street slogans make use of an array of linguistic and non-linguistic devices of referentiality and indexicality to interact with their immediate context (situation, urban space); c) street slogans constitute embodied, confrontational performances by (hooded) youths and enable sequences of common action and ritual; and finally d) street slogans may undergo numerous recontextualizations, such as attracting media attention in times of social crisis. The first three findings are seen as different facets of negotiating a common 'anti-authoritarian' identity by a youth culture. The fourth point examines the nature of the relationship between street slogans, the 'anti-authoritarian' youth culture and the mass media.

GEORGALIDOU, MARIANTHI University of the Aegean, Greece

FUNCTIONS OF HUMOR IN GREEK POLITICAL DISCOURSE: THE CASE OF HOODED INDIVIDUALS

The present study investigates functions of humor in the discourse of Greek politicians. The data under examination come from press conferences, media interviews and the official proceedings of parliamentary sittings during a period of riots in December 2008. The theoretical issues that are addressed concern the structures and functions of humor in political discourse. In accordance with numerous studies highlighting aspects of political and parliamentary discourse that concern the rhetoric of political combat (Mulkay 1988, Morreall 2005, Hobbs 2007, Tsakona and Popa 2011), humor, metaphor and irony are shown to be powerful weapons in the discourse of political adversaries. Also, the role of the media in the formation of dialogical networks as well as parameters of audience design (Leudar and Nekvapil 1998, Fetzer and Weizman 2006) that are connected to the publicization of political discourse are highlighted for their impact on the linguistic choices of politicians. In the present study, the analysis of an extensive dialogical network that was initiated by the statement of the leader of Greek Communist Party as to the caressing of the ears of the hooded in the media reveals various aspects of the organization of rival political discourse. Firstly, we will show how media contribute to the transformation of a specific wording into a 'sound bite' that is being repeated in the discourse of politicians of all political parties both inside and outside the parliament. Secondly, the switching to the humorous mode, albeit in an aggressive and derogatory manner, the adoption or the rejection of the metaphor of the caressing of the ears, and the different meanings attributed to the term hooded will be shown to contribute to the construction of various alignments that, in cases, can be considered incompatible with one's declared political ideology, but still form part of a highly competitive parliamentary system such as the Greek. Last, we will show how the symbiotic relations among media and parliamentary institutions contribute to the formation of hybrid discourse modes that lead to the conversationalization and de-ideologisation of political discourse.

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FRENZ-BELKIN, PATRICIA; MEDDEB, ELIZABETH The City University of New York, United States of America

OCCUPY WALL STREET: HOW A SOCIAL MOVEMENT IS DEPICTED IN MAINSTREAM MEDIA

In 2011, the word 'occupy' was selected as word of the year by members of the American Dialect Society. This term describes a form of non-violent social protest against social, economic, and racial inequalities. The 'Occupy Wall Street' movement has been and continues to be one of the major loci of this grassroots initiative, which has become a pressing issue in the public discourse in general and within political debates, in particular, When the 'Occupy Wall Street' initiative started on September 17, there were few headlines published about the movement, that is, it was conspicuously absent in the mainstream and local media sources. On September 24, while marching uptown, 80 protesters were arrested for disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. Reports of police brutality (i.e., pepper spraying the protesters) increased the media coverage exponentially. Only when it became clear that the social

activists were truly 'occupying' the park (i.e., Zuccotti Park, which is located in the Wall Street Financial district) for the long term, did the papers start to cover the protest. Borrowing from the methodologies of critical discourse analysis (CDA), we examine headlines referring to 'Occupy Wall Street' in print media such as The New York Post, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Daily News, AM New York, and Metro. These media outlets represent three different types of widely-read newspapers in New York (e.g., AM and Metro are free to subway riders in New York; the NY Times and the Wall Street Journal are internationally known; the NY Post and the Daily News are local NY papers). For this paper, we will provide a micro analysis of the language (semantics, syntax, metaphors, metonyms and pronouns) and accompanying photographs that are used to describe the Wall Street movement and its purported goals, and of the connotations that these descriptions are likely to evoke in readers, that is, potential voters.

THEODOROPOULOU, IRENE Qatar University, Qatar

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 169

Sociolinguistic perspectives on the internationalization of higher edu-cation: Student mobility and its consequences

Session Chair 1: Mortensen, Janus Session Chair 2: Fabricius, Anne H.

Session Abstract:

Despite the fact that internationalization is a ubiquitous buzzword in European academia, the phenomenon of internationalization and its wide-ranging sociolinguistic consequences are not fully understood at present.

- How does the present increase in transnational student mobility affect the sociolinguistic milieu of lecture halls and seminar rooms around Europe? - How do rising demands on academics to publish internationally (which almost invariably means 'in English') affect the use of other languages in the production and dissemination of knowledge?

- diversity that follows in the wake of increased internationalization?

As its overarching theoretical aim, the thematic session will seek to explore how sociolinguistic theorizing can benefit from work on the internationalized university as a multilingual and multicultural workplace, learning space and cultural crucible. As a consequence of increased transnational mobility, universities are rapidly turning into microcosms of the globalizing world, and universities can therefore be utilized as case studies in the exploration of central sociolinguistic areas such as 'linguistic variation', 'language policy' and 'language ideology' outside the traditional confines of relatively homogenous and stable speech communities. The international university shares its multilingual and multicultural makeup with many contemporary cities in Europe and elsewhere. The internationalized university is thus, apart from being an interesting empirical research site in its own right, also a site that allows for exemplary investigations of some of the linguistic and social processes that are currently (re-)shaping the sociolinguistic landscape of postmodern cities across the globe.

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IVANUS, DUMITRU DANIEL

University of Portsmouth, United Kingdom

(RE)DEFINING TRANSNATIONAL STUDENT MOBILITY: THE DISCURSIVE DYNAMICS OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

Since 1971 the European Union (EU) has shown an increasing interest in the field of higher education, especially in the areas of policy and mobility. Within the EU's policy on education, The European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students (ERASMUS) has taken a forefront position, as it is claimed to boost the European project and strengthen the European identity through European cooperation, development and exchange. Despite the anxiety to enhance the democratic credentials and legitimacy of the EU, the pivotal position of the European youth, and the continuous

This thematic session will start to explore the sociolinguistic consequences of university internationalization by considering questions like the following:

- How does the growing need to attract international students and staff affect the overt and covert language policies of European universities? - And what happens to the language attitudes and language ideologies of students and staff when they are faced with the linguistic and cultural funding and growth of Erasmus over the past twenty years, little attention has been paid to the discursive processes of identity construction within the Erasmus community; also, very little is known about how Erasmus students explore their networks or whether the social networks created have an effect on the students' feeling of belonging to Europe. In other words, our knowledge about the promotion and impact throughout the years of the largest student exchange programme in Europe remains extremely limited. It is precisely this longstanding gap I intend to cover with my presentation, in an attempt to offer an overview on how students, if at all, define themselves as Europeans and how they negotiate their identities within the context of increased transnational mobility.

Using survey and interview data from a cohort of Erasmus students between 2010-2011, this presentation intends to investigate the overall rhetorical structure and discourse strategies which are being used in the negotiation of social spaces and how Erasmus students position themselves within academic and social communities. An analysis of the data is used to establish the impact of cultural and linguistic flows on student identity negotiations within the transnational social networks.

TRIEBL, EVA

Karl-Franzens University Graz, Austria

BE MOBILE, GO ABROAD, BE SUCCESSFUL. A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENTATION OF EXCHANGE AND MOBILITY PROGRAMMES IN UNIVERSITIES SELF-MARKETING.

Since the EU's inception of the Bologna Process in 1999, aimed at creating a European Higher Education Area, European universities have been trying to adapt their image to the objectives set up in documents such as the Leuven Communiqué of 2009. The need to meet the demands of the vision of 'comparable, compatible and coherent systems of higher education in Europe' (www.ehea.info) mainly manifests itself in the self-marketing of European universities. Bologna buzzwords such as lifelong learning, employability and mobility now feature on most universities' websites - for example, the University of Surrey Roehampton in London promotes itself with providing 'employability advisors' and tries to attract international students by stating that 'studying abroad [...] enriches your curriculum vitae and gives you that much needed edge when applying for jobs.' (http://www.roehampton.ac.uk) The notion of mobility in the context of education is ambiguous, referring to the willingness and desire to study and/or work abroad for a period of time during your studies and to change workplaces after your studies in order to enhance your employability and be maximally responsive to the demands of the job market, possibly giving up life-long plans for the sake of being sufficiently 'flexible'. This ambiguity as well as that of the desire to move and the need to move - of moving and being moved, as it were - is being increasingly blurred, creating a very positive conception of mobility. Assuming that universities themselves will play a major role in constructing this positive image and blurring its ambiguities, I will examine how universities represent mobility and exchange programmes as key prerequisites towards employability with the aim of attracting students. Based on the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, I will quantitatively analyse a corpus of 100 texts advertising mobility and exchange taken from websites of UK universities, trying to detect regularities in their language policies and to 'uncover' the worldviews implicitly conveyed by these texts.

Thematic Session 169

Sociolinguistic perspectives on the internationalization of higher education: Language policy at the international university

Session Chair 1: Mortensen, Janus Session Chair 2: Fabricius, Anne H.

MCCAMBRIDGE, LAURA; PITKÄNEN-HUHTA, ANNA University of Jyväskylä, Finland

DISCOURSES OF LITERACY ON AN INTERNATIONAL MASTER'S PROGRAMME: EXAM-**INING STUDENTS' ACADEMIC WRITING NORMS**

English has long been the dominant lingua franca in international scientific communities and this dominance is in turn reflected in higher education worldwide: students are increasingly expected to be able to read course material written in English and in many European countries are expected to be proficient in academic English before graduating. A more recent development of this trend is the growing number of degree programmes conducted entirely through English in countries where it is not an official language. Finland is a prime example: all Finnish universities now offer at least one English medium programme. These 'international' programmes attract students and teachers from around the world, forming remarkably multicultural, multilingual discourse communities where English is used for participation and learning. English academic literacy in particular typically plays a central role on these programmes, with students' learning and assessment culminating in the completion of a thesis.

Most research into English academic writing in non-English speaking countries has thus far been from an ESP (English for Specific Purposes) perspective with the aim of determining how students can best improve their language and acquire the academic writing norms of an apparently monolithic English-speaking world. Fewer studies have looked at this context from a sociolinguistic perspective, with the aim of understanding the norms of English use within these programmes as discourse communities in their own right and how they reflect the social world in which they exist. With this agenda in mind, we take an 'Academic Literacies' approach to investigating students' expressed norms of English academic writing on an International Master's programme, perceiving these norms to be ideological and interwoven with the purposes, values and power structures of the society that shapes them. International programmes where English is used as a lingua-franca between highly mobile students are particularly interesting from this viewpoint, as intersections between local and global social scales. These programmes therefore offer a valuable opportunity to explore the tensions and conflicts brought about by the globalization of English in academia.

The data for this study consist of semi-structured interviews with students from Finland, Germany, China, Japan, Iran and Brazil upon beginning an

English medium Master's programme in Jyväskylä, Finland. These students were asked about their previous experiences with English academic writing and their perceptions of good, normal and correct academic writing in English. Their answers were then analyzed to identify common discourses on the subject, as well as to uncover the authorities students oriented to in explaining correct practices. On a global level, it was found that students readily and easily resorted to seemingly universal norms of good English academic writing, usually with native English-speaking academics as authoritative models to follow. On a local level, however, these norms seemed to clash with their personal experiences of writing in various contexts and with the authority of local, often non-native, teachers.

SAARINEN, TAINA

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

HIGHER EDUCATION – A NATIONAL INSTITUTION WITHIN AN INTERNATIONAL SET-TING? THE IMPLICATIONS OF 'LANGUAGE' TO HIGHER EDUCATION

With the increasing focus on policies of 'internationalization', 'knowledge society' and 'knowledge economy' within higher education (Välimaa & Hoffman 2008; Williams 2010), it is somewhat surprising that language does not feature in these policies that would seem to require a certain amount of language use and communication (Saarinen 2012). Simultaneously, while developments of internationalization and globalization challenge our views of a national higher education system, the aspect of 'national' has not come into focus of analysis in current higher education policy research. This presentation fills these gaps, by focusing on the cross section of the political (in)visibility of language in higher education on one hand and the universities as national institutions on the other.

Universities provide a testing ground for theorizing about the position of language in developments of internationalization and globalization, and of the position of national institutions within those developments. It is a cliché that 'universities have always been international'. However, it is obvious that universities are, demographically speaking, internationalizing in different ways than the general society, as international recruitments within universities rarely reflect the migration patterns within any Western country (see, for instance, Hoffman 2007). The presentation brings together different kind of data: sets of national and institutional policy documents; interviews at universities in Finland and Denmark (N=25); and a questionnaire to all Nordic universities and colleges on their language and internationalization policies . The qualitative discourse analysis of the data focusses on the action and actors (see van Leeuwen 1995 & 1996) around the concept of 'language': what actors and what action takes place around language?

- The main questions are:
 - · What is the position of language in Nordic internationalization policies of higher education?
 - · What action and actors seem to drive 'internationalization'?

· What are the implications of the position of language to universities as national institutions in an international setting? The presentation is part of a larger study on the position of language in higher education policies, in Finland, funded by the Academy of Finland project n. 138287.

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STOIKE, RAHEL

University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

MULTILINGUAL LANDSCAPING AND LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF INTERNATIONAL STU-DENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LUXEMBOURG

The officially trilingual University of Luxembourg (French, English and German) has three campuses in and around the capital of Luxembourg. More than 50 % of all inscriptions for the winter term 2011/2012 are from international students. Most of them are bilingual or multilingual to different degrees, but do not necessarily master all of the university languages. As well, their competencies in the languages of the study program chosen can vary considerably. We assume that their language attitudes and linguistic repertoires change within the specific multilingual environment. Our theoretical framework combines ethnographic with linguistic landscape research and critical discourse analysis which allows us to look more closely at how international students adapt to the new multilingual environment. The fact that students do not necessarily know German or French, but in most cases do know English and various other languages might be reflected in the linguistic landscapes (advertisements, teaching and culture offers). In our work we look at what kinds of language attitudes are expressed and how these are linked to the linguistic landscape of the university as well at the features of bottom-up multilingual landscaping on the campus. In addition we are interested how the university adapts to the growing number of international students and scholars. Thus we are going to compare the use of languages in the linguistic landscape with the language policies of the University. By linking empirical research on language attitudes with an investigation of multilingual landscaping on the three campuses as well as language policies of the University of Luxembourg we want to reflect on the space official and other languages take in individual lifes and in the linguistic landscapes of a higher education institute.

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GAZZOLA, MICHELE

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

THE IMPACT OF UNIVERSITY RANKINGS AND INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY ON LIN-**GUISTIC DIVERSITY IN SCIENTIFIC COMMUNICATION**

The role of higher education in influencing economic growth has become stronger as a result of several structural changes that have taken place in the economies of developed countries during the last two decades. Information, technology, research and learning have gradually become the strongest drivers of productivity and economic growth. This phenomenon is often referred to as the 'emergence of the knowledge-based economy'

Our reflections of the emergence of the knowledge-based economy have led to the conclusion that its influence on national higher education systems has been twofold. First, it has stressed the role of evaluation. A possible strategy to improve universities' results in research and teaching consists in introducing a certain degree of selectivity in the allocation of public funding. In other words, a given share of resources can be allocated on a competitive basis according to the outcomes achieved by universities, captured through appropriate performance indicators.

A second consequence regards the increasingly strategic importance of attracting highly-skilled individuals from other countries. This implies, among other things, the implementation of a series of immigration policies aimed at supporting the international mobility of students and researchers, or more specifically of the 'brightest students and researchers'. The European Union (EU) strategy for higher education (the 'Bologna Process') provides an example of such policies.

This article analyses the system of indicators adopted in Italy to evaluate universities' research activities. I show that it provides an implicit structure of economic incentives which de facto is likely to favour the exclusive use of English in scientific communication. This is due, among other things, to the use of bibliometric indicators and databases skewed in favour of English. This likely outcome must not be regarded as a side or unintentional effect of the reform, but, on the contrary, as the result of the incentives built into the evaluation system (and thus as a de facto language policy).

I also analyse the rising phenomenon of programmes taught entirely in English in Italian universities, and I show that the introduction of programmes in English does not seem to respond to a real demand by students or to a demand for language skills on the Italian labour market. Rather, it is related to the use of the number of foreign students as an indicator of university performance.

The focus of the article is on the respective use of Italian and English in Italian universities, but general remarks are also relevant to other countries and the European Union as a whole. This article emphasizes the effects of academic performance indicators on linguistic diversity and thus their role as a language policy tool. In addition, it addresses the question of the quality of indicators currently employed. I conclude with some suggestions regarding language policies to support linguistic diversity and linguistic justice in scientific communication.

HULTGREN, ANNA KRISTINA

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

PUBLISHING INTERNATIONALLY: WHAT ARE THE CONSEQUENCES FOR NORDIC SCI-ENTIFIC TERMINOLOGY?

The rising demand of academics to publish internationally has raised considerably public and political concern in the Nordic countries (Kulturministeriet 2008, Statens Offentliga Utredningar 2002, Språkrådet 2005). One concern relates to the presumed failure of the national Nordic languages to develop adequate scientific terminology, particularly in the natural sciences where publication in English is particularly widespread. Little systematic knowledge exists about the empirical validity of such concerns. Using a novel, purpose-designed method, this paper empirically tests the validity of the purported (non-)existence of Nordic equivalents of English terms within cutting-edge research areas in physics, chemistry and computer science. It then relates the findings to recent constructionist approaches in sociolinguistics (Blommaert 2010, Pennycook 2010, Heller 2008). It concludes by proposing a unified theory of sociolinguistics and globalization which acknowledges both the empirical validity of constructionist approaches but also the pervasiveness of essentialist perceptions of 'language'.

LILLIS, THERESA The Open University, United Kingdom

DISCUSSION

Discussion part

Thematic Session 169

Sociolinguistic perspectives on the internationalization of higher edu-cation: English language proficiency and identity in the international universitv

Session Chair 1: Mortensen, Janus Session Chair 2: Fabricius, Anne H.

PREISLER, BENT

Roskilde University, Denmark

TEACHING IN ONE'S 1ST LANGUAGE VS. ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA: LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE AND ACADEMIC AUTHENTICITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Today, the bulk of scientific, technological and academic knowledge in the world is (only or also) available in English, which implies that investigations into the internationalization of universities should include a strong (though by no means exclusive) emphasis on the impact of English. The project presented here builds on the fact that the internationalization of universities puts pressure on institutions of Higher Education to use English as the language of instruction instead of or in addition to the local language.

As a case study the project focuses specifically on Danish university teachers' spoken discourse and interaction with students in a Danish-language vs. English-language classroom. The focus is on the relationship between linguistic performance and academic authenticity for university teachers teaching courses in both English and Danish, based on recent sociolinguistic concepts such as 'persona,' 'stylization' and 'authenticity' (Bell, Eckert, Coupland, Bucholtz). Some preliminary research questions: To what extent does it affect teachers' scholarly and educational authenticity – hence their academic authority - that they have to authenticate themselves through language which is restricted by limitations in their own active (and the students' receptive) language proficiency? What linguistic or pragmatic strategies take effect when the communication loses its anchorage in local (Danish) linguistic and cultural context? Do teachers use positive transfer of resources from the local language/cultural context to make up for potential problems? The purpose is diagnostic with a view to identifying the 'best practice' of university teachers who, without being native speakers of English, are to communicate their academic expertise through English in a multicultural learning environment. The data for the project are video recordings of teacher-student interaction in a university seminar taught in an English-language version to a linguistically diverse class of students by a teacher whose 1st language is Danish, and - for comparison - the same course component taught in Danish by the same teacher to students from Denmark. Four sets of parallel course components, and two teachers, were recorded, amounting to 24 hours of multiangle recording enabling the capturing of dialogic sequences. The analysis draws on aspects of interactional sociolinguistics and focuses on particular class activities that are comparable across the recordings.

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IINO, MASAKAZU; MURATA, KUMIKO Waseda University, Japan

'WE ARE JUN-JAPA' - DYNAMICS OF ELF COMMUNICATION IN AN ENGLISH MEDIUM ACADEMIC CONTEXT

This paper explores the use of ELF (English as a lingua franca) in a Japanese academic context, where English is formerly used as a means of instruction and interaction. In this undergraduate program, students from various backgrounds study together, negotiating complex dynamics of identity formation in communicating in ELF. They are categorized, according to their own labeling system, into several groups; kikoku (returnees from overseas mainly due to their parents' job transfer), ryugakusei (international students, in this case, mainly from Asian countries), intaa (students graduated from international schools in Japan) and jun-Japa (Japanese students born and bred in Japan). The term jun-Japa is a group category used by L1 Japanese students themselves, describing their own identity in this complex situation as those who were raised and educated solely in Japan, using Japanese as their daily means of communication. Although literally translated, the prefix 'jun' means 'authentic', 'genuine', or 'pure', it is not used discriminately against other group members, but as a way of justifying their current English proficiency which distinguishes them from other group members such as kikoku, ryugakusei and intaa In this academic environment, students make extra efforts to demonstrate that they are using ELF to communicate with their classmates, facing the fact that more than half the students' enrollments in this program are L1 Japanese speakers, i.e., jun-Japa. The ELF characteristics are observed, for example, in the use of Japanese formulaic greeting expressions at the beginning of their oral presentations, and the intentional use of Japanese vocabulary. particularly nouns denoting specifically Japanese social and cultural matters. We will explore the complex dynamics of students' identity formation, their accommodation to classmates, and ways in which they manage ELF communication where half the participants are jun-Japa, who, on their own terms, claim that it is natural that they use ELF and that they are different from NSEs

(Native Speakers of English) or native-like users of English. That is, by using the term jun-Japa, they overcome their anxiety to communicate in 'native/ native-like' English, which they had been often taught to aspire to in the Japanese secondary school environments.

This paper, thus, illustrates how jun-Japa tactfully claim their identity, survive and thrive in this English medium academic context, using ELF effectively and turn it to their advantage. This will be discussed on the basis of data collected from participant observation, analyses of classroom discourse, focus group discussions and interviews.

TERRASCHKE, AGNES Macquarie University, Australia

LANGUAGE USE AMONG INTERNATIONAL ACCOUNTING STUDENTS IN AUSTRALIA

Language use among international accounting students in Australia

This paper considers the sociolinguistic consequences of international education on the language development and social engagement of international students from the perspective of the students themselves. Based on a longitudinal gualitative study of the experiences of international postgraduate students from non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB), the analysis focuses on their use of spoken English while studying towards a degree in an in-demand field at an Australian university.

International education in Australia has been a growing industry over the last two decades and is now the country's third largest export industry. Australia's great popularity as an education destination is due not only to the good reputation of its universities, but also to current immigration rules. These grant extra points towards a permanent resident application to those students who complete a degree in an in-demand profession in Australia and who achieve an overall IELTS score of at least 7. However, while studying at an Australian university may appear to present opportunities for language development through cross-cultural interaction, the data collected for the present research suggest that international NESB students have only limited contact with people outside their own cultural group. Similar findings from other research studies highlight that this is not an isolated situation (Nesdale and Todd, 1993; Rochecouste et al. 2010). This is a concerning trend considering that a lack of interaction with English-speaking Australians can inhibit students' language development and is likely to reduce their chances of gaining permanent residency and finding employment in their chosen field (Birrell and Rapson 2005).

The present study considers students' experiences with using English both inside and outside the classroom in order to gain deeper insights into the impact of their immediate environment, the wider social setting and their personal inhibitions on their opportunities to speak English. The study is based on guarterly semi-structured interviews with international NESB students undertaking an accounting degree. Interviews were orthographically transcribed and closely analysed for recurring themes and common issues with the help of NVivo8 software. Quotes from the data are used to illustrate the main concepts that emerged, and the findings are discussed with reference to the wider literature. The study highlights an urgent need for degree programs aimed at international students to adapt their courses to the communication needs of their specific student population; recommendations are made for how this could be achieved without compromising on the quality of the education provided.

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Thematic Session 169

Sociolinguistic perspectives on the internationalization of higher edu-cation: Language attitudes in the international university

Session Chair 1: Mortensen, Janus Session Chair 2: Fabricius, Anne H.

GALLEGO BALSÀ, LÍDIA; COTS CAIMONS, JOSEP MARIA University of Lleida, Spain

THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONALIZATION ON THE MINORITY LANGUAGE: CLASHING STANCES BETWEEN GLOBAL AND LOCAL INTERESTS IN CATALONIA

This paper aims at exploring the discourse of international students and their Catalan and Spanish language teachers at the University of Lleida to decode individuals' positioning towards the languages compounding the multilingual repertoire at the institution. We start from Jaffe's (2009) suggestion that whereas 'in monolingual contexts, speakers take stances by using a variety of linguistic forms', in bilingual contexts 'speakers have an added stance resource: language choice' (2009: 119). Since in Catalonia languages carry connotations that are seminal for individual identity construction and identification, we follow Jaffe's work adopting stance as a mediating concept between linguistic forms and social identity. Hence, we look at the positioning these individuals take on languages for being at the heart of the dilemma between local and global interests.

The data analysed come from two two-hour long focus group sessions held with seven international students and four Catalan/Spanish language teachers, respectively. Following a discourse analytical approach to the analysis of stance (see for instance, Englebretson, 2007) we conduct a bottom-up analysis to reveal how subjects (i) ascribe specific values to linguistic choices and index socio-cultural patterns, (ii) construct their selves and how this is dialogically interpreted, contested and legitimated, and (iii) align or disalign with other participants in the interaction as a resource for building intersubjective relationships.

The analysis will show that whereas teachers position themselves in favour of the institutional language policy aimed at reconciling multilingualism with the promotion and protection of the vernacular language, international students conceive their stay abroad as an investment for their future professional and socio-economic situation and, therefore, their stance is based on the symbolic power of languages. Institutional language policies created to protect the vernacular language from the 'threat' of bigger languages raise feelings of ineguality among international students who see their expectations frustrated. However, both in the case of teachers and international students we can witness how participants are capable of modifying their initial stances in the course of the interaction by approaching global interests to the local ones and vice versa.

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TÓTH, ANNAMÁRIA (1); UNGER, JOHANN WOLFGANG (2) 1: Institut d'Études Politiques - Sciences Po Paris, France; 2: Lancaster University, United Kingdom

DISCOURSE ON ELF IN ELITE INTERNATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION: NEGOTIATING LINGUISTIC IDENTITIES

In this paper, we investigate the use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) by highly mobile and globally engaged students and staff involved in a bilingual graduate programme at an elite higher-education institution in France. This paper builds on prior studies that investigate the use of ELF as a communicative tool in multilingual contexts (e.g. Hülmbauer, 2007), on attitudinal studies (e.g. Jenkins, 2007; Zeiss, 2010), and also on a number of recent approaches (e.g. Seidlhofer, 2006; Ehrenreich, 2009; Kalocsai, 2009; Smit 2010; Tóth, 2010) that have taken up the notion of groups of ELF-users as communities of practice (see Wenger, 1998). While there has been a wealth of studies on the structural and pragmatic features of ELF, there have been comparatively few in-depth qualitative analyses of the attitudes and perceptions towards language use of active ELF speakers. We will address this gap by presenting some findings from our research into a linguistically and culturally diverse community of ELF-speakers who work or study on the Master in European Affairs at Sciences Po Paris, using both English and French daily as working languages. These speakers also tend to use other languages on a regular basis, reflecting their diverse backgrounds in terms of national and linguistic identities. We draw on the critical approach to the study of language varieties developed by Unger (2009, 2010) to investigate the discourse on ELF within this community by means of textual analysis of interview data. In doing so, we attempt to situate the discourse on ELF at Sciences Po in the context of Europeanisation and, also more generally, the globalisation of education.

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INBAR-LOURIE, OFRA (1); DONITSA-SCHMIDT, SMADAR (2) 1: Tel Aviv University, Israel: 2: Kibbutzim Teacher-Education College

INTERNALIZATION OF TEACHER-EDUCATION COLLEGES IN ISRAEL:VIEWS OF STAFF AND STUDENTS TOWARDS THE ENGLISHIZATION PHENOMENA

The growing need to become more globalized and to attract international students and staff has moved academic institutions in Israel towards internalization in various ways including the linguistic domain. Hence, programs in English (rather than in Hebrew), have become quite common in most Israeli universities. Recently this phenomenon of using English as the language of instruction has filtered down to academic colleges including teacher-education colleges creating a new linguistic reality of English usage.

Though English is not an official language in Israel, the two official languages being Hebrew and Arabic, academic studies are contingent to a major degree on English academic proficiency. In order to be accepted to and function in academic settings Israeli students are required to have a working knowledge of academic English. The recent move to introduce English content courses clearly requires more advanced mastery in the language. However, the language issue is not the only variable that needs to be considered, for it is important to see how the proposed change matches up with the language attitudes and ideologies of students and staff. These issues are accentuated in view of the fact that this Englishization process is mostly a top down one, generated and implemented by the institutions rather than by students or program lecturers. Though the move towards using English as the medium of instruction in academic institutions in Israel is increasing, very little empirical research on the various facets of its implementation is available. Findings from an initial exploratory research on using English to teach content courses in teachereducation colleges showed that students in general are only mildly in favour of the option. Furthermore, it was found that students who had participated in such courses reported moderate gains in English proficiency (Inbar-Lourie & Donitsa-Schmidt, forthcoming). The current research examined the attitudes, ideologies and motivations of students and staff members towards the Englishization process in teacher-

education colleges. The research questions were: (1) What are the reasons given by policy-makers in the colleges for introducing the Englishization initiative? (2) What are the attitudes of staff members towards the internalization process of the institution and in particular towards the Englishization phenomena (3) What are the attitudes and motivations of students (prospective teachers) in the Hebrew and Arab colleges towards studying courses in English as a medium of instruction, and which variables predict their willingness to study in such courses?

The total research sample included 100 staff members (lecturers and policy makers) in teacher-education institutions and 300 prospective teachers (200 Hebrew-speaking and 100 Arabic-speaking). Data were collected via questionnaires and semi-structured interviews.

The presentation will discuss the overt and covert motives and attitudes of the participants towards this initiative. The main issues arising from the findings relate to language ideology, the role of English as a global language and its potential threat to the local languages as well as to who should teach such courses, native or non-native English speakers.

SÖDERLUNDH, HEDDA Malmö University, Sweden

GLOBAL STRATEGIES AND LOCAL NORMS. LANGUAGES AT THE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

The international university attracts students and staff from different parts of the world. People meet and interact for a couple of months, weeks or days, and then return to their home countries. To the meetings they bring expectations about social and linguistic behavior that are subsequently negotiated and manifested in interaction - expectations about what languages to use with whom and in what situations, notions of the statuses of different languages in relation to one other, and presumptions about what contact language to use in lingua franca-interactions.

In my paper I discuss the kind of expectations - or norms - at the international university that have to do with language choice. The discussion is based on a study on language choice at English-medium courses in Swedish higher education, in which norms are defined as shared - explicit and implicit expectations concerning social and linguistic behavior. As evidenced by what students say and do, I discuss general as well as group-specific norms for language choice and how they relate to each other and to the institutional context. These norms are seldom overt, instead being 'seen but unnoticed' as Heritage (1984) writes, and the analysis is first and foremost based on sequences where students or staff violate the norm and hence make visible a sociocultural context (cf. Gafaranga & Torras 2002).

The results show that English is the first choice of language in most classroom situations, as being the shared lingua franca and official medium of instruction. In addition, the majority language of the surrounding population holds a strong position and Swedish is occasionally used in interactions. Languages associated with exchange students from non-English speaking countries, such as Spanish or French, are not included in participants' expectations. In the paper I argue that participants' norms are based on calculations of others' linguistic competence and identity, and strongly influenced by the local context. Swedish holds a certain indexical value that gives the language a strong position alongside English. A conclusion is that even though the courses are international in the sense that they attract students from different countries, local sociolinguistic circumstances, such as geographical place and societal context, also influence participants' norms for language choice.

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MORTENSEN, JANUS

Roskilde University, Denmark

ATTITUDES TO LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Since the late 1990s, internationalization of European Higher Education has primarily been facilitated by the introduction of English as a medium of instruction, either as a supplement to - or replacement of - the local language.

In many countries, this has upset the sociolinguistic order of universities and other institutions of Higher Education and led to debates over the role and future of the local/national language (or languages) vis-à-vis English as 'the World language'.

However, it still remains largely unexplored how the language attitudes of university students and staff (as opposed to politicians and public commentators) are affected when they are faced with the linguistic and cultural diversity that follows in the wake of university internationalization.

In a first attempt to fill this gap, this paper reports on a study of the attitudes to linguistic variation observed amongst a small cohort of students at 'an international study programme' at a Danish university.

The study is based on explorative interviews with six students from the programme in question, three local students, and three students from abroad who have come to Denmark to study.

The interviews were designed with a view to tap into three potential aspects of the students' linguistic attitudes, namely their

1.attitudes to the role of the local language (Danish) vis-à-vis English in the university context and beyond (is Danish considered a relevant/useful language by the students?)

2. attitudes to different forms of English in the university context (is there 'a best kind of English'? or are all forms equally accepted?)

3. attitudes to other languages in the university context, i.e. attitudes to languages other than English and Danish that transnationally mobile students bring with them when they come to Denmark to study (do students value this linguistic pluralism?)

The paper reports on the findings of the study in relation to these themes, and discusses to what extent a case study of this kind can contribute to our general understanding of the sociolinguistic processes that characterize multilingual and multicultural transient communities in Late Modernity.

COULMAS, FLORIAN

German Institute for Japanese Studies, Japan

DISCUSSION

Discussion part I

Thematic Session 171

Experimental methods in the study of social meaning

Session Chair 1: Pharao, Nicolai Session Chair 2: Maegaard, Marie

Session Abstract:

There is a growing interest in the experimental study of perceptions of speech variation. While there is a long tradition for language attitude studies (Garrett 2010), the widespread use of the matched guise technique (Lambert et al. 1960) has for the most part focused on global properties of speech variation like 'accent', 'dialect' or 'language'. The recent decade has seen an increase in the sophistication of experimental techniques used to explore the perception of finer details in speech variation with most studies focusing on a particular sociolinguistic variable which has been found in production studies to correlate with particular groups of people or, from another perspective, in constructions of particular personae or stances (Campbell-Kibler 2009, Labov et al. 2006). In addition to these studies a growing body of work has shown that social categories themselves may influence the perception of linguistic variants, when they are invoked in the experimental setting (Niedzielski 1999, Hay & Drager 2010). The development of the technical possibilities for manipulating smaller segments of speech, such as specific variants, has given new insights into the relationship between individual variants, clusters of variants, and social meaning. A focus of this thematic session will be how the relationship between variant and linguistic context can be conceptualized given the growing body of evidence that subtle manipulations of linguistic content can alter social perceptions. Furthermore, the studies that show a link between the social context and linguistic perception stresses the importance of listeners' interpretation of the speech situation for their interpretation of the variation. Together these strands of research within sociolinguistics show us that new knowledge of the social meaning potentials of linguistic variants can be gathered by using controlled data manipulation in perceptual experiments, whether we are manipulating the speech or the situation.

For this thematic session we invite papers that focus on the investigation of how patterns of sociolinguistic variation are perceived and given social meaning by language users.

Discussion questions:

How does the social context influence the perception of variants?

How does the linguistic context influence the social meaning potential of variants? How can we study clusters of variants to gain a better understanding of the perception of sociolinguistic style(s)?

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PHARAO, NICOLAI: MAEGAARD, MARIE

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

LEVON, EREZ (1); FOX, SUE (2)

1: Queen Mary University of London, United Kingdom; 2: Queen Mary University of London, United Kingdom

SOCIAL SALIENCE AND THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC MONITOR: AN INVESTIGATION OF (ING) AND (TH)-FRONTING

As part of the goal of understanding how language is perceived in its social context, sociolinguists have begun to investigate listeners' perceptual sensitivity to the quantitative distributions of socially meaningful forms. In particular, Labov et al. (2011) examine the extent to which the frequency of occurrence of a variant impacts upon a listener's affective reactions to a speaker. In their work, Labov et al. argue for the existence of what they call a sociolinguistic monitor- a cognitive mechanism that governs frequency-linked perceptual awareness. In this paper, we seek to assess the generalizability of Labov et al.'s claims regarding the sociolinguistic monitor by testing its operation on two variables in a British context. Our goal in doing so is to provide a theoretically and socially more nuanced account of how the monitor may function. We report the results of two perception experiments. Experiment 1 is an exact replication of Labov et al.'s original study, where we examined listeners' perceptual sensitivity to the (ING) variable (or the alternation between a final alveolar [n] and a final velar [n] at the end of multisyllabic words such as walking; e.g., Trudgill 1974). The same experimental protocols were followed, with a set of 7 resynthesised stimuli derived from the speech of a woman from the Southeast of England and controlled for the variable realisation of (ING) presented to a group of British listeners. Results from 57 respondents vield very different findings from those found in the US study, with listeners showing no sensitivity to alternate realisations of the (ING) variable. We suggest that these findings support previous production-based claims that the variable (ING) might not be viewed as a linguistic stereotype in British English (e.g., Tagliamonte 2004) and hence is not visible to the sociolinguistic monitor, which we hypothesize is not sensitive to less socially-marked variables (i.e., indicators or markers).

To test this hypothesis, Experiment 2 examines listeners' perceptual reactions to a more clearly 'stereotypical' feature of British English: TH-fronting, or the labio-dental realisation of the inter-dental fricatives (e.g., fink for think; Kerswill 2003). The same experimental protocols were again followed, with a set of 7 resynthesised stimuli derived from the speech of the same woman from the Southeast of England and controlled for the variable occurrence of TH-fronting presented to a new group of British listeners. Preliminary results from 38 respondents thus far demonstrate a significant split in the listener population. Listeners from the South of England (where TH-fronting is widespread) show no perceptual sensitivity to frequency of occurrence of the labio-dental variants. In contrast, listeners from the North of England, where TH-fronting is less common, seem to be highly attuned to the frequency of these forms and significantly downgrade their perceptions of the speaker's 'professionalism' as a function of labio-dental frequency. We argue that these findings support the hypothesis that the monitor is sensitive only to stereotypes, and may also indicate a further influence of listener exposure and/or attitudes on sociolinguistic processing more broadly.

ROBERTSON, DUNCAN; STUART-SMITH, JANE; SCHEEPERS, CHRISTOPH University of Glasgow, United Kingdom

ACCENT AND IMPLICIT COGNITION: PRELIMINARY RESULTS ON SOCIAL CLASS AND **EVALUATION FROM GLASGOW**

Despite over two decades worth of research carried out on automatic evaluative responses in social psychology, these have rarely had a sociolinguistic focus, or utilised auditory stimuli (Castelli et al 2003). More recently, however, studies on implicit attitudes in relation to sociolinguistics have been examined (e.g. Babel 2009; Pantos 2010; Campbell-Kibler 2010). The findings of the relatively sparse work so far appear to point towards implicit associations being triggered by linguistically derived social information in much the same manner as they are for visually derived social information. With this in mind, the main research questions for this project were formulated as follows:

- 1. Does social information encoded within the speech signal impact upon the implicit associations made by listeners?
- 2. Does social information encoded within the speech signal trigger implicit associations in the same manner as visually-derived social information? 3. Do the implicit associations formed by listeners towards speakers of different varieties of English correlate with the findings of explicit attitude
- studies on those varieties?

Rather than using Implicit Association Tests, the main focus of this project is to adapt the Visual World Paradigm (VWP) for sociolinguistic research (cf. Scheepers et al 2008). This paradigm has been extended to three original methodologies here in order to investigate whether hearing different social accents in Glasgow can trigger listeners into making different associations between spoken words and images.

The first such experiment was carried out between subjects, with one group hearing a working class speaker and the other half a middle class speaker. Participants were asked to rate various images in terms of how strongly they associated them with the target words. The results returned no significant effect of speaker accent, with listeners displaying only a very small preference towards middle class images over working class images, regardless of speaker heard. This did, however, show that the visual and auditory stimuli were balanced in terms of salience and semantic valence.

A second experiment used recordings of different speakers paired with the same visual stimuli as before, but added multiple distractors. Another group of subjects were tested, each hearing various speakers. Participants were asked to choose images they most strongly associated with target words heard. This revealed a clear trend for participants showing a preference for middle-class images in sets displaying objects and working-class targets in sets displaying brand logos. This is interesting as associating words with abstract concepts, and representations of tangible items, involve different cognitive processes. These trends, however, were not found to be statistically significant under linear mixed effects models.

The preliminary findings of the third experiment to be presented will utilize an established measure of implicit cognition, circumventing issues encountered in previous experiments by recording participant eye movements in real time, in relation to the same stimuli. It is hypothesized here that speaker accent should have a significant effect on listener fixation, reflecting online processing, in contrast with the offline experiments previously conducted.

GRONDELAERS, STEFAN A.; VAN HOUT, ROELAND Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

DO MOROCCAN DUTCHMEN SPEAK STANDARD DUTCH OR NOT? ON PERCEPTUAL CRITERIA TO DETERMINE THE LIMITS OF STANDARD LANGUAGES.

All European standard languages are currently undergoing changes which alarm users and incite linguists to announce the imminent death of the standard language. While most of the new developments are pre-empirically gualified as 'substandard' to indicate that they take place outside the norm, we have proposed four quantifiable perceptual criteria - speaker prestige, accent status, perceived pleasantness, and communal consent - to determine standardness in a more responsible way (Grondelaers, Van Hout & Speelman 2011). Building on experimental speech evaluation data. we have subsequently argued that the regional accent variation which has been spreading in Standard Dutch these last decades does not impoverish but enrich the standard: we have suggested that dialect loss in The Netherlands has put pressure on the standard to stratify in order to become indexical of a speaker's regional identity (Grondelaers & Van Hout 2011); Grondelaers, Van Hout & Steegs (2010) and Grondelaers & Van Hout (2010) report speaker evaluation evidence which confirms that Netherlandic Standard Dutch is relaxing its norms to allow the Dutch to profile some regional identity. But does this also go for ethnic identity? Since the 1980-ies, Netherlandic Dutch is no longer the exclusive property of native speakers: the influx of migrant workers from (especially) Turkey and Morocco has changed the linguistic landscape dramatically. In order to determine the limits of present-day Standard Dutch, we investigated to what extent a Moroccan accent is acceptable in Netherlandic Standard Dutch alongside the native accents. To do so we conducted a speaker evaluation experiment in which 202 listener-judges evaluated 8 sound clips representing spontaneous Dutch (spoken by mildly and broadly accented native Dutch and Moroccan Dutch speakers from Amsterdam and Nijmegen) on traits pertaining to the four criteria we use to determine standardness. Our experimental findings suggest that whereas a Moroccan accent is not acceptable yet in Standard Dutch, there are ways for Dutch Moroccans to overcome the negative social meanings associated with their accent. A basic conclusion, therefore, is that while Standard Dutch is clearly a bounded commodity, membership is to some extent dynamic...

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JANNEDY, STEFANIE (1); WEIRICH, MELANIE (2) 1: Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwisseschaft, Berlin, Germany; 2: Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Germany;

PERCEPTUAL DIVERGENCE WITHIN BERLIN

Perceptual divergence effects along the lines of national identity were first described by Niedzielski (1999) and replicated by Hay & Drager (2010). It describes the observation that listeners categorize identical stimuli differentially in dependence to varying indexical information presented subtly as part of an experimental set up. Auer & Dirim (2004) observed a synchronic alternation of /c/ and /[/ in a variety spoken by young multi-ethnic speakers in urban areas of Germany (Hamburg). We have followed up on this observation and conducted production and perception studies in Berlin where we also find larger multi-ethnic neighborhoods in which this alternation is guite pervasive. Kreuzberg is such a hood located next to the city center and generally Berliners seem to have pre-conceptualizations towards people from this hood. Other districts such as Zehlendorf remain largely 'white spots on a map' (Preston, 2010), when we asked students about their impressions of how people speak in Berlin. We tested if perceptual divergence effects can also be found in Berlin. A forced choice identification task was designed to test listeners' categorization of stimuli from a 13 step acoustic continuum ranging from a palatal fricative as in /ficte/ 'spruce' to a postalveolar fricative as in /fifte/ 'fished'. 99 listeners were instructed to press the appropriate response button for each stimulus they heard. They were tested in three different CONDITIONS: group 1 saw the word Kreuzberg (KB) written on the response box, group 2 saw the word Zehlendorf (ZD), and group 3 did not see a label. Listener's attention was implicitly and subtly directed to the group label under the assumption that s/he would derive inferences from that. For a subgroup of 22 listeners, we have measured the time lag (reaction time, RT) between the onset of the acoustic stimulus and the response to test for processing time differences for the three conditions

A linear mixed effects model with response type as the dependent variable revealed significantly more 'fischte' (7) judgements in CONDITION KB than in ZD (<.05), but no difference between KB and NO or ZD and NO. An analysis of the RT showed that listeners in KB needed significantly more time compared to those in ZD (p<.05). RT also differed between NO and ZD (p<.05) but not between NO and KB. Listeners seem to process the stimuli faster with a reference model (ZD) than with NO reference. Longer RTs for KB are explained by the need to access the lexical information in addition to processing indexical information. The interpretation of fine phonetic detail seems also phonological in the sense that it can be recognized by listeners to categorize speech stimuli differently in dependence on who they believed the speaker is.

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BARRAS, WILLIAM; SCHLEEF, ERIK University of Manchester, United Kingdom

THE SUPRALOCAL, THE LOCAL AND THE SOCIAL TYPE: EVIDENCE FROM PERCEP-TION TESTS

Research on dialect levelling in the UK frequently invokes the concepts of locality and supralocality (Milroy et al. 1994; Watt 2002; Stuart-Smith, Timmins and Tweedie 2007). This research strand often finds that traditional local forms are abandoned in favour of regionally widespread (but nevertheless non-standard) forms. However, are the concepts of locality and supralocality sociolinguistic constructs or are they perceptually real? Are locality and supralocality encoded in the social meaning of the respective phonetic realisations? This study aims to find answers to these questions by conducting perception tests using a variable that is currently undergoing change in Edinburgh: (th). We focus here on (th) in words such as think, thing, something. While the standard variant is [0] in both RP and Scottish Standard English, a supralocal variant, [f], is currently gaining ground among adolescents all over the UK. In many parts of Scotland, words of the think, thing, something class also have local [h] realisations that are restricted to this class of words. Data collection and analysis consists of three parts. Short sentences from four Edinburgh speakers are used to produce (1) auditory stimuli, matched recordings digitally manipulated to differ only in the three realisations: [0], [f], [h]. Some of these stimuli are played in (2) focus groups recruited in schools in Edinburgh to determine the general, overt reactions to the speakers of the stimuli. Covert reactions to auditory stimuli are elicited in (3) perception tests in which listeners rate the stimuli for personal characteristics and origin of speaker. They are also asked to complete a short Perceptual Dialectology map task and a task assigning stimuli to social types (Eckert 2008). Preliminary data analysis suggests that the three realisations are not equally located on a spatial continuum. [0] has the fewest spatial connotations. There is also no convincing evidence that supralocality as such is perceptually linked to [f]; on the contrary it is considered to be as local as [h]. However, a difference in the perception of [f] and [h] emerges in how they relate to social types. Those social types that could be considered less local have stronger associations with [f] than [h]. The link between locality/supralocality and the phonetic realisations under consideration is thus not a direct one, but one that is mediated via social types, i.e. people and lifestyles that are seen as iconic or emblematic.

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WATT. DOMINIC J.L. (1): LLAMAS. CARMEN (1): DOCHERTY. GERARD J. (2) 1: University of York, United Kingdom; 2: Newcastle University, United Kingdom

TWO APPROACHES TO INVESTIGATING PERCEPTIONS OF PHONOLOGICAL VARIA-TION IN THE SCOTTISH/ENGLISH BORDER REGION

A principal objective of the Accent and Identity on the Scottish/English Border (AISEB) project was to shed light on the interrelationship of language variation and identity factors by triangulating data gathered using a variety of analytical methods from people living near the border. Firstly, data on variability in the production of selected phonological variables (rhoticity; pronunciations of (r); Voice Onset Time in /p t k/; Scottish Vowel Length Rule; NURSE, etc.) were collected from recordings of 160 speakers using auditory and acoustic techniques. Secondly, sociopsychological attitudes towards the border, national and regional identity labels, and local language issues were elicited from informants via a structured questionnaire, with the intention of then relating their responses to the same speakers' phonological production patterns. The third category of data (from a subset of 40 speakers) was informants' responses to two types of association test: two 'Explicit Association Tests' and two 'Implicit Association Tests'.

The Explicit Association Tests (EATs) were based on methods developed by Clopper & Bradlow (2009). In the first (EAT1), informants classified audio samples into categories in a free, unquided way by moving clickable tiles linked to the samples into clusters on a laptop screen, while describing their motives for grouping the samples as they had. The second task (EAT2) was identical except that a grid of lines representing the national border, and finer east/west/central and north/south distinctions, was superimposed on the working area of the screen. The classification task was thus guided in a way predetermined by the investigator.

The Implicit Association Test (IAT) paradigm is well established in social scientific and psychological research, and it has recently been used to good effect by researchers interested in the evaluation of linguistic varieties and phonological variants by listeners (e.g. Redinger 2010, Pantos 2010, Campbell-Kibler 2011). In the present experiment we tested the extent to which listeners associate the categories 'Scotland' and 'England' with (a) positive and negative personality traits (this was IAT1), and (b) members of pairs of minimally different audio stimuli representing variants of (r) and the FLEECE and GOOSE vowels (IAT2). The responses for IAT1 were in the form of reaction time latencies, differences between which are taken to represent the level of automaticity of a participant's association of a positive or negative trait with one or other of the two countries. Responses for IAT2, where participants listened to audio samples they were to associate with either Scotland or England as reflexively as possible, were pooled across participants so that the level of agreement within speaker groups (defined by town of residence, age, and gender) could be gauged.

We present the results of the EAT and IAT experiments in this paper, and relate these to the production patterns exhibited by the 40 speakers who took part in the perceptual experiments. We argue that the innovative multi-strand approach taken in AISEB is a means of bringing us closer to an understanding of speakers' conscious and subconscious motivations for adopting or resisting sound changes in this linguistically sensitive region.

SOUKUP, BARBARA University of Vienna, Austria

THE MATCHED (DIS)GUISE TECHNIQUE AND ITS ALTERNATIVE. THE 'OPEN GUISE'

Ever since Lambert et al.'s (1960) landmark study that introduced the 'matched guise technique' for eliciting speaker evaluations, a 'disguising' ploy has been tacitly accepted as part and parcel of the technique's application, by which informants are to be kept unaware that they are hearing at least one speaker multiple times using different languages or language varieties. Presumably, one motivation for this ploy is the assumption that listeners would not produce differentiated ratings if they knew that speakers were actually the same across 'quises'.

The present paper undertakes to discuss and question this hitherto uncontested policy of concealment and its status as an intrinsic component of the matched guise technique. Data from an 'open guise' speaker evaluation experiment are presented, in which twenty-nine Austrian informants were asked to listen to and rate two speakers on five-point bipolar semantic differential scales (Osgood et al. 1957). Informants were explicitly told that they would hear each speaker twice, in two alternative ways of talking. The varieties tested were standard Austrian German and Middle Bavarian-Austrian dialect; two female bi-dialectal speakers were recorded in each 'guise', presenting the same text.

Results show that being aware that a speaker is identical across guises does not pose a problem to informants at all in such a speaker evaluation task. For both speakers, significantly differentiated ratings were produced between guises, showing that dialect use is i.a. associated with significantly less intelligence, education, and refinement, but more friendliness and likeability than standard use. A subsequent comparison of the open quise results with those of a broad-scale verbal guise study using the same design, two of the same speech recordings, and a much larger informant sample of n=242 shows the elicited stereotypes to be largely robust.

It is suggested that the affordances of the open guise technique vis-à-vis the traditional matched (dis)guise are mainly two-fold: (1) It puts a significantly lesser burden on informants and researchers, as distractor voices between samples can be culled from the protocol (2) It provides a more plausible access to listeners' social evaluation of speakers specifically in the context of research that investigates multi-lectal speakers' strategic style-shifting/ code-switching for the purposes of differentiated identity projections ('Speaker Design' - Schilling-Estes 2002). Here, like in an open guise experiment, speakers remain openly the same while meaning is created via listeners' assessment of their alternating language use. Findings from open guise studies can therefore directly inform studies of Speaker Design.

Depending on the research purpose, the open guise thus constitutes an important addendum to our battery of techniques in the empirical study of the social meaning of language variation.

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RACZ, PETER (1): SCHEPACZ, ANDRAS (2) 1: Uni Freiburg, Germany; 2: Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary

'FEMININE' SIBILANTS: THE ATTESTATION OF GAY STEREOTYPES IN HUNGARIAN

A growing amount of research supports the existence of gay speech stereotypes in English (cf. e.g. Munson & Babel 2007), the notable ones being high rising intonation, increased F0, and sibilant stridency. These features are suspected to exist in other languages as well (Kristiansen et al., 2011). This paper discusses the results of a matched-guise test focussing on sibilant stridency in Hungarian. The main findings are that sibilant stridency - which here entails an increased centroid frequency of voiceless sibilants - is also subject to Hungarian listener attitudes, and that it can serve as a gay speech stereotype in itself. The matched-guise test (Giles et al., 1973) had two guises, read by a native speaker linguist, a 'normal' one and a second one with increased sibilant stridency but otherwise identical to the first one, as well as six fillers. The test had 17 participants (aged 20-30, 6 heterosexual females, 6 heterosexual males, 5 homosexual males) who had to rate the guises (and fillers) on a Likert scale according to eight characteristics (selfishgenerous, promiscuous-faithful, masculine-feminine, unfriendly-friendly, messy-orderly, mean-nice, insensitive-caring, fakegenuine). These characteristics were based largely on a similar study on English English by Levon (2006). The results were normalised for score values and analysed using a linear mixed model with subject as a random effect.

The results show that subjects on the whole found the guise with the strident sibilants more feminine (t=2.410, p<0.05). This is, however, mainly due to the female subjects, who show this correlation even stronger (t=5.572, p<0.001), while it is not significant with the gay males at all. The only significant correlation present in the gay males' results holds between strident sibilants and sounding prude (t=3.026, p<0.05). While the size of the subject sample does not warrant far-reaching conclusions, the results already show that sibilant stridency is a faithful gay stereotype in itself, which is all the more interesting as this result comes from a language completely unrelated to English, the locus of research on this subject. This, in turn, hints at a universal perceptional bias present in speaker attitudes towards sibilant stridency.

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PHARAO, NICOLAI; MAEGAARD, MARIE; KRISTIANSEN, TORE; MØLLER, JANUS LANCHART, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

SOCIAL MEANING POTENTIALS OF FRONTED S: CONSTRUCTIONS OF SEXUALITY AND ETHNICITY AMONG COPENHAGEN YOUTH

It is well documented that the same sociolinguistic feature can be used as a sociolinguistic resource with different social meaning potentials in different linguistic as well as social contexts. However, often meaning potentials of a specific feature are related to or derived from one another (Silverstein 2003, Eckert 2008, Podesva 2007). In this paper we will present the results of an ongoing perceptual study of social meaning potentials of alveolar versus fronted s in different Copenhagen linguistic styles.

The pronunciation of s in 'standard Danish' is usually described as alveolar (cf. Grønnum 2005), whereas the fronted s has been regarded as a speech impediment or so-called 'young girls' lisp' (Bau & Hutters 2005). In public discourse the fronted s is also termed 'gay-s'. Recent sociolinguistic studies nevertheless show that the fronted s is used by both girls and boys, and results indicate that it is not necessarily possible to relate associations of femininity or homosexuality to the use of it (Maegaard 2007, 2010, Stæhr 2010). Results from these studies suggest that fronted s is used both in clusters of features that are stereotypically associated with femininity and in clusters of features that are stereotypically associated with streetwise, heterosexual masculinity.

In our matched guise experiments we obtain reactions to male speakers' use of the two types of s in two different styles: so-called 'standard Copenhagen speech' and 'street language'. Results show that guises containing alveolar and fronted s are evaluated very differently, and that the social meaning potentials of the variants of s furthermore are very different in the two styles. In our presentation we will look closer at these differences, and discuss possible explanations of the patterns.

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TIPTON, PHILLIP University of Essex, United Kingdom

EXPERIMENTAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS: OFF THE SHELF OR UNDER THE COUNTER?

The advent of third-wave approaches to sociolinguistic research (Silverstein 2003; Eckert 2008), which seek to understand how social meaning is created and negotiated through indexical links between linguistic features and social entities, has brought methodological considerations to the forefront of sociolinguists' engagement with the speech communities and communities of practice. Such third-wave approaches can often be differentiated from their earlier counterparts both by their theoretical stance, which might be described as one which emphasises the primacy of social meaning, and the

extent to which their methodologies place this theoretical stance at the heart of their operation. In practice, third-wave approaches have employed ethnographic techniques to a much greater extent than studies carried out within the first and second waves of sociolinguistic research. Recent developments in variationist sociolinguistics have seen an increase in the use of experimental methodologies, yet there has been relatively little discussion in the literature of the implications of such innovation, both in terms of the utility of the data obtained and the wider ramifications for sociolinguistics as a discipline. The notion of context has played a crucial, yet largely implicit, role in the development of variationist sociolinguistic theory and methodology. Context can, however, be understood as an entity which crosses many of the intra-disciplinary boundaries which have emerged within sociolinguistics as a field; most notably, the dichotomy of linguistic and social constraints on variation (e.g. Torgersen & Kerswill 2004) can be understood, in different ways, as aspects of the contextual environment within which structured variation emerges.

This paper seeks critically to examine the implications of experimental studies which purport to find a link between linguistic variation and social meaning. It will be argued that not all variables are equal when it comes to experimental approaches to sociolinguistic variation. In particular, Milroy's (2007) division of 'off-the-shelf' and 'under-the-counter' variables will be invoked as a critical fault-line in determining the theoretical import of experimental approaches; that is, finding bidirectional effects in the processing of the social and linguistic contexts of 'off-the shelf' variants is unsurprising considering what we know about general priming effects from the psycholinguistic literature; this holds even without assigning the speaker to an agentive role in the manipulation of linguistic and social meaning. Relatively few studies, however, have examined the processing of their 'under-the-counter' counterparts, and it will further be argued that it is within this latter condition that lies the greatest potential for experimental approaches to elucidate our understanding of the cognitive relationship between linguistic variation and social meaning. In conclusion, this paper proposes a new method of eliciting experimental data which seeks to show how global, non-linguistic context acts as both the conceptual and processing bridge between linguistic and non-linguistic perception. In this connection, I argue for a pragmatic-situational account of contextual appropriateness in which the ability of the social-indexical properties of the speech signal to impact upon processing is contingent upon their temporal co-occurrence in clusters rather than in isolation.

CAMPBELL-KIBLER, KATHRYN

The Ohio State University, United States of America

DISCUSSION

General Discussion of the session 'Experimental approaches to the study of social meaning'

Thematic Session 172

Urban Language Conflict

Session Chair 1: Darquennes, Jeroen Session Chair 2: MacGiolla Chríost, Diarmait

Session Abstract:

Due to an increase of in-migration since the second half of the 20th century especially bigger cities in Europe (and elsewhere) have become true laboratories of language contact. Typical for language contact settings is that the differences in social status and power as they exist between the groups that use the different languages are reflected in the status and the prestige as well as in the degree of institutionalisation and legitimisation of these languages (cf. Nelde/Strubell/Williams 1996). As a result, language in language contact settings often develops into a significant symbol of social conflict even when it may not be the direct cause of that conflict (direct causes being of a political, social, religious, ... nature).

Especially during the 1960s and 1970s many simmering conflicts in bi/multilingual settings came to the surface (e.g. in Brussels, Québec, ...) and illustrated the specific role of language in (neutralising) social conflict. It would, however, be a misunderstanding to assume that language conflict is a phenomenon linked to a period in history that was coloured by a so-called 'ethnic revival'. Language conflict (whether it is latent or manifest) is of all time (cf. Nelde 1989a&b). In present-day society (and most certainly in urban settings that are increasingly characterised by what some refer to as 'hyperdiversity') language conflict even is more or less pre-programmed if only because of the interplay between processes of globalisation, nationalisation, regionalisation and urbanisation, the role of languages in these processes and the emergence of multiple (linguistic) identities challenging group membership (cf. Nelde 2006: 2427-2428).

In spite of the (manifest or latent) existence of language conflict in (contemporary) society, its systematic study within the language sciences (or the social sciences at large) is still underdeveloped. Only a few scholars have taken up the challenge to try and advance the study of language conflict at group level as it mainly emerged in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. MacGiolla Chríost 2003, Rindler Schjerve 2007, ...). With our thematic session that focuses on urban settings in Europe and beyond, we intend to contribute to the further systematic development of 'conflict linguistics' by inviting experts to provide answers to one (or more) of the following questions:

- What kind of input is needed to further develop existing theories of language conflict? What are the major cornerstones of a theory of language conflict?

- What is the most suitable way to empirically study language conflict in urban settings from a synchronic (or diachronic) point of view?

- How does language conflict in urban settings emerge? What types of language conflict can be identified?
- How does / can language policy and planning contribute to the avoidance and/or neutralisation of language conflict in urban settings?

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VETTER, EVA university of vienna, Austria

RE-DEFINING LANGUAGE CONFLICT – CHALLENGES AND OPTIONS

This contribution starts out from one of the central assumptions of the session, i.e. that the concept of conflict seems not to be in the centre of recent research in urban multilingualism. It will contrast language conflict with recently emerging concepts and suggest some lines for further discussion against the background of the discrepancies between conflict and younger concepts. In doing so, the present contribution will proceed in four steps. In a first step, some important characteristics of influential conceptualisations of conflict within Catalan and Occitan sociolinguistics as well as within more recent adaptations of language conflict will be compared and discussed. To give an example, these characteristics are the temporal, spatial and mobile possibilities of language/s in models of language conflict, the ideological foundation of these concepts or the understanding of 'language' and 'languages' with respect to conflict.

In a second step multilingualism in urban space will be described against the background of recent concepts such as heteroglossia, translanguaging or metrolingualism. It will be asked in which contexts these concepts have emerged and which components of urban multilingualism are particularly focussed upon when adopting these conceptual frames. Moreover, their ideological underpinning will be discussed. A particular focus will be on their critical stance with respect to languages as clearly separable and countable entities. In a third step the in/compatibility between language conflict and concepts such as heteroglossia, translanguaging or metrolingualism will be discussed. European multilingualism will serve as the socio-political and -linguistic background. The discrepancies with respect to the ideological underpinnings of the different concepts are particularly evident when talking about 'culture', 'community' and 'minority'. It will further be asked why conflict is actually (not) helpful for understanding important aspects of multilingualism in urban spaces. The last step consists in suggesting two lines for further discussion: First, guestioning the monoglossic ideological basis can be an important step towards re-defining language conflict. Second, it will be asked in how far conflict can be linked to local (also urban) linguistic practice.

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QUEROL-PUIG, ERNEST; STRUBELL-TRUETA, MIQUEL; VILADOT-PRESAS, MARIA-ÀNGELS Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Catalonia, Spain

LANGUAGE CONFLICT IN A GLOBALISED BARCELONA

We start by asking ourselves if the term 'language conflict' is in itself contested. In the Catalan context it was devised by Aracil (1965), developed by Ninvoles (1969), discussed by Vallverdú (1980) and much later, by Conill (2007); it has also been developed, among many others, by Mattheier (1987) and Nelde (1987). We discuss the present-day validity of the term, extending it to describe Barcelona's multilingual nature: about 300 languages are spoken in the city. We concrentate on proficiency in, and the use of, the four main ones: Catalan, Spanish, English and French. Secondly, we analyze intergroup communication between speakers of Catalan and Spanish, referring to the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of each group and the relation between these perceptions and those of identity, perceived barriers and injustice, and sociolinguistic attitudes (Giles & Viladot 1994; Viladot & Esteban 2011). We also compare how scores of each group's perceived vitality have changed between 1987 and 2007 (Viladot et al. 2007). Thirdly, we look at how the language conflict spills over into explicit politics. In Catalonia proper the term is related to the ideological clash – going back over 300 years - between the tolerance of multilingual diversity that most Catalans display - well exemplified by Ninyoles (1976), and the monolingual aspiration best illustrated by the linguistic repression implemented by two military dictatorships in the 20th century. These opposing models of linguistic diversity are well portrayed even today (Vargas Llosa et al. 2008, Strubell 2011) and the conflict has moved firmly into Spain's courts (Constitutional Court, Supreme Court, Catalan High Court...).

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LAINIO, JARMO

Stockholm University, and, Mälardalen University, Sweden

PRESENT-DAY URBAN LANGUAGE POLICY ISSUES IN SWEDEN – EQUITY IN EDUCA-TION AS A LITMUS PAPER TO IDENTIFY CORE LANGUAGE CONFLICTS

The concept of the litmus paper is used for several reasons. Wikipedia says (2012-01-25), that 'Litmus turns red under acidic conditions and blue under basic (alkaline) conditions', which may be symbolically used for a discussion on the political color of language conflicts. It is, however, my experience that the political color is not the most significant factor for the acceptance of phenomena like multilingualism/multiculturalism/plurality in society. It is more the degree of cultural value conservatism and belief in the naturalness of construed ideas of monolithic societies and monolingual histories, as opposed to openness to changes in the surrounding society, coexistence of languages and multitude, that are decisive. Both conservatives and liberal representatives may be found in most political camps, and may equally easily be found among majorities and minorities. Issues pertaining to education and the role of languages in that, at least in some Northern European countries, are in key positions and function as lenses through which urban and other language conflicts may be discerned and unraveled. Since education also makes up a main entrance to social change and upward movement (or the hindrance of it), questions about who under what conditions, supported by whom and how, can benefit the most of the education systems, also indicate how democratic, political, ideological and social walls or ceilings are raised for some but not others. Habitation patterns, unemployment rates and the role of privatization of schools seem to coincide with the mentioned dimensions. This in essence concerns the access to equal opportunities for all children. These conflicts seem to be more overt in urban areas (for migrants at least), into which migration has increased substantially during the last decades. Naturally, not all involved in language conflicts can see the central role of educational issues as an explanation to these, but from their deeper, core level, such issues can both reflect and have an impact on other types of

Swedish language policy has seen several main legal - national and internationally ratified - changes during the last decade, affecting the national language Swedish, minority languages, migrant languages, sign language and modern languages. Swedish is for the first time the official or 'main' language of all citizens. The protection and promotion of the national minority languages was confirmed through the Council of Europe's minority and minority language conventions in 2000. The role of English is repeatedly contrasted to the role of Swedish and migrant languages, in education and in cultural life. A new Language Act (2009) and a new Minority Act (2010) have been adopted. However, recommendations provided by legislation or research results are not always followed in practice, recurrently for attitudinal reasons. I will make links between the role of languages in education and other language conflicts, most of which take place in urban contexts. I will use some earlier critical discourse research, public reports by the national agencies of education, media databases, and refer to focus group interviews among teachers in two bilingual schools.

ROWLAND, HUGH

National University of Ireland, Galway/Ollscoil na hÉireann, Gaillimh, Ireland

CONRADH NA GAEILGE (GAELIC LEAGUE) AND THE LANGUAGE FREEDOM MOVE-MENT (LFM): A CASE-STUDY OF CONFLICTING LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN AN IRISH URBAN CONTEXT (1965-74)

Conradh na Gaeilge and the Language Freedom Movement (LFM) were urban social movements who engaged in agitation and social conflict, primarily in Dublin, in the pursuit of promoting their oppositional language ideologies.

The Language Freedom Movement sought to diminish the Irish state's institutional framework to support the Irish language. This framework involved a policy of requiring a pass in Irish in state examinations and also requiring knowledge of the language to secure employment in the Civil Service. LFM adopted a system of signification (iconization) which equated these policies with 'nationalism,' 'emotionalism,' 'infallible patriotism,' 'compulsion,' 'discrimination' and 'infringement of civil rights.'

Conradh na Gaeilge wished the Irish language to be revived and strongly opposed the LFM's view which they perceived to be 'anti-national.' Conradh na Gaeilge evoked symbols (iconization) of 'nationalism,' 'national community,' 'identity,' 'solidarity' 'civil rights' and 'culture' as a means of legitimising their aims and of garnering support. This paper aims to discuss how both groups naturalised and essentialised their ideologies through the construction of a discourse which created opposing social realities, which were pursuant to each organisation's respective ideological aims (Gal, 1998: 321).

This paper seeks to study the impetus for the social conflict between Conradh na Gaeilge and the LFM within the theoretical framework of language ideologies. Language ideological analysis will explain the interpretive framework within which group membership formed their subjective feelings, beliefs, notions and ideas in relation to the Irish language policy and how those subjective feelings contributed to the expression of the group (Woolard, 1998). This paper will investigate how the opposing feelings and beliefs of both organisations influenced their behaviour and agency (O'Rourke, 2011).

These issues of language conflict and ideology will be discussed in relation to a public meeting convened by the LFM in the Mansion House in Dublin in September 1966. A riot ensued as both LFM and Conradh na Gaeilge exerted their right to freedom of speech in order to disseminate their conflicting language ideologies.

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VAN MENSEL, LUK Université de Namur, Belgium

LANGUAGE CONFLICT AND THE NEGOTIATION OF A NEW URBAN LINGUISTIC IDENTITY

With processes of globalisation and urbanisation causing shifts in the status and power of 'traditional' language communities, we can expect members of linguistic elites belonging to these communities to look for new ways of maintaining their status. One way of doing this is through a 'celebration of fusion and hybridity' (Heller 2001), which (perhaps only superficially) stands in opposition to a monolingual ideology. However, other members of the existing elite may deny the legitimacy of this linguistic hybridity, and conflict may thus arise not only between but also within established language groups. In Brussels, the capital of Belgium, which is officially bilingual but effectively multilingual (Janssens 2007), French is still used as a lingua franca, but its status has declined in favour of English and Dutch. The opposition between the two official language communities - French and Dutch - remains strong in politics and the media, and it is still institutionally enshrined. But although Brussels has turned into a multilingual city, it appears a difficult endeavour for its inhabitants to avoid being categorized into one of the pre-defined linguistic groups. In this paper, I will illustrate this through a detailed analysis of a narrative by a Francophone informant living in Brussels, in which he reports on the difficulties he experiences in claiming a (linguistically) hybrid identity for himself and his children. Adopting a discourse analytical approach, I aim to show how in this case, conflict is lived out within the individual on two levels: on the level of the in-group vs. the out-group, i.e. monolingual Flemish vs. monolingual French, on the one hand, and on the level of the Francophone group itself on the other. In this way, language conflict appears to reflect a struggle between competing discourses on language rather than between languages. A theory of language conflict should, in my view, take these issues into account, and I would argue in favour of a qualitative approach which focuses on how social a

MARTEN, HEIKO F.; SAAGPAKK, MARIS Tallinn University, Estonia

PATTERNS AND PERCEPTIONS OF MULTILINGUALISM IN THE MULTICULTURAL AREA OF BERLIN-KREUZBERG

Our paper investigates multilingualism in the highly multicultural district of Kreuzberg in Berlin, in which German as the main language of German society co-exists in oral and written spheres with 'immigrant' languages such as Turkish or Arabic and languages of tourism and international advertising (mostly English). We will show patterns of multilingualism according to the method of 'Linguistic Landscapes' as well as perceptions of this multilingualism by various groups of recipients.

In a first step, we will provide a general picture of the languages present on written signs in our reseach area in Kreuzberg according to their frequency and their functions. In a second step, we investigate the text and the symbolism on some of these signs, applying a multimodal approach which perceives signs as a semiotic unities. Then, we will report of some of the reactions of sign producers and recipients with whom we conducted spontaneous interviews – why for instance shop owners decided to produce signs in specific languages using certain symbols and how their customers and other passers-by react to these signs.

Finally, we will reflect upon the way in which we conducted research with a group of students from Estonia, some of whom have Estonian and some have Russian as their home language. Many of these students had never been to Germany previously, let alone experienced the multicultural nature of a typical 'immigration' area such as Kreuzberg. In our paper, we will look at how their perceptions of the relationship between language, identity and multiculturalism in Berlin changed within the 10 days of the research excursion and in which way their own backgrounds as (majority) speakers of Estonian or (minority) speakers of Russian influenced their attitudes and experiences.

KRUSE, JAN Universität Duisburg-Essen, Germany

COVERT LANGUAGE DIVERSITY IN MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE INFLUENCE OF EU LANGUAGE POLICY

The communication needs of a city are more colorful than the number of official languages might suggest. Cities in countries with only one or a few official languages include also minority, migration languages and regional languages. City representatives also communicate with other foreign cities (e.g. twin towns) and with international organizations (e.g. EU institutions). This multilingual setting might imply a covert multilingualism within municipal institutions, which in turn may have certain effects on external communication. Policy makers in the field of 'Language and City' are influenced by both, the multilingual city and the EU institutions.

EU or national language policy is always implemented by regions and cities. The 'Committee of the Regions' is an important EU assembly that gives the regional level a voice in EU policy development. The committee itself has two 'procedural languages', English and French. From this perspective, the language diversity of a European city is not only a phenomenon of urban milieus but also of the representation and the use of languages in the municipal institutions. Although there is only one official language, there is more than one procedural language. What are the unofficial procedural (working) languages of a European city administration? A politolinguistic approach to this question can be conducted by two ways of communication, a top-down and a bottom-up direction, comprising two perspectives of urban languages policy. To discover possible discrepancies between policy and politics my contribution will reflect institutional reality in the City of Cologne. I will shed light on the acknowledgment of the relevance of this politolinguistic field in urban politics as well as in science.

DARQUENNES, JEROEN; MACGIOLLA CHRÍOST, DIARMAIT University of Namur, Belgium

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 173 Urban Francophone Language Practices in North America: A Comparative Approach

Session Chair 1: Blondeau, Helene Session Chair 2: Martineau, France

Session Abstract:

This session explores urban Francophone language practices in North America, home to a wide variety of language contact situations (Sankoff 2001, Bayley & King 2003, Papen & Chevalier 2006). As a language of migration, North American French has spread over the course of just a few centuries across geopolitical borders which have themselves undergone numerous changes (Mougeon & Beniak 1994, Valdman *et al* 2005). As a contact language, it bears the traces of exchanges with other communities throughout its history (Mougeon & Beniak 1991, King 2008). The French language is used not only in relation to the English language, but, particularly in the case of large cities, in relation to a variety of other languages, many of which are the result of recent immigration (Heller & Labrie 2003). The diversity of sociolinguistic situations in present-day North America likewise includes minority and majority language contexts as well as varying degrees of ethnolinguistic vitality.

The comparative approach adopted in this session will enable the identification of those transversal tendencies which characterize the language practices of Francophone communities in North America past and present (Chaudenson, Mougeon & Beniak 1994; Gadet & Jones 2008; Martineau 2009). In addition, it will allow the identification of anchored language practices and particular language patterns characteristic of specific francophone communities.

The session will focus on North American urban cities, important sites for the study of exchange and contact phenomena and for the study of language practice dynamics. North American urban space shows constant flux, with speakers of various origins integrating varieties of the dominant language (French and/or English), as well as other languages, into their linguistic repertoire. Variation and change in North American French has been documented by numerous quantitative sociolinguistic studies of various speech communities in North America. In addition, the study of language representations and ideologies and their relation to the creation of new identities also figure in the recent literature (Heller 2003, 2006, King 2008, Boudreau 2009, Blondeau & Fonollosa 2009). As a locus of passage, a point of entry, departure or establishment, the city and its periphery has become a social space claimed by young immigrants (Blondeau & Friesner 2011). In addition, the urban multicultural context in and of itself also raises the issue of the role of schools as normative institutions instilling community standards (Landry & Allard 1997, Lamarre 2007, Boivin *et al* 2010). The exploration of flux and migration toward or away from the city, back-and-forth movements among neighborhoods or social networks within the same city, contact among generations of speakers, and passages from one language to another will shed light on re/constructions of discourses about language and use. The unified approach adopted in this session will contribute to identifying contemporary issues facing both French-speaking minorities and majorities living in increasingly multicultural communities. Given the broad nature of the research questions, a variety of methodological approaches will be welcome. Preliminary Discussion Questions:

What are the transversal tendencies which identify urban varieties of North American French?

How have localized varieties of North-American French been affected by the sociolinguistic reconfiguration of contemporary cities? How do educational institutions serve to focus and stabilize ideas about authentic language use and how do these ideas affect local language practices?

MORIN, YVES CHARLES (1); MARTINEAU, FRANCE (2); THIBAULT, ANDRÉ (3) 1: Université de Montréal, Canada; 2: Université d'Ottawa, Canada; 3: Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), France

FRANCOPHONE CONTACT IN 19TH-CENTURY URBAN NORTH AMERICA

Our paper focuses on the French spoken by francophones migrating to urban settings in North America. The 19th-century industrialization lead to the influx of a high proportion of francophones from rural areas into cities such as Montreal in Canada, or textile and mining towns in the United States. The new urban context, where English was strongly present if not dominant, increased cultural and linguistic transfers and promoted linguistic change. At the same time, the large francophone urban centers in North America were brought into increasingly closer contact with new standards from across the Atlantic, in particular through the influx of French religious congregations (Linteau 2000, Harvey 2008).

Using ego-documents, which consists of family letters and diaries that reflects the voices of ordinary speakers, we compare the phonetic, lexical and morphosyntactic characteristics of Acadian and Canadian French speakers that can be inferred from these documents. In particular, we examine how 19th-century ordinary speakers in Moncton and Montreal adjusted and conformed to the incoming European standard at a time when the identity discourses of the elites contributed to separate Acadia from Québec.

One important issue is whether this change was center-driven, first affecting large urban centers and spreading later to secondary ones: could Montreal have followed suit with Paris, and then Moncton with the latter (following the patterns described by Chambers and Trugill 1980 or Chambon 2004)? Or was it, on the contrary, less dependent on geographical space or the size of urban spaces and more on the social networks within these communities? Could it have spread differently when it concerns pronunciation, lexicon or morphosyntax?

Specific features of pronunciation, often difficult to assess in written documents, might reveal themselves through particular (mis)spellings, allowing us to examine how word-final consonants were affected. In particular word-final -r in the noun endings -oir, -eur was progressively restored in Québec and Acadia long after it had been in European urban varieties of French; conversely, word-final -t, which was retained longer in some specific words, as in nuit, lait or laid, tended to be given up at the same time or relegated to specific communicative registers. The identification of regional lexical specificities in written documents, on the other hand, is less problematic. We investigate here how lexical quebecisms and acadianisms fare with respect to their French equivalents. In morphosyntax, we examine the alternation between the subject clitic pronoun nous, on, je as a means to render the value 'first person plural' and the use of the corresponding dislocated pronoun nous-autres. The use of the variant on was steadily expanding during the nineteenth century and that of je declining in urban areas both in France and in Québec; on the other hand je retained that use in Acadian urban settings. Our aim is to show what the study of ego-documents can bring to historical sociolinguistics, and contribute to the elaboration of an integrated model that takes into account phonetics, morphosyntax and lexicon, in combination with historical, sociological and demographic data.

LINTEAU, PAUL-ANDRÉ

Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada

THE FRANCOPHONE RECONQUEST OF MONTREAL: THE EARLY YEARS

In 1990, American urban historian Marc V. Levine published The Reconquest of Montreal : Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City. His book dealt with the period from 1960 to 1989. This paper argues that the reconquest process, which gained momentum after 1960, began almost a century earlier (circa 1865) when, for the first time in 35 years, French-speaking Montrealers outnumbered their English-speaking counterpart. This shift was reflected on the political scene in 1882 when francophones gained a majority in the City Council. Five years later, francophone businessmen created their own Chambre de commerce, distinct from the anglophone Board of Trade. Dealing with the period 1870-1914, the paper will assess how these demographic, political and economic changes affected Montreal's sociolinguistic make-up. Did they have an impact on the institutional separate development system created towards mid-Nineteenth Century? How this system coped with the unavoidable interaction between groups and individuals in the public sphere and on the streets? How conflicts were managed? Was cooperation possible? The paper will also assess how Montreal's sociolinguistic composition was affected by newcomers. One issue is the impact of the new immigration from France on the French-Canadian population of the city. How the teaching of the French language was affected by these immigrants. What role did they play in the cultural transfer process between France and Quebec. The paper will argue that this phenomenon, which has been largely ignored by historians and sociolinguists, is significant. Overall, it is important to try to assess the impact of the arrival of new groups of immigrants (Jews, Italians, Lebanese, etc.). What linguistic skills did they need in a bilingual city such as Montreal? The author will compare the results of his ongoing research on Montreal and on immigration (especially on French immigration) with recent historiography in the field.

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BLONDEAU, HÉLÈNE (1); TREMBLAY, MIREILLE (2) 1: University of Florida; 2: Université de Montréal, Canada

SOCIAL MIXING IN HOMA: YOUNG URBAN FRANCOPHONES AND LANGUAGE VARIATION

Different types of social pressures have affected Montreal over the past 30 years. This recent reconfiguration of urban Montreal and its consequences in terms of social mixing have had an impact on language practices. Our paper illustrates this phenomenon by examining the trajectory of sociolinguistic variables in youth language in the neighborhood of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve (HOMA). This once prosperous neighborhood was particularly affected by the deindustrialization of Montreal, causing a general decline and the exodus of the middle class. This led to the development of strong community groups and new social networks. More recently, migration toward HOMA from an adjacent working-class neighborhood, Centre-Sud, and major urban projects such as 'Shops Angus' and Lavo, have contributed to social mixing and gentrification (Germain & Rose, 2010). Such major changes have been discussed by historians, sociologists, and urban planners, but the effect of social mixing on language has not been documented.

According to previous variationnist studies adopting the real-time perspective, some sociolinguistic variables have shown an increase in the frequency of variants associated with the standard language (Sankoff & Blondeau 2007), pointing toward a devernacularisation process, defined as a loss of non-standard features (Mougeon 2005). In this paper, we compare two different sets of sociolinguistics data collected 35 years apart: the Lefebvre corpus collected in the 1970s in Centre-Sud and data from a new corpus collected in HOMA. We examine two linguistic variables involving the pronoun nous 'we'. As a subject clitic nous has been replaced by on in a near-completed change (King et al. 2010)—a tendency at work in many varieties of French. In Quebec French, non-clitic nous alternates with nous-autres, which has recently decreased in frequency in a change in progress involving a reassignment of the roles according to linguistic and socio-stylistic dimensions (Blondeau 2011).

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COMEAU, PHILIP (1); GRIMM, D. RICK (2) 1: University of Ottawa; 2: York University

CHALLENGING THE HOMOGENEITY OF 'CANADIAN FRENCH': EVIDENCE FROM URBAN AND RURAL VARIETIES

The term 'Canadian French' has long been used in studies of various linguistic phenomena found in French spoken throughout urban and rural Canada. Despite its wide use, the term is restrictive and often designates (implicitly) Laurentian varieties of French, that is, varieties spoken in Québec or in the provinces west of Québec as a result of westward migration. Crucially, the term generally fails to capture the existence of non-Laurentian varieties French rooted in the francophone communities of Atlantic Canada (New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island), known as Acadian varieties. The persistent use of the label 'Canadian French' to refer holistically to *all* varieties spoken in Canada is both problematic and erroneous. Problematic because by falsely absorbing Acadian varieties into this too-inclusive cover term, such varieties have been marginalized (if not ignored) in the national and/or global view of French in Canada. Erroneous because, while they possess many common features (e.g., the interrogative particle *-tu/-ti*), Laurentian and Acadian varieties do not always share the same underlying linguistic system.

In our study, we conduct a cross-dialectal variationist investigation of a grammatical variable and turn to the results to challenge the view of 'Canadian French' as a homogeneous variety. Specifically, we examine the expression of future temporal reference in two varieties of French, one urban Laurentian variety spoken in Hawkesbury (H), Ontario, and one rural Acadian variety spoken in Baie Sainte-Marie (BSM), Nova Scotia. In the communities under study, French is a majority language at the local level though a minority language in an otherwise English dominant province.

There exist in both varieties two main variants to refer to a future outcome, namely the periphrastic future (PF) in 1) and the inflected future (IF) in 2): 1) On a pas congé mais on va fêter pareil. (H2-04)

- 'We don't have the day off but we're still going to celebrate.'
- 2) Je viendrai te voir demain avant-midi. (GC-18)
- 'I'll come see you tomorrow before noon.'

Following multiple analyses of the data, we conclude that the future temporal reference system operating in these two varieties is entirely different. This is substantiated not only by the overall distribution of the variants (e.g., H: PF=86%, IF=14%; BSM: PF=62%, IF=38%), but also by statistical analyses of the linguistic and social factors contributing to variation. For instance, the most influential predictor of variant choice in H is sentential polarity: the IF is strongly favoured in negative contexts and the PF is largely associated with affirmative contexts. In contrast, the polarity constraint is null in BSM, where the most influential linguistic factor is temporal reference: there is a high correlation between proximate outcomes and the periphrastic future. Moreover, we discover that social factors pattern differently: in H, women favour the IF whereas the opposite is found in BSM.

Our research consolidates efforts in an examination of two varieties of French using comparable methodologies and comparable data. In light of our cross-dialectal findings, we conclude that the view of 'Canadian French' as a homogeneous variety is empirically unjustified.

FRENETTE, YVES (1); MOUGEON, RAYMOND (2) 1: University of Ottawa, Canada; 2: York University, Canada

WELLAND'S FRANCOPHONE MINORITY: CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC EROSION IN A SMALL INDUSTRIAL CITY, 1970-2012

Located in central Ontario, the small industrial city of Welland attracted hundreds of francophone migrants from the neighboring province of Quebec and other North American Francophone areas between 1918 and 1960, but the strongest migratory wave took place in the 1950's when the size of the francophone population tripled. Representing then 17% of the city's population, Francophones expanded their institutional and social networks. However, cessation of the migratory flow towards the end of the 1960's triggered the onset of linguistic and cultural decline.

During the 1970s several sociolinguistic surveys documented aspects of the above-mentioned process of linguistic and cultural decline (e.g. Mougeon & Hébrard, 1975; Beniak, Mougeon, & Valois, 1985; Mougeon & Beniak, 1989; Schneiderman, 1975). Our paper focuses primarily on data collected in the 1970s via : i) interviews recorded among individuals who were in charge of institutions either controlled by the local Francophone community or shared with the rest of the local population; ii) surveys carried out among the local Francophones in general and investigating their patterns of language use in domains such as the home, the school or the work world. Our paper documents the fact that the different institutions under study showed variable levels of resistance to penetration by English. For instance, while the local Canadian French Credit Union remained a staunchly francophone institution, the French Catholic church and the French schools evidenced patterns of linguistic accommodation—some school subjects were taught in English and sacramental ceremonies were performed in English, upon request. As for the language use surveys, they revealed, among other things that nearly all of the students enrolled in the local French-language high school communicated in English among themselves and close to 80% of them communicated mostly or always in English with their siblings at home.

In 2012, as part of the major research project *Le français à la mesure d'un continent: un patrimoine en partage,* several of the surveys carried out in the 1970s in Welland will be replicated in order to assess the extent to which the various processes of language and cultural shift underway in the 1970s have intensified, a reasonable hypothesis, since during the last four decades Francophone migration to Welland has remained marginal.

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LEBLANC, ISABELLE University of Moncton, Canada

NEGOTIATING LINGUISTIC IDENTITY IN AN OFFICIALLY BILINGUAL PROVINCE: A MUNICIPALITY'S STANCE ON LANGUAGE PRACTICES.

Dieppe went from being an officially bilingual municipality in 1994 to an officially francophone municipality offering bilingual services in 2000 (Bujold, 2007). By doing this, Dieppe chose to officially acknowledge its French majority (75% of the population) in a province where Francophones are a minority group (35 % of the population). The last available census (2006) states that the Greater Moncton's population (which includes Dieppe) has a higher level of growth than the Canadian national average (6, 5% instead of 5, 4%). Part of the explanation for this is that the bilingual region is attracting immigrants. In this communication, we will examine how Dieppe's immigration population growth since 2000 has influenced the city's discourse and practices of bilingualism.

Indeed, the municipality is confronted with a growing number of immigrants moving to the city and who are choosing English as the spoken language for municipal services and educational purposes. This being the case, the francophone municipality is trying to find strategies to help welcome newly established immigrants all the while navigating through linguistic dualism where Francophones are still fighting for their linguistic rights in a province where English dominates the public sphere. The challenge of integrating immigrants that are neither Francophone nor Anglophone is recognized by the municipality, which is considering holding community activities in other languages than French and English, such as Korean, in order to better integrate the growing Korean population and also to show the municipality is openness to Canadian multiculturalism and, in a way, to multilingualism. However, that doesn't change the linguistic policy of the municipality and ultimately, immigrants need to speak either French or English to be offered services. How does a municipality where Francophones are predominant negotiate its fragile linguistic identity in a growingly complex society where languages compete on the linguistic landscape?

Isabelle Violette's PhD thesis on francophone immigration in Acadian New Brunswick (2010) will be helpful in our account of francophone identity discourse and linguistic representations in Dieppe. Our conceptual analysis will also be inspired by Monica Heller's contributions on bilingualism (2007), Annette Boudreau's work on linguistic representations (2008) and Jan Blommaert's work on globalization (2010). Our presentation will examine fieldwork data collected in Dieppe in 2007 (Isabelle Bujold) that we will then compare to current fieldwork data collected as part of a research project directed by France Martineau and entitled *Le français à la mesure d'un continent: un patrimoine en partage.* Discourse analysis of Dieppe municipal representatives will make it possible for us to consider a series of questions, such as: What are the dynamics between linguistic groups in Dieppe? Does French dominate the linguistic market and is it in any way threatened by English (for example, is the growing presence of immigrants shifting linguistic practices)? Why do immigrants prefer to learn English and how does a French municipality adjust to such linguistic preferences?

With this presentation, we will analyze a francophone community's challenges when negotiating its linguistic identity and practices in an officially bilingual province.

GADET, FRANÇOISE

University Paris Ouest Nanterre la Défense, France

FRENCH URBAN VERNACULARS: TOWARD A CONFRONTATION

There are now enough corpora of spoken French vernaculars to allow a confrontation between phenomena and data coming from different areas of francophony. The author of the present communication has worked on different diatopic variation phenomena in French (in particular through the contribution to a Reference grammar of French - Abeillé et al. in preparation), and more particularly on the already available descriptions of North-American vernaculars (see Gadet 2011). She is now currently contributing to compiling a corpus of ordinary French as spoken by young people in the Paris area in interviews as well as in ecological situations. From those two quite different experiences, she considers it is now time for linguists working on French to inquire to what extent different urban vernaculars of French show similar or different so-called non standard phenomena which may develop in convergent or divergent directions. It is in particular possible to compare data from Paris and from Montreal, the two largest French-speaking cities in the world. In spite of different histories, different relationships to the norm and different conditions which have led to guite different ecological situations at the present time, the impact of globalization means that several social and sociolinguistic factors are comparable, in particular concerning contact due to migration, which has brought very different languages in contact with French. How far is there a possible influence of migrant languages on the French spoken in these two multicultural and multilingual metropoles? Of what type and concerning which phenomena? Users' practices will be investigated through grammatical phenomena. This paper focuses on three syntactico-discursive phenomena known to have sociolinguistic implications, namely: clitics, reported speech, and the discursive processes of sequential elaboration through subordination (in particular different uses of que). All the examples have been taken from available corpus data. The immediate objective of the paper is to study the dynamics of these urban vernaculars by inquiring how far they exhibit the expected communicative tendencies (see several papers in Filppula et al. Eds) and whether contact and the role of bilingualism and biculturalism (see for example Matras 2009) have an impact upon the ordinary way of speaking French. A longer-term objective will be to consider the communicative dynamics of French vernaculars in general and of all vernaculars. It will focus particularly on Paris, but will refer to other forms of French. The issues of the possible comparability between data from corpora collected through quite different methodologies will also be discussed.

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Thematic Session 176

Re-thinking language policy and practice in urban education: the example of France

Session Chair 1: Bonacina, Florence Session Chair 2: Hélot, Christine

Session Abstract:

Since a recent move towards ethnographic approaches to language policy research (see for instance Johnson, 2009; McCarty, 2011), language practices occupy a central place in language policy studies. This is all the more true in studies focusing on language-in-education policies. In studying actual language practices, researchers have shown that language-in-education policies can be negotiated on the ground (see for instance Hélot and Laoire, 2011; Menken and Garcia, 2010) and that new language policies can emerge in praxis (see for instance Bonacina, 2010; Spolsky, 2004).

This thematic session aims to provide a space for exploring the relationship between language policy and practice, focusing on the specific context of urban education. Given that modern cities are often characterised by a multilingual and multicultural ecology, the question arises as to how this urban ecology shape, on the one hand, language-in-education policies and practices and, on the other, our thinking of policy and practice.

The discussion will be grounded in the example of France, where 'language management' (Spolsky, 2009) is overtly French monolingual while pupils' linguistic repertoire is increasingly multilingual. The French example will be used as a point of departure for a broader discussion of language policy and practice in urban education. Some of the guestions discussed could include:

- What are the recent language-in-education policy issues in urban France? And how can they be articulated with the wider issues observed in other urban educational contexts?

- How do these issues contribute to the ongoing discussion about the relationship between policy and practice in the field of language policy research?

- How are educational language policies and practices shaped by the multilingual and multicultural ecology of French cities? And cities more generally? We invite contributions that engage with the main topic of this session. We especially welcome contributions adopting ethnographic and/or discourse analytic approaches to the study of language policy and practice in order to highlight 'the grass-roots nature of LPP [language planning and policy] as it is realised in everyday social practice' (McCarty, 2011: 5).

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BONACINA-PUGH, FLORENCE

The University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

LEGITIMIZING MULTIPLE LANGUAGES IN A FRENCH INDUCTION CLASSROOM: THE ROLE OF THE 'PRACTICED LANGUAGE POLICY'.

This paper aims to shed light on what seems at first to be a series of 'conflicts and tensions' between policy and practice (Li Wei and Martin, 2009) in an induction classroom for newly-arrived immigrant children in a primary school in France. Despite the strict French monolingual 'declared language policy' (Shohamy, 2006: 68) of France's educational system, more than seven languages are used in interaction in this classroom. Surprisingly, these multilingual practices are interpreted by all the classroom participants as legitimate and acceptable, and are even, at times, licensed by the teacher. The question arises therefore as to how do these classroom participants come to legitimize and accept the use of multiple languages in interaction when these same languages are not legitimized by surrounding discourses and policies. In answer to this guestion (which has also been raised in other contexts such as Creese and Blackledge, 2010: 113), I argue that, in this classroom, multilingual practices are legitimized by the emergence of a multilingual 'practiced language policy' (see mainly Bonacina, 2010 and Forthcoming). A Conversation Analysis of a few extracts drawn from a corpus of interaction audio-recorded in the target classroom will show how the classroom participants indeed orient towards a policy within practices, and will give an insight on what this multilingual practiced language policy consists of. Ultimately, this paper contributes to the 're-thinking of language policy and practice' in language policy research as it illustrates the idea that policy and practice need not be seen as distinct and that, in fact, a policy exists within practices themselves (Spolsky, 2004). It further argues that orientation to a multilingual practiced language policy is what enables speakers to legitimize multilingual classroom practices.

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HÉLOT. CHRISTINE: PICKEL. TIMEA University of Strasbourg, France

'PRACTICED LANGUAGE POLICIES' WITH NEWLY ARRIVED IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN FRANCE THE INVISIBILISATION OF THEIR PLURILINGUAL COMPETENCE.

This paper will focus on the case of newcomer students in France educated in a public lower secondary school in the multilingual city of Mulhouse. It will first propose an analysis of the official language in education policy for such students (B0, 2002; Spolsky, 2004), and explain how special induction classes are meant to focus specifically on the acquisition of the French language, at the expense of the students' plurilingual competence (Coste, 2001). We will then explain more specifically the effects of such a policy on the career guidance procedure which tends to disempower immigrant students and to discriminate against them mainly the grounds of their competence in French (Dhume et al, 2011). We are particularly interested in elucidating how the various actors responsible for the future educational prospects of such students practice a language policy based on the well-known republican principles of equality, with little understanding of bilingual acquisition and the role of the first language(s) in further language acquisition (Cummins, 2001, Garcia, 2009)

Finally, we will also show how the official policy can be negotiated (Menken & Garcia, 2010) by the teacher in the induction class, if students are encouraged to use their first languages to develop bi-plurilingual literacy skills. And the 'hidden' practiced policy of the guidance counsellors and mainstream teachers can also be resisted by the immigrant students themselves once they have understood the extent of their agency within the education system. Our data was collected in 2010/2011 and consists in retrospective interviews with two 16 year old students who recollected their experience of guidance counselling in the school, an interview with the school's vice principal explaining the procedure, and examples of 'identity' texts (Cummins and Early, 2011) produced by students in the induction class. Thus our data is composed of different types of discourses, institutional, local as well as personal, produced by different actors in the school, in order to better understand how practiced language policies (Bonacina, 2010) for immigrant students interact with offical policies and impact on their agency and motivation.

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THOMAUSKE, NATHALIE

University of Bielefeld, University of Paris 13

SPEECHLESS IN THE CITY: LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRACTICE IN EARLY CHILD-HOOD EDUCATION

The paper will focus on hidden agendas (Shohamy, 2006) in language policies and practices in early childhood education in France. It will give insights on the construction of the assimilation and the homogenization of 'othered' languages specifically of children of Color in early childhood settings in urban cities. But it will also analyze possibilities of contestation of such processes. In order to gain deeper knowledge and understanding of the French educational system and of its 'blind spots' it will be compared to a different educational institution in Germany situated in Berlin. The field of sociolinguistics and of early childhood education can benefit from perspectives sharpened by postcolonial and critical whiteness studies which help to deconstruct relationships of power such as unequal relationships between monolingual White practitioners and plurilingual children of Color. Due to the fact that Germany and France repress their colonial past they did not deal with all the consequences of their colonial history. As for example, state-organized migration policy or language education policy are still permeated nowadays by imperialist and colonial elements. This research is part of a larger research project entitled Children Crossing Borders which compared early childhood education and care systems in five countries (UK, US, Italy, Germany, France) in order to illuminate the values of parents who migrated recently and of practitioners. This research based on video-ethnography used a video cue showing a typical day in an early childhood setting in an urban area (Berlin, Paris) to stimulate a conversation with focus groups in different cities nationally and cross-nationally (Tobin et al. 1989). My aim in this paper is to examine in which way there is continuity or change of these colonial or neo-colonial ideas by analyzing patterns of interpretation guiding language policies and practices. In which way can a hidden agenda of assimilation of 'othered' children of Color and 'othered' languages be traced? I will present some preliminary findings of this research focusing on the issue of being or made speechless. For example practitioners can contribute to produce inequality in early childhood education by devaluing or forbidding children to speak their home language(s) in the early childhood setting and by insisting on speaking a second language which the children might not be able to speak. Children get probably the impression that their home language(s) is/are not worth enough to talk in public and can in consequence be made speechless.

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YOUNG, ANDREA SUSAN Université de Strasbourg, France

REPORTING ON PRACTICED POLICY IN PUBLIC URBAN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN FRANCE

In urban contexts in France, as in many other countries (OECD, 2010), the number of allophone children attending state schools is steadily increasing. Current official policy advocates the integration of the newly arrived migrant pupil into a mainstream class as soon as possible, with support offered in the form of French as a Second Language lessons taught by a specialised teacher when available. Children who are not new arrivals in the country but who nevertheless do not speak the language of education at home are not identified as requiring additional language support, as neither are any children under the age of 6. It is therefore generally the well-meaning, sometimes inexperienced and frequently overstretched and unprepared class teacher who is left to provide what support s/he can. Most teachers still receive little or no training in how to support children for whom the language of instruction is not the language of the home and whilst instinctively aware of the specific needs of these children, they invariably feel ill-equipped to meet them. Some practitioners firmly believe that in order to respect Republican values a policy of French only should be maintained in the classroom which is sometimes extended to include the playground and may even be recommended as a policy for parents in the home. Yet others are beginning to acknowledge the bilingualism of these children and to practise policies of inclusion (Bonacina, 2010) as opposed to ignoring pupils' plurilingual repertoires and characterising them as linguistically deficient.

This paper will present and analyse data collected in 2011, through interviews with teachers in 17 public, urban, primary and nursery schools in the Alsace region of France. The interviews were conducted by university students as part of an awareness-raising module focussing on overt and covert language practices and policies within the French school context. Analysis of the reported data from these interviews reveals a range of practiced policies, underpinned by a variety of beliefs, ideologies and conventions (Hornberger, 2010). Findings underline the need for teacher educators to propose courses which adopt a critical language awareness approach, allowing students to uncover, analyse and question language ideologies, to become aware of their own positions in the world, to address and negotiate tensions and empowering them with knowledge and pedagogies so that they may become agents of change in the multilingual classroom (Hélot & Laoire, 2011).

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AKINCI, MEHMET-ALI

Dynamique du Langage (CNRS - Université Lyon 2), France

FRENCH LANGUAGE POLICIES AND BILITERACY ACTIVITIES OF TURKISH MIGRANT BACKGROUND SECOND GENERATION BILINGUAL TEENAGERS 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 communities in question (Baker, 2001). This presentation aims to investigate the relationship between French language policies concerning ethnic minorities and biliteracy activities of Turkish migrant background second generation bilingual teenagers in France. As regards the management of the ethnic variety of migrants, two opposite policies is used to be distinguished: an assimilationist one, and a pluralist one. Even if French policies concerning ethnic minorities are considerably different in many respects to other West European countries, nation-state ideology and maintenance of nationhood rooted in a commonly shared notion of cultural unity (Archibald, 2002; Abou, 2006). Rather than promoting pluralism. French policies explicitly opted for integration and linguistic assimilation of migrants. In order to transform immigrants or their descendants into French nationals, a Commission on Nationality was set up in 1987. This commission took a number of measures to set up the legal framework for achieving the assimilation of immigrants into the mainstream society (Schnapper, 1988: 9). Mastery of French was seen to be the most fundamental aspect of the acculturation process. This process affects particularly young people of second generation, 'who cannot divide any more their world into two sectors as did their parents. From early childhood, they are subdued in two different cultural codes - at school that of the global society, at home that of the family - they have to interiorize them and also interiorize the conflict which results from their interferences' (Abou, 2006: 84). Given the circumstances, one would hardly expect first language maintenance among younger second generation descendants. However, the linguistic and cultural assimilation of second generation of Turkish immigrants is shown to be very low in France (Rollan & Sourou, 2006; Tribalat, 1995; Yagmur & Akinci, 2003; Akinci & Yağmur, 2011). In order to study biliteracy activities, a questionnaire was elaborated. The results of this questionnaire constitute a critical source of information on demographic variables and biliteracy-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 120 participants in four age groups (students from grade school, junior school, and high school) were asked to fill out the questionnaire. 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.

AMIR, ALIA Linköping University, Sweden

THE LANGUAGE-POLICING PRACTICES CONSTITUTING THE EMERGING MICRO-LEV-EL LANGUAGE POLICY-IN-PROCESS IN THE EFL CLASSROOM: THE EXAMPLE FROM A SWEDISH EFL CLASSROOM

Spolsky's (2004, 2009) recent coceptualisation of language policy as practices has been approached through Conversation Analysis by a few studies (Bonacina, 2010; Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010; Amir and Musk, in preparation etc.) Following Bonacina's (2010) call to study practiced language policy with the help of Conversation Analysis, this study aims to fill the gap where the practices dimension of language policy can be explored by looking at 'what people do and not at what they think should be done or what someone else wants them to do' (Psathas, 2004: 218). To expose the 'grass-roots nature of LPP' (Mc Carty, 2011) this study aims to explore the micro-level language-policy in process (Musk and Amir, 2010) of an EFL (English as a Foreign Language) Classroom in a Swedish city by tracing mediums of classroom interaction (Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2010). With this case study, I also aim to explore how at the micro-level of an urban Swedish classroom the participants orient to establishing the normatively prescribed medium of classroom interaction. Although the participants switched between different mediums of classroom interaction the emergent nature of the micro-level language policy-in-process changed moment by moment and turn by turn. The sequential analysis of video recordings of the EFL classroom in an international Swedish school revealed language policing practices. These practices constitute the micro-level enactment of a monolingual policy which is displayed by the participants' orientation to the medium in need of repair.

The analysis has revealed, for example, the mediums of classroom interaction varied for each participant for instance the teacher uses a monolingual English medium (during the lessons) but pupils switch between different mediums. Another important finding of the study is that the pattern of medium switching tended to be one-way that is from Swedish to English. The data consists of 20 hours of video recordings in an ESL classroom in an international Swedish school of grades 8 and 9 taught by one native-speaker

The data consists of 20 hours of video recordings in an ESL classroom in an international Swedish school of grades 8 and 9 taught by one native-speaker during the years 2007-2010.

MCCARTY, TERESA

The University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 177

Field methods in multicultural megacities

Session Chair 1: Mendes, Ronald Session Chair 2: Walker, James Anthony

Session Abstract:

Multicultural megacities — large urban centres characterized by ethnically heterogeneous populations — pose particular methodological challenges for the study of sociolinguistic variation and change. Although a number of large-scale projects (beginning with Labov, 1966) have developed a toolbox of sociolinguistic methods, not all of them are applicable to every community, each of which features its own sociolinguistic situation. A comparison of three cities in the Americas demonstrate that speakers can be organized along different social dimensions, which in turn holds consequences for methods of data collection and patterns of sociolinguistic variation and change. In New York City, Labov's (2006) choice of the Lower East Side was determined in part by the neighbourhood's representativeness of the ethnic and socioeconomic character of the city as a whole. In Toronto, where settlement patterns have led to the development of 'ethnic enclaves', Hoffman & Walker (2010:41) targeted the largest and most salient ethnic groups on the basis of their degree of participation in ethnically-defined social networks. In São Paulo, there is no single neighborhood that reflects the complexity of the whole city, nor are there ethnic enclaves where people of the same origin and background are concentrated (Mendes, 2011:7–8). In all such studies, sociolinguists are confronted with two conflicting requirements: recruiting a large sample of informants that is representative of the larger speech community; and gathering detailed ethnographic information from each informant (Poplack, 1989). In the highly complex speech communities found in large multicultural cities, it is unlikely that traditional social factors will coincide with the speakers' own categorizations and perceptions of social differentiation. While the integration of sociological and ethnographic approaches may produce more realistic sociolinguistic accounts, they suffer from the limitations inherent to large data collection projects.

In this thematic session, we discuss questions of research design and data collection in megacities characterized by ethnically and/or linguistically heterogeneous populations, including methods of sampling, representativeness, interview schedules, dialect leveling, the indexical field and the perception of sociolinguistic identities.

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CONTACT IN THE CITY: DATA AND METHOD IN THE STUDY OF ETHNOLINGUISTIC VARIATION

Conducting sociolinguistic research entails satisfying two basic requirements: a representative sample of speakers and appropriate data (Labov 1984). In large-scale studies of urban North American speech communities, these requirements have normally been satisfied by randomly sampling speakers stratified according to a standard set of social characteristics (sex, age, social class, etc.) and by using the sociolinguistic interview to access the speakers' vernacular (e.g. Labov 1966). However, studies of smaller communities (e.g. Meyerhoff & Walker, in press; Rickford 1987) have shown that standard social categories may be less meaningful than locally salient distinctions and that random sampling may be less effective in obtaining appropriate data, especially if the vernacular is stigmatized.

Such considerations are pertinent to the study of ethnolinguistic variation in urban speech communities. Voluntary residential segregation ('ethnic enclaves') means that random sampling may not garner sufficient numbers of speakers from the relevant ethnic groups. Stratifying the sample according to every ethnic group will result in an unwieldy corpus size. Moreover, since ethnically marked ways of speaking often serve to distinguish in/out-group status (Clyne et al. 2001), such features may not occur in situations where the speaker and interlocutor do not share ethnic characteristics.

'Contact in the City' (Hoffman & Walker 2010) is a large-scale project investigating ethnolinguistic variation in Toronto English. Rather than randomly sampling the entire speech community, we have targeted specific ethnic groups, on the basis of their demographic representation and salience in the city. To obtain appropriate data, we have employed in-group community members to record naturalistic interaction with members of their own extended social networks. In addition to eliciting detailed information about speakers' attitudes toward and identification with their relevant ethnicity, we compare the use of linguistic features (both general and ethnically marked) across generations and ethnic groups.

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STJERNHOLM, KARINE; IMS, INGUNN INDREBØ

University of Oslo, Norway

ONLINE SURVEYS IN MULTI-ETHNIC OSLO – NEW METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

This talk will present methodological considerations related to the use of internet for linguistic surveys. During a few weeks in the 2010 our survey Oslotesten (The Oslo test) got 100.000 responses from respondents all over Norway. The test was developed in collaboration with one of Norway's largest newspapers, Aftenposten, who published the survey on their web sites. The aim of the survey was to gather perceptions about linguistic variation in speech varieties in Norway's capital Oslo from inhabitants of the city.

The past 50 years Oslo has become a multicultural city, and 28% (170 200) (Statistics Norway/ssb.no January 31, 2012) of the population are immigrants or descendants of immigrants. This ethnic diversity is naturally followed by a linguistic diversity, and linguistic changes as a result of the mixture of ethnicities, cultures and languages. The survey presented a wide range of linguistic variables for the respondents to evaluate - both traditional dialect features and also features related to influence from recent immigrant languages, leading to a overwhelming quantitative material to process. In addition, the respondents were asked to leave information about social background and their perceptions about linguistic variation in open comment boxes, especially perceptions about categorization connected to multiethnic features, features commonly used among adolescents in Oslo's eastern parts (Opsahl and Røyneland 2009, Quist and Svendsen 2010). This information resulted in a wide range of gualitative data there are some obvious difficulties in interpreting. The overwhelming amount of responses revealed the enormous potential that internet provides in gathering large guantities of data. This approach enables researchers to map linguistic variation in a large and complex speech community. On the basis of the idea that a speech community can be defined by participation in a shared set of norms (Hudson 1980, 27), it is not unlikely that speakers' own categorizations and perceptions of social differentiation can be useful when trying to delineate a speech community.

This approach gives the opportunity to gather information about categorizations that are widespread in the speech community, but new to the researcher. and can reveal that traditional social categorizations not necessarily coincides with the categorizations of the language users. In this way a large scale data collection like this can be used as a pilot study for more qualitative studies as well, or as a basis for more sociological or ethnographic approaches, where new categorizations can be investigated further.

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MENDES, RONALD BELINE: OUSHIRO, LIVIA Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil

SAMPLING SÃO PAULO PORTUGUESE

The city of São Paulo, home to some 11 million people, is the largest city in South America and the seventh largest in the world. Its population is highly diverse in terms of their geographical origin, socioeconomic class, and cultural background. Yet to date very few works describe the linguistic correlates of such sociodemographic complexity.

This paper reports on the objectives, challenges, and methods of Project SP2010 (Mendes, 2011), currently under execution by the Grupo de Estudos e Pesquisa em Sociolinguística (Sociolinguistic Studies and Research Group) at the University of São Paulo. Its primary goal is to collect a representative sample of Paulistano speech and make both recordings and transcriptions available online to foster the development of sociolinguistic research on this variety of Portuguese

The first question to be addressed is how to build a manageable sample that is representative of São Paulo's complex sociodemographic makeup. In the current first two-year stage, the sample is stratified according to speakers' sex/gender, three age groups, and two levels of education, resulting in 12 social profiles, each of which is filled by five speakers, resulting in 60 recordings. In order to cover the wide geographical range of the city, each interviewee in a cell resides in a different zone (north, south, east, west, center). In a second stage, we will extend the corpus to encompass three other social parameters that seem to be relevant for sociolinguistic stratification in São Paulo: social class, number of generations the family has been resident in the city, and the regional background of the immigrant.

A second question is how to contact and schedule interviews with such a varied spectrum of the population, particularly in a busy urban environment where informants may be reluctant to agree to an hour-long interview. To address this possibility, we opt for the 'friend of a friend' method (Milroy 2004). Although it implies that the sample is not completely random, this method has proven effective in facilitating contact with new informants as well as vielding more natural speech data.

Finally, a third question is how to make the sample available to facilitate automatized data handling in softwares such as R (Baaven, 2008; Hornik, 2011). Recordings will be transcribed in ELAN (Hellwig et al., 2011), following simple but strict norms in order to enable, for instance, automatic token identification and extraction into a spreadsheet file (Oushiro, 2012).

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PAIVA, CONCEIÇÃO (1); GOMES, CHRISTINA (2)

1: Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, CNPq/Brazil; 2: Federal University of Rio de Janeiro Brazil

CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC IDENTITY IN RIO DE JANEIRO

The study of language change and variation in urban megacities finds several methodological difficulties. The survey methods of Variationist Sociolinquistic (Labov, 1972) due to requirement for representativeness of the speech community, are not able to gather the complex sociolinguistic dynamic that results from the close relationship between speakers of different varieties (Romaine 1980). One main problem concerns the analysis of the regional linguistic identity. In view of the diversity of different dialects in an urban diversified space, what linguistic phenomena can be considered characteristic of this speech community. Another question is related to how the speaker recognizes himself as member of this geographic space. This is the main focus of this paper based on the application of field methods in the megacity of Rio de Janeiro. In the early 1980s, the Research group PEUL (Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) organized a large random sample of Rio de Janeiro, controlled according to the social variables age, educational level and sex (Oliveira e Silva and Scherre, 1996, Paiva e Duarte 2003). The grouping of speakers according to these variables shows robust evidences about several variable processes and changes in progress in this community (Paiva and Scherre, 1999, Paiva e Duarte, 2006). However, these correlations don't say anything about speakers' awareness and attitudes towards these phenomena. During the sociolinguistic interviews, the speakers were asked guestions like: Are there differences in the way Cariocas speak? What can be considered characteristics of the carioca speech? A posteriori, this information was quantified through a scale in which different levels of sensitivity to linguistic variation in general and to the peculiarities of Carioca speech were distributed. The analysis of the phenomena more frequently quoted by the speakers allows to identifying the linguistic aspects considered as 'typically Carioca'. The comparison between these quoted phenomena and the variable process identified in controlled quantitative analyses leads to the conclusion that carioca speakers have a low level of sensitivity about the process of variation and change that characterizes Rio de Janeiro. The linguistic features considered as carioca particularities reproduces stereotypes as: 'the carioca uses more slang than other Brazilian people' or 'the carioca palatalizes final /S/.

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ADLI. ARIA University of Freiburg, Germany

LOOKING FROM THE OTHER SIDE: COMPARING TEHRAN, PARIS, AND BARCELONA

This paper outlines the methodology of a cross-cultural, sociolinguistic project carried out in the last years in Tehran, Paris, and Barcelona. One common denominator of many megacities in the world is their multicultural and multilingual character. However, the linguistic situation differs from place to place. For example, one salient aspect of the linguistic situation in Barcelona is the Spanish-Catalan language conflict. By contrast, language conflicts are less palpable in Tehran, where Farsi is accepted as official language (although it is not the first language spoken at home for at least half of the population). Paris, in turn, differs from Tehran and Barcelona, because the non-native speakers of the official language (French) are usually immigrants from other countries. We therefore adapted our strategy of data collection to the respective local situation: While we worked with monolinguals of French and Farsi (or bilinguals whose French or Farsi was the dominant language), we carefully selected balanced bilinguals of Catalan and Spanish in Barcelona

A major challenge of this research has been the approach to social class, because the social structures (or, more precisely, the ways of constructing and reconstructing social inequality) are different in each society. First, the economic situation of the household as a whole is given more weight in Tehran than in Paris and Barcelona. Second, the lifestyle variable, used in all three cities as an indicator of the subjective side of social structure, cannot be applied in the same way. While the main dimensions are comparable at an abstract level at all three places (leisure, clothing, media preference, values), the concrete operationalization is very different. For example, the specific semiotics of the style of headgear is taken seriously in Tehran. Likewise, the attitudes towards national or regional identity are investigated in more detail in Barcelona. Finally, we applied two international classifications, one for the level of education (UNESCO, 2006) and one for the socio-professional categories (ILO, 2008), which ensures a certain level of comparability. In order to illustrate these challenges and our ways to deal with them, we present some results of a cross-cultural variationist study on optional subject pronoun use conducted with 40 speakers of each of the languages Persian, French, and Spanish. We analyzed the contrast between null and overt subject pronouns in Persian and Spanish (Haeri, 1989; Otheguy et al., 2007), and the analogous phenomenon of simple pronouns vs. pronominal doubling in French (Coveney, 2005). Our interpretation of the results of the interview data is that the subjective and objective side of social structure have different weights in the three cities - a result discussed in the light of social theory (Bourdieu, 1984).

In conclusion we will argue that the development of methods of cross-cultural sociolinguistics will not only teach us strategies for comparing results obtained in different societies, but also give us tools that are useful in the study of the multicultural microcosm of a single megacity.

KERSWILL, PAUL EDWARD University of York, United Kingdom

INVESTIGATING MULTICULTURAL LONDON ENGLISH: CORPUS APPROACHES TO THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY IN A LARGE-SCALE VARIATIONIST STUDY

London's Cockney dialect is one of very few working-class urban varieties in Britain to have its own well-established label. This high degree of enregisterment has some historicity: the dialect was portrayed by Dickens through some of his London characters, and it was the object of disapproval in Shaw's Pygmalion. Centuries of immigration to London have had relatively few direct effects on developments in Cockney. However, this is no longer the case. Since around 1980, radical changes to the vowel system, particularly the diphthongs, and new discourse features including a this is + speaker quotative, attest to linguistic innovation induced by high levels of language contact in the East End mediated by second-language learning. This has resulted in a repertoire of speech forms used by young working-class people which we have labelled Multicultural London English (Cheshire et al. 2011). The extreme diversity of the population posed challenges for the research design. In this paper, I focus on one aspect of the design: the interview schedule, which encouraged particularly rich discussions among the participants of language and identity. Using a corpus analysis of these interviews, conducted with some 140 young Londoners in friendship pairs, I focus on the way the young people discursively construct their own way of speaking (Kerswill fc 2012). It is clear that they are ambivalent about 'Cockney', usually defining it as 'the other', belonging to people who are possibly older, white, sometimes racist, using rhyming slang, and living in another borough. They position their speech as separate from both Cockney and Received Pronunciation (or 'posh'), and many simply call it 'slang'. Many see it as non-racial, but others, particularly those living in an outer-city borough, see it as essentially 'black'. Expressions of linguistic identity are thus polarised, while within the polarisation categories these expressions are nuanced. Corpus-driven discourse analysis thus emerges as a useful tool in language variation and change.

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MENDES, RONALD

Universidade de São Paulo, Brazil

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 179

Mutual intelligibility of closely related languages in a multilingual Europe – Empirical and didactic approaches

Session Chair 1: Kürschner, Sebastian Session Chair 2: Gooskens, Charlotte

Session Abstract:

Many different languages are spoken in Europe and respect for linguistic diversity is a core EU value. In 2007 the High Level Group on Multilingualism (HLGM) published a report which noted a lack of knowledge about the possibilities for communicating in Europe through receptive multilingualism. Receptive multilingualism utilizes the fact that many people can understand closely related languages while speaking their own language. For example, in the Mainland Scandinavian or Czech/Slovak language areas, people traditionally communicate across language borders each using their mother tongue, while still (to a certain degree) understanding the other, closely related language. These speakers are considered receptively multilingual. However, at least some training is usually necessary for communication to succeed in such situations, which means that communication can be enhanced by didactic tools building on the close linguistic relations.

The EuroCom projects were designed to offer such a tool for a fast acquisition of reading abilities in closely related languages (EuroComRom for Romance languages, EuroComGerm for Germanic languages, and EuroComSlav for Slavonic languages). At the same time, in several European research institutions, research is carried out to investigate mutual intelligibility of closely related languages, and identify factors facilitating or hampering it. While the didactic branch of studies focuses on developing methods and tools for the passive acquisition of closely related languages, the empirical branch elicits mutual intelligibility of these languages, mostly ignoring these didactic tools and their possible impact on intelligibility. We feel the urgent need to bring together researchers working on didactic tools and researchers investigating mutual intelligibility of closely related languages empirically, as both branches can greatly benefit from each other's methods and results. This workshop aims at providing a forum for both groups of researchers. We therefore invite papers on any of the two branches of receptive bilingualism research dealing with intelligibility of closely related languages, with respect to oral communication as well as to written texts. The aim of the workshop is to discuss which of the concepts in empirical studies are valuable for the development of didactic tools and vice versa, and in which ways both approaches might be fruitfully incorporated into each other. Possible discussion questions are:

- Which languages in Europe are mutual intelligible and to which degree?
- For which language constellations is research on mutual intelligibility (and its application) relevant in EU language politics?
- Which methods are useful to elicit intelligibility and receptive linguistic knowledge?
- Which linguistic and non-linguistic factors are relevant to intelligibility, and what are their relative contribution to intelligibility?
- Can such linguistic and extra-linguistic factors be applied in didactic programs to enhance the use of receptive knowledge of closely related languages?

- How do theoretical models of intelligibility processes relate to didactics? Although we will mainly be concerned with Europe, we also invite papers from other geographic areas relevant to the topic, cf. e.g. Spanish and Portuquese in Latin America.

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HUFEISEN, BRITTA TU Darmstadt, Germany

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

HUFEISEN, BRITTA TU Darmstadt, Germany

EUROPEAN INTERCOMPREHENSION AND RESEARCH ON MULTILINGUALISM

In my key talk I am going to discuss the main issues of European Intercomprehension and EuroCom with a focus on EuroComGerm. I am also going to introduce the latest developments in multilingualism research concerning the polyglot dialogue and will indicate chances and limitations of these concepts.

MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY IN THE GERMANIC, ROMANCE AND SLAVIC LANGUAGE AREA

If languages are mutually intelligible that means that two people each can speak their own language without having problems understanding each other. The Scandinavian languages are known for being mutually intelligible to a large extent. A great number of investigations has been carried out on the factors that play a role for mutual intelligibility of Scandinavian languages.

However, the number of studies about mutual intelligibility of other European languages is rather low. Therefore it is not surprising that in 2007 the High Level Group on Multilingualism (HLGM) pointed out that there is not enough knowledge about mutual intelligibility between European languages and that the status of English as a lingua franca (ELF) in Europe should be investigated.

In this paper the mutual intelligibility of the languages within the Germanic, Romance and Slavic language areas and the prospective of ELF in those language areas is investigated. For each language area, the languages that are official languages in the European Union have been chosen as the test languages. This leads to a selection of Danish, Dutch, English, German and Swedish for the Germanic area; French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Romanian for the Romance area; and Bulgarian, Croatian[1], Czech, Polish, Slovak and Slovene for the Slavic area.

The intelligibility between the languages mentioned above will be tested by means of a cloze test for spoken as well as written language in a web-based experiment. In a cloze test, participants are faced with texts from which a certain number of words has been deleted. The task is to fill in these blanks. This way, it is possible to measure the intelligibility of coherent texts. The cloze test will be used to test the intelligibility of both closely related languages and ELF. The intelligibility scores will be correlated with linguistic factors, such as phonetic and lexical distances, as well as extra-linguistic factors, such as language contact and language attitudes. This has never been done on such a large scale. Since the results will provide an insight in the mutual intelligibility of the languages mentioned above and explain which factors play a role for the mutual intelligibility of languages, they will be of great interest for linguists as well as policy makers in the European Union. This paper will elaborate on the methodological challenges of intelligibility research and present some preliminary results of the investigation into the intelligibility of the languages within the Germanic. Romance and Slavic language areas. [1] Note that Croation is not yet an official language of the European Union. Since it will be in 2013, Croation is included in the project.

GOOSKENS, CHARLOTTE (1); VAN HEUVEN, VINCENT J. (2); VAN BEZOOIJEN, RENEE (1) 1: RUG, The Netherlands; 2: Leiden University, The Netherlands

MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY OF DUTCH-GERMAN COGNATES BY CHILDREN

Several studies (e.g. Ház 2005) have revealed an asymmetric relationship in the mutual intelligibility of Dutch and German. German has been found to be easier to understand for Dutch listeners than Dutch for German listeners. This finding has been attributed to the fact that German is an obligatory subject in Dutch secondary school and that many Dutch people watch German television, especially in the eastern part of the Netherlands. In contrast, it is much less common for German children to learn Dutch at school and for German people to watch Dutch television. On the basis of the research to date it cannot be excluded, however, that in addition to the extralinguistic factor of language contact, linguistic factors also play a role in the asymmetric mutual intelligibility between German and Dutch. This is the topic of the present study. Specifically, we aimed at gaining insight into the phonetic-phonological factors playing a role in Dutch-German intelligibility at the word level for speakers of the respective languages in a first confrontation (i.e. assuming no prior language contact).

We presented 40 highly frequent Dutch and German cognate nouns, recorded by a perfect bilingual speaker, to Dutch and German children between 9 and 12 years in a word translation task. The German and Dutch children were comparable in that they did not know the other language or a related dialect and in that all expressed equally positive attitudes towards the other language, its speakers and the country. It was thus ensured that the two main extra-linguistic factors which have been postulated to influence the intelligibility of a related language, namely language contact and language attitude, could not play a role in the present study.

Our results revealed that cross-linguistic intelligibility between Dutch and German is asymmetric. The Dutch subjects were significantly better at understanding the German cognates (50,2% correct translations) than the German subjects were at understanding the Dutch cognates (41,9%). Also, there were more cognate pairs where the Dutch subjects performed better (21) than the other way around (14) and the size of the asymmetry was generally larger for the Dutch subjects than for the German subjects. Since the relevant extra-linguistic factors had been excluded, the asymmetry must have a linquistic basis. We will present examples of asymmetries at the sound level and discuss the role of neighbours (lexical competitors) in the two languages.

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SLOBODA, MARIÁN (1); BRANKATSCHK, KATJA (2) 1: Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic; 2: Slavic Institute, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

THE MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY OF SLAVIC LANGUAGES AND ITS POTENTIAL FOR THE SORBIAN LANGUAGE REVIVAL

Upper and Lower Sorbian are currently spoken by a few dozens of thousand speakers in the eastern part of Germany. One of the arguments which aims to 'gain' new speakers for these Slavic languages and, thus, help revive them in a predominantly German-speaking setting is the argument that a knowledge of Sorbian can help one to understand, and possibly also to learn, other Slavic languages such as Czech, Polish or Russian more easily. Having turned this argument into a hypothesis, this paper presents results of measurement of intellibility of Czech, Polish and Slovak to students of the Sorbian secondary school in Bauzen, Lusatia. Germany. The test was carried out with both students of A classes, who usually come from Sorbian families and have mostly Sorbian as a medium of instruction, and students of B classes, who are usually of German descent, who have the Sorbian-medium part of their curriculum reduced and whose motivation for the language, as it showed up also during the testing, was much weaker compared to the A-class students. The test results show to what extent the two groups of students differ and to what extent the revivalist argument of Slavic intelligibility could

be supported by factual comprehension of a short audio story in other Slavic languages. Certainly, the effectivity of this argument is a question which involves much more aspects of the linguistic situation in Lusatia and surely depends on the concrete actions by the Sorbian language activits. Nevertheless, the research presented here provides a certain empirical base for such an argument. The testing method used is identical to the one already applied to Scandinavian Germanic languages (Gookens 2007), which allows for some comparisons across language families. The research presented was part of a recently completed project whose goal was to measure linguistic intelligibility together with linguistic distances between the Slavic languages. Results for linguistic distances will also be presented.

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HENDRIKS, BERNA; VAN MULKEN, MARGOT Radboud University Nijmegen, The Netherlands

COMPARING EFFECTIVENESS OF ELF, L1-L2 INTERACTION AND RECEPTIVE MULTI-LINGUALISM IN COMPUTER-MEDIATED COMMUNICATION (CMC)

The continuing globalisation of markets has led to a rapid increase in the use of English as the Lingua Franca (ELF) of international communication. ELF research has demonstrated that although the use of ELF may facilitate communication in multilingual settings, it can at the same time present linguistic, cultural and organisational challenges for non-native speakers of English (Hincks, 2010; Rogerson-Revell, 2008; Welch, Welch & Piekkari, 2005). Alternatives to ELF might be the use of L1-L2 interactions, where one of the speakers adopts the L1 of his or her partner, and receptive multilingualism, where speakers with different L1 backgrounds communicate in their own mother tongue and have a passive understanding of the conversational partner's L1 (Ribbert & Ten Thije, 2007). The present paper reports on two studies that explored the effectiveness of language use in dyadic, CMC interactions using within-subject experimental designs. In three consecutive sessions, respondents performed a 'spot the differences' task in ELF, Receptive Multilingualism and L1-L2 (study 1), and in ELF. Receptive Multilingualism and Mother Tongue (study 2). The chat sessions were analysed on communicative effectiveness (differences found, number of words and turns) and on communication strategies employed by participants in resolving referential conflicts. Findings indicate that participants were more effective in RM than in ELF and L1-L2, and also that participants used different communication strategies in the various communication modes. In addition, it turned out that participants tended to use process-oriented strategies more frequently in ELF than in the other communication modes and that they tended to use code-oriented strategies more often in L2-L1 interactions. Moreover, paralinguistic strategies were more often used in mother tongue interactions than in the other modes. Findings suggest that ELF may not be the most effective language choice in multilingual environments.

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VANHOVE, JAN; BERTHELE, RAPHAEL; KAISER, IRMTRAUD University of Fribourg, Switzerland

RECOGNISING COGNATES IN AN UNKNOWN LANGUAGE VARIETY: THE IMPACT OF COGNITIVE FACTORS

Mutual intelligibility between closely related language varieties (dialects, sociolects, 'independent' languages) crucially relies on readers' and listeners' ability to identify correspondences between the target variety (Lx) and one or several source varieties (L1, L2, ..., Ln), especially in the absence of contextual cues. Of particular interest, cognate relationships between Lx and L1, L2, ..., Ln lexical items represent a huge potential: to the extent that listeners and readers can reconstruct the phylogenetic link between such items, they may be able to infer the meaning of the Lx item based on its formal characteristics alone. Needless to say, some readers/listeners are more adept at unravelling cognate relationships than others and researchers have tried to account for such interindividual variance in terms of, for instance, the make-up of the participants' linguistic repertoire (e.g. Berthele, 2008) and sociolinguistic factors, most notably attitudes towards the target language (e.g. Schüppert and Gooskens, 2011). We hypothesise that the cognate recognition process is also dependent on basic cognitive factors, specifically working memory (WM; short-term storage and manipulation of information), crystallised intelligence (Gc; accumulated knowledge) and fluid intelligence (Gf; capacity to solve novel problems). and that interindividual differences in WM, Gc and Gf can directly account for interindividual variance in cognate recognition skills. We test these predictions using data from a cross-sectional study in which 180 German-speaking Swiss participants (aged 10 to 95) without competences in Swedish were asked to translate 100 Swedish words into German and, additionally, to participate in a number of cognitive tests. Of further interest. WM, Gc and Gf are age-dependent, though not in the same way; while WM and Gf reach their highest point in the mid-20s and show roughly linear decline afterwards, Gc tends to display modest increase throughout adulthood (e.g. Bialystok and Craik, 2006). To the extent that cognate recognition is indeed dependent on these cognitive factors, we therefore expect that the ability to recognise cognates in unknown foreign languages will also vary as a function of age (as already hinted at in studies by Berthele, 2011, and Delsing and Lundin Åkesson, 2005). The data of our cross-sectional study will allow us to track the development of cognate recognition skills throught the lifespan (of potential interest to educationalists) as well as to tease apart its cognitive driving forces.

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KÜRSCHNER, SEBASTIAN University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany

THE EFFECT OF REGULAR SOUND CHANGES ON WORD INTELLIGIBILITY IN THE MAINLAND SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

We study the effect of major sound changes on mutual word intelligibility between Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. Our focus is on sound changes dividing Danish from its northern neighbor languages, i.e., both vowel changes (the Great Mainland Scandinavian Vowel Shift, vowel lowering, and Danish a-shift) and consonant changes (Danish Consonant Shift, backing of /r/, and related phonological processes). With Danish stød, we also take a prosodic change into account.

The effect of all changes is studied based on data derived from an experiment on the intelligibility of 143 Scandinavian cognate nouns which were presented in isolation in spoken form. Subjects were asked to translate the given stimuli from a neighbor language into their mother tongue. Word intelligibility scores were measured in terms of the number of correct translations per word. The distribution of intelligibility scores of words affected by a given sound change was compared with the distribution of intelligibility scores of words unaffected by that change. Moreover, we studied the incorrect answers for given stimuli, identifying which of the sound correspondences caused specific problems.

In general, vowel and consonantal changes as well as stød are relevant to intelligibility. More specifically, we found that Danes had most problems recognizing words which were affected by the Great Vowel Shift. Additionally, the apical realization of /r/ in Norwegian and Swedish turned out to be problematic for Danish subjects. For Norwegians and Swedes, the most problematic changes were unshifted Danish vowels and the fronting of Danish /a/. After a discussion of these findings, we present implications for Inter-Scandinavian language didactics, especially language teaching and training in inter-Scandinavian communication: When confronted with Scandinavian neighbor languages, knowledge about systematic sound relations might help to improve the recognition of cognates, especially when these relations were identified to cause problems frequently. Additionally, using orthographical knowledge can be useful with respect to specific sound relations, since the Scandinavian orthographies are rather conservative and do not reflect all the sound changes causing differences between the Mainland Scandinavian languages.

MUIKKU-WERNER, PIRKKO (1); KAIVAPALU, ANNEKATRIN (2); MARTIN, MAISA (3) 1: University of Eastern Finland; 2: University of Tallinn / University of Jyväskylä; 3: University of Jyväskylä

MUTUAL INTELLIGIBILITY IN LANGUANGE LEARNING CONTEXT: LINGUISTIC AND STRATEGIC DETERMINANTS OF COMPREHENSION OF ESTONIAN AND FINNISH

In order to understand any previously unknown second or foreign language (L2), the learner has to make interlingual identifications (Jarvis & Odlin 2000: 538) between the structures, patterns and rules of the first language (L1) and L2. In closely related languages the interlingual identifications involve all linguistic subsystems: similarities and differences occur at the level of phonology and morphology as well as at the level of syntax and vocabulary. In addition to linguistic determinants, strategic and metalinguistic factors as well as cultural background play an important role in intelligibility of closely related language.

The paper addresses mutual intelligibility of two Finno-Ugric languages, Finnish and Estonian, in language learning situation. This study is a part of the international research project REMU (Receptive Multilingualism) of universities of Eastern Finland, Tallinn and Jyväskylä (Finland). The aim of the study is to explore what linguistic and strategic determinants are relevant to intelligibility of written texts, and what their relative contribution to intelligibility is. Two groups of learners were recruited for this study: Finnish university students (70) and Estonian students (70), all with no prior knowledge and experience of the L2. Both groups were given the same text Bridge over the sea respectively in Estonian and Finnish and then asked to describe its contents in writing. Translating was also encouraged. In addition, the students were asked to reflect on the experience: to describe what was easy, what was difficult, and what strategies were used in retrieving the meaning. As expected, the results showed that similarities in the vocabulary facilitated understanding. The learners were also aware of the existence of false friends: the similarity of form was not blindly trusted to provide a shared meaning. The structural similarity of the languages was equally essential in understanding the text: the morfosyntactic determinants such as the similarity of inflection, derivation, compounding, and sentence structure aided in deciphering the contents of the text. It can be concluded that, unlike production, the comprehension of closely related languages proceeds with simultaneous item learning and system learning (Ringbom 2007: 98–100). Comprehension is further supported by the ability to utilize the context, by metaliguistic awareneess and the knowledge of the history and variation of the L1.

Keywords: acquisition of related language, receptive multilingualism, text comprehension, crosslinguistic influence, learner strategies, Estonian, Finnish

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SCHÜPPERT, ANJA (1); GOOSKENS, CHARLOTTE (1); HILTON, NANNA (1); VAN HEUVEN, VINCENT (2) 1: University of Groningen, The Netherlands; 2: Leiden University

SLOWLY OR CLEARLY? THE IMPACT OF SYLLABLE DELETION AND ARTICULATION RATE IN DANISH FOR ITS INTELLIGIBILITY IN SCANDINAVIA

The Scandinavian languages Swedish, Danish and Norwegian are closely related and mutually intelligible to a high extent. However, intelligibility rates are far from perfect between speakers of the three languages, and Norwegians' and Swedes' imperfect comprehension of spoken Danish is particularly commented upon in literature and in media.

Hilton, Gooskens and Schüppert (2010) showed that if the number of phonological syllables is analysed, articulation rates in Scandinavian radio news broadcasts are significantly higher in Danish (6.2 syllables per second) than in Swedish (5.4 syll/s) and Norwegian (5.4 syll/s). High articulation rate goes hand in hand with a high number of syllable deletion processes, which makes it difficult to determine whether speaking clearly or speaking slowly is more helpful for these communication situations.

This paper presents results from an experiment designed to answer this question. Fifty sentences were recorded by a native speaker of Danish in three different speed and clarity settings: Clear speech (few syllable deletions) at slow tempo (7.3 phonological syll/s), and unclear, reduced speech (many syllable deletions) at high tempo (4.5 phonological syll/s). The slow and clear recordings were manipulated linearly to a higher speed, and the quick and highly reduced recordings were manipulated linearly to a slower speed. By doing so, two more conditions (quick and clear, and slow and reduced) were obtained.

Sentences from all five conditions were presented in a crossed design to high school pupils in Norway and Sweden, and to Danish pupils as control group. The results indicate to which degrees syllable deletion and articulation rate influence intelligibility of Danish in Norwegian and Swedish listeners and give valuable insights about the difference in native and non-native language processing as well as about didactic strategies for the acquisition of a closely related language.

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MÖLLER, ROBERT

Université de Liège, Belgium

GERMANIC SOUND CORRESPONDENCES IN DIDACTIC PRESENTATION AND IN REALITY

If learning to read Germanic languages without really learning those languages (EuroComGerm, see Hufeisen & Marx 2007) or even being able to read Romance languages immediately (EuroComRom, see Klein & Stegmann 2000) is possible, this is primarily due to the amount of common vocabulary in languages belonging to the same family. In view of orthographic differences within these families and as sound change has lead to important differences between cognate words, the EuroCom manuals present sound (and grapheme) correspondences in a rather extensive way (cf. Klein & Stegmann 2000:61-97; Lutjeharms & Möller 2007). In EuroComGerm a strictly synchronic presentation has been tested, avoiding references to historical systems or to sound laws and their specific conditions and presenting sound (and grapheme) correspondences from the perspective of a reader who has to match an unknown word from another Germanic language with a German one. As some practical studies have cast doubt on the usefulness / effectiveness of such sound and grapheme lists (cf. Berthele et al. 2011), further research has to look out for more efficient methods. The paper deals with two aspects that seem important in this context. One is the quantitative relevance of different (types of) Germanic sound (and grapheme) correspondences. Based on a computer-aided evaluation of dictionaries, this was investigated for Dutch-German and Swedish-German. The other aspect are the different degrees of difficulty that different (types of) sound (and grapheme) correspondences pose in the decoding process. Taking up on the results of a previous study (Möller 2011), a test on cognate recognition was carried out online. This allowed for gathering sufficient data - while at the same time giving a feedback to the subjects, in order to deal with the methodical problem that in cognate recognition often different solutions are plausible (which makes it problematic to use the amount of correct answers as indicator of the transparency of a given cognate relationship). The subjects' answers and the respective reaction times as well as the subjects' comments to their answers seem to shed more light on the difficulties to identify different (types of) sound correspondences and on conditions influencing them (e.g. position, combination of differences etc.).

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DUKE, JANET (1); MARX, NICOLE (2)

1: Skandinavisches Seminar, Universität Freiburg; 2: Institut für Germanistik und Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft, Universität Paderborn

EUROCOMGERM FIVE YEARS ON: CRITICAL ASSESSMENTS OF THE METHOD AS AP-PLIED TO DIFFERENT CONSTELLATIONS WITHIN THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES

EuroComGerm was developed as a method for accelerated development of receptive multilingualism skills among closely related languages. The original EuroCom template, which was developed for the Romance language family (Klein/Stegmann 2000), has been in development for the Germanic languages for roughly ten years (Duke/Hufeisen/Lutjeharms 2004). Thus far, materials designed for use by learners are only available in the form of a single, ca. 300-page volume which deals with six Germanic languages (Hufeisen/Marx 2007). These materials have since been used in diverse educational settings, with varying - and sometimes clearly disappointing - results. Over the past five years, enough experience with both materials and method has accumulated to allow a review of the EuroCom method as applied to Germanic languages, an exercise which effectively began through some of EuroComGerm's own contributing authors (Berthele et al. 2011). The purpose of this paper is thus to first provide a general overview of the types of programs, courses, and educational settings in which EuroComGerm has been used since 2007 as well as of the resulting feedback and empirical data. The results identify problematic areas for the further development of EuroComGerm and also suggest possible alternative approaches for Germanic intercomprehension with the aim of obtaining better results for specific target groups.

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BAHTINA, DARIA; TEN THIJE, JAN D. Universiteit Utrecht, The Netherlands

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING IN TYPOLOGICALLY DISTANT LANGUAGES: LINGUA RE-**CEPTIVA IN ESTONIAN/RUSSIAN TASK-ORIENTED DIALOGUES**

Lingua receptiva is a mode of multilingual communication in which speakers of different languages use their own language or variety and have enough competencies to understand each other. These competencies are the ensemble of linguistic, mental, interactional as well as intercultural repertoires that are activated when listeners are receiving linguistic actions in their 'passive' language or variety (Rehbein, ten Thije & Verschik, 2012). This concept stems from various studies on mutual intelligibility, intercomprehension, and receptive multilingualism (Gooskens, 2006; ten Thije & Zeevaert, 2007). Structural similarity and high number of cognates between the languages may foster mutual understanding, a type of multilingualism classified as inherent; in acquired multilingualism interlocutors have to discover links between the two languages (Verschik, 2012). It is hypothesised that the efficiency of acquired intelligibility depends on several factors, such as proficiency in the language of the interlocutor, exposure to that L2, and attitudes. The current experimental research was designed to elicit minimal prerequisites for and effective strategies behind lingua receptiva between Estonian and Russian native speakers in Estonia.

This paper reports on a study consisting of three parts: a socio-linguistic questionnaire, a C-Test (written L2 proficiency test) and a Skype conversation based on the so called task-oriented dialogue. In this experiment, 96 interlocutors were grouped into dyads (38 bilingual Estonian-Russian and 10 respective monolingual control groups) and had to establish common ground. The analysis is focused on alignment strategies (Pickering & Garrod, 2004) combined with the speaker/hearer communicative apparatus in functional pragmatics (Rehbein et.al., 2012). In addition to measuring the factors of influence (L2 proficiency, exposure, and attitudes), the results reveal a set of interactive strategies that are realised as explicit negotiations of discourse and thus help structure mutual understanding. The data show that these strategies, or meta-linguistic devices, vary depending on the individual L2 proficiency as well as the combined proficiency within a dyad. These findings can be applied to a didactic model for enhancing receptive competencies, such as EuroCom, and translated into various language constellations.

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KÜRSCHNER, SEBASTIAN; SCHÜPPERT, ANJA; GOOSKENS, CHARLOTTE University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, Germany

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 180

New Speakers in the City

Session Chair 1: O'Rourke, Bernadette

Session Abstract:

In this themed panel entitled 'New Speakers in the City', we will examine the linguistic and social practices of new speakers of minority languages and their role in the process of language revitalization. In Europe and in many other parts of the world, traditional communities of minority language speakers are being eroded as a consequence of increased urbanization and economic modernization. At the same time, however, 'new speakers' are emerging. This is often in line with more favourable language policies which support better provision for these languages in education, the media and other public domains. It can also be linked to ideological commitment to these languages, which often take on a symbolic role as 'identities of resistance' (Castells 1997) for new speakers.

The term 'new speakers' refers here to individuals who were not brought up speaking a language in the home but who acquired it as a second language through schooling or some other formal means. These speakers are frequently characterized by a more urban, middle-class profile, contrasting sharply in social, economic and geographical terms with native speakers from traditional rural 'heartland' areas (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2011). The varieties of language used by new speakers are often very different to the norm associated with traditional speakers. This can be linked to the fact that they tend to adopt the new standardized forms used in educational and other formal contexts. It is also the case that new terminology may be developed (at institutional level or by new speakers themselves) to make the language functional in new (more urban) domains. Additionally, new speakers' language may show the influence of their first language (typically the dominant state language) in terms of syntax and pronunciation, often developing into more hybridized forms

Given the ongoing erosion of the native speaker heartland, new speakers have a key role to play in the process of language revitalization. However, this role can often be undermined by their perceived lack of authenticity as 'real' language speakers. They often fall outside of ethnonational discourses which have traditionally focussed on native speaker rights (Pujolar 2007), denying them claims to ownership of the language and recognition as legitimate speakers. While this can lead new speakers to downgrade their own way of speaking, at the same time they often take pride in their more urban varieties, which can come to symbolise an 'authentic individuality', reflecting a heightened concern about their own self-realization and identity (Tovey and Share 2003) allowing them to stand out and exist as a distinct linguistic group. In this context new speakers in the city can be seen to pursue what Giddens (1991) refers to a 'project of the self' and use their variety of language as a distinctive way to express and symbolise their individuality. In this panel we explore these issues through an analysis of the linguistic and social practices of new speakers in the city, focussing on a number of minority language contexts including Irish, Catalan, Breton, Galician, Gaelic and Yiddish.

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RIBOT. AIDA: WOOLARD. KATHRYN UCSD, United States of America

REPRESENTATIONS OF NEW SPEAKERS IN CATALAN TELEVISION COMEDY

Media representations of 'new speakers' of minority languages contribute in obvious ways to the enregisterment (Agha 2005) and social evaluation of new speaker speech styles (Kelly-Holmes and Atkinson 2007). However, such media representations can also simultaneously, and in less obvious ways, provide evaluations of the minority language itself and of native speakers and non-speakers as well as new speakers (0'Rourke and Ramallo 2011). This paper examines these multiple facets of comic media representations of new speakers of Catalan in Catalonia. Spain. Data are drawn primarily from multiple episodes of two comedy programs televised on the Catalan government-supported channel, TV3; audience reception is considered. The first program, Polònia, is a popular weekly political satire that regularly presented a hyperbolic parody of the Catalan speech of the immigrant-origin president of Catalonia, José Montilla, during his tenure 2006 - 2010. The second, Dues Dones Divines, is a 2011 situation comedy featuring a hypercorrect new Catalan speaker who is a domestic worker of Ecuadorian immigrant origin, and who insistently corrects the Catalan of her employer and other native Catalan speakers. Set in Barcelona, the comedy pits the proficient new speaker not only against the lax native speaker but also against a stereotype of a resolute upper-class urban non-speaker.

We analyze the contrasting linguistic characteristics and social placement of the new speaker personae in these two programs, and the explicit and implicit linguistic and social evaluations that the characterizations convey. The political satire broadly exaggerated the real President Montilla's weak syntactic and lexical control of, and seeming disregard for, standard Catalan. In contrast, the Ecuadorian character in Dues Dones Divines not only produces but also vociferously advocates a more formal standard of correctness than the native Catalan-speaking characters in the program. These diametrically opposed images of new speakers share a focus on iconic linguistic forms such as the cliticizing 'weak pronoun' system of Catalan (Frekko 2009). Both linguistic caricatures can be seen to suggest that such Catalan linguistic forms are themselves comic. The success of catalanizing linguistic policies and the recruitment of new speakers over the last two decades have the unintended consequence of calling into question the ownership of the Catalan language. The comic representations analyzed here highlight emergent tensions over conflicting claims to linguistic authority based on native language acquisition versus formal language education, and over the relation of such linguistic authority to political authority and to social class relations in the urban context.

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PUIGDEVALL-SERRALVO, MAITE Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Spain

NEW SPEAKERS IN CATALONIA: 'THE COUNTRY AND THE CITY'

Catalonia is an autonomous territory of North-East Spain where two languages are official: Catalan (the traditional language of the region) and Spanish (the language of the state). According to the 2003 language use survey, the native languages of the younger generations (15-34 year olds) are Catalan (36.8%), Spanish (55.1%), and both languages (8%). However, this population is overwhelmingly bilingual and most people use both languages in everyday life, this is, there is marked hybridism of language uses. Actually, of those who ordinarily speak Catalan in everyday life, 41,6% are native speakers of Spanish. Thus, almost half of the users of Catalan are not native-speakers of the language.

This presentation relies on the results of a study on language practices amongst young people (16 to 35 year-olds) that combined the analysis of widescale surveys with that of 25 interviews and 15 focus groups. Through the gualitative sample, it explored, amongst other things, the so-called linguistic 'mudes', that is, the biographical moments or processes of transformation of linguistic practices and repertoires.

In this presentation I shall focus on the importance of the social presence of a language, this is 'language density', as a variable triggering or explaining these mudes in different geographical areas (mainly, the big conurbation of Barcelona and the rest of the Catalan territory). Language density refers to the relative ordinary presence of one language in a specific place. So I will explore the ways in which high density of Catalan in a given place can strongly influence mudes of Spanish native-speakers. Former Spanish speakers with high educational levels that have incorporated the use of Catalan in their everyday life are to be found everywhere in the territory, maybe more clearly outside Barcelona. But one of the important findings in relation to the density variable is that in Catalan high density areas there is an important group of former Spanish speaking individuals with low educational levels that make 'mudes' to Catalan in more varied moments than those in Catalan low density areas.

O'ROURKE, BERNADETTE (1); WALSH, JOHN (2)

1: Heriot-Watt University, United Kingdom; 2: National University of Ireland, Galway

NEW SPEAKERS OF IRISH: SHIFTING IDENTITIES AND NEW ALLEGIANCES

Since independence, the Irish state's policy on the Irish language has consisted of two interlinked components: the maintenance of Irish as the 'native' language of the Gaeltacht and its revival elsewhere in Ireland (Ó Riagáin 1997). These policies have had mixed levels of success. While traditional Irish-speaking communities continue to decline (Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007), there has been a steady increase in the number of second-language speakers outside of the Gaeltacht who acquired the language at school as an academic subject or, in a small, but growing number of cases, through immersion schooling in Irish. Of the more than one and half million speakers of Irish (approximately 41 percent of the population) returned in the 2006 Census for the Republic of Ireland, less than 65,000 now live in one of the officially designated Gaeltacht areas. There are 72,146 daily speakers of Irish outside the education system nationally, about two-thirds of whom live outside the Gaeltacht. 'New speakers' of Irish can therefore be seen to play an important role in the future of the language. However, this role is sometimes undermined by ethnocultural discourses about the Irish language which tend to idealise the notion of the traditional Gaeltacht speaker (Tovey et al. 1988). In this context, such discourses can be used to deny them 'authenticity' as 'real' or 'legitimate' speakers which sometimes lead to certain struggles for language ownership (O'Rourke, 2011). Within Gaeltacht communities also, new types of speakers are emerging and traditional forms of Irish are changing, prompting questions about legitimate forms of the language even at the heart of its historical speech community (Ó Curnáin 2012). Concerns about linguistic purity are often voiced in both academic and public discourse, with the more hybridized forms of Irish developed amongst 'new speakers' (Walsh, 2007) often criticised. This paper looks at the extent to which such discourses are being internalised by new speakers and whether or not they are constructing an identity as a distinct social and linguistic group based on what it means to be an Irish speaker in the twenty first century.

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NI DHUILL. EILIS NUIG. Ireland

THE ROLE OF NEW SPEAKERS AS (RE)PRESENTED IN IRISH LANGUAGE DOCUMEN-TARY FILM.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of new speakers as (re)presented in Irish language documentary film. To do this, I will carry out a close textual reading of the documentary series Bibeanna. This documentary series, broadcast on TG4, looks at the everyday life of the women of the Dingle Peninsula, Kerry, their traditions and customs, their place within society. In examining the varieties of language used by the new speakers, I will develop a typology of speakers, as presented in Bibeanna. I will then examine the social practices of these speakers, as depicted in the documentary series. I will explore how these new speakers contribute to the narrative, thereby determining their role as new speakers within this society. This research is an effort to better understand the relationsip between native and non-native speakers of Irish in an effort to explore how these groups could better work together. In doing so, it is hoped that this research will contribute to the wider discourse of the social and linguistic positioning of minority language speakers.

EICHMANN, HANNA; ROSENSTOCK, RACHEL Westsächsische Hochschule Zwickau, Germany

SCHOOLS. DIALECTS AND SCHOOL DIALECTS: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON REGIONAL VARIATION IN GERMAN SIGN LANGUAGE.

The emergence of regional dialects in many European and North-American sign languages has traditionally been linked to the cities where schools for the deaf were located (Vanhecke and De Weerdt 2004). Having been born into hearing families, it is these settings that facilitate the necessary communicative conditions for the vast majority of deaf children to form community ties through experiencing their first encounters with native sign language users (Lane et al. 1996). Examining sign language data in relation to three schools for the deaf within the region of Saxony (south-east Germany), the research presented raises the question whether schools for the deaf still function as cradles of German Sign Language dialects. Our research is theoretically located in the context of perceptual dialectology (Preston 1989), which is nowadays a well-established domain within sociolinguistics (Anders et al. 2010). Moreover, our study breaks new ground as perceptual sign language dialectology is to date virtually non-existent. Through exploring sign language users' perception of regional distribution of language features, the research provides insights into native signers' cognitive language maps, examining which specific linguistic features are particularly salient markers of regional variation and clarifying which features are specifically associated with a given DGS dialect, whether de facto present or not. Quantitative data derived from the analysis of two data corpora, consisting of biographic narratives provided by approximately 50 deaf adults and 32 deaf pupils from within the region, were compared and contrasted with interviews collecting native signers' meta-linguistic perceptions of different dialectal features assigned to the three different schools dialects.

Our initial analysis indicates that adult users of German Sign Language have clear notions of distinguishable dialects that developed within each of the regional schools for the deaf. Moreover, there is evidence that school dialects are traceable in the language use of adult signers. However, whilst schools for the deaf are still often perceived as cradles of regional sign language dialects, the child language data collected cannot necessarily be described as distinctly micro-regionally (i.e. school-specifically) marked.

There are a number of explanations for this finding. Arguably the most influential factor contributing to this development are relatively recent, yet significant, migration patterns within the educational landscape. Political trends towards social inclusion and mainstreaming have resulted in deaf students moving away from closed community settings of the schools for the deaf towards mainstream schools whilst schools for the deaf are increasingly attended by children with learning disabilities, including attention deficit disorders.

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CARTY, NICOLA (1); COLE, BETH (2)

1: University of Glasgow, United Kingdom; 2: University of Aberdeen, United Kingdom

'THEY DON'T SPEAK PROPER GAELIC': A COMPARISON OF NATIVE SPEAKER AND LEARNER VARIETIES OF SCOTTISH GAELIC

This paper offers a comparison of morphosyntactic variation in a group of L2 learners of Gaelic in Glasgow and native speakers in the Western Isles. The islands of North and South Uist, Benbecula and the surrounding smaller islands are a traditional Gaelic heartland with almost 70% of people reporting themselves as Gaelic speakers (Census 2001). This makes the islands one of the strongest Gaelic speaking areas in Scotland. Outwith the Highlands and Islands, in areas which were not previously traditionally Gaelic speaking, interest in the language continues to grow, with increasing numbers of people choosing to learn the language in adulthood.

In Glasgow, data were elicited from adult learners of Gaelic, using semi-structured interviews and picture description tasks, as part of a study into adult SLA. Participants were also interviewed in English to establish their attitudes towards language learning and the importance they place on grammatical accuracy, as defined by their conception of native speaker norms. These speakers have English as their L1, and many had no exposure to Gaelic until adulthood. Because there is such a high proportion of adult learners in Glasgow, who often have limited exposure to the language and may only have opportunities to speak Gaelic with other learners, one would expect to see new linguistic forms arising; these may be examples of learner interlanguage or they could indicate the development of a new variety of 'Lowland' Gaelic with its own discrete characteristics. In the Uists, data were elicited from native speakers through translation tasks and natural conversation with both L1 and L2 speakers, Interviews were

conducted with informants forming 2 age groups (30-50 and 60-80) with similar gender distribution in each group. All informants spoke Gaelic as an L1, and although they still used Gaelic daily and by preference, the presence of English on the islands is increasingly pervasive, with many speakers reporting that they no longer use the language in situations where they previously would have.

It was observed that many learners were preoccupied with 'correctness' and maintaining linguistic authenticity, which led to the attempted use of language closely aligned with prescriptive standards of correctness. However, most learners appear not to have acquired all morphosyntactic features to their desired standard, and a number of errors were seen to be consistent across the group, so that certain forms, while 'ungrammatical', were in fact a shared feature of learners' language. The data from native speakers also showed significant variation, at inter- and intra-speaker level, with typical norms not always presenting themselves as one would expect.

The data from both studies were compared to see whether the variation found in the two groups could be considered to be indicative of an emerging pathway in Gaelic development, and if so, what form this development may be taking. Our analysis can shed light on an emerging variety of Lowland Gaelic, and by comparing this variety to native speaker data, we can add more depth to our understanding of minority language change.

HORNSBY, MICHAEL Catholic University of Lublin, Poland

GEOGRAPHICAL SHIFTS AND LINGUISTIC CHANGES: 'NEW' OR 'URBAN' SPEAKERS **OF MINORITY LANGUAGES**

For many language revitalisers and revivalists, the price of original-language retention is geographical and cultural isolation' (Edwards 2010: 11). We cannot of course turn back the clock and reproduce the times and the conditions when many current seriously endangered languages experienced their golden ages - demographically speaking - but attempts at language planning for minority languages have sought to shear up those geographical territories where the language is (or increasingly, recently was) the majority community language locally. See, for example, Ó Giollagáin et al (2007) for recommendations for preserving the Gaeltacht in Ireland or Aitchison and Carter (1991) for the importance of Y Fro Gymraeg (The Welsh Heartland), both demographically and ideologically, in attempts to preserve and extend the use of Welsh as a spoken medium.

This paper examines revitalisation scenarios in three minority languages (Welsh in Wales, Breton in Brittany (France) and Yiddish as a non-territorial but increasingly standardised language), using the framework employed by Myhill (1999) to differentiate two conflicting ideologies (territorial and personalitybased) which have influenced planning for many currently endangered minority languages. Alternatives to rural, historical forms of these languages need to be considered as well and in this paper, I contend that individualistic and non-traditional approaches to language maintenance/revitalisation, increasingly located in an urban environment, need to be analysed and appreciated as much as traditional, community-based, rural ones.

LEVASSEUR, CATHERINE

Universite de Montreal, Canada

'MOI J'SUIS PAS FRANCOPHONE!' - DISCOURSES, LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND **IDENTITY REPRESENTATIONS FROM A FRENCH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS** PERSPECTIVE IN VANCOUVER, CANADA

In a Canadian French minority context, French schools are expected to function as unilingual spaces, which can counter or slow down the linguistic assimilation process. Schools have as a mission not only to instruct and educate children, but also to socialize them as a new generation of French speakers. Schools are expected to contribute to protecting, supporting, promoting, and reproducing the 'francophone identity' and the francophone local community. However, many questions can be raised from that situation: Who is or can be considered francophone? Who benefits from the French schools? How can the school contribute to pass on the francophone identity to youth and how is identity discursively constructed in schools in the minority context?

The paper is largely inspired by the critical sociolinguistic field (Heller 2001, 2002; Jaffe 2007; Martin-Jones 2007) and it aims to present and analyze discourses, identity representations and language practices from children (6 to 10 years old) who followed 'francisation' courses (French as second language) in a French elementary school in Vancouver area, British-Columbia, Canada. The paper will present data extracted from a doctoral ethnographic research that occurs in 2010-2011 (8 months) in a school setting. Data from focus groups, workshops, interviews and observations will be drawn upon in the presentation

Our findings show that children in 'francisation' are challenging the traditional notion of French speakers in a Canadian minority context, being often considered within the school as non-francophone based on their language competencies. Indeed, to be enrolled in a French school, children have to be recognized as francophone as defined by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, but many of them fail their French competency test after their first year of schooling in kindergarten and are then sent to the 'francisation' program. Children have to follow these French courses in addition to their mainstream education classes until they succeed at the French competency test. Facing a growing number of francisation students, school educators are questioning the authenticity of their francophone status.

It seems thus relevant to have a closer look at how these children negotiate with the francophone identity(ies) that the school and the parents hope to pass on to the next generation, and inversely to examine how these students contribute, by their own discourses, representations and practices, to the way schools are redefining concepts as 'francophone' and 'francophonie'.

PUJOLAR, JOAN Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Spain

DISCUSSION

Discussant of Thematic Session 'New Speakers in the City'

Thematic Session 181

Folk linguistics and society: People's ideas about the relationship between language use and social identity

Session Chair 1: Stegu, Martin Session Chair 2: Wilton, Antje

Session Abstract:

In this thematic session, the focus lies on the investigation of beliefs and evaluations that non-linguists have with respect to different varieties of language(s) and speech styles – be they ethnic, regional, social, or professional. The beliefs and attitudes of the non-linguist about language-related issues are becoming increasingly important and relevant for linguists and other researchers of various fields. The growing trend of bringing one's private opinion to public attention forces researchers to take more notice of such opinions and their relevance for people's decision making processes. Chats, internet fora, social networks and blogs are prime examples of settings in which lay people volunteer their opinions and theories. In addition, scientific investigation methods of people's beliefs, attitudes and notions about language-related issues have been developed, extended and refined, and include questionnaires and interviews, discourse and conversation analysis, matched quise test and others. With a detailed and thorough investigation of folk beliefs the linguist can gain insight into the formation processes, the manifestation in various forms of discourse and the relevance of such beliefs for people's decisions and actions. Using language(s) is part of human life with which people shape, constitute and sustain social life and social and individual identity. It is only natural that every person, being a speaker of a language or several languages within a social environment, has views, opinions, attitudes and theories about his own and other languages, language varieties and speech styles, including those that are second or foreign languages for their speakers or are used as a lingua franca. However, unlike the researcher, the non-linguist is free to evaluate those languages, varieties and speech styles and he/she often does so - preferably in binary categories such as 'good' vs 'bad', 'correct' vs. 'wrong', or 'beautiful' vs. 'ugly'. Such evaluations, in turn, have an impact on how people categorize, judge, and ultimately treat the speakers of such varieties. Furthermore, non-linguists' criteria for the categorization of language varieties and speech styles need not be and often are not the same criteria that are employed by linguists. This thematic session invites contributions that report on research discussing – among others – questions such as:

How do non-linguists identify other speakers as belonging to a particular ethnic, regional, social or professional group? How do non-linguists perceive the relationship between characteristics of language and social identity? How do different social groups view each other's language(s) and speech styles and what criteria do they employ for their categorization? What impact does the positive or negative evaluation of language varieties and speech styles have on the formation of attitudes and decision making processes in private, public and business encounters?

Although not explicitly focused on the conference theme 'Language and the City', this session welcomes contributions that shed light on the discursive construction of the distinction between urban and rural varieties.

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JANICKI, KAROL

University of Bergen, Norway

LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN THE INDUSTRY AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

This paper discusses an empirical study which aimed at disclosing what language-related problems lay people have in a selection of professional contexts. The study also measures the level of concern about the problems mentioned. The following companies/institutions were approached in their Bergen (Norway) offices: StatoilHydro (oil company) Telenor (telephone company), Posten Norge (post office), Helse Bergen (health institution), Rieber AS (business company), Friele (coffee producer), Giensidige Nor (insurance company), Nordea Bergen (bank), and Møller Bil (car dealer). The motivation for the study was the claim that the lay public find much research completely incomprehensible and/or irrelevant to their daily lives and that much research is trivial, esoteric, jargon-ridden, obscure and/or remote from the interests and concerns of non-academic people (see e.g., Maxwell 1984, Brooks 2008)

The present study is an attempt at improving this allegedly unfortunate state of affairs and pointing to ways of strengthening the connection between what professional linguists believe and do on the one hand and what the lay language user feels we should do to help solve real-life language problems. The theoretical position adopted in this study is that of folk linguistics (Niedzielski and Preston 2003). According to them, 'Folk linguistics will include accounts of what people say about reactions to language' (p. 29).

This study has used 'structured interview' as the method. A research assistant has carried out interviews with two representatives of the management and two lower level employees of the same company. The research assistant had received guidance in the form of oral and written instructions as to how the interview should be conducted. The interviews have been conducted in Norwegian. A pilot interview test had been carried out before the actual interviews.

The main finding was that understanding customers and being understood by them is the main problem for most of the institutions addressed in the study.

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PLANCHENAULT, GAELLE Simon Fraser University, Canada

CITY BOYS AND COUNTRY BUMPKINS: WHAT FILMS TELL US ABOUT THE FOLK LIN-GUISTICS OF ACCENTED VARIETIES

The aim of this paper is twofold: first, it will demonstrate how the study of films and, more specifically, of stylised performances of accents, can permit to highlight commonly circulated folk linguistic views of non-standard varieties. Secondly, it will examine one specific trait that is used to discriminate such varieties and to confine stigmatised vernaculars to the margins (the suburbs) or the outside of the city (the countryside).

My research on the use of accented French in films has shown that actors, even when belonging to the community that they portray, tend to stylise their parts in order to fit the general audience's language expectations. Studying sociolectal and dialectal stylisations displayed in French films, such as L'Esquive (Kechiche, 2003)and Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (Dany Boon, 2008), I found that one salient linguistic stereotype relates to articulation. Characters who speak in non-standard varieties are depicted as inaudible, either because of the speed of their speech, either for what is seen as a looseness of articulation. The latter is a French topos that links 'good' articulation to control of oneself and to a polished elocution. Traditionally, French standard language has been seen as guided by reason, so much so as not displaying a mastery of the norm would be linked to a lack of intellect: to not articulate is taken as not being articulated. In this vein, speakers of non-standard varieties have commonly been described as uncivilised. For example, a council estate's social worker commented on the youthspeak in this way: 'Ces jeunes donnent l'impression d'être de véritables friches. On dirait que rien n'a été cultivé chez eux, qu'ils se sont constitués tous seuls'[1] (In: Le Figaro, 'Vivre avec 400 mots', 2005).

According to Boughton (2006: 284), 'perceptions [of accents] are organised with regards to two main axes, plus/minus rural and plus/minus socially marked'. In this paper, I will argue that articulation is a discriminating criterion on both social and geographical axes. In addition, I will highlight a phenomenon of fractal recursivity (Gal and Irvine, 1995), which projects an opposition that firstly divides urban and rural varieties, and, secondly, urban and suburban varieties.

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[1] 'These young people are like a wild land. It seems that nothing has been cultivated in them, that they formed themselves on their own'

MOTSCHENBACHER, HEIKO Goethe University Frankfurt, Germany

METALINGUISTIC COMMENTS IN EUROVISION SONG CONTEST PRESS CONFERENCES

This paper takes a folk-linguistic view at metalinguistic comments on language choice practices in a context of high European salience: Eurovision Song Contest (ESC) press conferences. The term 'metalanguage' is used in a number of ways in the linguistic literature and has figured prominently in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics (e.g. Berry 2005, Cameron 2004, Jaworski, Coupland & Galasi ski 2004). What is of interest for the present study, however, is the narrower definition of the term in the sense of linguistic practices with which speakers comment on language in an overt and conscious fashion. This kind of metalanguage has been called 'metalanguage 1' by Niedzielski and Preston (2000), who contrast it with more covert and unconscious forms of making comments about language such as presuppositions ('metalanguage 2'). As the people talking about language are in many instances not linguists, 'metalanguage 1' is closely related to discussions of what has been termed folk linguistics (e.g. Niedzielski & Preston 2000, Preston 2004, Wilton & Stequ 2011). Systematically studying contexts in which speakers make conscious comments about linguistic choices enables the analyst to make statements about shared beliefs concerning linguistic practices in the community at hand (Niedzielski & Preston 2000: 314). The data analysed were collected at the ESC 2010 in Oslo and represent interactions mainly between non-native speakers of English from all across Europe. In this context, participants are found to frequently comment on the use of particular languages. More specifically, one can find comments on language choice during the press conference, language choice in musical performances, English language proficiency, other foreign language skills and accents. Participants also exhibit a traditional 'language equals nation' discourse in their talk. The language choice practices reported on will further be related to the participants' actual linguistic behaviour in the press conferences and on the ESC stage. It turns out that there is a competition of discourses about what are deemed appropriate language choice strategies for Europeans. Still there is growing evidence for a conceptualisation of English as a European lingua franca that is less tied to normative notions of nativeness (cf. Jenkins 2007, Seidlhofer 2010).

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DAVIES, WINIFRED VAUGHAN Aberystwyth University, United Kingdom

THE PLURICENTRICITY OF GERMAN: ACADEMIC IDEAL OR EVERYDAY REALITY

This paper discusses data collected by myself and two colleagues from teachers of German in Germany, Luxembourg and German-speaking Switzerland. The project as a whole has two aims. The first is to investigate the teachers' role as transmitters of (socio)linguistic norms. Generally, in the maintenance phase of standardisation, teachers have been seen as norm transmitters and norm authorities (norm referring here to standard German), but since German is taught under different conditions in Switzerland, Luxembourg and Germany we were curious how this would influence their role. There are still few empirical studies (e.g. Davies 2000) in this field, and Cameron's (1995) assertion that the processes whereby norms 'get into' or are 'taken up' by language users are little studied in linguistics is still valid. Secondly, we research the extent to which the 'pluricentric' model of German is relevant for 'ordinary' language users, or even language norm authorities (i.e. teachers). The pluricentric model, which postulates that linguistic variants and varieties linked with national centres are equally valid forms of German rather than deviations from one supra-national form of standard German (Ammon *et al.* 2004: XXXII), is, despite some dissenting voices, the dominant model for academics and has been embraced more or less enthusiastically by writers of textbooks for learners of German as a foreign language, but it is less clear that it is known or accepted outside academia and it is also not clear what effect it has had on mother-tongue teaching in the German-speaking world. This aspect of the project, which will be the focus of this paper, also addresses the issue of the complicated relationship between experts and lay users of language and the difficulties attendant upon communication between the two groupings.

Teachers are therefore an important social group when it comes to researching language attitudes since they mediate not only between the codex (the reference works in which the rules of standard German are codified) and the speakers, but also between theoretical concepts like pluricentricity and everyday practice. We collected data via questionnaires from 50 grammar-school teachers of German in each country - Germany (specifically the state of North Rhine-Westphalia), Luxembourg and German-speaking Switzerland - in order to throw light on teachers' attitudes and practices, and also analysed documents relating to linguistic policy, e.g. subject curricula and policy papers. This paper will sketch the sociolinguistic context of the project and, based on an analysis of teachers' responses to questions regarding the acceptability of three grammatical constructions, it will discuss their knowledge / awareness of the concept of pluricentricity vis à vis the requirements of the curricula. It will also consider the implications of their (lack) of knowledge for their classroom practice.

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LOESTER, BARBARA

University of Winchester, United Kingdom

THE PERCEPTION OF BAVARIAN BY ITS SPEAKERS - REGIONAL AFFILIATION, LIN-GUISTIC IDENTITY AND THE CONFLICT BETWEEN DIALECT AND STANDARD

Sociolinguists regard language as an essential marker and constituent of identity, both for individuals and groups. For dialect speakers their own, nonstandard variety can be a source of pride; often it is also a source for ridicule or stigmatisation by others who do not use this variety. This paper will examine perceptions about their dialect as well as the standard variety as held by speakers from Bavaria (Germany). The main focus lies in discovering the attitudes held by Bavarians about their own variety; how and why is it important for their own image of 'Bavarianness'? Can you be Bavarian without being a speaker of the dialect? It appears that dialects in general are associated with a rural lifestyle as well as tradition; rural dialects are favoured over their urban counterparts, in Bavaria as much as in other parts of the world (e.g. Scotland; cf. Macafee 1994; McClure 2002). Do the speakers associate and identify themselves with this particular lifestyle and are comfortable portraying such an image? Based on the interview data gathered, a rather fragmented picture emerges: we can see that speakers hold their own dialect in high esteem and regard it as a seminal aspect of their regional and linguistic identity, they are proud users of it and feel they can express themselves more precisely and appropriately. On the other hand, they are also painfully aware of the shortcomings associated with being a dialect speaker by outsiders, such as being less well educated, or being regarded as a tourist attraction in a living heritage museum. These opinions, to some extent, point back to research done in the 1970s and 1980s, analysing school problems encountered by dialect-speaking children (cf. Ammon 1978, Reitmajer 1975). The data also shows clearly that the ability to code-switch between the dialect and the standard is perceived as an essential skill, not only needed outside the Bavarian-speaking area but also in other parts of Germany; this in turn leads to resentment and the question 'why is it always us w

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PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY – SPEECH SAMPLES AND THE CONCEPT OF SALI-ENCE

The field of perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics, pioneered in the 1980s by scholars such as Dennis Preston, has recently received significant attention in German Linguistics (cf. Anders et al. 2010).

In departing from more mainstream sociolinguistics, this subdiscipline focuses aims to investigate subjective data, i.e. in addressing the question as to what speakers think and feel about their and other linguistic varieties. This includes views on the pleasantness rating of such varieties and individual features, and the subjective distance between standard and non-standard varieties. A project at the University of Kiel, funded by the German national science foundation (DFG), aims to offer new insights to this field, by both collecting a large body of data from across the German-speaking areas (Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Northern Italy, Eastern Belgium), and by advancing the theoretical debates on the basis of its empirical findings (cf. Hundt 2010).

In our talk we will present initial findings from the corpus-building and data-selection part of the project. In particular we will present, how speech samples can give a hint concerning the correlations between metalinguistic data and the intentional reactions of linguistic laymen. In our project we want to examine this by using a game containing certain speech samples our informants have to sort to given regions.

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ENDER, ANDREA

FRIAS Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies, Germany

SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNERS' BELIEFS AND EVALUATION ABOUT STANDARD AND DIALECTAL SPEECH AND HOW THEY SHAPE THEIR LANGUAGE USE

Sociolinguistic variation is an integral part of everyday life communication. This means that variation is present in the linguistic environment that serves as input to second language learners in a naturalistic context. In the Swiss German context, learners are constantly confronted with the coexistance of two varieties - local dialect(s) and the standard variety - and with variation between these two in everyday communication (Berthele 2004; Werlen 1998). These two varieties are therefore also subject to learners' evaluation. Second language learners hold attitudes towards the need to acquire the second language (Culhane 2004; Gardner 1979, 1985) and the status and importance of language(s) within the indivual 'derives in a major way from adopted or learned attitudes' (Baker 1988: 112). Surely what people believe about their language(s) is a very important key to an understanding of their culture and their language use (Niedzielski & Preston 2000, Garrett 2010), and in the case of language learners also their learning process.

This paper presents what immigrants learning 'German' in a mostly untutored situation in the Swiss German speaking part of Switzerland think about the standard and the dialectal varieties. The data originates from structured interviews with the learners and illustrates how the learners categorize the two varieties as 'easy' vs 'hard to learn/speak', 'well-' or 'odd-sounding', 'useful' or 'dispensable' etc. Furthermore, it is examined how the beliefs and evaluations relate to factors such as variation in the first language, length of residence, amount of language instruction and personal and professional networks and eventually differ from or conform to the beliefs and evaluations of the surrounding community. As these insights are supported by results on how they use the two varieties in free speech and in an elicited task, it can be shown how the attitudes determine the process of acquiring one (or both) of the two varieties in a diglossic environment.

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AMORÓS NEGRE, CARLA; FERNÁNDEZ JUNCAL, CARMEN University of Salamanca, Spain

SPEAKERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE NORMATIVE VARIETY: CONTINUUM OR DI-CHOTOMY?

One of the basic tenets in modern linguistics is the potential equality among varieties in terms both of 'dignity' and 'legitimacy'. It is commonplace that some linguistic forms may be either taken as models or deemed incorrect in different time periods, as the normative rationale behind their choice usually lies in post-hoc reasons and extra linguistic criteria (Milroy & Milroy 1991). The democratic defence that modern linguistics makes of all varieties is, however, often at odds with the great concern of most speakers for the norms of the standard. These, codified in writing, dictionaries and grammars, generally constitute the only parameter for them to evaluate varieties and linguistic behaviour. Social linguistics should not, thus, obviate that speakers

understand language through a normative lens (Taylor 1990), and that their prescriptive behaviour explains their evaluation of language facts according to an official norm of social and linguistic prestige, that of the written language. As is well known, this is an aspect of utmost importance for folk linguistics or linguistic culture (Schiffman 1996).

In light of this, it seems necessary to carry out empirical research that might enable us to determine with precision the role that linguistic norms play in the attitudes of speakers towards language. Whilst some theoretical studies have laid emphasis on the existence of a continuum of variants and +/standard varieties according to their proximity to the prescribed norm (Garvin 1959; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998; Bartsch 1987), little has been undertaken in terms of linguistic attitudes. It is, therefore, appealing to analyse if speakers' attitudes towards language are likewise related to their gradual (better / worse) or dichotomic (good / bad) understanding of norms.

This paper focuses on some surveys that have been carried out among undergraduate informants, who were questioned on the morphosyntactic acceptability of a series of items of present-day Spanish. Drawing on Osgood et al. 's (1957) classic system of semantic differentiation scale, it is possible to delimit the attitudes that the linguistic norms generate in the speakers, namely deviations and uses marked like correct. Some of our results suggest that the user of the language polarizes the evaluation of the items according to the old prescription rather than to scalar categories.

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LYBAERT, CHLOÉ Ghent University, Belgium

SPOKEN DUTCH IN FLANDERS: PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES OF THE DUTCH LAN-**GUAGE SITUATION BY NON-LINGUISTS**

In recent years, a lot has been published about the spoken language in Flanders, and especially about the use of tussentaal (lit. 'in-between-language'), a mixture of dialect and standard Dutch (e.g. De Caluwe, 2009; Grondelaers & Van Hout, 2011). Many linguists observe an increasing use of tussentaal and it is often postulated that Flemings now use this language variety in situations where they used to speak dialect or Standard Dutch. Others claim that tussentaal has always existed, but there has been a change in the intentions of the speakers: in past decades Flemings intended to speak Standard Dutch in formal situations, but failed to do so. Nowadays, however, Flemings would actually intend to speak this in-between-language. A lot has been postulated about the language behavior of non-linguists, without consulting these linguistic lays themselves: 'there is an [...] absence of perception data, pertaining to lay evaluations of ongoing change' (Grondelaers & Van Hout, 2011, p. 201). According to De Caluwe (2009, p. 9) there is even a strong tendency for linguists to project their knowledge and perception of micro and macro variation in Flanders on the knowledge of non-linguists. Suppose the present variation in the spoken language repertoire in Flanders is categorized and appreciated differently by non-linguists, the future of Dutch in Flanders may be quite different from what specialists think and hope. In our study, we want to investigate the perceptions and attitudes of the average language user towards language variation in Flanders, an investigation which fits in with the development of 'a general folk theory of language' (Preston, 2002). In this investigation, we want to answer the following guestions: 1. How does the average non-linguist conceive/perceive linguistic variation in Flanders?

Who still applies a bipolar model with only dialect and standard language? Is the concept of tussentaal more than a construction of linguists and is it a language variety of which ordinary language users are aware? How do non-linguists feel about norm relaxations in the standard language? 2. Which knowledge does the average Fleming have of linguistic variation on a micro level? What does the average Fleming know about the linguistic status of phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactical variables? Is a certain variable a dialectal variable, is it Standard Dutch, and so on?

To investigate these questions, 80 informants were subjected to a qualitative interview in which they were asked to judge several audio-fragments, spoken in four regional versions of tussentaal or in Standard Dutch.

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LAMOUREUX, SYLVIE ANNA (1); BYRD CLARK, JULIE (2) 1: Université d'Ottawa, Canada; 2: Western Ontario University, Canada

JOURNEYS OF BELONGING: CANADIAN YOUTH NAVIGATING OFFICIAL DISCOURSES IN URBAN SPACES AND HYPER-DIVERSE TIMES

Canada represents a complex linguistic landscape that its citizens must navigate daily. Whether negotiating the urban realities of multilingualism within a federal official languages framework, or negotiating official languages in a minority context within a monolingual provincial framework, research has documented the linguistic awareness of its bilingual citizens (Hague 2005; Heller, 1999; Heller & Labrie, 2003; Labrie, 2010; Labrie & Forlot, 1999). This paper will explore non-linguists' beliefs and evaluations of language in a context of both official bilingualism and the multilingualism of metropoles. Drawing on discursive data collected from 4 studies on the linguistic identity/ies of Canadian youth, we explore how their notions of francité, italianità (Giampapa, 2012), bilingualism and multilingualism are negotiated and constructed through language use. Participants' discourses reveal the impact of the evaluation of language varieties by others (monolingual speakers or speakers in a majority context) on their own perceptions of their language practices (Niedzielski & Preston, 1999) and their identity construction. We will present participants' perceptions of the relationship between characteristics

of language and speaker legitimacy as well as their classifications of languages, linguistic varieties and accents in their journeys to belong. Participant discourses reveal a heightened sense of language awareness as they cross spaces (discursive and geopolitical), moving within, into or out of 'the city' for the purposes of postsecondary education.

The data presented were collected through four different critical ethnographic studies of multilingual university students from Central and Southwestern Ontario, Canada. Two studies focused on the engagement in French and linguistic identities of future teachers of FSL. The other two studies looked at the transition to university and student experience of graduates of a French first-language secondary school, with a focus on their academic and social integration.

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IMS, INGUNN INDREBØ

University of Oslo, Norway

'THIS LANGUAGE IS CALLED NORWEGIAN FOR RETARDED IMMIGRANTS' – NON-LIN-GUISTS' IDEAS ABOUT LINGUISTIC PRACTICES IN MULTILINGUAL OSLO, NORWAY

The title of the paper is one out of many similar responses to questions about linguistic practices in Oslo given in an online survey, the so-called 'Oslo survey' (www.aftenposten.no). The survey was prepared in co-operation with Aftenposten, one of the largest national newspapers in Norway. The survey received massive attentions with more than 100 000 responses from respondents all over Norway, and was the second most read case in Aftenposten during 2010. The respondents were asked to evaluate a wide range of linguistic features and they were encouraged to leave comments on how they categorize ways of speaking among adolescents in linguistically and culturally diverse neighborhoods in Oslo today.

The paper presents a preliminary analysis of the 40 000 survey responses given by people raised in Oslo, with a view to reveal attitudes to linguistic practices in the city's ethnically mixed urban neighborhoods. The linguistic practices in question are contact based, scientifically labeled various terms such as multiethnolects (cf. e.g. Quist & Svendsen 2010) or 'contemporary urban vernaculars' (Rampton 2010) dependent on the theoretical and methodological approaches. In Oslo, the linguistic practices in question are popularly labeled 'Kebab Norwegian', albeit many young people find the term pejorative (Svendsen & Røyneland 2008).

The preliminary analyses shows that the revealed attitudes are dependent on social categories such as age, geography and social class. Differences in attitudes are related to whether the respondents use two or more languages on a daily basis. Respondents who report that they are multilingual are less negative to what most respondents called 'Kebab Norwegian' than respondents who reports that they only use Norwegian on a daily basis. Moreover, these data also show that the languages involved in the multilingual's repertoire may affect their perceptions related to linguistic diversity in Oslo. The paper discusses the significance of these background categories in relation to attitudes, with an emphasis on age, since the linguistic practices in question are in general conceived of as a youth phenomenon (e.g. Quist & Svendsen 2010). Furthermore, the data reveal that questions about the assessment of language related to multicultural environments often trigger, as shown in the title, reviews that marginalize immigrants in general.

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OPSAHL, TORIL (1); HÅRSTAD, STIAN (2)

1: University of Oslo, Norway and Volda University College, Norway; 2: Sør-Trøndelag University College, Norway

'BOORISH, BROAD, UGLY, AND NORMAL; YOUNG PEOPLE'S VIEWS ON LINGUISTIC VARIATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN NORWAY'

Over the last decade, one may roughly say that two main developmental processes have been addressed by researchers dealing with speech variation within the Norwegian context: One perspective is tied to a range of dialect levelling processes resulting in regional varieties, and a vigilance towards the (idea of the) existence of a Norwegian spoken standard. The other main trend is the study of contemporary urban vernaculars understood as a result of recent migration and language contact, resulting in the emergence of so called multiethnolectal speech styles.

This paper investigates non-linguists' beliefs, evaluations and conceptualizations of different language variation phenomena. More specific we address the question of how youth groups situated in Norway's capital Oslo on one hand, and in Trondheim, which may be called the regional capital of Mid-Norway, on the other, perceive each other's linguistic varieties or speech styles (i.e. both variants of traditional dialects and urban vernaculars, and multiethnolectal speech styles).

Our study is based on data from semi-structured interviews with approximately 50 speakers age 16–19, as well as some peer conversations with no researcher present. These interviews and conversations, with a duration of approx. 30–90 minutes, aim to discover how the informants conceptualize and conceive of their sociolinguistic surroundings. By collating the interviewees' categorizations and assessments in their narratives about linguistic realities, we believe to have gained insight into some significant ideas and value dimensions attached to different types of language variation. The analyses detect what folk linguistic criteria the adolescents employ for their categorization of each other both inter- and intra-related to the two urban areas, Oslo and Trondheim.

Among our major findings is the observation that the general acceptance of multiethnolectal speech styles differs substantially in the two urban centers. While young speakers in Trondheim tend to categorize multiethnolectal speech nearly unequivocally as 'bad Norwegian', Oslo youth divide into two groups where one group view this verbal practice in positive terms as a natural reflection of their experiences from growing up in a multicultural reality. The other group is in line with the Trondheim youth in their description of multiethnolectal speech as 'ugly' and 'improper'. This division in the evaluation of multiethnolectal speech styles is also found in public media discourse, but lately there seems to have developed a tendency to highlight negative evaluations. Another main observation is that dialectal, i.e. geolectal, variation still constitutes the primary reference point for most informants. While dialectality seems to have been decreasing in importance in other European countries, e.g. Denmark, this continues to be an essential part of young Norwegians' conceptualization of the linguistic landscape. Our informants demonstrate that they are highly aware of both geo- and sociolectal differences, and the way they assign values and meaning to different linguistic features, and the users thereof, in our data, testify of how language use and social identities are closely knit to each other. It also aptly illustrates how folk linguistic perspectives may enrich our understanding of linguistic variation and development in Norwegian urban areas.

BUGGE, EDIT

University of Bergen, Norway

'GOOD LANGUAGE' AND 'PROPER DIALECT' IN NORTH-WEST NORWAY

Norwegian Folk discussions on language and dialect often reflect an interest in dialect authenticity. In an attempt to draft a Folk model of good language, this paper discusses the delimitation and assigned value of authentic dialect and authentic dialect use in a material from a village in a material from a village in North-West Norway.

In a Nordic context Norway is sometimes displayed as a country with a high popular tolerance of linguistic variation in both spoken and written language - especially with regards to inter-individual geolectal variation. In his Folk linguistic study in Agder in Norway, Rune Røsstad finds that while Preston and Niedzielski conclude that 'Nonlinguists use prescription (at nearly every linguistic level) in description' (Niedzielski og Preston 2000: 18), Røsstads Norwegian informants, with a few exceptions, 'do not comment on normative or prescriptive aspects at all'(Røsstad 2009:109). My paper presents data material from an ongoing PhD-project on dialect variation and socialization in seven families in a village in North-West Norway. The data material also contains interviews with 14 12-year old school pupils, who were asked to tell about language rearing at home. The study finds that though the informants are cautious of referring to linguistic correctness, their linguistic tolerance does not necessarily extend to all aspects of Norwegian speech variation. In particular, it does not always include an acceptance of all intra-individual speech variation. When discussing language rearing in their own families, the informants seem to relate to an idealized local dialect as well as an idealized non-local norm. As Norway does not have an official spoken standard language, the delimitation of the non-local norm is somewhat blurred, sometimes reflecting an idealized urban dialect, of the nearest town, other times a non-official national spoken standard, and sometimes even an assumed international norm. However, the applications of the local or non-local linguistic norms seem to depend on folk etymological knowledge of individual 'words" original form. A failure to produce 'loanwords' in a correct non-local way is ridiculed, just as much as a failure to use local pronunciation on assumed 'inherited words' is ridiculed. Thus the data may indicate a local Folk model of language in which dialects are not necessarily viewed as systems, but as a collection of linguistic units, and particularly 'words'. In this model, appropriate speech is heavily dependent on a Folk concept of authenticity, in which the appropriate form of each single 'word' depends on either the assumed linguistic origin of the speaker (of which dialect is she an authentic speaker?) or the assumed origin of the 'word' (to which dialect does this word actually 'belong'?).

RIEDER, MARIA

Trinity College Dublin, Ireland

THE IRISH TRAVELLER LANGUAGE AND CULTURE - A DISCUSSION OF FOLK-BELIEFS

The Irish Traveller community is at heart a nomadic minority group, who have had to go through substantial cultural, economic and social changes in the course of the last century. These changes have naturally had an impact on language use: Their heritage language Cant, a combination of the Travellers' own lexical items with Hiberno English morphosyntax, has, since our earliest records dating from the late 19th century, traditionally fulfilled clear functional purposes in Traveller-related situations. In the course of the last century, a slow decrease in functions and use could be observed, with Traveller English taking over in more and more contexts. This paper explores the impact of Irish Traveller folk-beliefs on the use and development of their heritage language, as well as views concerning the relationship between language, culture and identity. The data supporting this paper stems from a two-year ethnographic project among the Traveller community, and consists of ethnographic fieldnotes and semi-structured, audio-recorded focus group interviews conducted with a group of Travellers of mixed gender, age and social background. A combination of the analytical methods of ethnography, conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis facilitates both paying attention to the detail, and linking opinions and expressions to the macro social and political situation.

Among the research findings arising from the data, the amount of use and the importance that Travellers ascribe to Cant today in contrast to the past is found to be parallel to how participants view the development of their cultural and social identity. Cant is often described as synonymous with culture, and a decline of culture is believed to entail the loss of language. As to today's language use, Travellers typically judge their variety of English as 'not different' from settled people, and Cant as 'not that important' and 'not used anymore'. This paper explores the consequences this view may have in terms of language transmission, language use, as well as transmission of cultural values, and the impact this may have on the self-conception and cultural self-confidence of the community.

Besides folk-views in regard to the - in many ways observable - paralleled linguistic and cultural development, this paper also discusses data observations revealing a discrepancy between folk-beliefs in regard to Cant use and the actual use of the language. Cant has often been described as a secret code by Travellers and researchers. The interpretation of what is NOT said or may - intentionally or not - be hidden, presents a clear challenge in regard to data analysis. An ethnographic analysis of the particularities of the community is paramount for overcoming these difficulties, as well as necessary for avoiding interpretation from the researcher's personal background.

In conclusion, this paper presents a clear example of the deep connection between folk-beliefs, cultural and linguistic characteristics and development, and identity: The use and development of a language depends very much on the value attached to it, and the nature of expressed folk-beliefs reveal much about cultural and individual identity.

MIGGE, BETTINA M. University College Dublin, Ireland

IRISH ENGLISH: THE PERSPECTIVE OF MIGRANTS TO IRELAND

Much of the research in Folklinguistics focuses on the so-called emic view: It looks at how people conceptualize their own linguistic resources (e.g. Preston 2003). Much less attention is given to the 'non-native' perspective and specifically how people conceptualize the languages that they come in contact with and how this affects their integration process. In this presentation I want to explore the views about the English spoken in Ireland among immigrants to Ireland and explore the factors that condition language ideologies in the context of migration. The paper draws on data collected from 72 people of diverse national and social backgrounds (EU-15, EU-10, non-EU, including both L1 and L2 speakers of English) between 2006-2007 and 2008-2010. People's views were obtained through informal interviews on a variety of issues related to their life in Ireland. Interviews were carried out by the author and her collaborators.

Migrants tended to perceive differences between Irish Englishes in similar ways to local Irish people. However, instead of using socially evaluative terms to differentiate them (e.g. posh vs rough), they rated varieties based on their mutual comprehensibility (or in fact divergence from international norms), using terms like 'difficult/impossible to understand' versus 'clear'. Positioning towards Irish varieties of English was variable across national groups. Continental Europeans described Irish ways of speaking English as 'warm' and 'down-to-earth' and sometime positively contrasted them to English spoken in the UK. They were also happy to embrace Irish norms and felt that his was a prerequisite for integration. Interviewees from the UK, by contrast, often did not recognize Irish English as a separate entity in its own right and felt very uneasy at the prospect of adopting aspects of it as this was perceived as a threat to their national identity. English speakers from the USA, Australia and New Zealand, tended to find features of Irish English quaint but interpreted their own use of them positively as it conferred them with internationality. While learning of Irish English or lack thereof was presented as being subject to individual and sociocultural factors in the case of most people, this was experienced differently by African migrants. They consistently argued that their own use of Irish English was generally met with criticism on the part of their Irish interlocutors. This suggests that language ideologies are not uniform (Kroskrity 2006), but are intricately tied up with and contribute to people's sense of self and their aspirations, but also is subject to external factors.

BALOGH, ERZSEBET

University of Szeged, Hungary

A FOLK LINGUISTICS CASE STUDY IN HUNGARY

In this paper, my aim is to present an analysis of Hungarian university students' beliefs about English and Hungarian language varieties as well as their language attitudes towards these varieties within the framework of folk linguistics.

Three focus group discussions were conducted with Hungarian university students concerning evaluations of American English accent variety speakers. The original aim of the study was to reveal students' justifications for and interpretations of the fact that in previous language attitude research listeners of the same background, i.e. Hungarian university students, evaluated speakers of non-standard varieties more negatively than speakers of standard varieties. Students in the current investigation claim that such factors as education or the media play an important role in the respondents' evaluations. In addition to obtaining data responding to the original research questions, the analysis displays the participants' beliefs regarding English accent varieties as well as several Hungarian regional varieties. Particularly Hungarian language varieties are classified and assessed in terms of regional differences claiming that Budapest, the capital of Hungary is a distinctive dialect region where 'proper' (i.e. standard) Hungarian is spoken as opposed to the rest, 'rural' part of the country where non-standard Hungarian is spoken, even though these 'rural' parts of Hungary include all the other Hungarian cities. What is more, there is a further regional division, namely, between Hungary and the territories where Hungarian is spoken outside Hungary' language diversity. Finally, the analysis reinforces the United States folk theory of language presented by Niedzielski and Preston (2009:371–372). According to this folk theory, American non-linguists argue that different, and at the same time, erroneous language varieties construct 'the real language'. Hungarian non-linguists confirm this theory suggesting, at least concerning the Hungarian language, that only one 'correct' Hungarian language variety exists, whereas the other varieties are 'strange' and 'one has to get used to them'.

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SZABÓ, TAMÁS PÉTER; MÁTYUS, KINGA

Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary

TOWARDS A DEVELOPMENTAL FOLK LINGUISTICS. A STUDY OF HUNGARIAN

Hungarian is a standard language culture (Milroy 2001), and linguistic prescriptivism has a long tradition. In classroom conversations, making ideologies on erroneous and correct language use is common, while convenient occasions for practicing public speech are really rare. In Hungarian formal education, the rules of standard Hungarian are mainly taught by participating in various metadiscourses between students and their teachers.

In the present paper metalanguage is defined as a socially constructed, (self)reflective discourse on language (Laihonen 2008). From this point of view, early years of institutional education has a great impact on the metalinguistic socialization of the speaker. Therefore it would be interesting to study how children construct linguistic evaluations and ideologies during these years.

The core of the present paper is based on data from a survey carried out in 2009 by the first author. Students of age 6–9 were interviewed in semi-structured research interviews. Data analysis focused on the construction of language ideologies in metadiscourses. Ideology was not defined as a telementation of inner beliefs or knowledge, but as a describing, explaining, legitimizing or illegitimizing statement on acts observable in practice (Potter–Edwards 2003). Ideology construction was analysed as a dynamic process, using the Conversation Analysis methodology of Laihonen (2008).

The main topic of the research interviews was other-repair. While building narratives on their own communication experiences, interviewees evaluated common words and phrases often stigmatized in standard Hungarian. In these evaluations repeated patterns could be found, and, in addition, explanations were often given. These explanations, frequently occurring in the form of set phrases, were analyzed as core language ideologies. The analysis of

agency concluded that quoting and assimilating other people's voice are both important factors in ideology construction (Aro 2009). In addition, a pilot study was carried out, in which the second author interviewed children attending kindergarten to investigate whether metalanguage – as found in the above mentioned research – can be studied in the speech of 4-year-olds. As other studies have proved (cf. Nardy–Barbu 2006), children of this age already show metalinguistic awareness and can solve metalinguistic tasks. Our analysis tools and methods were the same in all age groups. Studying the metalinguistic narratives in the speech of different age groups, this paper aims to provide data for developmental folk linguistics in Hungarian.

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BECKER, JULIA MAXIMILIANE

Goethe Universität Frankfurt, Germany

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN UGANDA: PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVES ON LANGUAGES, ETHNIC GROUPS AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

Language plays an important part in the construction and perception of people's identity: First, it is an inescapable 'badge of identity' (Blot 2003: 3). By speaking people reveal their origins and their belonging. Secondly, it is a 'product of social interaction' (Riley 2008: 16), which means through interactional practices and the communicative action itself, identities are created. The reasons for the influence or the importance of the mother tongue – or language in general – in identity constructions can also be put like this:

- 01 [...] I love I love being able to speak my language for
- 02 example [ja] because it's a beautiful language. In fact
- 03 I'm sad, when I'm in my village and people don't want to
- 04 speak their language they want to speak Luganda you know
- 05 it's like when I'm in Kampala I don't speak my language
- 06 cause everyone speaks Luganda, so why is it when I'm in
- 07 my hometown you know, it's, it's an identity, it's a
- 08 culture as well ahm it's [.] it's everything

This transcript from an interview with a young woman, taped 2008 in Uganda's capital Kampala, reveals that her arguments are mainly emotionally driven: She 'simply' loves speaking her mother tongue because that is (one of) her identity(ies). The fieldwork conducted during two extensive field trips in Uganda in 2008 and 2009 was centred on language attitudes with special focus on language policy. The data collected is from focus-group discussions and semi-structured interviews. People's language attitudes, the government's and a so-called etic ('academic') perspective were analysed and their impact on language policies and the national language were discussed. The methodological framework of the analysis consisted of a content analysis and a discourse analysis. The presentation in the thematic session will focus on the emic perspective of the people's language attitudes and argue why some of the suggested solutions for the national language in Uganda are perceived as unacceptable. Therefore, in a first step, the construction of social identity in Uganda - exemplified on the basis of the data and embedded into the academic discourse - will be shortly presented and will contribute to the session's interest on how people do relate language to social identity. Secondly, the paper contrasts Ugandan's language attitudes on Kiswahili and English. It will be shown that non-linguists' language attitudes may highly differ from the linguist's expectation. Kiswahili, the government's proposal as national language and lingua franca in many neighbouring countries, is constructed as the 'cruel language', the 'language of thieves' or 'burglars' but also as the 'neutral' alternative to local language solutions. English on the other hand, in fact, is positively connoted. The paper highlights the value and importance of 'folk linguistics' for research on language policy and interethnic relations. Further, it aims to present the discursive patterns of language attitudes in everyday communication. The paper concludes that the attitudes influence the people's language behaviour and inter-ethnic relations as well as their (potential) impacts on language policies.

KRŪMINIENĖ, JADVYGA; ALIŪKAITĖ, DAIVA Vilnius University, Kaunas Faculty of Humanities, Lithuania

SOCIOLINGUISTIC PORTRAIT OF A DIALECT USER AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21ST CENTURY: ATTITUDE ANALYSIS

The paper aims at the analysis of the images of a dialect user in the different cities of Lithuania. It should be claimed that in the 20th century the School of Lithuanian Dialectology consistently hold the chrestomatic imperatives and hence formed the samples of dialect informants with the use of the so called NORM criterion. However, such a priori modelling of the sociolinguistic portrait of a dialect speaking subject is erroneous. No doubt, to ignore age, dwelling place or the factor of settled life when describing a representative dialect user would be incorrect. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that in the second half of the 20th century various mobility networks (including quazimobility, e.g. TV, radio) significantly altered the monolingual 'face' of a Lithuanian country dweller: one cannot expect from him/her a consistent dialect expression. Secondly, an intense urban migration determined the assimilation of several dialects and the formation of new dialects in the cities. Thirdly, the younger generation have been deconstructing their attitudes to the so called traditional dialects, or at least the ones more or less reminding them, and with their use start expressing their identity. Thus, the mentioned context encouraged the authors to model the sociolinguistic portrait of a dialectal speech representative. The chief tool employed in the portrayal is the question-naire worked out for the analysis of the dialectal discourse perception and estimation. The paper discusses the data of the research carried out in 8 cities in different ethnographic regions. Over 500 respondents participated in it representing a particular age contingent (13-17 years old). The research data shows that the younger generation only partially associate a dialect user with the dwelling place. The significant marks in the sociolinguistic portrait of a dialect user are as follow: age and sociocultural characteristics (positive: a dialect speaker respects his/her native country and is

its patriot, etc.; negative: a dialect speaker is not polite, is inconsistent, etc.). It should be claimed that the antinomy city/country has not lost its power to differentiate among the representatives of Standard language versus dialect representatives.

Another important insight might be made from the given research data; different language environment (the environment of different dialects) considerably affects the attitudes and convictions of the respondents toward the dialect users. It is interesting to note that a dialectal speech representative was most positively characterized in the cities of Lowland (Samogitia).

It should be added that the sociolinguistic portraits of dialect users do correspond the reality. Such an insight was determined by the data worked out in the project 'Modern Research of Geolinguistics in Lithuania: Optimization of Network of Points and Interactive Spread of Dialectal Information' started in March, 2011, and initiated by the Institute of Lithuanian Language. The project will be carried out until 2014. It collects the dialectal material from all the regions of Lithuania, the informants representing various generations. The first data shows that in the 21st century the representatives of the dialectal (or semi-dialectal) code do not have highly distinctive regional or social marks.

MONONEN, KAARINA

University of Helsinki, Finland

PURE FINNISH OR OUR INGRIAN LANGUAGE? FINNISH-SPEAKING INGRIAN FINNS' **IDEAS ABOUT LANGUAGE USE IN ST. PETERSBURG AND ITS SURROUNDINGS**

This paper discusses linguistic views and beliefs of Finnish-speaking Ingrian Finns in the St. Petersburg area in Russia. Detailed investigation of spoken discourse will show how different perceptions are created and expressed in conversations with aged participants. Comparisons between the younger and older generation are made as well.

The data for the study have been collected through ethnographic fieldwork in St. Petersburg and its surroundings in Russia, especially among elderly people in a retirement home. The focus of the study is on qualitative analysis of the interaction; the data consists of conversations and interviews. In addition to actual language use. I have studied the participants' personal history and how it affects their linguistic perceptions and choices of language use. I will illustrate how sociohistorical background can be seen as relevant for the understanding of language views today.

Ingrian Finns constitute an old migrant group from Finland in the area around the contemporary St. Petersburg, They started moving to the area from 1617 onward. In the area, Ingrian Finnish dialects were used in social interaction but the standard Finnish was the language of public life. The area was under Finnish cultural influence and had close connections to Finland until the 1930s'. The Stalinist era changed the situation. Ingrian Finns were deported to other parts of the Soviet Union and were able to return home after Stalin's death. However, in the Soviet Union their connections with Finland were diminished, and many lost their contact to Finnish language due to mixed marriages and strict minority politics. During the past two decades the contacts with Finland and Finland Finns have been active and a large group of people consisting of descendants of Ingrian Finns have moved to Finland. I will discuss the multifaceted concepts of languages and ways of speaking in conversations with Ingrian Finns. One question to be discussed is how the value of Finnish has varied in the course of the time and how it becomes visible in the data. Which categories do the speakers make relevant in certain situations?

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STEGU, MARTIN; WILTON, ANTJE Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien, Austria

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 182

Gender ideologies in public discourse

Session Chair 1: Chen, Katherine Hoi Ying Session Chair 2: Kang, M. Agnes

Session Abstract:

Sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists have been studying the relationship between social action and linguistic ideologies. This session aims at investigating such relationship with respect to gender ideologies in public discourses (Philips 2003, McConnell-Ginet 2011). We consider public discourses as a site for the display, negotiation, challenging, and/or (re-)construction of gender ideologies. By 'public discourses', we mean both discourses that take place in public settings and discourses that are accessible to general audiences in media and new media alike. Papers can take a variety of perspectives and seek to understand the relationships between gender ideologies and public discourses. We are interested particularly in studies that are linguistic data-driven and seek to combine analysis of micro-and macro-level issues and questions. As 'all communication involves acts of stance, in which speakers take up positions vis-à-vis the expressive, referential, interactional, and social implications of their speech' (Jaffe 2009), we see stance and stancetaking of gender in the public space as a theoretical and methodological gateway to understanding how gender ideologies mediate with language and social actions.

We would particularly welcome contributions that engage in discussing one or more of the following:

- Stance and stance-taking in constructing/negotiating gender identities
- Public displays and discursive practices of masculinity/femininity/sexuality - Discursive practices and tropes about language, usage, and speakers in relation to gender ideologies
- Gender, modernity and cosmopolitanism

- Media and New Media (particularly interactive social media as a site for gender ideologies) This panel aims to bring together papers with a unified theme for journal publication. Accepted authors are expected to submit a full conference paper by mid-July, 2012 for circulation among panel members.

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WILLIAMS. ASHLEY M.

University of Virginia, United States of America

HOW TO BE A PERFECT 'BETCH': THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION & DISPLAY OF **GENDER IDEOLOGIES**

This paper examines how gender ideologies are both constructed and displayed in the blog 'Betches Love This'. Although originally created in reaction to the pervasive 'bro' scene on American college campuses (as exemplified in blogs such as 'Bros Like This') since its founding in February 2011 'Betches Love This' has grown, gaining followers, advertisers and press coverage. This successful and popular site, one among an increasing number of college social life-centered blogs, instructs its readers on all the finer points of how to be a 'betch'. A betch is defined in opposition to many gendered social labels (McConnell-Ginet 2003): she is not a 'bitch', nor a 'nice girl', she grudgingly socializes with 'bros', and should stay away from 'nice guys'. This term can be considered as 'flipping the script' of 'bitch' (c.f. Sutton 1995), but with particular limitations. For example, as the blog's authors write in the post 'About a Betch': 'A betch is often confused with a bitch but make no mistake, they're different. A betch isn't just mean for no reason like a bitch is... Betchiness [is] about gaining success in a man's world while still being hot and fun and envied.' Race, sexuality, and class likewise are additional defining elements, as evidenced in postings about 'The Token Asian Betch', acceptable vs. unacceptable sex partners, and how a successful betch will marry only a wealthy man. Taking a discourse analytic approach, this paper examines the construction and display of gendered ideologies with two foci: 1) an analysis of the discourse choices the blog writers make that perform 'betch' speech, and 2) an analysis of the different stances (Jaffe 2009) the blog writers take as they position themselves both in opposition to 'nice girls' and 'bros', and as authoritative 'Head Betches'. Similar to Walton and Jaffe's (2011) analysis of the blog 'Stuff White People Like', 'Betches Love This' is presented as entertainment, and defended by its fans as parody. Unlike 'Stuff White People Like', however, its writers do not see themselves as 'outsiders', but only take the stance of being 'insiders', as betches themselves. Through this analysis, this paper demonstrates how 'Betches Love This' is not only a reflection of the limited gendered identities available to young college women, but also both a challenge to and acceptance of the limitations of gender ideologies.

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ZUBAIR, CALA University of North Carolina at Wilmington, United States of America

THE LANGUAGE OF VICTIMS AND RAPISTS: EMBRACING VERBAL TABOO TO REAP PROPRIATE VICTIMLESS SLANG

To join the Sinhalese Raggers at the University of Peradeniya (Kandy, Sri Lanka), students undergo mixed-gender, ritual hazing ('ragging') such that senior males rag junior females via forced sexual acts (e.g., rape and sexual assault). Male Raggers use esoteric, in-group terminology that masks their behavior from university authorities and wider public scrutiny (Buddhadhasa 2007; Fonsenka 2009; Hennayake 2009). This work explores how female Raggers resist physical violence by resisting esoteric slang. Instead, they embrace alternate forms of taboo language that are less localized, exhibit online circulation, and are more widespread in universities and among youth (Dissanayake 1998; Agarwal 2006). This non-localized, sexual slang condemns males' sexual behavior, framing male-to-female ragging as abusive rather than victimless, and contesting media discourses about ragging that minimize female trauma (Rubero 2003; Chopra 2010; Fernando 2010). Considering taboo language key in empowering marginalized social groups (Thurlow 2011), this project examines how different forms of taboo language exhibit variable public/private, local/non-local circulation based on their functional distinctions (Agha 2007; Fleming & Lempert 2011; Irvine 2011). Male slang is covert and exclusive because it functions to hide their behavior. Female slang is widely recognizable because it functions to reveal hidden sexual assaults.

Data for this study includes females' conversational use of sexual slang, interview (meta)commentaries, narratives of sexual assault, and online discussion boards. Terms analyzed include nanaawa (common meaning: 'to shower') and anga hodanawa (common meaning: 'body wash'), words males use to refer to vaginal and anal rape; baduwak polimak hukanawa, '(gang) rape-fucking a girl vaginally' - the female slang equivalent of nanaawa; and paiyak/ kariyak polimak, female Ragger terms translatable as 'penis/sperm raper'. With semantic juncture between male usages of nanaawa and anga hodanawa ('vaginal rape' and 'anal rape') and common meanings ('shower' and 'body wash'), males are protected from public reprimand even in public spheres. Female innovation includes substituting taboo terms like baduwak polimak hukanawa ('(gang) rape-fucking a girl vaginally') during campus and online interactions. Though inclusive of proscribed words, when spoken before university authorities or posted online, the female term exposes acts of vaginal rape. Female terms additionally focus attention on males as sexual offenders. Words such as paiyak/ kariyak polimak, 'penis/sperm raper', point to the male anatomical subject as actor.

While females have little say in rituals of rape (if joining the Sinhalese Raggers), performatively, they reappropriate their bodies through language. Demarcating victim and rapist, females' sexual slang indicates how proscribed speech grants voice to voiceless subjects. As with other studies on youth language (Eble 1996; Miller 2004; Chun 2009; Roth Gordon 2007a, 2007b; Mendoza-Denton 2008), linguistic creativity is key in how speakers publically fashion roles and identities, where mentioned and unmentionable are mutually telling (Frekko 2011).

ABBOU, JULIE

LPL (Speech and Language Laboratory, Aix-en-Provence, France) / Hong Kong Polytechnic University (Hong Kong), Hong Kong S.A.R. (China)

METADISCOURSE OF THE GENDER PERTURBATION IN FRENCH IN ANARCHIST PAM-PHLETS: CHALLENGING THE EXPERTS' VOICE.

This communication aims to examine the arguments of some speakers about the way they disturb gender in language in order to trouble gender's semantic categorization. Such a linguistic intervention, occurring in French since 2000, is present in the anarchist literature and consequently is made in the name of political purposes: the deconstruction or abolition of gender as part of the struggle against domination.

Following a short presentation of the linguistic forms of this perturbation, this work focuses first on the nature of anarchist pamphlets as a specific media. Indeed, the anarchist literature implies a discursive materiality (Courtine 1982) that is necessary heterogeneous. Some particular features distinguish it from an established order of discourse, such as, for example, philosophy (Garcia, forthcoming). The pamphlets are also, historically as well as nowadays, a subversive tool for the non-instituted discourses, with very few formal constraints. All these characteristics make the anarchist pamphlet an open space for the disturbance of gender.

Second, this work focuses on the metadiscourses of these speakers justifying their linguistic action. In order to link gender, politics and language, they seize tools usually utilized by linguists. Through heterogeneous discourses, they set out the repartition of values on which their gender perturbation is based. By highlighting the premises of these speakers' discourses, the rhetorical landscape of the disturbance becomes apparent: the rejection of gender institution, an anti-essentialist stance, a necessary relationship between means and aims, and an emancipatory will to question power in an incidental reading of politics – i.e. a politics of values. However, each of these premises contradicts those of another project of language modification, that of standard feminization in French. This planning aims to complete the language system in order to make women visible (Pauwels 2010). By contrast and within a totally different political culture (Gordon 2008), the perturbation proponents attempt to question the generic categorization as a place of power, and as such, to question how we categorize the world in order to make it significant. These discourses challenge the voices of experts, empowering the modification of language from the margins (Hariman 1999, bell hooks 1984). They disturb by this way—in the feminist tradition—the public/private boundary by bringing an autonomous voice to the public scene.

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KANG, M. AGNES; CHEN, KATHERINE University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China)

STANCETAKING AND THE MAKING OF THE '(HONG) KONG GIRL'

A penchant for luxury brand-named goods, insistence on a boyfriend who carries her bag and pays for her shopping, and any opportunity to look cute and be the center of attention have all been described as characteristic of a 'Kong girl' since the mid 2000s. In this paper, we analyze the publically coconstructed persona of 'Kong girls' by examining the role of stancetaking (Jaffe 2009) in constructing and contesting gender ideology. At once a critique of traditional notions of femininity and 'modern' notions of gender equality, the critiques offer multiple takes on a negatively charged 'type' of Hong Kong woman while at the same time intimating what a Hong Kong woman 'should' be. We explore the particular subject position occupied by Kong girls as constructed by local speakers' self-positioning by examining what stances individuals convey in the media and new media: television and radio programs, discussion forums, blogs, Facebook pages, and print publications. Using Agha's (2006) notion of emblem, we trace the relationships between diacritics, interpretants and persona and how these aspects of emblem work to establish 'Kong girl' as a publicly debated persona non grata. Since clear public sanctions of behavior come in the form of negative stances, this is a rich source of information on how new gender identities are being publicly debated and negotiated. We propose that the heated controversy reflects the socioeconomic shifts in the heterosexual marketplace that are exerting pressure on both men and women in Hong Kong society today, and that this tension is manifest in the heterogeneous stancetaking that can be found in the Hong Kong media.

Key words: gender and media, femininity, social identity, stance, emblem

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MORTENSEN, KRISTINE KØHLER University of Copenhagen, Denmark

'A BIT TOO SKINNY FOR ME': HOMOSOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF HETEROSEXUAL DESIRE IN OFFLINE-ONLINE INTERACTION

Analysts have demonstrated that adolescents – when entering the heterosexual market – can engage in two different roles: as commodity or as broker (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003, Kothoff 2008). The negotiation is so to speak not merely constituted by two persons – a man and a woman – but also includes subsidiary participants who co-act in the process of constructing certain persons as acceptable and attractive objects of desire. Homosocial constructions of desire have primarily been examined among adolescent groups in offline settings (Eckert 1996, Georgakapoulou 2008) and in literary studies (Sedgwick 1985). As the Internet is becoming a key social context for people seeking romantic partners, the question of how subsidiary participants take part in online flirtation emerges.

Based on audiovisual recordings in Danish of heterosexual female friends who sit in front of a computer and together engage in online dating activities, this presentation shows how virtual male objects are jointly constructed and evaluated as desirable or non-desirable. Using the screen tracking software, Hypercam, the present paper investigates online heterosexual activities on Internet dating sites in relation to simultaneous offline homosocial interaction. The recordings give a new and direct insight into the interrelations between online and offline modes by showing how acts within social media are both evaluated and initiated through offline interaction.

Interactional analysis demonstrates how the women, by explicitly evaluating the physical appearance and sexual attraction of the male objects, negotiate and reconstruct stereotypical gender roles through the positioning of themselves as agentive subjects in the dating act. At the same time the humorous and sometimes disparaging evaluations function as common entertainment and strengthening of the offline homosocial relation.

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JAFFE, ALEXANDRA MYSTRA

California State University Long Beach

DISCUSSION

Discussant of Thematic Session 'Gender ideologies in public discourses'.

Thematic Session 183

Contesting and reconstructing language policies in urban educational settings

Session Chair 1: Van Avermaet, Piet Session Chair 2: Pulinx, Reinhilde

Session Abstract:

Within different social structures different social agents are involved in the dynamic developments and changes of language policies. The aim of this thematic session is to examine the processes by which both top down and bottom up forces operate in a number of countries and affect local urban educational policies. For example, it is well documented that the international PISA tests strongly impact language policy making in education in nation states and these national policies filter through to municipalities and schools. These dynamics are, as already stated, not only top down, but also bottom up. Our point is that language educational policies are always socially situated and not created in vacuum and are clearly not about language alone. Based on the local realities and practical experiences many language policies are being contested and reconstructed from bottom up in overt and covert ways. Contestation takes place when a city (or several schools in the city) disregards the national monolingual policy for education and reconstructs school language policy by taking into account the plurilingual repertoires which are represented in the schools of the city. Examples of such contestation can be observed in situations where schools develop specific policies which are in contradiction to the national policies and is given by a teacher not adhering to a monolingual school policy and pursuing a classroom policy and practice which exploits the plurilingual repertoire of the children as didactic capital in the learning process.

Given the diverse demography on the one hand and the national domination on the other, various issues arise and these will be addressed in this thematic sessions. The papers in this session will look at the dynamic interactions between agency and structure regarding monolingual versus multilingual, overt versus covert policy making in a number of cities. Among others, the following topics will be addressed: cases of cities that disregard national monolingual policies; the ways national policy level react to such contestations; the contextual factors that influence different patterns of reconstruction of national monolingual policies in cities and the factors that drive these different processes; the role of teachers in this act of contestation and reconstruction especially in relation to immigrant childrens' identity formation; contestations for immigrant childrens' well-being, motivation and learning; the school staff (colleague teachers and principals) reaction to these contestations by an individual teacher; the impact on the professional motivation and well-being of the teacher. In this session cases will be presented and discussed of agency contestation and reconstruction of language policies within the educational structures at city level.

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PULINX, REINHILDE; VAN AVERMAET, PIET Centre for Diversity and Learning, Belgium

CONTESTING EN RECONSTRUCTING MONOLINGUAL LANGUAGE POLICIES: CASES STUDIES IN THE CITY OF GHENT, FLANDERS

Although lip service is paid to the recognition of home language as an element of identity building and cultural integrity, educational language policies in Flanders are currently characterized by a clear monolingual approach. Educational failure of non-Dutch speaking students is primarily – and often exclusively – explained by insufficient skills in Standard Dutch. It has become so commonsensical (a doxa) that Standard Dutch language deficiency leads imperatively to low achievement not only regarding reading/writing literacy but also scientific and mathematical literacy. A deficiency paradigm of teaching and learning – based on monolingual ideologies – has been constructed, leading to policy measures principally focusing on standard language learning (grammar, orthography, pronunciation) and language testing (at entrance levels , in some cases even as a condition for participation in educational . A revival of remedial teaching and pull-out classes practices can be noticed, even in the absence of sufficient empirical evidence. In Belgium, one of the founding pillars of the educational organization is the educational freedom guaranteed by the Belgian constitution. This means that the educational institutions have a high degree of pedagogical and didactical freedom and autonomy to implement and attain the educational goals set out by the national policy makers.

At the same time, at grassroots level mainly in urban super diverse areas - i.e. policy makers, principals and teachers – these monolingual ideologies and highly normative views on (language) education and social inequality are being contested.

In this paper, we will discuss to what extent and how national monolingual educational ideologies are being reinforced or contested and reconstructed in urban super diverse day to day education practices. We will look at school policies and classrooms practices of primary and secondary schools in the city of Ghent and at the language and education policy of the city council of Ghent. Do these schools make use of the pedagogical and didactical freedom to contest the official language policies and reconstruct more multilingual approaches to connect more to the multilingual realities of neighborhood, school and classroom composition? Or have they adopted and intensified the national monolingual and mono-educational ideologies? How is language proficiency – in the home and dominant language – perceived at school and classroom level? How do governmental policies interact with school policies and teachers' discourses and beliefs? Does the city council of Ghent reinforces the national ideologies or do they contest and reconstruct new language and education policies, more embedded in the local realities of super diverse neighborhoods and schools?

The paper is based on the findings of several research projects conducted in primary and secondary schools in the city of Ghent. Official national and city council language policy documents and discourses will be related to formal and informal language policies conducted at school and classroom level, and staff and teachers' discourses on language proficiency and language policies.

KHAN, KAMRAN University of Birmingham & University of Melbourne

BECOMING BRITISH, BECOMING BILINGUAL: MULTILINGUAL LANGUAGE PLANNING FOR CITIZENSHIP

Following the 2001 riots in the north of England involving Asian (mostly British-Pakistani youths), far-right extremists and the police, 'parallel lives' (Cantle Commission 2002) led by racially-segregated communities were considered to be the root cause. The solution from the British government was a 'citizenship revolution' (Kelly & Byrne 2008) and the promotion of British citizenship. British citizenship for migrants was tied to a language/citizenship test to demonstrate English proficiency (Home Office 2002). Blackledge (2005) argues that this was symbolic of a monolingual language ideology which viewed multilingualism and therefore multilinguals as problematic. The urban setting for this paper takes place in the same area as Rex & Moore's (1967) seminal ethnic relations book about the settlement of recently arrived migrants in one the UK's largest cities: Birmingham. Almost 45 years later, this paper follows the last 11 months of a Yemeni migrant's (W) journey to citizenship. As part of this journey, W passed the citizenship 'Life in the UK' (LUK) test. Lacking English linguistic resources, W relied heavily on Arabic to prepare for this monolingual test by translating the test materials into Arabic. Furthermore, in recognition of the multilingual realities and the limited educational opportunities available to many Yemeni migrants, W become the de facto multilingual language policy maker (Shohamy 2006) in teaching others by creating a curriculum for the LUK test. Thus, some Yemeni migrants were able to pass the test with very little English. This paper also demonstrates that an almost identical approach was adopted by members of the local Chinese community. Faced with a monolingual challenge, these communities took responsibility for their own multilingual language planning. This research used an ethnographically-informed case study. It was ethnographic in that it was 'continuous with real life' (Hymes 1996:13). It is a case study in that the subject is W and the analytic frame is the journey to citizenship (Thomas 2011). Data was collected through fieldnotes, interviews, linguistic landscapes and participant photos. Emergent themes were constantly accumulated during the data collection and again at the end for more cycles of analysis so that it became an iterative, rigorous process over a longer period. This paper concludes that despite a monolingual, top down language requirement created by the British government, the multilingual. bottom up de facto language planning response paradoxically adheres to and undermines monolingual ideologies. Becoming British does not necessarily mean being monolingual; it can also mean becoming multilingual.

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PURKARTHOFER, JUDITH University of Vienna, Austria

LANGUAGE AND SPACE IN THE MULTILINGUAL SCHOOL – CONTESTATIONS OF LAN-GUAGE REGIMES IN THE SOCIAL SPACE OF A SLOVENE-GERMAN PRIMARY SCHOOL

Schools provide spaces for learners and speakers of diverse languages and through both explicit and implicit language policies and related or contradictory practices, local language regimes come into place. Looking at social space with Lefebvre's set of spatial aspects (1991), offers new insights into language as local practice (Pennycook 2012) and the interwoven discourses and practices (van Leeuwen 2008) of a translocally connected, heteroglossic social space.

Drawing on qualitative research in the form of a multimodal school language profile (Busch 2010), both individual's experience and repertoire and the construction of this multilayered, heteroglossic space are accessible to understand negotiations of language policies. Visual and verbal data (language portrayals, drawings, photographs, linguistic landscapes, interviews and group discussions) were collected and give insights into the school's teaching practices as well as into the aspirations and intentions of students, teachers and parents. Biographical, discourse-analytical and visual approaches are combined to understand the construction of a social space in school that fosters heterogenous language practices, within and beyond the classroom setting.

This case study deals with a German-Slovene primary school in a regional capital in Austria, where Slovene is recognized as a regional minority language. Over the last 20 years of its existence, the public of this school has changed from mainly slovene-speaking parents who want a bilingual education for their children to parents with different and more heterogenous backgrounds. Families who speak German and/or languages other than German or Slovene consider this school to be an option for the multilingual education for their children and the local language regime of the school has (been) adapted to these needs. The experiences of bilingual teaching are found a valuable ressource to deal with a multilingual body of students and to be prepared to take into account the different levels of language competence and practices. Situated in a regional urban center, the school's surroundings are object to changing language regimes due to globalisation and negotiations of multilingualism between minority, majority and migrants' languages find their way into the educational institutions. The presentation will focus on these competing regimes in the discourses of parents, teachers and students and the policies of the school regarding its language regimes.

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MOLLERING, MARTINA Macquarie University, Australia

RECONSTRUCTING LANGUAGE POLICY IN URBAN EDUCATION: THE ESSEN MODEL OF 'FÖRDERUNTERRICHT' AND ITS LOCAL IMPACT

This contribution traces the development of an educational support program (Förderunterricht) for immigrant children first set up In the German Ruhr area more than 35 years ago. A highly industrialized area up until the end of the 20th century, the Ruhr region has traditionally been strongly impacted by different waves of immigration. The program discussed here has grown out of what was originally a small scale application of research results of a study on the bilingualism of immigrant children at the University of Essen. Following the premise that the bilingual competencies migrant children bring to the classroom can be an asset rather than a hindrance, migrant languages (Turkish and Greek) were established as an optional component in the undergraduate curriculum for trainee teachers at the university at the same time that a program of supporting classes for migrant children attending secondary schools was being established. Through bottom up agency, the creators of the program were able to involve migrant communities, local schools, local politicians, the university and different funding bodies in order to set up a project that sees migrant children in the secondary school sector mentored by trainee teachers, many of whom have an immigrant background themselves and bring their bi- or multilingual competence to the task.

The program has been adapted as a model approach to more than 35 cities nationwide, and it has impacted on a recent teacher education reform in the German federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia, where the original project site, Essen, is located. Based on an analysis of qualitative data - consisting of interviews with project coordinators, student mentors and immigrant children attending the program - the present study explores the project's impact on the identity formation of the children, the professional motivation of the student mentors and the well-being and development of both groups. These data will be related to language policy issues in the city of Essen generally and, more specifically, with a view to the long-term sustainability of the program.

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HOLM, LARS; LAURSEN, HELLE PIA University of Aarhus, Denmark

RESEARCHING BILITERACY IN URBAN SCHOOLS

Literacy has become an increasingly important feature of the educational discourse. International comparisons of levels of literacy have in Denmark and many other countries been interpreted as an indication of a prevailing literacy crisis. Special attention is focused in the Danish crisis discourse on categorisation and identification of 'the bilingual students' as a particular group of underachievers who, in particular, have become symbol of the crisis. Through the monolingual testing practices, literacy is narrowed to specific measurable (reading) skills in a specific language and in a specific script, leading to a disqualification of the students' linguistic and literacy resources - and an ethnification of the understanding of school failure (Blommaert, Creve & Willaert; 2005).

The study Signs of Language is a longitudional research project located in five urban areas in Denmark. It arises from an ambition to expand the understanding of literacy in ways, which might contribute to lift the basic understanding of bilinguals' literacy out of such disqualifying political discourses and into a broader research agenda on childhood biliteracy.

The study is based within a social semiotic framework, in which literacy learning is seen as 'a process whereby young children make meaning from the information available to them in their particular sociocultural contexts' (Kenner, Kress, Al-Khatib, Kam & Tsai 2004:124).

A shift in research focus from bilingual children's testing performance of literacy - understood as reading skills measured in the majority language - to examinations of children's interpretations and emergent understanding of literacy – understood as a mode of representation, which is not restricted to one specific language and one specific script system - aims to broaden the understanding of what count as literacy and sheds light on the role of the children's multilingual repertoire in their literacy learning.

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GOGOLIN, INGRID; DUARTE, JOANA

University of Hamburg, Germany

MULTILINGUAL SOCIETIES AND BILINGUAL INDIVIDUALS – CAN THIS BE THE AN-SWER TOWARDS DECREASING EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITY IN EUROPE?

Although Germany has been an immigration country for the past five decades, it was only recently officially acknowledged as such. Furthermore, it is marked by a general monolingual self-understanding very much attached to the idea of a nation-state with one homogenous language (Gogolin 1994). However, in large urban areas in Germany about 35% of the population has a migration background, as well as almost every second child enrolling in primary school (Fürstenau, Gogolin &Yağmur, 2003). Hence, the country is marked by this dichotomy between a monolingual policy discourse and a

multilingual societal level, manifested in everyday live and, as a consequence, in educational institutions. The fact is that this political attitude towards Germany's own migration history and migrants has led to an educational gap between students with a migration background and their monolingual peers. The PISA-study as well as other large monitoring studies have revealed that migrant students in Germany perform significantly lower than their monolingual German counterparts and that this difference is much larger than in other immigration countries (Klieme et al., 2010). The causes of this educational inequality have been found in different selection mechanisms, such as the early tracking in the educational system (grade 4), institutional discrimination on behalf of schools and school staff and lack of proficiency in German, more particularly, in academic language use. The proposed paper will report on two projects in Germany aiming at the creation of bilingual schools for some of the largest migrant and autochthonous languages. Bilingual classes were set up for the following migrant language combinations: German-Portuguese, German-Italian, German-Spanish and German-Turkish. In addition, in the federal state of Saxony, respective schools were established for the autochthonous minority of speakers of Sorbian. We will present these approaches in light of the question, whether they indicate a move towards a 'multilingual' school policy. The paper will problematize the role of such bilingual oriented models in view of growing diversity in Europe where bilingualism has become an almost obsolete concept (Blommaert and Rampton, 2011).

INBAR-LOURIE, OFRA; SHOHAMY, ELANA Tel Aviv University, Israel

THE COMPLEX DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGE EDUCATION POLICY IN THE DIVERSE CITY OF TEL AVIV-JAFFA

Israel has a very centralized educational policy, implying that educational policy is dictated from 'above' by the Ministry of education with very little autonomy to schools and teachers to initiate alternatives. Moreover, in order to perpetuate this policy it is governed by external tests throughout the school system, both national and international such as the PISA. In terms of language educational policy, this means that schools follow very strict centralized language policy where Hebrew is the language of instruction in Jewish schools and Arabic in Arab schools. Additional languages are being taught as 'foreign languages', English and Arabic and additional languages in Jewish schools; Hebrew and English in Arab schools (Spolsky, Shohamy, 1999). In spite of this very strict and uniformed policy, in a previous study (Shohamy, 2010) it was shown that some programs exist whereby bottom-up initiatives of alternative policies; these include Hebrew/Arabic bilingual schools, English at younger age than 'allowed', and spoken Arabic in Jewish school. These initiatives reflect the needs of certain groups, contesting and defying central agencies and domineering policies. The aim of our study here is to analyze the various language policy initiatives that are taking place in the city of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, the largest city in Israel that is defined officially as a 'mixed' city of Tel Aviv and-Jaffa, consisting of diverse populations, not only of Arab (Muslim and Christians) in Jaffa, but especially a large portion of Jewish immigrants and non- Jewish foreign workers, asylum seekers and refugees mostly from Eritrea, Darfur, Philippines, Sri Lanka, India as well as from Africa and South America residing in the city and using diverse languages. Our main hypothesis is that these official policies are limited in scope and that other options are needed for maintenance of collective identities, for identity negotiation, for having a voice and for practicing culture especially for population which is in the midst of trans-national reality, migration and globalization. Our focus is on groups of Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union, whose home languages are Russian, a number of languages of the foreign workers and asylum seekers and others who make up the population of the city. We will address these issues, via interviews, observations and linguistic landscape, both on institutionalized/formal initiatives at schools but mostly via special classes and community initiatives in non-institutionalized structures, neighborhood activities and other non-formal activities. Our main goal is to identify the various aspects of structure and agency and the mechanisms that are instrumental in carrying out such programs. It is via these practices that we will create policy documents that will recommend educational policies in order to negotiate language policies at schools (Menken, Garcia, 2010, Shohamy, 2006) that match and reflect the needs of different speech communities in a diverse city ofTel Aviv-Jaffa which are usually overlooked.

Thematic Session 185

Superdiversity and digital literacy practices

Session Chair 1: Androutsopoulos, Jannis Session Chair 2: Juffermans, Kasper

Session Abstract:

This panel will seek to articulate aspects of the relationship between superdiversity and digital literacy practices. The concept of superdiversity, defined by Vertovec (Vertovec 2007) as 'a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything previously experienced in a particular society', is premised on a world-wide shift in migration patterns from relatively predictable collective flows of migration to more diffuse and less predictable individual flows since the 1990s. It is attracting increasing interest in terms of its sociolinguistic implications (e.g. Blommaert & Rampton 2011). This panel aims to complement and expand this discussion by focusing on the role of digital media - a term used here as a cover term for any mode or format of text-based digital mediation, ranging from email and texting to social network sites and discussion forums - in the process of superdiversity. While it seems intuitively obvious that digitally-mediated communication must in one way or another be implicated in the socio-cultural processes of mobility and flow that are subsumed under superdiversity, systematic investigation of these relationships is currently lacking. Drawing on a number of case studies on digital literacy practices by diverse groups and different urban environments, the contributions to this panel will seek to articulate these relationships. With the notion of digital literacy practices, we index an approach that does not focus on the mere linguistic variability found in computer-mediated discourse, but on linguistic practices carried out by translocally networked people via digital media. More specifically, the contributions to the panel will pursue one or more of the following aims: a) pinpoint how digital literacy practices may play into and contribute to sustaining communication flows in processes of transnational mobility, diasporic connectivity and/or engagement in global popular culture; b) consider how variables relevant to the superdiversity concept, such as country of origin and migration channel, interact with digital literacy practices in particular cases; c) explore the implications of digital communication practices for the sociolinguistic repertoires and the orders of indexicality (Blommaert & Backus 2011) that emerge or gain currency in the context of particular processes of mobility and flow; and d) assess digital linguistic practices in superdiversity contexts with regard to their fit to old and new concepts for linguistic diversity, including multi-, poly- and metrolingualism.

We anticipate contributions will cover ground with some previous research, such as linguistic practices on immigrant discussion boards (see e.g. Androutsopoulos 2006; Li & Juffermans 2011) as well as explore processes less understood such as e.g. the use of digital media in transnational migration trajectories, with urban space figuring as a common denominator of the different case studies.

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ANDROUTSOPOULOS, JANNIS; JUFFERMANS, KASPER University of Hamburg, Germany

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

JONSSON, CARLA; MUHONEN, ANU

University of Stockholm, Sweden

'JALLA RONALDO EAT THEM ! V': INDEXING SUPERDIVERSITY THROUGH POLYLIN-GUAL DIGITAL LITERARY PRACTICES ON FACEBOOK

In our paper we will describe and analyze polylingual literacy practices carried out by multilingual and multicultural adolescents living in Sweden. The aim of the paper is to show how Late Modern and urban adolescents creatively make use of a varied linguistic repertoire in the innovative digital social network space that Facebook offers. Using excerpts from linguistic practices on Facebook we will show how the fluid use of Swedish, English, Finnish/Spanish and urban youth varieties indexes identities that exhibit majority, global, heritage and glocal (i.e. linking both the local and the global; Lee and Barton, 2011) literacies, respectively. The language practices highlight the complexity of the adolescents' identity construction in a modern, superdiverse society (see Vertovec 2007) where multicultural and social phenomena online exhibit multiple forms of identity performance(s) such as, for example, real and faked role(s) and identitie(s), adaptations of different forms of global popular culture(s) and the formation of glocal (social) on and off-line communities. Our sociolinguistic and ethnographic approach to language practices on Facebook aims to contribute to the methodological and analytical development of the research field of multilingualism in social media.

This study is part of the transnational research project 'Investigating Discourses of Inheritance and Identity in four Multilingual European Settings' (IDI-I4MES) funded by the European Science Foundation via HERA - Humanities in the European Research Area. The project consists of case studies in four European settings; Birmingham, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Tilburg.

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STÆHR, ANDREAS Uiversity of Copenhagen, Denmark

CONSTRUCTION OF GLOBAL YOUTH IDENTITIES ACROSS ON- AND OFFLINE SOCIAL PRACTICES

During the latest decade social media have become an ever more integrated part of many young peoples' everyday lives. Youths who have grown up with the internet and social media do not necessarily distinguish strictly between 'online and offline' identity work. In fact studies such as Lampe, Ellison & Steinfield (2006) suggest that a substantial part of the friendships formed on Facebook are grounded in offline social practices or networks. This causes increased cohesion between on- and offline social relations. This cohesion is reflected in the way online identity performances are mirrored in offline practices, and vice versa. In the so-called Amager project (Stæhr 2010) we have followed a group of adolescents from a linguistically and culturally superdiverse (Vertovec 2010) area in Copenhagen. During a period of three years we have studied them in a range of different on- and offline contexts; such as in school, at home, during leisure time activities, and on Facebook. In Stæhr (2010), Ag (2010), and Madsen et. al (2010) we describe linguistic and social processes among our participant that can be characterised as superdiverse, such as how identities are constructed and negotiated in a complex interplay between for example diaspora relations, minority and majority categorization, socio-cultural aspects, and affiliations with local groupings. Furthermore we see how polylanguaging is a key feature of their linguistic behaviour. In this presentation I look into the role of Facebook as a platform for identity work and how aspects of superdiversity are relevant to the semiotic identity practices. I study (1) how identity work in online practices interacts with identity work in different offline contexts. Further I study (2) how urban youths construct and negotiate identities associated with global popular culture on Facebook and in other everyday settings. In this way I am able to look further into how identities are interactionally constructed across the fluid boundaries between on- and offline social practices. I shed light on this matter by analyzing Facebook interactions and various conversational data supported by ethnographic observations (Duranti 1997).

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BELLING, LUC

University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

LUXEMBOURGISH LANGUAGE DIVERSITY IN SOCIAL NETWORK SITES IN THE CON-TEXT OF A MULTILINGUAL POPULATION

Although Luxembourg has a national language (Luxembourgish), it stands in competition with German and French as the main language of the country. Due to the country's favourable economic situation (based historically on the steel industry and currently the financial sector), Luxembourgish society has been formed by different migration processes over recent decades. These include historical waves of Italian and Portuguese migrants, migrants from European countries who work in EU institutions or multinational companies, as well as daily migrants from Belgium, France and Germany. The high level of migration in addition to Luxembourg's existing multilingual profile means the population deals on a daily basis with highly multilingual situations. This multilingualism is increased by digital media processes, including Social Network Sites, which represent a forum for Luxembourgers to communicate with each other and with friends of other national and linguistic backgrounds resident within and outside Luxembourg. Due to the superdiverse language situation in Luxembourg, users of SNS have developed specific linguistic strategies to handle multilingual communication. Communication through users 'walls' is shaped not only by the unique superdiversity of Luxembourg, but also the technological features of SNS. This communication method is characterized by the uncertainty of potential readers and respondents, the multicultural composition of friendslists and the semi-public nature of the communication. Luxembourgers can make three main language choices to communicate through their walls and status updates: (i) writing exclusively in Luxembourgish, (ii) switching to a foreign language (English, French, German, Portuguese) or (iii) adapting to responses and switching between different languages. The linguistic structures of Luxembourgish communication are highly influenced by the country's migration characteristics and population formation. Based as they are on Luxembourgers' relationships with friends of different foreign nationalities, users' walls represent a perfect platform to analyze the complex linguistic situation in Luxembourg. For the purpose of this paper, a corpus consisting of public comments and messages by Luxembourgers will be used, based on a six-month longitudinal analysis of Facebook status updates. An analysis of the language used in the posts will reveal the digital literacy practices adopted in response to the superdiverse Luxembourgish situation. The paper will consider how digital communication flows (traceable in SNS) relate to the changed population structure. Do the writers prefer language changes to express certain content in specific situations or not? The study will show if Luxembourgish is still the primary language or if other communication languages are preferred. A special focus lies on code-switching processes in discussions as a method to adapt to special communication circumstances. What are the motivations and circumstances of code-switching? Are the code-switching patterns related to single messages within the discussions or to the entire discussion? The paper thus aims to highlight the multilingual communication methods of Luxembourgers in SNS. The analysis will show specific linguistic patterns, and link these to migration processes in Luxembourg and its developing multilingual situation.

VAN DE SANDE, MAAIKE (1,2); JUFFERMANS, KASPER (1,3) 1: Tilburg University, Netherlands; 2: Breda University of Applied Sciences, Netherlands; 3: Hamburg University, Germany

EMOTICONS AS DIACRITICS OF SUPERDIVERSITY

This paper adopts a descriptive discourse analytical approach to emoticons as used in the online teenage community 'Asian and Proud' on the Dutch social network site Hyves. The first 100 posts of four discussion threads, identified as showing rich usage of emoticons, have been used to form a small corpus to investigate the meaning and variation of emoticons in digital conversation. We explore the use of emoticons as diacritics of superdiversity. As a result of changing patterns of migration since the 1990s and the coinciding development of the Internet and mobile phones, we are entering into a new post-multicultural order, commonly referred to as superdiversity. One of the characteristics of this new order is the emergence of new groupings and identities which are conceptualised at higher scale-levels than the default identity options available to the previous generation (e.g., Asianness vs. Chineseness). New media, and social network sites in particular, play an important role in the creation of these 'superidentities' as they are capable of connecting large numbers of people across localities and are organized as 'communities of interest'. We focus on emoticons as micro-analytical features (diacritics) of language use that are emblematic for the creation and articulation of these new upscaled transnational identities. The Asian and Proud community serves as an online platform for mainly second and third generation Asian-Dutch youngsters, i.e. young people in the Netherlands from families with Asian migration backgrounds (from HK, China, Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, etc.). What brings them together is their shared sense of an inherited Asian identity, and their interest in discussing, (re)discovering and (re)constructing their Asianness together with other young Dutch Asians. Their main language of communication is Dutch and only minimal multilingualism can be observed: mostly switches to English and occasional display of Chinese and other Asian languages. Emoticons are widely used throughout this community: both in typographic and pictographic style [compare :-) with ©] and both in Western and Eastern style [compare :-) with ^_^]. Used alongside the more common Western style emoticons, Eastern style emoticons seem to function - whether consciously or unconsciously - as language-independent cultural resources that allow for subtle articulations of post-national Asian identities. On the basis of the material posted on the forums, we find that members embody complex polycentric communicative and identity repertoires in which the originally Japanese emoticons (kaomoii) play a subtle role in 'authenticating' their Asianness. At the same time. we observe that Asian emoticons increasingly appear in mainstream media, which suggests that Eastern style emoticons also transcend Asian identity and are part of a more generally shared social process.

Diacritics are subtle, distinctive markers that appear above (or below) the letter and provide cues of interpretation/pronunciation. The diacritics of

superdiversity are microscopic elements of social or linguistic order that point at broad, ongoing cultural processes of diversification. The appearance of Eastern style emoticons in Dutch social network media points at one or both of (a) the emergence of new Asian identities in Europe; and (b) the growing popularity of Asian popular culture in Europe.

FABRICIO, BRANCA FALABELLA Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

DIGITAL MEDIA, SUPERDIVERSITY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF CULTURAL IDEN-**TITY: COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL ENCOUNTERS**

The contemporary experiences of mobility, multiplicity, and time have been reconstructing the traditional perception of social, cultural e linguistic diversity in terms of a general idea of superdiversity (Vertotec 2007), characterized by the increase in the contact with 'otherness' and a myriad of alterities - a phenomenon related to intense migration flows, face-to-face contacts and virtual encounters with distinct nationalities, ethnicities, languages and religions. In hiperdiverse environments, moving subjects and subjectivities participate in varied groups, social networks and communities, engaging in interactions whose far-reaching scope, beyond a single communicative event, foregrounds the idea of relocation related not only to geographical processes (migrant communities), but also to sociocultural discursive ones (i.e., transglobal circulation of texts and semiotic signs). In no other context is this situation more flagrant than on the web, a scenario where multicultural actors can connect to each other anytime, from any place in the world in a common 'territory'. The latter is discontinuous and unpredictable since there is no guarantee concerning who, or how many, our interlocutors will be; neither can we establish precise boundaries as to their linguistic, cultural and identity characteristics. Nevertheless, encounters of all kinds occur in the so-called cyberspace. Taking into account the inextricability of digital media and sense-making, the present work gives visibility to a specific kind of contact: media texts travelling transculturally on the web and affecting the construction of meanings about social life and the involved interactants. Its purpose is to analyse the multisemiotic construction of Brazilian cultural identity on the contemporary communication landscape. Therefore, this study investigates multimodal textual practices, focusing on 1) text trajectories, i.e., the intertextual chains media texts enter into (Blommaert 2005, 2010); 2) the orders of indexicality orienting the communication process under scrutiny; and, 3) their impact upon the fabrication of cultural identities and alterities. Principles of Post-colonial Critique and Linguistic Anthropology are used to investigate data generated by virtual ethnography (Hine 2000; Wittel 2000) on a Portuguese weblog congregating Brazilian immigrants and Portuguese participants. The analysis shows how interactants engage in an ambivalent movement involving both (re)production and challenge of cultural stereotypes. The path detected indicates that, although colonial discourses are recycled, its transcultural 'journey' promotes textual frictions that inaugurate new post-colonial identity possibilities.

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MC LAUGHLIN, FIONA

University of Florida, United States of America

SENEGALESE DIGITAL REPERTOIRES IN SUPERDIVERSITY

In revisiting the notion of repertoire in sociolinguistics within the current context of superdiversity (Vertovec 2007), Blommaert & Backus (2011) provide a preliminary scale of linguistic competence to account for the varying degrees of linguistic knowledge that go to make up an individual repertoire. The scale ranges from maximum competence at the top end to partial competence, minimal competence, and finally, at the low end, to what Blommaert & Backus call 'recognition' competence. This paper is concerned with how these varying degrees of competence, and especially those at the lower end of the scale, are manifested and deployed in digital writing practices in a Senegalese web portal, Seneweb (www.seneweb.com). As evidenced by a variety of indicators such as advertisements, usernames, local referents, etc., the commentators on Seneweb write primarily from the cities of Senegal, Europe and North America, and thus comprise a diverse international community of urban writers (and readers) whose collective repertoire goes beyond even the kinds of extensive multilingualism that have always existed in Senegal's cities. The linguistic resources used in the discussions, however, are unevenly distributed among writers, so although a French-Wolof continuum predominates there are also many other 'bits of language' (Canut 2008:95) - the byproducts of minimal and recognition competence - that emerge and are deployed, sometimes playfully, as indices of subjectivity and diversity. This paper suggests that a central aspect of superdiversity may in fact be the proliferation of minimal and recognition competence in multiple languages within the individual repertoire, and that the resultant 'bits of language' are a salient characteristic of digital discourse in superdiversity and play a crucial role in constructing complex subjectivities in a multifaceted virtual community. Secondly, by drawing parallels between Blommaert & Backus' recognition competence and a linguistically encoded way of conceptualizing multilingualism in Wolof (i.e.: via the term lakkkat), this paper suggests that superdiversity is only quantitatively and not qualitatively different from diversity of the kind found in urban Africa and elsewhere.

The data used in this study were taken from the heteroglossic commentaries that follow French-language news stories on Seneweb, and were collected over the course of a particularly volatile two-month time period preceding the highly contested presidential elections of February 2012. Most of the discussions are thus political in nature, but the presidential candidacy of popular singer Youssou N'Dour also provoked heated discussions about his perceived deficiency in French and occasioned reflection on Senegalese language practices. These discussions prove to be a rich source of data on language ideology that help shed light on how members of this virtual community imagine their own language practices.

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HEYD. THERESA Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany

RACE AND ETHNICITY IN DIGITAL VERNACULARS: THE CASE OF NIGERIAN PIDGIN

Recent African immigration to the United States is among the key factors to challenge existing patterns and perceptions of race and ethnicity in North America (Kretsedemas 2008; Mederios Kent 2007). Thus the interaction of recent African immigrants both with the established African-American community as well as with other ethnic groups has brought forth new notions and stereotypes of what it means to identify as black in America, and may be taken as an instantiation of emerging superdiversity. A sociolinguistic corollary of this process is the emergence of ethnolinguistic repertoires (Benor 2010) such as Nigerian Pidgin, which function as diasporic, deterritorialized and digital vernaculars far beyond their geographic origin. Digital media play a role not just as a repository, but an actual catalyst for these processes. As Blommaert and Rampton (2011: 3) note, 'migration movements from the 1990s onwards have coincided with the development of the Internet and mobile phones, and these have affected the cultural life of diaspora communities of all kinds.' Since race and ethnicity have to be actively performed and constructed by participants in CMC interactions in order to gain visibility, new forms of superdiversity and their sociolinguistic implications become particularly tangible here. As a consequence, such racialized discourse provides ideal material for a sociolinguistic analysis of CMC. Based on these assumptions, this study focuses on race and ethnicity and their sociolinguistic implications on the web forum nairaland.com, a discussion platform and place of interaction for Nigerian locals, first- and second-generation Nigerian emigrants, as well as participants with other ethnic backgrounds. A corpus based on data from Nairaland, with 17 million tokens and a time span of four years, allows for gualitative and guantitative explorations of racialized online discourse, organized around the following questions:

- How is Nigerian Pidgin employed in the corpus, and how is its use intermeshed with other ethnolinguistic repertoires? How are these repertoires distributed in the data, and how do they correlate with network patterns in the online community of Nairaland? - How do users construct and perform their own racial/ethnic profile and select linguistic resources from the various racial and ethnic stereotypes

that are available to them? To what degree does their self-ascribed ethnic profile correspond or clash with their linguistic choices? The results illustrate how the use and (often conscious) selection of ethnolinguistic repertoires contributes to the complex and varied racial/ethnical identities on display in the forum data. In this sense, this study makes a contribution to our understanding of the sociolinguistic implications of superdiversity, and the essential role that digital mediation plays in its emergence.

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ANDROUTSOPOULOS, JANNIS

University of Hamburg, Germany

MIGRANT MEDIA LITERACIES AND LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES: HOW USEFUL IS A **THREE-GENERATION MODEL?**

Designed as part of the thematic session 'Superdiversity and digital literacy practices', this paper discusses the relation of migrants' linguistic repertoires and media literacies. The term 'media literacies' covers here any productive (listening, watching) and/or receptive (writing, speaking) engagement with 'both' mass and 'new' media, thus ranging from writing emails and skyping to watching television and reading newspapers. Research evidence from a range of disciplines suggests that media literacies play an important role in the life-projects of migrants and postmigrants (so-called second or subsequent generation people), and contribute to sustaining and developing translocal communication networks. I suggest that migrant media literacies are relevant in sociolinguistic terms insofar as they contribute to the make-up of linguistic repertoire, thereby adopting an inclusive notion of repertoire as the sum of linguistic resources that speakers/writers may draw on in their language practices. This paper draws on published and anecdotal evidence from ongoing research in order to sketch out and critically discuss a generational cycle perspective on migrant media literacies and linguistic repertoires. Aligning to the 'three-generation cycle' sometimes used in multilingualism research to model the transition from immigrant to majority language, such perspective would assume that each generation of migrants/postmigrants focuses on particular sites of media literacy, which in turn foster engagement with particular linguistic resources in their repertoire. Thus we could hypothesise that first generation immigrants 'look back' in terms of their media choices, thereby focusing on media from their home country which, in turn, integrate the 'home language' into the immigrant everyday (an example being satellite TV); that second-generation postmigrants seek out media that promote and enable diasporic discourses, such as diasporic publications and online discussion forums, in which various forms of bilingual usage are not only tolerated but legitimised; and that third-generation postmigrants shift to mainstream society media (including new media environments), thereby making selective and strategic use of minority language(s) as 'metroethnic' emblems. This approach would map the transition from migrant language over bilingualism to the majority language at the level of media literacy, thereby emphasizing that media usage is a contributing factor to that transition rather than a mere side-effect.

While examples for such distribution are not hard to come by, available evidence also raises caution against assuming too rigid boundaries among generations, media choices, and associated aspects of linguistic repertoire. A few points will be raised, suggesting that the relation between migrants' media literacies and linguistic repertoires may actually be much more 'messy' than a generational model would suggest: the coexistence and layering of media literacies in terms of space (e.g. the household), availability (on the internet), and actual practice, as well as cross- and transnational media literacies which transcend linguistic boundaries. These notwithstanding, this paper suggests viewing media literacies as practices which actively shape people's linguistic repertoires in superdiversity settings.

HÄKKINEN. ARI JUHANI: LEPPÄNEN. SIRPA University of Jyväskylä, Finland

YOUTUBE MASHUP VIDEOS AS SATIRE AND INTERVENTIONAL POLITICAL CRITIQUE

Social media is widely used for commenting and critiquing the contemporary political developments as well as for taking part in societal debate. In this presentation we shall look at how YouTube mashup videos (collages of various audio, visual, and audio-visual extracts) have been used to deconstruct (Derrida, 1976) politicians' messages and rhetoric. Such videos engage in global YouTube/social media cultures while at the same time they can also be seen as interventional political critique. In that sense the videos are also examples of the super-diversity of social media with its re-configuring, multiple-origin, ethnically, linguistically, and culturally differentiated social landscapes (Leppänen & Häkkinen, forthcoming). In more detail, we shall analyze two video clips and discuss how they comment on and critique the rhetoric of the former and now deceased Libyan dic-

tator Muammar Gaddafi and a well known Finnish populist politician Timo Soini. Coming from very different cultural contexts, both videos employ similar means of translocal digital literacy practices, critical digital intertextuality (Edwards & Tryon, 2009), and DIY mashup aesthetics.

The producers of our example videos have, through bricolage, mashupped hit songs, viral videos, speech extracts, and other music and video snippets to produce humorous videos, which also disarm the politicians of their claims. The videos employ multisemiotic and multimodal means in combining various linguistic and cultural resources resulting in both funny YouTube clips as well as serious political commentary.

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DEUMERT, ANA UCT, South Africa

DISCUSSION

Discussant of Thematic Session 'Superdiversity and digital literacy practices'.

ANDROUTSOPOULOS, JANNIS; JUFFERMANS, KASPER University of Hamburg, Germany

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 188

Relating the Productions of Multilingual Children and Adolescents in their Language

Session Chair 1: Pfaff, Carol Wollman Session Chair 2: Schroeder, Christoph

Session Abstract:

This proposed Thematic Session will focus on empirical results from studies of multilingual children in two (or more) of the language they use in their everyday lives, in speaking (and writing).

The target groups of multilinguals (or plurilingual individuals) at the center of this proposed session are those found in cities, which, as a result of longterm or (initially imagined short-term) immigration brought about through a variety of social causes: work, asylum, international institutions and diplomatic institutions. In addition to the language used at home and in school, the number of languages which have come to be characteristic of plurilingual individuals is increased by foreign language education and by dual language instructional models of various types.

Increasingly researchers have focused on aspects of such multilingual from a number of perspectives, particularly arising from the necessity to come to terms with the range of linguistic variation in the registers of informal and more formal speech and writing used by the multilinguals, which, as pointed out by Grosjean 1989, do not -- and should not be expected to -- conform to the (supposed) norms of monolingual usage.

Such variation, in its own right provides an important window on linguistic universals, as discussed in the papers in Siemund (ed.) 2011. It has been celebrated in range of publications on informal urban sociolects, but is often regarded with dismay by educators who see the necessity to facilitate the acquisition of standard varieties. Nonetheless, the actual state of the art in the description and analysis of the range of variation has not been sufficiently explicated, and the area of the parallels and divergences of the varieties of the several languages used by the same individual has not yet been explored in detail for most of the cases investigated to date. It is our desire to contribute to closing this gap with the contributions of this thematic session. The papers in the session will be drawn from empirical studies of bilingual/monolinguals oral and/or written production in two or more of the languages

in their verbal repertoire.

After an introductory segment giving an overview of the specifics and the cases to be presented, the topics open for presentation and discussion will include the following

methodological considerations for data collection and analysis phonology/orthography morphosyntax lexicon discourse structure literacy educational issues (e.g., mother tongue instruction, separate or coordinated with instruction in the dominant language) Among other issues, we are particularly interested in the nature and extent to which there appears to be cross-language influence and those areas which seem to demonstrate variation determined by universal factors or those related to processing constraints.

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PFAFF, CAROL WOLLMAN

Freie Universitaet Berlin, Germany

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

MEIR, NATALIA; ARMON-LOTEM, SHARON; WALTERS, JOEL Bar-Ilan University, Israel

CROSS-LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN THE ACQUISITION AND USE OF DISCOURSE MARKERS AMONG RUSSIAN-HEBREW PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

The study reports on cross-linguistic variation in the use of three types of discourse markers in the framework of narrative production. In particular, we examined the order of acquisition of Discourse Connectors (DCs), Fluency Markers (FMs) and Pragmatic Markers (PMs) and their linguistic variants. Discourse markers allow entry to three aspects of children's knowledge. DCs reflect temporal sequencing of events and their hierarchical elaboration. FMs show children's abilities to manage communication flow in L1 and L2. And PMs afford insight to intentions and sensitivity to the listener. Fifty-four children ages 4;4-7;0 (mean age 5;7) from Russian speaking homes and Hebrew- speaking preschools participated. All were second generation immigrant sequential bilinguals from cities in central Israel. Six narratives were elicited from each child using picture book stimuli (two familiar narratives 'Little Red Riding Hood' and 'Goldilocks and the Three Bears' and one unfamiliar narrative: 'Cat' (Hickmann 2003) and 'Fox' (Gulzow & Gagarina 2007). Children's narratives were audio-recorded and transcribed using CHILDES (MacWhinney 2000). Findings will be reported for acquisition of DMs and cross-linguistic variation in their use. Sociolinguistic data were collected via parent interviews and included information about parents' education and occupations, motivations for immigration, perceptions of their children's ethnolinguistic identities and likelihood of social integration. Results show that children initially acquire text-structuring DCs, with FMs and PMs appearing later. DCs were produced by all children in both languages. The most frequent DCs used were: i 'and' a 'and/but', a potom 'and then' in Russian and ve 'and' axar-kax 'and then', ve az 'and so' in Hebrew. FMs were used by 85.2% of the children in L1/Russian and by 68.5% in L2/Hebrew, with uh, eta 'this' emerging as most frequent in Russian and uh, um as most frequent in Hebrew. A similar cross-linguistic pattern emerged for PMs (88.9% in L1/Russian and 77.8% in L2/Hebrew) with uzhe 'already' and tozhe 'too' showing the highest frequencies in Russian and kvar 'still' and gam 'also' in Hebrew. Findings for DC acquisition conform with Bloom et al.'s (1980) acquisition pattern for monolingual English-speaking children: Additive < Temporal < Causal < Adversative. In both languages, appropriate use of temporals was documented, but use of causals and adversatives was lower in both L1 and 12

The most salient cross-linguistic differences emerged from an analysis of the density of discourse markers (DM), where density was defined as a percentage of word tokens. DM density was observed to be significantly higher in L1/Russian in comparison with L2/Hebrew for all three types of DMs. This cross-linguistic difference in the density of DMs between L1 and L2 is attributed to production difficulties in L1 (Fiesta et al. 2005) rather than pragmatic shifting in language dominance reported for adult bilingual discourse (Sankoff et al. 1997; Matras 2000; Muller 2005; Buysse 2010).

RIEHL, CLAUDIA MARIA

Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Germany

MULTILINGUAL DISCOURSE COMPETENCE: EXPLORING THE FACTORS OF VARIA-TION

In a growing number of European cities the number of bilingual students outranges the number of monolinguals. Due to mutual traffic from one language to the other variation is not only found in the spoken, but also in the written discourse of bilingual speakers. As a consequence, in multilingual urban settings we meet a greater variety of written text types as in more homogenous monolingual environments. To date, however, it has not been explored in detail what kind of linguistic features are transferred from one language to the other in text production. Furthermore, it has not been sufficiently analyzed either, what role educational issues (coordinated and non-coordinated instruction in both languages, duration of instruction in L1) and other extra-linguistic factors play on text production in L1 and L2.

To investigate the mutual impact of these factors we conducted a study with nine- and ten-graders of different school types in two big cities of Germany, analyzing the multi-competence of speakers who had grown up with Turkish, Italian and Polish as a first and German as a second language. In a variety of different writing tasks in both languages we tested the influence of L1 on L2 and vice versa on various levels of the text. Additionally, we employed interviews and questionnaires in order to detect the social factors that might influence the discourse competence in both languages (e.g. educational background of the parents, language attitude, and reading activities in the respective languages). We also correlated the different educational types (mother tongue instruction and monolingual instruction in the dominant language only) with the outcome of the tests. In this paper we will demonstrate the impact of writing abilities in L1 on L2 and vice versa by explicating different types of cross-linguistic influence: It will be argued that the variation found in written texts of bilingual individuals may not only be influenced by the transfer of linguistic features (syntactic,

semantic etc.) from one language to the other but also by the transfer of discourse strategies. We will illustrate how differences in discourse patterns may be expressed in diverse macro-structures, in the creative use of particular language patterns or in a different communication mode (conceptual oral vs. conceptual written). It will be demonstrated how in modern urban environments the mutual use of two different languages by bilingual individuals leads to a diversity of patterns, to language variation and a creative use of the language, and how this can be correlated with educational and sociolinquistic factors.

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HERKENRATH, ANNETTE

Justus Liebig University Giessen, Germany

RECEPTIVE AND PRODUCTIVE BILINGUALISM: THE EMPLOYENT OF SUBORDINATING MORPHEMES BY TURKISH-GERMAN BILINGUAL CHILDREN

This paper studies the employment subordinative devices involved in the realisation of complement clauses, some of whose communicative functions have been described in connection with a discussion concerning 'matrix constructions' (e.g. Rehbein 2007). The complementisers under investigation are deictic elements such as dass 'that' in German and nominalising morphological devices such as the factive nominalisers -DIK and -(y)AcAK and the actional nominaliser -mA in Turkish, all of which are combined with further suffixes (marking phoric relationships, deictic reference, and case relations). The data, a corpus of over 200,000 transcribed utterances, or over 750,000 words, are longitudinally elicited narratives and other conversations involving Turkish-German bilingual children and their families. The informants live in a big city and attend monolingual German schools with at most little mother tongue support through the school system.

In a quantitative perspective, searches of the corpus have shown that the employment of the said complementisers in Turkish tends to stagnate after school start, while their use continues to develop in German. In some children, the use of individual devices, such as -DIK, has been shown to become restricted to a receptive one, with adult family members' frequency of use remaining similar to the monolingual situation in Turkey (Herkenrath 2012). The present study aims at comparing several children from the corpus that developmentally differ in their employment of the said constructions and it takes a closer gualitative look at the communicative contexts in which they can be shown to either receptively understand or productively use them.

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MEHLEM, ULRICH (1); SIMSEK, YAZGÜL (2); SCHROEDER, CHRISTOPH (2) 1: University of Frankfurt, Germany; 2: University of Potsdam, Germany

BILINGUAL RESOURCES AND SCHOOL CONTEXT: CASE STUDIES FROM GERMANY AND TURKEY

In our talk we will present some results of our recently conducted research project investigating 'literacy acquisition in schools in Germany and Turkey, in the context of migration and multilingualism' (LAS-Project, cf. http://www.uni-potsdam.de/daf/projekte/las.html).

The primary objective of our presentation will be to explore bilingual strategies and cross-linguistic influences in oral and written text products of Turkish-German bilingual students in Germany and Turkish-Kurdish bilinguals in Turkey (1st and 7th graders, we concentrate on the 7th graders). The texts were collected as part of a test in which the students watched a short film with several scenes of conflicts at school. They then were asked to choose one of the scenes and to tell a personal story about it. This narrative was written down in the second part of the session. About a month later, the students were presented the same material, but this time they were invited to use their first language. Turkish and Kurdish, respectively.

Based on different approaches to biliteracy (Hornberger et al. 2003, Maas 2008, 2010) and crosslinguistic text-production in different modes (Berman & Verhoeven 2002. Ravid et al. 2002) the texts were analysed under different perspectives: transformations occurring at the orate-literate continuum (differences of register), narrative structure, typological influences of the dominant school language in terms of morphology, syntax and orthography. The presentation will reconstruct case studies of different pupils that are characterised by a range of different variables indicating a stronger tendency towards one or the other end of the different continua. On one hand, the cross-linguistic influence involves almost all linguistic areas, revealing multiple strategies of the children to cope with their two languages in order to fulfil a given writing task and to convey information in spoken discourse. On the other side, the students position themselves on an orate-literate continuum, crosscutting the mere difference of speech and writing. We will exemplify these different strategies in some linguistic areas, which seem to demonstrate the most salient variations being determined, amongst others, by language typological factors.

With our approach, we hope to be giving an extensive view on the bilinguals' language resources and to bridge the gap between more formal and more culture embedded approaches to literacy acquisition.

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AKINCI. MEHMET-ALI Dynamique du Langage (CNRS - Université Lyon 2), France

SYNTACTIC COMPLEXITY IN ORAL AND WRITTEN TEXTS IN FRENCH AND TURKISH **OF BILINGUAL CHILDREN AND TEENAGERS IN FRANCE**

This presentation aims to characterize the developmental profile of syntactic complexity in oral and written texts in French and Turkish of bilingual children and teenagers in France. Connectives are analysed as indicators of syntactic complexity. In a linear sequence of oral and written texts, connectives contribute to its structure by marking semantic relations between clauses or sequences (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). From a cognitive viewpoint, it is necessary for a speaker or a writer to analyze beforehand the event as an association of two or several components and to perceive that two situations can be built as belonging to only one event (Fayol, 1997). That is why acquiring competences to combine clauses in order to produce oral texts and coherent writings is a sign of development which extends well beyond childhood (Jisa, 1987, Verhoeven et al. 2002). The present study is part of a larger crosslinguistic study of bilingual language development of older children and adolescents in France and Germany. The method employed adapts that used by Berman & Verhoeven (2002) to be appropriate to the investigation of multilingual competencies. Our corpus consists of data from bilinguals in four age-groups: 5th (grade school), 7th (secondary school) and 10th and 12th grades (high school). In each agegroup, at least 20 subjects were asked to produce in their both languages (Turkish and French) two types of text (personal narration and expository) in two modalities (spoken and written). In this paper, we focus on types of semantic link (temporal, additive, causal and adversative), the form and whether the form is used as a syntactic connector or text organizer in order to answer the following questions:

- 1. Is there any developmental observation of syntactic complexity by the bilingual children and teenagers with age?
- 2. Which are the values of the conjunctions which express semantic relations?
- 3. Is there any difference between both languages (Turkish vs French)?

4. Does syntactic complexity differ according to type (narrative and expository texts) and modality (oral and written) of text? Comparison of narratives vs expository texts show more causal connectives in expository texts and more adversative ones in written texts of high school children. As for text modality comparison (written vs oral texts), on the one hand, specific connectives are used in both modalities and both languages (i.e. Turkish: vani 'that is to say; French: parce que/car 'because'), and on the other hand, oral texts contain more temporal connectives while in written texts there are more additive forms. Compared to older bilingual children and teenagers (high school students), young ones (primary and secondary pupils) appear to be delayed in using the full range of devices available in Turkish (weak language) and not in their French.

YILMAZ, SEDA

University of Potsdam, Germany

LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF MULTILINGUALS WITH MIGRATION BACKGROUND

This proposed paper investigates the mutual influence of the knowledge of Turkish (L1), German (L2) and English (L3) of multilingual adolescents with Turkish migration background on their realization of complex sentences structures. The corpus consists of data from the longitudinal study (LLDM - Free University of Berlin/ MULTILIT - University of Potsdam & Free University of Berlin) of bilinguals in 10th and 12th grade (secondary school) in Berlin, Germany. The focus of this sociolinguistic paper is on the qualitative and quantitative analysis of trilingual students' oral and written text productions in narrative and expository contexts in L1, L2 and L3, in each language produced in their monolingual modes, addressing the following questions: -Which grammatical and pragmatic aspects of complex structures reveal language

- contact phenomena?
- -How does a prolonged exposure and the use of second language affect the first language? -What are the parallels and differences between languages of the same individual?

-What are the patterns of linguistic development in this longitudinal study? First results show that at each grade level most participants use complex sentences of all types in all languages examined. The most frequently used Turkish connectors are those which are parallel to those used in German; these are the forms used during the classes in both languages in the bilingual program. Turkish develops with noticeable parallels to German constructions and with more parallels to spoken usage. With respect to the complex structures, I observe no nonstandard forms and no nonstandard placement of verbs in German, Turkish or English. Cross-linguistic transfer is apparent in orthography and in order of adverbials, as will be exemplified in my presentation. Similar patterns of development are found in Turkish and German. English is affected by Turkish semantics.

There are many explicit signs of linguistic insecurity like self-corrections in all of the languages. Also, because of syntactic and semantic complexity of attributive participle form in Turkish, the pupils seemed to be more uncertain in their usage. Certain strikingly divergent constructions are less frequent in bilinguals' usage: preposed participial constructions in Turkish; postposed relative clause constructions in German. In general, no L1 attrition can be observed, in fact the participants are acquiring aspects of the academic registers of their other languages.

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WOERFEL, TILL LMU München, Germany

SEMANTIC CHANGE AND VARIATION IN THE CONTEXT OF EARLY SECOND LAN-GUAGE ACQUISITION AND THEIR SOCIOLINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS.

The paper presents semantic change and variation in the context of early second language acquisition, where the languages involved can be distinguished as either a satellite-framed (sf) or verb-framed (vf) language (cf. Talmy 2008) in the domain of motion encoding.

This study investigates whether distinctive preferences of mapping semantic units (MANNER, PATH) into lexical items are found in the speech of early consecutive bilinguals who acquired Turkish (vf) as L1 and German (sf) as cL2. I aim to show the role of cross-linguistic influences (transfer, innovation, semantic change, syntactic variation) and the occurrence of any intratypological change as well as how this can be related with sociolinguistic variables in the language contact situation.

The data analyzed consists of oral narrations by third generation early consecutive bilinguals as well as German and Turkish monolinguals. The oral narrations were elicited by showing an animated cartoon in Turkish and German to the subjects. The coded data was analyzed with regard to verb conflation, syntactic packaging and semantic complexity. Information about speaker's initial contact with the L2, language use, choice and preferences, cultural and literal practices of L1 and L2 were gathered through questionnaires and included as sociolinguistic effects on the language development and variation of German and Turkish in Germany.

Preliminary results show that the basic typological structures have been mastered in both languages (path encoding in the main verb in L1 Turkish and in satellites in L2 German). However, linguistic variation is found in the usage of path, manner and neutral verbs and certain syntactic constructions in L1 and L2. The preference for path or neutral verbs, subordinations and less semantic complexity in German texts can be determined by specific typological constraints (cf. Goschler et al. 2010), which have an impact on the L1. Turkish texts of German-Turkish bilinguals provide certain constructions and uses of manner verbs that are less frequent in the speech of monolinguals. Qualitative sociolinguistic results tend to show correlations between linguistic preferences and specific language practices in the Turkish and the German of the multilinguals. In some cases this might be a result of the Turkish Diaspora and the linguistic input in Germany, in other cases a result of the role of German as an educational and surrounding language.

If the ongoing analysis supports the expectations raised by the preliminary results, this study will provide new insights about the influence of the typological background on (early) second language acquisition. Multilinguals demonstrate a broader scope of typologically specific structures reflected in the semantic change of motion verbs and in syntactic variation.

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HAYASI, TOORU (1); PFAFF, CAROL W. (2); DOLLNICK, MERAL (3) 1: Tokyo University, Japan; 2: Freie Universität Berlin; 3: Potsdam University

CONTINUITY AND CONTACT-INDUCED-CHANGE IN VARIETIES OF TURKISH IN BER-LIN TURKISH: GRAMMATICAL JUDGMENTS AND PRODUCTION OF DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS OF TURKISH/GERMAN BILINGUALS

The demonstrative is one of the universal categories, though it varies considerably in the usage as well as in the form (Anderson and Keenan 1985, and Dixon 2003). It may thus be expected to be a criterion for similarity and difference between linguistic varieties.

In this paper we compare the results of two studies of the same bilingual population, Turkish/German bilingual pupils at a Gymnasium in Berlin. Pfaff 2009 reports on the investigation of parallel oral and written production in Turkish and German, comparing these results with Turkish monolinguals in Denizli and Istanbul which has continued as the MULTILIT Project (Schroeder, Akıncı, Pfaff) now encompassing data from children and adolescents aged 9-20. Hayasi 2010 reports on the judgments of appropriateness of a choice of Turkish demonstrative pronouns (bu, şu, o and their morphologically derived forms) by bilinguals in Berlin and monolinguals in Istanbul. The data is from a questionnaire survey of 32 pupils between the ages from 15 to 18 in Berlin and 59 pupils from 14 to 17 in Istanbul.

In this paper we analyze the bilinguals' and monolinguals' production of demonstratives in both German and Turkish, focusing on the parallelism (or not) of usage in the bilinguals' their two languages, and compare the findings for Turkish with the patterns of appropriateness judgments of bilinguals and monolinguals.

We find differences in bilingual and monolingual production with respect to their choice of the three sets of demonstratives (bu-, su- and o-) but close similarity in their judgment about which set of demonstratives is pragmatically most suitable.

The comparison of the two data sets suggests that Berlin pupils are developing innovative usages of demonstratives, by using linguistic resources available to them, and yet they maintain the same grammatical and pragmatic knowledge as that of monolingual pupils of Istanbul.

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DISCUSSION/CLOSING

Final Discussion

Thematic Session 191

Language variation, identity and urban Space. New theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of language practices and identity in contemporary urban spaces

Session Chair 1: Ceuleers, Evy Session Chair 2: Marzo, Stefania

Session Abstract:

Many urban regions have demographically, socioculturally and ethnically changed into multicultural environments, which has led to the emergence and use of multilingual speech styles and codes, particularly among young speakers (Bucholtz & Skapoulli 2009; Lamarre 2005; Nortier 2009; Rampton 1995). Three types of research can be distinguished: variationist studies (Eckert 2000; Cheshire *et al.* 2011), vocabulary or 'slang' studies and interactional or ethnographic research (Eckert 1995, De Fina 2010). The first two types mostly aim at investigating youth language in terms of social stratification, whereas the third takes on a 'stylization'-perspective. In this panel, we would like to explore how a combination of different research perspectives and methods can contribute to gaining more insight into how stylization practices are systematically linked to macrolevel language variation. By describing stylization practices, the indexical value of a certain identity in a specific interactional context, is revealed (e.g. Jaspers 2006). Similarly, it has been shown that, through processes of enregisterment (Johnstone 2006), certain clusters of practices may become indexical of a new identity, linked to a specific local context (see also Marzo & Ceuleers 2011). This process of enregisterment has been reported in different urban contexts. What the actual underlying mechanisms are remains an important question, currently at the centre of the sociolinguistic debate.

bring together researchers and experts in the field of interactional and variational sociolinguistics in order to discuss various innovative methodological approaches and pending issues in research on language variation and identity in contemporary urban spaces;
 examine the potential of multimethodological approaches in order to systematically uncover the mechanisms underlying the process of enregisterment.

Discussion questions:

(1) What are the most recent developments in research on stylization practices among adolescents in multilingual urban contexts?(2) What are the most recent developments in research on language variation, resulting from increased and prolonged contact between different languages and codes in modern urban spaces?

(3) Can we observe potential convergences in these two research areas?

(4) Which social and linguistic theories can shed light on the question why and how certain linguistics practices are relinked to a new localized iden-

tity and delinked from their original social and/or ethnic connotation?

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CEULEERS, EVY (1): MARZO, STEFANIA (2) 1: University College Ghent / Ghent University, Belgium; 2: University of Leuven, Belgium

CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY AND PERCEIVING ETHNICITY IN CITÉTAAL: A MULTIMETHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Many urban regions have demographically, socioculturally and ethnically changed into multicultural environments which has led to the emergence and use of multilingual speech styles and codes, particularly among young speakers (Bucholtz & Skapoulli 2009; Cheshire et al. 2011; Nortier 2009; Rampton 1995)

Citétaal is a label that is used to refer to a variety of Dutch spoken by (local and multiethnic) youngster in the Eastern part of Flanders (Limburg). It is a melting pot language, based on Dutch but with a high amount of code mixture from immigrant languages, mostly Italian, Turkish and Moroccan. In a previous study (Marzo - Ceuleers 2011) we have demonstrated that Citétaal seems to be spreading among speakers in Limburg and that it is shifting from marking ethnicity to indexing a new, localized identity: a sense of belonging to and identifying with the local neighbourhoods or cités were these youngsters live and hang around. Moreover, our data suggests that the emergence of this new identity seems to be related to the mechanism of enregisterment (Johnstone et al. 2006).

In the present paper, we will focus on the perception of the Citétaal variety by people (youngsters and adults). By means of different techniques (a.o. matched guise, an adapted matched guise technique and focus groups) we aim at understanding (a) how the Citétaal variety (in terms of the Citétaal accent) is perceived, by people living both in Limburg as well as in other Belgian provinces and (b) to which extent youngsters and people link the Citétaal accent to a certain locality, viz. the cité or neighbourhood.

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SNELL, JULIA

King's College London, United Kingdom

MIXED METHODS FOR MULTIPLE MEANINGS: UNDERSTANDING LANGUAGE VARIA-TION IN URBAN NORTH-EAST ENGLAND AND BEYOND

Within the UK, a growing body of sociolinguistic research has focused on the language practices of adolescents in multicultural London (e.g. Rampton 2006, 2011; Cheshire et al. 2011). In this paper, I move away from the capital and into the urban conurbation of Teesside in the north-east of England, one of the least ethnically diverse regions of the country. Where do young speakers in this area stand in relation to recent developments in research on stylization practices among adolescents in multicultural contexts (e.g. Rampton 1995, 2006; Jaspers 2006)? I consider this guestion through analyses of radio-microphone recordings of children in two schools which are ethnically homogeneous (predominantly white European heritage), but which are differentiated according to the socioeconomic profile of the areas they serve.

I argue that some local dialect forms (such as 'howay') have become 'enregistered' (Agha 2003; Johnstone et. al. 2006) as indexes of north-east identity, especially white working-class male identity, but in local contexts of use, speakers (regardless of class or gender) exploit the much wider potential these forms have for social meaning-making (Snell 2010). This is because indexical forms can both evoke pre-existing identities and construct new identities, and they always potentially do both (Johnstone 2011: 31; Eckert 2008); in fact the common sociolinguistic finding that the same linguistic features can simultaneously index multiple social categories (such as region, class and gender) suggests that their meanings are not directly related to these categories at all but to the social values, acts and stances implicated in the construction of these categories (Eckert 2008: 455: Ochs 1992). I thus argue that understanding processes of indexicalisation and enregisterment in contemporary urban contexts (whether ethnically homogeneous or ethnically diverse) is best done through a combination of methods: (1) variationist analyses of the distribution of forms across speakers, which reveal communitywide patterns; and (2) ethnographically informed interactional analyses, which reveal the processes through which linguistic forms become tuned to the exigencies of the local social order.

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SHARMA, DEVYANI

Queen Mary, University of London, United Kingdom

CHANGE IN INDEXICAL MEANING IN URBAN MINORITY COMMUNITIES

A number of recent studies (e.g. in Canada, Britain, Sweden, Norway) have described the indexing of ethnic/multiethnic identity in urban minority communities. Johnstone (2011), however, warns against a narrow focus on the indexing of ethnicity alone by heritage traits, noting the emergence of local, often classed, meanings for originally ethnic forms. Using a dataset of 75 individuals from multiple generations of Punjabi Londoners, the present paper asks: (i) How do indexical meanings shift over time in such communities? (ii) Why do we often see systematic shifts between ethnicity and class? The analysis examines three generations — Gen 1, older Gen 2, and younger Gen 2. To describe the indexical potential for variants, I present a model/ map of sociolinguistic reference points shared by the community. The model relies on a classic triangular representation of class-based hierarchy in British dialect variation (Ward 1929, in Trudgill 2002), with Standard English at the apex and regional vernaculars at the base. I model contact in the Punjabi London community as a meeting of two such ideological triangles. Not only does the familiar British case consist of an 'up-down' class binary (cf. Rampton 2006); the Indian English triangle also incorporates an emerging standard-vernacular/L2 opposition. In addition to this 'up-down' dimension within triangles, the relationship between the triangles represents a horizontal 'we-they' dimension (Gumperz 1982), namely differentiation by ethnic group. To populate this model. Lanalyse discourse variation across generational groups and illustrate distinctive indexical meanings for the same form. First, I show instances where Gen 1 individuals appear to associate British glottaling with an indexical field that comprises formality/objectivity/Britishness, and Indian variants such as retroflex obstruents with an indexical field that includes informality/subjectivity/Indianness. Crucially, this indicates repeated orientation by the Gen 1 group to the 'we-they' (ethnic) dimension and little orientation to the 'up-down' (class) dimension. Ironically, this can lead to increased use of glottaling in formal situations by Gen 1 speakers, to heighten their Britishness. Next, I offer examples of older and younger Gen 2 orienting primarily and finely to the British 'up-down' (class) dimension, such that originally ethnic indexes become additionally inscribed with class values. The migration stage of an individual can thus position them differently in a shared sociolinguistic 'map'. A shift from 'we-they' to 'up-down' orientation is partial in the present data, and possibly further along for Multiethnic London English (MLE; Cheshire et al. 2011), a variety comprised of originally ethnically-marked inputs but increasingly associated with young working-class London identity. Given sufficient time, 'outsider/ethnic' variants can become fully indigenized markers of local class-linked identity (e.g. Pittsburghese; Johnstone 2011).

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TORGERSEN, EIVIND (1); FOX, SUE (2)

1: Soer-Troendelag University College, Norway; 2: Queen Mary University of London, United Kingdom

SHIFTING IDENTITIES: A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS IN MODERN URBAN SETTINGS

Recent work on London English suggests that both language and dialect contact have played an important role in the emergence of innovations found in inner citv areas (Cheshire et al. 2008). These innovations are shared by speakers of different ethnic backgrounds and are brought about, we assume, by young people as they interact with immigrant and non-immigrant friends. The term 'Multicultural London English' (MLE) is used to refer to the overall range of distinctive language features used in multiethnic areas of London. However, the degree of use of MLE features has only been analysed between groups of speakers and we have yet to fully develop an understanding of how individual speakers fit into this scenario. In contemporary urban societies such as London, which have been subject to the impact of migration. individuals often have to negotiate a range of identities as they position themselves among their peers and family members. Many young people in this situation construct dynamic identities that often straddle cultural, linguistic and national boundaries (Bucholtz and Skapoulli 2009). In addition, we have no information yet on how individual speakers use MLE features as they become older, as they move from childhood into adolescence. Here we report on data collected from a Nigerian family, a mother, daughter and younger twins (a boy and a girl). Recordings were made of the children at school and then at home with their mother in 2008, when the daughter was 11 years old and the twins were 8 years old, and again three years later in 2011. We have examined a number features such as H-hypercorrection, glottalised /t/, yowel variants and pragmatic markers. Based on a synthesis of our findings we suggest that boys adopt MLE features at an earlier age than girls and use them within a repertoire of styles which lay claim to multiple identities.

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SPIEKER, JESSICA York University, Canada

VARIATION AND PLACE-LINKED IDENTITY IN CANADIAN HIP HOP

In recent years, hip hop has become a burgeoning field of inquiry for linguists, and a fruitful ground in which to investigate youth language and linguistic performances of identity, especially place-linked identity (O'Hanlon 2006). Drawing upon the recorded lyrics of 15 anglophone hip hop artists from cities across Canada, my research on performances of identity in Canadian hip hop investigates how artists perform Canadian and/or non-Canadian-sounding identities by analyzing rates of two linguistic variables in their recorded lyrics: indexing a Canadian identity is the presence of diphthong raising, more

commonly known as Canadian Raising (Chambers 2006), while indexing a non-Canadian identity is the presence of r-lessness (Labov 1971), the deletion of r in syllable-final position. My findings indicate that Canadian hip hop artists range from sounding extremely Canadian to sounding very non-Canadian, with most artists falling between those two poles and performing a hybrid identity, drawing upon Canadian-sounding and non-Canadian-sounding linguistic forms simultaneously. In addition, because Canada's major urban centers are so highly multicultural and multilingual, it is not surprising that code-switching, especially into French but also into artists' heritage language(s), is employed, although often to a limited extent.

Because these linguistic forms are produced within the context of hip hop, and because being perceived as authentic (or 'keepin' it real', in part accomplished through demonstration of loyalty to one's roots) is of utmost importance in hip hop culture (Basu & Lemelle 2006), it is interesting that shared city-specific localized identities performed through the deployment of enregistered dialects have not emerged in Canadian hip hop. Although Canadian artists obviously value and draw upon a well-known and widely-recognized Canadian-sounding dialect, the lack of city-specific cluster of linguistic forms used by these artists is likely due to the lack of any city in Canada having its own enregistered dialect. Hip hop artists must therefore draw upon other resources to perform a more city-specific identity. I argue that localized identities are instead performed through the mention of place names, especially city names and street names.

Beyond offering insight into how Canadian hip hop artists perform place-linked identities, my work also offers insight into the process of de-linking certain linguistic practices from their original ethnic connotations. For example, White Canadian hip hop artists import into their linguistic performances many non-Canadian dialect features which could be drawn from many African-related dialects of English. Since it is clear that these White artists aren't trying to sound 'Black', we can conclude that these features now simply index a new, more generalized and de-ethnicized 'pan-hip hop' identity.

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AARSÆTHER, FINN (1); NISTOV, INGVILD (2)

1: Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Norway; 2: University of Bergen, Norway

SOCIAL MEANINGS OF MULTIETHNIC SPEECH STYLE AMONG ADOLESCENTS IN OSLO – AN INTERFACE OF ETHNICITY, CLASS AND PLACE ?

Oslo has increasingly become a multilingual city during the last 40 years, and today around 27 percent of the population have immigrant background. This paper draws on data from the UPUS-project (http://www.hf.uio.no/iln/forskning/prosjekter/upus/) which studied linguistic practices among adolescents in multilingual environments in the city. The participants in the study are all born and raised in Oslo, and include adolescents with and without immigrant family background. Our findings stem from two different areas of Oslo – one inner city area and one suburban, both with a high proportion of immigrant population. The inner city area is part of Oslo's 'East End', traditionally associated with working class population. The suburban area is a community established in the 1980s, providing housing estates attractive to immigrants.

Previous analyses provide evidence that there in Oslo, as in many other European cities, seems to have developed a multiethnic speech style among adolescents (Svendsen & Røyneland 2008, Aarsæther 2010, Opsahl & Nistov 2010). We have found Eckert's concept of indexical field (Eckert 2008) useful for analyzing the complexity of intertwining stances and social meanings indexed by this speech style, and an emerging blend of ethnicitiy and social class has been discussed (Aarsæther and Nistov 2011).

This paper aims at exploring the role of place in the indexical field, that is, both in terms of multiethnic speech style indexing identities as 'east enders' in the inner city and a strong local affinity to the neighbourhood in the suburb. In both cases the question of resemioticization (Johnstone 2010) and relinking to a new localized identity delinked from its social class or ethnic minority connotations (Marzo and Ceuleers 2011) will be discussed. Our study has an ethnographic approach and the paper will also address methodological issues related to the emic /etic dimension.

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LEHTONEN, HEINI TAINA TUULIA

University of Helsinki, Finland

GRASPING SOCIOLINGUISTIC STYLES OF MULTIETHNIC URBAN YOUTH: STANCE AND MULTILINGUAL RESOURCES IN INTERACTION

This paper will explore sociolinguistic styles in interactions among adolescents in multiethnic areas in Helsinki. In recent years, multiethnic youth language has been studied both from grammatical and variationist-dialectal point of view as well as socio-stylistically (Quist 2008; Kern & Selting 2011). I wish to discuss the concept of linguistic style (Auer 2007) as social practice; I treat linguistic style not as a lect (Eckert 2005) but as an inseparable part of social practice through which social reality is negotiated and reformed. I will show ways in which linguistic resources are employed for stylistic practices, and discuss how linguistic styles emerge in a community of practice.

My work falls in the fields of interactional sociolinguistics and linguistic ethnography (Rampton 2006). The data were gathered in 2006 – 2009 in two junior high schools and they consist of field diary, recorded interviews with 38 adolescents, and several audio and video recordings of different situations, as well as retrospective interviews. The adolescents are 13 – 18 years old and they speak 16 different mother tongues. I will approach linguistic style by analysing (socio)linguistic resources of stance-taking (Jaffe 2009) in narrative practices (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2008), such as constructing a small story of a sensational event in the participants' recent personal history. Analysis of different speakers engaging in comparable actions, i.e. similar narration, will show stylistic variation between speakers. I will explore the process through which specific linguistic resources become associated with local ethnic and social categorisations (Agha 2007) and the ways in which these associations are employed and negotiated in interaction (Rampton 1995; 2006). For instance, the lexical resource wallahi 'I swear by Allah' (cf. Opsahl 2009) is routinely used by some speakers as a stance-taking device with epistemic and performative nature, but it is also used in voicing and stylisation as a contextualisation cue. By expressing stance towards the apparent categorisations, the speakers may position themselves and others in relation to social, linguistic and ethnic boundaries.

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KULKARNI-JOSHI, SONAL ATUL

Deccan College (Deemed University), Pune, India

NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES: MIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN AN EMERGING METROPOLIS

Indian studies of bilingualism have been influenced by two important hypotheses developed in the 1970s: while language shift seemed to be the norm among western second language speakers, language maintenance was the norm and shift the exception among Indian second language speaking communities (Pandit 1972). Further, the tendency to maintain the home language in the family domain was linked to the (migrant) community's need for maintaining its distinct religious identity/ethnic separateness (Gumperz and Wilson 1971). The present paper revisits these hypotheses in the context of contemporary urban Indian settings where the peripheries of the cities grow as economic prospects draw other-language speakers from diverse parts of the country into their workforce. While the city periphery becomes increasingly multilingual and multi-cultural, the city core largely remains the preserve of the local language and the local culture. This paper reports findings from a study which combines variationist methods with ethnography to examine the indexical meanings of Hindi, English, standard Marathi, dialects of Marathi and mixed codes in the language practices of the local and migrant communities, in folk perceptions of 'insider' and 'outsider', and in negotiating layered identities among migrant communities in the city.

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COMANARU, RUXANDRA-SILVIA Birkbeck, University of London, United Kingdom

BRUSSELS VERSUS THE 'REST OF BELGIUM': IDENTITY, LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES

Language plays an important role in understanding cultural and linguistic contact, since it is through language that people communicate and construct social interactions and identities (see e.g. Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Wei, Dewaele & Housen, 2002). Brussels has always been considered to be at the heart of Europe, but public discourse in Belgium often attempts to emphasise both the linguistic and identity differences between Brussels and the 'rest of Belgium'(de Schutter, 2011). The present study was designed to investigate whether these differences are actually so acute. Data were collected using online surveys and the participants had the option of filling out the French or the Dutch version of the survey. The sample consisted of both French and Dutch speakers, living in Brussels or outside of Brussels. The data obtained from these surveys were analysed statistically. The results indicate that the main differences observed were recorded on the participants' proficiency and frequency of use of various languages, and their levels of anxiety and confidence in using a foreign language. With regards to their feeling of identification with Belgium, Europe or the EU, no differences were observed. Their levels of general and civic European identity (Bruter, 2005) were comparable. The BIOS instrument (Comanaru & Noels, in preparation) was developed to better understand how bicultural people deal with their two identities and was adapted for the purposes of this study to investigate the relation between regional, national and European identities in Belgium. The results revealed slight differences between the two groups. This study suggests that although there are linguistic differences between the people of Brussels and the 'rest of Belgium', their allegiance to their country and Europe is homologous.

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GUZZO, SIRIA

University of Salerno, Italy

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY WITHIN TWO COMMUNITIES OF ITALIANS IN THE UK: THE CASE OF 3RD GENERATION ITALIANS IN BEDFORD AND PETERBOROUGH

The town of Bedford in the East of England is home to the largest Italian community in the UK that began to arrive in town in the early 1950s to seek employment in the local brick industries which were in desperate need of labour. Among other related communities in the UK, Peterborough is home to a significant group of Italian descents too.

Earlier results collected by means of a questionnaire survey, informal interviews with adolescents and audio recordings across three generations of Italian descents concentrate on the Bedford Community (Guzzo 2005, 2007, 2010) revealing quite a significant use of Italian, an extremely strong ethnic identity perception, a strategic use of both Italian and English in the workplace context according to the interlocutor within the Bedford composite hybrid community of speakers.

Through natural occurring data collection, aiming at mapping and investigating the different sociolinguistic situations of all the Italian communities in the UK, I question whether other communities, such as the one in Peterborough, could reveal interesting patterns, similar or different compared to the Bedford findings. More specifically, 3rd generation adolescents who show phonological realisations, especially among the males, highly untypical of the area (Guzzo 2007) and lead the change within the Bedford Italian Community represent an attractive starting point to observe potential convergences/ divergences in these two Anglo-Italian communities.

KERSWILL, PAUL EDWARD University of York, United Kingdom

DISCUSSION

Discussant of Thematic Session 'Language variation, identity and urban space'.

Thematic Session 192

Margins vs Megapoles: Globalization and sociolinguistic transformation in small places

Session Chair 1: Kroon, Siaak Session Chair 2: Xu, Daming

Session Abstract

Ongoing globalization processes are turning the world into a far more diverse place than it has ever been. Apart from people and goods, also languages and cultures cross borders, thereby shaping new superdiverse sociolinguistic environments in which new discursive genres and patterns, along with new practices and identities, can be developed. In doing so people use features of old and new languages in processes that can be typified as polylingual languaging, i.e. they create meaning by using simultaneously the different language varieties and linguistic features they have at their disposal. These processes do not only happen in situations where real people engage in real conversations in the real world, but also in the virtual social environment of the Internet that has no limits in terms of time and space.

Hitherto linguistic superdiversity - including topics like the spread of (new varieties of) English all over the world, linguistic landscapes, code-switching and code-mixing, the emergence of new varieties, language contact phenomena, language maintenance and loss processes, language in popular culture, hip hop music, computer games - has mainly been studies in urban environments, because that's where the people are and therefore where the action is. Globalization processes and linguistic superdiversity, however, are not exclusively affecting the big cities. On the contrary, also in small places, literally at the margins, far away from the vibrant global centers, the sociolinguistic consequences of globalization can be found.

The concept of margins is meant to refer to different sociolinguistic realities at the same time. It includes the geographic margins of the world (such as far away islands or territories), the margins of nation states (such as dialect or minority language areas), the margins of megapoles (such as the townships in South Africa), and the margins of the internet (such as 'underground' websites). These margins are by no means only isolated, stable, authentic places. They are deeply connected to the rest of the world on a daily basis. They are affected by migration processes through outward migration heading to the city and inward migration related to eco-tourism, NGO-activities, war and other global phenomena that have an in-depth influence on the margins' linguistic and cultural landscapes.

The sociolinguistics of globalization should therefore not exclusively focus on urban contexts, but should also include the sociolinguistics of small places and the connections between margins and megapoles. Therefore, this symposium - as a counter point of SS19's main urban focus - invites contributions from researchers in the sociolinguistics of globalization who focus on languages and their users in the margins all over the world.

Questions for discussion:

- What are methodological specifics of a sociolinguistics of globalization in small places?
- What are the roles of real and virtual mobility of people and languages in the sociolinguistic transformation of small places?
 - Who are brokers, participants, winners, losers in the globalization and sociolinguistic transformation of small places?
 - language education, language policy etc. in small places in the context of globalization?

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WANG, XUAN

Tilburg University, The Netherlands

DESIGNING TUJIA: ETHNICITY, HERITAGE TOURISM AND AUTHENTICITY IN CHINA

This paper presents a case of 'the invention of tradition' from the margins of the globalization processes in China. It focuses on Enshi, an officially established autonomous minority prefecture that is populated predominantly by the ethnic minority group known as Tujia, and a place that is undergoing rapid transformations from a 'backward' area to an upcoming destination of heritage tourism during China's economic reform and modernization. In order to satisfy the tourist-consumerist quest for an authentic cultural experience, the local authorities and institutions of Enshi engage themselves in a series of highly rationalized efforts of cultural semiotics (re)invention (e.g. ethnic dance, cultural artefacts, city layout). With particular attention to the discourse and metadiscourse of designing a unique set of 'authentic' Tujia outfit that can serve as both a tourism brand and an ethnic emblem, this paper interrogates the meanings of authenticity in such acts of invention, and whether or how these inventions can be understood without being simply reduced to 'staged authenticity' and faked identities driven by the economic changes. These questions probe into not only how authenticity is constructed in terms of the new economy of tourism, but more importantly, in relation to the state politics of ethnicity and multiculturalism, since the product for tourist consumption - the 'realness' of Tujia in the case of Enshi - has to be produced from within the system of why and how the ethnic minorities should make themselves recognizable as authentic in the first place. This perspective calls for a historical understanding of the asymmetrical mismatch between what Tujia means locally and how it is imagined and constructed differently in the process of nation-state building. The paper argues that the explicit exploitation of symbolic semiotic resources in Enshi for projecting a particular kind of authenticity of ethnicity underscores a bottom-up initiative of 'awakening ethnic consciousness' and asserting a minority self-identity as much as its heightened anxiety of identity status in the eyes of the state.

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XU. DAMING

China Center for Linguistic and Strategic Studies, Nanjing University, People's Republic of China

DIALECT ENDANGERMENT AS AN ISSUE: A STUDY OF LEXICAL RETENTION RATES AMONG THREE GENERATIONS OF DONGPING SPEAKERS

Along with the issue of language endangerment, an issue is also raised about the endangerment of Chinese dialects. The issue assumes importance in view of the fact that at least half a billion people in China are active speakers of those dialects. To examine the issue, we conducted an investigation into the speech community of Daimiao, which is a rural town with 36,000 residents located in the Dongping County of Shandong Province, where the Dongping dialect is predominantly spoken.

The investigation includes a questionnaire survey on language use and language attitudes and a study of lexical retention rates of dialectal expressions. The questionnaire survey was conducted among 200 middle school students and the lexical study involves 9 speakers divided into three age groups to represent three generations each spanning 25 years.

The questionnaire survey shows that all students are native speakers of the local dialect with 97% claiming also mastery of Putonghua, the national standard. The students rated both the local dialect and Putonghua positively on a five-point scale with some more weighting on the latter: 3.53 vs. 4.25. Of the four sub-categories of evaluation, three also show higher ratings for Putonghua (Pleasant to hear, Useful, and Prestigious), and only one (Endearing) shows higher rating for the local dialect). The students were also asked whether they spoke the local dialect the same way as their parents did. The answers were: 69% Yes, 30% Unsure and 1% No.

The lexical retention rates study shows a trend of the loss of local expressions among the three generations. Of the 604 expressions, which is taken as the base, the retention rates of the three generations are: Old 94%, Middle 77% and Young 64%, which indicates a 13~17% rate of intergeneration reduction. Meanwhile the results show varving retention rates among 20 different semantic categories ranging from 92% (Daily Activity) to 58% (Culture and Education), and a range of retention rates among words in different parts of speech from 100% (Particles of mood and exclamation) to 76% (Adverbs)

The results of the investigation show that the local dialect retains, for the major part, its vitality and functionality albeit under the pressure of standardi-

- What about the linguistic landscape, the role of English as a supervernacular, minority and majority languages, language, culture and identity,

zation. The pressure of standardization is explicitly from education and implicitly from economy. Like the majority of the rural communities in China, Daimiao finds itself in the big socioeconomic context of urbanization. 71% of the surveyed students said that they intended to seek employment outside the community, where they would have to speak Putonghua.

Both linguistic and social factors are found to be involved in the issue of dialect endangerment. In the case of Daimiao, so far the process of standardization seems smooth enough since it happens in a gradual way. The speakers try to manage communication and livelihood under the current socioeconomic conditions the best way they can. However, we have to see the delicate conditions and the potential conflicts imbedded in such an endeavor.

SPOTTI, MASSIMILIANO (1); JUFFERMANS, KASPER (2); WANG, XUAN (3)

1: Tilburg University, The Netherlands , Jyvaskyla University, Finland; 2: Tilburg University, The Netherlands , Hamburg University, Germany; 3: Tilburg University, The Netherlands

EXPLORING THE CONSTRUCTION OF SUPERVERNACULARISED SEMIOTIC PROD-UCTS AT THE MARGINS

Globalisation has generated social, cultural and linguistic superdiversity: an increasing fragmentation and diversification of patterns of previously existing diversities. Although the implications of superdiversity are mostly studied in urban agglomerates, the present contribution proposes three case studies that deal with the implications of superdiversity at the margins (Vertovec 2006) where the margins are not interpreted as spaces characterised by geo-graphical remoteness alone - but as socio-semiotic spaces that are not default destinations of Appaduraian (1996) flows (of people, images, technologies, money and ideas).

In the first case, we illustrate how we can read new and old scales of globalisation in a small telephone booklet encountered in a West African village. The booklet, manufactured in French by Nescafé, but belonging to a rural dweller in predominantly Mandephone and official Anglographic Gambia, contains entries in various handwritings, mainly in roman script, but in a predominant Arabographic right-to-left order, suggesting that literacy is inherently heterographic and polycentric here. In the second case, we illustrate the cultural significance of hip-hop in rural China (the Enshi region in Hubei province). It features highly hybrid multilingual practices in Enshi dialect, standard Chinese Putonghua, and English, and creates a new poetics of Enshi rap via intense and innovative language mixing. Meanwhile, it relies on the technology of the internet for production and circulation, reaching its audience in diverse places. In the third case, we illustrate how the global tourism industry and a locally run business build upon truncated multilingualism. Taking as example a supermarket in Samiland (Northern Finland), we show how 'language display', although going against a normative view of language, helps to mobilise a series of indexes that allow for branding and upscaling this supermarket beyond the local economy in which it is inserted. These three case studies, we suggest, stand as pars pro toto of a larger theoretical exercise that invites us to critically examine objects, artefacts, interactions as well as processes of happening at the margins as semiotic products of supervernacularisation (Blommaert & Rampton 2011). That is, semiotic products that although finely grained in their (marginal) localities, contain a grasp of the, at times divergent, multi-directional processes of globalisation, de-globalisation, and re-globalisation (Ikuta 2010).

MOITA-LOPES, LUIZ PAULO

Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

RAP ON THE BORDERLAND: TRANSIDIOMATIC PRACTICES AND IDENTITY PERFORMATIVITY

As a result of global transcultural forces which crisscross the world and bring about local effects, constituting what has been called glocalization (Canclini, 1997), rap - a cultural artifact created in the black neighborhoods of New York City -, has been appropriated and relocalized (Pennycok, 2010) in different parts of the world, originating what has been called raplish: a kind of English which has been locally created and used by rappers (Pennycook, 2007). As in the US, rap has been frequently used to voice a counter-hegemonic logic from the margins of society in many countries. It has been a strong constitutive element of the cultural life and of the literacy practices in the periphery of the big cities, including multisemiosis processes (musical, multilingual and somatic means of engaging in discourse), which operate simultaneously and which are situated, by their own nature, on the borderland where new ways of thinking and new meanings are possible (Mignolo, 2000). Building on the concept of borderland and on rap as a literacy practice, this paper looks particularly into rap produced by the group Payé (a 25 rap corpus) in the triple frontier (Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay) – in a quite distant area from the Latin American megapoles - which makes recourse to transidiomatic practices (Jacquemet, 2005), including Spanish, Guarany and Portuguese – and, contrary to the usual rap appropriations, excluding English.. By focusing on globalization and language processes in the margins, the central aim of this paper is to show a) the pattern which defines how these three languages are transidiomatically used as 'communicative resources' (Blommaert, 2010) and b) how identity performances (Butler, 1990; 2004), i.e., nationality, gender, race and sexuality, are linguistically indexicalized in these borderland literacy events as semantic effects of globalization.

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MCMONAGLE, SARAH University of Hamburg, Germany

WRITING FROM THE PERIPHERY: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC CRITIQUE OF ALEX HIJMANS' FAVELA

Alex Hijmans' Favela, a memoir-cum-travelogue about how this Dutchman moved to Brazil to live with his husband, is written from the margins. Firstly, Favela is composed in the Irish language; a lesser-used language, it is fair to say, that is on the margins of written literature. Secondly, Hijmans chronicles his move to a poor township on the outskirts of Salvador, Brazil's third largest city. The favela of Tancredo Neves is so isolated that it is not included on any official map. As this white European depicts settling down there with his husband's family who are descended from African slaves, all described events point towards centre-periphery models (Wallerstein 2004; Blommaert 2010). Hijmans reflects on matters of race, language, wealth, sexuality and faith along the centre-periphery axis. Yet, who is precisely at the centre and who is precisely on the periphery, invariably changes according to social context and geographical location. This paper will draw on the theories of Lefebvre in considering the ideological and metaphysical meanings of space and who is thought to occupy them at a given time (Lefebvre 1991).

The various kinds of spatial semioticizations in Favela depict characters and events that are profoundly influenced by processes of globalization. Through the medium of Irish, Hijmans describes this 'small place' that is by no means isolated, but is deeply connected to global processes. Moreover, he achieves such globalized meaning production through a supposedly marginal medium. The ensuing theoretical implications for a sociolinguistics of globalization will be discussed in this paper. Accordingly, the following questions will be addressed: While out-migration from poor townships is a familiar narrative, what implications, if any, can the lesser-known arrival of relatively wealthy migrants have for the margins' cultural landscape? For a favela that does not appear on any official map, how significant is its place in written literature? Does it matter that the characters depicted here may have neither the market nor linguistic resources to ever read about themselves? At the same time, how does the publication of Favela challenge traditional views of Irish-language literature as being necessarily tied to Ireland or to certain topics? Overall, Favela presents us with a complex, diverse, deterritorialized and translocal example of contemporary cultural processes where multipile cultures co-exist and and may be re-produced across so-called 'mental' and 'real' spaces.

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WANG, XIAOMEI

University of Malaya, Malaysia

THE NEGOTIATION OF THE CHINESE IDENTITY WITH THE LOCAL AND GLOBAL IDEN-TITY THROUGH LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASIAN AND EUROPEAN CONTEXTS

Overseas Chinese is a minority or marginal group in most countries in this world. With the rapid process of globalization, this group, especially the new immigrants, are facing two challenges in their identity: (1) how to adapt to the local country and acquire a local identity? (2) how to response to the globalization in the 21st century? This article will take linguistic landscape as a window to seek the answer to the above questions. That is how overseas Chinese use language(s) and script(s) to express their identity as Chinese and citizen in the host country. The discussion will be based on two surveys in Malaysia and the Netherlands/Belgium. In Malaysia, the survey was carried out in a Chinese New Village, Serdang. In Europe, the linguistic landscape survey covered six cities, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Den Haag, Rotterdam, Brussels, and Antwerp. In both contexts, Chinese scripts, either in its traditional or simplified form, show up in most signs, which is associated with the Chinese identity. The use of Malay, Dutch, French, or localized spelling system is a sign of localization. The presence of English on the multilingual signs is signifying their awareness of internationalization and globalization and tendency to reach a large audience. In addition to the above commonalities, this article will also address the difference between these two contexts in the process of negotiation of their Chinese identity with the local and global identity through linguistic landscape.

Thematic Session 193

Transcultural networks and neighborhoods

Session Chair 1: Vigouroux, Cécile Session Chair 2: Meinhof, Ulrike Hanna

Session Abstract:

His panel aims at exploring the relevance of neighborhood as a spatio-temporal unit of analysis to studying the mobility of people, of language resources, and of semiotic artifacts. Neighborhoods are defined here as experienced timespaces, constantly re-constructed through social actors' semiotic practices rather than through fixed and institutionalized administrative units. This approach raises methodological and theoretical issues about traditional sociolinguistic and prompts scholars to revisit units of analysis such as community and network. Taking neighborhood as a unit of analysis also blurs categories such as insider vs. outsider and foreigner vs. local. For instance, one can be an institutionally ratified foreigner (e.g. a Congolese in Belgium) but a ratified insider on the ground (e.g. a Congolese in Brussels' Matonge).

The papers of this panel have in common the fact of approaching neighborhoods from the perspective of transculturalism, focusing on migrants (be they transnational or regional) and investing and creating new spaces through trans-local practices. Among the issues we wish to address are the following: 1) How, within a given space, do localized practices connect different timespaces and create a sociocultural continuum between discontinuous geographic spaces, for instance, from urban to rural, one point of a city to another, and one country to another? 2) How are spaces of socialization and sociability created between individuals or self-organized groups that either ratify or transcend sociocultural boundaries? 3) How are some neighborhoods commodified with explicit display of, say, Italian-ness or African-ness? 4) How, by conforming to local representations and tastes of what being Italian or African should be, do they contribute to the reproduction of localized ethnicity? and 5) How are multilayered traces of population movements made visible through linguistic landscape and ethnically-based economic activities?

This panel explores different parts of the world. Data analyzed are multimodal, ranging from ethnographic field notes, audio-recorded narratives, mindmaps, archives, media texts, and photographs.

Overall, the panel wishes to engage theoretically and methodologically in a better understanding of the (multilayered) intertwinement of timespace and semiotic practices.

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MEINHOF, ULRIKE HANNA

University of Southampton, United Kingdom

67 HA AND THE CITY OF ANTANANARIVO - PERSPECTIVES ON TRANSCULTURAL **HUBS IN AFRICA**

My paper investigates the multiple ways in which a district in the Malagasy capital of Antananarivo, called 67 ha because of its physical size, acts as a 'spatial hub', linking rural and metropolitan spaces in the country with those in other continents through the mobility of artists. It thus complements the other much better known and more frequently studied spatial hubs in the global North - e.g. capital cities such as London, Paris or Berlin. Based on my own multi-sited fieldwork and narrative interviews with migrant musicians across Africa and Europe the district of 67 ha emerges as a major focal point in people's life trajectories where incoming and outgoing artists often from very remote regions of Madagascar are hoping to intersect with key individuals ('human hubs') and key institutions ('institutional hubs'), that may determine their professional success and potentially their transnational mobility. My paper analyses the interplay between these 'hubs' as they emerge in representative stories of musicians moving in and across Madagascar and Europe.

MOURA, SELMA DE ASSIS Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Brazil

CHANGING FACES. CHANGING SPACES: A MULTIETHNIC NEIGHBORHOOD IN A GLO-**BAL CITY IN SOUTH AMERICA**

This paper aims at reflecting how diverse languages and linguistic practices are negotiated among young immigrant students in the popular neighborhood of Bom Retiro in São Paulo, Brazil. The research involves an ethnography of local and translocal connections in an urban neighborhood that have long been destination for migration.

The particular linguistic landscape of this neighborhood reveals traces of the history and the presence over time of different linguistic and cultural groups that relocated to Brazil. These groups include Italians, Jews, and more recently, Koreans and Bolivians, who brought to the neighborhood different languages and

literacy practices. The Bolivian newcomers are a particularly heterogeneous group, as their languages repertoires include Spanish, Quechua and Aymara. In this neighborhood the main economic activity for the past hundred years has involved mostly the garment industry, changing from large fabric factories to small sewing facilities with interconnected stores. Currently the Koreans dominate the garment business, and provide employment for the bolivian newcomers. As the first groups of settlers moved out of this neighborhood into more affluent neighborhoods, the new groups took ownership of different spaces, and made these spaces into their places, reassembling them in culturally and linguistically specific ways, imbuing them with new meanings. We investigate how, being part of this complex context, young immigrant multilingual students build, negotiate and promote their identities and participate in the local and global relationships.

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VIGOUROUX, CÉCILE Simon Fraser University, Canada

THE RIGHT OF ORIGIN VS. THE RIGHT OF MULTICULTURALISM MAILLARDVILLE, THE **NEIGHBORHOOD OF DISCORDANCE IN VANCOUVER CANADA**

Linguistic debates in Canada have long been articulated along a French/English divide. The marking of Francophone identity through the French language is intertwined with years of struggle for legal rights, becoming especially prominent after the 1960's. Language is the key distinguishing feature between Anglophones and Francophones, making it a core political issue and a topic of repeated debates. In provinces such as British Columbia, where French is a minority language and not officially recognized as one of the languages of the province (1,3% of declared Francophones in 2006, according to Statistic Canada) and where it coexists with other minority languages, some Francophones have framed the debate as a struggle for linguistic legitimacy over other minority groups, based on the right of origin. In their narrative, Francophones claim of being one of the original founding peoples of Canada and so deserving public recognition through language. They also invoke 'equal weight for equal languages,' a call for equal status for French and English based on the fact of federal English-French bilingualism. However, I argue that these arguments quickly clash with issues of funding and practicality, in neighborhoods where the dominant minority language may be a migrant language such as Mandarin or Punjabi thereby creating a highly politicized environment around language.

This presentation aims at exploring tensions around Canadian on-the- ground-multiculturalism and official French-English 'on-paper bilingualism.' These tensions are epitomized in Maillardville, a hundred-year old Francophone settlement on the outskirts of Vancouver that began its life as a mill town, populated by Francophones from Quebec. Although it is known as and referred to as a Francophone area, there is today little remaining visual evidence of a Francophone population in the area, aside from a few business signs, French street names, and some typical French Canadian housing architecture that echo an earlier era. Instead, the linguistic landscape of today's Maillardville reflects the ethnic diversity of Vancouver. Despite this multicultural composition, the myth of the 'Francophone village' persists.

The case of Maillardville prompts us to revisit issues of linguistic minorities in light of that of legitimacy. For Francophones in Vancouver, legitimacy is tied to their long history of settlement in the province combined with a federal recognition of their linguistic rights. For other groups, it is performed through daily language practices in the neighbourhood and display of multilingualism on shop windows and in written advertisements. The city's choice of language (besides English) to communicate with the local community is determined by concerns of practicality based on numbers of speakers and their need. I argue that the 'numbers of French speakers' versus 'due recognition' is at the heart of the politicization of the French language, and by extension, the Francophone identity, in this part of Canada.

BUDACH, GABRIELE

University of Southampton, United Kingdom

SEARCHING FOR ITALIAN NEIGHBOURS: INVESTIGATING GEOSEMIOTIC FACES OF COMMUNITY

For centuries, migration from the Italian peninsular to Frankfurt has shaped the city's history, economy and urban landscape. The Italian presence and the trajectory of this increasingly diverse and socially heterogeneous community form a visible and tangible part of today's cityscape. How do citizens relate it? This paper investigates some of those inscribed meanings and their interpretation from a historical and ethnographic perspective. Drawing on conceptual frameworks of social semiotics (e.g. the semiotisation of space, Scollon & Scollon 2003; and geosemiotics, Nichols, Nixon & Rowsell 2011) this contribution examines connections between people, the physical environment (e.g. places, buildings, mobile objects etc.) and perceptions of community. Rather than considering neighbourhoods as situated within a pre-defined geographically bounded territory, this approach seeks to explore ways in which people connect with their physical environment and make alliances with others across time and space. Data is drawn from 1) a thematic guided walk offered by the tourist office of the city of Frankfurt exploring the role of Italians in the city's history; 2) explorations of multimodal texts made by seventh graders from a bilingual Italian-German school programme and depicting Frankfurt's cityscape. Both activities are linked to a long-term ethnographic study on bilingual education in schools in inner Frankfurt. Data collection methods include participant observation and retrospective interviews related to the guided tour and multimodal mind maps. The analysis addresses the following questions:

1) What kinds of environmental features figure in the creation of Italianess in the two contexts? 2) What kinds of connections are made between people and the geospace across time and space? 3) How can those representations inform the conceptualisation of neighbourhood? This paper investigates notions of neighbourhood from a novel, ethnographic angle. It takes further the work by Lamarre & Lamarre (2009) on language practices in combining exploratory walks (de Certeau 1984) and the interpretation of social uses of geoscapes (Nichols, Nixon & Rowsell 2011). Important empirical and conceptual insights can be gained from this study by 1) exploring further the role of the environment in forming conceptions of community; and 2) situating visions of community historically. Research of this kind contributes to designing spatial maps of communities which may or may not

overlap with traditional views on neighbourhoods as territorially bounded units and point to forms of neighbourhood as sites of social practices which may be spatially discontinuous, but connected across time in multiple ways.

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Lamarre P. & S. Lamarre (2009). Montreal for the move : Pour une approche etniographique non-statique des pratiques langagieres des jeunes multilingues. In T. Bulot (Ed.), Formes & normes sociolinguistiques. Ségrégations et discriminations urbaines (pp. 105–134). L'Harmattan. Paris. de Certeau, M. (1984) The Practice of Everyday Life, Berkeley: University of California Press.

MEIERKORD, CHRISTIANE; FONKEU, BRIDGET; ZUMHASCH, EVA Ruhr Universität Bochum. Germany

DIASPORIC ENGLISHES IN TRANS-LOCAL AFRICAN NEIGHBORHOODS OF THE RUHR METROPOLIS

The Ruhr area is a metropolis with a long history of immigration. Whilst most early immigrant communities originated from various European countries, recently the number of immigrants from African countries has increased, particularly since political instability has given rise to the numbers of refugees. Additionally, transmigration has grown, i.e. Africans frequently come to the Ruhr area to study or work on a non-permanent basis. Often, individuals belong to the middle classes in their home countries, are very well educated, and speak English as their second language (ESL).

As a result, the Ruhr area is now home to what can be labelled diasporic Englishes, varieties spoken by a clearly confined speech community, composed of individuals who share a migration history and maintain close contacts with their home countries. Often, these Englishes are used as lingua francas in the Ruhr area's African (mainly Cameroonian, Ghanaian, and Nigerian) communities, which tend to live in trans-local (Appadurai 1996) neighborhoods held together by social and communicative practices.

As regards their use and function, these Englishes are similar to the ones spoken by the various Indian communities that exist across the world, e.g. in South Africa, Fiji, Kenia, or the United Kingdom and the United States (e.g. Mesthrie 1992), or to African American English speakers in Canada (Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001). Similar to these, the African speakers bring an indigenized variety of English with them. However, they do not migrate into an Englishspeaking country. They are immersed in a German-speaking ecology, which results in a kaleidoscopic array of languages at their disposal, to address communicative needs, to express identities and ethnic solidarity, and to construct their trans-local communities.

Our presentation will draw on the findings of our research carried out at the linguistics section at the Ruhr-University Bochum's English Seminar. We will report on the results of semi-structured and narrative focus group interviews and participant observation to

- map the various ESL communities that are spread in the Ruhr area, with a particular focus on those who originate from countries on the African continent.

- describe how English (in standardized and in pidginized varieties) is used by first and second generation immigrants, both within the communities but also as a lingua franca for interactions with Germans and immigrants from other areas, to construct a trans-local neighborhood and to create its space and boundaries in the metropolitan area.

- describe how this is visible through language choices in the private domain as well as in the diaspora communities' public life, when individuals form organizations or contribute to the music scene as DJs (e.g. MCFreak) or rappers.

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ANGERMEYER, PHILIPP SEBASTIAN

York University, Canada

INDEXING DEVIANCE AND BELONGING IN TORONTO'S MULTILINGUAL LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

This paper presents an ethnographic and semiotic investigation of indexicality in the linguistic landscape of Parkdale, a polyglot globalized neighborhood (Collins and Slembrouck 2007) in downtown Toronto, Canada. The availability of low-rent apartment housing draws migrants from diverse backgrounds to the neighborhood and these population movements are made visible through a multilayered linguistic landscape that includes languages like Tibetan, Hungarian, Spanish, Tagalog, Vietnamese, or Tamil, among others. However, these languages are distributed unevenly in the urban linguistic landscape, in ways that index social boundaries as well as different kinds of belonging to the neighborhood.

The study uses photographs of formal and informal signage in institutional, commercial, and public spaces in the Parkdale neighborhood, in addition to ethnographic field notes and interviews with residents and institutional agents that provide information on local approaches to multilingual space and divergent local readings of the linguistic landscape (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005). It follows some recent work on linguistic landscape in distinguishing between top-down and bottom-up 'flows' of signs (Shohami et al. 2010, DuPlessis 2010). In particular, it considers the divergent indexicalities of different types of 'top-down' signage, such as prohibitory signs, warning signs and informational signs. The study documents the inclusion of certain migrant languages (particularly Hungarian, which is associated with recently arrived Roma refugees) on prohibitory top-down signage that seeks to regulate access to and behavior within institutional spaces (e.g. community centers) as well as commercial spaces. In a dual indexicality similar to that identified by Kulick (2003), prohibitory signs reject deviant behavior but simultaneously affirm its existence. Through the inclusion of migrant languages, prohibitory signs thus carry the presupposition that their content is relevant to monolingual readers of these languages, thereby characterizing them implicitly as people who are likely to require this instruction, i.e., characterizing them as deviant.

Multilingual prohibitory signs can thus index the neighborhood space as inhabited by speakers of these languages, while at the same time constructing their belonging as tenuous and problematic. This contrasts markedly with directional or informational signs that are argued to index a more legitimate

and more firmly established presence of speakers of the languages included in them (e.g. Tibetan). Such indexing often goes along with the commodification of a neighborhood (such as in nearby 'Little Portugal'), and the study uses interview data and media sources to explore to what extent Parkdale is being identified with or claimed by specific ethnolinguistic groups.

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PECK, AMIENA

University of the Western Cape, South Africa

NOTICE BOARD DISJUNCTURE: TRANSNATIONAL CULTURAL FLOWS TRAPPED IN TIME

The neighbourhood of Observatory in Cape Town, South Africa, has become home to a host of transnational cultural groups. Under apartheid law, Observatory's neighbourhood was largely a white area within close reach to a white-only university and sporting amenities. Over time, Observatory's become known as a 'cosmopolitan' place which appeals to tourists, immigrants and locals alike. The arrival and movement of transnational groups have reshaped the landscape and social practices in Observatory. One definable space in which notions of 'community', 'locals', 'newcomers' and 'outsiders' interplay and contrast constantly is found on Observatory's two 'community' notice boards. On one notice board colour printed, typed, dated and 'ordered' English signs construct an aspirational 'village-like' (homogenous) image of the neighbourhood. On the second notice board, handwritten personalized signs suggest a 'new' transnational (heterogeneous) community with different resources at their disposal. Notices on these signs have a three week lifecycle and authors' of these signs use creative, economical and linguistic ploys to signals both 'foreignness' as well as 'legitimacy' to the neighbourhood. A distinctly hierarchical approach is not engendered as a priori when analyzing signs on the two notice boards. Instead signs on both of these notice boards are analyzed in relation to their construction of identity, language used, communicative purpose and agency. As the notices are largely written in English, centripetal and centrifugal tendencies towards English in the use of Standard or localized English are explored here. This article is also interested in the dialogic nature of these signs as well the different articulations of aspirations for the neighbourhood.

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ARNAUT, KAREL

Simon Fraser University, Canada

DISCUSSION

Final discussion

Thematic Session 196

Discourse, Politics and Women as Global Leaders

Session Chair 1: Wilson, John Session Chair 2: Boxer, Diana

Session Abstract:

The proposed panel focuses on the role of women in political leadership via their discourse practices. Just over 100 years ago there were no politically elected women in the UK parliament. In the UK today 22% of MPs in the House of Commons are women and 20% of the House of Lords are women. In 2011 women hold 90 or 16.8% of the 535 seats in the 112th US congress. 17, or 17% of the 100 seats in Senate are women, and in the House of Representatives 16.8%, or 73 seats are held by women. Nationwide 23% of state legislatures are women.

This increase in access to political power has challenged the previously male dominated field of politics where feminine traits and politics were viewed as incompatible. The stereotype of politics is one that is tough and ruthless, and hence more suited to males' aggressiveness and competitiveness, as opposed to the cooperation, and sensitivity of women. Such views can permeate voting patterns and affect the kind of jobs women in politics come to be associated with: the family, welfare, schools and health (Kahn, 1996; Koch 2000; Dolan 2004).

How then are women to operate in the political environment? And how do they maintain their own political and gender values while at the same time tackling the stereotyped prejudices that attend to their sex rather than their policies?

Research into media representation of women across the globe shows they have faced a difficult challenge in achieving this balance (Scharer, 2002). Even research which has been sympathetic to women's roles in politics still refers to gender differences as simply inevitable socialization outcomes; it is women's different social experiences that produce differing political priorities and leadership styles (Cowell-Myers, 2003; Ndambuki and Janks, 2010). Much of this rehearses debates found within sociolinguistics, for example in the difference vs. dominance argumentation (e.g. Tannen, 1990; Freed, 1992). The distinction, that is, between arguing that men and women talk differently because the adopt alternative styles, topic preferences, conversational strategies etc, and the view that 'gendering,' from definition to access to resources both economic and linguistic, results from the differential access to power. Along with Eckert McConnell-Ginet, (2003) however, we argue that the complex context of social roles is best considered within a framework of 'interactional practice'.

The aim of this panel, therefore, is to explore women as world political leaders via their discursive practice, which will be considered in terms of its own objectives, goals and contextual achievements. The papers will look at women leaders and their discursive behaviors across a range of states and cultures, from North and South America to Eastern and Western Europe.

The core questions to be explored include:

- 1. How do women leaders use discourse for political action and interaction?
- 2. What features of women's political discourse are culture-bound or what features transcend cultural or other social boundaries?
- 3. In what sense can we see a *women's* political discourse as opposed to simply a *leader's* political discourse?

4. In what ways do women's political discourse reflect and/or challenge gender stereotyping?

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CORTÉS CONDE, FLORENCIA (1); BOXER, DIANA (2)

1: Goucher College, United States of America; 2: University of Florida, United States of America

'BREAKING THE GLASS, KEEPING THE CEILING?': DISCURSIVE PRACTICES OF TWO PRESIDENT OF LATIN AMERICAN MICHELLE BACHELET & CRISTINA KIRSHNER

During the last half of the 20th century grass root women's movements were instrumental in the transition to democracy in Latin America. These social movements were followed by an increase in political representation of women not only at the congressional level, but 5 women have been chosen to the highest office: Violeta Barrios de Chamorro (1990-97), Nicaragua; Mireya Moscoso de Arias (1999-2004), Panamá; Michelle Bachelet (2006-2010), Chile; Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (2007-2011), Argentina; and recently elected Dilma Rousseff. In this paper we propose to analyze the discursive practices of two of these women who have come to represent two very different political discursive practices in Latin America, the 'populist rhetoric' and the 'pragmatic left.' Bachelet, a self proclaimed agnostic, separated mother of three, rose to power on a center-left ticket and the promise to reduce the gap between the social classes in Chile, had 'gender solidarity' on her side (The Washington Post, December 2005). With political experience of her own Cristina Fernández de Kirchner was backed by the Peronist political machine headed by Néstor Kirchner, her husband. Kishner did not rely on the feminine vote and is said to work better with men (Levitsky & Murillo 2008). In our paper, we hope to examine the discursive practices that allowed these two women to win their respective presidencies examining their position on gender, human right, and economic issues.

SHELDON, AMY University of Minnesota, United States of America

WHEN PUBLIC SPEAKING BECOMES DIALOGIC: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S RHE-TORICAL MANAGEMENT OF THE 'IRON MY SHIRT!' HECKLER IN THE 2008 PRESIDEN-TIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

In the traditional study of public speaking the text is the primary object of analysis. In election campaigns, it is difficult for voters to know a candidate by listening to a rehearsed script composed by a hired writer. Few impromptu moments arise that more fully reveal the candidate. Town hall meetings in a U.S. presidential election campaign are an opportunity to measure a candidate, and the national media often cover them. Although these question and answer sessions seem spontaneous, much of what a candidate says repeats their stump speeches. However, occasionally, a heckler shouts out, intending to embarrass the candidate and send them off guard and off message. The candidate is thrown into an unexpected multiparty speech event in which they have to respond. Inevitably the event will reach a wider audience via the news and online posting. How the candidate manages the intrusion can be as important as a speech. What can we learn when a candidate is forced into such a situation? I will argue that the study of impromptu exchanges between a heckler and the principal speaker meaningfully expands the study of public speaking beyond its planned, text-centric purview. Studying informal, 'cozy' town hall meetings puts a focus on public speaking as an interactional speech event in which a co-present audience can play an important, and sometimes complex, interactional role.

I will analyze the interaction in a meeting from the 2008 U.S. Presidential campaign in which a man raucously and insistently interrupts Hillary Rodham Clinton (HRC) before she has had the chance to invite the audience to ask questions. The heckler sat in a front row and held up a sign that could be easily read by the audience behind him. He shouted repeatedly, 'Iron my shirt!', 'Iron my shirt!', and pumped the sign with its large letters up and down, in case shouting wasn't enough.

I will use the video record to describe the dialogic elements of this moment, including HRC's impromptu, embodied rhetorical response that thwarts the heckler and repositions him onto the margin. She maintains her audience rapport, sidesteps the trap of the 'double-bind', and ironically refashions the heckler's words to her advantage. She uses the heckler to re-articulate her core feminist message, with aplomb, emotional equilibrium, and lively humor. Audience admiration and participation was fortuitously captured on camera. All is accomplished in 100 seconds. A brief comparison of HRC's response with some male politicians' responses to hecklers, including that of Bill Clinton, suggests the fruitfulness of comparing heckling directed at female and male public speakers.

In conclusion, studying public speakers while they negotiate a complex, unexpected multi-party event such as heckling can be revealing in ways that cannot be accomplished within the textual limitations and performance constraints of their speech-making.

BORČIĆ, NIKOLINA (1); ANĐEL, MAJA (2)

1: VERN University of Applied Sciences, Zagreb; 2: Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Zagreb, Croatia

METAPHOR JOURNEY IN POLITICAL LANGUAGE: IS GENDER A FELLOW TRAVELLER, OR IS IT LOST ON ITS WAY?

The politics is all about power, and, above all, the power to make decisions. Prime Ministers and Presidents of states have the possibility and responsibility to make decisions. Therefore, the language they use must reflect their position of power. The language of politics contains many strategies for using the language as a means of influence. Successful politicians use the language of persuasion that tells us what is right and what is wrong. In order to effectively convince their listeners of the validity and equitableness of their thoughts, ideas and aims, they enliven their language through the frequent use of linguistics metaphors, which some researchers find useful for achieving higher persuasiveness. According to recent literature on cognitive metaphors, one of the most frequent underlying conceptual metaphors in political discourse is POLITICS IS JOURNEY (Charteris-Black 2005), that derives from the universal metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Also, the recent discoveries in corpus linguistics (Pennebaker, 2011) suggest that differences in male and female general language are reality. The aim of this paper is, therefore, to explore how female and male politicians realize the conceptual metaphor JOURNEY in their discourse, under the assumption that female and male politicians rely on semantically differently embodied linguistic metaphors to convey their beliefs or messages. Following on from these theoretical considerations, we analyze interviews given by Croatian politicians Jadranka Kosor and Ivo Josipović, as well as by German politicians Angela Merkel and Christian Wulff. All analyzed interviews were published between July 2010 and December 2012. At this time, Ivo Josipović is the President of Croatia, Christian Wulff the President of Germany and both women are Prime Ministers: Jadranka Kosor of Croatia, and Angela Merkel of Germany. In order to make the female-male comparison, we combine qualitative and (manually performed) quantitative text analysis, focusing on identification and interpretation of so

KAMMOUN, RAOUDHA

University of Manouba, Tunisia

GENDER, POLITICS AND LANGUAGE IN TUNISIA

The participation of women in the Tunisian uprising and during the democratic process could not go unnoticed and led many to raise the issue of women and politics. The massive involvement of women, coming from all socioeconomic categories in demonstrations, strikes, and in the media, and social networks disturbed many longstanding conservative concepts and stereotypes concerning women and their role in social movements and politics. Many were surprised by the impressive presence of women during the uprising and believed it a temporary phenomenon, but when it started to develop into real political participation, a great number of men and also women saw it was time for them to go back to their place, i.e. the home and child rearing. During the elections campaign, and despite the law of parity, many would not accept to see women participate as candidates and particularly run for chief heads of lists as, according to many conservative people, these roles could only be held by men; women cannot be convincing, persuasive and aggressive enough in addressing people. Women, according to them, are emotional, vulnerable and sensitive which are undesired qualities in politics, besides the fact that they do not have a good command of the language of politics and the political discourse. The presence of women on TV panels talking and discussing politics and economic issues with men on an equal footing astonished both men and women in the beginning but soon the scene became

banal. The parity law allowed the constituent assembly to have 38% of women deputies but was not taken into consideration when the new government was formed and appointed only two women ministers, one of the two was the ministry of women affairs always traditionally held by a woman and the second one the ministry of the environment.

Most women deputies in the assembly are members of the elected Islamic party. It took them more time than the unveiled deputies to participate fully and publicly especially that the sessions were broadcast live, but soon they felt assured, no longer sat together close to each other and clearly expressed their viewpoints, sometimes with vehemence.

After a year of feminine presence in the sociopolitical scene in Tunisia, women's involvement in politics provokes less sexist and gender-biased stances, at least in the public space, perhaps due to the recurrence of their visibility and public presence particularly in the media. Their debate on constitutional and law issues and their use of political terms and expressions, showing and proving their good knowledge on issues and affairs generally believed to be unfeminine and repulsive to women have surprised, pleased or angered but so far have not raised the question of linguistic specificities and gender differences in language use. Do women use the same political discourse as men in order to be accepted and considered competent? are there political idiolects rather than genderlects or is women's participation and presence in the political scene too limited to allow for the existence or emergence of feminine discursive practices in the field of politics?

ADAMS, KAREN LEE

Arizona State University, United States of America

GOVERNORS DEBATING: THE ROLE OF SITUATIONAL, DISCOURSE AND TRANSPORTABLE IDENTITIES

Adams 2011 compared the stance and styling of two women candidates running for the office of governor in the state of Arizona, USA at different points in time. In a 2010 debate Jan Brewer was the Republican incumbent who succeeded to the office after the other woman, Democrat Janet Napolitano, who first became governor in 2002, accepted an appointment to President Obama's cabinet in 2008. This comparison based on Zimmerman's 1998 proposal of three broad categories of identity, discourse, situated and transportable ones, showed widely divergent stances based on situated identities claimed early on in the debate and argued for throughout as affective stances to create authority and to construct an oppositional position. These debates also differed in their turn taking structure and so created some difference in possible discourse identities.

The goal of this presentation is to continue to tease apart the range of debate stances taken by women candidates by looking at a larger number of women candidates running for the offices of governor across the United States over a 20 year period. Some of the debates in question have more than one women candidate running against each other and include a few third party candidates in addition to representatives of the Democrat and Republican parties. All these women claim to be ready to step into the position of leader of the state and present a persona designed to be convincing. The 20 candidates to be seen in over 25 debates offer the opportunity to identify the range of ways women candidates for the same office construct oppositional and perhaps shared epistemic and affective stance to create authority. What role does the turn taking structure play? What role do claims of privileged knowledge and moral imperatives have in creating authority? Do claims of appropriate authority in governing style fit those argued for in Kendall 2003? What stances are projected on opposing candidates and are these stances taken up and by whom (Lakoff 2003)? Are there uses of down-graders of authority stances and what linguistic form do they take (Adams 1999)? In the end, do the findings reflect or challenge stereotypes?

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MÄKELÄ, JOHANNA; ISOTALUS, PEKKA University of Tampere, Finland

WOMEN POLITICIANS IN FINNISH PAPERS - ALMOST INVISIBLE LEADERS?

Politics in Finland is nowadays strongly dominated by women, but they still got very little column space in the papers. In 2008 there were a female president, 13 women (and 10 men) as ministers in Finland. Several parties have also lately chosen women as party leaders. Still gender is an issue in politics (Ross and Sreberny 2000) and women politics are treated differently by the media (Bystrom 2004). Women politicians are always described specifically as women politicians (Ross & Sreberny 2000). Internationally women politicians as leaders are still exceptional (Kuusipalo 2006, van Zoonen 2006). The objective of the study is to explore: What is women's media coverage compared to that of men? Which political women leaders do the papers wrote about most? What criteria do papers expect from women as party leaders? The study is based on quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data is collected from two quality dailies and two afternoon papers, whole year 2008. Data included 51 politicians, male and female. The data amount to a total of 11,654 articles. Qualitatively it is analyzed papers for 6 months. Focus has been on top politician female leaders: President, 3 party leaders, 13 women ministers. According to the results, women ministers were quite invisible in papers compared to men. The difference between amount of stories and pictures was one third. There were three times less mentions and pictures of women leaders. Only two women got so much publicity that they reached the ten most visible politicians. Most visible women were President Tarja Halonen (4th in the top ten list) and party leader Jutta Urpilainen (6th in the top list). None of the 13 women ministers were among the top ten. Gender seems still to be an issue for politicians in papers. Criteria for men and women party leader do not seem to be equal. The expectations in papers for women politician leaders are high. It seems that women should have right age, enough competence, conveniently experience and good communication skills in order to

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MILLAR, SHARON LOUISE University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING?: THE DISCOURSE STYLE OF THE DANISH PRIME MIN-ISTER HELLE THORNING-SCHMIDT

In September 2011, Denmark could greet its first ever female prime minister, the leader of the Social Democratic party, Helle Thorning-Schmidt. The media bustled with speculation about what difference having a woman as prime minister might make; for instance might it encourage greater focus on gender equality in politics, an issue generally considered to have stagnated in recent years in the country despite female leadership of a number of political parties? Might it change the tone of political debate to something less masculine? Such questions have particular resonance given that nine of the twenty-three ministers in the new coalition government are women. The issue of a feminine style (Blankenship and Robson 1995) or feminised political culture (Jones et al 2009) is neither new nor uncontroversial. Historically, it is unclear, at least in the American context, whether women's political rhetoric was especially different from that of men (Meijer Wertheimer 1997) and indeed some argue that so-called feminine rhetoric, which emphasises consensus, cooperation and inclusion, and tends towards inductive reasoning, is not necessarily an expression of female identity, but rather a rhetorical tool available to men and women (Campbell 1989); and the same applies to 'masculine' rhetoric, with its emphasis on competition, personal agency and deductive reasoning. This paper will explore the discourse style of the Danish prime minister in order to a) identify the rhetorical strategies she uses for self-presentation as prime minister, party leader and female, and b) to ascertain if these can and/or should be classified in gendered rhetorical terms. Using Atlas.ti software, the analysis will apply aspects of Bystrom et al's (2004) framework for gendered analysis, but will complement content and structural considerations with those of discursive forms. The primary data is a television interview given the day after Helle Torning-Schmidt held her New Year speech, a speech which was subjected to widespread attack. Secondary data

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BIJEIKIENE, VILMA

Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania

GENDER AND LEADERSHIP IN LITHUANIAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE: REFLECTION OF VALUES THROUGH PRONOMINAL CHOICES

In light of the changing gender representation in politics and most importantly in political leadership, Lithuania should be granted a special position among examples of women political leaders' success stories. Although the general proportion of female MPs in the Lithuanian Parliament Seimas is not at all impressive with 26 (18%) female and 115 (82%) male MPs, the highest political offices are held by female politicians: namely the President of Lithuania Dalia Grybauskaitė, the Speaker of Seimas Irena Degutienė, the Minister of Finance Ingrida Šimonytė and the Minister of National Defence Rasa Juknevičienė. The situation can be interpreted as a breaking point with regard to widely-quoted stereotypic assumptions as, for instance, professions related to politics, economics and military issues are typical male professions (Walsh 2001) or some statistical evidence like the one provided by Wodak (2003) that women rarely occupy the top authoritative positions. Moreover, with around three years in office the two female political leaders have been enjoying a steady support by the public in approval ratings. This factor demonstrates not only a dramatic shift from traditional gender divisions of women being 'silenced' (Cameron 1998), but also a rather significant move from female discourse of resistance and survival (Martin-Rojo 1997) to the discourse of success.

Lakoff (2004) claims that for political discourse to make a positive influence on electorate it needs to be built on values. With these observations in mind, the present paper aims to investigate how such values as responsibility, fairness, accountability, active agency, etc. are delivered through choices of pronouns (cf. Wilson 1990) and the corresponding conjugation of verbs by the main political leaders in Lithuania: two female politicians (the President and the Speaker of Seimas) and two male politicians (the Prime Minister and the Leader of Opposition). The main hypothesis is as follows: given that the two female political leaders can generate more support from the general public than the two male political leaders, such values as responsibility, fairness and active agency are expressed in the discourse of the former more than in the discourse of the latter. Data for analysis come from transcripts of parliamentary debates and political interviews available in the media. The study is based on mainly qualitative discourse analysis with quantification for comparison.

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WILSON, JOHN University of Ulster, United Kingdom

WHAT'S GENDER GOT TO DO WITH IT? THE FORMAL LANGUAGE OF MARGARET THATCHER

Margaret Thatcher was the longest serving Prime Minister of the 20th century; she was also the first female British Prime Minister. The question of a link between her political and linguistic style and her gender has been a fascination for a number of scholars, although not for Thatcher herself. In this paper we argue that Thatcher's politics and style were a core traditionalist reflection of her conservative beliefs, but that these became gendered in so far as the use of formal linguistic style resulted in an affected linguistic construction in several areas including, tone, lexis, and discursive interaction. Exploring studies on interruption, interviewing, and formal vs. informal linguistic styles, we argue that Thatcher reflected very much the affected constructions of the upwardly mobile in a class-based system. She attempts to mirror upper class formations as she targets, frequently exaggerated phonetic and discursive forms, creating a sense of arrogance and distance redolent not of gender per se, but of the belief that if one is to better one's self one should sound and talk like one's betters.

Thematic Session 197

Urban multilingualism in a context of international mobility

Session Chair 1: Lüdi, Georges

Session Abstract:

The increased mobility of the world's population has led to a lasting change in communication, shifting from monolingual (or local bilingual) to multilingual practices, be this in work or educational contexts, and has created a growing need for the appropriate means to cope with situations of increasing language diversity. Multilingualism is a controversial issue in many urban settings: on the one hand, it puts the status of the involved languages at issue; on the other hand, the choice of a single language - mostly English - is claimed to be an all-encompassing solution, empowering people to overcome diversity and promoting global economic development. This choice is linked to an 'additive' or 'monolingual' view of multilingualism and language choice: interlocutors speak one or the other language. An alternative view defines multilingual repertoires as sets of 'resources' — both verbal and non-verbal - jointly mobilized by speakers in order to find local solutions to practical linguistic problems.

The focus of this session is on people's understandings of different forms of monolingual and multilingual practices in urban contexts characterised by linguistic diversity. It will bring together colleagues working in different terrains (educational systems, workplaces and institutions) and on different aspects of this topic, e.g. communication strategies based on 'multilanguaging' practices including lingue franche, perceived language needs, corresponding language management measures, advantages and drawbacks of different solutions, etc. We particularly encourage contributions insisting, on the one hand, on the relationships between contexts, practices, language policies / management and representations as they appear in discourses, and, on the other, on methodological aspects. Contributions on historical examples are also welcome.

LÜDI, GEORGES Universität Basel, Switzerland

INTRODUCTION

Introducing the session

BYRD CLARK, JULIE SUE; VANTHYUNE, ADRIENNE The University of Western Ontario, Canada

BECOMING A COSMOPOLITAN, LANGUAGE TEACHER IN AN ERA OF INTERNATIONAL MOBILITY: VOICES OF MULTILINGUAL STUDENT TEACHERS NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES, LINGUIS-TIC PRACTICES, AND REPRESENTATIONS IN COMPLEX, URBAN SPACES

Canada is one of the most linguistically and culturally diverse countries in the world with immigration accounting for two thirds of the population growth. Despite immigration, hyper-diversity, increased mobility, and the emergence of trans-global identities, official educational policies and curriculum have not expanded to include the explicit development of multilingual repertoires or societal multilingualism in classrooms. In Canada (as elsewhere), federal initiatives are often directed at language teachers to contribute to producing effective human capital (Byram, 2009); in other words, well developed. citizens of the world in this new knowledge economy. Nevertheless, official language policies in Canada continue to reproduce solutions based on the language-nation-state ideology (Hobsbawm, 1990) reminiscent of the 1960s and 70s (e.g. one language, one people). As such, many French as a Second Language (FSL) university and teacher education programs struggle with the tensions between finding ways to promote diversity and having to operate under an ideological competence-skills based model of language (Chomsky, 1966). This model views language learning as the mastery of 'unitary, determinate practices that people can be trained in' (Fairclough, 1992:44), rather than viewing linguistic repertoires as plural and multidimensional, shifting in different social contexts. Thus, this presentation draws upon the findings of an on-going longitudinal multi-site ethnography, examining the practices of multilingual youth in Canada and France, who are in the process of becoming French language teachers and their conceptions of multilingualism and

language teaching in complex urban spaces, particularly in relation to the notion of cosmopolitanism (Sassen, 2009). Our research questions sought to address the following: What place does French hold in the student teachers' lives (in both Canada and France)? How do they envision teaching and learning as well as representations of French? And, what do they deem to be ideologically appropriate linguistic capital and multilingual and multicultural competence? Drawing upon a sociocultural, reflexive ethnographic approach (Byrd Clark, 2009), we explore the experiences of multilingual student teachers of FSL as they participate in a complex, virtual space (e.g. using Google Groups, and Adobe Connect) connecting a group of FSL student teachers in Ontario and a group of FLE (Français langue étrangère) student teachers in France. Through the use of new technologies, we can observe how their notions of multilingualism and cosmopolitanism are negotiated and constructed through language use. Findings further reveal that the use of new technologies have the potential to create spaces for the inclusion of complex linguistic practices and new identity performances where at the same time, student teachers discuss their understandings of what constitutes a professional language teacher and potentially challenge their own everyday practices and investments in certain representations of multilingualism. This study is significant in that it will provide a better understanding of what it means to be and become a multilingual French language teacher in a context of international mobility.

YASUI-IWAMOTO, AYA (1); SEKIJI-FUKUDA, ERI (1); KIMURA, GORO CHRISTOPH (2); FUKUDA, MAKIKO (3); FU-RUTANI, TOMOYUKI (1); SHIMADA, NORIKO (4.5); WANG, XUEPING (5); HIRATAKA, FUMIYA (1) 1: Keio University, Japan; 2: Sophia University, Japan; 3: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain; 4: Japan Foundation; 5: University of Tokyo, Japan

LANGUAGE BEHAVIORS OF JAPANESE NATIVE SPEAKERS IN NON-ENGLISH-SPEAK-ING CITIES

Globalization and the increased mobility of people have led to changes on language practices in many parts of the world, both toward diversification and unification. This applies also to the Japanese context. The language diversity inside Japan has been made apparent in the last 20 years, with an expansion of immigrants, especially from South American countries. As a result, some public services are now provided in several languages, e.g. partly multilingual websites and consultation services in some foreign languages, depending on cities/towns' efforts. On the other hand, it is emphasized as a national policy that children and students should acquire better English for their future. 'Foreign Language Activity' in elementary school, practically meaning English instruction, has officially started in April 2011 after a longtime discussion in which there were/are many arguments for and against compulsory English classes. English, in fact, became the 'corporate language' in some Japanese working places, which means, for example, that English is used for meetings, regardless of the members' native languages. Following this stream, 'Second Foreign Languages' in higher education are being shifted from a required to an optional subject, with the result that university students possibly learn English as the only foreign language. Thus, while languages vary in Japanese everyday settings, a single language seems to be believed as the all-purpose communication tool around the world. However, it is the fact that Japanese native speakers living in non-English-speaking countries have more or less contact with at least three languages: Japanese, local language(s) and English as a lingua franca. Do they use all these languages? Do they choose a particular language in a particular situation? What kind of conditions (e.g. residing country/city/area, length of stay, occupation, social network) influence their language behaviors? We have launched a research project attempting to answer these questions: it aims to explore language behaviors of Japanese native speakers abroad, applying the framework of Language Management Theory, which enables a processual view to language activities. This is the first survey to attempt to explain such language behaviors from versatile aspects crossing countries/cities and languages. Concretely, we are collecting many-sided data for language behaviors by triangular methods, namely hearing, questionnaires and observation, in five non-English-speaking cities: Shanghai, Seoul, Paris, Berlin and Madrid. With these diverse data we are analyzing their communication practices depending on scenes, interlocutors and themes, centered on language competence, language use and language awareness. Our findings will explain the needs for foreign language education, and make a further contribution to the study of language behavior, the theory of language management and the study of language education. In the session we will report and share our progress so far and hold a discussion.

BERTHOUD, ANNE-CLAUDE University of Lausanne, Switzerland

THE NEW MULTILINGUAL CHALLENGE FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Our contribution to this session aims to show how higher education responds and can respond to the new multilingual challenge, how it copes and can cope with the new needs of international mobility and situations of increasing language diversity. Higher education is caught between two contradictory forces: the needs to compete in the international arena and at the same time to forster the national cultures and languages. The challenge is to find a balance between monolingual and multilingual solutions: on the one hand, the use of English as a lingua franca for international communication, for efficiency, immediacy, economy and simplicity, and on the other hand, the choice of multilingual strategies for intersubjectivity, fairness, participation, collaboration and decoding of complexity. Both of them are necessary components of efficient communication in the context of higher education. In this perspective, a new conception of multilingual education can offer a way to respond to the 'double bind': the use of an ALAST language mode (simultaneous use of several languages in a teaching event). Universities have to draw up multilingual policies that are no more 'based on the 'monolingual' view of multilingualism (seen as the addition and division of several languages), but on the 'multilingual' view of multilingualism (seen as the integration of several repertoires). That creates favourable conditions for the construction of knowledge in a context of international mobility, in a new multilingual context.

MOORE, EMILEE (1,2); NUSSBAUM, LUCI (1) 1: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain; 2: Universitat Internacional de Catalunya, Spain

CONSTRUCTING MULTILINGUALISM IN HIGHER EDUCATION: POLICIES AND EVERY-DAY PRACTICES

This paper explores the different ways in which multilingualism at a Catalan university is understood in language policies and institutional practices (e.g. official ceremonies, service encounters and classrooms). The particular university studied, like many others across the globe, is simultaneously taking part in processes of internationalisation, related to the increasing introduction of English, and localisation, linked to the maintenance and promotion of Catalan, one of the two official languages. In this regard, linguistic anthropologists have discussed tensions between linguistic ideologies of authenticity, associated with local cultural and identitary values of minority languages such as Catalan, and anonymity, connected to an assumed neutrality and universality of global languages such as English (Gal & Woolard, 2001; Woolard, 2008).

Language policies at the university studied foreground and aspire to harmonize the possible tensions between these two ideological extremes by attributing different functions to languages. The study of language practices reveals that participants also orient to these understandings of multilingualism and thus point to possible tensions (Moore, 2011). However, the tools provided by research on plurilingual, multimodal and institutional interaction (e.g. Auer, 1984; Drew & Heritage, 1992; Mondada, 2004, 2007) help reveal how in everyday practices, university members' plurilingual repertoires are used in far more complex ways than those accounted for in, or explainable through, institutional language policies.

The analysis thus leads us to argue that through hybrid practices - understood as the spontaneous and simultaneous use of diverse resources, including plurilingualism (Woolard, 2008; Nussbaum et al., forthcoming) - people overcome in everyday interaction possible tensions between what is considered authentic or local and what is assumed to be anonymous or international. The definitions of multilingualism traced in practice, however, often contrast with those in policy documents, which understand multilingualism from a monolingual mindset.

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YANAPRASART, PATCHAREERAT University of Basel, Switzerland

COMMUNICATION: LANGUAGE DIVERSITY IN MIXED TEAMS AND THE INTERCUL-TURAL ASSET: AT THE EXAMPLE OF PLURILINGUAL PRACTICES AT MULTICULTURAL WORKPLACES

Quadrilingual Switzerland has long supported multilingualism for the purpose of internal 'mutual understanding'. This enables a form of communication named 'Swiss Model' (Kolde, 1981), ensuring that each citizen speaking in his own language can expect to be understood by his interlocutor of other different local languages. However, studies on language use at the workplaces have shown that social actors do not stick to their mother tongue, but they exploit their respective linguistic repertoires under the form of language mixing (Lüdi, 2007) to achieve communicative goals.

Albeit both forms of communication, 'receptive multilingualism' model (Werlen, 2007) and 'multilanguaging' (Makoni/Makoni, 2010), do not put single language norms at risk, neither challenge their symbolic status, they reduce expectations of other's linguistic and cultural competence, and are thus regarded as problematic. As a consequence, in the eves of large segments of the population, national languages are losing relevance by comparison with English (Cheshire & Moser, 1994), which is considered as a more efficient response to communications between language communities. Speakers seem to believe that using their different Englishes or Plurilingual English (Canagarajah 2009) can bring in intelligibility and effectiveness into intercultural communication, where mutual understanding also requires comprehension of one another's cultural behavioral language patterns (Yanaprasart 2011, 2010; Yanaprasart/Fernandez 2011; Yanaprasart/Höchle/Lüdi, 2009)

Addressing the question of to what extent and under which conditions is Plural English put in use alongside the Swiss national languages; this study allows highlighting the role that national languages play alongside the use of international language in multilingual and intercultural settings in the context of industry. If English, 'the' language of business is regularly used in the transmission of knowledge by providing access to information, significant differences occur in the process of knowledge construction, understanding and application. It is worth noting that the pretended 'cultural' neutrality of the lingua franca is disclaimed in our corpus. Understanding does not simply mean speaking the same language, but also understanding each other culturally, via the language (Lüdi, Höchle, Yanaprasart, forthcoming). That is, even when an interaction takes place in a lingua franca, an intercultural competence is needed for fully understanding the message (Bertaux 1997), for transforming the risk of misunderstandings into intersubjectivity.

This contribution is based on an EU project named 'DYLAN' 'Language dynamics and management of diversity' (Contract No. 028702) (Berthoud. 2008). In the framework of our study, we adopted a mixed methods approach, collecting and analysing different types of data such as official documents, interviews with agents at different hierarchical levels, job ads, web sites, linguistic landscape, and tape recordings of multilingual and monolingual interaction at the workplace.

The terrains investigated include Switzerland based international companies, Swiss companies operating in all language regions, and companies working within a regional range in the multilingual and trinational Upper Rhine region (Lüdi ed. 2010).

LÜDI. GEORGES Universität Basel, Switzerland

TENSIONS BETWEEN THE LOCAL LANGUAGE AND ENGLISH IN URBAN SETTINGS IN SWITZERLAND

Multilingualism is a controversial issue in many urban settings in Switzerland: on the one hand, the constitution and the language law aim at 'preserving harmony between linguistic communities, they respect the traditional territorial distribution of languages, and consider the indigenous linguistic minorities'; on the other hand, the choice of English as lingua franca is claimed to be an all-encompassing solution, empowering people to overcome diversity and promoting economic development.

These two views are not necessarily incompatible if one adopts an 'additive' or 'monolingual' view of multilingualism and language choice: interlocutors

would speak the local national language in the community and English for external use. However, empirical research at management, images and practices of linguistic diversity in businesses throughout Switzerland in the framework of the DYLAN project disproves this oversimplified vision for the future of crosslinguistic communication in a guadrilingual country.

We will show that in many situations, an alternative view emerges. It defines multilingual repertoires as sets of 'resources' - both verbal and non-verbal - jointly mobilized by speakers forms of 'plurilanguaging' in order to find local solutions to practical linguistic problems. In fact, many uses of English fall into this category.

Some consequences for policies for foreign language learning and teaching will also be discussed.

MILLAR. SHARON LOUISE; CIFUENTES, SYLVIE University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

'SEE THE NEED, FILL THE NEED?': LANGUAGE STRATEGIES, LANGUAGE TACTICS AND INSTRUMENTALITY IN DANISH INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES

In business management, the need to appreciate the difference, but inter-dependence, between a strategy and a tactic is recognized: a strategy is developed at a higher organizational level and at a higher level of abstraction, is less subject to change and involves choices; a tactic is a means to implement the strategy (Clampitt et al. 2000). However, strategies and tactics are not always distinguished by managers so the two may be confounded or detached from one another. From a very different perspective, the French cultural critic Michel de Certeau (1988) distinguishes between strategy, produced by those in power, and tactic, defined by a lack of power, and used by those to act, often subversively, within the spaces carved out by a strategy. Here too a link between strategy and tactic is assumed. Taking into account these business and culturally-oriented approaches, this paper examines questions of language strategy and tactics in Danish international companies. On the basis of qualitative interview data, the nature of (reported) corporate strategies and/or tactics is identified (e.g. corporate language, language training) as are the (reported) tactics of individual employees (e.g. hybridization, linguistic brokerage). These are then subjected to social psychological explanation, within the framework of social representation theory (Augoustinos et al. 2006), where the issue of instrumentality is particularly scrutinized. Implications for corporate language management will also be considered.

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OLOFF. FLORENCE

University of Basel, Switzerland

'MAYBE WE CAN TRY WITH A SWISS?' - MULTILINGUAL SOLUTIONS TO LEXICAL PROBLEMS IN INTERNATIONAL PROFESSIONAL INTERACTIONS

This paper aims at investigating how participants in international professional settings use multilingual and multimodal resources in order to resolve lexical problems. By analyzing the details of the interactional practices mobilized in this kind of repair sequences, it will be shown that participants orient to the relevance of various ethnic/cultural and linguistic categories. Thus, lexical problems are a highly interesting phenomenon in order to study identity issues within international settings.

Using the framework of Conversation Analysis (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974, Schegloff 2007), this paper suggests a sequential approach to multilingual practices that arise from lexical problems having been triggered by clarification questions. Repair sequences concerning lexical problems, especially word searches, are not specific to multilingual interactions, but are also frequent in 'monolingual' conversations (Goodwin & Goodwin 1986, Goodwin 1987). However, in international settings, participants may mobilize several languages when trying to overcome problems of mutual understanding. Choosing either the group's lingua franca or an alternative language for solving these problems has different implications for the participants' identities. Indeed, while word searches can be solved individually ('private search', Goodwin 1987), speakers may also turn to a specific co-participant (or a group of co-participants) in order to find a solution, thus establishing a specific participation framework (Goodwin & Goodwin 2004, Mondada 2007), By gaze. posture, and language choice, this public way of handling a lexical problem makes relevant various language competences within the group. In a more subtle way, those choices display also different ethnic categories participants within this type of international setting orient to (Sacks 1972, Egbert 2004, Markaki et al. 2010). Problems of understanding in multilingual settings are therefore moments where participants can explicitly display their orientation to linguistic and ethnic specificities within the group. Those locally emerging identity displays and attributions (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998) show how participants exploit cultural and linguistic diversity as a tool in order to achieve mutual understanding. The analyses are based on video recordings of several international work meetings of a pharmaceutical multinational corporation. During workshops and presentations, participants from several European countries are using mainly English as a Lingua franca, but also other languages such as French, German, Italian, etc. The 40 hours of data have been collected within the framework of the European project DYLAN (www.dylan-project.org).

MARSHALL, STEVE (1); MOORE, DANIELE (1); BEMPORAD, CHIARA (2); SPRACKLIN, ARLENE (1); EHLERT, MEI-LAN PIAO (1)

1: Simon Fraser University, Canada; 2: Université de Lausanne

MULTILINGUAL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS IN VANCOUVER. CANADA: INTERPLAYS BE-TWEEN THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL, MULTILINGUALISM, MULTILITERACIES, AND MULTIPLE IDENTITIES.

We present data from a longitudinal, qualitative study, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, into the multilingualism and multiliteracies of university students in Vancouver, Canada, Vancouver is a highly multicultural and multilingual city, where one fifth of the people are of Chinese ethnicity and 41% speak a language other than English or French (Statistics Canada, 2008). Many multilingual, transnational students are today entering the city's higher education institutions, challenging policies and practices in institutions historically grounded in one local language (English) and a local space (Western Canada).

We present findings from five data sets:

[i] semi-structured interviews with 55 multilingual students, in which they describe their multilingualism; [ii] writing samples (formal, monolingual academic writing; and less formal, multilingual, digital literacies); [iii] visual representations of multilingualism in participants' communities (photographs taken by participants); [iv] recordings of participants' in-class interactions;

[v] ethnographic field notes taken during classroom observations.

We look for answers to the following research questions:

1. How do our participants understand multilingualism and use languages in the city, between home and the university?

2. To what extent do our participants' perceptions of multilingualism/ multilingual performances fit into understandings of multilingualism as combined/hybrid rather than discrete languages?

3. What role does identity construction (perceived identities and performed identities) play in participants' multilingual and multiliterate practices? 4. To what extent are participants' multilingual practices discursively constructed according to broader social and institutional discourses around multilingualism?

The population movements and changing relations in time and space that have come about with globalization form the backdrop to our analysis - Giddens (1996) suggests that high modernity has brought about a separation of time and space in people's lives, 'time-space distanciation,' in which the self and society can be extended globally. Accordingly, we analyze participants' multilingual practices through several theoretical lenses: the extent to which multilingualism should be understood as combined/hybrid rather than discrete languages (García, 2009; Heller, 2006), and in terms of 'translanguaging' (Canagarajah, 2009; García, 2009), in which participants mix languages as they negotiate broader social discourses of multilingualism; and identity construction, performed and negotiated in relation to powerful social and institutional discourses (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Canagarajah, 2004; Giddens, 1996).

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AG, ASTRID

University of Copenhagen, Denmark

THE ROLE OF PRACTICES AND NORMS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF LANGUAGE

In superdiverse societies (Vertovec 2010, Blommaert 2010) people have access to different resources, making their linguistic and cultural repertoires less predictable and more complex. This however is not reflected in Danish society or in the educational institutions where a mono- or double monolingual norm towards linguistic behavior predominates.

This paper studies polylingual (Jørgensen 2010, Møller 2009) behavior among Copenhagen grade school students and their families. In school, media and Danish society in general students are confronted with a demand that they use only one language at a time. This is not the case in several of the students' homes in which polylingual practices are accepted and even employed by some of the parents. On the other hand the parents often demand that their children - beside their everyday-use of Danish - must be sure to learn 'their own language'.

We know that polylingual practices are the result of informal learning among peers, but we do not know much about the role of the families in this process. I approach this matter by raising the following questions: What interactional behavior are the students socialized into by their families? That is, what linguistic resources and norms do they bring along from their homes? To what extent do the interactions of the families contribute to the students' polylingual practices and how are polylingual behavior enregistered (Agha 2007)? By answering these questions, I discuss the way ideologies affect the metalanguage and the languaging practices of adolescents in their homes and in school, respectively.

I will shed light on this matter by looking at various types of linguistic and conversational data, such as self-recordings, group conversations, interviews, and the adolescents' essays on language use. The data are part of a collaborative empirical work in a culturally and linguistically diverse urban school (The Amager project e.g. Ag 2010, Stæhr 2010).

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VASSILEVA. IRENA GEORGIEVA European Polytechnical University, Bulgaria

DESIRED VERSUS IMPOSED BILINGUALISM? THE CASE OF A MONOLINGUAL COUNTRY.

Background:

In this study Bulgaria is taken as an example of a monolingual country where English has been 'imposed' as a second language, especially after 1990. Bulgarian is the official language of the country, which is also fixed in its Constitution (Chapter 1, Art. 3), and is spoken by 85.2% of the population; there are minorities who speak their own languages, the largest being Turkish (9.1%) and Roma (4.2%). The latter data was excerpted from the latest Census 2011 (http://www.nsi.bg/EPD0CS/Census2011final.pdf). At the same time, the influx of English becomes literally more and more visible, especially in the streets of larger cities

Aims, data and expected results:

The investigation is based on data collected through photographing urban signs and inscriptions (street signs, restaurant names, various inscriptions, e.g. in offices, including 'illiterate' word-for-word translations from Bulgarian, etc.) and further supported by informal interviews with people who are involved with them both as producers and as consumers. The data will be statistically (quantitatively) and qualitatively evaluated in terms of appropriacy and relevance to the particular discursive environment, as well as in terms of linguistic correctness. The interviews are expected to demonstrate the consumers' attitude towards the use of a foreign language and a foreign alphabet in an otherwise monolingual social and urban context and the degree to which English is accepted (or not) as a lingua franca. It will also elicit the producers' motivation for choosing to use English and the possible tensions that arise between the two parties. The results of the study are expected to throw light upon the question of whether one could speak of 'imposed' or 'desired' bilingualism, as well as on the social and individual factors that determine citizens' attitude towards the investigated phenomenon. An attempt will also be made to predict possible future trends and developments.

Methodology:

The methodological approach will follow the framework of Critical discourse analysis where 'text' is seen as resultative, as embedded in certain discursive practices which are themselves dependent upon social practices (Fairclough 1992:63-73). The focus will be on the 'sociocognitive' dimensions of text production and interpretation, which centre upon the interplay between the members' resources which discourse participants have internalized and bring with them to the text processing, and the text itself, as a set of 'traces' of the production process, or a set of 'cues' for the interpretation process' (Fairclough 1992:80).

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General Session: Politeness/Rudeness

VISMANS, ROEL University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

'I HAVE BEEN PROPERLY BROUGHT UP.' CHANGING FORMS OF ADDRESS IN DUTCH

This paper reports on research into the use of Dutch forms of address (i.e. the 2nd-person pronouns u and je/jij) among students in the Netherlands and their parents. The data were collected in January and February 2011 through a questionnaire in which respondents were asked which pronoun they used to address a variety of persons. They were also asked to comment on their use of address forms, especially in situations where they would sometimes use u and sometimes je/jij. The focus of this paper is on the qualitative analysis of these comments, rather than a (statistical) interpretation of the quantitative data. The analysis is framed in terms of a recent model developed by Clyne et al. (2009) whose work was based on detailed research into address in English, French, German and Swedish. Thus, we are also able to compare modern use of Dutch address forms with that in a number of neighbouring European languages. Finally, in an attempt to see if anything has changed in the Dutch use of address in the last two decades, a comparison will also be made with Vermaas (2002), whose data go back to 1992-93.

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FUKUSHIMA, SAEKO Tsuru University, Japan

JAPANESE E-MAIL REQUESTS: FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF (IN)DIRECTNESS AND (IN)FORMALITY

This study attempts to investigate e-mail requests in Japanese by young Japanese people in contemporary Japan. Many request studies so far have been conducted from the perspective of (in)directness. It is also important to consider (in)formality, although it has not been paid as much attention as (in) directness in request research. (In)formality is of great importance when considering requests, especially those in Japanese, which has a honorific system. Therefore, (in)directness as well as (in)formality are taken into account in the investigation of requests in Japanese. In this study, e-mails are used in order to investigate Japanese CMC (computer-mediated communication).

It is examined which request strategies young Japanese people would use when they make requests through e-mail. Only head acts, i.e., the minimal unit which can realize a request (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989:275), are analyzed in this study. The research questions are: (1) To what extent is the selection of request strategies (with different (in)directness and (in)formality levels) different according to different conditions (power, distance, imposition)? (2) What are the characteristics of e-mail requests made by the young Japanese? The data used in the present study are 1,080 e-mail requests by 83 Japanese female university students. In order to avoid the gender difference, the participants are confined only to females. The data are analyzed according to the classification of requests, which combined (in)directness and (in)formality (direct & informal requests, direct & formal requests, indirect & informal requests, and indirect & formal requests).

The results show that different request strategies were used, depending on the power (especially status and age) difference of S and H, and the degree of imposition. Indirect & informal requests were frequently used among close equals, whereas indirect & formal requests were frequently used when there was a perceived power difference between S and H (A hearer has more power than a speaker). Moreover, direct and informal requests were frequently used when there was a power difference between S and H (A speaker has more power than a hearer). The participants tried to compensate for the high degree of imposition by the use of honorifics. These results contradict some previous studies, which indicate a decline in concern with power difference among young Japanese people (Hori, 2000), and a less importance of the use of honorifics (Suzuki, 2007). This study is likely to contribute to filling the gap in request research and understanding of e-mail requests in Japanese by young Japanese people.

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SCHAUER, GILA ANTONIA Lancaster University, United Kingdom

INVESTIGATING ENGLISH AND GERMAN (IM)POLITENESS PERCEPTIONS: A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY

The present investigation is a follow-up study to Culpeper, Marti, Mei, Nevala and Schauer (2010) which examined cross-cultural variation in impoliteness events reported by native speakers of Chinese, English, Finnish, German and Turkish. All participants were undergraduate students in their respective

home countries. The data for the Culpeper et al. study were gathered with diary-type post-hoc reports completed by the participants and the analytical framework used was Spencer-Oatey's (e.g. 2000) rapport management framework that differentiates between two major categories: an individual's 'face' and their 'sociality rights'.

The Culpeper et al (2010) study revealed that while the English native speakers reported significantly more utterances that attacked their 'face' (e.g. negative comments on participant's competence, ability, appearance), the German native speakers reported significantly more offenses violating their 'sociality rights' (e.g. comments that lack the appropriate amount of respectfulness or are unfair, controlling or imposing). What the original study could not do, however, was to provide insights into whether these differences in the reported frequencies also indicated that native speakers of German and English perceived utterances attacking their face and their sociality rights differently (i.e. does the mere frequency with which incidents in these categories were reported suggest that English native speakers are more upset and hurt by comments attacking their face and perceive attacks against their sociality rights as less hurtful and upsetting?). This paper presents the initial results of a research project that aims to answer this guestion and that examines how English and German native speakers perceive typical examples of impolite incidents reported in the Culpeper et al study by English and German participants. Data for this study were collected in 2011 and 2012. Participants were 10 English native speakers and 10 German native speakers that were age peers of Culpeper et al.'s participants, but that had not taken part in any previous research on (im)politeness issues. To obtain in-depth insights into English and German native speakers' perceptions a combination of two data collection methods was employed: guestionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The combination of these two methods, while very time-consuming, made it possible to obtain very detailed information on participants' decision making rationales and also provided highly interesting insights into the impact of methodological choices in studies investigating participants' perception of (im)politeness issues.

The questionnaire contained 20 scenarios that represent impolite utterance types/reactions that occured frequently in the 100 English and 100 German post-hoc reports collected for the Culpeper et al (2010) study and two distractor items that were intended to represent polite interactions. Ten of the items are based on the English post-hoc reports, 10 on the German post hoc reports. Immediately after completing the questionnaire, participants took part in an interview in which they were asked about the reasons for why they had evaluated the utterances the way they did. This presentation will address differences and similarities in the English and German data sets and will also comment on methodological insights obtained in the study.

FARNIA, MARYAM (1); RAHIMI, ALI (2)

1: Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia; 2: University of Kashan, Iran

SWEARING: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF WORD OFFENSIVENESS IN L1 PER-SIAN

Although swearing appears almost in everyday language use (McEnery and Zhonghua, 2004), few studies (e.g. Kidman, 1993; Jay, 1992; McEnery et al. 2000) have addressed swearing in different languages. Even so, there are few studies on the sociolinguistic aspect of swearing in Persian. As such, the present study is an attempt to investigate frequent swearing words and their rate of offensiveness in L1 Persian especially among university students' interaction. For this purpose, the methodology designed in order to reflect a sociolinguistic approach to swearing in the university speech community. The primary objective is to find out the relationship between swear word usage and social context, i.e. university. The data were collected from a group of university students in Esfahan, Iran, through a Likert-scale questionnaire and a post semi-structured interview. The findings of the study are hoped to contribute to our understanding of the most common types of swearing in the social interaction of university speech community and the type of swearing which is commonly presented in offensiveness rating tasks.

JACKSON, LACHLAN RIGBY (1); KENNETT, BELINDA (2) 1: Ritsumeikan University, Japan; 2: University of Queensland, Australia

LEARNING TO SWEAR IN JAPANESE: AN ANALYSIS OF POPULAR RESOURCES

Thanks to an increased understanding of the socio-cultural features and functions of languages, second/foreign language education has been able to move on from teaching de-contextualised 'generic' forms. Second language programs are now more conscientious about, for example, introducing different varieties of the target language and sensitising learners to the influences of context, power, gender, age, intimacy and purpose of both spoken and written forms. A considerable effort in Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) education has gone into the teaching of so-called 'polite' registers used in service interactions, and, for example, in contexts where there is social distance and where power relations are unequal. Some effort has also focussed on the teaching of casual registers. However, due to the limitations of time, the social environment of the classroom, and available learning materials, these foci have been afforded less attention. Not surprisingly, politeness has been prioritised over rudeness in formulating communicative goals for learners and, accordingly, swearing has been little discussed in relation to second/foreign language teaching. Stapleton (2010: p. 289) however, has argued that 'swearing fulfils particular functions which are not easily accomplished through other linguistic means', underscoring the need to recognise swearing as a legitimate 'pragmatic resource' (Stapleton, 2010: p. 300). Further complicating the situation is the fact that Japanese is commonly said to be a 'swearless language' (Kosugi, 2010: pp. 30-31). Over the past 20 years, in order to supplement the rather conservative linguistic material exemplified in traditional textbooks on Japanese, however, a number of guides have been released to introduce learners to potentially offensive language, such as swearing. This paper challenges the myth that Japanese is a 'swearless language'. Then, in relation to general literature on the form, function and use of swearing, we analyse several of these popular publications aimed at educating learners of Japanese in swearing. We evaluate their usefulness to learners and further address the issue of whether swearing should be formally introduced through the curriculum.

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GRAMMATICALISATION OF SOCIAL DISTANCE MARKING – THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC FOUNDATION OF A LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY OF ADDRESS PRONOUNS IN EUROPE, PAST AND PRESENT.

The appropriate use of address pronouns is an essential pragmatic practice that immediately governs interpersonal relations in many languages of Europe (cf. Clyne, Norrby & Warren 2009), although it remains completely unknown to date for how many exactly this is the case. In English, only one pronoun 'you' is available in all contexts, whether one is speaking to one or more interlocutors, and the appropriate social distance between interlocutors must be signalled by other means such as first names/surnames, greetings, register etc. In other languages, speakers have to decide which is the appropriate address pronoun for a particular (set of) interlocutor(s).

Even where address pronoun systems are identified in grammars for specific languages, they are often not fully accurate by overlooking forms, e.g. the little known use of oni 'they', calqued on German Sie, for very formal address to one person in Slovene and Czech (and possibly other Slavic languages), alongside the more typically presented informal ti and formal vi pronouns (equivalent to French tu and vous respectively).

The paper reports on the project of the first detailed typological survey and analysis of address pronouns across Europe - from Iceland to the Caucasus, focussing not only on identifying the forms used, but also their pragmatic use, historical sources, shared features across areo-genetic space, and their synchronic grammatical properties.

According to some estimates, more than 200 languages are spoken in Europe today. While (some) European languages are the best studied of the world's languages, we have only begun to make inroads (cf. Schüpbach et al. 2007) in research in what address forms are used nor how across this important linguistic area where a number of unrelated language families (as well as multiple branches in most) are found, such as Indo-European, Uralic, Basque, Semitic, Altaic. Given the longstanding contact between the many members of each family, it can be expected that we will find large areas of areal patterning with respect to address pronoun systems (as foreshadowed in a cursory study of 56 languages by Helmbrecht 2006), as well as their sources. use and grammatical characteristics. In addition, given massive social changes since WW2, urbanization and the increasing integration of Europe, we might also expect increasing signs of convergence in use of address pronouns, although both hypotheses remain to be tested and confirmed.

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RATHJE, MARIANNE

The Danish Language Council, Denmark

SWEARING IN THREE GENERATIONS OF SPOKEN DANISH

Young people are often accused of swearing all the time and thereby making the language bad. In my PhD thesis (Rathje 2010, 2011) I have investigated young people's use of swear words as compared with middleaged and older people's swearing: Do young Danes swear more frequently than other generations? The study shows that the generations use the same amount of swear words when speaking - but it is different types of swear word that they use. Young Danes use English swear words and expletives from the taboo area 'lower bodily functions', whereas the middle-aged and older generations use rephrased swear words and religious swearing. I also compared the use of swearing in intragenerational conversations with swearing in intergenerational conversations to find out whether the participants change the amount and type of expletives when the interlocutor's age changes. For this analysis, the Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles et al. 1991) was used. The comparison revealed that the generations use the same types of swear words no matter who they are talking to, that is regardless of their interlocutor's age, but the three generations all swear mostly with young people. In my paper, I will also touch on what my results may say about language change and age grading (Eckert 1997).

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FUJIO, MISA

Toyo University, Japan

DIFFERENT CITIES AND DIFFERENT RAPPORT MANAGEMENT

Cultural differences in politeness have been discussed by a number of studies under different names. For example, Spencer-Oatev (2004) used a term. rapport management, claiming that politeness research should include a social/interdependent perspective (such as Asian face) in addition to the traditional personal/independent perspective (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Iwai & Rinnert (2001) investigated the same topic under the terminology, pragmatic conventions, by comparing university students from four countries, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, and the US. Cultural differences, however, are not

limited to the national level; even at the regional level substantial differences can be observed. This study, in recognition of the theme of this conference, language and the city, investigates the differences or regionality in rapport management by comparing two big cities in Japan. Tokyo and Kyoto. These two cities have contrasting origins and reputations. Tokyo is now considered the cosmopolitan Japanese capital but was originally built by Samurai who were rather rugged and silent while Kyoto had been the centre of politics and commerce for nearly 1000 years and is known for its friendly and skillful communication style. Based on my experience living in both cities, I have recognised significant differences in communication style and politeness.

In this research, referring to a previous study (Iwai & Rinnert, 2001), rapport management is investigated using four speech acts: 1) apologies, 2) requests, 3) complaints and 4) compliments.

This research has employed three different methods to collect the data: 1) focus group, 2) questionnaire, and 3) interviews. As a pilot study, a focus group consisting of about 15 participants and a questionnaire to about 50 participants were conducted in Tokyo and Kyoto. In order to minimize the variables for comparison, university students were chosen as the participants because adults' communication styles have more variables such as their professions and generations in addition to regionality.

The pilot study indicated the tendency of students in Kyoto to express their feelings more explicitly in the scenes of apologies or complaints while those in Tokyo tend to be silent in the same situations. In addition, the former developed conversation more naturally after complimenting a belonging of their interlocutor. In this sense their communication style is more similar to the Western style (Hall 1976) than the latter, showing a considerable difference from the typical image of silent Japanese.

In the presentation, with the results of the main study involving a larger number of questionnaires and interviews, I will extensively discuss the relationship between the differences in rapport management and the historical and cultural background of these two cities and how these differences can be transferred to their English communication.

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QUINLEY, JASON CECIL University of Tuebingen, Germany

HANDICAP PRINCIPLE? YOUR MOTHER'S HANDICAPPED! TOWARDS A REBUTTAL OF THE GAME-THEORETIC TREATMENT OF POLITENESS IN VAN ROOY'S (2003)

Any conversation on the principles separating pragmatic reasoning from semantics is that pragmatic implicatures require a level of rationality and strategic interaction beyond the denotational meaning of an utterance. Game-theoretic approaches like Jaeger (2007), Franke (2009), and Van Rooij (2004) have given traditional Gricean theories of implicatures a more rigorous mathematical grounding in strategic reasoning and rationality. Nowhere is the use of strategy in pragmatics more evident than in politeness.

Van Rooy(2003) treats politeness as an artifact of the Zahavi's Handicap Principle (1975), which says that costly signaling over time in mating populations with diverging interests indicates honest communication. E.g. the peacock's showy tail is an example of a costly signal that indicates a male more likely to be fit, as any of his potential big-tailed forebears who were not fit would have been eliminated from the population. In parallel, females who mated with these showy, fit males were more likely to have healthy young and pass on their own genes. Three questions arise: 1) Is politeness costly in the same way that a flashy tail is? 2) Do populations of those requesting favors and those granting favors have parallel profiles to males and females and 3) Can the Handicap Principle be used for impoliteness as well? Van Rooy(2003) argues that polite utterances typically are longer than their unmarked counterparts, and that this is the source of their costs to the speaker. However, even considering status as a commodity at risk, polite speech can elevate the status of the speaker depending on those surrounding him and typically doesn't require an investment of the type required to grow and carry a larger tail. On a superficial glance, those granting favors are trading in a limited commodity, much like females who can only mate with one male at a time. Further, those asking for help are more at liberty to solicit multiple parties. This analysis, however, imposes a static asymmetry on the population in question. It may be the case that today's beggar is tomorrow's benefactor. A partial resolution, pointed out in Pinker, Nowak, and Lee (2008), is that there are three basic relationship paradigms (dominance, reciprocity, and communality), each profiled with a corresponding two-player game in the economic literature. These different relationship types mandate different types of politeness strategies, something more apparent in languages with T-V forms of address like German or French.

Addressing others within a communality framework sheds light on the last question. Aren't speech acts like 'Hey dickbag!' and 'Y'anna giddon outta hiya?' more inherently costly towards a hearer's respective positive or negative face (Brown and Levinson, 1978) than so-called polite utterances. These arise precisely because social groups, especially those perceiving themselves as marginalized, have an interest in preventing interlopers or defectors. This provides for the costs of membership, much like the Handicap Principle, in being a member of the group and is also linked to language's role in facilitating eusociality (Wilson, 2011).

JENSEN, TORBEN JUEL; GREGERSEN, FRANS University of Copenhagen, Denmark

HOW DID 'MAN' BECOME 'DU', OR DID IT? THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF GENERIC PRONOUN VARIATION IN MODERN SPOKEN DANISH

In modern Danish, the most frequently used pronoun for generic reference is man, developed from the noun man(d) (~ English man). Recently, though, the second person singular pronoun du has gained ground, in parallel to similar recent developments in other languages (e.g. Laberge & Sankoff 1980; Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990).

A large scale study based on transcribed recordings of 370 conversations with 260 different speakers from four different geographical locations in

Denmark, three different age cohorts and three different points in time, 1970-71, the 1980s and 2005-10, documents a rise in the use of generic du during that period, but also that the use of du has presumably peaked and is now decreasing or stabilizing at a lower level (Jensen 2009). The study also reveals that although there is no difference between generic du and man with respect to propositional meaning, there are important differences in their interpersonal potentials (Beck Nielsen, Fogtmann & Jensen 2009). The study is part of the LANCHART project on language change in 20th century Danish (www.lanchart.dk).

This paper focuses on intra-individual and intra-conversational variation within the LANCHART corpus. Individual speakers vary considerably with respect to the use of du (in comparison with man) within the same recording according to which discourse context they participate in. In order to explain the variation of generic du all passages in the recordings have been coded according to macro speech act, activity type, type of interaction and genre as well as enunciation (Gregersen, Beck Nielsen & Thøgersen 2009, Gregersen & Barner-Rasmussen 2011). The results of a statistical analysis using mixed models show a number of correlations as to the use of generic du, and by and large support the claim that generic du is used as a resource for construing involvement. These quantitative results make up the point of departure for corroborating qualitative analyses of discourse contexts and the use of generic pronouns.

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MATSUDA, KENJIRO

Kobe Shoin Women's University, Japan

ANALYZING THE PANEL SAMPLES IN THE OKAZAKI SURVEY ON HONORIFICS

This paper is intended to be a near-final report on the analysis of panel samples of the Okazaki Survey on Honorifics (OSH), a questionnaire-based longitudinal survey on honorific use and its consciousness in Okazaki City, Japan. The survey has been conducted by National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics since 1953 (OSH I), and following OSH II in 1972, OSH III was completed in 2008.

Aside from the trend samples, where the respondents are randomly sampled from residents of Okazaki, OSH also traced panel samples, i.e., people surveyed in the previous surveys. The first panel sample traced 185 people from the OSH I trend sample with a 19-year interval, the second panel 62 from the OSH II trend with a 36-year interval, and the third panel sample followed 20 people from the second panel sample, resulting in a 55-year interval. Matsuda (2009) reported, based on the 55-year-interval panel sample, that the respondents displayed remarkable stability on their responses, showing significant changes in only few questions. The result suggests that in most cases, people do not change their honorifics after their formation in early 20s. The extremely small size of the sample (N=20), however, did not allow him to make definite statements about the panel sample in general. The current analysis, which includes all three panel samples, mostly confirms Matsuda's analysis; the Okazakians responded to most of the questions in a similar way to what they did in the previous survey(s). Furthermore, the panel samples are also found to take the democratization path as the trend samples do (Inoue 1999, Matsuda 2009, 2011), a tendency where people use the honorifics according to the psychological distance between the inter-locutors, leaving the power-based usage behind.

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IWATA, YUKO

Tokai University, Japan

SELF-DISCLOSURE AND STORY-TELLING IN ENGLISH AND JAPANESE CONVERSA-TIONS

When we meet people for the first time and try to build and maintain a good social relationship, we tend to employ various strategies such as choosing appropriate topics, giving feedback and backchannels and showing interest by asking questions. However, do people use these strategies in the same way in both English and Japanese? In my previous studies, the English-speaking participants disclosed more deeply and openly about themselves than the Japanese participants did in first-encounter conversations (lwata, 2009 & 2011). According to Verschueren (2010), socio-cultural assumptions which are taken for granted and are invisible in a society influence interpersonal communication. Then, what kind of socio-cultural assumptions are operating in English and Japanese contexts?

Ochs & Capps (2001: 2) define personal narrative as 'a way of using language or another symbolic system to imbue life events with a temporal and logi-

cal order, to demystify them and establish coherence across past, present and as yet unrealized experience.' They analyzed ordinary social exchanges among acquaintances, friends and families. According to my past studies, the English speakers crafted personal narratives even in first-encounter conversations, whereas the Japanese speakers told personal stories much less frequently. This study focuses on how people disclose about themselves and elaborate on topics through joint story-telling in English and Japanese conversations and discusses self-disclosure as a pure indexical (Silverstein, 1992) in English and Japanese contexts. The study compares conversations between/ among two or three native-Japanese-speaking male adults with those between/among two or three native-English-speaking male adults. The data was collected in Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia. Each group was asked to start and maintain a 30-minute conversation after they met for the first time.

Investigated in this paper are specific conversational features: self-disclosure and story-telling. Results reveal that English speakers tend to disclose more deeply and openly about themselves than their Japanese counterparts. When English speakers start to disclose about themselves by talking about personal information and expressing their opinions, listeners not only give backchannels but also ask questions (including those for clarification) and give feedback. These listener-involvement strategies promote the speakers to disclose more about themselves. Moreover, the listeners give parallel stories and talk about their personal information and opinions. Consequently, the speakers and the listeners co-narrate stories. The listeners are co-authors (Duranti, 1986) of storytelling in English conversations, with both the speakers and the listeners disclosing about themselves. On the other hand, speakers in the Japanese conversations disclose about themselves less deeply and openly than their English counterparts. These Japanese speakers tend not to give personal information or personal opinions. When they tell stories, they often talk about someone else, not themselves. The listeners frequently give backchannels and ask questions but rarely tell parallel stories themselves. Therefore, in most cases, only the speakers tell stories while the listeners are merely listening; and the stories are often not personal narratives. Based on these findings, the paper discusses possible socio-cultural assumptions which could promote self-disclosure in English contexts and those which could hinder self-disclosure in Japanese contexts.

General Session 02

General Session: Language in education

LOTHERINGTON, HEATHER York University, Canada

THE WORLD IN OUR CLASSROOMS: USING LANGUAGE DIVERSITY AS POSSIBILITY IN THE URBAN CLASSROOM

For over a decade, a small group of researchers at York University has been working with classroom teachers in urban elementary schools, centred at Joyce Public School in northwest Toronto (Lotherington, 2011). In the greater Toronto area, linguistic heterogeneity is the norm in all schools, making every classroom teacher a teacher of ESL. Despite rhetoric to the contrary, formal education in Ontario treats language diversity as a problem. Linguistic pluralism confounds the lock-step expectations of the elementary curriculum, which builds on an assumed middle class pre-school literacy socialization - in English - and a systematic progression into French as a second language at school. However, given that Canada has been an officially multicultural country since 1971, a reported 53% of the children in the Toronto District School Board enter school speaking a language other than English at home (Toronto District School Board, 2011). According to recent census figures, native speakers of French make up less than 2% of the population of Toronto. In collaborative school-university research based in the school, researchers and teachers have forged pathways that connect the classroom with the community - both physically and digitally configured - to mobilize our urban diversity towards glocal education that is exciting, current and linguistically inviting. The educational intention is bi-directional. Teachers report a disturbing turn to English trumping home languages in immigrant parental values. Educating children towards appreciating the diversity that schools are covertly leaving at the school doorstep, is as important for intergenerational linguistic awareness conducive to maintenance as for children's contemporary learning. In Canada, we invite the world to immigrate, laud our diversity, then put children in schools that have curricular spaces for only English and French, ignoring the language wealth families have brought with them to Canada. In our venture to create exploratory multiliteracies pedagogies, we have drawn routes for engagement and appreciation of local languages in class learning, equally welcoming major world languages, such as Russian, Mandarin Chinese, and Spanish, and smaller, less prestigious languages, including nonstandard creoles, such as (Guyanese) Creolese, and Jamaican Patwa. Through systematic classroom interventions, teachers have devised project-based pedagogies that create third spaces both textually (Bhabha, 1994), and in classroom interaction (Gutierrez, 2008; Kramsch, 2009), where the children's languages are welcomed and shared, establishing language awareness and anti-racism as classroom values. The paper will highlight children's multilingual project work, and teacher discussions around language inclusion in the linguistically heterogeneous classroom.

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LINGUISTIC (SUPER-)DIVERSITY AS AN EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGE IN URBAN SCHOOLS

Migration has led to urban communities in Europe that are characterised by a new cultural and linguistic diversity. In urban centres, we find multiethnic speech communities that encompass a large number of multilingual speakers who speak a range of different languages in addition to the country's majority language, as well as monolingual speakers of the majority language. This linguistic wealth provides a fertile ground for linguistic variation and innovation and, as a result, for the development of new ways of speaking, new multiethnic dialects and urban vernaculars.

In popular discourse, this development has triggered the emergence of new language myths based on negative social indexing and stereotyping, and the devaluation of such new linguistic diversity and the speech communities supporting it. We are going to discuss such language myths for the case of Germany, with a focus on the educational sector.

We will analyse the prevalence of negative attitudes towards linguistic variation at schools, and will show how this leads to negative perceptions of pupils speaking nonstandard varieties at general cognitive, behavioural, and affective levels. While this is true for nonstandard varieties in general – including traditional regional and social dialects – it takes on a new dimension in the case of new urban vernaculars from multiethnic speech communities. We discuss the problems that arise from such teachers' perceptions and, against this background, put forward a programme for teachers' education that targets this. The programme is being developed within Special Research Area SFB 632 at Unversity of Potsdam in project T1 on 'Modules on Language Variation for Teachers' Education: Dialects, Multlingualism, and the Question of 'Correct Language". It deals with linguistic diversity in general with a focus on new, multiethnic urban vernaculars in particular, working at three levels: (1) It coaches teachers on language variation and language change, and the range of different, systematic variants constituting 'a language' such as German; (2) it introduces them to results on language use and linguistic repertoires, and the range of options that speakers habitually choose from; (3) it targets teachers' linguistic attitudes and stereotypes in a language-directed antibias module that transfers and adjusts methods from antibias approaches to the linguistic reign.

HARUMI, SEIKO

Regent's College London, United Kingdom

CLASSROOM SILENCE: VOICES FROM JAPANESE EFL LEARNERS

This paper addresses the issue of Japanese EFL learners' classroom silence in cross-cultural settings. Classroom silence, particularly among Asian EFL learners, continues to attract discussion which emphasises its socio-cultural influence on active learner participation in EFL class. Particular attention has been paid to students' lack of confidence in speaking and native English teachers' frustration when encountering agonizingly prolonged silence, not knowing what it means, why it occurs or how to respond.

The existence of silence in SLA contexts can be a source of conflict among participants. It can also be an obstacle to acquiring the target language it self. In order to tackle this problem, and to illustrate dynamic characteristics of classroom silence, this study draws on insights which are the outcome of an ethnographic and qualitative approach and interprets the roots, functions and meanings of silence from a socio-cultural perspective.

This study adopted two methodologies: first a questionnaire survey which was completed by Japanese EFL learners, native English teachers and Japanese English teachers and second, the analysis of the 6 hours' classroom interaction in Japanese EFL classroom and the video-viewing sessions were set up. The study aimed to elicit learners' and techers' views on silence and also to examine whether a mismatich of perceptions exists.

The present study suggests that fruitful cross-cultural communication can only occur with constant mutual participation in the classroom by both learners and teachers who support and respect multiple cultural values concerning speech and silence. It also proposes that learners' indirect and ambiguous silent messages are opportunities and the starting point for the pursuit of fulfilling interaction. The questions of identity and the role of cultural and contextual factors in the use of silence are addressed and the study suggests possible pedagogical approaches which could be implemented in relevant and varied learning contexts.

VAN SPLUNDER, FRANK

Antwerp University, Belgium

ENGLISH-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION IN A MULTILINGUAL AND LANGUAGE-SENSITIVE CONTEXT. CASE STUDY: ANTWERP UNIVERSITY, BELGIUM

As many other cities, Antwerp consists of a cosmopolitan mix of languages and nationalities, even though the only official language of the administration as well as education - as decreed by the Flemish authorities - is Dutch. Languages other than Dutch can be used under specific circumstances only. At the same time, however, English is increasingly gaining importance as a lingua franca, at the expense of all other foreign languages (most notably French).

This paper reports on the use of English as a medium of instruction in a non-English speaking context. That is, students as well as lecturers are native speakers of languages other than English. Whereas the students are from various linguistic backgrounds, most lecturers are native speakers of Dutch, although they have teaching experience in at least Dutch and English.

The research is based on a case study carried out at the Institute of Development Policy and Management, a postgraduate programme organised at Antwerp University. Originally the programme was set up in French, then it was turned into an alternating French-English programme, and since 2007 the programme is in English only.

The focus of my research is on the linguistic and political (ideological) context, as well as on current language practices in a multilingual and languagesensitive context. My research draws on language policy research, discourse analysis, and language attitudes research. It reveals that English is widely accepted in an academic context, in spite of a monolingual ideology, and that it has replaced French as a second language in Flanders. HARRISON, MICHELLE University of Liverpool, United Kingdom

A TALE OF ONE CITY: DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO REGIONAL LANGUAGE PRIMARY BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN STRASBOURG

Set against a backdrop of a traditionally strong monolingual language policy, bilingual education in the French regional languages is a relatively new phenomenon. Bilingual education in Alsace presents a special case, owing to the dual nature of the regional language, considered to comprise of Alsatian, which refers to the traditional speech varieties spoken in the area since the fourth century, and standard German, which has been employed as the language of reference and writing. Bilingual classes have been established in Alsace in the public and private sectors since the early 1990s. Following a model of partial immersion in the regional language and French, standard German consistently has been privileged over Alsatian, which has traditionally been regarded as a language of the home, but whose intergenerational transmission has been in decline since the mid-twentieth century, to be replaced by French. The advantages of learning standard German have been highlighted by language-in-education policy makers in Alsace; as well as being the written form of the regional language, the local education authority underlines that German is the most widely spoken language in the European Union, the language of neighbouring countries, an asset when seeking employment and a useful language to know in the learning of another prestigious language, English (Académie de Strasbourg, 2012). Nevertheless, whilst there is no obligation to include Alsatian in bilingual education in the public system, there remains the possibility to do so. In private bilingual primary schools, known as associative schools, Alsatian is employed to varying extents, although it remains in a minority position in comparison with standard German. This paper will examine how two bilingual schools (one public, one private) situated in the heart of the city of Strasbourg differ in their approaches to teaching the regional language. It is widely acknowledged that the practice of Alsatian has diminished dramatically in the most urban areas (INSEE 2002, 4). Here I will look in particular at how it is being handled in these city-centre primary schools, presenting some of the findings from classroom observations carried out as a part of my PhD research. I will also examine the ideologies behind the creation of language policies in the public and private systems. Furthermore, I will discuss the attitudes of teachers and parents towards the teaching of the regional language from interviews and questionnaires that I have undertaken. In the bilingual classrooms of a multicultural and multilingual city is there the space, and/or the desire, for Alsatian to play a role?

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SELLECK, CHARLOTTE LOUISE RACHEL Cardiff University, United Kingdom

RE-NEGOTIATING IDEOLOGIES OF BILINGUALISM ON THE MARGINS OF EDUCATION

This study forms part of an ethnographic project investigating the interplay of linguistic practices, linguistic representations, language ideologies and social inclusion between students at two contrasting secondary schools in an area of West-Wales. The schools are categorised by the local education authority as a 'bilingual' school and as an 'English-medium' school. In reality, the 'bilingual' school functions as a monolingual Welsh-school; a monolingual zone in order to produce bilinguals (Heller 2006:17). I broadly adopt the dichotomy presented by Blackledge and Creese (2010) - that of 'flexible' and 'separate' bilingualism (with the former referring to the English-medium school). The current study seeks to expand upon the remits of educational ethnography to consider sites on the margins of education, 'liminal moments' which fall 'outside of dominant social structure' (Rampton 1995:20). The study focuses on a youth-club as a point of convergence, drawing pupils from both schools. It seeks to establish how interaction at the youth-club betrays different values and ideologies, among broadly the same students who featured in the within-school data. It is a space within which the language ideologies of the two contrasting schools are re-negotiated; it is possible to examine how adolescents attempt to resist or affirm the ideologies 'that threatened to dominate their everyday experience' (Rampton 1995:20). Through participant observation, 'key informants' were identified. Students' everyday routines were captured using portable recording devices and microphones. There are two main axes on which the data set can be understood, 'school vs. recreational' and 'global vs. local'. The youth-club, broadly acts as a temporal border-zone between school and home (e.g. homework is completed). Whilst school is not the over-riding normative institution, the youth-club is quasi-institutional in that vestiges of school identities persist, in the wearing of uniforms and in the use of linguistic category labels. The youth-club is subject to its own norms, e.g. popular culture activities are fully legitimised. We see students behaving in ways that are more attuned to recreational norms, including norms of talk. The relatively infrequent free choice of Welsh marks a significant renegotiation, particularly for students from the 'bilingual' school.

The data allows for a nuanced understanding of the global-local interface, which informs the construction of youth identities. The youth-club encourages students to engage with a wider and potentially global popular culture (English is encountered daily through audio-visual mass-media and other forms of popular culture) but without losing touch with their local identities and connections. Within this complex bilingual context, the negotiation between global and local is inflected by language choice. Additionally, students have to negotiate their relationships with the nationalist-ideologies that often characterise Welsh-medium schooling, but also with more global-ideologies, mainly mediated by English. This study adds to our knowledge about English-medium/bilingual education in Wales. It has implications for language education policy and social inclusion/exclusion. Additionally, it will help us better understand 'multilingual' Wales.

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TABAKU SÖRMAN, ENTELA Stockholm University, Sweden

ITALIAN AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE: A MATTER OF VARIETIES OF STANDARD ITALIAN

In this paper I would like to report on the first results of my on-going doctoral research that deals with the problem of the different varieties of Italian standard in a foreign language learning (FLL) context. Through an analysis of the language used in recent Italian language textbooks published in Sweden, I try to identify the variety of Italian available as input to the learners of Italian in Sweden. Most Italians use varieties along a continuum from standard Italian to dialect according to what is appropriate, but it is known that in foreign-language settings the preference model is nearly always a variety of standard language (Ellis 2008). This is also the case of Italian in FLL context and generally in all school-contexts. The traditional standard Italian has been the school-Italian by definition and is still associated with the normative model by a lot of Italians (D'Achille 2003). However, the choice of standard Italian is no longer obvious since the Italian linguistic panorama has changed dramatically due a series of important changes in Italian society. Along with the rigid norms of traditional standard Italian and the more casual forms of substandard Italian, the majority of linguists seem to agree today that a new intermediate variety of standard has emerged. The new variety, known as 'italiano d'uso medio' (Sabatini 1985) or 'neostandard' (Berruto 1987), appears as more appropriate now that Italian is used not only as a written language, which was the case until 50 years ago, but also as a spoken one taking the place of the local varieties. I look for typical traits of this 'new' Italian standard in recent Italian language textbooks published in Sweden and my findings, as in the use of subjunctive and third person personal pronouns, suggest that the traditional standard is no longer the school-variety of Italian by definition.

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MAYR, KATHARINA; WIESE, HEIKE

University of Potsdam, Germany

WHAT DO TEACHERS REGARD AS LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE?

Children in urban European schools bring with them a linguistic repertoire that typically encompasses a range of varieties and styles, such as local vernaculars, multiethnic youth languages, traditional regional dialects, and other variants of the majority language and, possibly, of a family's heritage language(s). This rich linguistic repertoire is often overlooked when teachers evaluate students' linguistic competence.

Reporting from Germany, we show that competences in nonstandard varieties tend to be neglected in favour of those in the academic language of school settings, a linguistic variety that shows a number of peculiarities (cf. Cathomas 2005, Gogolin 2006, Schroeder 2007) and is comparably close to middle class language use, thus favouring children coming from those social strata. This can lead to an underestimation of linguistic competences by children coming from non-middle class and/or migrant backgrounds, and support linguistic myths in education such as that of 'double semilingualism' in the case of multilingual children.

Such misconceptions at school can have negative effects at a number of levels (Wiese 2012:Ch.6). They can undermine students' linguistic and academic self-perception, and can lead to experiences of stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson 1995), and they bring with them the risk of self-fullfilling prophecies in the classroom (Boehlert 2005, Schofield 2006).

We present studies that investigate teachers' perceptions of nonstandard varieties and their views of what constitutes linguistic competences, and show that teachers tend to have a strong ideological alliance with the standard, follow a substantially monolingual habitus, and neglect situational choices of different linguistic variants. Taken together, this leads to evaluations where deviations from a monolingual standard are regarded as evidence for a lack of linguistic proficiency independently of the speech situation, and as an obstacle for educational success.

In view of this, we argue for components of teachers' training that support an awareness of the underlying ideologies that guide attitudes towards language, perceptions of speakers, and views of linguistic competence, and we suggest some exemplary materials in support of this.

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LAZAR, MICHELLE National University of Singapore, Singapore

GRACIOUSNESS IN THE CITY: LANGUAGE, INTERDISCURSIVITY AND SOCIAL GOVERNANCE

Public education campaigns are a key mode of governance in Singapore by which the conduct of citizens is constantly regulated. Campaigns are so prevalent in Singapore that they have become a hallmark of social life in the city-state for more than forty years. One of the longest running national campaigns is the Courtesy Campaign, instituted in 1979, which aims to cultivate graciousness in the citizenry, by targeting its message to a different sector of the society every year. The public transportation sector, in which commuters of public buses and the mass rapid transit (MRT) trains are targeted, is one such example. Boorish behavior of commuters on public transportation has been a perennial concern of city-dwelling in densely populated Singapore, as noted by the Minister for Transport more than a decade ago: 'even a short journey can turn into a nightmare when people are rude and aggressive to each other' (The Straits Times, 17 July 1999).

This paper examines the recent 2009-2010 campaign launch in this sector, focusing on an innovative approach used in the campaign communication. This approach is based on 'media interdiscursivity', which may be described as a mixing of discourses and genres that entail a shift of frames, in which the media constitute a significant element. The media interdiscursivity in the present study involves the appropriation of a popular local television character, 'Phua Chu Kang' (PCK), to address a public education message through a courtesy-themed rap music video titled 'A happy journey starts like that!' The video was played from time to time on board the MRT trains, while large cut-out stickers of the character 'speaking' via speech bubbles were pasted on the doors and glass partitions of the trains and the buses.

Media interdiscursivity, I argue, is based on an attempt to engage the public via a discourse of the 'lifeworld', which is analysed in terms of a combination of two processes -- 'informalization' (the use of informal and conversational modes of address (Fairclough 1992, 1995)) and 'communitization' (the semiotic construction of a community of people (Lazar 2003)). The dual processes are examined in relation to the choice of the fictional character, PCK, for his ordinariness and almost 'real' personhood status; his informal register and speech style; his appeal of 'community'; and his use of Singlish, the colloquial variety of Singapore English. The latter, in particular, is interesting because although the government has banned its usage in public media, it was apparently allowed as part of PCK's linguistic repertoire in his public performance of the lifeworld. The paper concludes by considering how this form of media interdiscursivity brings to bear issues of language, discourse, and social governance in the urban cityscape of Singapore.

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UENO, KISHIKO

Japan Women's Universtiy, Japan

ROLE INTERACTION IN A VERTICAL RELATIONSHIP: AN ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONS IN JAPANESE TEACHER-STUDENT CONVERSATIONS

This study investigates the use of questions in Japanese teacher-student conversations in terms of the roles dictated by a vertical relationship. The act of question asking is thought to be concerned with power because of its function that compels, requires, and may even demand a response. Power in the West is regarded as an attribute of the individual, but power in Japan is much more an attribute of role relationship, such as the relationship of a teacher to a student (Wetzel 1993). Examining how the teacher and the student ask questions may provide an account of linguistic behavior that meets role expectations compatible with the internal workings of vertical relationships embodied in Japanese society. The data consist of 12 conversations by Japanese female dyads. In the first encounter, the participants in each conversation are a teacher and a college student. The participants are asked to talk freely for five minutes about things that have surprised them in their everyday lives. Thus, questions in our data are used mainly for two purposes: (1) eliciting a topic to be related by the other, and (2) eliciting information that contributes to topic building. The analyses show that the teacher initiates questions three times more frequently than the student. Through question asking, the teacher asks the student for a new topic, providing a hint that can make the student easily step into relating her story (ex. 'As you are a senior, don't you have a surprising experience in your job hunting?'). The teacher then asks the student information questions, which are designed to help the student talk in more detailed and explanatory ways, or the teacher even leads the progression of the topic that is originally provided by the student. On the other hand, in the student's questioning, there are constraints of usage. Besides the poverty of questioning, the students deliberately avoid asking questions that would largely affect the topic building.

The pattern of question asking observed in the data reflects the role relationship. That is, the teacher takes the leadership in such a way as to display the ability to decide what information is required from the student, while also simultaneously supplying supportive, nurturing, and benevolent implications based on 'parental sentiment' (Lebra 1976). The teacher's leadership involves a corresponding dependence by the student. It is thought that the teacher's leadership does not embrace the idea of decisive executive power wielded by the individual, but rather embodies the role expectations ascribed to the superior, which permeate Japanese society.

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MCKINNEY, CAROLYN University of Cape Town, South Africa

BLACK GIRLS TALKING 'WHITE' IN SOUTH AFRICAN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS: LANGUAGE AND THE (RE)PRODUCTION OF RACE

Previously white, now desegregated suburban schools in South African cities are important spaces for the production of an expanding black middle class as well as for scrutiny of a society in transition. Desegregated schools are aligned with quality education and perceived as strategic sites for the acquistion and maintenance of the prestige variety of English (approximating white South African English, WSAE) that is a marker of such 'quality'. This paper presents data collected using ethnographic methods in two desegregated girls' schools in South African cities: one in Johannesburg, Gauteng where black learners have replaced the white learner body; and a second in Cape Town, Western Cape where black learners are in the minority. While black students do not necessarily identify with white students, the continuing normative power of whiteness in South Africa is shown to be replicated through assimilation to white ways of speaking English. Youth discourses on English align WSAE with prestige, or 'proper English', while black varieties are frequently stigmatised. Yet at the same time, the resistance of many coloured learners to accommodating to WSAE in the Cape Town school, and the continued use of Bantu languages by African girls in informal spaces in the Johannesburg school. shows discursive practices as a productive site for complex, at times subversive/anti-hegemonic, identity making. I draw on a poststructuralist theorising of discourse and subjectivity (Davies, 2006), as well as Bourdieu's (1977) and Blommaert's (2010) theorising of language and power, to analyse learners' linguistic ideologies and discursive practices. While language has been an important facet of the social construction and ascription of racial categories in South Africa, the language/race relationship has not been a focus of sociological or sociolinguistic study (see McKinney, 2007 and Mesthrie, 2010 for recent exceptions to this). This paper aims to show how language ideologies and language use, as an aspect of cultural practice, offer

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GHOSH, SUCHANDRA

National University of Educational and Administration, India

LANGUAGE BARRIER MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION AND EFFECTIVE EDUCATION OF THE MINORITY

With an attempt to identify the impact of education in language other than in one's Mother Tongue; three Lower Primary schools and one Lower plus Upper Primary school in the minority dominated Shaltora and Khatra blocks in the Bankura district of West Bengal(India) were intensively studied. At Kalipahari Prathamik Vidyalaya (Kalipahari Primary School), Santali (a tribal language ofthe Austro-Asiatic origin recognized in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution of India) is themedium of instruction, while at Deulbhira Prathamik Vidyalaya, Bengali (a dominantlanguage spoken by more than 83 million people in India) is the language of teaching. Yet, with a major chunk of students hailing from the Santal community, the teachers often usepopular Santali idioms in school in DPV. In the given study, the DPV schools were treated asthose within the Control group and the Koda Sishu Siksha Kendra (Koda Child EducationCentre) and the Harangara Prathamik Vidyalaya (Harangara Primary School) as part of theExperimental group.

The results obtained if set in a comparative frame reveal contrasting pictures. In the schools from the experimental group where the teacher-student interaction does occur in Santali, students are more attentive to classroom teaching and discussion. At Kalipahari, where most of the students are Santals, their previous year Grade Cards indicated relatively poor gradesin Science and Mathematics which were taught by a Bengali speaking teacher in the Bengali medium. (Incidentally he is one of the two non-Santal teachers in the school.) At Deulbhira Prathamik Vidyalaya the performance level was remarkable. But the picture is slightly dismal at the Harangara Prathamik Vidyalaya and at the Koda Sishu Siksha Kendra. The roster indicates high rate of absenteeism and the increasing dropout rate over years. The Kalipahari students in the lower classes encounter comprehension difficulties with respect to subjects

which are taught in Bengali but at Deulbhira, due to the frequent code switching in practice, such problems are rarely experienced. Alienation is another phenomenon conspicuous among the students (hailing from minority backgrounds) particularly in situations where the majority of the students belong to the non-tribal community. This 'out of place feeling' emanates from the inferiority complex (on account of them being from marginal background) got exacerbated by their lesser strength within classroom. With a higher proportion of the minority students pulling out at the initial years of schooling, the number completing the lower primary level is nominal, and subsequently a very few students enrol at the Upper Primary and Secondary levels. The situation experienced becomes an issue of concern with respect to maintenance of the minority language as also the shift from the minority to the dominant regional language ultimately leading to the loss/death of the minority languages.

GONERKO-FREJ, ANNA

University of Szczecin, Poland

ELF THERAPY FOR EAST EUROPEAN COMPLEXES; LIFTING THE BURDEN OF NATIVE SPEAKERISM.

The awareness of the pluricentral nature of English in our global world can be a powerful educational instrument in foreign language teaching, signifi-

cantly enhancing the language learning process. The issue is particularly salient in the countries of post-communist Europe, struggling in different ways to ascertain their identity in dialogues with their new western partners in the post-1989 world. Research into the identity problems of the English learners in Poland, supported by some data from other countries of the ex-communist block in Eastern Europe, demonstrates the destructive power of the burden of 'native-speakerism'. The analysis of language teaching materials or examination criteria, set against the practical reflections of students involved in international exchanges (data from the interviews among Erasmus students in Turku, November 2011) demonstrates the worrying negligence of English in its lingua franca role. The paradigm shift in the field of English teaching and learning could change ELF from a taboo topic amongst professionals into a liberating factor, largely enhancing language proficiency, with the accompanying beneficial reinforcement of native identity.

YITZHAKI, DAFNA (2); AMIT, AVIV (1) 1: Tel Aviv University, Israel; 2: Bar-Ilan University, Israel

FROM 'NATIONAL' TO 'ECONOMIC': ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS FOR LANGUAGE-MI-NORITY STUDENTS - THE CASE OF NAZARETH ACADEMIC INSTITUTE, ISRAEL

At the moment, eight universities operate in Israel and over fifty colleges and academic institutions. Apart from four teacher training colleges, all Israeli higher education institutions operate in Hebrew – both as the medium of instruction and as the language of administration. Recently, in 2010, a new Academic Institute was established in Israel's biggest Arab city, Nazareth, in which at least for the time being all students are Arabs. The idea to establish an institution for higher education catering specifically for Arabic speaking students was first proposed in the early 1980's. It is only now, some thirty years later that this idea is being realized. Why hasn't such an institute been established before? What made it possible now? What are the linguistic characteristics of this institute and what are the implications of that?

The fact that such an institute hasn't been established before is a reflection of a Laissez-faire policy that kept the monopoly of Hebrew as the language of teaching (Spolsky & Shohamy 1999). The discourse surrounding the establishment of an Arab institute for higher education was up until recently heavily rooted in a national rights discourse which was not tolerated among majority decision makers and even accelerated the already hostile attitude towards national demands of the Arab society (Al-Haj 1995). Recently, a very strong economic factor has entered the scene in the form of Israel's acceptance to the OECD (Council for Higher Education 2009). This event has shifted the focus to economic interests of both the Arab community and of the general Israeli market and is a major element, we believe, in providing institutional support to the college for the very first time. In this paper, we will investigate the manner in which the new discourse of globalization and knowledge economy (Slaughter & Rhoades 2004) is emerging in Israel. Then, we will try to find the most adequate linguistic 'formula' to be established in such an institution considering the interplay between Arabic, Hebrew and English. Finally, we will provide evidence of how the globalizing process of knowledge economy is playing in favor of the Academic Institute of Nazareth by evaluating the costs and benefits of introducing a new language policy that integrates Arabic as well.

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General Session 03

General Session: Life span / age

MANSFIELD, JOHN University of Sydney, Australia

MURRINH PATHA YOUTHSPEAK: THE URBANISATION OF A HUNTER-GATHERER LAN-GUAGE

Murrinh Patha, a polysynthetic language of northern Australia, has in the last 50 years undergone a radical sociolinguistic transition. Its speakers previously lived in the bush as seven separate clans of hunter-gatherers; but starting with a Catholic Mission, succeeded by the secular and fast-growing town of Wadeye, the language has rapidly become urbanised. Small bush camps have been replaced by a town of some 3000 people, and for the first time ever, young people socialise in large groups of same-age peers. Differences in clan-specific varieties of Murrinh Patha have broken down, while a distinctive youth variety has emerged.

This paper will discuss the social circumstances that have given rise to the emergence of Murrinh Patha youthspeak, and describe its grammatical innovations with respect to the traditional language. I will argue that the case of Murrinh Patha provides a sharply delineated example of the special effect that urbanisation has on sociolinguistic structure, and consider some of the implications for social theories of language change.

RETIREMENT AS A 'LANGUAGE RELATED MAJOR LIFE EVENT' AND ITS CONSE-QUENCES ON THE MULTILINGUALISM OF MIGRANTS

The present study investigates life stories of established Italian workforce migrants living in the city of Berne, Switzerland, in regard to 'language related major life events' (De Bot, 2007). These events are important in terms of changes happening in the linguistic setting during the life span and influence language development. In this sense, during the process of retirement, a new phase of life begins, which, amongst other things, has to be reorganized in relation to social contact and language use.

One of my main guestions is how the subjects handle the changes happening within and after the process of retirement in respect to the use of different languages and how this 'language related major life event' is constructed and described by the migrants. One of these changes happens due to the fact that, after retirement, the social network at the workplace (the primary source of language input) can get (partially) lost and with it, the use of the local language. The fact that migrants living in Berne are confronted with diglossia (Standard German and Swissgerman), that the Canton of Berne is bilingual (German and French) and that the migrants' mother tongue (Italian) is one of the Swiss national languages, makes this guestion even more interesting. A second question will consider the influence of the fact that most of the subjects in question lived with the idea of return migration, but as shown in a previous study (Alter/Vieillesse/Anziani, NFP 32, 1999), only a third returned back while another third remained in the host country and the final third chose the commuting option.

I will first examine these processes, changes and influences by using quantitative guestionnaires in order to obtain general information on demographic data, the social situation, and a self-assessment of linguistic skills. Secondly, I will use gualitative interviews to get in-depth information of the subjects' life stories and language biographies.

The results of this project are meant to deliver insight into different aspects that have not been looked at in detail to this point: which factors of the life stories of Italian workforce migrants, who decided to remain in Switzerland after retirement, influence the linguistic changes in general and the ones happening around retirement in particular.

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CERUTI, EMILIO

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Puerto Rico (U.S.)

SEMANTICS OF VIOLENCE IN NUYORICAN MALE'S SPEECH: A REACTION TO SYM-**BOLIC VIOLENCE FROM EL BARRIO**

Symbolic violence is strictly related to asymmetric power relationships and can be considered the scheme to exert the symbolic power that arose in the Colonial era (Bourdieu, 1991).

The verbal violence that characterizes the interpersonal ties of some subgroups of the Puerto Rican community in Spanish Harlem is a reaction to the symbolic violence of the socio-economic dominant culture. This is (1) a drastic strategy used to fight US immigration policies and to take possession of those spaces that the dominant group tries to control from the outside (e.g. through ghettoization or gentrification policies - Dávila, 2004), and (2) a consequence of a shift in familiar values and personal beliefs due to the lack of reference points. These factors lead to a space in which young people do not learn values inside the family unit, but down the street (from *La Ganca*).

This paper aims to explore the verbal violence in three Nuvorican novels (Down these mean streets, Piri Thomas, 1967; Spidertown, Abraham Rodríguez, 1994; and Bodega dreams, Ernesto Quiñónez, 2000) as constitutive of a specific subgroup identity, the Nuyorican macho one. It is an exasperation of the Latin machismo, in a social context which, actually, provokes the Latin macho castration (Ceruti, 2010). The analysis focuses on the lexicon of violence to unveil how its articulation creates a semantic field of violence of El Barrio, and shows that it is a private slang that is often characterized by the use of code-switching.

As Flores (1993) points out, the artistic production of minority groups has always political implications, and the novels analyzed are considered testimonial literature since they describe the socio-politic dynamics within El Barrio. Moreover, their dialogues offer a reflection of the conversational practices of these minority groups: in fact, '[n]arrative registers share with conversational registers a strong focus on interpersonal involvement' (Callahan, 2003, p. 2). This work is structured into three parts: (1) the socio-economic mechanisms that trigger violence will be exposed, and those subgroups whose linguistic practices are characterized by verbal violence will be identified; (2) the semantic fields, in which verbal violence is manifested in the corpus, will be classified; (3) parallel aspects and differences, among the verbal violence of the three novels, will be drawn.

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LANGUAGE CHOICE IN MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY (SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH IN JAKARTA AND THE SURROUNDING AREAS)

Language choice in view of sociolinguistics is not solely related to language itself, but also related to social, cultural, psychological, and situational aspect of communication (Hudson, 1996:1), (Holmes, 2001:1). Research on language choice can provide insight of communication in a multilingual society such as in Indonesia. This study describes the language choice because of social factors, cultural, and situational in bilingual or multilingual society. Specifically, this study describes the phenomenon of language choice in urban families based on sociolinguistic perspective. Urban family means the family who comes from various regions in Indonesia who lived in Jakarta and the surrounding areas. These urban families have a variety of first language according to their area of origin. This study is restricted to urban families whose first languages are Javanese language. Sundanese language, Minang Language, and Batak Language because those languages are widely used by urban families in Jakarta and the surrounding areas. The objectives of this study are to describe the language choice used in urban families and the factors that cause the language choice in an urban family. The research problems can be formulated as follows: 1) Do the urban families use the Indonesian language or vernacular in their family environment? 2) What are the factors that cause in the language choice?

The primary data of this study were taken from urban families by participative observation, observation, interview and questionnaire. Those data were analyzed by using domain analyses technique. This research was conducted in Jakarta and surrounding areas which is based on linguistic consideration. some people speak Multilanguage but mostly they speak Indonesian in their daily live in formal and non formal situations. The results of this study indicate that there are four characteristics of language choice in urban families. First, some urban families speak only Indonesian language as first language and second language. Second, some urban families which husband and wife come from the same area and have the same local vernacular, they, between husband and wife, speak local vernacular but they speak Indonesian to their children. Third, some urban families which husband and wife come from different areas and have different local vernacular they speak Indonesian in their family (between husband and wife. between parents and children, and among family members). Fourth, some families speak Indonesian and local vernacular in their families. The implications of language choice to language acquisition of the child are: 1). Children only speak Indonesian. They do not know local vernacular anymore. They speak Indonesian with Betawi dialect, Sundanese dialect, Javanese dialect, Minang dialect, and Batak dialect. 2). Children know some vocabularies of local vernacular but they can not speak vernacular. 3). Children can speak both Indonesian and local vernacular although their vernacular is considered very limited.

The factors that cause the language choice in urban families are :

(1) setting (time and place) and the situation, (2) participants in the interaction, (3) topic of conversation, and (4) the function of interaction.

HUANG, HUI; CORDELLA, MARISA; LAMBERT, BRIGITTE ELISABETH Monash University, Australia, Australia

SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE IN AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS: AN INTERGENERATIONAL UNDERTAKING

The adage 'it takes a community to raise a child' invokes an image of interaction between numerous participants, both young and old, that leads to language acquisition, knowledge of socio-cultural norms and experiences, and also shapes attitudes towards other cultures. This notion extends to language students in countries like Australia, whose diverse ethno-linguistic communities, particularly the older members therein, represent a teaching/learning resource still waiting to be utilised to its fullest potential in order to serve Australian society as a whole (Clyne 2005, Clyne et al forthcoming). As this project shows, such community involvement can support the process of second language learning and broaden students' cultural knowledge within mainstream Australian schools, where 'real-life' language practice and intercultural contact, via immersion programs or overseas study exchanges, is not readily available to all. In return, engagement with students allows the elder participants to maintain and hone their own language skills, pass on their personal histories, and connect with the world of the young. All this is done through the dialogical interaction between participants who position themselves as language instructors, socio-cultural guides and ethical-moral advisers (Cordella and Hui forthcoming). Following the communal orientation, this project takes an inter-disciplinary perspective, bringing together linguists and specialists in ageing. It was designed to use local multilingual and multicultural community resources to enhance upper secondary school students' second language learning and intercultural communication experience. Year 11 and 12 students of German. Mandarin and Spanish at three Melbourne schools conducted fortnightly conversations throughout the school-vear with elder first-language speakers of the target language (TL). For analytical purposes, three of these sessions were recorded for each elder-student pair.

This paper examines the type of cultural knowledge exchange generated during such intergenerational and intercultural conversational encounters, with focus on the students' learning of the TL culture. What the project provided was a context where students were able to participate in natural oral/spoken interactions and construct meaning with people from the TL culture in a reciprocal process of conversations. Using the TL enabled students to simultaneously locate themselves in the world of their first language(s) and the world of their TL, with the possibility or option of moving across the two cultures. Analysis of the recorded conversations revealed that the benefits of intercultural and interpersonal communication were mutual and were not confined to the cognitive level, but more importantly, also emerged at the behavioural/social level. This project, therefore, demonstrates the effectiveness of drawing on local community resources to supplement the formal classroom teaching of TL culture. It offers insights for developing future language programs by setting up a model for second language teaching and learning, but also draws attention to another creative way of enriching the lives of elder citizens.

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encounters.

YOUTH LANGUAGE IN THE CITY: SOCIOLINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION AND COMPARISON OF YOUTH LANGUAGE IN MEKNES (MOROCCO) AND TRIPOLI (LIBYA)

This paper aims to compare two urban sociolinguistic contexts: language practices of young men from Tripoli (Libya) and young people (boys and girls) from Meknes (Morocco). Paralleling our data allows us to compare the speech of young people in two cities of the Maghreb: one to the extreme West (in Morocco), and the other one to the far East (in Libya), in order to examine the convergence in the linguistic processes and observe contrasts between these two fields.

We provide elements of description of these youth linguistic practices by analyzing phonetic, morphologic, syntactic and lexical features, with particular emphasis on grammatical innovations, since youth speech is characterized by linguistic changes and the evolution of grammatical structures (PEREIRA 2009; PEREIRA 2010). We also consider linguistic contacts; indeed, youth linguistic practices are also characterized by borrowing and codeswitching (ZIAMARI 2008), and by innovations based on those borrowings.

Our presentation is based on corpus of spontaneous conversations collected directly from speakers as part of an ethnographic methodology. Because of our total immersion into peer groups, we have obtained a corpus of interactions between young people, giving us access to particular expressions of a sexual, and sometimes vulgar nature. We will show how terms related to sexuality, taboo words referring to private parts and prostitution, are desemantized and grammaticalized (principally in Tripoli), and then used as parts of speech (mostly as interjections, adverbs, and adjectives). This will allow us to raise the issue of young people's role in the evolution of linguistic practices, especially regarding marginalized language varieties, as well as the relation to the taboo, and to sayable and unsayable.

Finally, we shall examine the relationship between language and the construction of gender, in particular the construction of 'masculinity' in Tripoli and Meknes. In this regard, we will see how language practices of young women (particularly in Meknes) transgress the order of established gender (BAR-ONTINI & ZIAMARI 2009).

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HOLMES-ELLIOTT, SOPHIE University of Glasgow, United Kingdom

APPARENT TIME, REAL TIME AND AN 'OFF THE SHELF CHANGE' - TH-FRONTING IN SOUTHEAST ENGLAND

Recent research on patterns of variation in the UK has identified a set of non-standard consonantal variables that appear to be spreading from London to surrounding areas and throughout the UK (Britain, 2005:29). One such feature is the well-documented spread of TH-fronting, which has appeared in many disparate urban settings (e.g. Foulkes and Docherty, Ed.s, 1999) as in (1).

(1) I think [fink] she wants to like run the London Marathon [marafən] and stuff they both [bæʊf] run together (Holly, 18)

Apparent time studies frequently show a large increase in the use of the fronted variant through the generations (e.g. Britain, 2005; Docherty & Foulkes, 1999; Milroy, 2006; Stuart-Smith & Timmins, 2006; Trudgill, 1999; Watt & Milroy, 1999; Williams and Kerswill, 1999). However, this feature may be an 'off the shelf change' (Milroy, 2006). This might make it particularly susceptible to age grading, where younger speakers exhibit high rates of a feature in adolescence but withdraw from a change as they grow older. So are these generational increases an example of an extremely rapid change in progress, severe age grading or both?

In an attempt to answer this question I examine two datasets. The first is a quantitative apparent time analysis of 2,600 tokens of the interdental fricative from thirty speakers, aged fifteen to ninety, from Hastings, sixty miles south of London. Results echo those of previous studies: an extremely marked increase in use of the fronted variant through the generations. Further, analysis of the individuals reveals that the variable is highly heterogeneous throughout the community. The second dataset is a small-scale real-time analysis. Following Sankoff (2004), data were taken from the '7-up' documentary, a televised series that followed a group of individuals at seven-year intervals. Three females from east London were chosen and their rates if TH-fronting were charted. Despite small token numbers a qualitative analysis suggests that this feature is subject to vary through a person's life exhibiting minimal rates of use in childhood followed by a typical adolescent 'peak' and finally a decrease in rates of use (cf. Tagliamonte, 2009).

These results are discussed in terms of the spread of the 'London set' of consonants within the UK. The results from Hastings, and those found elsewhere, appear to indicate changes in progress combined with age grading, i.e. apparent time studies may have so far over-estimated the rate of change for these features. More broadly these results suggest that features like TH-fronting, i.e. discrete variables that are of limited structural consequence and are not subject to complex conditioning (Labov, 2007) may not only hop between unconnected communities but also be picked-up or put-down at any age. PITKÄNEN-HUHTA, ANNE KRISTIINA University of Jyväskylä, Finland

MULTILINGUAL SÁMI CHILDREN AS AUTHORS: EXAMINING MULTIMODAL LITERACY PRACTICES IN A MULTILINGUAL SÁMI CLASSROOM

This presentation aims at examining young children's multimodal literacy practices in an indigenous and endangered Sámi language classroom in Northern Finland. More specifically, the focus is on multimodal children's picture books that the pupils of this classroom designed in this complex linguistic context. The position of the Sámi languages in people's linguistic repertoires has changed dramatically during the past 60 years. As a consequence of broader societal processes Sámi languages have turned into endangered languages with only few speakers. Recent efforts of language revitalization have, however, increased the value of Sámi languages and created new language practices. In the case of indigenous languages, it is often the case that there is very little printed material available and therefore there are few established literacy practices. Especially the young users and learners of Sámi languages have to create new literacy practices that are meaningful for the users themselves. By using the term literacy practices I mean here both the text that is produced as well as the values and attitudes that are rooted in the culture and histories of communities. The data for this paper were collected in a context of a larger research project on peripheral multilingualism and it consist of little picture books made by Sámi children and ethnographic data related to this process, including observation and discussion with the children and teachers. The children in focus here go to a Sámi medium primary school and their task was to design a children's picture book by using the Sámi language closest to them. A discourse ethnographic approach to analyzing these multimodal picture books was adopted, and three different but interrelated orientations - and thus three different literacy practices - to the making of the books were found. The first book orients to Sámi culture and language and thus illustrates an orientation towards the official Sámi language policy, as it reproduces clearly marked boundaries between different Sámi languages and iconic representations of well-known Sámi symbols. The second book orients to the genre of children's books. The choices the author of this book has made draw on the value of traditional established literacy practices and recycles existing resources. In contrast to these two, the final take on the book task brings forth the issues of mobility, relocalization, and aspiration. The imaginary move across linguistic, cultural and geographical boundaries in this book facilitates transformation and a new and fresh take on local resources.

Each of the three orientations organizes and values multimodal resources in their own way and thus each of children creates his/her own literacy practice. These three orientations in designing the book and consequently, in the mobilization and organization of multimodal literacy resources point to the dynamicity and complexity typically found in a changing multilingual indigenous environment.

HAYASHI, HISAKO

Simon Fraser University, Canada

MULTILINGUAL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION THROUGH ACA-DEMIC LANGUAGE AND LITERACY, AND MULTILINGUAL SOCIAL PRACTICES

This presentation repots the result of the ethnographic study that aims to understand multilingual students' identity construction processes through university learning environments in Canada, in which demographic shift, multilingualism and transnationalism emerged in the society due to an increase of immigration (Canada statistics, 2009; Hiebert & Ley, 2006; Kelly, 2003). In this study, I will discuss 1) how multilingual students go through the process of 'becoming' a university student; 2) how academic literacy course instructors understand the identities of their first-year students; and 3) classroom implications.

Recent sociolinguistics research suggests that the identities of individual multilingual students are socio-culturally and historically constructed based on transnational fields and multilingual practices, as well as constructed in relation to their future aspiration (Block, 2006a, 2006b; Kumaravadivelu, 2008). Yet, the relationship among the factors above and the identity construction of multilingual students is not well recognized and lacks official legitimation in the university community, which may lead to the students' marginalization. In this study, I will build upon the on-going literature by performing an ethnographic study of the identity formation of multilingual students, since sociolinguists encourage empirical research on how multilingual students' identity construction occurs in higher education through social relations and language practices (Block, 2006; Heller, 2007; Marshall, 2010; Rassool, 2000). More specifically, this study examines the identity construction of multilingual students enrolled in the foundations of academic literacy course (FAL) at Simon Fraser University, Canada. The main finding of the study confirms multilingual students' sustaining and developing multiple identities: Phan's (2008) notion of core or root identity was more evident in the students who focused more on their past academic, social and language experiences in Canada, Rather than placing themselves in the third space, or emphasizing hybridity in identity construction, some students take control over positioning themselves flexibly and clearly (Block, 2006; Marshall, 2009). Especially in a transnational context, multilingual students' access to linguistic, cultural and social resources and networks are vast, often leading to translinguistic practices discursively. In this presentation, I will first introduce an overview of the FAL instructors' perception of their multilingual students. Then, I will discuss multilingual FAL students' self-perceptions through their academic and social experiences as well as family influences to show how multilayered social, linguistic and community practices and reflections yield multiple-ness in identity construction. The data that supports this study consists of classroom observations of five FAL courses that took place in one semester; interviews with eight FAL instructors and 18 multilingual students from diverse backgrounds such as Brazil, China, Hong Kong, India, Korea, and Turkey; and students' writing assignments (i.e., autobiography and course reflection).

LONGITUDINAL CHANGES IN LANGUAGE COMPETENCE, ATTITUDE, AND USE IN THE TRANSITION FROM PRIMARY TO SECONDARY EDUCATION IN A CATALAN SOCIOLIN-GUISTIC ENVIRONMENT

Since the last decade of the 20th century, Catalonia has experienced one of the most important demographic changes in Europe, namely its population increased with the arrival of about 1 million immigrants (Idescat, 2009), which had a considerable impact both in Catalan society and schools. The changes in schools have been felt at different levels (I. Vila et al., 2007; X. Vila et al., 2007). First, whereas the linguistic profiles of students in the 80s-90s were homogeneous (their L1 was Spanish or Catalan), nowadays the two co-official languages share their space with a variety of languages depending on the area (e.g., Tamazight and Chinese). Second, language attitudes toward Catalan have been affected in a negative way. Third, language competence in Catalan in school settings has decreased (X. Vila & Galindo, 2009).

This paper examines these changes by studying longitudinally the linguistic competence, language attitudes, and language use of students in three moments of time during their schooling: their last year of primary education (age 12, n=192), their first year of secondary education (age 13, n=198), and their last year of secondary education (age 16, n=191). The study is part of a larger project that examines how different sociolinguistic variables interact in time in different Catalan-speaking areas (Comajoan et al., in press). Specifically, the paper studies the school population of Manlleu, a mid-size city in Central Catalonia. The interest of this city lies in the fact that it has a large population of students of Moroccan origin and that it is located in a sociolinguistic setting where Catalan has high vitality.

Data were elicited via a sociolinguistic questionnaire that included items regarding language competence, attitude, use (within the family, inside and outside school) and biographical data. A preliminary analysis of results indicates that there is a change in the competence, attitudes, and use in time and that the change is related to sociolinguistic variables, such as the participant's L1 and county of origin. The results are discussed in light of current trends in sociolinguistic patterns in the transition from primary school to secondary school.

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CHESNUT, MICHAEL (1,2)

1: Hankuk University of Foriegn Studies, Korea, Republic of (South Korea); 2: The Pennsylvania State University

GIVING MEANING TO LANGUAGES: LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES AMONG SOJOURN-ING NATIVE SPEAKER ENGLISH TEACHERS IN SOUTH KOREA AND THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF LANGUAGES

Language biographies offer an effective way of gathering data on the discursively constructed representations of self, language, place, and more (Pavlenko, 2007). This study uses critical discourse analysis to explore the language biographies of 'foreign' or 'native speaker' English teachers in South Korea in order to understand how this group of long-term, sojourning, cosmopolitan travelers discursively construct and are constructed by the languages they encounter throughout their lives either at home, in Korea, or elsewhere. Although sojourning teachers travel, teach, and sometimes act as personal representations of language, there has been relatively little study of the how this group engages with the multiple languages these travelers encounter. The data for this study consists of semi-structured interviews and participant observations collected over two years in two large urban centers in Korea as part of a larger ethnographic study of 33 native speaker English teachers in Korea. Although folk understandings of native speaker teachers in East Asia may describe these sojourners as relying upon only English to live and work, or alternatively as eager learners of language they are immersed in. the findings of this study highlight the diversity of languages known and used among this group of sojourners and the complexity and ambivalence that shapes the learning, teaching, and use of these languages. This study, following Park's (2009) larger study of the ideologies of English in Korea, which relied solely upon data gathered from Korea participants and sources, adds to the understanding of the multiple discourses of English in Korea and how those employed in the business of teaching English represent English and other languages to themselves and others. Further, this study finds that some sojourning teachers use languages other than English or Korean as a means of building social connections, alternative identities, and more. Although sojourning native speaker English teachers are not normally considered migrants, study of this group of long term travelers, who occasionally settle permanently in the place they are sojourning, sheds light on the larger globalized discourses of language that travel the globe among different groups of sojourners, professionals, and others. As this group of sojourning teachers is often employed for reasons related to ideologies of globalization (McConnell, 2000) scholars interested in multilingualism and globalization should find this study relevant to ongoing discussions of travel, language, place, globalization and more.

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THE TRANSMISSION OF THE MOROCCAN ARABIC LANGUAGE IN FRANCE : A COM-PARATIVE STUDY OF THE DECLARED PRACTICES AND THE REAL PRACTICES IN TWO FAMILIES.

I will expose the results of my PHD which represents seven years of study and observations in two families across three generations. The first generation of each family immigrated to France and the remaining generations were either born or grew up in France. As part of this study I selected two different families. The first family consisted of the first generation without being schooled or educated in Morocco prior to moving to France. The second family consisted of the first generation being schooled and taught French before immigrating to France. After presenting the sociolinguistic profile of each member, and the story of the emigration and immigration of each first generation, I will present the linguistic representations that I collected interviewing each speaker of those two families. It was important to begin my research by knowing their epilinguistic speech so that I could understand their language choice. This will be presented in a second analysis with the corpus of the families conversations. The aim of this study is not only to understand if the linguistic representations coincide with the real practices, but also to understand if by, analysing three generations of families, whether the Moroccan Arabic language can be considered as an endangered language today in France. Furthermore, if living with such bilingualism can create difficulties in social integration.

General Session 04

General Session: Language Policy

BARBE, KATHARINA

Northern Illinois University, United States of America

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF MANIFESTATIONS OF CONFIDENTIAL LAN-GUAGE INSTRUCTIONS IN THE GERMAN PRESS: THE BERLIN OLYMPIC GAMES 1936

Confidential language instructions (LIs), first issued by the Nazi regime in June 1933 are evaluated using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which seeks to investigate how 'texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power' (Fairclough 1995). Shortly after their ascension to power, the Nazis limited press freedom through several decrees and laws, and 'access to media is a power resource, so if people can be persuaded, their later actions can be indirectly influenced' (vanDijk 2003). Lls (Presseanweisungen) were communicated during daily press conferences attended by a select group of journalists whose task was to incorporate this information into the respective papers. Under the threat of retribution, journalists were ordered to treat their handwritten notes as confidential and to destroy them regularly. Lis are available today only because some ignored these instructions. Through LIs, the regime and its representatives attempted to influence the news and news reporting, and, by extension, public opinion. In particular, because of implicitly and explicitly threatened repercussions, LIs amounted to pre-publication censorship. The propaganda machine thus used established structures and subverted them for its aims. Readers chose newspapers on the basis of their own political leanings; their expectations that a variety of ideologies was realized through a variety of papers were exploited. The LIs are parts in a verifiable chain of texts (Fairclough 2003). The propaganda needs were conceived by government leaders and communicated to a deputy who dealt with the press. The deputy conveyed the requirements, usually orally, to chosen reporters who wrote down the instructions, often in shorthand. After the press conference, the reporters transcribed and/or rewrote their notes in order to share them with others in their respective papers. Per directive. LIs were supposed to be implemented to conform to each paper's individual style and to, thus, mask their origin, Readers, the target group of the articles, were many steps removed from the original instructions. In this presentation, I will focus on language instructions s and their reflections in a variety of newspapers at the time of the Berlin Olympic Summer Games in 1936. Many foreign guests visited Berlin, and the propaganda ministry was worried about the press's continual negative depiction not only of allies like Japan but also of other countries that took part in the Olympic Games. Newspapers were instructed to refrain from attacking foreign customs and habits, to emphasize Germany's cosmopolitanism, and to maintain that Germany recognized value in all races. I argue here that the repeated instructions document the fact that the espoused Nazi racial ideology had fallen on fertile ground in Germany and that, all denials to the contrary, these repeated instructions can be seen as evidence for the identification with and support of Nazi ideology. In essence, the unacceptable articles followed Nazi ideology and ideas about race: the general view of the 'other' was carried out in racial terms.

IDEOLOGICAL DIRECTIONS IN WELSH LANGUAGE POLICY: A DISCOURSE HISTORI-CAL ANALYSIS

The Welsh Government's plan to 'create a bilingual Wales' is ambitious – aiming for significant increases in Welsh use across Wales, a country with no Welsh monolinguals, and including areas where everyday use of Welsh has become negligible. The plan is emblematic of the tension between city and countryside, given the growth of Welsh speakers in Welsh cities and continued decline in urban 'heartland' areas. How the devolved Welsh legislature promotes the Welsh language as a national icon therefore touches on the fractious territory of heritage, identity, authenticity and cultural survival – all politically charged issues in the context of post-devolutionary nation building.

This paper examines ideological orientations in three Welsh language policy documents – 'texts' which are informed and contoured by overarching national and international legislation. Discourse historical analysis (a form of critical discourse analysis) is used to weigh up their ideological orientations. The orientations are categorised using De Schutter's (2007) tripartite framework of language ideologies:

- 'instrumental' (language is a means to achieve other non-linguistic human capabilities);
- 'constitutive' (language influences identity);
- 'intrinsic' (language is valuable irrespective of human interests).

The findings show that the intrinsic ideology predominates significantly and consistently across the three texts. Action is planned not in the interests of human capabilities or even identity, but of the Welsh language as an independent entity. Furthermore, there are instances where potential discriminatory effects on non-speakers of Welsh are acknowledged, and explicitly justified within the pursuit of increase Welsh usage.

Overall, these ideological orientations make Welsh language policy quite unusual when compared to other areas of Welsh social policy (e.g. Sayers, Rock & Coffey, in prep.).

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HAIDINGER, ELISABETH Vienna University, Austria

LANGUAGE POLICY IN PRIVATE SECTOR BUSINESSES IN WALES

Debates about language policy comprise more than just the language in question. It is mainly the political, economic, social, ideological and cultural contexts that nurture the discussion and shape the need for policies as well as their practical implications (Ricento 2006). As language policy is concomitant to choice (Spolsky 2004), language choices between the minority and the majority language are affected by top-down pressures, e.g. government aspirations, and bottom-up needs and desires.

The juxtaposition of explicit and implicit Welsh-English bilingual scenarios and language policy mechanisms (Shohamy 2006) gives thus rise to issues of language legislation and language policy, language ideologies, power struggles and conflicting discourses surrounding the promotion of Welsh in an ever more globalising world, where languages become increasingly commodified (Heller 2010). Recently, Wales has experienced a marked shift in language policy and planning, with the language being pushed into new areas of use, moving beyond the more traditional fields such as the public sector, the media or the field of education. With a new legislative framework in place and the Welsh Assembly Government's ambitious strategy of creating a 'truly bilingual Wales', private sector businesses have become identified as a germane space of bilingualism.

Taking cognizance of the complex issue at hand, the proposed paper considers how the discursive strategies in a set of policy documents are used to promote Welsh in the private sector and how these policies and inherent ideologies inform language choice in Welsh businesses. Specifically, this contribution seeks to examine what factors are conducive or counter-conducive to the use of Welsh in a business context, against the background of the concept of language choice and the disparate views on language as a need and/or language as a preference. The central research questions which the study sets out to address are the following: Which experiences and ideologies shape the use of Welsh in businesses? How is the promotion of Welsh in the private sector realised and discursively constructed in language policy documents? How do policies and ideologies inform language choice and vice versa?

In this talk, I first provide a contextual framework for examining the discourse on promoting Welsh in the private sector. Cardiff – the political, cultural, and economic hub of language planning activities – and Bangor – one of the 'heartlands' of the Welsh language – are the contexts for my empirical research. I then analyse examples of policy documents by drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis. Finally, I report specific findings from my empirical study based on questionnaires and qualitative interviews with firms located in Cardiff and Bangor in order to uncover how this language policy discourse, characterised by promotion and persuasion, compares with the stakeholders' perceived practices and beliefs.

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VEPSIAN LANGUAGE REVIVAL: LITERACY AND ORALITY

The Veps are a Finno-Ugric minority, dwelling in the north-western region of the Russian Federation and speaking a language classified as endangered by UNESCO (see website).

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union the government of the Republic of Karelia has financially supported Vepsian activists and their efforts in the promotion of Vepsian language and culture (Zaitseva 1989 & 2007; Klement'ev et al. 2007). They followed the steps of their predecessors in the late 1920s- - early 1930s in their revival approach (Zaitseva 1989 & 2007). Until then, however, Vepsian has only been used orally and mainly in the villages (Strogal'shchikova 2008). The activists of the 1980s movement, indeed, created a written form of Vepsian, which began being taught in schools of the multi-ethnic Petrozavodsk, the Capital of Karelia, and several villages spread around the territory, where the Veps dwell. Despite the revival efforts, the censuses carried out in Russia in 2002 and 2010 witnessed a drop in the number of the speakers of Vepsian, which caused concern for both the policy-makers and the activists (see website). Thanks to my one-year long fieldwork, I could observe a discrepancy in the way the language is used in the villages (i.e., its oral mode) and the way the language is promoted both in the city and in the villages (i.e., per its written capacity). Privileging the promotion of the codified form of Vepsian is mainly due to a formalist, Soviet legacy which portrays the written form of a language as 'more evolved' and 'more civilized' than its oral use (Slezkine 1994). With this presentation, I aim to show how there is a need to deconstruct the application of evolutionary theories to language use. This is particularly true in the context of a language revival movement, where all the 'ecologies' of the language need to be taken into consideration (Mühlhäusler 1996; 2000).

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ZAPPETTINI, FRANCO

University of London, Birkbeck College, United Kingdom

'A BADGE OF EUROPEANNESS IF YOU LIKE': SHAPING IDENTITY THROUGH THE EU'S INSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSE ON MULTILINGUALISM

Adopting a social constructivist perspective and using Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) this paper aims to illuminate the role of the EU's institutional discourse on multilingualism in the construction and reproduction of Europeanness. The research gathers data from a corpus of official speeches given by the European Commissioner for Multilingualism between 2007 and 2010. Data is analysed to identify how linguistic realisations sustain the major discursive topoi (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) related to (multi)linguistic ideologies and how these in turn feed into the wider discourses of EU integration and identity. Findings suggest that discourses on multilingualism - largely a recontextualisation of the Lisbon Treaty and other key policy documents - have been instrumental in drawing on cultural, civic and economic narratives to construct Europeanness as a sui generis identity thus reflecting the inherent tensions of the 'Unity in Diversity' philosophy and the market imperatives. The discursive construction of Europeanness has primarily relied on a conflation of discourses organized around representations of multilingualism as both a 'brought along' (cultural) and a 'brought about' (civic) dimension of Europeanness. At the same time Europeanness has been constructed in discourses related to the democratisation of the EU polity and its institutions through topoi of linguistic equality, communication and citizenship. These discourses have been instrumental in positioning Europeanness vis-a-vis other identities by claiming uniqueness for the normative recognition of the European in-group's linguistic diversity as well as the legitimisation of the EU itself. Finally it is argued that, whilst distancing itself from monist ideologies, through the constraints of its own institutional setup, the EU' discourse on multi-lingualism has possibly nevertheless contributed to a reproduction of the nation-state vision of language and identity.

GUNEY, AFET University of EXETER, United Kingdom

LANGUAGE POLICY IN NICOSIA-CYPRUS, THE LAST DIVIDED CAPITAL OF EUROPE: REMOVING POLITICAL BARRIERS, CREATING SPACES FOR PEACE THROUGH MOTH-ER TONGUE + 2 POLICY

This paper explores the influence of socio-political changes on and their implications for the language policies in Cyprus. The island of Cyprus has an interesting socio-political context in that social changes have always been influential in determining its 'future', that changing in the shade of unresolved

'Cyprus Problem' or 'a political cliché'. Startingin the Colonial period, and developed in 1950s with Archbishop Makarios' (the Greek Cypriot leader) desire for attachment with Greece, ethnic conflict issues became aggravated with Turkey's 'intervention', or in Greek Cypriots' words, their 'invasion' of the island, in 1974. The de facto division of the island in 1974, however, created a barrier between the two communities with the result that the shared culture and social interaction were divided(Kizilyurek and Kizilyurek, 2004).

The country entered in EU in 2004 (Jones, 2006, p. 17). There are very few bi-communal activities that provide a common space to students for interaction. Therefore, Jones (2006) suggests that there is a need for reconciliation between two communities. As Lederach (1997) explains, reconciliation requires a 'focus' (relational aspects of conflict and solution) and a 'locus' (the social space where people, ideas and stories are shared). This suggests that the stakeholders of education should take initiative, if there is a desire, to closing the gap between the two societies.

The paper focuses on the role of the language and identity in the island and pays particular attention to Greek-Turkish language-in-education policies adopted by the de jure state of the Republic of Cyprus (RC) and de facto state of the Turkish Republic and Northern Cyprus (TRNC) since 2004. Although the ministry of education departments of the two states have made the Greek and Turkish languages available in their curriculums with other European languages, it seems that the Greek and Turkish languages, spoken by the two communities living in the same island, deserve much attention from the governments and adoption of a national policy not only in principle but also in practice. Taking into account the EU and Council of Europe's 'pluralingual-ism' and 'mother language plus two' policies, it is an opportunity to bridge the common aspects of the two cultures, the Greek and Turkish Cypriot, through language, which have been influenced by each other and use teaching of Greek and Turkish beyond their linguistic purposes.

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KOSKELA, MERJA (1); VIK-TUOVINEN, GUN-VIOL (2)

1: University of Vaasa, Finland, Communication Studies; 2: University of Vaasa, Finland, Scandinavian Languages

TALK-ABOUT-LANGUAGE AS DISCURSIVE PRACTICE IN FORMAL BILINGUAL MEETINGS

Finland is a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish (5.4 % of the population) as the national languages. Therefore, some of the administrative organs function bilingually. The present study focuses on the discursive practices of negotiating the choice of language in formal bilingual meetings. We define formal bilingual meetings a meeting where Finnish and Swedish are spoken and where the meeting documents are provided in two languages. In the meeting the chair as well as officials and other experts normally use both languages, whereas participants may use their own mother tongue. (See Language Act 423/2003.) Our aim is to explore how the participants of such meeting-participants that overtly deal with aspects of language use in a bilingual setting are analyzed. The term discursive practice refers to the implicit and explicit rules and conventions that govern what people are allowed and expected to do in specific roles or relationships. They regulate how people think, act, and speak in certain social positions. (See e.g. Gee 1990; Fairclough 2000.)

Our material consists of recordings of formal bilingual meetings: meetings of the city council of the city of Vaasa and meetings of the Regional Co-operation Group of Ostrobothnia (MYR) in the bilingual region of western Finland. Vaasa has a Swedish-speaking minority of 25 %, while the region as a whole has a bare majority of Swedish speaking inhabitants. The MYR Group is responsible for the national administration of EU structural fund programs in the region. The council meetings and the MYR meetings are both conducted as bilingual meetings. However, simultaneous interpreting service is provided during the council meetings but not during the MYR meetings.

This study is part of a larger research project launched in 2010, Bilingualism and multicultural Finland – best practices and future challenges for professional discourse. In line with Levine (2009), we call the phenomenon studied Talk-about-language. According to Levine (2009: 33), language can be a dedicated topic of conversation, a part of an ongoing conversation or a marker of a shift in the direction of conversation. Our results indicate that Talk-about-language occurs especially when the chair exercises language brokering and when the normal bilingual conventions are broken. Each social setting is bound with its own conventions, and all language use reflects these conventions. We believe that negotiating the conventions of language use reveals unspoken features of bilingual social settings.

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DU PLESSIS, LODEWYK THEODORUS University of the Free State, RSA, South Africa

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE POLICY IN LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE CHANGES IN A RURAL AREA OF THE FREE STATE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Following on a paper about the role of language policy in the multilingual city of Bloemfontein and capital of the Free State Province of South Africa (Du Plessis 2010), in which evidence was found of a systematic anglicisation of the urban linguistic landscape (LL), the question arose whether similar tendencies were present in the rural landscape of the same province. The process of urban anglicisation was shown in this study to be linked to the language strategies of the new ruling party, the African National Congress, which also controls most of the rural municipalities of the province. But what is the case in a rural setting? Does the same tendency apply? In pursuance of these questions a comprehensive LL survey was conducted during 2008 and 2009 in three major towns of the Kopanong Municipality, a rural regional municipality in the Southern Free State. The survey was conducted in three of the largest towns of this municipality, eg. in the capital (Trompsburg), the first white residential town of the area (Philippolis) and a historically

English-speaking town (Springfontein), all situated within a 100km radius of each other. The data were analysed in terms of three aspects: the regulatory framework of official language visibility on public signs that are found in the area, the realisation of language visibility on regulated public signs and the language attitudes of citizens from the three towns. A central finding is that significant changes in the LL of the three towns are being introduced by external role-players, such as provincial and national government agencies. The removal of Afrikaans from the LL is one of the prominent features of this change. However, the external intervention does not necessarily lead to a systematic anglicisation of the LL in similar fashion as is found in the city of Bloemfontein. Consideration is given whether this apparent discrepancy can be attributed to rural forces and to a lack of urbanisation in the area. The study offers insight into the dynamics of the management of language visibility as a factor in constructing a new rural identity.

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LENIHAN, AOIFE

University of Limerick, Ireland

THE INTERACTION OF LANGUAGE POLICY, MINORITY LANGUAGES & NEW MEDIA: FACEBOOK

Previous research theorises language policy as explicit language legislation or planning efforts carried out by the state in a 'top-down' manner and as operating within a vacuum, managing one language and one linguistic modification, language revival, literacy development, etc. (Kaplan, 1994). Media were seen as a 'domain' through which language planners could 'channel' their endeavours, however, the new globalised media context challenges these conceptualisations. The communicative landscape has changed exponentially over the past decade and so too have the contexts of production and reception (Johnson & Ensslin, 2007). The re-ordering of discursive contexts, increased public participation and interactivity have changed the notion of co-presence where language users are (ibid). But new technologies have also heightened the linguistic reflexivity of language users and the policing and disciplining of language, discourse and communication (ibid). As Kaplan and Bauldauf (1997) write, companies, groups and individuals are now impacting on the language situation. In the current context language policy must be conceptualised and investigated in an expanded sense, its remit being all decisions made about language on any level, explicit or implicit, overt or covert (Shohamy, 2006; Schiffman, 1996; 2006). This research investigates 'top-down' language policy and also the increasingly 'bottom-up' language practices and covert policies in new media. It aspires to draw conclusions about how to situate and perhaps redefine both 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' language policies and their roles in language policy and practice with regard to minority languages. The case study is the Facebook 'Translations' application, which is an application Facebook users can add to their profile on the site. It facilitates the translation of the Facebook website from the original US English into 105 languages (as of January 2012) by Facebook users. Theusers participating in this translation effort are known as 'translators' and are demarcated in communities according to the language they are translating. How Facebook manage localisation and multilingualism via the 'Translation' application appears to challenge the dichotomy of 'top-down'/'bottom-up' in language policy. It cannot be described simply as a 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' language policy effort, rather many levels of language policy both 'top' and 'bottom' are involved. This paper will consider the 'hybrid' model that is evolving on Facebook, its possibilities and consequences for minority language communities and for wider theoretical conceptualisations of language policy.

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Ó GIOLLAGÁIN, CONCHÚR National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland

FROM REVIVALIST TO UNDERTAKER: NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN OFFICIAL POLICIES AND ATTITUDES TO IRELAND'S 'FIRST LANGUAGE.'

The debate in Ireland concerning issues of language policy and ethnolinguistic diversity has been transformed in recent years. To a large extent, this change is as a result of government-commissioned research reports (Ó Giollagáin and Mac Donnacha et al. 2007, and Fiontar 2009) which have sought to engender debate and inform policy initiatives. This paper offers an analysis of the official culmination of this process: the 20 Year Strategy for the Irish Language 2010-2030 (Government of Ireland 2010). Ó Giollagáin and Mac Donnacha et al. (2007) indicates that the combination of demographic pressures on the Gaeltacht, the internal social dynamics operating within the Gaeltacht communities and the dominant influence of a majority-language youth culture is undermining the ability of Irish-speaking parents to foster the emergence of a sufficiently large proportion of Irish speakers in the various Gaeltacht communities for the intergenerational acquisition process to be completed. The analysis in this paper will primarily address the Irish Government's response to this crisis, but also seeks to question whether national and international discourse on the bilingual condition (and its trope of consensual cultural hybridity) is adequately addressing the ethnolinguistic crisis in minority language groups, i.e. the contraction in linguistic functionality of young minority language speakers in the bilingual context. The discursive tension between multilingual cosmopolitan aspirations and unaddressed minority-language realities of peripheral disadvantage will also be discussed. The creative tension between the consideration afforded to performative aspects (art, aesthetics and media) of minority cultures in contact with minority and majority audiences, on the one hand, and the implications of the power relations which determine the social functionality of minority linguistic cultures, on the other hand, will also be addressed. This paper asserts that the new (albeit undisclosed) official policy in Ireland is not to interven

social collapse of Irish as the native language of Gaeltacht people, but to pursue an actual language policy which will merely facilitate and support the use of Irish in second language educational and aesthetic endeavours. The paper concludes that the investment in what is effectively a policy façade - a fatalistic, sociolinguistic neo-liberalism - rather than ethnolinguistic substance, has the potential to generate a cottage industry of language ideology with only a weak potential to engage systematically with existing trends which are undermining the language's vitality.

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GERMEYS, KIM

Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

UNIVERSITY TOWNS AS CENTRES FOR SOCIAL LANGUAGE PLANNING AGENCY: THE FLEMISH CASE IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The present-day area of Flanders witnessed a series of geo-political changes during the early 19th century with important sociolinguistic consequences. After 80 years of French domination, the Southern Low Countries became part of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1814. In this new state Standard Northern Dutch met (alleged) 'dialectal' and 'non-standardised' Southern Dutch.

In 1830 Flanders became the northern part of bilingual Belgium. In this new nation, 'second rate' Southern Dutch, fit to be spoken by laborers and farmers had to compete with 'prestigious' French. Social inequality started to coincide with the linguistic divide. To fight off social stratification, elaboration of a standard variety of Dutch in Flanders was needed. On the level of variety selection this implied a choice between the existing Northern (and alleged 'protestant') standard versus establishing a Southern ('catholic') one stressing local Flemish identity.

Academia has played an important role in the process of social rehabilitation of the Dutch-speaking population through standardisation measures for the Dutch language. My research focuses on academic life in three Belgian university towns, being Brussels, Leuven and Ghent

Philologists participated in social and scholarly networks in these urban contexts and acted in the socio-political sphere by constructing a philological discipline of Dutch, choosing norms and debating about the status of Dutch in Belgium.

Leerssen (2005: 14) recognises the importance of 'city cultures (civic academies, reading societies, newspapers)' as starting points for 'the infrastructure of sociability which provided a platform for early cultural nationalism'.

Despite many detail studies and contributions from neighbouring disciplines, this interaction of the academic world with the sociolinguistic struggle in 19th century Flanders has never been explored before in a coherent and encompassing sociolinguistic project.

I will present the newest insights from a case study of the situation in 19th century Brussels. These results will be integrated in the further outline of the project, looking at two other university cities (as mentioned above) in and beyond Belgium.

This project is part of the ongoing research on Dutch in 19th century Belgium carried out by the Vrije Universiteit Brussel's sociohistorical linguistics team.

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BELSACK, ELS A. Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB), Belgium

LANGUAGE PLANNING IN NORWAY AND FLANDERS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS.

During the long 19th century (1794-1914) many of the contemporary European nation states were formed. Their newborn governments all faced the same problem: how to unite the people of the state by means of one national language?

Selecting this specific standard language implied a choice between different languages or language varieties, some of which 'won' and were promoted through language planning measures from the government, institutions or individuals. Other languages 'lost' and their use was discouraged (or at least nealected).

Norway and Flanders were two textbook examples in this respect with highly comparable political, cultural and sociolinquistic histories and with remarkably similar standard language selection processes involving two competing possibilities. In Norway, two potential standards were proposed: Dano-Norwegian (later on also referred to as Riksmål and Bokmål) and Landsmål (also known as Nynorsk). In Flanders, the conflicting views between the integrationists and the particularists divided the intellectual elite: should Flanders have an own southern standard language or adopt the northern Dutch standard?

Despite the evident interest for language planning typology, there has been no in-depth comparative analysis of both cases to date. As such, this contribution will confront a series of crucial elements from both situations. Who where the prominent actors in the 'battle' between the two opposing standard language candidates? Which arguments did they use to promote their variety or to attack the other, or in other words: why was their proposed language/ variety supposedly a 'better' candidate to become the national standard language? Which similarities and dissimilarities can be detected when comparing the Nynorsk and particularist movements on the one side, and Bokmål and integrationist camp on the other side? Can some of the tendencies discussed here be generalized in a broader Nordic or European context? The discussion will feature examples from the ongoing analysis of primary archive material and is intended to stimulate further discussion about the nature of the historical language planning processes in Flanders, Norway and beyond.

SVAVARSDÓTTIR. ÁSTA (1): RÖGNVALDSSON. EIRÍKUR (2): ÞÓRHALLSDÓTTIR. GUÐRÚN (2): BERNHARÐSSON. HARALDUR (2); SIGTRYGGSSON, JÓHANNES BJARNI (1); ÓSKARSSON, VETURLIÐI (3,2) 1: Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies; 2: University of Iceland; 3: Uppsala University

LINGUISTIC VARIATION AND THE EMERGENCE OF A NATIONAL STANDARD IN 19TH **CENTURY ICELANDIC**

Fundamental changes took place in Icelandic society in the 19th and 20th centuries, which affected the language in various ways. During this period, the status of Icelandic changed from that of a remote minority language in the Danish kingdom to a national language in a sovereign state, used in all spheres of society. In assuming the role of an official language, a common linguistic norm had to be defined and developed. We are focusing on the beginnings of the standardization of Icelandic in the 19th century, and studying its linguistic, sociolinguistic and ideological foundations. At this time, there were no official institutions in the country that could propose a standard, which thus largely came to be formed by influential individuals. The dominant model for the emerging standard was the medieval language and the attitudes tended towards purification of the language, both with respect to variants deriving from post-medieval language change and from language contact. The questions we want to answer concern the nature and the spread of internal and external linguistic changes; the distribution of linguistic variants and their correlation with sociolinguistic and stylistic factors; and the influence of expressed opinions on linguistic features and of organized intervention on the linguistic development. Earlier research has revealed the importance of the medieval linguistic model in 19th and 20th century language ideology, but it has never been investigated empirically if and how contemporary linguistic and sociolinguistic factors affected the proposed standard. A central and fundamental guestion, with general theoretical relevance, is the following: Is it possible to reverse a linguistic change? A potential case is a change affecting the inflection of a set of masculine nouns, where the nom.sg. ending -r was reinterpreted as belonging to the stem. The older pattern was apparently extinct by the mid-19th century, when a well-known language reformer suggested a return to the earlier inflection. The older variants were in fact standardized and became dominant in the modern language. This would thus be an example of the revival of an extinct linguistic feature by deliberate effort, if it indeed holds true that the earlier inflection had practically disappeared. This has yet to be verified by investigating the distribution of the competing variants in 19th century texts.

We are analyzing selected linguistic variables, relevant with respect to the standardization, by applying a variationist approach and methodology. We apply two corpora of written texts from the 19th century as a basis for our analysis, one of private letters and other personal writings, and the other of newspapers and journals, and indications of an emerging standard are both sought in actual language use and in contemporary views on language use expressed in 19th century newspapers and textbooks. The frequency and distribution of different variants are studied and correlated with stylistic and sociolinguistic factors in order to reveal their potential influence on the choice of standard variants. The results of the project will contribute to our understanding of how and to what extent linguistic changes can be affected by language standardization.

THORAT, ASHOK RANGNATH; LOKHANDWALA, MUNIRA Institute of Advanced Studies in English, India

REVITALIZING INDIAN LANGUAGES: A CASE STUDY OF MARATHI

India is a land of many ethnic groups using 1652 languages and dialects including 22 major languages listed in the Indian constitution. And even if India is not an exception to the worldwide phenomenon of decay and death of languages, the 22 major Indian languages flourished and dominated the linguistic space till the discrete entry of English. The story of English in India is the story of increasing expansion of functional domains. First it was the language of administration, then judiciary, then education and finally entertainment and home. Though the seeds were sown during the British Raj, the real dominance has been witnessed after India became independent. Particularly after 1961, there has been a phenomenal growth in the number of speakers of English, whereas the numbers of speakers of the major Indian languages has been steadily declining. The speakers of Marathi, for example, declined from 7.6% in 1961 to 6.9% in 2001. On the other hand, speakers of English increased from 2.32% in 1961 to 11.38% in 2001. The Census figures indicate that all the major Indian languages are 'threatened languages'. Alarmed by the power of English, Indian cultural elites, politicians and governments have initiated policies and programs to revitalize the Indian languages. One of the functional domains where Indian languages lag is the field of science and technology. In order to overcome this shortcoming, Indian Government launched a program known as TDIL (Technology Development for Indian Languages) that facilitated the use of Indian languages in science and technology. Similarly various State Governments introduced their own language policies in order to promote the indigenous languages. Marathi language has been a major beneficiary of these policies. Revitalization efforts at the cultural level, particularly in the metropolitan cities like Mumbai and Pune, have a very strong and positive impact on the Governments as well as the masses. Marathi literary movements, theater academies and pilgrimages like 'Pandharpur Wari' have been playing a vital role in reestablishing the glory of Marathi language and culture. Growing facilities of research and publications along with government grants and awards for cultural activities have generated enthusiasm among Marathi speakers. Political movements like 'Angrezi Hatao' and agitations for making it compulsory to write the signboards and nameplates in Marathi have mobilized the public support for the cause of revitalization of Marathi language. These movements, mainly carried out in Mumbai and Pune, have far-reaching impact on the attitude of government as well as the masses in Maharashtra State. The main aim of the present paper is to contextualize various efforts in the cities of Mumbai and Pune to revitalize Marathi language and to evaluate the impact of these efforts. It is hypothesized that these efforts, put together, will adequately strengthen this language and will help remove the lebel of 'threatened language'. References 1. Chaudhary Shreesh (2009). Foreigners and Foreign Languages in India: A Sociolinguistic History. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press 2. Krishnaswamy N. & Burde Archana (1998). The Politics of Indians' English. New Delhi: Oxford University Press 3. Phillipson Robert (2009). Linguistic Imperialism Continued. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan

HISS, FLORIAN University of Tromsø, Norway

CHANGING THE TOWN'S IDENTITY? – LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND THE DEBATE ON BILINGUAL LANGUAGE POLICIES

The paper focuses on local people's evaluations in their reactions to the possible implementation of Sámi-Norwegian bilingual policies in the town of Tromsø. Tromsø is the largest town of Northern Norway and often proudly described as 'Paris of the North' or 'Arctic Gateway'. It is the urban centre of a large and sparsely populated region, which is the home of three ethnic groups, Sámi, Kven, and Norwegians. After a long period of linguistic assimilation, the Sámi are granted a number of linguistic rights, which protect the usage, maintenance, and development of their language. However, the sociolinguistic situation is still loaded with ideological perceptions about linguistic differences that result from experiences of assimilation and stigmatization. Against this sociolinguistic background, the case study focuses on a debate on the implementation of bilingual language policies in Tromsø. The local politicians' plan to introduce the regulations of an 'administrative area for the Sámi language' in Tromsø was encountered by conflicting language ideologies and attitudes and precipitated a vivid and partly rude debate about ethnic and local identity (e.g. viewing Sámi as a symbol of the rural that threatens the city's identity). The analysis of newspaper texts (letters to the editor, contributions on discussion pages, etc.), in which local people engage in the metalinguistic debate, reveals on the one hand the reproduction of language ideologies through the semiotic processes of iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure (Irvine & Gal 2000). On the other hand, it traces the linguistic mechanisms and strategies of evaluation and stance-taking (Martin & White 2005; Jaffe 2009) and reveals how writers anchor their evaluations and personal stances to the relations between the self, the recipients, and shared, ideological systems of values (Östman 2005), Ideologies about Sámi and Norwegian are mainly brought up implicitly in these relations. Quite a large number of evaluations are expressed as judgements of other people's behaviour and attitudes, and, though it is the issue that triggered the debate. language turns out to play only a marginal role as a target of most writers' evaluations. On the basis of these findings, the paper discusses the ideological boundaries that writers construe simultaneously with their construction of interactional bonds, the metalinguistic contextualization of the Sámi language in the debate at issue, and the impact of these on the implementation of bilingual language policies.

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MARTIN-RUBIO, XAVIER

Departament Educació Generalitat de Catalunya, Spain

NATIONAL IDENTITY, LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY, AND CONTEMPORARY DISCOURSES

My proposal addresses the question: 'How are ideological connections between language, place, and identity constructed in contemporary discourse?' An old but still hegemonic discourse in Western society is the nationalist discourse. Its ideological basis can be captured in the equation: a territory = a people = a language = a nation. Back in 2003 I started collecting ethnographic data from two high schools, one in Vitoria-Gasteiz and another one in Lleida with the intention of identifying how nationalist discourse perpetuated itself. I interviewed some students and some teachers (individually and in groups) about their feelings of allegiance, their relationship to the languages they knew, and about their beliefs in relation to language learning. I adopted Critical Discourse Analysis as the analytical framework and used Membership Categorisation Analysis as the main analytical tool. This helped me to see how people reproduce our identities and ideologies in the social practices in which we participate, and how this in turn contributes to the reproduction or challenging of the discourses present in a given society.

Nationalist discourse was particularly relevant across the analysed data. One of the students in Lleida, that I will call Lluna, complained of the people arrived in Catalonia (PLACE) from elsewhere who refused to learn and use Catalan (LANGUAGE). If they did, they could be considered Catalan (PEOPLE), but by refusing the LANGUAGE, they were refusing the TERRITORY and the PEOPLE. A second powerful discourse nowadays is banal nationalist discourse. This is important in a world in which nationalism is so hegemonic. The ideological basis of this discourse is that one can feel, for instance, Spanish, and defend the idea that Spain is a single nation with a national language without being a nationalist; it is just being patriotic and applying common sense. Those in Catalonia or Euskadi who claim these two territories are nations, however, are nationalists. The people who reproduce this discourse would not label their discourse 'banal nationalism', and in fact, most of them will argue that they are not interested in nationalism. This is why it is sometimes hard to distinguish it from the anti-nationalist discourse. This last discourse uses the argument that we are all citizens of the world; that flags and borders are a thing of the past; and that languages should be used to unite people rather than to divide them.

The analyses of the data show the complexity of the process of ideology and identity construction in a given language practice. In one of the group sessions in Lleida, Lluna has to confront a student who is a living example of the behaviour she so strongly criticises: a girl (Lidia), arrived in Lleida aged 2, and who refuses to use Catalan. Lidia's argument, however, is that she has no problem being addressed in Catalan, but sees no reason why she should use Catalan when her entire family and most people in her neighbourhood use Spanish. Ultimately, deciding whether Lidia is contributing to reproducing a banal nationalist discourse or not depends on who does the analysis. **COMPTON, SARAH ELAINE** University of Jyväskylä, Finland

NEGOTIATING SIGN LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICIES: DETERMINING EDUCA-TIONAL CONTEXTS FOR DEAF STUDENTS IN THE US

Understanding ways in which national language-in-education policies are appropriated within local contexts has garnered the attention of researchers within the field of applied linguistics (Johnson, 2009; Menken & Garcia, 2010). Similarly, US policymakers are keenly interested in the 'complex interplay' among formal policies and actual practices on the ground (National Council on Disability, 2008). Contributing to this interplay are the diverse language ecologies that exist within schools and classrooms where language policies are negotiated (Hornberger & Hult, 2008). In the case of deaf students, the US national language-in-education policy-the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)-sets forth a continuum of educational contexts. Teachers, administrators, and parents meet once a year to create individualized sign language goals for each deaf student and decide which educational environment supports the specific language goals. The language ecology of each context varies considerably. In a mainstream classroom, English is the language of instruction/communication; in a school for the deaf, sign language. There are hundreds of mainstream classrooms in the US. However, most states have only one school for the deaf (Moores, 2009). This paper, then, aims to examine how the practice of creating sign language goals and determining educational placement is influenced by access to multilingual/multimodal educational contexts such as a school for the deaf. I do so by drawing on data from an ethnographic, discourse-analytic (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) study conducted in an urban school district located close to a school for the deaf on the eastern US coast. The data consist of transcripts from audio-recorded interviews with teachers, administrators and parents; students' individualized language goals; and fieldnotes from observations of the team meetings where the language goals and placement decisions were determined. Employing Nexus Analysis (Scollon, 2004) as a conceptual framework for examining social action, I analyze the discourses and processes that circulate through this practice whereby new, individualized language policies are created for deaf students. In particular, I examine the discursive links among IDEA, the sign language goals, and the language ecology of the educational contexts. In conclusion, I suggest ways in which this practice serves as language planning for deaf students' daily sign language practices and similarly influences the language ecology of the city.

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CHATZIDAKI, ASPASSIA; MALIGKOUDI, CHRISTINA University of Crete, Greece

LANGUAGE POLICIES AMONG ALBANIAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN GREECE

The research reported here is part of a larger investigation which focused on Albanian immigrant families and their views and practices with regard to their children's bilingualism, as well as to the Greek state's response to cultural diversity in education (Maligkoudi 2010). Our approach to *family language policy* is basically informed by Spolsky's conceptualization of *language policy* (Spolsky 2004).We investigate Albanian families' language policies in terms of the complex interplay between *language ideologies, practices* and *language management*. With regard to language ideologies, we focus particularly on parental expectations, that is 'the beliefs and goals that parents have for their children's multilingual development and educational outcomes" (Curdt-Christiansen 2009:356), as parental beliefs about what constitutes 'good parenting' are central in shaping their practices with regard to bilingual upbringing (King and Fogle 2006).

Thirty-seven families living in Northern Greece took part in the study. They were interviewed on patterns of family language use and on their views and practices regarding ethnic language maintenance and their children's education. The subjects' discourse was analyzed through *content analysis;* the combined 'reading' of the data with regard to the families' ideologies and practices/management led us to distinguish between three groups: A first group of parents (n=4) sees no point in transmitting the ethnic language to their children and has abandoned its use altogether. A second group of parents (n=21) expresses positive views on ethnic language maintenance and reports the use of Albanian with their children; however, such parents seem resigned to their children's preference for Greek and do not take any concrete measures to ensure ethnic language transmission. The third group of families (n=12), on the other hand, is characterized by a strong commitment to the maintenance of Albanian; not only do parents insist on its use by their children but they also engage in literacy practices to develop the ethnic language, which results in more successful language maintenance. On the other hand, all subjects show a strong interest in their children's good command of Greek and educational success. Our subjects' diverse views of 'good parenting', shaped in turn by dominant discourse on immigrant bilingualism, seem to influence their family language policies. While many parents regard bilingualism and a sense of a strong ethnic identity as assets for their children, the majority considers it their primary duty to help their children achieve integration and social mobility through Greek.

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General Session: Language in Politics

WEE. LIONEL National University of Singapore, Singapore

THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF ORGANIZATIONAL STYLING

The sociolinguistics of style, originally conceptualized by Labov as intra-speaker variation arising from more or less careful/formal speech (Coupland 2007: 38), has in recent times been reconceptualized so as to give greater weight to speakers' strategies for meaning making. In the course of this reconceptualization, not only has the understanding of style been broadened so that formality is just one of the many possible social meanings that speakers might be concerned with, greater attention has also been given to the processual and agentive dimensions of style, that is, to how speakers actively make use of the linguistic and non-linguistic resources available to them in order to project social identities and influence or construct social relationships. The reconceptualization therefore makes it more appropriate to speak in general of 'styling' rather than 'style' (Coupland 2007: 2). Nevertheless, this shift towards styling as agentive, deliberate and strategic remains true to the earlier Labovian conception in one important respect: It is very much focused on speakers, or more generally, persons. Less attention has been given to the styling activities of other entities such as organizations. This omission is puzzling given that, unlike the original conception of style, there is no definitional constraint that insists on limiting styling to speakers. Styling has been reconceptualized as involving 'creative, design-oriented processes' that serve as 'resources for meaning-making' (Coupland 2007: 3), which means that there is no reason why we should not speak of and attend to the styling of organizations.

Organizations are 'social units where individuals are conscious of their membership and legitimize their co-operative activities by reference to the attainment of impersonal goals rather than to moral standards' (Albrow 1997: 29). Unlike persons (who are born), organizations are created. They are entities that have been established in order to serve particular goals (Parsons 1960: 17). These goals (selling insurance, providing matchmaking services, raising funds for charity, etc.) impose significant constraints on organizational styling. In fact, one of the key steps involved in creating an organization is the specification of just what kind of organization it is supposed to be and hence what kind of purpose it is supposed to fulfill. An organization's styling will thus have to be consistent with its 'primary' purpose.

The ontological status of organizations therefore leads to different styling constraints than those that might be visited upon persons, and in this paper, I discuss various properties (agency versus accountability, authenticity versus sincerity, high versus mundane performance) that distinguish organizational styling from the styling of persons, taking as my point of departure the properties of styling identified by Coupland (2007).

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TSAKONA, VILLY

Democritus University of Thrace, Greece

PUTTING GREECE IN A PLASTER CAST: THE RECENT HISTORY OF AN OLD META-PHOR

Political metaphor is a powerful means of persuasion, since it is employed to explain in simple terms vague, abstract, or even morally suspect concepts by turning them into images of everyday experience. Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2005, Goatly 2007) aims at identifying metaphors and analyzing their function as ideological tools used for the construction of political ideologies and myths. It explores why specific metaphors appear in specific contexts by pointing out speakers' unspoken intentions.

The present study investigates the GREECE IS A SICK PERSON IN A PLASTER CAST metaphor, which originates in the public speeches of the Greek dictator George Papadopoulos and other prominent members of his regime during the Greek military junta (1967-1974). This metaphor became emblematic of the regime and even today its mention strongly evokes the political discourse of that period. I intend to show that the metaphor re-emerged during the outburst of the Greek financial crisis to refer to the austerity measures imposed to overcome economical problems. After a brief discussion of the original use of the metaphor, I will try to shed some light on the ideological standpoints and goals of its current use. Furthermore, I will try to show that, as Musolff (2010: 36) suggests, there is a 'public domain medium-term memory' which allows speakers to recycle and reframe metaphorical conceptualizations.

The data analyzed comes, first, from the public speeches of the leaders of the Greek military junta; second, from the Corpus of Greek Texts; and, third, from online media texts published during 2010 and referring to the negotiations of the Greek government with the International Monetary Fund, the European Central Bank, and the European Commission. Such diverse sources of data allow for tracing and describing how this metaphor resulted in the creation of an idiom mostly attested in media and political discourse and recently employed to refer to the current political situation in Greece. The main point of the analysis is that, although this metaphor began its career as a propaganda tool at the dictators' disposal, aiming at legitimizing their policies regarding civil rights and the freedom of the press, it has been transformed gradually into tool of protest (if not of passive resistance) against state (and international) policies. The plaster cast metaphor has motivated semantic extension and hence polysemy through a set of idiomatic phrases in Greek, and has been recycled to suit the purposes of journalists and the common people protesting against political authority and what they see as the violation of their rights, a transfer of sovereignty from the Greek government to the IMF, and a symbol of immobility affecting the economy it purports to 'save'

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WENINGER, CSILLA; TEO, PETER

Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

'A LITTLE ISLAND WITH NO NATURAL RESOURCES': THE GEOGRAPHICAL GROUND-ING OF NATIONAL NARRATIVES IN SINGAPORE

This paper seeks to map the ways in which Singaporean political rhetoric of nation-building in the past four decades has been grounded in a geographical imagining of Singapore as a small island with limited natural resources. In order to do so, a data set consisting of over 300 political speeches is examined from a critical discourse analytic perspective. First, the authors investigate the trope of spatial constraints as a key element in the 'origin myth' of the Singaporean nation. Second, the continued evocation of this trope is examined as a discursive strategy deployed by the Singaporean government to justify its policy decisions and directions, particularly regarding human resource. The paper highlights how such powerful linkage between geography and nation produces a powerful statal narrative (Wee & Bokhorst-Heng, 2005) that shapes Singaporeans' perceptions of and attitudes towards space and place, which in turn helps to regulate citizens' behavior. As the authors show, such regulatory effect is achieved through constant emphasis in political rhetoric on values, which firmly cements sentiments of spatial and national belonging within a moral framework. As a second strand of analysis, the paper also examines how official rhetoric has been challenged on various online forums in the last several years as citizens offer their own interpretations of the nation-space relationship. Such counter-narratives often disrupt and deconstruct the official moral-geographical tale of the Singaporean nation and point to the internet as a site of ideological contestation among Singapore's citizenry.

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PAFFEY, DARREN JAMES

University of Southampton, United Kingdom

OF PRESIDENTS AND PROTESTORS: DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES IN CHILE'S EDUCA-**TIONAL CONFLICT**

Between May and December 2011, a wave of student protests occurred in the Chilean capital of Santiago and other major cities throughout the country. The protests were a response to government proposals to allow further privatisation of the higher education sector, in the context of a country whose education system has been judged by UNESCO to promote inequality and division along class lines (UNESCO/Muñoz 2011). In response to the occupation of schools and huge public marches organised by university students, Sebastian Piñera - Chile's first right-wing President since the Pinochet era - announced the 'Gran Acuerdo Nacional de la Educación' (Grand National Agreement on Education). Following more demonstrations in July, the Gran Acuerdo was amended and announced again in August, and a third version was unveiled at the end of August. Drawing on the critical discourse analytical frameworks offered by Fairclough (2001) and Wodak (1999, 2009), this paper considers the argumentation strategies employed by President Piñera in these successive high-profile policy proposals announced in relatively guick succession throughout July and August. It considers how the students' position and actions are framed in relation to the position of the government, and how the students' perceived cause is discursively constructed by Piñera in order to then make his own case. The study also draws on Aristotle's three-part model of the means of persuasion (through personality and stance, arousal of emotion, and reasoning. Beard 2000:37) to analyse the persuasive strategies employed by Piñera in his efforts to legitimise and validate his government's own position in contrast to that of the protestors. I look not only at the elite voices and institutional discourse (Thornborrow 2002) of the government and Presidency, but also critically analyse the 'grassroots' voices emerging from students and other participants in the protests, asking whether similar discursive strategies are apparent in their discourse, or whether these voices and discourses are constructed in different wavs.

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GARRIDO, MARIA ROSA

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

NGOS AS TRANSNATIONAL COMMUNITIES: INTERDISCURSIVE CHAINS AND INSTITU-TIONAL NARRATIVES IN AN EMMAUS CHAPTER IN BARCELONA

The goal of this paper is to explore the appropriation and entextualisation of transnational discourses and subjectivities in a transnational NGO called Emmaus, located in Barcelona (Catalonia, Spain). The analysis is grounded on Bakhtin's intertextuality (1981), understood as semiosis across encounters that involves social relations among people and institutions that create and support those textual relations (Gal 2003). The research reported on here forms part of a larger multi-sited ethnography of Emmaus which explores the transnational articulation of two local chapters -one in Barcelona and another one in London- which are embedded in different nation-states and urban sociolinguistic contexts that shape the type of multilingualism and the localisation of discourses (Kahn and Heller 2006).

Emmaus is a faith-based NGO founded by Abbé Pierre in post-war Paris and dedicated to the (re)insertion of homeless people through voluntary recycling work in live-in 'communities' in 36 nation-states. This research conceptualises Emmaus as a multilingual transnational imagined community formed by a network of heterogeneous communities of practice that share a stock of institutional texts, narratives and linguae francae. Emmaus ventriloquises and appropriates discourses, social categories and terms that clasp (Gal 2007) the NGO with Social Catholicism, Liberation Theology and altermondialisme. This interdiscursive community is organised around the founder's story and the paradigmatic stories of its members, in other words, a set of valued texts that produce dispositions and practices for members (Linde 2009). Socialisation into this community involves (re-)telling and performing one's own story as an Emmaus companion or volunteer within an institutional discursive community mainly based on affective labour.

This paper traces the interdiscursive chains between (a) the local members' personal narratives, both in the sociolinguistic interview and in everyday interactions, (b) the institutional Emmaus narratives, which blend local shared stories with the transnational imaginary, and (c) the foundational texts, notably the Universal Manifesto and Abbé Pierre's writings. The analysis draws on data collected during a seven-month critical sociolinguistic ethnography of the Barcelona chapter which includes ethnographic fieldnotes, interviews with key participants, interactional data from communitarian assemblies, photographs, institutional documents as well as publications and media materials about Emmaus. The triangulation of different data types sheds light on the linguistic, discursive and semiotic resources that index belonging to a transnational imagined community from a historicising perspective.

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SCLAFANI, JENNIFER (1,2)

1: Georgetown University, United States of America; 2: Hellenic American University, USA/Greece

TIM(ING) IS OF THE ESSENCE: THE CONSTRUCTION OF POLITICAL IDENTITY IN U.S. PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY DEBATES

Recent work on language and identity has emphasized the situated, emergent, relational, and ideological aspects of individual and group identity construction, focusing on constructs such as 'stance' and 'style' as a means for connecting micro-level linguistic strategies with intermediate-level aspects of social engagement and macro-level social structures (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Eckert and Rickford 2001, Englebretson 2007, Jaffe 2009). While such perspectives provide a solid contribution to sociolinguistic theory in their consideration of the scale and scope of the indexical potential of sociolinguistic variables (e.g. Eckert 2008, Irvine and Gal 2000), issues of temporality – including both timing and the representation of time – and their effect on the discursive construction of identity have been less systematically theorized, especially outside the study of narrative.

This study considers issues of temporality in the construction of political identity by closely investigating a segment of a 2011 U.S. primary presidential debate, in which seven candidates vying for the Republican Party nomination perform the speech act of personal introductions. Introductions have been shown to be constrained temporally and conventionally by local factors and generic norms (e.g., Myers 2006), and are an important feature in establishing a relationship with one's audience in public discourse. Taking into account the mediated nature of nationally televised debates, which involves a complex, spatially dispersed, and temporally displaced audience, candidates' introductions must involve an intricate interweaving of interpersonal alignments or footings (Goffman 1981). Embedded in these footings, candidates must present a coherent self by indexing temporal links between past and present (Duranti 2006), while simultaneously casting themselves as a viable candidate in the general election, hence indexing temporal links between present and future. Employing multiple analytical perspectives, including pragmatics, conversation analysis, interactional sociolinguistics, and multimodal discourse analysis, this study investigates both the effect of timing and the representation of past, present, and future time on the discursive construction of a personal political identity. It adds to the body of work on political discourse by focusing on what is usually considered the least 'political' aspect of political debates and demonstrating that introductions in fact play an important role in establishing distinctions and oppositions among candidates with similar political views. The analysis also deconstructs the notion of audience in the increasingly mediated environment of televised and socially networked political discourse. Finally, this study demonstrates that tim(ing) must be considered from multiple analytical perspectives in order to understand the role that temporality plays in political identity construct

KASANGA, LUANGA ADRIEN (1); BEN SAID, SELIN (2) 1: University of Bahrain, Bahrain; 2: National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University

THE DISCOURSE OF PROTEST: FRAMES OF IDENTITY, INTERTEXTUALITY, AND INTERDISCURSIVITY

Language is an important resource deployed to voice demands, express feelings, and, less often recognized, to give cultural and political meaning to protest action. Yet, the study of the discourse of protest is an under-researched area of sociolinguistics inquiry (one recent exception being Frekko 2009). This presentation aims to contribute to stimulating research in this area. It highlights the role of language, its intersection with, and its embedding in, protest as a social and political act. It underscores the power of language to mediate action and, thus, espouses the view of a symbiotic relationship between discourse and social action: discourse impacts and is impacted by the social act of protesting. Data come from protest signs from the Arab Spring protests, especially the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia and the Egyptian Revolution in January 2011. Use is made of a combination of Frame Analysis and (a number of tenets of) Mediated Discourse Analysis to examine code choice, the polyvalent character of the social act of protesting which can be interpreted in different frames or perspectives. In addition, intertextuality, a reputedly pervasive feature of discourse (Tannen 1989) or text (Fairclough 1992),

and interdiscursivity (e.g., Foxlee 2010), are examined by means of textual analysis. For this purpose, additional data are used. These data come from the worldwide protests following the disputed November 2011 presidential and parliamentary elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo. This discussion of the discourse of protest cuts across the following issues and themes: intertextuality, interdiscursivity, linguistic landscape, meditational and multimodal discourse.

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HALL-LEW, LAUREN (1); FRISKNEY, RUTH (1); SCOBBIE, JAMES (2) 1: University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom; 2: Queen Margaret University, United Kingdom

POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION AND PHONETIC VARIATION IN THE VOWELS OF SCOTTISH POLITICIANS

Previous work has argued that lexico-phonetic variables may be symbolic resources for a politician's construction of a political identity (Hall-Lew et al. 2010). Scottish Members of the UK Parliament (MPs) are particularly well-placed to exploit sociophonetic variation in this way, given the spectrum of linguistic differences between Standard Scottish English (SSE) and Southern Standard British English (SSBE). Wells (1982:394) describes 18th century Scottish MPs taking elocution lessons to be understood at the UK Parliament, and Scobbie et al. (1999) observe accommodation towards Received Pronunciation by Scottish MPs more recently. A notable exception is the Scottish National Party's (SNP) Alex Salmond, who appears to resist this tendency towards 'anglicised' speech (Carr and Brulard 2006). One question is to what extent political affiliation accounts for his exceptionality. The SNP defined itself in the last UK election as 'Scotland's party'; in contrast, Scottish Labour is part of the broader UK Labour party. Scottish Labour MPs may have greater motivation than SNP MPs to negotiate between different aspects of their professional identities – to give voice to their Scottish constituencies while simultaneously representing the voice of a UK political party. One difference between varieties is that there is a phonemic contrast in SSBE between TRAP, BATH and PALM classes while in SSE the low central vowel space is represented by a single phonemic class, CAT (Stuart-Smith 2008). Allophony within that class, however, renders realisations of CAT available for

One difference between varieties is that there is a phonemic contrast in SSBE between TRAP, BATH and PALM classes while in SSE the low central vowel space is represented by a single phonemic class, CAT (Stuart-Smith 2008). Allophony within that class, however, renders realisations of CAT available for stylistic purposes; this variation has been previously shown to correlate with both social class and regional differences within Scotland. By controlling for class and region, we investigate whether it further correlates with political affiliation. Our analysis is based on seven politicians currently in the UK Parliament – one politically 'neutral' Southern English MP, three Scottish SNP MPs and three Scottish Labour MPs. The results show SNP MPs realise tokens of CAT with minimal F2 variation while Scottish Labour MPs vary their productions widely; furthermore, this variability appears to span the F2 range of the SSBE low vowel space without adopting their phonemic splits. We conclude that this difference is motivated by the Scottish Labour speakers' relatively greater need to negotiate different layers of national identity in their professional lives.

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PENZ, HERMINE; DONG, CAIXIA University of Graz, Austria

CLIMATE CHANGE COOPERATION BETWEEN CHINA AND THE US – ISSUES IN INTER-DISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

This paper discusses methodological questions concerning research on the climate change discourse between China and the US which is being undertaken by the author of this presentation (a linguist) and her colleague Caixia Dong (a sociologist). The research under investigation focuses on how the world's two biggest emitters of greenhouse gases frame their cooperation on climate change in the months running up to the climate change conference in Copenhagen (2009). The study compares the framing of critical issues in the climate change negotiations on the basis of official speeches and joint statements by chief politicians and negotiators on both sides.

The aim of this paper is to highlight problems in interdisciplinary and intercultural research exemplified by this particular study. Some of the following questions will be addressed: How can approaches from sociology and linguistics (mainly discourse analysis) be combined to best answer the research question? To what extent does a text analysis of political rhetoric - which generally presents a fairly smooth picture of negotiations - show underlying frictions, conflicts and disagreements? How can these be brought to the surface by the analysts? How can the official discourse be related to actual social practice?

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'VIRTUOUS WIVES AND KIND MOTHERS': A CROSS-CULTURAL DISCOURSE ANALY-SIS OF GENDERED METAPHORS IN THE MODERN CHINESE ERA

In this presentation, we attempt cross-cultural discourse analysis of some of the most prominent metaphors used politically in the modern Chinese period, specifically those involving notions of 'wife' and 'mother'. We argue that the socio-historical complexities of how a gendered metaphor is appropriated and how it can be made to resonate with people can be best observed by analyzing how such metaphors were used by some of the most influential female politicians in China's modern history, and second, by comparing their figures of speech with those we find both in present day Taiwan, where rapid democratization has taken place since the late 1980s, and in China which has been experiencing fast economic reform since then. The importance of kinship metaphors in the Chinese world has been most evident when the country is searching for ways to mobilize citizens to defend a certain ideology (nationalism, traditionalism, democracy), to mobilize resources such as foreign aid in the name of modernization, and to inspire women among others to participate in either wartime mobilization or postwar industrialization. The mixing of domestic duties and nation building convictions can be seen clearly in the way 'model' mothers and 'virtuous' wives and daughters were defined by authorities during the height of the nationalistic and modernization periods. Moreover, by providing comparative socio-historical discourse analysis to deconstruct metaphors used by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Sun Yat-sen, and comparing those with related metaphors used by other influential female politicians on both the mainland and Taiwan since the 1980s, we should obtain a broader perspective and understanding of the modern Chinese world.

IOANNIDOU, ELENA (1); CHRISTOU, MIRANDA (2)

1: University of Cyprus, Cyprus; 2: University of Cyprus, Cyprus

THE LANGUAGE OF RACISM AND ANTI-RACISM: CONSTRUCTING IDEOLOGY ON THE WEB

This paper analyzes and compares racist and anti-racist discourse in media texts in order to lay out the discursive strategies used by different groups in describing, defining and defending their ideology. The paper focuses on the way these groups use language to establish boundaries between the self and the other and to construct their social identities as members of the specific electronic communities. More specifically, we analyze and compare the website content of 2 self-identified nationalist/racist youth groups and 2 self-identified anti-racist groups in Greece and Cyprus to examine how language is used as a means of positioning, and to construct and promote their ideological space. Both countries have recently experienced big waves of economic and political migration especially in the urban centres, which resulted in the surface of new political discourses regarding dichotomies such as national/ global, local/foreign, purity/multiplicity. At the same time, various electronic communities emerged which adopted a racists or anti-racists discourse and claimed opposing social identities.

Data collection and analysis was theoretically informed on the interplay between language, ideology and power (Fairclough, 1995a), focusing specifically on one type of discourse (media text) and its ideological construction of reality. While we focused mostly on website material, our analysis of textual meaning was not divorced from the contexts of production and consumption (Jiwani & Richardson, 2011). A multi-modal approach in the analysis of visual grammar (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001) was also employed especially in the cases of racist websites (Richardson & Wodak, 2009). Furthermore, we point out that while many studies have analyzed racist talk (e.g. Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) fewer publications have examined anti-racist arguments or compared them with racist strategies.

Data analysis was conducted based on the framework of Reisigl & Wodak's (2001) work on discourse and discrimination:

- 1. Referential Strategies
- 2. Predicational Strategies
- 3. Argumentation
- 4. Perspectivization
- 5. Explicitness of utterances.

Our preliminary analysis shows that there are similarities (victimization) but also differences (appeal to the rule of law by anti-racists vs appeal to local history by racists) between the discourse strategies used by the two groups. We also point out how the use of commonplaces, that is, principles which speak for themselves (Billig 1987) is an effective strategy by anti-racist groups that aims at overcoming their inherently contradictory arguments.

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General Session: Gender

STAMOU, ANASTASIA G.; MARONITI, KATERINA S.; DINAS, KONSTANTINOS D. University of Western Macedonia, Greece

MEDIATING URBAN VS. RURAL FEMALE IDENTITIES IN GREEK TELEVISION

In the present paper, we analyze how a popular Greek TV series mediates the urban vs. rural dipole through the construction of contrasting female identities. Despite the wealth of sociolinguistic studies on gender identity construction in interpersonal settings, limited research has been directed to mediated contexts (e.g. Behm 2009). Drawing upon the 'identities in interaction' sociocultural linguistic model of Bucholz & Hall (2005) plus the ethnomethodological tool of 'Membership Categorization Analysis' (Sacks 1992), the analysis indicates that the TV series constructs a rather schematic construction of the world by conflating the Membership Categorization Devices of 'gender' and 'geography'. Specifically, the category of 'traditional woman', as incarnated by the villager Stavroula, is contrasted to that of 'progressive woman', as represented by the 'Athenian' Hara. Rurality is negatively associated with conservatism and oppression of women, while urbanity is attached to the positive values of progress and female emancipation. Consequently, the TV series seems to echo the naturalized binary opposition between 'rural'/ 'provincial' vs. 'urban'/ 'cosmopolitan' knitted to the construction of modernity (Bauman & Briggs 2003). However, it rather negotiates this dipole, being placed into a late modern socio-cultural context. The male protagonist and mayor of the village where the plot revolves is represented as being hostile towards urban modernity. Moreover, Hara is depicted through the category of 'city person'. who holds a distorted and idealistic view of rurality, characterizing post-industrial urban people with no experience of rural life (the 'rural idyll': Cloke & Milbourne 1992). At stylistic level, the TV series does not depict, as probably expected, a straightforward relationship between rural (traditional) female identities and feminine speech style on the one hand, and urban (progressive) female identities and masculine style of talk on the other, but treats the two symbolic resources as forming a stylistic continuum along which TV characters are positioned during the display of their gender identities in specific fictional contexts. The contrasting gender identities are further constructed through other sociolinguistic resources, including specialized lexis of foods and drinks in English, Italian and French (category of 'modern woman of the city') vs. terminology of pests (category of 'traditional woman of the country'). Acknowledgement

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SZNYCER, KAROLINA

School of English, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland

COUNTER-IDEOLOGICAL GENDER PERFORMANCES OF FEMALE TENNIS PLAYERS

The major focus of the presentation is on the subversive process of institutional identity construction in the highly resistant discourse of female tennis players framed within the genre of a post-match press conference. It is posited that female tennis players' performances illustrate Butler's concept of 'neither/nor' gender identity (Butler 1990) reliant on the transformative deformation of canonical gender attributes. The innovative discourse of female players is juxtaposed against the saliently gendered discourses of sport and sport media. Other significant sociocultural frames of reference for players' performances include the stereotypical discourses of femininity and masculinity and the construction of ambiguous and ambivalent institutional identities in professional settings as proposed by a variety of language and gender researchers (Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Martin Rojo and Gomez-Esteban 2005; Marra et al. 2006; Mullany 2007; Baxter 2008). Owing to the specificity of the analytical material, this paper employs the descriptive categories of performance art and transposes them upon Butler's proposition of (gender) identity as performance. In addition, it utilizes Fairclough's concept of recontextualization deriving from dialectical, critical discourse analysis.

MEDEIROS, CAROLINA SALGADO LACERDA UFRJ. Brazil

THE ROLE REPRESENTED BY GENDER IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE: A STUDY OF LINGUISTIC AND SOCIAL PROFILES

A much discussed issue in Brazilian Portuguese is linguistic diversity, especially if one considers the regional dialects that have been described in this continental country. Despite the several linguistic differences that we can see between Brazilian speakers, due mainly to a very unequal social and economical scenario, it is possible to see linguistic similarities, especially with regard to morpho-syntactic phenomena. In fact, quantitative results about

morpho-syntactic phenomena (such as the expression of subjects) reveal that there are more similarities among the speakers, regardless of social class, than between written and spoken varieties (Duarte, 2008; Cavalcante & Duarte, 2008). It raises a question concerning the difference between women and men in present day urban societies: until the end of the nineteenth century, men and women lived through very different social situations. By this time, 95% of men were literate while only 58% of women were (Leite & Callou, 2005). Traditional dialectology's studies show that, on the one hand, women tend to keep archaic features, but on the other, accept the change more easily, with more instability in speech than men. The social profile between the two genders, among other criteria, tends to determine this variation. Present day speech samples of men and women are closer than before, due to the changing social profile of women today, who have as much access to education as men. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the role played by each gender in every society. Hence, the question remains: is variation triggered by the social roles represented by men and women throughout the centuries? Can we dissociate the linguistic and the social roles of an individual? In other to discuss the idea of more similarities and disparities of the Brazilian Portuguese, this study aims to debate the notion of social and linguistic profiles. To this end it intends to analyze two or more morpho-syntactic phenomena taking into account both social and linguistic factors. The data used on this study are extracted from two different corpora: PEUL (http://www.letras.ufrj.br/peul/historia.html), a corpus based on interviews with speakers of Rio de Janeiro with low-level of education; and NURC (http://www.letras.ufrj.br/nurc-rj/), which was established during the 1970's with speakers with university degree in five different Brazilian cities (Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Recife and Salvador).

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CHOJNICKA, JOANNA

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, Poland

JA ES BŪTU SMUKS, ES GRIBĒTU BŪT MEITENE! ('IF I WERE PRETTY, I WOULD WANT TO BE A GIRL!') DEBATING TRANSSEXUALISM IN THE LATVIAN PARLIAMENT

'Gender is not something we are born with, and not something we have, but something we do, something we perform' (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2003: 10). It is not something we do or perform alone, either – it emerges through our interaction with others, from attributions by others (Sunderland & Lito-sseliti 2002).

These claims seem to be especially relevant for transsexuals whose performed gender does not comply with their biological sex. Transsexuals have to 'consciously work at achieving and securing [their] gender identity status' (Weatherall & Gallois 2003: 488). And while the performativity concept (Butler 1990) has been very enlightening in gender studies, for transsexuals it may seem a double-edged sword, suggesting that the gender they do is temporary, theatrical or less 'real', which may account for legal problems (e.g. obtaining identity documents).

These legal issues were taken up in a parliamentary debate in the Latvian Saeima on November 12th, 2009. A draft law was submitted that proposed issuing identity cards confirming a person's declared gender in case of officially diagnosed transsexualism (without the requirement of SRS). After a debate of 26 minutes, 27 seconds, the project was dismissed with 38 votes in favour, 30 against and 14 abstained.

The discourse of parliamentary debates participates in contextualizing, and is contextualized by, the legislative process, political action and social life in general. That is why it represents interactional and intertextual use of language as political action in social context (van Dijk 1997). The present study is thus embedded in a kind of combined framework of qualitative methods associated with (critical) political discourse analysis and sociolinguistics. The debate in question is a rich source of material for a two-fold analysis. As a gendered discourse, it shows, for example, that female deputies tended to express their initial reluctance to speak on the subject while male deputies were unusually animated, interrupting speakers who held the floor, using irony and jocularity. As a discourse about gender, through the study of speakers' persuasive strategies (e.g. metaphors, exaggeration, sarcasm), it reveals prejudices (transsexualism as a threat to family values), lack of knowledge (transsexualism as an illness) and conservative thinking (gender distinction as a binary opposition). Both approaches expose transsexualism as a face-threatening taboo.

With this critical account of conceptualizing transsexualism by Latvian deputies as political and social actors, the presentation shall emphasize the transsexual perspective in the framework of gender studies. Using a language rarely dealt with by the discipline shall contribute to its enhancement.

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BRANDÃO, RENATA RODRIGUES

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

ON THE SOCIAL AND LINGUISTIC ROLES OF WOMEN IN BIG CITIES: A CASE STUDY OF BRAZILIAN MAGAZINE

This work aims to a comparative analysis of cultural and behavioral profiles of urban middle class women between the 1970's and the 1990's in big cities like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. This is an essay from the readings of Cosmopolitan magazine, which starts to be published and consumed by middle class women during the 1970's in Brazilian urban societies. The magazines fit into the contemporary context of the complexity of urban living where speed, movement, comfort and pleasure-seeking actions combine with issues involving the individual. Sennet (1997), analyzing the relationship between the body and the city, argues that the forms of urban spaces derive from bodily experiences specific to each nation, therefore the cities are full

of stereotypical and idealized images of the bodies that perform the function of authority in urban space. This function turns out to contribute to segregation and violence involving gender differences in ethnicity, age and class even in multicultural cities like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The relationship between the city, the body, and the language promote greater understanding of urban space and groups who inhabit these spaces. Newsstands and their magazines compose the landscape of the Megalopolis, providing more material for the immense repertoire of images that comprise the urban landscape. A comparative reading of the discourses, images, and advertisement in Cosmopolitan magazine between the 1970's and 1990's contribute to the historical construction of profiles of urban middle class women and girls, as recent historiographic research about women's magazines in Brazil has shown. Furthermore, we will depart from a Foucault's perspective to understand the interconnectedness of feminine discourses, whose practice has a normative, legitimate effect. Some scholars of mass media as Lazarsfeld and Merton (1987) argue that the media is much more a multiplier of certain behaviors that already exist in society than it is transformative. Therefore, we can argue that the media – here represented by Cosmopolitan magazine – is a rich source for analysis and historical construction of cultural and behavioral profile of urban women. The construction of this profile will also include a literature review on the historical production and social sciences on the subject. This paper also seeks to contribute to studies regarding linguistic variation that take into account issues related to gender and class in large cities.

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TANG, YUEN-MAN; WAN, HOI-LUN HELEN

University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China)

'KONG GIRL': INTERSUBJECTIVITY, INDEXICALITY AND COMMODIFICATION IN HONG KONG

The term 'Kong Girl' emerged recently and is used to identify a particular kind of Hong Kong woman who is accused of committing so-called '81 sins', such as being greedy, materialistic, self-centered, etc. The popularity of this term triggered an immense public debate on the Internet and in the media. Despite its pervasiveness and the intensity of the debate, there has been limited academic research conducted on this topic. This paper studies the emergence of 'Kong Girl' through investigating how it is borrowed from a neutral term ('Hong Kong woman') and now being widely used in the mass media with negative connotations. This paper examines how the labeling of 'Kong Girl' is mediated through language use and the ideologies that lie behind this; it discusses how Kong Girls' characteristics are formulated in relation to commodities such as brand name bags and make-up. This paper adopts a qualitative and discourse analytic approach to analyze a written text and a video extract. Using Bucholtz and Hall's (2004) tactics of intersubjectivity and Ochs' (1992) (indirect) indexicality, a disjuncture of indexical meanings is observed between the representation of 'Kong Girl' as an agent and a patient. In addition, the paper shows how the labeling reveals the power relations between men and women in Hong Kong and how Hong Kong women are being marginalized socially and in public discourse. It can be concluded that mass media plays a significant role in not only reflecting but also perpetuating the indexical meanings which solidify the ideology of the hegemonic power that Hong Kong men possess.

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LAWSON, ROBERT GEORGE

Birmingham City University, United Kingdom

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF URBAN MASCULINITIES, LANGUAGE, AND VIO-LENCE

Over the past fifty years, a large body of research has argued that masculinity and violence are closely related, especially in Western society, with particular focus being paid on the position of violence and delinquency in the lives of urban adolescent males (Regoli, Hewitt & Delisa 2009). While it is clear that this research has contributed a great deal to our understanding of the apparent centrality of violence (real or perceived) in the lives of urban adolescent males, much of it has neglected (or only tangentially considered) the role played by language in relation to masculinity and violence. This is a particularly important point to address since not only are urban males often assumed to engage in anti-social, violent and criminal practices, but this orientation is expected to be enacted through their language (cf. Quinn 2004). Thus, being a 'violent urban adolescent male' (primarily characterized through the idea of the 'hard man', an individual who embodies an ideology of violence, aggression and toughness, Young 2007), presupposes that an individual will mark this out through how they use language.

Through an analysis of urban adolescent males narratives of interpersonal violence collected during a three year ethnographic study of a high school in Glasgow, Scotland, this paper aims to problematize the notion that violence is an intrinsic part of 'being a man', particularly in post-industrial urban cities. I consider how 'toughness' is communicated and constructed in narratives, how it is rejected and reformulated within urban adolescent male communities, and outline some of the ways in which urban adolescent males conceptualize 'tough' masculinities in their day-to-day lives. This paper contributes to the ongoing dialogue regarding the contemporary concern of 'tough' masculinities in urban contexts and offers a critique on the role language plays in constructing such masculinities.

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REISSNER-ROUBICEK, SOPHIE The University of Warwick, United Kingdom

'THE GUYS WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A LADY:' THE CO-CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER AND PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IN INTERVIEWS BETWEEN EMPLOYERS AND FEMALE ENGINEERING STUDENTS

Gender and professional identity are intertwined particularly in professions where women are underrepresented, making gender identities and professional identities simultaneously relevant. A promising area for inquiry into identity construction (and one where the effect of actions to increase the proportion of women in professions such as engineering can potentially be observed) is graduate recruitment, a process designed to put novice professional identities to the test. This paper takes a social constructionist approach in exploring the discursive negotiation of female engineers' professional identities and how these are co-constructed dynamically in interaction with gender identities in this important gatekeeping context. The analysis, which draws on examples from a dataset of 20 naturally occurring interviews between employers and final-year undergraduates at a university in New Zealand, focuses particularly on the interplay of gender in the necessary synthesis of personal and institutional discourses in constructing a professional identity. Ways in which gender is oriented to explicitly and/or implicitly in these gatekeeping encounters are shown to resonate with existing gender divisions (technical vs relational) in the androcentric professional context of engineering, undermining a pro-women recruitment stance. Central to the validation of professional identities by interviewers was the demonstration of 'passion for engineering' but ways in which it was deemed to be demonstrated, such as through reasons for career choice and outside interests, were arguably gender-circumscribed. This further set of normative expectations, on top of the existing competency-discourse-driven requirement to fit candidates into prescribed categories, contributes invisibly to maintaining the homogeneous identity of the engineering profession. The tension between conflicting requirements for 'difference' and 'sameness' in the professional identities of female engineers is highlighted in a discussion of the ways gender is m

PARISH, LORI MICHELE

Tokai University, Shonan Campus, Japan, Japan

THE NAIL THAT STICKS UP: A CRITICAL DISCUSSION OF GENDER BIAS IN JAPANESE ORGANIZATIONS

This paper presents a critical discussion of gender role bias in large Japanese organizations. It looks at how vestiges of prewar institutional hierarchies still influence employment practices in the 21st century and how societal expectations to conform combine with certain cultural dimensions to perpetuate a favorable bias towards males in government, business and education.

It is the author's contention that a history of paternalistic hierarchies matched with conformist attitudes and marked cultural dimensions, ultimately stymie the development of diverse groups in Japanese institutions. This lack of diversity, particularly the exclusion of females in leadership positions, negatively impacts decision making in most sectors of Japanese society. Kayes, Kayes, and Kolb (2005) write that when diverse teams are given the time and space to reflect, conceptualize, and experiment together in an atmosphere that values differences innovation is optimized. Without true diversity then, how can its collective leadership pull Japan out of a generation-long economic quagmire or provide the stewardship expected of a global leader? Another impediment to diversification in Japanese organizations is gendered sociolinguistic patterns. Jule (2008) opines that there is a cultural narrative that females are inferior to males, and this narrative is conveyed using language taught in the classroom. Cherry (1987) demonstrates how key Japanese terms contain subtle signals that support the general perception that males are superior to females.

It is through social structure, norms, and language that Japanese females have become acclimated to what Derald Wing Sue (2010) labels 'microaggressions'. These are subtle biased attitudes and behaviors that marginalize groups in employment and education based on race, gender or sexual orientation.

The paper ends by suggesting a way forward for Japan's institutions. Professor Sue (2010) warns that institutions must confront 'microagressions'. After the offensive language and behaviors have been defined, recognized and decoded, institutional-level interventions have to be put into place, such as creating a more inclusive, and therefore more diverse, atmosphere.

With regard to institutions of higher learning, Daryl Smith (2009) makes an argument for diversifying them systemically -- reaching into every facet of academia. She gives a clarion call for diversity, reminiscent of institutions a few decades ago having to totally embrace computer technology. According to Smith (2009), diversifying an educational institution entails creating an inclusive climate for all (faculty, staff, student base, etc.) without regard to race, socio-economic class, gender, sexual orientation, age, ethnic group, and ability issues. Variety of curricula including ethnic, women's, and global studies courses as well retraining faculty in what to teach and how to teach, would also be necessary.

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General Session 07

General Session: Language at work

ORTHABER, SARA

University of Maribor, Faculty of Logistics, Slovenia

'YOU'RE NOT THE BOSS OF ME!' SERVICE CALLS TO A PUBLIC TRANSPORT COMPANY

Calls for service are frequently mundane mediated encounters between a call agent and a customer, in which much of the time, expectations in routine exchanges are confirmed and face does not become salient. In such settings formal forms of address are frequently required as the context is an institutional one and the institutional agents are to avoid threatening or damaging the customer's face. Hence, the use of facework and politeness strategies is likely to occur.

This paper examines face manifestations in calls for service to a Slovenian transport company. Using data from the customer service context, the aim is to examine how, in an interaction between the agent and the customer, face is manifested over the course of a set of sequences, through which customers request specific travel information from the company agent. For the analysis, inbound calls made by customers were selected, in which an agent threatens the callers' face when they inhibit sequence progressivity through insertion sequences, i.e. interruptions etc., by reacting to them in a negative way, by correcting the customers' inaccurate use of technical terms and by responding to their utterances in a patronising tone. At the same time, as we will show in the analysis, the agent's interactional style is overly polite throughout the conversation, thus minimizing the likelihood of a reaction from the callers, placing them in a subordinate position.

Key words: face, service calls, institutional talk, hyper-politeness

DE LOS HEROS, SUSANA

University of Rhode Island, United States of America

POWER AND IDENTITY NEGOTIATIONS IN LANGUAGE INTERACTIONS BETWEEN TRA-BAJADORAS DEL HOGAR AND EMPLOYERS IN LIMA PERU

Power relations among participants affect language interactions. Interlocutors have different conversational rights and obligations depending on their power and status. For instance, while high status participants usually feel free to start a conversation and also interrupt one with subordinates, lower status participants are less inclined to start a conversation, disagree with or change a topic of conversation with higher status participants. In this presentation, power and identity negotiations in language interactions between household workers or trabajadoras del hogar and their employers in Lima Peru will be examined.

In Peru, there is a great economic disparity between different social and ethnic groups. Domestic workers are usually more indigenous and less prestigious than their employers. In addition, they generally live at their employer's house. The living arrangement renders the situation unique: there are power differences among household workers and their employers and at the same time there is familiarity between them because they live under the same roof.

The data consists of a series of recordings between household workers and their employers and friends in naturally occurring interactions. The analysis of the data was carried out using conversational analysis as well as Culperer's (2008) & Locher and Watts' (2008) conceptualizations of social norms, relational work and power.

The analysis of the data shows that there are differences between the linguistic rights of employers and household workers however, speech interactional rights are not static, but negotiated through interactions. Household workers are less likely to ask questions and change topics or disagree with their interlocutors, however, they also can assert their linguistic rights when they talk about topics they feel they are in charge or more knowledgeable. They may also choose to show distance or familiarity and closeness with their employers and friends.

FRISKNEY, RUTH

University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom

CONSTRUCTING A POLICE APOLOGY: AN ANALYSIS OF SCOTTISH POLICE RE-SPONSES TO PUBLIC COMPLAINTS

Questions about what constitutes politeness by the police can have a bearing on whether specific police powers are deemed to have been used legitimately (Nadler and Trout, forthcoming) and whether or not the police are perceived as treating people with politeness and respect is a core component in overall public confidence in the police (Bradford and Jackson, 2009). The influences on police politeness are also more complex than they might at first appear. Although the police might generally be perceived as a powerful institution, authorised by the state to use force, they may also be positioned as an institution providing public service.

The challenges for the police in negotiating these positions of authority and service can be seen in police constructions of apologies – and there are further complications relating to their status as a public institution. Research into public apologies, such as those on behalf of a State, have drawn attention to the differences between these and interpersonal apologies – for example that a person apologising on behalf of an institution is apologising for an act that they themselves may not have done (Jeffries 2007).

This paper considers data from the Scottish police, in the form of responses to complaints from members of the public, focusing on how apologies are

constructed. My analysis suggests two different types of apologies - one close to a traditional act of an apology 'for' an offence, and a second type, seeking to negotiate around public expectations of service from the police institution. I argue that the Scottish police are trying to develop a type of apology act that responds to both their own and public perception of what their police service should be and that current formations demonstrate the struggle between these competing demands on police identity.

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PARASKEVA, MARILENA

Birkbeck College, University of London, United Kingdom

CODE-SWITCHING AND COHESION: A STUDY OF QUESTION-RESPONSE PAIRS

Research on bilingual discourse has shown that one function of code-switching is to establish cohesion via reiteration of elements from the preceding context (e.g. Auer 1984, 1998; Angermeyer 2002). However, these studies have focussed on reiteration in the same linguistic variety and on reiteration in the form of repetition. In fact, repetition is only one option for speakers as other forms of reiteration can also function cohesively (e.g. hyponymy, antonymy)

This paper looks at question-response pairs in terms of various forms of reiteration (Halliday & Hasan 1976; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004: chapter 9) via which lexical cohesion is maintained in this kind of pairs. The data derive from a group of bilingual English/Greek-Cypriot dialect speakers from the Greek-Cypriot community in London, whose speech was recorded in spontaneous workplace interactions.

Bilingual guestion-response pairs are considered in terms of three realizations of reiteration: monolingual reiteration, bilingual (i.e. code-switched) reiteration and monolingual plus bilingual reiteration. A comparison of bilingual and monolingual guestion-response pairs is also employed, testing whether and how reiteration mechanisms differ in monolingual and bilingual pairs.

The results show that cohesion in bilingual discourse can be accomplished through reiteration in the same linguistic variety as well as via reiteration in different linguistic varieties. Moreover, bilingual question-response pairs involve more forms of reiteration than monolingual pairs, suggesting that what can be at work in bilingual discourse is not limited to what is found in the contributing monolingual varieties.

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ROBERT, ELEN Cardiff University, United Kingdom

WHAT'S IN A WORD? LEXICAL CHOICES BY WELSH/ENGLISH BILINGUALS IN THE WORKPLACE

The long-standing presence of two languages in Wales, namely English and Welsh, has resulted in a number of language contact phenomena amongst Welsh/English bilinguals. On the lexical level, this is manifested, for example, through loanwords, code-switching and loan translations. Often, there are both Welsh and English lexical items in use that carry equivalent semantic meaning, A, B, Thomas (1987) calls these pairs 'doublets', and gives as an example the Welsh word cerddoriaeth ('music') and its meaning equivalent miwsig. However, although I refer to such pairs as being equivalent in meaning, their meaning is not necessarily equivalent in a sociolinguistic sense. Thomas claims that the items in such pairs are differentiated on a standardcolloquial or formal-casual scale, with more purely Welsh lexical items (e.g. cerddoriaeth)indexing formality/standardness, and lexical items showing more influence from English (such as miwsig)indexing colloquialism/informality.

However, following more recent accounts of styling which call for more nuanced analyses (Coupland 2007), this paper will consider whether the above interpretation of the social meaning of Welsh and English lexical items is sufficient. I will present an interactional analysis using recordings of spontaneous speech collected for a wider study on lexical usage at a bilingual workplace. Focusing on a small number of Welsh/English lexical pairs, I will consider how speakers use lexical items to achieve their interactional aims, and whether the language origin of words plays a part in their achieving their aims. I suggest that while Welsh and English lexical items do seem to index a greater and lesser degree of standardness to some extent, it is too simplistic to assume that all cases can be interpreted wholly on this scale.

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A COLLISION OF SOCIAL WORLDS: RACISM, ANTI-SEMITISM, AND HOLOCAUST DE-NIAL IN THE DAVID IRVING V. PENGUIN BOOKS LTD AND DEBORAH LIPSTADT TRIAL.

In January and February 2000 in a trial lasting 32 days David Irving, writer and historian, pursued his libel claim at the Royal Courts of Justice, London. In particular he rejected the categorisation of 'Holocaust denier' by Deborah Lipstadt, in her book: Denying the Holocaust: The growing assault on truth and memory (Penguin, 1993). In his opening statement (he did not employ a barrister and was his own advocate) he calls the Holocaust denier label: 'poison', 'lethal', 'deadly' and 'a verbal Yellow Star' (David Irving v. Penguin Books and Lipstadt, Day 1: 25-26), drawing a wilful parallel between his own situation and the position of Jews in Nazi Germany. So began the libel trial, brought by Irving to attempt to protect his reputation as a historian and writer. The defence barrister, Richard Rampton QC, successfully defended his clients (the American academic, Lipstadt, and her publisher, Penguin), drawing on strategies of impoliteness to reveal the truth of Irving's ideological beliefs. Simultaneously, in the media world, continuous reporting throughout the trial, alternately presented the complainant, Irving's, view and the defendants' views. And at the end of the trial, the judge, Justice Gray delivered a judgement in which the descriptions of Irving as a racist, anti-Semite, and Holocaust denier were not only justified, but Irving was judged to have manipulated history for his own ideological beliefs. The trial and its accompanying intertexts (Wodak 2000) can therefore be seen as a complex collision of social worlds, suspended in time for the duration of the trial process and in an institutional social space, the courtroom, where strongly polarised contested meanings are held up to extended scrutiny in an adversarial battle of words. On the one hand historical revision is argued for the factual evidence of the Holocaust; on the other is historical manipulation of those facts. This contradictory space finally gives way in the verdict to a reality where truth and lies are separated and distinct. In this paper, I examine the trial transcript data, using discourse analytical and corpus linguistic methods to examine the ways in which impolite and taboo language is used by Rampton in his cross-examination of Irving. Along with direct cross-examination questions that probe Irving's views (examples 1 and 2). Rampton frequently adopts a provocational stance in order to try to reveal Irving's racist views to the Court (example 3): 1. Rampton: That is a racist remark, of course, Mr Irving. It is worthy of Dr Joseph Goebbels, is it not?

- 2. Rampton: Racist, Mr Irving? Anti-Semitic Mr Irving, yes?
- make money and some of them are good at the piano, is that right, and some of them are clever?

[from Irving v. Lipstadt and Penguin, Day 14] We see how discourses of taboo are part of an impolite register adopted strategically for institutional meaning making (Sarangi and Roberts 1999).

HOGAN-BRUN, GABRIELLE University of Basel, United Kingdom

HEALTHCARE COMMUNICATION IN URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

An increase in international travel and cross-border migration means that people with health problems increasingly come from various cultures, speaking languages that are not necessarily shared by treating medical practitioners. In UK's urban healthcare centres for instance, reception is usually in English and, when communication is not possible, interaction is likely with gestures, or it may be through family members, acquaintances or interpreters. In such cases valuable information is often not shared in an effective manner, adversely affecting the patient's safety and quality of care. Drawing on empirical findings, this paper presents an analysis of how such language problems are currently dealt with in medical settings and pilots further practical options for improving good practice and the guality of the patient's experience.

PRYS, MYFYR (1); DEUCHAR, MARGARET (1); ROBERTS, GWERFYL (2) 1: ESRC Bilingualism Centre, Bangor University, United Kingdom; 2: School of Healthcare Sciences, Bangor University, United Kingdom

BILINGUAL SPEECH ACCOMMODATION AND COMPLIANCE: QUANTITATIVE MEAS-URES AT A RURAL WELSH PHARMACY

This paper reports on the development of an accurate method of measuring the degree of language concordance in health settings. Bilingualism in healthcare settings is a growing topic of interest within the research community. Language concordance in healthcare has been linked with increased compliance and better clinical outcomes (Sarver and Barker 2000; Stevenson 2004; Hack et al 2006), which makes it an area of interest for health policy. The study employed a variety of qualitative and quantitative approaches towards analysing the speech patterns in 10 bilingual Welsh-English Medicine Use Review (MUR) consultations between a Pharmacist and patients. The quantitative method utilized a novel formula designed to quantify the degree of bilingual accommodation between patients as an accommodation score. The method used the corpus software program CLAN to count frequencies of English words in predominantly Welsh speech, which was considered an index of codeswitching. Transcripts were then segmented into six segments of equal length. Accommodation scores were calculated by measuring the success of a speaker in reproducing the code-switching frequency of interlocutors from one segment to the next. According to this system, a score of 1 represents perfect convergence, while negative scores represent divergence and scores beyond 1 represent overaccommodation.

As in previous research, convergence was found to be the predominant pattern in all conditions. The accommodation scores of the Pharmacist were consistently higher, than those of the patients he was interviewing. This was attributed to a variety of factors including the Pharmacist's training in active listening skills and professional motivation to engage with patients. It is argued that these finding can play a role not only in enhancing the theory of speech accommodation but also in guiding the training of healthcare professionals.

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ROUHIKOSKI, ANU KRISTIINA University of Helsinki, Finland

A VARIANT TOO INFORMAL FOR INSTITUTIONAL SETTINGS? THE CASE OF VOWEL **CLUSTERS IN HELSINKI FINNISH**

In this paper, I will discuss the variation of certain vowel clusters in Helsinki region vernacular Finnish by looking at their use in service encounters. The four vowel clusters, which occur in final syllables, can be pronounced either as cluster variants (eA, OA, UA, iA; e.g. as in poikia 'boys'; nukkua 'to sleep') or as long vowel variants (ee, 00, UU, ii; e.g. as in poikii 'boys'; nukkuu 'to sleep'). In standard Finnish, the cluster variants are used exclusively. In Helsinki region Finnish, the cluster variants vary with long vowel variants, the latter ones being perceived as more casual, relaxed and informal. The four clusters constitute a hierarchy well-known in Finnish sociolinguistic research: the colloguial variants are most likely to be heard in eA cluster (eA > ee) and least likely to be found in iA cluster (iA > ii). The remaining two clusters, OA and UA, go somewhere in between. The ii variant, which is used less than the other colloquial variants, is the most interesting one as it seems to have become almost an index of a young, urban, relaxed Helsinki-identity. It is often used in stylisations as well as in rock lyrics and radio commercials. Prior research has shown that especially young speakers favour the ii variant; however, it is by no means uncommon among middle-aged or elderly Helsinkians either. The variants ee and 00 are also used in other Finnish dialects. whereas ii is not. To people living outside Helsinki, words containing the ii variant may therefore sound urban, hip and relaxed but even irritating and unpleasant - that is, perhaps too urban or too relaxed.

I will analyze the variation of the vowel clusters in service encounters in social insurance offices. My data consist of video-taped encounters, and I will focus on the speech of the employees when talking with their clients. There are four employees in my data, one male and three females, all in their early thirties. As young adults they might be expected to show high numbers of colloquial long vowel variants. However, they actually use fewer colloquial variants than their peers whose language has been studied in prior research in interviews and everyday conversations. The proportion of the ii variant is significantly low in these institutional encounters. I will show that the colloquial variants are most likely to be used with young clients and/or when taking an empathetic stance towards the client, e.g. ei mitään paniikkii 'there's no need to panic', tää on niin kauhee summa 'it's such a dreadful amount of money'. On the other hand, the standard variants are often chosen when speaking with older clients or when the employees wish to make their point clear, presenting themselves as neutral and professional. I will argue that the seemingly low use of the ii variant in institutional settings brings evidence on its social meaning for speakers of Finnish, a meaning that gives the variant an urban and juvenile character.

FAYED, WAFAA KAMEL; ALSHA'ER, WALID IBRAHIM

Cairo University, Egypt

ARABIC-ENGLISH CODE-SWITCHING: VARIABLES OF WORK AND EDUCATION

This study deals with code-switching among residents of Nazlat Assamman neighborhood (Nazlat Assamman is the name of the village surrounding the archaeological area in Pyramids district, and it lies in Giza Governorate which is located within the boundaries of the Greater Cairo in Egypt). Nazlat Assamman is a very important tourist area, occupying a prominent place on the world tourism map; because it includes the Pyramids and the Sphinx, the destination which is indispensable for any tourist visiting Egypt or Cairo. Thus, tourism is a central economic activity in Nazlat Assamman, allowing for its residents and employees a continuous language contact with foreign speech varieties, especially English. This means a special linguistic situation which was the reason for choosing this area to be the field of study.

This study concentrates on code-switching between Arabic and English. Code-switching is considered one of the language contact phenomena and manifestations of bilingualism. Therefore, the study attempts to benefit from various concepts of language contact phenomena in investigating the impact of English, spoken by tourists, on speech varieties spoken by residents and employees in the area.

The study hypothesizes the effect of the intensive exposure to English language varieties spoken in this area. This influence is present due the residents' use of English in their interaction with foreign tourists during their work, or practicing it within a formal setting in institutes and universities. In addition, some psychological and sociological factors play an important role. Therefore, the study tried to answer the following research questions:

(1) To what extent do job and education variables influence code-switching at its different types and levels?

(2) What are the levels of code-switching or its common patterns? i.e., does it occur on the level of words, phrases, clauses, or sentences? (3) What are the sociological and psychological factors related to the phenomenon?

The study is basically based on sociolinguistics in making use of field techniques, procedures of data collection, sampling and designing of questionnaires. Therefore, it used different techniques to collect speech data, varying from direct to indirect techniques. These techniques are:

- 1- Pilot study.
- 2- Ethnographic study.
- 3- Sociolinguistic elicitation techniques.
- 4- Questionnaire.

The subjects of the study in the main sample were randomly chosen to represent the two variables in question, i.e., high education and work in tourism, positively and negatively. They were 104 persons divided into four groups according to level of education and nature of work.

Findings of the study emphasized the effect practiced by the variables of education and work on the phenomenon of code-switching in Nazlat Assamman. This was clearly evident in distribution of code-switching examples among subjects of the main sample. Two thirds of code-switching examples in the whole study appeared in the speech of the two groups representing work in tourism. Findings also showed that work in the field of tourism was the most influential and decisive in the emergence of code-switching among the subjects.

VAN PRAET. ELLEN (1.2): ASTRID. VANDENDAELE (2): BRAM, VERTOMMEN (3) 1: Ghent University College, Belgium; 2: Ghent University, Belgium; 3: University of Antwerp, Belgium

'INSIDE THE BRUSSELS BUBBLE' – A LINGUISTIC-ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY INTO THE EFFECT OF MULTILINGUALISM ON FOREIGN NEWS COVERAGE ABOUT BELGIUM

Brussels is home to roughly 900 foreign correspondents, a close-knit network of journalists whose coverage typically combines key EU events, EU stories with a national angle (Lecheler 2008) and Brussels-based international organizations (e.g., NATO). At best, covering Belgium is 50 percent of their job. Foreign correspondents' unilateral selection of sources, stereotypical angles and persistent reference frameworks are said to distort reality, with all the consequences that this entails for the image of Belgians abroad. Is information at risk of becoming lost as a result of complicated language issues? Are foreign correspondents aware of the possible traps Belgium's divided media landscape presents? Is it actually the case that many foreign correspondents solely rely on francophone sources? And is there a noticeable difference in perspective? To answer these questions, the paper zooms in on one specific news item which was picked up in the foreign written press in 2010, i.e. the fall of the federal government Leterme II and the attendant conflict surrounding the electoral district Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde. In essence, this event relates to a continued conflict between language communities (flemish and francophone politicians). The paper seeks to illustrate how French and Dutch foreign correspondents report on this news item from very different angles and relates this conclusion to (i) the level of the correspondent's integration and (ii) the correspondent's command of languages.

The research presented in the paper forms part of a three-year research project (2009-2012) on the representation of Belgium in the foreign press. The initial corpus comprised the printed (non-digital) output of foreign correspondents in Brussels, writing for broadsheets from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and the Netherlands between 1 January 2010 and 31 December 2010. In addition, 13 foreign correspondents were interviewed between January ary and April 2011, along with six leading figures in the news production process. From a methodological angle, the case study shows the added value of integrating text analysis and ethnographic interviews. Moreover, it illustrates how sensitive issues related to language contact, language conflict and multilingualism are translated (or not) in foreign media. References

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VANDENDAELE, ASTRID; JACOBS, GEERT University of Ghent, Belgium

'WORLDS APART' - INTRODUCING DUTCH NEWSPAPER SUB-EDITING PRACTICES AT A FLEMISH BROADSHEET

De Morgen is a Flemish broadsheet that presents itself as a 'progressive, independent quality newspaper'. From 1998 onwards, it has been engaged in a close working relationship with Dutch newspaper de Volkskrant. This is reflected, among other things, in long-standing agreements with correspondents and columnists. Recently, the collaboration has spread to the last step of the editorial process, the so-called sub-editing, which is generally defined as the re-writing of news stories and features by checking them for factual errors or other legal dangers and making them fit the allocated space in a newspaper (Franklin et al 2005).

In line with recent claims that media research should move on from solely charting the professional cultures of privileged full-time reporters (Wahl-Jorgenson 2009), we investigate how the Flemish-Dutch collaboration affects sub-editing at De Morgen. In this paper we want to explore if and how this deepening relationship is reflected in the daily news production process and/or the final news product. Tving in with a shift in media discourse studies towards analysing news production practices and their relation to text, talk and social meaning (Cotter 2010; NT&T 2011), we propose a linguistic ethnographic approach to sub-editing. (Blommaert & Dong 2010) We draw on participant observation recently conducted at the newsdesks of both De Morgen and de Volkskrant. Our data include fieldnotes and audio-recordings of storyboard meetings, semistructured interviews with sub-editors and journalists and tutorials led by de Volkskrant chief 'subbers' at De Morgen. In addition, we present a single case-study of how sub-editing influences the complex entextualizations in an individual news story, including its headline, lead and caption. Based on our data, we show how tensions at the heart of the collaboration between De Morgen and de Volkskrant trickle down into the sub-editing process. While exploring the sub-editor's daily practices, we observed how conflicts arose during inter-personal communication in the newsroom, ranging from clashes with fellow sub-editors, graphic designers, chief (sub-) editors, journalists and the reader community. Many of those conflicts are linked to the different definitions of 'sub-editor', which - though 'worlds apart' - are characteristic of both newspapers' cultures. By demonstrating how sub-editing collaboration at the two newspapers goes beyond mere issues of document design, we are led towards a more complete definition of the sub-editor as a gatekeeper or - in the language of Gieber (1964) - a genuine 'newspaperman', and hence toward a better understanding of newsmaking practice.

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SERWE. STEFAN KARL University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg

SUPER-DIVERSITY AND SELF-EMPLOYMENT: THE LANGUAGE USE OF ETHNIC EN-TREPRENEURS

In the wake of globalization, technological and infrastructural changes have substantially increased the mobility of migrants all over the world. Across Europe these developments have added more variety to migration populations, a fact that has been identified as super-diversity (Vertovec 2007, 2009). Studying linguistic diversity and variation, sociolinguists have begun the examination of language in super-diverse settings, in order to describe the interweaving and meshing of languages, identities, and language practices (Creese & Blackledge 2010, Blommaert & Rampton 2011). One particularly interesting field within which migrants make use of these transnational and ethnic resources is self-employment (Light & Gold 2000). In this professional domain the knowledge of (multiple) languages and ways of communicating has been presented as an asset and a challenge. To date studies that investigate the linguistic life worlds of migrant entrepreneurs in detail are only few in number. Focusing on the border region between Germany and Luxembourg, this paper aims to explore two aspects of the link between language use and self-employment among non-EU migrants. Firstly, I intend to understand the entrepreneurs' linguistic trajectories into self-employment. Another aim is to explore how the professional endeavour has shaped each migrant's linguistic repertoire. The analysis is part of a dissertation research project investigating the language practices of non-EU ethnic entrepreneurs. Following the approach of linguistic ethnography (Creese 2008), oral narrative interviews were part of the data generation. The analysis was informed by the study of language biographies as described by Franceschini (2002) with the aim of focusing on the entrepreneurs' everyday reasons and experiences using and learning languages at and for their professional practices. The results show that for these migrant entrepreneurs the workplace becomes a site of informal acquisition of the majority languages. On the other hand language practices linked to business activities are sites of language maintenance of heritage languages. The data thus reveals patterns of language diversity management that is directly connected to the entrepreneur's practical, occupational needs. Moreover, it shows the usefulness of employing language biographies as one of the methods to explore language use and learning in super-diverse workplace settings.

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OTTESJÖ, CAJSA (1); ERICSSON, STINA (2) 1: Gothenburg University, Sweden; 2: Linnaeus University, Sweden

ASSIGNING RESPONSIBILITY AND MOTIVATING ADOLESCENTS IN PEDIATRIC DIABE-TES CARE

Diabetes is a chronic disease requiring the individual to have enough knowledge to control and handle measurement of blood glucose and insulin dosages, and to take responsibility for her/his health generally. This may be a particularly strong challenge for adolescents, in transit from carefree childhood to responsible adulthood. This study is part of a multidisciplinary project on communication, decision making, ethics and health in pediatric diabetic care, in a context of person-centred care (Munthe et al. 2011). We focus here on two aspects of responsibility that are particularly salient in our data: assigning responsibility to different agents (adolescent, parent, doctor) and motivating adolescents to take responsibility for their diabetes (cf. Silverman 1993). The material is two (out of twelve in the corpus) conversations between a doctor and two different adolescents during one of their regular visits to the pediatric diabetes clinic. The visits were video recorded. The analytic method used is Conversation Analysis.

Regarding the assignment of responsibility, the importance of checking your blood glucose, to be able to adapt the dose of insulin, is made relevant throughout both conversations. The person portrayed as responsible for this is the adolescent. It is also important for a person with diabetes to eat at regular intervals and to give a correct dose of insulin adjusted to the meal. In one of the conversations the parent makes the whole family responsible for the regular food intake. They appear as a unit, parents and patient working together. In the other family the sharing of responsibility for the diabetes seems to be more problematic from what is said, and the patient's control over the diabetes is not working well, which is even more problematic since this person will soon be transferred to the adult diabetic-care.

Regarding motivation, both conversations contain sequences where the doctor tries to motivate the patients to measure their blood glucose levels. Two main strategies for this can be identified in the conversations: one monological and the other dialogical. The monological strategy involves virtually no contributions from the adolescent. Hence, the adolescent's own perspective is missing here, and the adolescent makes no decisions. The dialogical strategy centres on two questions, 'What makes you do measurements?' and 'What prevents you from doing measurements?'. We argue that the dialogical strategy is more in line with person-centred care.

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General Session 08

General Session: (meta-)theory/methods

HERNÁNDEZ-CAMPOY, JUAN MANUEL; CONDE-SILVESTRE, JUAN CAMILO University of Murcia, Spain

THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC RECONSTRUCTION OF GENERATIONAL AND COMMUNAL PATTERNS OF CHANGE IN LATE FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH CORRESPONDENCE

Research based on corpora of historical correspondence has not only confirmed the relevance of letters to reconstruct the sociolinguistic contexts of language changes in the past, it has also sanctioned the historical validity of some 'sociolinguistic universals' - like, among others, the curvilinear hypothesis, the distinctions between 'overt' and 'covert' prestige, 'changes from above' and 'changes from below' - and has often permitted to trace the diffusion of historically attested changes over the social, geographical and temporal spaces, as well as to establish their connection to age, social status, occupation, gender and mobility (see: Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003; Conde-Silvestre 2007; Hernández-Campoy & Conde-Silvestre 2012). The sociolinguistic possibilities of late fifteenth century English private correspondence are, in this sense, outstanding, in so far as it belongs to a crucial period in the development of the English language - an early stage in the normative formation of a letter writing tradition. As such, the value of these epistolary documents from the past is two-fold: on the one hand, they show the evolution of the incipient standard language, and, on the other, they provide us with a measure of the vernacular linguistic reality present both in their writers and the period. Moreover, the preservation of letters written by members of the same family over several generations (such as those included in the Paston or the Cely correspondence) ensures that the sociolinguistic diffusion of changes in the course of time can also be traced, and that attempts can be made to track individual and community behaviours in this respect. In this paper we intend to reconstruct the patterns of chronological diffusion of changes in progress in the fifteenth century, in connection to the individual repertoires of letter-writers from the above-mentioned collections, with the final aim of testing the historical validity of two constructs widely attested in contemporary situations: 'generational' and 'communal' changes.

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VILA I MORENO, FRANCESC XAVIER; ILLAMOLA I GÓMEZ, CRISTINA; SENDRA I ROVIRA, MONTSERRAT Universitat de Barcelona, Spain

MAYBE INTIMATE. BUT NOT IDENTICAL: EVALUATING BILINGUALS' LANGUAGE COM-PETENCES IN A LONGITUDINAL STUDY IN A DEEPLY BILINGUALISED CONTEXT

One of the main challenges faced by research done in multilingual settings is that of defining the informants' level of competence in each language. The difficulties encroached range from purely technical issues —are any tests available for the project? Are they coherent with the rest of the research in process?- to major epistemological questions -- such as whether bilinguals should be analysed by means of tests designed for monolinguals (cf. Garcia 2009. Baker 2011). In such a context, a large percentage of both quantitative and qualitative sociolinguistic studies tend to rely on indirect indicators. including self-assessment, or indirect evidence to establish broad categories of L1 and L2 proficiency. In this paper we will describe, classify and analyse the main difficulties encountered while trying to evaluate the level of oral competence in two closely related languages which are spoken side-by-side in the same society. The data come from a longitudinal project focussed on language practices, competence and ideologies among teenagers in Catalonia and deal with Catalan and Castilian [i.e., Spanish]). Some of the difficulties encountered arise from the general frame of reference for language evaluation in each language. Both languages have their own regulatory bodies (Institut d'Estudis Catalans for Catalan, Real Academia Española for Castilian), but the sociolinguistic and broader ideological frames for language assessment differ: in general terms, Catalan is perceived by its regulatory bodies as endangered by excessive contact with Castilian and therefore language contact phenomena are widely present in standard evaluation procedures. On the contrary, Catalan language contact phenomena are hardly taken into consideration by Castilian normative institutions, and they are therefore rarely considered in general assessment materials. At the same time, the ideals of correction tend to be quite diverse: in Catalan, correction is deeply connected with genuinity, and (historical) geolectal diversity is regarded as positive. On the other hand, correction in Castilian is much more associated with social class and urbanity, and geolectal diversity which diverges from is penalised (cf. Moreno 2008).

Other difficulties come up from the longitudinal nature of the study. Some of them derive from the changing age of the subjects, which evolve from a preteenager status to the condition of youngsters. Other have to do with the very nature of the tasks, which include two kind of interaction contexts: from a closed formal one to a more informal and open context.

We will finally suggest some solutions to these challenges, taking into consideration not only the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) but the particular sociolinguistic situation that surround those two languages and the project's longitudinal nature.

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BLOCK, DAVID MARTIN Institute of Education, University of London, United Kingdom

WHERE IS CLASS IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS RESEARCH?

In recent years, many sociolinguists have adopted identity as the central construct in their work. In doing so, they have followed a general trend in the social sciences in general. And as has been the case in the social sciences in general, sociolinguists have tended to adopt a cultural-based view of identity which is consistent with goings-on in the economically advanced nation-states of the world (and particularly in the Anglophone world), where there has been growing interest in what is commonly known as 'identity politics' (although another and perhaps more appropriate term used by Nancy Fraser and others is 'recognition'). The self-conscious approach to identity has revolved around particular inscriptions, with a bias in favour of gender, race, ethnicity and increasingly sexuality. What has been left to the side is an interest in the identities linked to the material bases of human existence, in particular class (which would be consistent with what Fraser and others would call 'redistribution'). This recent interest in identity without class among sociolinguists may be seen as surprising, if one considers how some of the most important early work in sociolinguistics (e.g. Labov, Trudgill and others) was very much about the relationship between class and language use. In this paper, I argue that class needs to be brought centre stage into sociolinguistics research focussing on identity. I begin with a short discussion of what class means and how the construct has evolved over the past 150 years. I then present a history of class as a central construct in sociolinguistics, ending my survey with a discussion of the work of Ben Rampton, who in recent years has been one of handful or researchers to carry the torch for research into the interrelationships between class and language practices. I end with some concrete ideas about how class might be more central to future identity-based research in sociolinguistics.

SANTELLO, MARCO

University of Sydney, Australia

IDIOSYNCRATIC DIMENSIONS OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Language attitude research has focused on a precise number of dimensions, broadly attested in the literature, which have been elicited using both indirect approaches. Although indirect approaches have been gaining increasing attention, direct approaches have been fruitful in isolating constructs able to predict certain behavioural responses. However, in recent times, both these ways of thinking of language attitudes have produced contradictory results that point towards the necessity of identifying new dimensions able to allow for both the complex multidimensionality of language attitudes and possible language-specific attitudes stemming from certain sociolinguistic environments.

In this paper we demonstrate that language attitudes may be made up of a number of latent dimensions that go beyond status/solidarity and instrumentality/integration found in previous academic studies. In particular, we show that Italian-English bilinguals in Australia rate their two languages according to several idiosyncratic dimensions that seem to be particularly context-bound. These dimensions are likely to be discovered through 1) elicitation of adjectives in group-interviews and 2) the employment of the semantic differential technique within a direct approach. Principal component analysis will then reveal the latent factors behind language attitudes as they naturally align in separate components. This method provides insights on language attitudes as sociopsychological constructions avulsed from their specific manifestations and accounts for both their language-specific singularity and intrinsic multidimensionality.

MAY, GUILHERME HENRIQUE

Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Brazil

LABOV AND THE NOTION OF SOCIAL FACT

This paper aims to contribute to the development of studies on the theory of language variation and change by the analysis of one of its most salient theoretical aspects: the social component. The research focuses, in particular, on how the sociological concept of social fact, formulated by Émile Durkheim, can be observed in the work of William Labov. It focuses, also, on how Labov could be situated in relation to two other linguists - Ferdinand de Saussure and Antoine Meillet - as to their adoption of the durkheimian concept. It is concluded that Labov's work follows closely the notion of social fact, especially in the primacy of the community over the individual, in the generality of the linguistic system, in the possibility it has of exerting coercive powers on speakers and in the adoption of the principle that social facts ought to be studied inside the social domain. It is noted, however, that Labov goes further in his acceptance of the concept of social fact: one sees that the individual is not completely removed of the theory; that the system still has a certain degree of autonomy from social aspects; that there is a greater possibility of action by the community over language, motivated by the projection of social meanings onto linguistic forms; finally, that even though it is general to a community, the system, in Labov, seems also to reflect speakers' individual competence. It is recognised that the acceptance of language as a social fact by Labov plays an important role on this linguist's view on the nature of language and on its contact with society. To end this analysis, an interpretation as to the relationship between Labov, Saussure and Meillet is offered, mediated by the durkheimian methodological principle of isolation of an object to its own domain.

STRUYS, ESLI; MOHADES, GHAZAL; SOMERS, THOMAS Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

REASSESSING THE ROLE OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIABLES IN NEUROIMAGING STUDIES OF MULTILINGUALISM

Research on the cognitive advantages of multilingualism has triggered much discussion in the last decade. Most of this research has focused on multilinguals' performance on cognitive conflict tasks in laboratory settings. While some researchers have given repeated proof of the existence of an advantage

for multilinguals across the lifespan (Bialystok et al. 2005), others have not been able to find differences between multilinguals and monolingual control groups (Morton & Harper, 2007). Potential reasons for these contradictory results have been found in differences in the tasks employed, and in confounding variables such as the participants' socio-economic status and ethnicity. These explanations cannot however account for all differences in how multilinguals perform on cognitive control tasks (Costa et al., 2009) Based on research carried out in the multilingual city of Barcelona, Costa et al. (2009) put forward the hypothesis that sociolinguistic variables can explain most of the contradictory results. They predicted that a) the degree of bilingualism in a given society/city and b) the degree of similarity between the two languages involved is proportionate to the existence of a bilingual advantage in a particular population. The fact that Barcelona as a Catalan-Spanish diglossic environment fulfills both these criteria might explain the presence of a cognitive advantage in this city. In this presentation the relevance of sociolinguistic criteria to explain differences in cognitive performance of multilingual participants will be explored. First, by comparing the results from Barcelona with data collected by other teams in multilingual environments in North America and Europe. Second, by discussing the results of our own research carried out in the context of Brussels. Brussels differs from Barcelona in both aforementioned criteria: a) Dutch and French are two languages belonging to different branches of the Indo-European language family, and b) the degree of informal bilingualism in Brussels is lower than in Barcelona. In this context, we conducted a neuroimaging cognitive conflict study of two groups of simultaneous and sequential Dutch-French bilingual children and one control group with limited or no exposure to the other language. The results seem to confirm the predictions made by Costa at al., alth

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WAGNER, SUSANNE

Chemnitz University of Technology, Germany

FREQUENCY EFFECTS IN ENGLISH NULL SUBJECTS – DON'T IGNORE THE UNDER-DOG!

The role of frequency effects in language is well-known. For any unbiased, 'representative' corpus of a certain size, a very small number of words will occur very frequently. Certain parts of speech (mostly function words) will usually occur at the top of frequency lists. Most of the words in any corpus, however, will only occur once or twice. This observation, known as Zipf's Law, has played a role in many studies (cf. Bybee & Hopper 2001; Bybee 2002; Krug 1998, 2001; Kortmann 1997; Nycz 2011a,b).

However, the role of lexical constraints on language variation has generally been neglected in the past. Only recently have a number of scholars begun to show that certain (irregular) patterns of variation are due to the 'odd' behaviour of a small number of (often high-frequency) lexical items rather than a systematic constraint on e.g. verb semantics (e.g. Childs 2008; King 2008; Tagliamonte 2008; Torres Cacoullos & Walker 2008, 2009; Van Herk 2008; Walker 2008).

In a forthcoming study on null subjects, Erker & Guy for the first time investigate the effect of type-token ratios of certain verbs on null subject realisation in Spanish. Frequency effects are the guiding principle of their analysis. Verbs are divided into frequent forms (total token frequency at least 1% of all [coded] verb tokens in the corpus) and infrequent forms (frequency < 1%). By using log10 frequency, Erker & Guy cancompensates for the Zipfian distribution, which overall helps with visualizing certain trends in the data. This paper copies Erker & Guy's methodology and extends it to include the role of frequency as a speaker effect (above- and below-average users of null subjects). In a corpus of sociolinguistic interviews comprising some 8,400 tokens of first person subjects, both null and overt, tokens are divided into a binary category of frequent and infrequent verbs, modelled on Erker & Guy's study. In a next step, five different statistical models (regression analysis performed with Rbrul) are compared: the full model without the separation of high- and low-frequency verbs or speaker separations, and models including a) only the high- and low-frequency verbs respectively and b) only above- or below-average null subject users. The results suggest that Erker & Guy's main finding also holds for data from English – frequency has a spectacular effect on null subject occurrence. First of all, this concerns the constraint ranking: most of the factor groups are only significant in either the high- or the low-frequency sub-model. While there is no FG-internal re-ranking of constraints, the variability between individual factors in-/decreases dramatically. Second, frequency also affects nonlinguistic categories: there are major differences in the models comparing speaker effects (above- and below-average null subject users). Overall, the findings underline the need to include frequency effects in any study that is based on logarithmically distributed data.

BUCHSTALLER, ISABELLE University of Leipzig, Germany

HOW TO DEFINE A VARIABLE? DECISIONS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES IN DIA-CHRONIC SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

The role of variable definition and operationalization in our models of linguistic variation and change has been problematized in the sociolinguistic literature (Hall-Lew and Fix 2010, Kendall 2008, Rickford et al. 1999). In this paper, I will investigate the extent to which different strategies of variable definition can impact on the outcome of our investigation. More specifically, I investigate the effect that more or less encompassing definitions of quotation - in particular choices about the inclusion of internal states and repeated action sequences - can have on the empirical results reported. The analysis is based on a newly created longitudinal dataset that spans 5 decades of recordings of Tyneside English (1960s – 2000s). First, I tackle the issue of direct repetition, which is highly skewed across the three sub-corpora investigated; it is conditioned by a type of talk that can be defined as belonging to a certain genre as well as topic. Changes in collection methodology across time impact heavily on the occurrence of the types of talk that foster the occurrence of direct repetition. Notably, different variable definitions as regards the treatment of direct repetition have important consequences on the outcome of our investigation.

The second issue is the question of how to deal with the reporting of mental activity. The literature reports that the quotative system has been shift-

ing towards higher rates of internal monologue, which has been attributed to encroaching like but also to increasing frequencies of think (D'Arcy 2009, Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007). However, most variationist studies have been rather silent regarding the question of how to define internal monologue. Indeed, different decisions a propos the treatment of stance marking constructions lead to vastly different results. I compare the results gleaned from analyses that rely on different degrees of inclusiveness a propos the reporting of inner states. I will argue that an analysis that pairs variationist methods with an investigation into the ways in which speakers report stance, point of view and attitudes (Jones and Schieffelin 2007, Buchstaller 2004) can provide us with a more encompassing picture of the longitudinal development of linguistic practise.

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CHALUPNIK, MALGORZATA

University of Nottingham, United Kingdom

WORKPLACE ENVIRONMENT AND OBSERVER'S PARADOX - 'I'M STILL ME!'

This workplace investigation focuses on issues such as observer's paradox and self-censorship. By looking at extracts which indicate that the participants' awareness of being recorded is heightened and by analysing their reactions in those situations, particularly when participants insist on continuing the recording, I attempt to examine the way workplace culture is enacted and challenged by members of an IT community of practice in their workplace environment.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 18) acknowledge that 'how people respond to the presence of the researcher may be informative as how they react to other situations [...] rather than engaging in futile attempts to eliminate the effects of the researcher completely, we should set about understanding them'. I would agree with this assertion as it seems that, while the issue of awareness of being observed is a fixture of any modern ethical research, the occurrence of the explicit manifestations of this awareness may not necessarily suggest that similar linguistic behaviour would not be present in any other settings. It is, however, important to keep in mind that although it is only the researcher who is involved in the data collection process, the presence of the recorder may remind the participants of the study monitor their linguistic performance over time, manifestations of the awareness of being recorded are only transparent when there is an explicit reference made to the process of data collection. Those indicators, accordingly, seem to suggest that linguistic behaviour that is more controversial, confidential or personal may result in the heightened awareness of being recorded and in consequence can lead to a more restrained or extreme conversational behaviour (Bousfield, 2008). This conversational behaviour will differ depending on the situation and speaker. Those types of behaviour occurred not only in the early stages of the data collection but also in the later stages of the data collection.

The main aim of this investigation was then to determine the factors that influence the decision of either pausing the recording or insisting on making a certain statement in the presence of the switched on recorder.

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LITTAUER, RICHARD Saarland University, Germany

USING DEMOGRAPHIC DATA WITH BAYESIAN PHYLOGENIES: A JAPANESE CASE STUDY

In this paper I compare urban demographics with proposed Bayesian phylogenies. The use of Bayesian phylogenetic methods to trace population expansion and language change has been frequent in recent years. Such statistical studies, working on cognate lists, have shown to a reasonable degree possible lineages of languages from many language families. In this vein, Lee and Hasegawa (2011) used a Bayesian phylogenetic analysis on 59 Japanese dialects to show that it is highly probable that the current Japanese language developed in the last 2000 years. In their proposed tree, the majority of the dialect splits occurred in the past three hundred years; however, the recent, or 'shallow', branches of the hypothesised trees are notably problematic in some respects, which may affect the overall results (Whitman, 2011).

Here I test their analysis by comparing similar Bayesian analyses based on the word list used by Lee and Hasegawa with diachronic data regarding the demographics of the main cities and regions. Accurate census data has been gathered in Japan for roughly the past three hundred years. This coincides with a modern surge in population and increasing urbanisation. By looking at urban growth and population expansion, combined with geographic data of the dialects involved, the differences and possible causes of dialect shift and creation can be more closely graphed, visualised, and examined. In particular, I explore possible correlations between urban growth and dialect splitting, following Trudgill's (1974) analysis of city size influence, by comparing rate of change in the lexicon against rate of change in population of the cities. In certain cases, I rerun the Bayesian analyses on a smaller subset of the dialects in order to ascertain their probable divergence, ordering the possible changes using geographical distance combined with population size both

as a proxy for contact in the new model, and as a robust signal of deviation from the standard (Wieling et al., 2011). There have been few or no studies done testing Bayesian phylogenetic analysis against population data combined with geographical coordinates, as the shallow results are often not robust compared to deeper branches of the proposed trees; by comparing the shallow branches with data gathered from city populations, it may be possible to check the validity of Bayesian metrics for dialects in a shorter timeframe. I will present more fully this new methodology and the theoretical implications for the shallow branches of linguistic Bayesian analyses, as well as my preliminary results.

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EVANS, STEPHEN

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China)

TESTING THE DYNAMIC MODEL: AN ANALYSIS OF LETTERS TO HONG KONG'S ENG-LISH NEWSPAPERS (1842-2009)

This paper evaluates Schneider's (2007) important and much-discussed theoretical framework, the Dynamic Model (DM), in the Hong Kong context. Schneider's framework provides a basis for understanding how, in any colonial/post-colonial setting, the indigenous and English-speaking settler populations contribute to five developmental stages in the evolution of a post-colonial English. In his study, Schneider shows how the DM can be applied to the evolution of English in a variety of Inner and Outer Circle contexts. However, these 'case studies' are generally not the product of empirical research on Schneider's part, but instead are somewhat condensed syntheses of other scholars' work. Since much of this research is not diachronic in nature, and was neither inspired nor guided by the DM, it is difficult to determine the applicability of the DM, notwithstanding Schneider's 'strong conclusion' that the model 'works' (p. 310).

The DM is a significant contribution to the literature on the diffusion and diversification of English, but before confident claims can be made for its applicability, it needs to be the subject of detailed empirical research, particularly in Outer Circle contexts such as Hong Kong. Schneider argues that the city presents 'an interesting test case for the predictive implications of the Dynamic Model and the inherent power of the developmental dynamism which it describes' (p. 139). Although Schneider claims that one of the DM's main innovative qualities is that it adds 'an essential dynamic dimension to earlier static classifications' (p. 313), he offers little methodological guidance about precisely how this dimension might be uncovered. This paper seeks to address this limitation by attempting to identify distinct phases in the developmental cycle of English in Hong Kong through an analysis of the authorship of 1,307 letters to the English-language press. These letters were derived from a corpus of 599 editions of the city's most influential English newspapers spanning the years between 1842 and 2009. These texts provide evidence about the readership of the English-language press and the degree of penetration of English in the city's predominantly Cantonese-speaking population during this period. The results of this analysis provide some support for Schneider's claim that the 1960s marked an important transitional phase in the evolution of English in the city as it is only in the past four decades that letters written by Chinese readers have appeared with any regularity in the English press. However, whether the 1960s marked the beginning of 'nativisation' (i.e., phase 3 in the DM) is open to question. The findings also call into question Schneider's periodisation of phase 1 (i.e., 'foundation', 1841-1898) and phase 2 (i.e., 'exonormative stabilisation', 1898-1960s). This paper will use the findings to present an alternative periodisation.

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ELSPASS, STEPHAN JOHANNES (1); MÖLLER, ROBERT (2) 1: Universität Augsburg, Germany; 2: Université de Liège, Belgium

FOLKS' PERCEPTIONS OF LANGUAGE VARIATION AND THEIR REAL WORLD. EVI-DENCE FROM ONLINE STUDIES

The paper presents methods and results of a study in perceptual dialectology (PD) conducted for the 'Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache (AdA)' ('Atlas of Colloquial German', Elspaß & Möller 2003ff.; cf. also Elspaß 2007, Möller & Elspaß 2008), compared with results from various surveys for this atlas on lexical, grammatical and phonological variation. The AdA is based on internet surveys of contemporary colloquial German which is spoken particularly by the younger urban generation of the German speaking countries. The aim of the PD study was to elicit a) lay peoples' notions on the localization and range of their own regional variety and on its relation to other regional varieties of German and b) the terms for the geographical area to which they attribute their own variety. For an elicitation of the mental representation of regional varieties, the study successfully adopted the use of online question-naires, which are generally employed for the 'Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache'. Thus, rather than using the traditional method of hand-drawn maps (e.g. Preston 1999; Anders 2008; Lameli, Purschke & Kehrein 2008), informants were asked to click a number of given place names in a questionnaire to mark places where regional varieties 'similar' to their own varieties are spoken or to mark the degree to which other varieties differ from their own varieties. The resulting maps display shades of linguistic similarities in relation to individual locations and can also be combined to give a synopsis of thousands of informants' linguistic view of regional differences in the German speaking world.

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SCHÜTZLER, OLE University of Bamberg, Germany

CONTACT BETWEEN STANDARD ACCENTS OF ENGLISH: A MULTILEVEL APPROACH TO THE EXPANDING REPERTOIRES OF SPEAKERS OF SCOTTISH STANDARD ENG-LISH IN EDINBURGH

This paper presents selected results from a study of 27 middle-class speakers of Scottish Standard English (SSE) in Edinburgh who are exposed to a considerable amount of potentially anglicising contact with Southern Standard British English (SSBE). Unsurprisingly, for these speakers the norm remains firmly SSE, i.e. the influence of SSBE does not result in the processes involved in koinéization, i.e. levelling or simplification (Trudgill 1986). Rather, it is argued, speakers expand their accent repertoires so that they effectively add another dimension to the well-known Scots-English continuum (e.g. Stuart-Smith 2008). They are thus able to shift – or rather, drift – between the standard accents of SSE and SSBE when the communicative need arises. Using a hierarchical generalized linear model (HGLM; Hox 2010), the study takes an innovative multilevel approach to assess the variation between tokens that are nested within styles and speakers. The focus is on the variable (r) in coda position (e.g. car, bird), and the following results are presented to substantiate the general claims made above:

1. Vocalisation of coda /r/ ('derhoticisation', 'r-loss') is a function of gender: female speakers vocalise coda /r/ at a higher rate.

2. The phonetic choice between the traditional Scottish tap-variant [r] and the frictionless continuant [J] is a function of age: older speakers use a higher proportion of [r].

3. Stylistic variation suggests that the (rhotic) SSE norm remains valid for all speakers.

4. Style interacts with age and gender: the factor wordlist results in less /r/-vocalisation especially among younger male speakers.

In urban middle-class accents of Edinburgh the quasi-phonological process of /r/-vocalisation is reallocated to function as a marker of gender, while the phonetic choice between [r] and [J] is reallocated to function as a marker of age. Most interestingly, stylistic variation suggests that the SSE norm, while generally effective, differs significantly in strength between social groups: speakers' systematically varying sensitivity to stylistically marked contexts follows patterns not observable in their general, i.e. overt, linguistic behaviour.

The paper will discuss possible consequences of these findings for the notions of variation and change in situations of contact between standard models of speech. Its theoretical and methodological implications are (1) that in certain types of contact situations novel statistical tools of analysis are needed to capture subtle patterns of variation that only emerge indirectly in specific 'marked' contexts, and (2) that it can be more useful to think of contact as resulting in expanded accent repertoires with a richer functionality, rather than as resulting in koinéization which invariably entails some degree of formal and functional loss.

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LEIMGRUBER, JAKOB University of Freiburg, Germany

WORLD ENGLISHES AND THE TROUBLE WITH MULTILINGUALISM

In the study of World Englishes, the typical modus operandi consists in describing individual varieties of English found across the world. These varieties are subjected to sociolinguistic scrutiny, which looks at their use within the speech community and their possible co-existence with other languages, as well as to a linguistic description, which lists the grammatical, phonological, and lexical features that occur in them and not in some more 'traditional' form of English. Well-known introductory books, such as Trudgill & Hannah (2008), list varieties by geographical area, give a brief historical and sociolinguistic account for each, and proceed to describe the varieties based on a number of features (linguistic variables) that have been chosen for the analysis. A similar process was applied in Kortmann et al (2005), which boasts 59 varieties described by means of 255 predefined linguistic variables.

However, World Englishes, more often than not, exist in multilingual settings, most obviously so in 'outer circle' and 'expanding circle' (Kachru 1982) varieties, but also in 'inner circle' varieties such as Québec English and, notably, in urban centres, such as, for instance, London (Kerswill et al 2008) and New York (García & Fishman 2002). It is rarely the case that this multilingualism is systematically part of an analysis beyond the aforementioned brief sociolinguistic description, partly because of the reliance, in some cases, on language corpora that have been stripped of any non-English material (eg the ICE corpora), and partly because of an approach that largely disregards variation.

In this paper, I discuss ways to address these issues, from multilingual corpora to ethnographic studies, which have shown promising results in two case studies, Singapore and Wales. I conclude by proposing a system that takes several features of multilingual societies into account, thus resulting in a better-informed sociolinguistic description of World Englishes.

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General Session 09

General Session: Language on stage

CONOLLY-SMITH, PETER JONATHAN

Queens College, City University of New York, United States of America

PYGMALION A LA BERLINOIS

Written with a 1913 German-language Vienna Hofburgtheater premiere specifically in mind, George Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* next moved to Berlin, then Stockholm, Budapest, Moscow, and the German-language immigrant stage of New York—all before it ever debuted in London's West End. Shaw's effort to snub the English critics who had long mocked his work paid off: the play was a huge success abroad and, in 1914, was greeted by both enormous anticipation and acclaim in London, consolidating once and for all Shaw's status as Britain's foremost living playwright. Little-known today, it is an irony of theater history that Eliza Doolittle, before ever having uttered her first cockney word, had already traveled the world speaking Viennese and *Berlinerisch* as well as Russian, Swedish, and Muscovite guttertalk. As Siegfried Trebitsch, Shaw's German-language translator, wrote in the opening stage directions in the first published version of the play (1911): *'Die Figur der Eliza ist durch den ortsüblichen Dialekt zu charakterisieren.'* This paper follows *Pygmalion*'s multilingual journey from Central European to the English-language stage, with particular emphasis on its various German versions. Linguistic anachronisms (a cockney flowergirl speaking in a Berlin dialect in a play set in London, for example) as well as hard-to-translate subtleties (idioms, such as Eliza's most famous line, 'not bloody likely'; and grammatical peculiarities, such as the German 'Du'/'Sie' distinction) will receive particular attention. Versions to be examined include the 1913 Berlin premiere at Viktor Barnowsky's Lessingtheater (starring Tilla Durieux); a 1935 film version by Erich Engel (starring Gustaf Gründgens and Jenny Jugo); and a 1941 Wolfgang Liebeneiner-directed Berliner Staatstheater version starring Heinz Rühmann and Lola Müthel.

Because of the nature of the material, this paper will be presented in both English and German.

WILSON, GUYANNE ALEXIS University of Münster, Germany

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NEITHER BRITISH NOR TRINIDADIAN: REFEREE DESIGN AND STYLISATION IN CHO-RAL SINGING IN TRINIDAD

Recently, there has been an upsurge in research published regarding language and performance, particularly with regard to musical performance. Earlier studies in this field, (cf. Trudgill 1983, Simpson 1999), were limited largely to US and UK varieties of English, but more recent scholarship has extended to include other Inner Circle varieties (cf. Gibson 2011 on New Zealand English), and learner varieties (cf. Bell 2011 on German Marlene Dietrich's English pronunciation). Other important work on language and musical performance by Expanding Circle speakers includes Pennycook's (2007) work on rap and hip-hop in locations as far apart as Japan and Gabon. The focus of the research, therefore, has been restricted to contemporary popular music forms, and has tended to overlook the Outer Circle.

This paper looks at musical performance in one (contentiously) Outer Circle variety, Trinidadian English. In addition to local and global contemporary musical forms, Western European Classical music, in the form of choral singing, is widely practised, especially among students at the country's elite secondary schools.

The paper reports the findings from observations of school choir rehearsals in Trinidad in 2010, and of interviews conducted with choristers, conductors, and audiences. While local musical forms are performed almost exclusively in Trinidadian English Creole (TEC), choristers, choral conductors and audiences alike judge this variety undesirable for choral singing, preferring that an ill-defined 'British' pronunciation be used, with the paradoxical proviso that the choirs ought not to 'sound British.' The paper examines the data using Bell's (1992) theory of Referee Design to attempt to account for the 'misses'-those phonological features of British English that singers do not produce. It then looks at very specific instances of stylisation in the data: moments when choristers appear to produce highly exaggerated stylised variants (here called Stylised British English) or are coached into producing phonological variants that belong to phonological inventories of neither RP nor TEC, but that are deemed highly desirable for singing all the same (here called Stylised Sung English). Finally, it considers that judgements of the young singers' proficiency and eventual virtuosity is based on their ability to maintain the delicate balance between sounding like authentic choral singers, and sounding like authentic choral singers in Trinidad.

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SHARMA, BAL (1); NEUPANE, GITA (2)

1: University of Hawaii at Manoa, United States of America; 2: U of Hawaii at Manoa, USA

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY IN STAND-UP COMEDY

Although scholars in applied linguistics, sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology have long been interested in studying humor as an important topic to explore ideologies of race, ethnicity, language and gender, humor as a performative act has gained scholarly attention only recently (e.g. Norrick, 2010; Park, 2009). Stand-up comedies offer an intriguing discursive site for sociolinguists to explore ideological construction of the social world in humor performance (e.g. Chun, 2010; Furukawa, 2010). The extent to which language-related ideologies and identities are actually constructed, sustained or resisted needs to be grounded empirically in social interactions.

Against this backdrop, this presentation seeks to analyze performance data from one of the most famous stand-up comedians in Nepal - Manoj Gajureland identify how the ideologies of different languages, their varieties and their respective speakers are constructed and represented humorously. Particular analytical attention will be paid in scrutinizing the ways Manoj uses comedy to construct multilingual speaker identities in speaking 'standard' Nepali, and in identifying how he constructs place and ethnic labeling as legitimizing tools to show their stereotypical relationship with speakers' specific accent and lexical choices. Negal exhibits a rich multilingual context, with more than 93 ethnic groups and 123 living languages and their numerous dialects, and a choice of a particular linguistic code or accent, thus, has to be interpreted in relation to the Nepalese society's multilayered social organization. My preliminary survey shows that the findings are important to sociolinguists for two potential reasons, at least. First, the comedy performance constitutes and is constitutive of the more or less 'real' Nepalese social world and provides a mirror image of how this world is organized. Second, analysis of such data will foster increased language awareness and minimize potential miscommunication among the multilingual speakers.

The study will be framed drawing on literature on 'humor', 'mockery', 'stylization/crossing' 'linguistic stereotyping' and 'code-switching'. The analysis will be informed by sociolinguistic constructs of 'multivocality', 'heteroglossia', 'framing', and 'indexicality' in order to capture the interactional and situated nature of humor performance.

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WESTINEN, ELINA ELISABET

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

HIP HOP FROM THE CITY AND THE PERIPHERY: CONSTRUCTION OF POLYCENTRIC AUTHENTICITY

The aim of this paper is to explore how rap artists from the city and from the periphery construct their authenticity through a range of linguistic and discursive resources. I will investigate the several scale-levels they operate on as well as the multiple centers of norms they orient towards. Drawing on sociolinguistics (of globalization) and discourse studies, my paper contributes to emerging research on translocal hip hop cultures and on authenticity as socially, linguistically, and discursively constructed.

My data consist of the lyrics and interviews of two Finnish rap artists: Cheek from Helsinki and Stepa from Sodankylä, Finnish Lapland. In my analysis, I am drawing on Blommaert's (2010) concepts of linguistic resources, scales and polycentricity as well as on concepts suggested in research on hip hop cultures (e.g. Androutsopoulos & Scholz 2002) and authenticity.

This paper contributes to the research areas of globalization, multilingualism and popular culture. My study will offer new insights into the interplay between the global and the local in the context of translocal hip hop cultures (see e.g. Pennycook & Mitchell 2009), by extending the dichotomous view (local-global) into a blend of various scales and centers. My findings indicate both similarities and differences between these two Finnish rappers in terms of their resources, scales and centers of norms. This supports the notion of Finnish hip hop as hybrid, with its convergences and divergences as well as its centers and margins. My paper will show that rap music, although originating from and having a strong presence in the urban areas, cannot be seen solely as an urban phenomenon but, rather, it is also clearly meaningful in the peripheral areas.

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ABDULLAH, ASHRAF RIADH University of Leeds, United Kingdom

SLEXIPEDIA: A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF THE WORD-FORMATION PROCESSES AND SOCIAL USE OF A SECOND LIFE-SPECIFIC CODE

The neologism Slexipedia, coined from the blending of Second Life (SL) and Crystal's lexipedia (Crystal, 2004), reflects the kinds of words and word-formation processes found in the vocabulary of the language of residents in the Second Life online virtual world (Boellstorff 2008). In addition to identifying and introducing a SL Glossary, this paper investigates the innovative word formation processes of SL vocabulary that have emerged ecologically (Creese et al 2010), and the manner in which this language is used socially (Eckert 2000) in conversational interaction in an environment representing virtual urbanism. The corpus was built by the author over a 3 year period and consists of 190 thousand words. Participant observation in SL and empirical analysis of the corpus led to two approaches: computational (quantitative) using WordSmith Tools and CFL Lexical Feature Marker, and descriptive (qualitative) analysis of the use of SL lexis in online interaction. A morpho-pragmatic analysis, including frequency counts and distribution of the use of the vocabulary items, led to the results that showed that in addition to new words formed according to the processes mentioned in scholarly work such as Bauer (1983), there were new processes like acronym-word blending (as in SLexipedia) and acronym compounding (e.g. SLurl: SL + URL) that haven't been accounted for previously in linguistic studies.

The creative process of producing new sets of linguistic forms online is considered a part of language play or 'Cyberpl@y' (Danet, 2001) and is a distinguishing characteristic of synchronous computer-mediated communication in general and the code in the SL speech community in particular. The enregisterment of such a code plays a dominant role in the construction of a virtual social identity (Agha 2006) which is vital so as to establish oneself and gain acceptance into the SL virtual community. This study has implications for sociolinguistics in that new technologies are still generating new linguistic forms and the use of these forms or 'codes' participates in determining one's identities and roles in these additional virtual speech communities. Forming a coherent SLexipedia contributes to our understanding of some of the current processes of language variation and language creativity in general and provides insights into understanding Second Life identities in particular.

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DAVIES, BETHAN LYN University of Leeds, United Kingdom

'WHAT ABOUT THE SIGNS AND EVERYTHING?' REPRESENTING THE PLACE OF WELSH IN URBAN WALES THROUGH TV COMEDY DRAMA

The UK BBC TV cult series 'Gavin and Stacey' charts the ups and downs of the relationship between 'an Essex boy and a Welsh girl' through 20 episodes of comedy drama. It draws its humour in part from the dislocation of each family/friendship group from their native habitat and their transplantation to the 'unknown'. This provides opportunities for discourses - from self and other - to emerge in relation to both being Welsh and the use of Welsh in Wales. Representations of Welshness in UK national television and radio drama are relatively rare. Representations of the Welsh language in these contexts are virtually unknown. Thus, these TV dramas - co-written by an 'Essex boy' and a 'Welsh girl' - provide an interesting discursive site for the analysis of language ideologies (Blommaert 1999; Schieffelin et al. 1998) given voice through both Welsh and English characters. This paper will focus on the way that Welsh as a language is thematised in this drama both as a spoken language and as part of the linguistic landscape of urban south-east Wales. It is seen and spoken but is never given communicative status: Welsh is always presented as being 'not understood' - by the English and Welsh characters alike. Its existence in the linguistic landscape is presented as both an anachronism and a source of confusion. This is in the context of a country whose government's top-down language policy explicitly values Welsh and promotes its use. laith Pawb / Everyone's Language states: 'Our vision is a bold one [...] a truly bilingual Wales [...] where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to us all.' It is also often cited as an example of successful revitalisation due to the most recent census data reporting an increase in the number of speakers. However, Coupland (2010:78) suggests that this is more an 'an aspirational political ideology of 'true bilingualism" rather than a true reflection of linguistic realities.

The analysis of the metadiscourses (Jaworski et al. 2004) of Welsh within 'Gavin and Stacey' will also be contextualised by drawing on the metadiscourses employed in lay debates about the position and status of Welsh from other media sources including the BBC Voices website (http://www.bbb.co.uk/ voices) and UK newspaper reportage. These will be used to build a more complex view of the place of Welsh in Wales and in the UK as a whole.

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FALLING IN LOVE AGAIN AND AGAIN: MARLENE DIETRICH AND THE ICONIZATION OF **NON-NATIVE ENGLISH**

Staged performance offers sociolinguistics rich sets of data as performers stylize their language and push the limits of linguistic creativity. There is a class of performers who present in English although this is not their native language. The most stellar was Marlene Dietrich, whose career spanned 50 years across the mid 20th century. Dietrich was 'discovered' in Berlin by the pioneering Austrian-American film director Josef von Sternberg. His 1930 Berlin-made 'talkie', The Blue Angel/Der Blaue Engel (shot simultaneously in English and German) made her a star, especially through the song which became her signature tune, Falling in love again/Ich bin von Kopf bis Fuss. Dietrich became an icon, her image widely established and circulated as an enduring international cult figure. She is buried in Berlin, where her archive is the centerpiece of the Museum fuer Film und Fernsehen. Dietrich's performances can be theorized as Referee Design (Bell 1984, 2001) by which speakers target linguistic codes other than their own. Analysis of Dietrich's pronunciation in the 1930 original of 'Falling in love again' shows her English as markedly non-native. Her subsequent Hollywood films enregistered (in the sense of Aqha 2003) her non-native accent and baritone quality as the first and lasting voice of the femme fatale. For three decades from the 1940s she toured a live show renowned for her stunning costumes. Comparison of a 1964 stage performance of 'Falling in love again' reveals her English as much more native but still retaining a hearably different accent, which is now valorized as her distinctive voice. Dietrich's decades of repeated performances established her iconicity, and her appearance and vocal style - both its timbre and pronunciation - were widely circulated, referenced, imitated, and occasionally parodied. Living the femme fatale persona in her own life, and cultivating her image with extreme reflexivity, Marlene Dietrich achieved the ultimate ingroup identification. In language and appearance, she became her own referee.

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VAUGHAN, ELAINE CLAIRE; MORIARTY, MAIREAD University of Limerick, Ireland

'PURE GENIUS KID!': THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF PERFORMANCE OF A LIMERICK **CITY COMEDY DUO.**

The Rubberbandits are a comedy duo from Limerick in Ireland whose particular brand of satirical and musical comedy is based on the inner-city urban identity of Limerick, a city with a national reputation for social disadvantage and criminal gangs. While their comedy is also based on their appropriation and adaptation of artefacts from other urban communities of practice (cf. Wenger, 1998) - most notably their localisation of rap and hip hop genres to the context of Limerick city in their music - the mainstay of the humour invoked is in the simultaneous lampooning and glorification of the urban culture it is based on. In this way, the Rubberbandits make an interesting study in the way they appeal to both the in-groups and out-groups implicit and explicit in their humour. The real-life identities of the Rubberbandits are radically different to the alter-egos they inhabit as part of their performance. Although their actual identities are known, the Rubberbandits always appear incognito, with plastic bags covering their faces, and when interviewed stay in the characters of their alter-egos, Mr Chrome and Blind Boy Boat Club.

As a result, our paper takes as its starting point a recent special issue of the Journal of Sociolinguistics on the sociolinguistics of performance (see Bell & Gibson, 2011). In this regard, we too are interested in fusing a number of theoretical approaches to the sociolinguistics of performance (Coupland, 2007; Johnstone, 2011). We combine aspects of performance theory (Baumann and Briggs, 1990), (virtual) ethnography and multimodal discourse analysis to point to the particular social identities being played on by the Rubberbandits. We examine how the Rubberbandits push the limits of language creativity and stylization through these 'staged performances' (Coupland, 2007). Through our analysis we identify a number of the acts of stylization the Rubberbandits engage in. We focus on linguistic and multimodal resources the comedy duo draw on in order to authenticate themselves as members of an in-group, with particular reference to the idea of enregisterment (Agha, 2003, 2006; Johnstone, 2011), and also how they play with broader community repertoires to create the humour and the effect of this on the audience.

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MÜLLER. FOLKE Justus-Liebig-University Giessen, Germany

GOOD GUY - BAD GUY. DEEP VOICE - HIGH VOICE? ON LINGUISTIC WHITE AND **BLACK HATS***

In my dissertation project, I'm carrying out an empirical, acoustic analysis of the oldest German sound movies from the time of their invention in 1929 until the end of the fifties. My focus lies on prosodic features, since the paraverbal elements of language (i.e. the way of 'how' someone speaks) are considered particularly important for the impression on the listener.

Until now, historical sociolinguistics drew mostly upon written sources for the simple fact that sound documents from earlier centuries do not exist. An exception to this is the 20th century of which both audio and audiovisual recordings have been preserved until today. While audio recordings have been the primary source for historical studies dealing with questions in relation to the standardization of language in the last decades (e.g. Van de Velde et al. 1996; 1997 on Dutch), the few studies examining audiovisual data like television programs or movies have focused on the spreading of single features in time (e.g. Elliott 2000 on rhoticity). My main research interest, however, is to examine paraverbal features in sound movies in relation to social factors (such as age, gender, social status, and political role models) in different societal systems (Weimar Republic, Third Reich, FRG, GDR). Even though sound movies cannot be taken as a one to one image of spoken dialogues in the 'real world', they represent linguistic stereotypes of their epoch (cf. Müller forthc)

In my presentation, I will focus on the contrast of 'good guy' and 'bad guy' in movies of the 'Third Reich' and in the post-war period. I want to show that paraverbal features such as pitch and its variability are prosodic cues to characterize the movies' hero and villain. One might assume that the 'voice of evil' was as deep as nowadays Darth Vader's. But rather the opposite is true: It is usually the hero who has got the deepest voice whereas the villain is characterized by a significantly higher pitch. Considering the fact that movies of the 'Third Reich' played a key role not only as a means of entertainment but also for propaganda, I assume that the sharp distinction between 'good guy' and 'bad guy' is by no means coincidental but served as a subtle way of teaching the audience on the desired role models and the behaviour preferred by the regime. By comparing different movies and their main characters I will discuss the following questions:

- Which stereotypes can be found in the analyzed movies, and how are they highlighted by paralinguistic and prosodic features?
- prosodic features? How sharp is the contrast between 'good' and 'evil'?)
- Are these feature profiles consistent throughout different movie genres?

* In old American westerns, white and black hats commonly helped the spectators to distinguish between the movie's hero and villain.

MITROVIC, MARIJANA

Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Serbia

TURBO-FOLK, LANGUAGE AND 'RURBANIZATION' IN BELGRADE

This paper focuses on a connection between Serbian musical show business, popularly called Estrada, language and the so called 'rurbanization' in postsocialist Serbia. I see Estrada as a complex phenomenon; a culturally specific, market-oriented social space which reacts to and interacts with processes of cultural and economic transformation of Serbian society. I will particularly focus on a specific part of Estrada called turbo-folk or neo-folk, musical subculture that has often been stigmatized as a nationalist regime product which was sort of an 'opium for masses' in the 1990s. Cheery, high-energy music and lyrics, combined with speaking about love or joy of life clearly stood in contrast with socio-political situation at the time. Although Estrada has always tried to distance itself from politics, it turned out that apparent antipolitical character of Estrada is after all very political. I will analyze how that feature is reflected in language. On the other hand, its most neofolk has also been seen as a symptom of 'ruralization' and/or rurbanization of Belgrade. Serbian capital, because often stereotype about turbo-folk is that it is a music of the 'peasants' who migrated from the countryside to the cities and never adapted to the 'urban styles'. I will also try to deconstruct that myth through the language analysis and try to show transformations turbo-folk has been through.

- Do these profiles change in dependence of different political systems? (e.g. what kind of movie characters are shown positively, and by which

General Session 10

General Session: Attitudes

PAN, LIN

Beijing Language and Culture University, China, People's Republic of

LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES WITH REGARD TO ENGLISH IN CHINA: AN ANALYSIS OF IN-STITUTIONAL DISCOURSES

This paper investigates what language ideologies the Chinese students and teachers in general hold with regard to the importance of English (learning). The analysis is based on Pennycook and others' categorization of language ideologies (2002); namely, colonial-celebration, instrumentalism, laissez-faire liberalism and linguicide and linguicism etc.. The paper explores the institutional language learning and teaching ideologies from the perspectives of the supremacy of English, the functional usefulness of English, the neutrality of English, and the maintenance of the Chinese cultural integrity, linguistic human rights and social equality.

The research was carried out by doing interviews and questionnaire surveys. Research respondents include students and teaching professionals from primary schools, middle schools and universities. By examining the status of English, the paper ascertains that English is viewed without much controversy as an international universal and global language. An inquiry into the classroom objectives of English language teaching suggests that a combination of instrumental ideology and exam-as-the-priority ideology is commonly held by both teachers and students. When it comes to the standard for English language teaching and learning, my research results reveal that there is a strong orientation to and open preference for American English. In addition, there seems to be a successful and effective state and culture governance as my research respondents in general hold strong confidence on the integrity of Chinese culture and language and trust their national identity is not under threat. Nevertheless, my research respondents also admit that the de facto compulsory education has generated problems of inequality in Chinese society.

MOORE, EMMA

University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

'IT'S NOT LIKE ANYWHERE ELSE': LANGUAGE AND DISTINCTIVENESS ON THE ISLES OF SCILLY

This paper will explore how an ideology of 'distinctiveness' has influenced the scholarly and popular descriptions of the dialect spoken on the Isles of Scilly, a group of islands off the south-west coast of England. The only published linguistic account characterises Scillonian English as 'an isolated pocket of early Modern English' (Thomas 1979, 142) and rejects the existence of any major influence from the two closest neighbouring varieties: the Cornish language and Cornish English. Historical metalinguistic commentary supports this characterisation: Scillonians are described as 'speaking remarkably good English' (Borlase 1756, 116), and having 'a purity of accent, and intelligent discrimination of diction' (Lewes 1860, 205). Ellis considered the islands' accent to be so standardised that he believed 'no attention ... need be paid to them' (Ellis 1890, 41).

However, this account of Scillonian English is not easily reconciled with long-term Cornish dialect contact and the linguistic data available in the Scilly Voices oral history archive (www.hrionline.ac.uk/scillyvoices). Whereas Thomas (1979, 109) stresses Scilly's distinctiveness, archive data (from the same period) exhibits a number of features also present in West Cornish English. Most strikingly, whereas Thomas (1979, 139) notes 'the virtual absence of 'r-coloured vowels' among older Scillonians', rhoticity is frequent in the archive. There are also similarities in the PRICE and CHOICE lexical sets for Scilly and those in West Cornwall, as catalogued during the Survey of English Dialects (Orton and Wakelin 1968).

By combining production and perception data, this paper will argue that an ideology of Scillonian 'distinctiveness' has influenced the perception of Scillonian English. Metalinguistic commentary and language attitude data will be used to show that fluctuations in the perception of Scillonian and Cornish similarities are the consequence of changes to the local economy and the reordering of indexical links (a process seen elsewhere, e.g. Llamas 2007; Johnstone and Kiesling 2008). For Scillonians working in the twentieth century tourist industry, 'Cornish' features now serve as a distinctive resource (especially given that many of these features are in decline in Cornwall itself).

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ATKINSON, DAVID JONATHAN; KELLY-HOLMES, HELEN University of Limerick, Ireland

'THEY'RE PUTTING IT IN ENGLISH FOR THE TOURISTS, THEY'RE JUST MAKING IT EASIER.'

While language ideological debates have been explored in many media and public discourse contexts this paper's focus is language ideological debates that took place in an educational context. The participants were home and international students at an Irish university. All took part in focus groups with the theme of multiculturalism and multilingualism.

Drawing on previous work on issues of evaluation and ownership of Irish and Catalan (e.g. Kelly-Holmes and Atkinson 2007), we set out to research how our respondents construct notions of multilingualism and multiculturalism as these relate to contemporary Ireland and Spain. The results are of interest from the point of view of the value and roles assigned to autochthonous and allochthonous varieties, whether dominant or minoritised. Issues which arise include the extent to which participants position given varieties as having any claim to anonymity or authenticity. It is clear that some participants perceive Irish and/ or Catalan (at least some of the time) as tokens of a type of indexicality potentially incompatible with the promotion of multiculturalism and multilingualism. However, languages perceived as allochthonous to their societies are often assigned a slightly different type of authenticity from that of a speech variety which derives its value from being 'deeply rooted in social and geographic territory' (Woolard 2008). Respondents' comments often suggest that such languages are indeed seen as 'the genuine expression of ... a community' but in the context of multilingualism and multiculturalism they appear to derive their legitimacy from their role in validating Ireland or Spain as incipiently or increasingly multicultural, as indicators of a certain highly valued 'hybridity'. Building on work by previous work researchers such as Laihonen (2008), we combine aspects of language ideological analysis and conversation analysis in order to explore the ways in which aspects of value and ideology are negotiated and contested among our respondents. We are particularly interested in how participants in the interactions iconise and erase given language varieties and position them on various semiotic tiers (Milani 2010).

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KORZHOV, GENNADII ALEXANDROVICH

Makeevka Institute of Economics and Humanities, Ukraine

PUBLIC DISCOURSE OF REGIONAL IDENTITY: A CASE STUDY OF THE UKRAINE'S DONBASS

The actualization of regional identity (RI) is an important part of the political, economic and socio-cultural transformation of contemporary Ukrainian society. In the contemporary world one can observe the two phenomena having important implications for territorial identity: globalization leading to the merger of different national identities and the creation of transnational ones, such as continental and global; and localization that is aimed at the preservation of local cultural uniqueness and reinforces identities of sub-national level, such as local and regional ones. The above processes take a particularly acute shape in post-socialist countries where they not only intertwine but also contend with the nation-state making and constructing of a new national identity. This tendency is particularly characteristic for Ukraine, a country with enormous regional diversity, where local and regional dimensions of identity compete with national one and in many instances occupy a higher place in the salience hierarchy. In particular, more than one third of Ukraine's public put local and regional identity prior to national or citizenry types. In some regions of Ukraine, first and foremost in the Donbass, the strength of RI and its representation in public discourse are even more conspicuous. In the Donbas RI has clear positive connotations, and more than two-thirds of respondents express pride in being residents of Donbass (Swain, 2007). The Donbass, a Ukrainian-Russian border area, is a multiethnic region and the leading industrial part of Ukraine with the highest level of urbanization. During last several years Donbass came to the fore of public discourse due to the activization of regionalist activities of local elites and the rise of regional feelings among the local population. The historical experience of the Donbas region allows for distinguishing a particular code of identity construction, the code of patronage, in addition to the three ideal-type codes used in the process of the construction of collective ide

The paper will discuss the following issues. What are the major features of regional discourse content in the Donbass (economy-centrism, the shallow historical and cultural components, weak national affiliation, self-isolationism, social paternalism, orientation to the past)? What makes RI for Donbass dwellers so important? What are the peculiarities of the order of RI discourse (Fairclough, 2003)? Which non-discursive socio-cultural practices and socio-structural peculiarities are conducive to the formation and sedimentation of regional identity discourse? In which way was the imposition of the classless discourse of social reality and transition changes and of the discourse of stability in post-soviet public space utilized by regional elites for instrumental purposes? Why were these discourses aimed at the monopolization of political power and economic resources in the hands of the few oligarchs enthusiastically hailed by the impoverished and alienated local populace?

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REVITALISATION THROUGH DOCUMENTATION - THE CASE OF WILAMOWICEAN, A MICRO-MINORITY LANGUAGE IN SOUTHERN POLAND

The town of Wilamowice is located close to the historical boundaries between the regions of Lesser Poland and Silesia. The settlement together with its inhabitants have been regarded as a unique ethnolinguistic enclave within the area of Polish-German(ic) southern borderland.

In the first part, the authors will familiarize listeners with the historical, cultural, linguistic, and dialectological background, to continue with an outline of the modern sociolinguistic situation of the enclave. According to historiographic research, the settlement was founded in the 13th century by settlers for the central-western part of German-speaking area. The inhabitants of Wilamowice, however, regard themselves as descendants of colonists from Flanders, Friesland, Holland or even England and Scotland. That endo-ethnotheory of origin has had a significant influence on the modern (sociopolitical) history of the community. The core values of the distinct culture of the town have been its ethnolect and folklore.

Nowadays, Wilamowicean (Wymysöeriš) is probably the smallest Germanic language in the world. It is understood by approximately eighty people, and actively spoken by no more than thirty elderly persons. Despite a significantly weaker position than the dominant Polish language, it has preserved its genuine Germanic character, with remarkable traces of German(ic)-Slavic language contact.

The main part of the paper will focus on the state of (sociolinguistic) research and documentation of Wilamowicean. Aside from presenting the documenting efforts and (descriptive) linguistic materials already prepared and edited, the authors will focus on the recent activities aiming at revitalisation of the language and upgrading its position and status within the community and beyond.

Subsequently, Tymoteusz Król – the only young native speaker of Wilamowicean – will demonstrate the use of the language as well as a short documentary where people with the best Wilamowicean competence speak about their language and cultural history.

O'SULLIVAN, JOAN

University of Limerick, Ireland

'IT'S ALL A BIT SPORKLY...': 'NEW PRONUNCIATION' OF SOUTHERN IRISH ENGLISH IN RADIO ADVERTISING

The second half of the 1990s saw the beginning of a period of economic growth in Ireland, particularly in the capital, Dublin. As a result of this economic 'boom', in-migration to Dublin city increased, creating what Hickey (1999, 2005) describes as a classic setting for language change. In Dublin city, the desire for 'urban sophistication', linked to Ireland's increased prosperity and elevated international position, created a need among 'socially mobile' and 'weak-tie' speakers (Hickey 2004, p. 46) for a non-local but socially acceptable form of Dublin English. In what Hickey refers to as 'a classic case of dissociation in an urban setting', a new form of pronunciation developed which differentiated and distanced itself from local speech forms. (Hickey 2004, p. 46) The ensuing new form has spread at a rapid pace, not only in Dublin, but throughout southern Ireland, and the fact that its salient features are readily classifiable and occur as a set of features which are appropriated by a younger group of speakers, has prompted Hickey (2004, p. 48) to use the term New Pronunciation to describe this set of features. Hickey (2005, p. 208) speculates that this New Pronunciation is the variety which 'will probably become the new supraregional variety' given its influence on southern Irish English speech.

The discursive practices of particular societies are, according to Lee, reflected in their advertising, which, he tells us, is 'the meeting place' of many different ways of speaking (Lee 1992, p.171). Since New Pronunciation is seen by Hickey (2005) as indisputably the most important case of language change in contemporary Ireland, the extent to which this innovative development in Ireland's linguistic environment is reflected in the Irish advertising context demands attention.

The paper will outline my research into the extent and functions of New Pronunciation of southern Irish English in advertising through a quantitative and qualitative analysis of a corpus of 160 radio advertisements from RTE Radio1, (the principal radio channel of Irish public-service broadcaster Raidió Teilifís Éireann) comprising 4 subcorpora of ads from the years 1977, 1987, 1997 and 2007. Following Lee (1992), the ads were examined in terms of the presence of New Pronunciation in the 'Action' (associated with dialogic interaction of actors) and 'Comment' (associated with slogan or authoritative voice) components of the ads. (Sussex 1989 cited in Lee 1992) This analysis according to component is designed to shed more light on how this new form of pronunciation operates in the Irish advertising environment and to identify its role in this context.

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JARADAT, ABDUALLHA

Hashemite University, Jordan, Hashemite Kingdom of

AMMAN: THE INTRIGUER OF TWO LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES

Amman is the major- if not the only cosmopolitan city in Jordan. Accordingly, it practices a magnetic effect on people from different origins and backgrounds, who abandon their place of origin to live in Amman due to its being the center of governmental offices, the location of major businesses, and the host of major recreational places; a fact that definitely results in speech variation (Abdul Jawwad: 1984). Under these conditions, two major linguistic attitudes can be identified. The first attitude is similar to what Holmes (2002) termed 'overt prestige' and is adopted by Amman dwellers- regardless of their origins- who believe that Ammani Arabic is the path to prestige, civilization, and success at different levels. New dwellers of Amman seem to put further emphasis on the main features of Ammani Arabic i.e. back vowels and elaborate use of emphatics, in the intention of confirming their new identity; a situation that sometimes has a counter-effect in unveiling their origin. The most enthusiastic adherent of this attitude are females of nearly all ages who believe that this dialect is the most prestigious. Moreover, this attitude has spread to other females from different origins and cities into what can be called 'infectious urbanization' making them determined to speak that dialect although they do not actually belong to it. The second attitude is common among other citizens of Jordan especially those whose relatives have moved to Amman and adopted Ammani Arabic. This attitude- identical to what Holmes (2002) described as 'covert prestige'- is characterized by criticism, dissatisfaction, and cynicism toward those who abandon their roots. However, it is sometimes carries a hidden feeling of envy for not being able to achieve what others did. This attitude is reflected in some expressions that express the viewpoints of these subjects as in */lnÖawag /llsaanU* meaning 'his tongue has twisted' and */ltmadan* meaning 'has become urbanized'. The paper tries to handle these two attitudes in juxtaposition through exposing the expressions that are used by the partisans of each attitude as well as the major characteristics of Ammani Arabic in comparison to other dialects in Jordan.

BENSON, ERICA J.; RISDAL, MEGAN L.

University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, United States of America

INVESTIGATING SOCIOLINGUISTIC RECEPTIVITY

In this paper, we attempt to develop a psychometrically valid assessment of one's appreciation of sociolinguistic diversity and knowledge of linguistic principles, what we call 'sociolinguistic receptivity', and investigate the effect it has on other attitudes toward language, specifically attitudes toward informal and nonstandard forms. This research is motivated by two gaps in the language attitude literature. The first is the lack of research on factors responsible for variation in language attitudes. Garrett (2010) and Preston (2010:23) have called for more research on variation in language attitude studies; in particular, Garrett (2010:176) identifies an individual's valuing of sociolinguistic diversity as especially worthy of more attention (see, e.g., Coupland & Bishop 2007). The second gap is the lack of empirical research to support the common assumption that greater knowledge of linguistic (and sociolinguistic) principles results in more positive attitudes toward nonstandard linguistic forms (e.g., Reaser 2007). In this presentation, we focus on the following research question: Does greater knowledge of linguistic principles and positive orientation to sociolinguistic diversity, collectively sociolinguistic receptivity, result in greater acceptability of informal and nonstandard forms. We report on data from our study of more than 300 respondents, all native-English speakers and life-long residents of the United States. Respondents completed an on-line survey (with 7-point Likert-type scale responses). First, participants indicated their agreement with statements like, 'Minority dialects often contain grammatical errors', to assess their sociolinguistic receptivity (with significant inter-item reliability). Second, participants judged the correctness of sentences containing informal (e.g., gonna as in 'My brother told me he's gonna call me later'), nonstandard forms (e.g., l'ma as in 'I'm tired so I'ma come home early tonight'), and formal standard (e.g., going to). Analysis of the data from the pilot study's sixty-two respondents (42 women, 20 men; aged 18-63) is promising: Respondents in the high sociolinguistic receptivity group rated informal and nonstandard sentences as significantly more correct than respondents in the low and medium sociolinguistic receptivity groups (ANOVAs and the post-hoc tests, p<.05). As expected, no significant differences were found among the three groups' ratings of formal standard forms. The findings suggest that sociolinguistic receptivity is an important factor in language attitude research and support the assumption that knowledge of linguistic principles leads to more positive attitudes toward nonstandard linguistic forms. Further research is needed to determine whether sociolinguistic receptivity plays a role in other types of language attitudes, for example, perceptions of particular dialects.

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SINGER, RUTH JENNIFER University of Melbourne, Australia

WHAT MAKES A SMALL LANGUAGE A SURVIVOR? LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND MULTILINGUALISM AT WARRUWI COMMUNITY, AUSTRALIA

Mawng is a language spoken by 300 people on the northernmost coast of Australia. It is one of only a handful of Australian Indigenous languages that is still being learned by children. Mawng was probably always a small language and Mawng speakers use a number of other Indigenous languages as well as Aboriginal English on a daily basis. Although there have been detailed studies of language loss, there have been few studies of unexpected survivors. This talk looks at what role local language ideologies might have played in the survival of the Mawng language. Multi-modal linguistic biographies (Busch 2010, Krumm and Jenkins 2001) are used to explore language ideologies at Warruwi Community. The biographies take the form of informal interviews combined with a visual task. Interviewees are asked to reflect on the languages they have used throughout their lifetime as well as language use within the community. A number of language ideologies are apparent in the interviews. For example, it is often stated that there are three languages at Warruwi: Mawng, Kunwinjku and Kunbarlang. This ideology involves *erasure* (Irvine and Gal 2000) of a group of around 100 people whose land is over a hundred kilometres to the east of Warruwi Community. Although initially considered temporary residents they are now well integrated into the community along with the Yolngu-matha dialects that they speak, which Mawng speakers had little contact with prior to the establishment of the Warruwi settlement.

As might be expected, it appears that language ideologies at Warruwi Community have favoured the survival of Mawng by motivating a range of practices by Indigenous community members. Equally important, however, is the role of dominant language ideologies in co-opting White support for Mawng as one of the 'official' languages of Warruwi Community. Multi-modal linguistic biography provides a multi-faceted perspective on how languages co-exist at Warruwi community, where conceptions of speakerhood make standard language surveys difficult to implement (Evans 2001).

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PERTA, CARMELA

Università G. d'Annunzio, Italy

SOCIOLINGUISTIC ASPECTS AND LANGUAGE CONTACT. EVIDENCE FROM A MINOR-ITY LANGUAGE IN ITALY

In Italy the coexistence of standard language, Italo-romance varieties and minority languages has been a way to study language contact in different conditions. Particularly minority communities, which are deeply different from each other due to various sociolinguistic conditions, are a valuable ground for the application of language contact approaches.

The focus of this paper is on two minority communities in the south of Italy - Celle San Vito and Faeto - where people speak a variety of Francoprovençal. Despite the few distance between the two towns (they are 3 Km far from each other) and the common situation of isolation from other Francoprovençal communities present in Italy, their sociolinguistic conditions are deeply different, in reference to the functional distribution of languages present in the repertoire, and in reference to the degree of permeability of each Francoprovençal variety towards Italian and its diatopic varieties.

My aim is to analyse language contact phenomena occurring among the languages present in the repertoire of these Francoprovençal communities, both in situations of minority language shift (as in Celle San Vito) and maintenance (as in Faeto). In this light particular attention will be paid to the lexical level, considering a wide range of phenomena, such as nonce borrowings, single word switches and the treatment of collocations; as grammatical features (such as the introduction of single morphemes, the use of connectives or functional words of foreign origin), the influence of foreign traits on the structure of the different languages in contact will be observed.

METS, MARI University of Tartu, Estonia

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND REAL-TIME ANALYSIS. A CASE-STUDY OF SOUTH ESTO-NIAN

My paper describes the local language use of two Southestonian villages in two different time periods. The 1991 database contains 34 informants. In 2006, according to panel study principles (see Bailey 2004: 328-329), it was possible to record 15 informants. All these informants are the members of a local social network and can both speak the local variant of the Võro language and Estonian. Alltoghether, the databases contain 54 hours of recordings. The paper discusses possible language changes in the network during the 15-year period. Thus, it is a real-time study of a social network. For illustrating the changes different socially dependent linguistic variables have been chosen, e.g. the inessive ending, the passive past participle marker, the third person plural forms of the verb olema 'to be' (see also Mets 2010; Mets 2011: 257-272). Besides network, other sociolinguistic factors (age, gender, level of education, informant's origin and village) have been considered as well. The results of my study reveal some levelling and simplification tendencies during the 15-year period. Though, due to the network norms, the levelling and simplification occur within the local variety.

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PETERSON, ELIZABETH; VAATTOVAARA, JOHANNA University of Helsinki, Finland

ASSIGNING BLAME: NEW FORMS IN FINNISH AND THEIR ASSOCIATION WITH URBAN YOUTH LANGUAGE

This study focuses on a few innovative forms that are used in contemporary Finnish. These forms include pliis, which is borrowed from English 'please,' as well as the so-called 'new' quotatives niinku, tyyliin, and sillee, which are similar in use to the English quotative 'be like.'The acceptability and grammaticality of these forms was tested by distributing an online questionnaire, which was answered by 415 respondents from throughout Finland, with the majority (189 of the total respondents) from Oulu, in Northern Finland. Most of the respondents ranged in age from 20-30, with the youngest respondents being in the age group 15-19 and the oldest 60 years or older. Respondents were asked to evaluate a series of Finnish utterances containing the target forms with regard to the age and sex they associated with each utterance. Respondents were also asked to evaluate, on a Likert scale, if the test utterance was 'acceptable Finnish.' In the form of open responses, respondents reported in what region they would expect to hear such an utterance and to comment on its overall acceptability. The goal of the study was to evaluate if these target forms are associated with influence from English, with geographical region, with urbanization, with youth language, or other social dimensions. The analysis of the data is currently underway, but the preliminary results demonstrate that each of the forms tested seems to be associated with youth language, English, and Finland's capital region,

Helsinki. Perhaps the most surprising finding from the study is the tendency to associate stigmatized or negatively evaluated forms with English, and this in turn with the Helsinki region. In this presentation, we will present the outcome of the respondents' assessments of the sample utterances based on a quantitative analysis (using ANOVA), focusing on how Finnish speakers from different regions associate these new forms both socially and geographically. Based on the free-form answers to the questionnaire, we will present an indexical field (Eckert 2008) for each innovative form. While it is well established that acceptability tests are in many ways biased, a study of this nature allows us to investigate relatively unstudied forms and to evaluate their level of integration and stigmatization.

Eckert, Penelope (2008). Variation and the Indexical Field. Journal of Sociolinguistics 12 (4): 453-476.

DE VOGELAER, GUNTHER Universität Münster, Germany

THE ACQUISITION OF ATTITUDES BY FLEMISH ADOLESCENTS: A QUANTITATIVE IN-VESTIGATION

It is commonly observed in situations of dialect loss that parents are reluctant to transmit dialects to children. In some areas where such reluctance is found, the dialect is acquired as a second variety. This process appears to start as children form peer groups (for instance in kindergarten or primary school), and may continue until or even beyond adolescence. For instance, Rys (2007) investigates children in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, and shows that dialect proficiency in her population increases (at least) until the age of 16. This may, in principle, be due to different reasons, including a heavier exposure to the dialect (for instance because parents stop using supraregional varieties vis-á-vis older children), contact with more non-local varieties, stronger peer group influence on language usage, or developing abilities on the socio-cognitive level (see, e.g., Kerswill & Williams 2000 and Chambers 2003 for discussion).

In my paper, I aim at clarifying the role of language attitudes in this increasing dialect proficiency, using results drawn from a matched-guise hearing experiment among Flemish adolescents of 10-16 years old. It is investigated to what extent these adolescents are able to detect different varieties of Dutch and to localize them, and whether they associate these varieties with similar characteristics as adults do. All of the investigated abilities appear to be present to some extent in the youngest informants in the sample, but they develop strongly during adolescence. This suggests that, while previous research has rightly emphasized children's ability to express their identoty through language (e.g. Kerswill & Williams 2000, Berthele 2002), socio-cognitive abilities to detect and interpret variation still improve at a fairly advanced age. In addition, the results suggest that patterns of variation are not simply copied during acquisition, but that children and adolescents need to fully grasp the social meaning of a linguistic variable before they will start using it in an adult-like fashion.

LIANG, SIHUA

University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

MIGRATION AND NEW LINGUISTIC IDENTITIES IN A LARGE CHINESE URBAN CENTRE

The city of Guangzhou is a large urban centre in Southern China, where both individual and societal multidialectalism have undergone significant changes during the past decades. The status of the local mother tongue Cantonese, which used to be a prestigious Chinese 'dialect' widely used as lingua franca in and around the city, is changing due to the promotion of Putonghua (or Mandarin, the official variety) and the massive influx of population from non-Cantonese speaking regions. In the context of the overall diglossic orientation of the national language policy and the exclusion of local dialects from school education, the language attitudes and linguistic identities of the 'local', 'immigrant' and 'mixed' students are constantly problematized and negotiated. What it means to be a 'Guangzhouer' and to what extent the 'Guangzhouer' should be familiar with Cantonese is constantly put into question. Such dynamism is completely overlooked by the monodialectal school education system that functions as if all students speak Putonghua as their mother tongue. Little research has been done in China regarding such phenomena. From 2009 to 2010, I conducted fieldwork in two primary schools in Guangzhou, using the linguistic ethnography approach to explore the discursive construction of language attitudes and linguistic identities. It is found that an emerging group of young language users resist the existing one-dialect-one-identity categorisation, and flexibly negotiate and construct situated 'new linguistic identities' based on and through heteroglossic language practices. Multidialectal data were collected from participant observation, ethnographic interviews and focus group discussion and analysed through fine-grained discourse analysis, which considers the interactional, social and historical meanings of the conversations.

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THE FUNCTIONS OF RUSSIAN IN THE EMERGING POLISH-RUSSIAN MIXED CODE IN LITHUANIA

The collapse of the Soviet Union was closely followed by the political, demographic, socio-cultural and linguistic changes in the newly independent Baltic states. Among the three states, Lithuania is often regarded as the most successful one in implementing the shift from Russian towards the titular language and assimilating its non-titular populations (Hogan-Brun & Ramoniene 2005). However, 22 years post independence Russian still has a strong presence in the Lithuanian capital Vilnius. It is not only the main language of the Russian minority, but it is also one of the languages used by the Polish community on a daily basis.

In this paper, I focus on the functions of Russian in the everyday language practices of the Polish community in Vilnius. The study is based on a corpus of 18 hours of recorded conversations, interviews and questionnaires, involving members of the Polish minority. The data has revealed numerous and frequent cases of alternation between the local variety of Polish and Russian, which suggests the emergence of a new, Polish-Russian mixed code. The first criterion proposed to account for an emergence of a mixed code is language switching at discourse markers (Maschler 1998). which can be defined as sequentially dependent elements that bracket, or 'frame' units of talk (Schiffrin 1987). The present study aims to demonstrate how Russian discourse markers, such as adverbs вообщем (in general) and короче (briefly [speaking]), as well as such lexicalized phrases as знаешь (you know) and понимаешь (you understand) are used to supply metatextual information that is additional to what is contained in the main body of a sentence, and therefore can be inserted in a sentence without affecting its syntax. The latter function makes them particularly productive in a mixed discourse. The second evidence of an emerging Polish-Russian mixed code is the frequent use of nonce borrowings, which are usually content words (Auer 1998). If they were to be grouped along the semantic lines, the majority of borrowings would fall under the category of slang/informal vocabulary. The present data displays numerous examples of the latter, which include words like пацан (young lad), тусоватся (to party), фигня(rubbish) etc. Although Polish equivalents do exist, speakers clearly prefer to import these lexical items from Russian. The presence of such vocabulary items reflects the cultural influence of Russian on the Poles in Lithuania. Russian films, music and TV programmes seem to be popular amongst the respondents, which also suggests that the media might be a potential source of informal vocabulary items.

The two criteria addressed in this paper, as well as the very fact that there are numerous and frequent cases of language alternation in the data point out towards the emergence of a Polish-Russian mixed code, where Polish acts as a base language and Russian 'frames' the discourse, as well as supplies some of the lexical content.

STRAND, THEA R.

Wake Forest University, United States of America

LANGUAGE AGAINST THE CITY: PROMOTING A RURAL DIALECT THROUGH CRITI-**CISM AND IRONIC USE OF URBAN FORMS**

For over 150 years, Norway has had two competing written norms, Bokmål and Nynorsk, which are legally equal but symbolically representative of urban and rural culture and values, respectively. Additionally, without any recognized spoken norm, Norwegians are officially encouraged to use their native dialects in all situations. In this sense, contemporary Norway is self-consciously, perhaps radically, heteroglot (Bakhtin 1981, Røyneland 2009). This paper sheds light on contemporary Norwegian sociolinguistic tensions by focusing on 1) criticisms leveled at the use of 'urban' forms in rural Valdres, Norway, and 2) the highly selective and exaggerated use of certain urban forms as another means of policing and promoting the rural dialect.

Valdresmål, Valdres' local spoken variety, was voted Norway's most popular dialect on a national radio program in 2005. This reflects and has contributed to the recent revalorization of the dialect and a distinctly rural identity in Valdres. Valdresmål's presently high status is evident in its regular use across social contexts and in its current caché among younger generations, as well as in pro-dialect ideology readily observable in metalinguistic discourse. While Valdresmål has recently been revalued, the regionally normative speech of nearby Oslo has simultaneously been devalued by many in Valdres. This is clear in dialect speakers' active policing of urban language, as well as in their highly patterned and exaggerated uses of certain forms iconically associated with urban Oslo (Irvine & Gal 2000).

During ethnographic and sociolinguistic fieldwork in 2007-08, one normativelexical form frequently used in this way was the verb a snakke 'to speak,' for which the corresponding Valdresmål form is å prata. Highlighting this contrast, one Valdresmål speaker may criticize another by saving that she 'snakker' 'speaks' if the latter's speech is perceived as too normative. Here, the (de facto) normative form is combined with exaggerated Oslo phonology in a fleeting but critical performance of devalued urban-ness, with the clear implication that urban forms are inappropriate, false, and disloval to the rural community. Thus, a snakke has become an efficient index of ideologies that support a rural dialect and identity over accommodation to dominant urban forms. Combining Bakhtin's conceptualization of 'voice' (1981) and more recent approaches to linguistic 'mocking' (Hill 2008, Chun 2009), this paper identifies clear patterns in the critical, ironic, and exaggerated use of urban language in rural Norway, locating these within particular local and national contexts. References

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BRUNSTAD, ENDRE University of Bergen, Norway

LANGUAGE CONFLICT AS A LOCAL PRACTICE. UNDERSTANDING THE DYNAMICS BETWEEN NYNORSK AND BOKMÅL IN SUBURBAN AREAS OF WESTERN NORWAY.

This paper is about the language conflict between Nynorsk and Bokmål in Norway and how this may be studied at the local level as a local practice. More specifically, the paper will go further into how the Nynorsk-Bokmål conflict is realised at local referendums concerning school language. Nearly half of all referendums in Norway are concerning school language, and actions, publications and arguments related to these referendums are interesting sources for understanding more general notions of the relations between language, place and identity. In my paper I will use empirical data from referendums concerning language at two schools in a suburban area of the city of Bergen and referendums at two schools in a municipality close to Bergen. In all of these cases, Nynorsk is the language being challenged. From a general sociolinguistic point the challenging of Nynorsk may be regarded as an aspect of the general pressure from the majority to the minority and as a part of general socio-cultural processes such as urbanisation, deterritorialisation and modernity. However, if we are to understand the strategies individual language users use to navigate between competing notions and ideologies of language (and thereby also between two written languages) we have to examine how these strategies are made up locally with respect to activities in which the written languages are involved. In addition, we need to take into consideration the social, cultural and geographical spaces to which the language users make identity relations. In all of these cases the role of the dominating city is prominent but this role is not static.

In my paper I will briefly compare the results from the suburban area of Bergen to more general results and trends concerning the language conflict in Norway, first of all concerning school language. In addition, I will discuss some implications in view of general theory on language conflict and in view of theories on how language is integrated to spatial activities.

RAVINDRANATH, MAYA

University of New Hampshire, United States of America

THE TRANSITIONAL GENERATION: A BORDER GROUP IN LANGUAGE SHIFT

Recent scholarship in sociolinguistics has encouraged a focus on border groups (e.g. Llamas 2010). Although in many cases this research focuses on speech communities across tangible physical or political borders, the definition has expanded to include more abstract social border groups, where 'identity is fluid, complex, and emergent in social interaction.' (Borders and Identities 2010). This paper describes the particular characteristics of one such group in a small, multilingual Garifuna-, English-, and Belizean Creole (BC)-speaking community in Belize, arguing that the middle generation (ages 30-50) in this community is a type of social border group, as is any intermediate generation in a community undergoing language shift. The data come from an apparent time analysis (Sankoff 2006) of two phonological changes in progress and gualitative analysis of language attitudes in the village, following work such as McCarty et al (2006). Interview data show that this generation straddles the boundary between recognizing BC, the national lingua franca, as a legitimate language and using it in multiple domains (as their children do) or considering it an illegitimate code and refusing knowledge of it (as their parents do). With respect to an externally-motivated sound change due to contact with BC, speakers of this generation show a far greater range of variation than the older or younger age groups, in effect straddling a boundary between BC- and Garifuna-dominance. In contrast, with regard to an internal change in progress, only the men of this generation exhibit unusual behavior when compared to the rest of the community behavior that I argue is an assertion of their Garifuna identity in reaction to social and linguistic shifts taking place in the community. As such, variation in the language reflects dynamism in the community. This study highlights the fact that not all socio-linguistic factors are unidirectionally pointing toward the loss of Garifuna in Hopkins. Instead, we see changes progressing in a fashion akin to those in healthy languages, as well as attitudes that seem to support language maintenance, alongside structural convergence of the type that often accompanies language shift. If 90% of the world's languages are destined to become endangered in the next century (Krauss 1992), it is of particular importance that we examine closely the variation inherent in endangered indigenous languages. In sum, an understanding of the special motivations of the transitional generation may inform an analysis of the complex internal and external sociolinguistic pressures on minority languages in cases of incipient language shift.

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DANKWA-APAWU, DAVID Ghana Institute of Journalism, Ghana

IN SEARCH OF LANGUAGE IDENTITY AMONG URBAN YOUTHS IN ESL CONTEXT: A STUDY OF GHANAIAN STUDENTS OF GHANA INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISM, ACCRA

When we communicate, we share not only facts and opinions but also identities that are cultural and/or social. Cultural identities largely reflect a collective way of life that makes one group unique from others. Social identities, on the other hand, project differences that result from age, sex, education, and roles. These two identity forms resonate in the sounds and the grammar of our language, giving us a unique language identity. While cultural and social factors are strong pillars in the construction of language identities, personal desires seem to play the most significant role (Le Page & Tabouret-

Keller, 1985). Over the years, studies in linguistics have attempted to establish the relationship between language and identity. While some researchers (like Noam Chomsky, cited in Norton, 1997) have rejected any marked relationship between language and identity, others have defended the inseparable relationship between language and identity (Norton, 1997). The marriage between language and identity is strongly projected among the youth in multi-cultural urban settings, where people from different socio-cultural backgrounds construct or negotiate identities that meet their unique needs or desires. Generally, two major identity constructs are visible among the youth in ESL contexts. The first is a native-like language identity (with sociocultural norms different from the L1 norms). The second language identity is a non-native variety of the target language (i.e. NNVE). Depending on their motivation, the youth in ESL contexts would choose and consolidate one or the other. Others swing from one to the other in response to their changing needs. This study identifies the patterns of language identity projected in the speech of the youth in an urban community in Ghana; investigates the motivation behind the choice of language identity; and assesses its implication for teaching, policy, and research. 200 randomly selected students were surveyed to explore their perceptions and preferences for specific linguistic identities and the reasons behind such preferences. Findings from the study partly suggest that urban youths choose identities that meet their desires, for instance, 'for recognition, affiliation, security and safety' (Norton, 1997). Again, the dynamic nature of the respondents' motivation behind their identity preferences supports the identity continuum theory (Raheem, 2010) and the proposition that identity can be 'self-ascribed' (Nero, 2005). The implications include the need for language instructors to assess the identity needs of learners (Norton, 1997). Again, language policy would have to address the c

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DURHAM, MERCEDES

University of Aberdeen, United Kingdom

30 YEARS LATER: CHANGE AND STABILITY IN ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE DIALECT IN SHETLAND

It is well established that change in language use can be preceded by changes in linguistic attitudes; often, however, it is only once change is well underway that attitudes come to be examined, meaning that we do not necessarily have concrete information about prior linguistic attitudes.

This paper attempts to address this and offers a longitudinal perspective on change in dialect attitudes by focussing on two linked studies conducted on the Shetland Islands, at the far north of the United Kingdom, roughly 30 years apart.

The data presented comes from questionnaires examining the attitudes of Shetland children aged 13 to 16 towards the dialect, as well as their reported use of it; 344 were collected in 1983 and 484 in 2010. This represents the majority of children between those ages in Shetland, as classes in most of the Shetland schools were targeted. In the years between the first attitudinal study and the second, Shetland's situation has changed considerably; both socially: the discovery of oil in the North Sea and the construction of the Sullom Voe oil terminal brought an influx of outsiders to the island, and linguistically: younger speakers have been found to use the dialect less than previous generations (Melchers and Sundkvist 2010, Smith and Durham 2011). The possible affect of incomers to the island is clear from the results of the two studies. The attitudinal data considers not merely children whose parents were also born on Shetland, but any child in the classes studied. In 2010 there is a higher proportion of children born and being raised in Shetland but with parents born off the islands than in 1983 (14% vs. 4%), while the rates of children born off the islands and with no familial ties to Shetland has stayed nearly the same (10-11%). These Shetland-born but not Shetland origin children have very different attitudes in 2010 than in 1983 and this combined with their higher numbers is one possible explanation for why fewer young speakers use the dialect.

The attitudinal data is also revealing in terms of reported dialect use: as expected, it is clear that in some contexts the dialect is no longer considered an option, but new questions about social media (e-mail, text and facebook) show that the dialect is still used frequently in some contexts even by children without familial ties to Shetland. The attitudinal results thus help us gain a better picture of the dialect shift which is currently underway in Shetland and allow us to better understand how the two may be linked.

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HÖFLER, CONCHA MARIA

Europa-Universität Viadrina, Germany

PLACE SHAPES IDENTITY – A CASE FROM GEORGIA'S GREEK COMMUNITY

Acknowledged as 'ethnically' Greek, members of Georgia's Urum Greek community in many instances use place rather than ethnic categories to establish their identity. Originating from parts of the Ottoman Empire and speaking a Turkish rather than Greek variety, the process of their identity construction and negotiation is a highly complex issue. While their 'Greek' identity is very important to all my informants, it is not portrayed as the most salient one in all contexts. Place – namely the difference between living in the capital Tbilisi or in the rural villages of Tsalka – emerges as a reference point potentially overriding feelings of ethnic belonging. Place as a marker for identity formation among Urum Greeks of Georgia, therefore, will be at the centre of my paper.

The Greek community of Georgia is linguistically divided into Urum Greeks and Pontian Greeks. Historically, both 'groups' moved from the Pontos region on the Black Sea coast to present day Georgia, starting in 1828. They settled mainly in the rural area of Tsalka. Within the past 20 years, most Greeks

have left Georgia, leaving only around 2000 to stay there.

My corpus comprises Urum narratives and qualitative interviews in Russian and English. The narratives were collected for the Documentation of Urum Project by Skopeteas et al. (2011). 16 speakers narrated how the Urum people came to Georgia and described the changes in their lives since Georgia's independence in 1991. For additional insight into processes of identity construction, I conducted 5 semi-structured qualitative interviews in Russian and 3 in English with members of the Urum Greek community living in Tbilisi in 2010. I follow Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) in treating speech acts as Acts of Identity and Brubaker (2004) in being more interested, analytically, in the process of group formation – or groupness – than in treating 'groups' as real entities in the world. Furthermore, the linguistic analytical tools found in Hausendorf (2000) and Dijk (1988) have proven immensely helpful. The analysis shows that although 'ethnicity' may play a part in group formation, in- and out-groups are not necessarily construed along ethnic lines alone. For the Urum Greek living in Tbilisi, their 'co-ethnics' who emigrated from the rural villages of Tsalka to Greece are portrayed as a less fortunate out-group, from which my informants strongly dissociate themselves. Thus, place in the dichotomy of 'we here' versus 'them out there' plays a major role in the way my informants construct and neotiate their identity.

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SUZUKI, AYAKO

Tamagawa University, Japan

GLOBISH THE JAPAN OVER: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF CRAZE FOR GLOBISH

Globish, a kind of international English invented by a former IBM businessman J. P. Nerrière, has gained great attention in Japan after one business magazine, Toyo Keizai, featured it in 2010. The Japanese version of his most recent book (2009), Globish The World Over, became a bestselling language-related book soon after its publication in 2011. Now, it is easy to find study guides for Globish at book stores and English conversation schools which offer courses for it. Globish sweeps Japan.

This simplified English 'involves a vocabulary limited to 1,500 words, short sentences, basic syntax, an absence of idiomatic expressions and extensive hand gestures to get the point across' (http://www.globish.com/?page=about_globish&lang=en_utf8). According to Nerrière, these 1,500 words are most frequently used among non-native English speakers (NNSs) and thus useful in their business communication. He also shows rules of use, such as 'keep sentences short' and 'avoid all humours.' This reduced form of English can be attractive at first glance for English language learners. However, as Globish is not prescribed based on empirical research into English used by NNSs, it has received criticism that it does not reflect actual use of English among NNSs and thus communication in it can be unrealistic (see e.g. Seidlhofer 2011:156-8). Despite the fact that many people have recognized and pointed out its problems, Globish still attracts many Japanese people who believe they are 'English language learning failures.' They see it as a 'Savior.' This zeal seems to have been invited by various kinds of social anxiety. In this paper, I examine why Globish appears to be so fascinating for Japanese people. I firstly discuss what Globish is in detail. Next, using a critical discourse analysis, I look into what social factors help to create Japan's craze for Globish. Then, I investigate what kinds of expectation people have of the English by looking at a variety of sources, such as media reports, websites of Globish promoters, and people's blogs. This paper reveals how Japan's fear of 'being left behind' in global society has brought about craze for Globish.

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General Session: Social roles / interaction

FLANNERY, MÉRCIA SANTANA

University of Pennsylvania, United States of America

NARRATIVE AND THE CITY: NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES IN URBAN TALES

This paper centers on the analysis of an urban narrative, collected in a sociolinguistic interview, describing the encounter between two youngsters and the police at a checkpoint in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. One of the highlights of this analysis is how teller and audience actively engage in the process of meaning negotiation, through co-evaluative participation. This is accomplished as the interlocutors' familiarity with prior urban discourses is brought to bear in the interaction, and as they reference urban styles and identities to negotiate the point of their stories. This process establishes the status of those involved in the story world, and ascertains the teller's identity, while eliminating the ambiguities purposely invoked before. The results of this give and take which occurs during the interaction are: 1) humor, as the teller supplies marks of identity characteristic of urban types from which he distances himself only after a reaction from the audience (laughter, repetition) is manifested; 2) solidarity between the interlocutors, deriving from the constant interplay between them. For instance, throughout the narrative, different urban identities are highlighted, as the teller presents himself in the context of the story world, but readjusts his participation status, and the impressions given-off (Goffman, 1959), as the audience interprets them. In a long orientation section, the teller presents several descriptive details whose semiotic value is linked to specific urban stereotypes— e.g., a funkeiro of the favelas in Rio de Janeiro, a homosexual, an inebriated, disorderly young male, or a preppy university student. As these identities are evoked in the teller's account, they allow for the presentation of self and other in the narration through a dynamic process that unfolds as a result of his audience's reactions. These series of urban identities and styles are linguistically constructed through: 1) the verbal code used, which include *carioca* slangs and the use of an urban informal regis

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NIELSEN, RASMUS

University of Southern Denmark, Denmark

'WHERE YOU AT? WHERE YOU GOING?': PROSODIC RHYTHM IN THE VERBAL STRAT-EGY 'MARKING'

The current study investigates the linguistic construction of the verbal strategy 'marking' in African American English (AAE) – i.e. the use of constructed dialogue, or direct quotes, to laminate narrative characters with certain attitudes and belief systems (Mitchel-Kernan 1972). Previous studies of marking (e.g., Mitchel-Kernan 1972) and quotations in embedded evaluations in AAE (e.g., Labov 1972) offer insights into the interactional aspects of marking, without offering any variation analyses of how AAE prosody contributes to the linguistic construction of this verbal genre. Specifically, the saliency of prosodic rhythm in marking remains underexamined, but promises to be a rich site for the further exploration of how speakers of African American English use stylistic resources to shape meanings and identities.

In the present study, I address the above shortcomings by correlating measures of prosodic rhythm, using the Pairwise Variability Index (PVI) to identify stress-timed and syllable-timed speech (Low and Grabe 1995), with specific instances of marking in the interview discourse. For a more detailed analysis of marking in narratives, I use DuBois' (2007) discourse approach of scalar alignment to identify convergent, divergent, and ambiguous cases of alignment, thus combining discourse and variationist approaches.

The data comes from a one-hour sociological interview with 'Michael', a fourteen-year-old African American from Washington, D.C. 'Michael' is a vivid storyteller, and the interview centers on topics of concern for inner city minority teens, including teenage pregnancy, violence, police confrontations, and death (cf. Froyum Roise 2004, Schilling-Estes 2007). A total of 216 PVI calculations were made in 34 narratives, which included the constructed dialogue and the narrative discourse immediately preceding and following the constructed speech.

The analysis reveals that Michael's rhythm when marking a character in the discourse is significantly (p=.007) more stressed-timed (.638) compared to the surrounding narrative discourse (.413). However, a fine-grained analysis demonstrates that prosodic rhythm is used to construct marking in different ways: there is a significant stylistic shift between stressed-timed and syllable-timed speech in divergent alignment compared to convergent and ambiguous alignment. For example, in certain cases of divergent alignment, Michael constructs the speech of a police officer and uses rhythm to not only report what was said, but simultaneously laminate the performed quote with certain authoritative ideologies, 'Like if you walking in a neighborhood where you don't live at, they come up to you, *'Where you at? Where you going?'* It don't matter where we going!'

I conclude the analysis by showing that highly stress-timed speech in constructed dialogue enables the occurrence of shifting stress patterns and amplifies patterns of continuing shifts between high and low pitches (Loman 1967, 1975; Tarone 1973). The analysis reveals that a shift in rhythm for Michael is a stance taking strategy that occurs in oppositional alignment with authoritative figures, and the marking that emerges from a skillful manipulation of prosodic timing, or rhythm, creates an ideological link between Michael and the sociocultural challenges he faces in the urban landscape. SALLO, IBRAHIM KHIDHIR University of Dohuk, Iraq

KURDISH-ARABIC/ENGLISH CODE SWITCHING AMONG EDUCATED KURDS IN DO-HUK-KURDISTAN/IRAQ: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

This study investigates Kurdish-Arabic/English Code-Switching (henceforth K-Ar/E CS). It attempts to tackle the linguistic and extra-linguistic constraints of K-Ar/E CS among the Kurds in Dohuk/Iraq. The linguistic constraints of this phenomenon imply that mixing two or more languages does not represent a random blending; on the contrary, CS is systematic and follows certain linguistic rules. These rules can be grouped into two categories: linguistic and extra-linguistic (i.e., psychological, sociological and academic motivations). This empirical study is based on the analysis of code-switched data collected from 50 educated Kurdish multilingual informants born in Dohuk and aged between 18 and 60 who are speakers of a Bahdinani dialect spoken in North-West of Iraq. Using a variety of ways which include social participation, personal observation, interviews, questionnaires and utilising tapes where natural conversations could be approached, the informants were also requested to submit weekly language diaries. Questionnaires involved the description of some situations, for which the respondents were asked to mention what language they would use. The K language covered by the data is a variety of K spoken by the Kurds in Dohuk city. They were from the two sexes. The results are reported in the analysis and discussion, which identify the constraints associated with the informants' language choice and K-Ar/E CS. The hypotheses and objectives of the empirically collected data are presented along with a linguistic analysis. It is hypothesized that there are certain features and rules of the code-switched language used in them.

This paper focuses on the types of the constraints especially with reference to the different frequencies of Ar and/or E items within K contexts and the adherence of the coded Ar and/or E items to K morphological rules.

This study attempts to find out the extra-linguistic variables constraining the use of a blend of languages in terms of the so-called 'code-switching', (K-Ar/E CS), by the Kurds in Dohuk. Following Fishman's statement 'Who speaks what language to whom, where and when', it is expected that language choice by multilingual Kurdish people is not an arbitrary phenomenon but linked with psycho-sociological determinants, i.e., 'topic', 'participation', 'situation', 'mood' and 'purpose'.

Suggestions are advanced about when, how and why K-Ar/E CS occurs, emphasizing the impact of the sociolinguistic variables (i.e., topic, setting, and participants including their age, sex, education, rural vs. urban, socioeconomic background ...) as well as psychological, academic and other non-linguistic constraints of K-Ar/E CS. This paper will focus on CS used in tackling daily life issues or registral language, e.g., academic, scientific, and business subjects.

Finally, some conclusions are drawn and some recommendations made for future studies to give a comprehensive picture of K-Ar/E CS in Iraq as well as in other parts of the world where CS occurs between Kurdish and the languages used there, whether in everyday language or registers .

WIDE, CAMILLA (1); LINDSTRÖM, JAN (2); NILSSON, JENNY (3); NORRBY, CATRIN (4) 1: University of Turku, Finland; 2: University of Helsinki, Finland; 3: Swedish Institute for Language and Folklore, Sweden; 4: Stockholm University, Sweden

INTERACTION, PRAGMATICS AND VARIATION IN PLURICENTRIC LANGUAGES. A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF COMMUNICATIVE PATTERNS IN SWEDEN SWEDISH AND FINLAND SWEDISH

In our project Interaction, Pragmatics and Variation in Pluricentric Languages, we investigate similarities and differences in communicative patterns in Sweden Swedish and Finland Swedish. By using variational pragmatics (Schneider & Barron 2008) as our theoretical point of departure and Conversational Analysis (CA), interactional linguistics and ethnography of communication as analytical tools, we describe interaction and communicative patterns in institutional encounters in the domains service, education and health care. In this paper we show results from two pilot studies conducted within the project.

In cross-language communication, speakers of different first languages are often aware of the potential cross-cultural miscommunication their different linguistic backgrounds might cause, while interlocutors who speak the same language, but who belong to different speech communities are not as likely to be prepared for any communicative failure. So far, there has been very little research into how national varieties of pluricentric languages (e.g. German, French and Dutch) differ in terms of interactional and communicative patterns as a result of their use in different societies. In our paper we show the breadth of pragmatic differences between the national varieties of Swedish by focusing on how a transaction is introduced in service encounters, how praise and criticism are formulated and received in university supervision meetings and how interpersonal orientations are manifested in medical consultations. In service encounters there is a greater tendency towards more formal address and greeting in Finland Swedish, and some pragmatic formats like self-introductions in institutional telephone calls follow patterns which are more typical of Finnish than of Swedish (Norrby, Wide, Lindström & Nilsson in press.). In university supervision meetings, the Sweden Swedish supervisor tends to treat criticism as something problematic and hedges instructions on how to change passages in the students' work by the use of discourse particles, adverbs, jokes and laughter. Also, the supervisor generally uses generic forms of address when delivering criticism and more direct forms when giving praise. The Finland-Swedish supervisor, on the other hand, does not seem to treat criticism as something problematic. She uses more direct address in passages of criticism and does not hedge in the same way as the Sweden-Swedish supervisor. Interpersonal orientations in Finland Swedish doctor-patient interaction show, again, more formal patterns of address and the feedback tokens differ from those that are typically used in Swedens.

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STAMP, ROSE JANE (1); CORMIER, KEARSY (1); SCHEMBRI, ADAM (2); EVANS, BRONWEN (1) 1: University College London (UCL), United Kingdom; 2: La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia

BRITISH SIGN LANGUAGE (BSL) DIALECTS IN CONTACT: INVESTIGATING THE PAT-TERNS OF ACCOMMODATION AND LANGUAGE CHANGE

Short-term linguistic accommodation has been observed in a number of spoken language investigations (e.g. Babel, 2010; Coupland, 1984). The first of its kind in sign language research, this study aims to experimentally investigate the effects of dialects in contact and lexical accommodation in British Sign Language (BSL). Twenty-five participants were recruited from Belfast, Glasgow, Manchester and Newcastle and paired with the same conversational partner (a deaf native BSL signer 'confederate' from Bristol). These pairs of signers from different regional backgrounds were involved in four tasks: a) a lexical elicitation task, b) a Diapix task, c) a dialect comprehension task, and d) an interview. The aim of the Diapix task (Van Engen et al., 2010) was to engage participants in spontaneous conversation whilst eliciting a large amount of regionally-specific sign data. Initial findings reveal that lexical accommodation has taken place with younger signers showing a higher proportion of accommodation than older signers.

In the dialect comprehension task, participants were asked to identify the correct meaning of a regional colour sign. Known to show considerable regional variation, BSL research has found conflicting evidence as to the degree of comprehension of these varieties (e.g. Kyle & Woll, 1982; Woll et al., 1991). However, observation of the conversational data in this study shows that signers' have no difficulties interacting with signers from different regions with mouthing often disambiguating the meaning of regional signs. Recent corpus data has shown that variation in BSL is decreasing with younger signers using less regionally-bound variants and favouring those variants associated with London in most cases (Stamp et al., in prep.). Interestingly, initial findings in the current study have found that participants performed best comprehending Birmingham varieties with the comprehension of London varieties second best out of eight UK regions. One possible explanation is that some Birmingham signs integrate the initial fingerspelled letter of the English word into the sign production (e.g. fingerspell 'P' for the sign PURPLE). This paper will explore the full findings of this study considering how the findings relate to spoken language studies.

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TSUDA, SANAE

Tokai Gakuen University, Japan

PRAGMATIC DIFFERENCES OF CLARIFICATION REQUEST IN ENGLISH AND JAPA-NESE

Purpose:

This paper compares pragmatic aspects of clarification requests in English and Japanese. Firstly, it analyzes native speaker conversations of British, Australian and American English to see if there are common pragmatic features in these English varieties1. Secondly it compares the result with native Japanese speakers' clarification requests.

Background:

SLA researchers claim that L2 learners obtain not only necessary information but also improve their communication skills by making clarification requests (Pica, 1987). At the same time, making clarification requests is face-threatening to SL learners since it reveals the questioner's failure in understanding the other's message (Ozaki, 1989). In English or Japanese cross-cultural conversations between the native speakers of these languages, it is observed that the Japanese speakers tend to avoid making clarification requests while English speakers do not hesitate to do so (Tsuda, 2008, Tsuda et al. 2008). Their difference motivated the present study to compare clarification requests in English and Japanese. Conversational data:

The data consist of 30 minute, first encounter conversations by 3 male native speakers of British, Australian and American English. Six conversations for each variety, total of 18 are used for the analysis. Six 30 minute Japanese conversations are analyzed for comparison. Results:

As is expected, clarification requests are found far less in native speaker conversations of both languages than the cross-cultural data. Qualitative analysis shows that there are not noticeable pragmatic differences in the three English varieties. When necessary, all speakers do not hesitate to make clarification requests even in their first encounters. They seldom use hedges before making clarification requests. What characterizes English native speakers is that they employ clarification requests for such innovative purposes as making a joke, expressing a surprise or encouraging the other participants to elaborate a topic, which will help make first encounter conversations more enjoyable. On the other hand, although the Japanese speakers do not hesitate to make clarification requests when speaking among themselves, they mostly use clarification requests to achieve their primary purpose of obtaining information that they failed to understand.

1 This is a part of JACET Politeness Study Group research which aims to describe pragmatic indices of British, Australian and American English. It is funded by the Japanese Ministry of Education (No. 22520595).

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SHIGEMITSU, YUKA Tokyo Polytechnic University, Japan

Chapter 25th Year Commemorative Issue) pp.57-82.

QUESTION-ANSWER SEQUENCES IN ENGLISH CONVERSATION AND JAPANESE CON-VERSATION: FROM A PERSPECTIVE OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION SKILLS

The purpose of the presentation is to analyze question-answer sequences in English and Japanese conversation to investigate how questions facilitate the conversation in each language and to see if there is any pragmatic difference in English and Japanese. Question-answer sequences constitute adjacency pairs and questions can be used to select next speaker. 'Questions have special forms contrasted with declarative forms and are used to elicit information from other participants in conversations to activate interactive conversation. The answer part is expected to have appropriate quality and quantity in accordance with the questions. On the other hand, question and answer sequences in natural conversations are not culture free. Therefore, expected amount of answer and structure of answer also varies from culture to culture. Moreover, the boundary between the question showing interest and the question which sounds nosy varies from culture to culture. Shigemitsu (2011) reports that American participants more often asked questions during conversations, comparing Japanese participants and American participants. The follow-up interviews revealed that the Americans did not have a good impression of his Japanese interactions. He felt that the Japanese participants were not cooperative and he could not build rapport with them. Question-answer sequences may be approached from the three perspectives of 'structure', 'amount of information' and 'politeness.' The conversational data used for analysis include the three inner circle varieties of British, American and Australian Englishes and three Japanese. All participants are male and did not meet each other prior to recording. The participants in each conversational data are three. The research questions are as follows, RQ1: Does a question function as a next speaker selection? RQ2: What kind of questions are appropriate in conversations in each language and when should they be asked during conversation? RQ3: Is an expected amount of answer different in each language? Then the focus shifts to the research of mono-cultural conversation. The analysis reveals that in inner-circle English most of the questions are asked to the target participants and the question functions as a next speaker selection. As for the question forms, the question types of 'what-do-you-think...?' 'how...?' are often used. Using WH question forms, the asker try to ask the target participant for his opinion. The answer starts from the conclusion first which directly answers and then the detailed stories follow. Questions are asked to seek a topic to share. On the contrary, in Japanese conversation, the questions are not sometimes asked to a target participant. The asker sometimes implies that he has a question in order to avoid being rude. The follow-up interview with the participants reveal that asking question is not polite in conversations, participants are sensitive to asking questions. Thus question-answer sequences in Japanese conversation shows different aspect from the English conversation. These research findings have important implications for English language teaching and learning, as well as for intercultural communication.

Reference:

Yuka Shigemitsu (2011, July) Different Paths to Co-constructing Topic Development in Japanese and English : Function of Questions in Conversation. IPrA 12, Manchester, UK.

EVERTS, ELISA L. Georgetown University, United States of America

IN THE FACE OF BLINDNESS: OVER/ACCOMMODATION OF DISABILITY AND THE DIS-CURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF AGENCY AND INDEPENDENCE

HELP (NOT) WANTED- Over-accommodation in interability discourse is one of the most difficult interactional phenomena a person with a disability faces. This is complicated by the fact that the performance of the identity 'competent, independent self' in public (or even in private) depends in part upon the collaboration of 'abled' others at the scene. Moreover, when the disability in point is blindness, such a collaborative performance is complicated even further by the absence of gaze as a resource for negotiating such delicate interactions, precisely the channel and mode upon which sighted people most rely in such circumstances.

Frame (2003), herself visually impaired, uses Goffman's (1963) original terminology whe she points out that there are several ways a blind person's performance of the competent self can be 'spoiled.' She may first of all spoil it herself without any collaboration from others by literally failing to perform competently (e.g., not greeting an acquaintance, not shaking hands with a person whose hand is extended, stumbling, or not entering the crosswalk at the right time). In such cases, blindness itself is the cause of face loss. However, other parties also contribute to one's performance in public. Assistance offered by well-meaning others is, on its face, an act of positive politeness, but even when successful and desired, it can only occur at the cost of negative face as per Bateson's (1972) double bind. Assistance not only puts the abled other in a position of 'power' over the 'assisted,' it also draws attention to her, thus violating her right to 'civil inattention,' to simply blend in with everyone else. When help is not desired, but is forced upon the person, it not only causes a graver violation of face, but can actually create more trouble (and even danger!) for the blind person than it alleviates, further compromising her presentation of competence, and further violating her negative face. Finally, one seemingly innocuous way of spoiling (or at least besmirching) the performance of a person with a disability is to point out how well they achieved some ordinary feat using alternate, less ordinary means from those which are commonly used.

Although people who are visually impaired do work with a restricted set of modes as resources for interaction, they have a rich cache of discourse strategies at their disposal for exercising agency in managing their interactions, relationships, and identities more to their own satisfaction--constructing more independent identities and more symmetrical relationships. In this paper, I analyze the discourse of a (once-sighted) blind woman in interaction with sighted others and present a number of successful strategies she employs to bring the balance of positive and negative face needs to a desirable equilibrium, establishing both independence and involvement (Tannen 1984). These strategies include demonstrations of competence, displays of knowledge, acts of helping others, rejections and negative assessment of unwanted help, and direct discursive contradictions of attributions of powerlessness. While these strategies are presented in the context of blind/sighted interaction, they are relevant to anyone facing attributions of powerlessness.

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SPEAKER'S LINGUISTIC AWARENESS: A DEFINITION ACCORDING TO THE VARIANT TYPE

The Sociolinguistic studies developed by Labov, in the sixties and in subsequent years of the twentieth century, were crucial for the initiation and continuation of other studies conducted in different parts of the world. From the social stratification variables and observing their correlation with structural factors, it was possible to establish systematic patterns in various aspects of language, especially with regard to the phonological one. Implemented works demonstrate that greater emphasis was given to the social and structural variables with little attention paid to the variable style. We know that the sociolinguistic methodology, regarding the contextual style, has focused on two approaches. On the one hand, the change of style seen as ethnographic phenomenon, on the other, as a mechanism controlled by measuring the dynamics of sociolinguistic variation. Knowing as much as possible about the ways speakers and change its frequency in everyday life is a challenge. And the change in style seems to be one of the keys to what we see as the central problem of the theory of language change: the problem of transmission (Labov, 2001). Linked to the question of style is the role of linguistic awareness that may prove to be the attitude of the speaker-hearer in relation both to their own speech as that of others. Using data from Project Linguistic Variation in Paraíba /Brazil - VALPB (HORA, 1993) and data from Project Phonological Variation of Brazilian Portuguese: rural speech zone, the latter held, in Tejucupapo-PE, our goal is to assess the attitude of speaker in relation to phonological processes that can be categorized as punctual as much as global, considering structural and prosodic aspects. An analysis of data from two projects allows us to state that the speaker is aware of the variants that can be categorized as 'stereotypes', like the palato-alveolar fricative /S/, present to speak in Rio de Janeiro, the 'miss' retroflex as a mark of São Paulo and also of the palato-alveolar stops /t, d/ dialects present in the southern and southeastern Brazil. On the other hand, variants classified as 'indicators' and 'markers' do not draw attention. In the first case, is what happens to propretonic middle vowels in 'menino' (boy), 'Recife', etc.., and in the second case, are examples such as the deletion of the 'd' in the group -ndo, in forms such as 'cantando' vs. 'cantano' (singing), 'falando' vs. 'falano' (talking) in the style that favors the standard forms, respectively, 'cantando' and 'falando'.

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TIMPE, VERONIKA (1); JANSSEN, GERRIET (2)

1: TU Dortmund; 2: University of Hawai'i, United States of America

NEGOTIATION OF MEANING IN INTERCULTURAL CONTEXTS: A NEW FORM OF AS-SESSMENT

Intercultural Communicative Competence (ICC) has become an important focus in foreign language education. In recent years, policy makers have included intercultural objectives in curricula, leaving teachers faced with the challenge of promoting and assessing the acquisition of ICC. This is true for teachers of a variety of subjects, but it is particularly true for teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL). All English language educators in Germany - from primary to upper secondary level - are now expected to promote and assess the acquisition of ICC in their learners.

In her 2012 keynote speech at the International Conference on the Development of Intercultural Competence, Heidi Byrnes called for a theoretical grounding of intercultural communicative competence in language education by anchoring it in particular in language assessment. Gains, she argued, would be made particularly through the development of assessment practices. To date, little practical intercultural assessment development has been done. However, Timpe, as part of her Ph.D. research, has developed assessment tools operationalizing the three language competences that according to Byram (1997) are essential in intercultural encounters; linguistic, sociolinguistic, and discourse competence. The tasks focusing on the assessment of discourse competence as the 'ability to use, discover and negotiate strategies for the production and interpretation of [...] dialogue texts which follow the conventions of the culture of an interlocutor or are negotiated as intercultural texts for particular purposes' (Byram, 1997, p.48) were at the center of this project.

This current study uses the assessment tasks developed by Timpe in 2011 to investigate in more detail the 'turn-taking mechanism, impromptu planning decisions contingent on interlocutor input, and hence negotiation of global and local goals, including negotiation of meaning' (Kasper & Dahl, 1991, p. 19). These assessment tasks consisted of dyadic audiotaped telephone conversation role plays between university-level German learners of English and an L1 U.S.-American English speakers. The role plays were conducted via Skype. Each test-taker had to engage in a meaning clarification exercise, with the end of establishing an understanding of an unknown cultural concept (e.g., 'beer-pong' or 'homecoming').

Following Long and Norris (2000), in that 'the construct of interest in task-based assessment is performance of the task itself,' we will provide case studies describing these 'self-contained episodes' (Gumperz, 1982, p. 134) in terms of how the different test-takers approach the construction of meaning. Hence, this paper will not only introduce this new assessment tool as an operationalization of Byram's notion of discourse competence; moreover, it will provide a description of the strategies applied by university-level German learners of English who were engaged as the informants in this study.

VERONESI. DANIELA

Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, Italy

'WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A MELODY AND THE BRIDGE?' EXPLORING PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY IN ENSEMBLE MUSIC WORKSHOPS

Beyond essentialistic views of identity as an a priori in social interaction, studies in sociolinguistics and Conversation Analysis have highlighted how cultural, linguistic, professional or gender categorizations (Sacks 1972, 1992, Schegloff 2007) are neither given once and for all, nor are individual acts, but

are jointly accomplished in interaction (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998, Zimmermann 1998, Mondada 1999 and 2004, Goodwin & Goodwin 2004, Auer 2005, De Fina 2006, Goodwin 2007, among others).

Against this background and adopting a Conversation Analysis approach, the paper explores the issue of professional identity in instructional music settings, specifically, in four ensemble music workshops held in Italy by a US composer/conductor with a) Italian music students and b) internationally acclaimed musicians from Italy and the US.

It is thereby looked at 1) how instrumentalists' musicianship is made relevant in the way the conductor designs his explanations (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974, Duranti & Burrell 2004, Haviland 2007 and 2011); 2) whether and how agreement on music action is negotiated differently with professional versus not professional groups (Weeks 1990, 1996a, 1996b, Keevallik 2010), and 3) what categories ('teacher/student', 'conductor'/ 'instrumentalist', etc., 'fellow musician'/'fellow musician', see Sacks 1974 & Torras & Gafaranga 2002) are invoked by participants and how such emerging categorizations intertwine with music action and the construction of the ensemble as a cohesive group (Faulkner 1973, Malhotra 1981). The study aims at contributing to a growing body of literature devoted to interaction in music settings, which have shed light on group collaborative practices, apprenticeship, and the organisation of music action through a multeplicity of semiotic resources (see Berliner 1994, Monson 1996, Duranti 2009, Gritten & King 2006, Boyes Bräm & Bräm 2004, Feld et al. 2004, Poggi 2006, Rahaim 2008, Gibson 2010, Parton 2010, Streeck & Henderson 2010, Black 2011, Veronesi 2011). By looking at naturally occuring interactions among participants at different stages of their careers, furthermore, it has the objective of investigating the notion of professional competence (Goodwin 1994) as socially situated, co-operative action (Goodwin forthcoming).

MYERS, GREG: LAMPROPOULOU, SOFIA Lancaster University, United Kingdom

LAUGHTER AND STANCE IN SOCIAL RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

Stance-taking has been studied in terms of lexical markers (e.g., Biber 1999), discourse features such as reported speech (e.g. Clift 2006), choice of language or language variety (e.g. Jaffe 2009), and non-verbal actions (e.g. Goodwin 2007). In this paper we consider a paralinguistic feature, laughter, and the way it relates to stance utterances (using the definition of DuBois 2007). Laughter is a complex communicative event, not always associated with humorous remarks, and not always an involuntary response. It is cued, shaped, and responded to as a turn in interaction (Glenn 2003). We consider laughter in 10 interview projects drawn from ESDS Qualidata, a publicly available archive of UK social research interview transcripts. First, taking a corpus approach, we use the existing transcriptions, consider all the places the transcriber has indicated laughter, and compare the distribution of these events in different interviews and the kinds of questions in which it is prompted. Then we do a more detailed analysis of some retranscribed passages where we have sound files, looking especially at how it relates to the interviewer's elicitation of stance, and how the interviewer responds in the next turn. Laughter can be used to weaken stance-taking but also to strengthen it; it can be used to deal with rhetorical dilemmas posed by the questions, and to resist or acknowledge the constraints of a question (Stivers and Hiyashi 2010). The findings are relevant both for discourse analysis of laughter in interaction and for qualitative social science researchers, including sociolinguists, who use interviews as a source of data.

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HADZANTONIS, DIMITRIOS MICHAEL

Sungshin University, Korea, Republic of (South Korea)

TO BE OR NOT TO BE ETHNICIST: LANGUAGE CONTACT AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH KOREA

South Korean ethnic attitudes may influence attitudes and efforts toward foreign nationals in South Korea (Shin 2006). Consequently, these foreign nationals can experience alienation, loneliness, and generally a lack of consideration by South Korean nationals, contributing to social marginalization. This interaction between South Korean and foreign nationals has received little scholarly attention, despite development of increasingly complex interethnic social networks in the region (SERI 2008), thus exposing a gap between identity selection through methods such as code choice, and efforts to address this issue. Investigating code selection in South Korea has thus become vital, as it informs issues related to multilingual competence, selection of social identity, and integration with a foreign other.

Observing sociodiscursive intertextualities, the current study argues that, more so than in other regions, South Korean social attitudes can influence a code selection, which is associated with large group and ethnic identity. Factors affecting these attitudes can include a strong sense of national ethnicity and identity, patriarchy, (neo)Confucianism, the Hoju Jedo, significant language contact, new national and transnational modernities, perceived hegemonies from other sociopolitical regions, lack of adequate preparation for global integration, sociohistorical trends and practices, and formal pedagogical frameworks. These factors affect interethnic integrativeness and investment during contact with the foreign other, while pointing to language choice as a predictor of Ethnolinguistic Vitality. The paper presents initial preparatory findings, supported by theories of social identity, gualitative empirical data in the form of surveys (500 participants), and literature, so to elicit attitudes of South Koreans towards non-Korean nationals in South Korea, thus developing a formatory research model for code selection. The paper then suggests a research model for the extended and longitudinal study, investigating a specific correlate which can expose motives for code selection in South Korea, and hence, to investigate ways in which, as well as the extent to which, ethnic affiliation affects language choice in South Korea.

This study until the present constitutes a twelve-year investigation of South Korea, aiming to observe a relatively unique sociolinguistic phenomenon, and that of extreme code choice during interethnic interaction. Subsequent to the initial collection of empirical data, this study discusses factors that influence in/outgroup selection, locates patterns of this group selection, and contributes to a discussion of the correlation of social and linguistic elements

in South Korea. The study advances understanding of language and social identity by challenging essentialist conceptions of ethnicity, and by observing sociocultural spaces between South Koreans and the western other, thus locating a specific correlate and its variable effect during change in Ethnolinguistic Vitality, as speakers code select to position, contest, and negotiate their own and others' social identities.

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ZAYTS, OLGA A. (1); SCHNURR, STEPHANIE (2)

1: The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China); 2: Warwick University, UK

THE DYNAMICS OF FAMILY DECISION-MAKING IN INTERCULTURAL PRENATAL SCREENING

In recent years there has been a proliferation of research in medical sociology, medical anthropology medical education, and genetic counseling literature examining the role of culture in genetic counseling (e.g. Clarke and Parsons 1997; Lewis 2002; Ota Wang 2001). This attention to culture may be attributed to the fact that genetic counseling encounters involving participants from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds are increasingly becoming the norm due to due to globalization of health care and an increasing migration of professional workforce and clients around the world. A common theme emerging from these studies is that culture has a significant impact on the decision-making and the outcomes of genetic counseling. However, most of these existing studies tend to view culture as a static concept and make 'grand generalizations' about its impact while often over-looking how culture is actually oriented to by interlocutors on the micro-level of interaction.

In this paper, we employ theme-oriented discourse analysis (Roberts and Sarangi, 2005) to explore how participants' cultural background may impact the dynamics of family decision-making processes in prenatal screening for Down syndrome. In particular, we examine 40 prenatal screening encounters where participants include Hong Kong Chinese healthcare providers and clients (pregnant women and their husbands/partners) who come from a variety of cultural backgrounds. The clients are referred for screening due to the women's advanced maternal age (\geq 35 years old) and the associated risk of having a child with Down Syndrome. The screening encounters are organized as information-delivery sessions aimed at facilitating the clients' decision whether to pursue genetic diagnosis or not.

In our data we observed the tendency that among Asian couples the husbands are often actively constructed as the main decision-makers by both pregnant women and husbands themselves, whereas in Western couples women and husbands seem to co-participate in the decision-making. However, rather than interpreting these observations as generalizations in terms of culturally motivated behaviors, we are primarily interested in examining the various rhetorical and interactional means though which participants negotiate and construct their decisions. We thus look beyond culture and also explore other factors that may have an impact on the family decision-making processes displayed in our data, such as participants' gender role expectations and their language proficiency.

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General Session 12 General Session: Digital communication

TAGG, CAROLINE (1); SEARGEANT, PHILIP (2) 1: University of Birmingham, United Kingdom; 2: Open University, United Kingdom

THE ROLE OF ENGLISH AS AN ONLINE LINGUA FRANCA: CODE CHOICE AND TRANS-LOCALITY ON SOCIAL NETWORK SITES

Communication technologies are an integral part of modern city life and yet they often provide for a very different model of sociolinguistic interaction from 'real-life' urban groupings. Social network sites such as Facebook, in particular, challenge traditional sociolinguistic conceptions of 'community' by allowing individuals to build networks which span geographically-dispersed locations. In this talk, we look at the 'translocal' online networks formed by Facebook users based in locations across Europe. Users of Facebook tend to connect with people from all phases of their lives (from primary school friends to ex-work colleagues) and, for our urban, educated and well-travelled informants, these friends include people from various countries and with access to various languages. Due in no small part to its position as a lingua franca across Europe, English tends to be a shared resource across these multilingual groups. The focus of our talk is on how these groups appropriate English as one resource, alongside other languages and other communicative strategies, in constructing and maintaining translocal networks.

Of particular importance for communication via social media is the issue of addressivity. SNSs can be described as 'semi-private' in the sense that people can be connected to hundreds of other users, any of whom can potentially read and respond to their postings. Given the fact that SNSs tend to

bring together people from different parts of a user's life into one group, users must adapt strategies for dealing with what boyd and Ellison (2008) call a 'collapsed audience'. In our talk, we look at how Europe-based individuals switch between English and their vernaculars in order to address particular individuals and interactively construct networks within Facebook.

The talk thus has two specific aims. Firstly, we describe the language choices evident in the communication, looking in particular at the regular use of English as one element of a bi- or multilingual repertoire, and how the participants – none of whom have English as a first language – regularly switch between and mix languages according to audience, topic or circumstance. Our second aim is to show how these language choices contribute to the construction and maintenance of these online communities. The patterns revealed problematise clear-cut distinctions between the idea of vernaculars being used as 'local' languages, and English operating as the 'global' lingua franca; and highlight the way in which interactively constructed online networks intersect with the ('real-life') speech communities typically associated with the people involved.

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PAUWELS, ANNE

School of Oriental and African Studies, Uni of London, United Kingdom

CYBERSPACE BILINGUALS? ON THE USE OF THE INTERNET TO FOSTER LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN YOUNG BILINGUALS.

Research on bi-and multilinguals in migrant settings has provided strong evidence that those migrating at a young age and those born to migrant parents (often referred to as 'second generation') are likely to undergo a (significant) degree of language shift, sometimes resulting in a complete abandoning of the 'heritage' language. Particularly at 'risk' are young people whose peers and social networks do not display positive attitudes towards linguistic diversity, plurilingualism or linguistic difference and whose communities are characterised by low levels of ethnolinguistic vitality. Public exposure of heritage language use is experienced negatively by such youngsters leading them to 'hide' their heritage language, severely restricting its use to older family members, or abandoning it altogether. The advent of internet-based communication and other forms of technology-mediated language practices has had a significant impact not only on available and preferred modes of interaction but also on the notions of private and public communication. Through the internet one can engage in a range of communicative practices which provide privacy for the interlocutors, but which take place in public virtual spaces reaching a large number of people. Such communicative environments may constitute 'safe' places for young bilinguals in which to experiment with, use, or enhance their bilingual practices. In this paper I report on two case studies of young bilinguals belonging to ethnolinguistic communities in Australia that have registered low to to very low language vitality and a high degree of language shift: the Dutch-Australian community and the South African (Afrikaans) -Australian community. I explore their 'virtual' language and communicative practices and the impact these have on heritage language maintenance and continued bilingualism. I conclude the presentation with some observations about the potential of 'cyberspace' to 'wake up' dormant bilinguals.

JOHNSON, IAN JAMES; JOHNSON, JANET None, United Kingdom

THE IMPACT OF TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES UPON ONLINE LANGUAGE USE: THE EXPERIENCE OF WELSH-ENGLISH BILITERATES ON TWITTER

The explosive growth in social media towards the end of the past decade has led to numerous studies in computer mediated communication (cmc). However, few studies have so far tracked cmc users over a period of time to provide us with rich data of changes in how social media are being used, including changes to the social media themselves.

This longitudinal study builds upon an initial pilot with a convenience cohort of 25 bi-literate Welsh and English users of Twitter, using samples taken over three years to examine changes in use of language and technology.

The pilot study identified that the cohort acted as a bilingual community which used both languages when sending messages on Twitter. They predominantly wrote in Welsh to a fellow bilingual when sending a 'mention' message with limited distribution, but wrote exclusively in English to fellow users who displayed no evidence of Welsh language ability. The cohort wrote more often in English than Welsh when sending a universal tweet which could be read by all of their followers. There were, of course, significant individual variations within these patterns. Initial hypotheses predicted that, because of the 'real world' high ratio of monoglot English literates to bilingual Welsh-English literates, continued growth in the number of users of Twitter would lead to the cohort accommodating this 'real world' language use. A longitudinal study was entered into in order to verify these assumptions and track the cohort's language choice over time. Examining a corpus of tweets from the same point in each of three calendar years, no evidence was found for a significant online language shift amongst the total number of tweets by the cohort. The proportion of tweets in Welsh and English remained approximately static. The introduction of a 're-tweet' button on Twitter has made it easier for users to support existing content's onward transmission. This has seen the use of re-tweeting pre-existing content rise from below 5% of tweets in 2009 to more than a quarter in 2011. With significantly greater levels of content available in English compared to Welsh, unsurprisingly around 80% of all re-tweets are in English, thus depressing the comparative amount of content transmitted in Welsh.

Alternatively, through excluding re-tweets from the analysis, the cohort is now self-producing a greater amount of content in Welsh than at the beginning of the study.

There has also been a significant drop in the number of universal tweets compared with the steady use of mentions, with evidence that users are shifting from an 'open diary' approach on Twitter, describing everyday events, to something closer to an open group conversation. Adaptation to and adoption of technological change is a two-way process between the developer and the user which clearly impacts upon language use in computer mediated communication. This study illustrates the strategies adopted by a Welsh-English bi-literate Twitter community to reflect these changes.

'WE ARE MADE OF HOW AND WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED': RECOGNIZING AND CON-CEPTUALIZING OWN IDENTITIES THROUGH ONLINE DISCUSSIONS BY KOREAN LEARNERS OF JAPANESE AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Learner identity has been given much attention as one of the significant impacts on second language (L2) learning for the last decade. Many studies of second language acquisition have investigated L2 learners' identity construction in the L2 learning process and seen their identities as multiple, developed and modified in new communities over times (e.g., Norton and Toohey, 2001). These studies have also identified that learners' identities are associated with particular linguistic forms in an L2 with the situational meanings in social contexts (e.g., Norton, 2000). In this sense, L2 learners in educational settings need to be taught not only how particular linguistic forms are used as markers of gender, ethnicity and social status in the target society, but also how these become relevant with learners' own actions, stances and identities (cf. Ochs, 2002).

For this reason, L2 learners also need to recognize what identities they have in their own right, before they choose certain linguistic forms for expressing their identities in an L2. This study, therefore, examines how Korean learners of Japanese as a foreign language (FL) see their own identities through peer-to-peer interactions in the process of learning Japanese language and culture. While incorporating an ecological approach to FL learning into the course instruction (Kramsch, 2008), the study also explores how the learners seek and learn ways to express their identities in Japanese through the socialization process among peers.

Data for analysis were drawn from twenty students' online discussions as assignments over the course of one semester in an intermediate-level Japanese conversation class at a university in Korea. The data consists of 1715 asynchronous electronic postings in four online discussion forums using the university portal system. In each forum, the teacher started a discussion thread by posting a question such as 'What do you think about Japanese people?' that related to the course materials, and afterwards, gave her course management messages only when needed. The students responded to the teacher's questions as well as to one another's comments.

Qualitative analysis of the data reveals that the students in this study came to realize what their identities constitute through peer discussions and that they spontaneously co-constructed the concept of identity from their own perspectives in conjunction with Japanese language and culture learning. The analysis also shows that the students became aware of how to see and talk about cultures and identities, that is, improved meta-cognitive skills that influence the language learning process. Pedagogical implications to further understanding of language learning, especially in an FL environment are also discussed.

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LEE. CARMEN Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China)

COMMODIFYING DIGITAL DISCOURSE: THE INTERACTION BETWEEN ONLINE AND **OFFLINE LINGUISTIC PRACTICES IN URBAN TEXTSCAPES**

The past decade has seen significant shifts in how internet-based technologies are adopted. With the advent of mobile technologies, communication media that used to be confined to certain institutional contexts are now embedded in people's everyday social lives. The domestication of technologies blurs the boundary between the so-called online and offline worlds. At the same time, language and discourse also travel in and out of the computer screen. Linguistic expressions that are traditionally considered to be peculiar to 'online' communication have gradually made their way to our everyday off-screen contexts. An example in point is the extensive use of the @ sign, which used to be an accounting symbol and has then been popularized by its major function in email addresses. In recent years, @ has been extensively employed to replace the preposition 'at' in offline spaces such as advertisements, road signs, and even the logo of academic departments such as English@CUHK. Another example is the pragmatic extension of the Facebook 'like', a feature that allows users to support or show approval of a post or comment; nowadays, it is commonly found in non-Facebook contexts such as advertisements, face-to-face talk, or even election campaigns. It is such commonplace presence of online discourse in the off-screen world that inspires the study reported in this talk.

The overall aim of this talk is to revisit the so-called online-offline dichotomy in linguistic terms. Following the developing tradition of linguistic landscape (Shohamy & Gorter, 2009), the study relies heavily on photography. I first present a small corpus of images collected from different locations and sources and describe some ways of remixing Netspeak-inspired linguistic codes for new uses outside the online communication world, as captured in the images. I then explore the functions and social meanings given to these linguistic items by drawing upon concepts in contemporary approaches to situated language and literacies, such as discourses in place, linguistic landscape, and social literacies. In particular, I explore the ways in which some of the online language features have been seen as representative of the internet world (such as combining < and 3 to form a heart •, and emoticons like J) and how they have been 'commodified' (Heller, 2010), that is, being assigned economic values, as a symbol of globalization. From a descriptive linguistic point of view, it may be true that few novel linguistic items are introduced to our language and that what has been referred to as Netspeak is quite unlikely to develop itself into a truly independent variety in the foreseeable future. Nonetheless, the values, social meanings and functions attached to such language items are unprecedented and are even becoming increasingly significant in urban lives. It is thus important to tease out these broader social meanings and values through analyzing observable instantiation of such online linguistic influence in everyday contexts.

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A CASE STUDY OF LANGUAGE USE AND CODE-SWITCHING IN COMPUTER-MEDIAT-ED COMMUNICATION, FOCUSING ON MSN MESSENGER, IN TAIWAN

This study describes a language contact phenomenon - code-switching - in a synchronous Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC), that is, MSN Messenger, among a group of Chinese/English bilinguals in Taiwan. The aim of this research is to reveal how different languages are employed in MSN Messenger and how different writing systems are used creatively to represent various languages. Five participants, including three females and two males, volunteered to participate in the project. The main data include a corpus of conversations between the five participants and between the participants and the researcher. Data collection started since November, 2010, for a period of six months. In addition, a questionnaire was designed and delivered to the five participants to confirm the observations made by the researcher and to see whether the description and interpretation correspond to the actual language use by the MSN Messenger users.

The data were analyzed in terms of (1) code-switching between different writing systems including SWC, English alphabet, and Chinese Zhuyin; (2) code-switching between languages including Mandarin, Taiwanese, Taiwanese-Mandarin, and English: (3) idiosyncratic and distinctive online features of English including versatile English letters, capital letters, onomatopoetic words, abbreviations, and (4) the socio-pragmatic functions of code-switching. This paper presents results of the distinctive online features of English used in MSN Messenger and the functions of code-switching in MSN Messenger in comparison with previous studies (e.g. Gumperz, 1982).

KAVANAGH, BARRY

Tohoku University, Japan

A SEMANTIC AND PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN ENGLISH AND JAPANESE ONLINE UNORTHODOX ORTHOGRAPHY. A STUDY OF PERSONAL WEBLOGS.

This study aims to examine how American and Japanese blog users communicate in ways that can express tone and emotional content within their online interactions, and how writers are able to create a sense of solidarity with one another through these online blogs that are without a social or human presence.

200 American and Japanese personal weblog articles and their comments were analyzed in a study of how unorthodox orthography (as defined by emoticons, pictograms, the manipulation of grammatical markers, phonetic spelling and laughter representations) is used semantically to allow the blog writer to expresses their affective stance and tone towards the interaction, and pragmatically, in how they imply their pragmatic intention and identification with the prepositional content of the message.

In an adaptation of the Pierce (1955) triad that divides signs into symbols, indexes and icons, results were classified into: Icons (signs that resemble the signified and function to add semantic meaning) Indexes (signs that index pragmatic meaning)

Symbols A (signs that have no semantic / pragmatic meaning and have a decorative function) Symbols B (unorthodox language use classified into semantic and pragmatic functions) Results showed that that Japanese personal blog writers use these unorthodox representations in far greater frequency (nearly 50% of sentences used them) than their American counterparts at 13%. Within the blog comments which are effectively interactions between two people, Japanese users were seen to use icons to indicate semantic meaning that functioned to create warm friendly dialogue that led to a sense of intimacy between writers. Indexes were used to add pragmatic meaning to interactions, indexing speech acts such as making requests, and the stating of opinions which led to smooth interactions. Symbols A were used mainly by Japanese users and were found to be used as forms of decoration in blog articles and comments. They were found to add no semantic or pragmatic meaning and it is argued this usage is an extension of the deformed characters as seen in Japanese female letter writing (Yamane, 1989) of the 70's and 80's but now in digital form. Symbols B defined as unorthodox language use such as phonetic spelling and the manipulation of orammatical markers were found to add social presence to the interactions so that receivers can interpret the atmosphere of the dialogue and the nature it was intended to be sent in.

The function of this unorthodox orthography is used by both American and Japanese blog users to express orally or visually semantic and pragmatic content. Japanese users however relied on this communication style heavily to express themselves to create a sense of intimacy, rapport and playfulness within their online interactions rather than the predominant use of conventional written text as seen within the American blog data.

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KUBOTA, MITSUO Doshisha University, Japan

UNRAVELING THE MYTH OF LEGENDARY VIOLINS: LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF THE MYTHICAL VALUE OF STRADIVARI AND GUARNERI DEL GESU

In this presentation I will unravel the linguistic construction of the myth surrounding certain exquisite violins, specifically those made by Stradivari and Guarneri del Gesu. As an analytical framework I draw on Roland Barthes' construct presented in Myth Today. Additionally, I incorporated more recent frameworks in the discipline of critical discourse analysis that shed light on processes where the ideological power of myth is at work. The proper nouns Stradivari and Guarneri del Gesu are the names of violin makers who were actively producing string instruments about 300 years ago in Cremona, Italy; the names are also used to refer to the instruments made by the makers. Their violins are widely believed to be the finest ever made. It is often said that the reasons for their excellence are not scientifically identifiable, hence their preeminence has remained a mystery. However, numerous blind tests have failed to demonstrate their acoustic superiority. Even violinists with extensive experience playing these violins failed to differentiate Stradivari and Guarneri del Gesu from other instruments. The test results suggest the value of the instruments is not solely due to their sound guality. The present study, under the assumption that the value has to a great degree been constructed through language, began analyzing how Stradivari and Guarneri del Gesu are narrated during interviews when the violinists were asked to describe their violin. The main data source came from interviews of renowned violinists that appeared on the web site violinist.com. Additionally, interviews in magazines and television programs were incorporated as supplemental data. Saussure states that denotative meanings are created through the relationship between the signifier and the signified, forming what is known as the sign. Once the sign is established, the signifier and the signified become inseparable and the sign becomes natural. In the present study, the relationship between the signifier Stradivari and the signified maker of instruments becomes a sign; the aforementioned signifier and the signified instrument becomes another sign. Barthes, drawing on Saussure's linguistic theory, demonstrates that myth is constructed in a process that goes beyond denotative meaning, starting with the sign. In the creation of myth the first sign functions as another signifier of various signified while generating complex connotations. Barthes refers to this process as second order signification, and shows that myth is constructed through a linguistic process involving these two layers. In this sense, Stradivari and Guarneri del Gesu are not merely the signifiers that refer to an instrument, but are also signifiers that include rich layers of signified. The analyses show that the multiplicity of signified include a destined partnership, a teacher who inspired the violinist, as well as a time machine that takes the violinist to past heroic composers and legendary violinists who engaged the particular instrument, among others. Consequently, the names Stradivari and Guarneri del Gesu signify not only the instrument itself but also various factors that produce mythical value.

JONES, RODNEY HALE

City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China)

'GENETICS JUST GOT PERSONAL': PERSONAL GENOMICS AS SOCIAL INTERACTION

The recent decline in the cost of genetic analysis has resulted in a proliferation of companies which provide personal genetic screening directly to consumers and supply them with information about things like genetic ancestry and their relative risk for developing diseases and conditions like colon cancer and Alzheimer's disease. Along with genetic analysis, these companies also provide online platforms for customers to share their genetic information with one another, join 'communities', and participate in research. Giving people knowledge of their genetic code, advocates of such services argue, helps them make better decisions about lifestyle, health, and medical care. At the same time, these services and the social networks they make available also create possibilities for new kinds of social formations and new forms of social interaction.

This paper analyzes the interaction among customers of one such service on a public forum for discussing the relationship between genetic information and disease risk. Through the close analysis of various linguistic features of the interaction, including modality and hedging, pronoun usage, and the use of reported speech, it examines how participants use genetic information to claim and impute identities as, for example, disease sufferers, customers, and research subjects, how they manage offers and requests of advice and sympathy, and how they discursively construct things like expertise, affiliation, and risk. This analysis is used as the starting point for a broader discussion of the ways laypeople work together to make sense of complex scientific information, and of the impact the sharing of genetic information as a form of socializing might have on future forms of social interaction and participation in public life.

BARTON, DAVID

Lancaster University, United Kingdom

TRACING THE VERNACULAR ROOTS OF CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL PRACTICES: THE CASE OF EVERYDAY PHOTOGRAPHY ONLINE.

Vernacular literacy practices are changing as people draw upon the resources of the internet when carrying out everyday activities. This paper examines a particular example of this, people's language practices when using the online photo sharing site Flickr. The paper argues that sociolinguistics needs to include a practice account of linguistic phenomena complementing analyses of texts and discourses, especially when researching online spaces. This argument parallels the call by Androutsopoulos (2008) for ethnographically informed discourse analysis.

As background, the paper first turns to data collected 20 years ago as part of the 'Local Literacies' study, a detailed study of everyday reading and writing practices in one town in England which identified a range of vernacular practices which people drew upon (Barton & Hamilton 1998). A comparison with contemporary practices identifies significant changes in people's practices. The example of the literacy practices around family photo albums will be used in the paper.

This earlier study then informs an investigation of people's changing language practices. In the past 20 years digital technology and online platforms have been radically changing the practices of family record keeping. This paper reports an ongoing study of the language around the uses of Flickr for sharing photos, discussing and learning about photography, and interacting socially. This broader study is based on the analysis of sites and interviews with users, showing how they draw upon their linguistic resources. As well as being a place for uploading photos, Flickr offers a set of powerful and contrasting writing spaces, each offering different affordances. These include titles, descriptions and tags; users can write profile pages and interact with other users through comments and a dedicated blog space. In keeping with the conference theme, the particular examples utilised will come from an investigation of the sites of 40 Flickr users who have sets of photos of major cities. These demonstrating how online representations of cities are constructed and how the gaze of locals and tourists are intertwined.

In these examples and elsewhere people are using online spaces to extend their everyday lives. People draw upon the resources of language to assert new identities and to represent the self in these new spaces. Vernacular practices are thrust into a global public space where they are more accessible and more valued. People are creating and participating in a new global cosmopolitan world, thus refashioning the nature of vernacular practices. Such vernacular practices continue to be self-generated, creative and learned informally, but rather than being private and local, they are now more valued by having a more public and global circulation.

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TEREICK. JANA University of Hamburg, Germany

RESEMIOTIZING CLIMATE CHANGE: REMIXING AND RECONTEXTUALISATION AS SUBVERSIVE DISCOURSE STRATEGIES ON YOUTUBE

Sociolinguists have used the term 'resemiotization' to describe how 'meaning making shifts from context to context' (ledema 2003). In this talk, I consider different forms of resemiotization as discourse strategies on YouTube. The video platform is characterized by a 'participatory culture' (Jenkins 2006), which allows for a large range of opinions and positions to be represented. Drawing on media discourse analysis, multimodality research and corpus linguistics, I analyse how participants use available semiotic resources produced by others to take 'stance' (cf. Jaffe 2009). Examples are drawn from ongoing research on climate change discourse online. The corpus was compiled via scripts using the YouTube Application Programming Interface and contains the 1,000 most-viewed German videos on climate change and accompanying comments, which have been made available for corpus-linguistic analysis.

Whereas climate change discourse in traditional German mass media has shown a growing consensus that 'anthropogenic climate change exists and has to be prevented', YouTube's unregulated Web 2.0 environment offers the opportunity for the formation and negotiation of 'anti-hegemonic' positions. Very different voices coexist, interact and collide on the platform. Both ends of the spectrum reaching from the self-proclaimed 'sceptic' position '(man-made) climate change is a lie' to the 'mainstream' position 'climate change exists and is man-made' find substantial support on the platform. In accordance with Jaffe's concept of 'stance' as 'positioning with regard to both the content and the form of [...] utterances' (Jaffe 2007), recontextualisation takes place on different levels. Participants use 'remixing' (Knobel/Lankshear 2008) techniques to modify and subvert discourse which they perceive as hegemonic: 'Sceptics' rearrange and overlay mass media material in order to convey manipulation and 'propaganda'. Similarly, NGOs and individual actors remontage commercials by large energy corporations to reverse their messages. These adoptions of different 'voices' in participatory culture can be described as instances of resemiotization.

In another act of recontextualisation, the opposing parties appropriate each other's words, argumentation schemes and topoi in forms of stylized parodies and reductiones ad absurdum as parts of a whole set of rhetorical strategies. Thereby, they produce 'semiotic circles' (Scollon/Scollon 2005) which call for an integrated discourse semiotic analysis.

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WRIGHT, DAVID: GOMEZ, ALBERTO: BOTH PRESENTING, AUTHORS University of Leeds, United Kingdom

FORENSIC AUTHORSHIP IDENTIFICATION IN GLOBALISED DIGITAL COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE: THE THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO ANALYSING AUTHORSHIP IN ENRON EMAILS

Although recent vital steps have emphasised the importance of sociolinguistic findings for forensic authorship identification (Coulthard et al. 2011:536; Turell 2010:212), authorship analysis methods are often criticised for their lack of linguistic grounding (Butters 2011). In the communicative context of international business email, this paper demonstrates the ways in which exploring the sociolinguistic mechanisms operating in linguistic variation can address this issue and theoretically and methodologically inform forensic authorship analysis. Enron, a former American energy company, embodied the concept of globalisation. Enron's pioneering web-based trading platform 'EnronOnline' allowed the company to buy and sell commodity products globally, and this vast online trading environment brought with it a digital (socio)linguistic space occupied by a speech community of transregionally and transnationally networked professionals. Combining qualitative, computational and statistical methods, this paper analyses a corpus of over 12,000 emails - now a 'genre of contemporary alobalized communication' (Blommaert 2010:106) - sent by employees from two distinct professional communities of practice (Wenger 1998) within the corporation: traders and lawyers. Analysis identifies a repertoire of linguistic 'style markers' in the employees' emails which are indexical (Johnstone et al. 2006) of their professional identities, responsive to the social and power relationships between sender and recipient, and sensitive to the conventions of the interactional context of the business email genre. Analysis then shifts to measure the diagnostic power of these features of linguistic variation for identifying authorship. First, those features which distinguish the emails of male employees from those of females are explored to examine the extent to which they can be used to detect the gender of the writer(s). Second, the idiolectal uniqueness of the markers identified is tested in a wider corpus of Enron emails to measure their 'population-level' distinctiveness.

Results suggest that there exists a range of distinctive lexical, grammatical and discourse features, including technical vocabulary, formulation of requests, salutations and sign-offs that distinguish between the writing styles of this sample of lawyers and traders. Evidence also indicates that these sociolinguistically informed features of linguistic variation can be useful in authorship cases insofar as they allow analysts to discriminate between gender groups and identify individual idiolects. Discussion highlights the implications of sociolinguistic theory and method for forensic authorship analysis.

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FROBENIUS, MAXIMILIANE Universität des Saarlandes, Germany

INVOLVEMENT IN MONOLOGUES

This paper reports research on the creation of involvement in video blogs (vlogs) through the use of strategies borrowed from other genres and adapted to the monologue situation.

Vlogs represent asynchronous, spoken, computer-mediated communication (CMC). They consist of video footage produced and edited by the vlogger him- or herself, and later uploaded to a video hosting site. The videos usually feature the vlogger talking into the camera or talking about objects being filmed. While there are vlogs that show two or more speakers interacting, this research is only concerned with those passages that are monologic. Some researchers have pointed out that the production of a monologue is based on speakers' experience of dialogic talk-in-interaction: Haviland (2007) writes 'interaction is a compelling model for talk, even apparently monologic talk' (p. 150). Similarly, Schegloff (1987) claims that 'speech exchange systems, and their turn-taking organizations, are the product of transformations or modifications of the one for conversation, which is the primordial organization for talk-in-interaction' (p. 222). This forms the basis of my assumption that the monologues featured in vlogs display characteristics typical of conversational data.

One such characteristic is the creation of involvement. Involvement is understood as describing both listening and speaking in conversation as active participation, where both include traces and elements of the other (Tannen 1989: 12). In vlogs, interaction takes place not immediately, but via other channels, e.g. written comments or email messages, once the video has been uploaded. Thus the creation of involvement is used as a means to inspire communication through other channels. Vloggers must apply strategies to accomplish that. The strategies in guestion include repetition, (constructed) dialogue and imagery (Tannen 1989). The aims of this paper are to identify common involvement strategies in vlogs, state whether they are borrowed from other genres or unique to vlogging, and describe how they are adapted to the vlog context.

I hope to contribute to our understanding of the vlogging community and its linguistic practices. Lange (2007) characterizes its members as sharing 'a commitment to video as a crucial means of expressing and understanding issues that the video blogger wishes to share' (no pages). So even though vlogs represent monologues, they are used as means of interpersonal exchange. My research aims at revealing interactional elements in a genre that depends on one speaker only.

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General Session 13 **General Session: Space/Linguistic Landscape**

MACDONALD, DORIS M.; BARBE, KATHARINA Northern Illinois University, United States of America

SLOW ON THE OUTBOUND UND STAU IN RICHTUNG WEDDING: CONSTRUING MET-**ROPOLITAN TRAFFIC REPORTS**

Many of us have experienced the confusion and disorientation of driving --- or being stuck in traffic --- in an unfamiliar urban area. Seeking information via broadcast traffic reports can as easily add to this bewilderment as resolve it. Regularly broadcast traffic reports (e.g., 'On the hour, every hour,' 'Traffic on the eights,' 'All Traffic All the Time,' 'Inforadio Verkehr') must assume an audience familiar with the area and with the local ways of presenting information. But what are the features of these oral reports that allow them to be easily and quickly interpreted by some listeners while being fairly cryptic to others? We examine broadcast reports from various cities within the frameworks of cognitive reference point and landmark models (Rosch, 1975: Langacker, 1991; Sorrows & Hirtle, 1999) and wavfinding behaviors (Golledge, 1999; Raubal & Winter 2002). As Rosch (1975; 546) has noted, 'a landmark is an obvious example of a reference point which people use to navigate through the environment, particularly through cities'. Golledge (1999: 36) observes that 'landmarks ... act as origin and destination points and occur either on a route or as an off-route referent point that helps in orientation and decision making'.

Our initial examination of radio presentations of real-time traffic conditions suggests that traffic reports are typically oriented toward landmarks 1. Chicago: 'Extra travel time to the Tri-state alone forty five minutes, out to three fifty-five fifty six' 2. Berlin: 'Zwischen Glockenturmstraße und Alt- Pichelsdorf an einer Baustelle Sperrung der rechten Spur stadtauswärts' [Between Glockenturmstraße and Alt-Pichelsdorf blocking of the right lane outbound]

Variation also appears in the nature of the information given. Some utterances are strictly transactional, focusing on the effect on the driver: 3. Vancouver: 'Ironworkers, not too bad on or off the North Shore' while others provide rationales or explanations of a state of affairs rather than an assessment of the effect:

4. 'In Vancouver, a stalled van eastbound on first before Nanaimo in the right lane' In our examples, traffic information is linguistically characterized by a dearth of active verbs and subjects, and only occasionally do traffic reporters ad-

dress their audiences directly. Despite characteristic differences in these reports and their local lexicons, we find that the analysis of the language of traffic reports supports the central tenet of Grice's Cooperative Principle, especially with respect to the maxims of relation and quantity, in making relevant, truthful, and complete contributions to a discourse. However, adherence to the provision of this principle may well be at odds with real language understanding outside a local level and suggests that more general processes of landmarking and/or cognitive mapping must be applied. While landmarking is one feature of broadcast traffic reports we discuss in our paper, we further hypothesize that, despite the use of localized referents and reliance on presupposition and implied meanings, these reports are representative of efficient, comprehensible discourse. In addition, whereas the analytical models employed have been typically applied to geography, psychology, and computer science, we present new and useful applications for linguistic analysis.

MOONEY, ANNABELLE

University of Roehampton, United Kingdom

SPOKEN SIGNS AND LITERAL HAILING: THE CASE OF TANNOYANCE

Tannoyance is a neologism humorously proposed in 2008 which describes the affective reaction to audio announcements in public spaces, especially prevalent in and around public transport. While the term does not seem to have been taken up, the phenomenon is growing. Tannovance contributes to the distinctive soundscape of the city, but it also constructs space in particular ways. This paper examines the various kinds of tannovance, from the prerecorded to the live scripted. Specifically, attention is paid to syntax, politeness features and the various speech acts tannoyance performs. Announcements range from the usefully informative, through to redundant repetition and indirect threats. While the potential face threatening aspects of announcements are managed, not all have the same level of politeness. A number of speech acts are performed, but as many announcements are pieced together from pre-recorded fragments, questions can be asked about the felicity conditions of the various apologies and warnings. The soundscape created by these messages is also multilayered, as they are delivered on trains, platforms, station concourse and translated into electronic writing separately and together.

Close attention to the syntactic structure and pragmatic features of these announcements helps understand the aural, socio-political and spatial positioning of the public. This hailing will be discussed in terms of institutional power, historical intertextuality and civil inattention. Further, whether a meaningful distinction can be made between official and non-official utterances will also be discussed. That is, because official and informative messages are spoken by the same voice in the same space, the origin of these spoken signs is not transparent. In this way, the announcements are heteroglossic which is fitting given that public transport (stations and vehicles) can be analysed as heterotopias. The announcements thus contribute not only to a linguistic landscape but also to the construction of a heterotopia. These contours of this are recoverable from the behaviour of people in the spaces that tannoyance occupies. That is, people stand, move, look and speak in ways that are directly influenced by the tannovance. People are literally and metaphorically positioned by tannovance. Moreover, as resistant strategies are limited, the audible linguistic landscape arguably has not only an affective element but also an ideological one. Tannoyance is an excellent example of the way language structures space and human behaviour in a dynamic and durable way. And while Althusser's concept of interpellation is figurative, in tannoyance we find a literal and audible hailing. That this appears to be unremarkable, in the sense that it is routine, is itself remarkable.

CURTIN, MELISSA L. (1); CHEN, YEA-WEN (2)

1: University of California, Santa Barbara, CA United States of America; 2: Ohio University, Athens, OH United States of America

MULTILINGUAL PLAY IN THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF TAIPEI

Linguistic creativity has been closely examined in several domains, including advertising (Cook, 1994), verbal art (Sherzer, 2002), language acquisition (Cook, 2000; Pomerantz & Bell, 2007), and computer mediated communication (North, 2007; Su, 2009). However, it has been understudied in linguistic landscape (LL) research (although touched upon in Coupland, 2010; Curtin, 2009; Huebner, 2006). In this ethnographic study of multilingual creativity in the LL of Taipei, we document the range of languages/scripts on display; present different types of linguistic interplay (from fairly simple bilingual morphophonemic play to complex phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic interplay); analyze how this interplay is socioculturally and ideologically informed; and discuss ways such multilingual language play indexes various stances and Taiwanese/Chinese identities. Analysis reveals a rich repertoire of linguistic resources including traditional Chinese characters (e.g., with default readings of Mandarin, yet carrying subtle Southern Min counter-readings); Japanese (iconic, semantic, and syntactic use of kanji, kana and romaji); English (from iconic letters to complex phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic interplay with other languages); French (iconic usage; phonological, syntactic, and semantic interplay); as well as an increasing number of other non-Chinese languages (used mostly as 'display language' in the public sphere, including Danish, German, Hungarian, Italian, Korean, Spanish, Thai and Russian). In addition to analyzing how multilingual play is enabled and constrained by specific linguistic and writing system features, we also note how it draws on a rich cultural history of homophonic wordplay in Chinese/Taiwanese cultures. And we argue that linguistic creativity in Taipei's LL is:

- indicative of metalinguistic awareness and multicompetence
- often best apprehended via the lenses of interdiscursivity and multimodality - globally informed but locally constructed

We conclude that multilingual play in a locale's LL is an important social semiotic resource in developing and negotiating distinctive frames of identity and place.

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BERTOŠA. MISLAVA: SKELIN HORVAT. ANITA University of Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Croatia

DISCOURSE, WAR AND TOURISM: MAPPING AGGRESSION AGAINST DUBROVNIK

The emplacement of a certain discourse in public urban space with the aim to provide tourist information can include its 'darker' side as well: to mark and to map places linked to violence, war and loss of life. Discourses emplaced in the material world are often used as a means to announce political meanings and ideologies, as a means to preserve memory or to take a position in the hierarchy of power. In this proposal we aim to analyse narratives and visual representations evoking aggression against Dubrovnik during the Croatian War for Independence. Some of these discourses are placed in the very promoted and well-known historical part of the town, by the Dubrovnik Tourist Board, in the form of tourist information exposed to the reception of tourists. The others are also situated in the historical part of the town, but without sociocultural authorization. Their sender is anonymous, but their intention is the same: to inform tourists about violence and suffering that have happened there. In this sense the question of authority is also important here: who is authorized to place a discourse in the material world and how different social actors articulate and contextually produce narratives on the same topic - aggression on Dubrovnik in 1991 - differently, producing thus two versions of the same story, the official and the unofficial one. While the Dubrovnik Tourist Board takes the position of the mediator and only indirectly evokes war events, the anonymous author(s) explicitly mark(s) city houses and walls with narratives on war sufferings. Taking over the 'never forget' rhetoric, the anonymous author(s) produce(s) unofficial narratives in different languages, and propose(s) them to potential tourists. Drawing on Scollon and Wong Scollon's (2003) notions of geosemiotics and transgressive semiotics, our proposal aims to analyse similarities and differences between these narratives and visual representations. We focus on the analysis of the discursive constructions of war, aggression and politics of memory in the context of tourist promotion. We are also concerned with the status of exposed unauthorized narratives: they are examined as transgressive discourses (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003) with a specific purpose and tacit approval (by official city authorities). We also sketch discursive strategies used in the construction of these narratives and examine their means and purposes including the question of reproducing or challenging the taken-for-granted political and war ideology. The analysis of the narrative production (structural and temporal organization, particularity of the contexts, evaluation of the events and its consequences for the narrators) follows some of the main concepts used in Labov (1997).

KASANGA. LUANGA ADRIEN University of Bahrain, Bahrain

THE TRANSFORMATION OF A CITYSCAPE: REPRESENTATION, SYMBOLISM, EXCLU-SION IN PUBLIC SIGNS

The irrepressible globalization wind blows much more strongly than ever has turned the modern city into an 'iconosphere' (Chmielewska 2005, 2010), or a festival of signs, many of which represent international concerns. One consequence of this international outlook is the pervasive use of English in the urban mosaic of signs. Lubumbashi in the Democratic Republic of Congo is a case in point. The transformation in the mid-1990s of its linguistic landscape from a monolingual, francophone cityscape to a multilingual one is characterized by a high level of visibility of English. Previous research (Kasanga 2010) has established a number of motivations for the (often parallel) use of English in signs in a French-dominated space where it is seldom used in everyday interactions. English is used in signs mainly for symbolic purposes (cosmopolitanism, global identity) and for commercial reasons (branding, corporate identity). Three themes sum up the presence of English in signs: symbolism, imagined identity, and modernity. This presentation explores further these issues on the basis of new data. In addition, it discusses the issue of unintended 'exclusion' which was not sufficiently dealt with in previous analyses. To do this, it starts by describing the various linguistic patterns in public signs, the motivations behind the use of multilingual signs, and the place of English in signs. The data, comprising signs (n=1360) and photographs (n= 98), come from two field trips undertaken in 2010 and in 2011. The transformation of Lubumbashi's environmental print into a highly multilingual scenery owes much to the influx of foreign businesses in mining and trade and fortune-seekers who have imprinted the cityscape with their identities, but also by local businesses and individuals seeking to portray new multiplex identities. Signs used by multinational entities ('brand' and 'hybrid' advertisements) index and help to maintain their international brand identity. Signs preferred by medium-size local business owners ('clone' advertisements) serve for identification of their businesses with well-known international brands. Smaller local shops choose signs ('imitation' advertisements) which portray their owners' sophisticated identity deserving of modern world travellers. An analysis of the impact on multiple audiences of the semiotic resources deployed in the environment print reveals their unintended, but negative effect in the form of exclusion of part of the audience. The research reported in this presentation is a contribution to the area of linguistic landscape, more specifically how languages interact in their relevant social contexts and how they are selected for use.

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KADERKA, PETR

Institute of the Czech Language, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Czech Republic

NON-COMMERCIAL ADVERTISING IN PRAGUE: PROMOTING SOCIAL ISSUES IN THE PUBLIC SPACE

After 1989, Czech society has experienced a forceful invasion of advertising into its public space. People, especially inhabitants of large cities, have become targets of the diverse persuasive strategies and methods of commercial messages. Over the course of time, however, advertising companies have started to provide the occupied semiotic space, reserved until then for a single purpose-helping a company to increase its profit-, to subjects which are less aggressive and for a different purpose. Using diverse advertising forms, non-profit organisations, e.g. foundations, charities, religious groups, civic initiatives etc., have begun to address the public in order to promote their own views of social issues such as racism, human rights, the ill effects of smoking, environmental protection, child abuse and neglect, domestic violence, road safety etc. In this paper, I will analyze non-commercial posters and billboards, published in the public space in Prague during 2001–2008, in terms of socially conditioned semiotics, genre and discourse. On the structural level, my primary orientation is toward characterizing the constitutive elements of the advertisements, the relationships between the semiotic modes utilized, and the relationship of advertisements to other texts and genres from the discursive world of Czech society. On the level of communicative processes, I examine the way in which sense is made of this type of advertising, using the method of focus groups (e.g. Myers 1998, 2004).

The central discursive feature of non-commercial posters and billboards seems to be their multimodality: the verbal, typographical and pictorial modes are employed to mutually contextualize the posters' components, to fix and hierarchize their relevant social meanings and to constitute their 'voices' (Bakhtin 1984). Using photographic data and recordings and transcripts from the focus groups, I argue that genre hybridization and diversification, stemming from the formal and distributional proximity of commercial and non-commercial advertising, is a relevant aspect for recipients when they evaluate a poster or when they decide whether or not to engage in dialogue with the message.

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LAPPALAINEN, HANNA; AINIALA, TERHI; VUOLTEENAHO, JANI University of Helsinki, Finland

OLD VS. NEW VUOSAARI: A NAME-BASED SPLIT OF A SUBURB AS A RESOURCE FOR CONSTRUCTING LOCAL IDENTITIES

Our paper discusses the ways inhabitants categorize their home district as 'old' and 'new' parts and the functions of this split in the construction of urban identities. The division is done by names (e.g. Vanha Vuosaari [Fi. vanha 'old'], Uusi puoli [Fi. uusi 'new', puoli 'side']) and descriptions of these two parts of the district

The research area, Vuosaari, is a fitfully urbanized suburb of Helsinki that officially consists of several subdistricts, each distinctive in terms of its age, architecture, and socioeconomic and ethnic characteristics. The protracted urbanization process of the suburb and current social diversity have provided an abundant basis for different types of self- and other-categorizations associated with its subdistricts. In this study, we will concentrate on the interplay of the discursive categorizations (social spatializations) of Vuosaari's new and old halves with the place-bound definitions of self-identity (spatial socializations) by its residents. The focus is in the linguistic means by which the categorizations are done. In descriptions and evaluations of our informants, the ideologically mediated categorizations of Vuosaari are made explicit in a number of ways. Based on discourse analysis, we have identified dichotomous spatialisations of Vuosaari related to its (i) sparsely/densely built spaces; (ii) naturalness/artificiality of architecture; (iii) permanent/dynamic spaces; and (iv) socio-economic and ethnic difference. We will show that similar types of positive or negative categorizations (e.g. portraving a part of Vuosaari as 'peaceful' or a 'slum') are relatively often attached to both 'old' and 'new' parts of the suburb. depending on an interviewee's spatial identification and the ideological frame in which the argument is presented. In addition, the more detailed analysis of the discourse reveals a number of polyphonic and implicit means of spatial stereotyping and identification, used especially in interactional situations in which the participants' opinions actually or potentially mismatch. In our paper we will concentrate on the opposition sparsely/densely built spaces (i) and illustrate how describing and evaluating both one's own and the other part of the suburb can be used as a resource for indicating one's belonging or not-belonging to certain categories (e.g. modern citizens).

The data have been collected in two research projects ('Transformation of the onomastic landscape in the sociolinguistically diversifying neighborhoods of Helsinki' and 'Helsinki Finnish: diversity, social identity and linguistic attitudes in an urban context'; both collaboratively organized by Institute for the Languages of Finland and University of Helsinki). The common focus of the projects is the language use in Vuosaari from a sociolinguistic perspective. The primary sources of this case study consist of thematic interviews of 63 inhabitants with both long and short living history in Vuosaari. In addition to the native Finns, some of the informants have an immigrant background. In our analysis, we have paid attention both to the spontaneous uses of names and places and metalinguistic discussions in which the informants were asked to reflect their preferences when speaking about different parts of the focus area.

LANGUAGES AT A CROSSROADS: MULTILINGUAL, MULTIMODAL 'SPEECH ACTS' IN SINGAPORE

Throughout Singapore's forty-seven-year history, multilingualism and 'racial harmony' have been core elements of an all-encompassing sociopolitical design, ostensibly for achieving a local form of 'productive diversity' (Cope and Kalantzis, 1997) in the small, densely, heterogeneously populated city-state. The state recognizes four official languages: Malay, Tamil, Mandarin Chinese, and English. While Malay is acknowledged symbolically as the 'national language', English is the principal working language of governmental institutions, including education. Still, Singapore's 'bilingual policy' minimally requires all students to also undertake studies in a second language, normally the 'mother tongue', typically and rather ironically determined by the linguistic and/ or ethnic background of an individual's father. As Pakir (1998) notes, Singapore is singularly committed to 'the ambitious aim of making its entire population bi-literate in English and one other official language' (p. 86), where English is widely regarded as 'key to a share of the world's symbolic power' and 'crucial for the accumulation of cultural, political and economic capital' (Chew, 2006: p. 77) and Malay, Tamil, and Mandarin are seen as mainstays of cultural identity and memory. Mirroring the practical priority accorded to English by this bilingual policy is the relatively dominant representation of English-language messages on the surfaces and within the spaces of Singapore's built environments, i.e. in so-called 'linguistic landscapes' (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) or 'semiotic landscapes' (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010). Even so, all official languages and scripts are, in general, commonly visible. But comparison of the relative visibility of different languages on signs and in other public texts only superficially explains, and may also belie, the situated semiotic work performed around these resources.

This paper details research that examined such performative potentials in a large multilingual corpus of multimodal messages observed and recorded within the semiotic landscape of a Singaporean public transport depot, understood as a somewhat neutral, liminal space. The reported mixed-methods approach integrated conceptual and analytic tools from speech act theory, audience response theory, and multimodal textual analysis. On this empirical basis, the author argues that, according to the textual representation of different official languages, respectively differential patterns of 'illocutionary force' and 'perlocutionary effect' (Austin, 1962) are evident, contradicting and counteracting asserted principles of societal and cultural harmony and equality.

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DUSSAULT, ANNIE PÉNÉLOPE

Université de Montréal, Canada

CONTESTED PUBLIC SPACES IN SAINT-PETERSBURG: LINGUISTIC PRACTICES AND SOCIAL MEANING

Linguistic practices contribute to convey meaning and construct urban spaces. By their use of language, citizens express the connection they have built through time or new meanings they wish to give to places. Thus the language used to refer to places by the different social actors may serve as an indication of their relationship to these places. However, it is often when the existence of spaces is threatened that individuals become aware of the meaning these places hold for them (Harvey 1996). Another way to grasp the meaning ascribed to places is by examining urban marks (linguistic or material). The production of urban marks is one of the strategies employed by citizens to appropriate public space (Veschambre 2004). The labeling of spaces also gives information about which social meaning is attributed to places.

In Russia, the end of the Soviet regime has had a huge impact on the fate of public space. This presentation focuses on the city of Saint-Petersburg which, in the last decade, has witnessed major changes of its urban landscape. The new market economy has led to massive privatization of and a commercialization of urban space, causing a huge increase in the number of demolitions and reconstructions as well as the disappearance of many of the city's green spaces. As a result of these transformations many conflicts have developed over the meaning and use that different social actors wish to convey to public spaces in the city. Many voices have risen to protest against the erosion of public and green space. Citizens have been mobilizing to protect the city's heritage architecture and green spaces, creating grassroots organizations, committees, and public happenings. In this context, language has become a powerful tool for groups and citizens to express their desire to claim symbolic property of public spaces.

Based on ethnographic fieldwork done in Saint-Petersburg in 2006 and 2008, this presentation explores the language practices of some of the defenders of Saint-Petersburg's green public spaces. What does their language use and vocabulary reveal about their relationship to the spaces they wish to protect? How does it differ from that of other social actors (politicians, bureaucrats and promoters)? How does the language used reflect the conflicts over the meaning of Saint-Petersburg public spaces? What are the different linguistic strategies employed to signify the desire to occupy symbolically or appropriate contested spaces?

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RYCHKOV, SERGEY IYRIEVICH: RYCHKOVA, NADEZDA VASILEVNA Kazan National Research Tecnological University, Russian Federation

ETHNICALLY MARKED LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF KAZAN

Linguistic landscapes of Kazan, capital of Republic Tatarstan, form following factors:

- · Polyethnic structure of the population (more than hundred ethnoses for which language is an ethnic marker); · Centuries-old experience of interaction of three language groups (Turkic, Finno-Ugric, slavic); • The state status of the Tatar and Russian languages, the right of all ethnoses to using the native language; · A situation of 'language asymmetry';

 transformation processes in economy, ethno-demographic environments of a cultural landscape of Republic. The analysis of a linguistic landscape multi-ethnic cities, capitals of national Republic, the subject of the Russian Federation, in conditions of the ethnic Renaissance and globalizations of economy is actual. Result of the ethnic Renaissance became increase in Kazan's ergonimikone names which reflect culture of the ethnoses living here. Signboards of cafe, restaurants, shops, etc. at which there are Tatar, Uzbek, Ukrainian, Russian and other words, are visualization of 'national revival', a part of language space of city.

Kazan's ergonimikone areflects reaction of a linguistic landscape to globalization. As a result of development of market space by world brands there is a westernisation of linguistic landscapes. In daily speech, for example, Russian, Turkic, Finno-Ugric, Anglo-Saxon and other language units enter. In Kazan as a result of development of commercial sector of public space some models of multilingual signals were generated. 1. The same information is given in several languages (stops of public transport are duplicated in Russian, Tatar and English languages; signboards of grocery shops, libraries, drugstores). 2. The information moves in one language and partially on other (advertising Media Markt in Russian with addition of the Tatar phrases). 3. Different parts of the information are given in different languages with partial imposing (advertising of the federal operator of cellular communication 'Beeline'). 4. Different parts of the general information are broadcast in different languages - is used in the Tatar-speaking information space more often. The ethnic variety of a linguistic landscape of Kazan is formed by different subjects. Bodies of the government and municipal management act as developers and guarantors of realization of language policy. Their initiative - edition of 20-th clause of Law RT 'About languages of people of Republic Tatarstan' enables to insist on necessity of the publication of advertising in two state languages. Ethnicity gets in an orbit of market communications. Business start to consider ethnicity as the tool of increase of competitiveness and means to resist to world brands which use ethnicity as a way of adaptation to regional conditions (glocalization). As a whole the language situation in commercial sector of public space basically corresponds with the law about bilingualism and a level of demand on ethnicity. The presence of language in public space is one of factors of its increase ethnolinguistic vitality. Bilingual advertising diversifies a linguistic landscape of the postsoviet Tatarstan and becomes an additional symbol of social and cultural tolerance of its inhabitants.

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SHIBLIYEV, JAVANSHIR; EROZAN, FATOS Eastern Mediterranean University, Turkey

A TALE OF THE TWO PARTS OF A DIVIDED CAPITAL: LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF NI-COSIA

Linguistic landscape, a relatively new field of study, 'enjoys a growing interest in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics' (Gorter, 2006, p.2). Special emphasis has been placed on urban areas during the recent decades. It was assumed in the study that significant socio-political events inevitably influence the language situation, and the start of the free movement between the two parts (Turkish and Greek) with distinct ethno-linguistic structures could be a factor to contribute to a new language situation. This study aims to investigate the change in the linguistics landscape of the divided capital in Cyprus by comparing the patterns of linguistic landscape in two specific parts of the city ('Arasta' in the Turkish side and 'Ledra Street' in the Greek side) before and after the opening of 'Lokmaci/Ledra' checkpoint. In other words, based on the frame proposed in Ben-Rafael et al (2006), the study which employs both top-down and bottom-up approaches, focuses on the symbolic construction of the public space from three perspectives: rational considerations, presentation of self to the public, and power relations. The data was collected two times (in 2007 and 2012) in both parts. The results reveal that although according to the Constitution of Republic of Cyprus. Turkish is one of the official languages, Turkish was and is not represented in any of the official public signs. Concerning the Turkish side, no language law has been adopted vet and no official signs contained and contain the Greek language. As to the bottom-up approach, considerable changes can be observed in the linguistic landscape of the Turkish side. Although inconsiderable change in the use of Turkish can be observed in the Greek part, a drastic increase in the use of Greek in the Turkish part has been witnessed. Many shop windows contain notes in Greek. Also, many sales people and waiters in the Turkish part speak Greek. The same cannot be said about the Greek side. This shows that in terms of rational considerations and power relations Greek has become influential. It can be concluded that English has become a lingua franca and has increased its role in the landscape. Greek, which has intruded into the Turkish part, has become more powerful. Turkish, however, is functioning in the Turkish part only.

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GROUPNESS AND PLACE NARRATIVES – THE IMPORTANCE OF 'HERE' IN IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS OF A GUATEMALAN COMMUNITY

Questioning the major identification mechanisms of Guatemalan rural communities along ethnic lines, the community members I want to present in this paper construe their collective identity through the relation to the place they live in. Their identity is anchored within the soil, less with ethnic indigenous categories, which are used as key identity markers by the majority of the rural Guatemalan population.

Group affiliation ('Zuordnung', Hausendorf 2000) in this community is linguistically expressed in deictic terms and a specific narrative of the place, not, as could be expected, in terms of ethnic attributes, religion, or using a specific indigenous language. The making of the in-group and several out-groups (Tajfel 1974) is done employing deictic expressions. Even outside of the community the reference point of spatial orientation is always rooted in the communal space. This, possibly, is connected with the history of the community, where the inhabitants changed from plantation workers to autonomous owners of their land through a phase of struggle and suffering lasting for years.

The corpus comprises semi-structured interviews with 32 inhabitants of the community from 2009 and recorded discourses of community members' everyday life as well as communications with people from outside, like state-agents, NGO staff or international tourists. The last part of the corpus has been recorded during summer 2011.

In the analysis, I want to show how the category of place and the repetitive relation to community space shapes the collective identity of the 'Nueva Alianza' inhabitants. I will show salient deictical expressions in the linguistic data with which community members do not only draw a cognitive map of their world but also make sense of themselves as a place-bound group.

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HAGIWARA, AKIKO; KAI, MOTOFUMI

Tokyo U. of Pharmacy and Life Sciences, Japan

MULTILINGUALISM IN TOKYO: BALANCING EXOTICISM AND ACCESSIBILITY

Being one of the largest cities in the world, Tokyo has a considerable number of non-Japanese citizens, sojourners, business travelers, students, and tourists from all over the world. There were more than 8.6 million visitors to Japan in 2010; 2.4 millions were from Korea, 2.7 millions from PRC and Taiwan, and the rest were from various other countries. Among them, 5.9 million people visited Tokyo. Reflecting the growing number of visitors, the way this city looks has changed during the past few decades. Most major train stations now have signs in four languages: Japanese, English, Korean and Chinese, and this change has been propelled by top-down decisions. Tokyo Metropolitan government has imposed some measures to use these four languages in public signs to promote tourism. These top-down approaches make visible changes, but multilingualism at a grassroots level has not received much attention.

In terms of convenience and accessibility, multilingual signs and messages are an important aspect in travel industry, but, on the other hand, unintelligible signs surely provide the feel of exoticism. As long as practical problems do not occur, monolingual signs can add to the enjoyment of being abroad. Here arises a question: What if not being able to read signs and notices in public places causes some problem or discomfort? We turned our eyes to public restrooms. They have to be accessible to everybody, but it is less accessible because of the invention of rather culture-specific modern devices equipped in the restroom. As the results, unlike most restrooms elsewhere, Japanese restrooms typically have many written messages, mostly instructions of how to use various devices. Ever since TOTO, a Japanese toilet bowl company, started marketing their best-seller 'washlets' and the 'sound princesses,' using a restroom has become something that takes some getting used to. Now most Japanese know how to use them and other devices without reading the instructions, so instructions are actually more needed in languages other than Japanese. We have decided to investigate the languages used in signs and instructions in public restrooms.

The main purpose of our study is to document the present status of written messages in public restrooms in Tokyo and to argue that written messages found in the restroom reflect the general public's unwillingness towards multilingualism.

As the method, we have collected digital photos of restroom signs, including signs outside and inside the restroom, messages, instructions, and warnings found in restrooms. In order to balance the corpus, we are systematically collecting data from seven major categories: museums, hotels, restaurants, public buildings, shops, theaters, transportation facilities. The data were categorized based on the languages used and their extent (Backhaus, 2007). Though we are still compiling the database, we can report that the language used in restroom was more monolingual than we expected, which suggests general public in Tokyo are not as open to visitors as much as the government wishes.

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BÜRKI, YVETTE Universität Bern, Switzerland

THE ROLE OF LINGUISTIC PERCEPTION AND ATTITUDE IN THE SOCIO-SPATIAL CON-STRUCTION OF THE CITY OF LIMA

The aim of this paper is to present a project coordinated by Yvette Bürki (Universität Bern) and Carlos Garatea Grau (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú) about the socio-spatial construction performed by the inhabitants of Lima starting from their speech perceptions of the different ways of the limeños speaking. The speech perception depends on their personal communicative experience in the different networks of illocutions in which they participate (Benhabid 2006; Garatea 2010) as well as socio-historically conceived perceptions. The investigation presupposes that in a megalopolis the fragmentation of the urban space is not only a geographical reality. It also acquires a strong social dimension due to the fact that their inhabitants are associated with different ways of life, part of which is the way of speaking. Therefore the said project focuses not on the socio-spatial reality of Lima, but uses a constructivist approach according to which the speakers, as social actors, construct space in a dynamical relation with the 'other'. Thus, the process by which individuals settle their spatial identity in the city landscape is similar to other forms in which they construct other aspects of their identity like sex, age and ethnicity (Johnstone 2004: 74). Lima serves as a paradigmatic example of the process explained above due to the complex dynamic of its urban social structure that displays a strong socio-spatial fragmentation which also produces a pronounced linguistic variation: according to the national Census of 2007, Lima is a city with more than eight and a half million inhabitants[1]. On an international level it constitutes the fifth most populous city of Latin America and the Caribbean zone[2]. Urban transformation processes have changed the traditional linguistic varieties of Lima described in specialized manuals. This was caused in particular by the strong migration of the interior (most of the Andean regions) from the 60' of the last century onwards. The so-called conos (Arellano / Burgos 2010; Arellano 2010) settled predominantly the outskirts of the city. The limeños perceive actually the different ways of speaking of the city and asses them in terms of correctness, adequacy and even in terms of aesthetics, which they connect with some ways of life and through a metonymical relation to certain spaces of the metropolis.

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Ó MURCHADHA, NOEL PÁDRAIG University of Limerick, Ireland

AUTHORITY AND AUTHENTICITY IN CONTEMPORARY SPOKEN IRISH: AN URBAN-RURAL DIVIDE?

Traditionally, the local vernacular Irish spoken in the Gaeltacht, those small dispersed rural communities in Ireland where Irish is one of the community languages, have been perceived as the most prestigious and correct forms of spoken Irish. Although not a uniform variety, the Gaeltacht vernacular has been valorised and recognised as a quasi-official model for spoken Irish and it has been central in language planning initiatives and in all discussions on the standardisation of written Irish. Meanwhile, varieties not conforming to this model have been overtly stigmatised and criticised. For instance, 'post-Gaeltacht speech', the Irish spoken by portions of the more urban revivalist speech community outside the Gaeltacht is often labelled an artificial inauthentic variety.

This perception is in stark contrast with patterns of language use in the Gaeltacht as the local variety, particularly among speakers born since the 1960s, moves rapidly from the local model towards a type of speech that appears to be influenced by English, by the Irish practiced at school, in the peer group, in the broadcast media, in non-local Gaeltacht areas and in the post-Gaeltacht (Ó hlfearnáin & Ó Murchadha 2011). Data are presented from fieldwork in the Munster Gaeltacht in which teenagers' perceptions of variation in contemporary Irish are investigated using focus groups and speaker evaluation experiments where a distinction is made between data gathered when participants were aware and unaware of the nature of the study. Particular attention is paid to participants' responses to the oft stigmatised post-Gaeltacht speech which is perceived to be a more urban variety.

In the responses to post-Gaeltacht speech offered when participants are aware of the nature of the study a familiar, predictable mismatch emerges between the apparant direction of language change and the participants' responses. However, in the speaker evaluation experiment where participants are unaware of the nature of the study post-Gaeltacht speech is significantly upgraded in relation to its position vis à vis Gaeltacht speech and its position in evaluations made when participants are aware of the nature of the study. This is consistent with research elsewhere that suggests that speakers perceptions of variation are intricately linked with the direction of language change (Blommaert 2009: Coupland & Kristiansen 2011).

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CHAFAI, HABIBA; ERMIDA, ISABEL

Universidade do Minho, Portugal

BRITISH PRESS COVERAGE OF HONOUR KILLINGS: TWO CASE STUDIES

This paper attempts to examine how the phenomenon of 'honour killings' is reported in the British press by looking at the different linguistic and discursive strategies used in the news coverage of two special victims, namely Banaz Mahmud from Iraqi Kurdistan and Samaira Nazir from Pakistan. More specifically, news reports from two British broadsheets The Guardian and The Times, and two British tabloids The Sun and The Daily Mail will be selected in order to examine the representations of honour killings among Muslim communities in Britain. The multidisciplinary movement of Critical Discourse Analysis, in particular van Dijk's framework (1991, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2009) will provide the theoretical backdrop for the study. The description of the linguistic and discursive mechanisms will hopefully reveal the ideological constructions underlying the texts. The paper also intends to address such questions as whether the press associates honour killings with Islam and Muslims or with cultural tribal customs and whether or not the news reports voice a reproduction of popular stereotypes and/or a reinforcement of prejudice against Muslim immigrant communities. The paper thus aims at considering how the British press tackles the concepts of race, identity and difference in Britain's growing multicultural and multireligious society.

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HE, XIANZHONG (1); WENINGER, CSILLA (2) 1: Chang'an University, People's Republic of China; 2: Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

MEDIA IMAGES, MIGRANT REALITY: A CORPUS-BASED CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANAL-YSIS OF THE RÉPRESENTATION OF MIGRANT WORKERS IN ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS IN CHINA

Migrant workers in China constitute a social group for whom the rural-urban divide has been painfully real in its consequences. Estimated to make up nearly 9% of the country's population, migrant workers are mostly farmers who lost their agricultural livelihood and moved to the city in search of jobs. Since China's rigid household registration system, the hukou, ties the provision of services (such as education, medical care, housing) strictly to one's place of origin, many rural migrants working in cities remain without access to basic rights and amenities. Such marginalization stands in stark contrast to the economic role migrants have fulfilled in the last few decades, serving as a fuel to propel China from a traditional country into the world's third largest economy today. Since the reform and opening-up in the late 1970s, millions of farmers have left their villages and farms to take advantage of the work opportunities offered by the urban areas. The world's largest mass of migrants has furnished the muscle for China's economic development as well as the backbone for the country's urbanization and industrialization. At the same time, urban governments have had to face the challenges of accommodating such massive influx of rural workers, within the constraints of the hukou.

Due to their special resident status and economic and social impact on Chinese society, migrant workers have drawn scholarly attention mainly from sociologists and economists (Fan, 2008; Han, 2006; Murphy, 2002). However, no studies to date have looked at media representations of migrant workers despite the high coverage they receive in both Chinese and foreign-language news reporting in China. This study aims to fill this gap by investigating how migrant workers are discursively represented in English news media in China. Taking a methodology that combines critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, the study analyzed a special 0.6-million-word corpus of news articles collected from the websites of two official English newspapers. China Daily and Global Times. The analysis was carried out on two levels. First a transitivity analysis of the syntactic structure of clauses aimed to describe the semantic roles allocated to migrant workers. The second component involved identifying frequent lexicogrammatical patterns with the term migrant worker. The results reveal that migrant workers are predominantly represented as passive and beneficiary participants rather than active contributors in processes. The study concludes that such imbalanced media representation underscores the construction of migrant workers as a 'social problem' at the expense of emphasizing their enormous economic impact in China today.

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HUNDT, MARIANNE; STAICOV, ADINA Universität Zürich, Switzerland

EXPRESSING AND NEGOTIATING IDENTITY IN THE LONDON INDIAN DIASPORA

For second-generation members of a diasporic community, ethnic and cultural affiliation are less straight-forward than for their parents' generation. Furthermore, few studies so far have investigated morpho-syntactic variation among second-generation speakers in relation to their degree of integration into the heritage and host communities. None of the studies in the special issue on Second Generationers in English Today (26,3 2010), for instance, addresses the issue of morpho-syntactic variation.

We use data (questionnaires, topic-oriented interviews and a map task; see Zipp & Dellwo in preparation) to correlate identity construction in London's Indian Diaspora on the one hand with the informants' linguistic integration into the host community on the other hand. For our case study, we focus on the variable use of articles.

- (1) a. the one next to the haystack (G02_M1)
- b. next to ø haystack there's another house (H01 M1)
- (2) a. and then down to the village where no-one is younger than sixty-five (G01 M1) b. go right down to ø village where no-one is younger than sixty-five (H01_M2)
- (3) a. keep on going left to the vast meadow (G01_M1)
 - b. go towards ø vast meadow (G01-M2)

This study is part of a larger project that investigates both socio-phonetic and morpho-syntactic variation and aims at combining a guantitative, variationist methodology with evidence from discursive identity construction: 'The fact that it is relatively rare for discourse studies of identity to have an explicitly variationist focus points to a lacuna, with great potential for future research' (Mendoza-Denton, 2002: 490). We employ two standard sociolinguistic methodologies, namely (a) a questionnaire eliciting information on the subjects' background (including degree of integration into the community and an ethnic identity index) and (b) sociolinguistic interviews with a focus on discursive identity construction, maintenance of transnational ties, meta-linguistic reflection on linguistic practices and attitudes towards varieties of English. Our data enable us to model the degree to which morpho-syntactic variation may or may not play a role in linguistic identity construction.

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TODD. RICHARD

University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

NON-NATIVENESS AND ETHNOCENTRICISM: **EXAMINING MODERN-DAY SOCIALISATION**

English has historically positioned itself as the national or official language in a number of former colonies and commonwealth territorities. This study brings focus to migrants and subsequent generations from such communities who now live within a society where ethnic diversity is a long-standing, yet still increasing, phenomenon — the UK (ONS, 2001).

It has for some time been stated that linguistic variation is context-dependent and the choice of variant in use is controllable by the speaker (Fischer, 1958). Others have realised that for the most part however, minority-group and non-native speakers are heavily directed towards the (near-exclusive) use of a standard or dominant language variety when in out-group settings (Bourdieu, 1991; Heller, 1995). This study examines interactional opportunities that people of mainstream (i.e., British Anglo-Saxon) origin have with speakers from historically important but annexed regions of the old British Empire. The minority-groups considered are those who have (a) settled within one English city (Nottingham); (b) believe that have adopted a more localised variety of English for their day-to-day employment and similar (non-domestic) functions; and (c) proficiently use it. In particular, the work unpicks an assumption that is implicitly reinforced by the undoubtable reality of living within a multiethnic society. Namely, the idea of the dominant population experiencing high (and moreover, frequent) levels of inter-mixing with visible minority groups has any real foundation. Initially presented, is a framework which uniquely helps us identify exposure in the domains which most powerfully contribute to the shaping of social outcomes for adults having disparate ethnic backgrounds or otherwise hyphenated (linguistic) identities. Although an 'open and liberally mixed' default may reasonably be imagined for a prime host nation such as the UK, analyses of sizeable participant data reveal how, in the chief social contexts (i.e., (1) work-centred and (2) leisure time) contact with ethnic out-groups does not comprehensively feature.

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LEE, JAMIE SHINHEE

UNIV. OF MICHIGAN-DEARBORN, United States of America

FROM SEOUL TO SYDNEY: EDUCATIONAL MIGRATION AND TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

Korean drive toward globalization, segyehwa, (Kim 2000) has an overarching effect on contemporary Korean society, among other things, hyper-stressing the importance of English. English is discursively constructed as a language one needs to 'survive and flourish in the globalizing world' (J. S. Park 2009: 26) and speaking English is 'an index of cosmopolitan striving' (Park and Abelmann 2004: 650). The ideology of necessitation (J. S. Park 2009) is heavily promoted thorough language education policies, school curricula, and teaching practices in Korea. It has also led to the 'English learning boom' (H. Park 2006) and 'English fever' (J. K Park 2009). Equally important but not extensively researched is its impact on family.

This study is concerned with educational migration, a temporary or permanent sojourn of an individual or a family outside his or her home country mainly for educational purposes. It focuses on recent trends of residing in English speaking countries mainly to expose Korean children to an English immersion environment. This sociolinguistic phenomenon is driven by the belief that having the experience of living outside Korea gives an academic and career advantage.

This ethnographic study examines linguistic and cultural socialization of five Korean families recently relocated to the suburbs of Sydney, Australia by comparing and contrasting language acquisition, mothering practice, parental education involvement, and familial support and conflict in each of these families. Based on semi-structured in-depth interviews, home visits, and 'linguistic autobiographies' (Hinton 2009) and drawing on linguistic anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics, this study examines motivations for and consequences of educational migration, benefits and drawbacks, and discusses the impact of globalization and English language ideologies on educational migration.

This study aims (1) to determine whether there have been any significant changes in terms of language acquisition, acculturation, cultural practice, family dynamics, attitudes toward English and English education; (2) to investigate factors contributing to a success or failure of educational migration; (3) to see how the division of labor is established between mother and father when it comes to being a facilitator in children's linguistic and cultural socialization; and (4) to answer whether improved proficiency influences power dynamics between parents and children.

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HIRAMOTO, MIE (1); FURUKAWA, GAVIN (2) 1: National University of Singapore; 2: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

FORMATION OF PAN-IMMIGRANT LOCALNESS IN THE CITY: TATTOOED SYMBOLS AND PERSONAL IDENTITIES

This study explores construction of identity and local values as demonstrated by local residents in a multiethnic urban community, namely Honolulu. The concepts of mobility and moving texts have been proposed by Blommaert and his colleagues (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005; Blommaert 2007, 2009, etc.). In this study, 'mobility' refers to the historical plantation immigration to Honolulu from various parts of the world that took place between the mid-1800s and early 1900s. Because of physical mobility and globalization, Honolulu has become host to a variety of ethnic and cultural communities, as have many of today's major cities. This study focuses on the construction of hybrid ethnic identity and the value systems of local people in Hawai'i as seen through an increasingly prevalent form of body art: tattoos. A number of local people in Hawai'i take pride in having tattoos displaying their heritage. Data used for this project were collected through face-to-face interviews with a total of 20 local tattoo wearers. Participants were asked about the meanings of their tattoos, reasons for choosing them, and their thoughts on their tattoos and those of others. From the interviews, we investigated the participants' identity construction patterns. One of the goals of the project was to provide empirical evidence to evaluate how texts (e.g., Chinese characters, English words, hiragana or katakana, etc.) are displayed and interpreted by tattoo wearers as a token of their 'local' identity. Along with texts, use of symbolic motifs (e.g., Polynesian tattoo designs, Hawaiian petroglypha, a map of Hawai'i, flags, family crests, etc.) were also analyzed. By and large, according to the interview data, the texts and symbols portrayed in the tattoos reflected social, cultural, or psychological affiliations to specific ethnic groups that the tattoo wearers feel close to.

Historically, first generation immigrants established diaspora communities in Hawai'i at different plantation camps across the state. The communities continued to grow and slowly merged with groups of other ethnicities. As a result, the immigrants' children integrated themselves into the newly formed local community; at this point, their children considered themselves to be members of this new homeland, newly established locals who no longer belonged to their ancestors' homeland. Over time, the plantation immigrants' descendants developed a new lasting social configuration where the center of their social world had been moved from their old home to their new, and what they recognized as 'local' was now Hawai'i.

Data collected in this study show how tattoo wearers integrate their multilayered identities in symbolic forms such as their tattoos and language use. For example, a Japanese American participant claims his Japaneseness through a tattooed family name in Chinese characters while admits that he can neither read nor write Japanese himself because he is an American. As such, this study highlights an interconnection of transnationalism, the function of texts, and the value systems of tattoo wearers' heritage in American context.

LUI, HONG YEE KELVIN King's College London

POSITIONING AS TRANSMIGRANTS: LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY AMONG INDIAN TAMIL YOUTHS IN HONG KONG

In this sociolinguistic multiple-case study of three Tamil adolescents in Hong Kong, I employed in-depth interviews in soliciting their perspectives on their ethnic, cultural, and linguistic identifications that are entranched in networks of relationships across localities. Using the positioning theory as a method of discourse analysis, I describe the multiple ways through which the young Tamils positioned themselves with certain national/ cultural identity labels, who they positioned as their Other, and how they resisted being positioned. Methodologically, drawing on the recent call among qualitative researchers for treating the interview as a social practice (e.g. Talmy, 2011), I critically analyze and at times problematize the interview data, avoiding focusing only on the content of the words produced by the participants.

By giving voices to the multilingual individuals, a greater focus on the participants' individual agency in the analysis was enabled. Although the Tamil youths were at times presenting themselves as unenthusiastic participants in their transnational spaces that they often characterized as the 'old' and the 'traditional,' they nevertheless showed no overt signs of complete disavowal of their connection with their heritage and the Tamil language. Instead, they are active participants in, and co-constructors of, a form of Indian or Tamil identity with varying degrees of transnational and, to a lesser degree, local inflections. These were shown to be accomplished through, for instance, adopting a subject position as an English-dominant multilingual, claiming 'affiliation' (Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997) with the language associated with the majority of the host society, and appropriating the language practices traditionally linked with their parental cultural and religious practices. These findings could hardly be generalized to all the second generation young Tamils in Hong Kong, but could provide insights into the hows, or in other words, the fine-grained process of these young Tamils' self-positioning involved in identity negotiation.

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REHBEIN, GÖTZ JOCHEN

Middle East Technical University, Turkey

MULTILINGUAL SPACES - ISTANBUL, BARCELONA, HAMBURG

Spaces for multilingual communication are created by urbanization and migrations. Multilingualism cannot be understood as a phenomenon of belonging to various isolated areas, but as the configuration of linguistic constellations. In this respect, the difference between regional languages and immigrant languages has become blurred. The paper discusses three multilingual settings – Istanbul, Barcelona, Hamburg – and the role of urban space and the institutions that interact there in linguistic exchange. Three quite different ways of making multilingual communication are outlined. Variables such as social and economic structure, linguistic policies, history or the hierarchy of linguistic varieties explain these differences and enable points of comparison to be established. finally, certain measures are proposed that are essential to practicing multilingual communication and to expanding respect for citizens' linguistic rights.

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KONTOULI, DEMETRA; KLEANTHOUS, ANTREAS; PITRAKKOU, KRISTIA University of Cyprus, Cyprus

INVESTIGATING BILINGUALISM / MULTILINGUALISM IN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN CYPRUS

Public schools in Cyprus have been accommodating in the last years, large numbers of immigrant students, as a result of recent migration from countries from the middle east (e.g. Iraq) that have experienced recent warfare. The monolingual and 'monoethnic' character of Cypriot schools is rapidly changing with students from varied linguistics, religious and ethnic background. However, on a policy level things appear more static, with state policies categorizing all these students in the broad category of foreing-speaking' students, reinforcing a static and bipolar dichotomy between 'us/native speaker' and 'others/non-Greek speakers'. Studies in the area of multilingual and multicultural education have indicated that this kind of classification, based on linguistic and cultural difference, often includes and creates political consequences: linguistic difference is recognized as language deficit, usually leading to the development of policies of cultural assimilation or exclusion (Baker 2001). Within this context, the current study investigates immigrant Arab-speaking families living in Cyprus. The main objective is to investigate their experiences as immigrant parents and students, residing in urban centres with strict monolingual educational policies and experiencing the legitimized institutional discourse of 'one language-one culture' promoted in public education in Cyprus. More particularly, the paper explores, through their narratives, the families' experiences in relation to : first, their transition in Cyprus and their adjustement in the social life in the host country. Second, their contact with the educational system of Cyprus and the various language and educational policies they encountered. Thirdly, through their experiences the paper seeks

to map down the attitides and values they developed as bilingual/multilinguals in monolinguals public schools. The methodology adopted was case study research, focusing on four Arab-speaking families. The main data collection techniques were focus group interviews with various members of the family, along with participant observation mainly from the domain of home and rich field notes on the surrounding environment of each family, the literacy practices and the everyday life.

Data analysis indicated that first, there was a strong rhetoric in all families on the difficulties they encountered for establishing a political refugee status; however they all portrayed in a positive manner their experiences with the educational system. Revealing was the fact that their main concern was not to preserve their bilingual or multilingual identities but to acquire and become academically competent in the dominant language, mostly as a means for surviving and succeeding in the host society (e.g. Cypriot community integration, vocational rehabilitation, access to higher education etc.). As regard to their language competence, it was indicated that in a variety of contexts and literacy practices, individual bilingualism was developed, especially in spoken language (listening, speaking). In contrast, learning skills in writing (reading and writing), which included the decoding of implicit meanings (critical literacy) presented difficulties, particularly in cases of older children.

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KIRSCH, KATHRIN

Leuphana Universität Lüneburg, Germany

LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHIES AND CULTURAL IDENTITY OF STUDENTS WITH A RUSSIAN MIGRATION BACKGROUND AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OLDENBURG

It is well known, that students with a migration background are still underrepresented in the German university system (c.f. 19th SS). This is not the case at the Slavic department at the Carl von Ossietzky University in Oldenburg. More than half of the enlisted students have a history of migration from the former Soviet Union.

Practical considerations for their future professional life (to make use of their bilingual competence) might certainly play a part in their choice of study. On the other hand, previous studies on Russian immigrants (RUSIL 1999) suggest that the private social network stays predominantly Russian, even after longer immigration time. The choice of study of the Oldenburg students could also be related to their social and cultural identity. The participants of the RUSIL study were of a different age group, the students of the Slavic department are younger and the majority of them went through the German school system

In my presentation I want to address the questions: 'How does the language biography reflect on cultural identity for this age group in their twenties?' and 'How is the attitude towards the languages of the country in which the students live and learn, German, and the language of their family and country of origin, Russian, reflected on their level of literacy in both languages?'

The analysis of 19 language biographies show that for all of the students, who had acquired Russian as a first language, this language also stays their dominant language of communication with their closest contacts in life after their 20th birthday. German is their language of communication with the wider environment, but also the dominant language of email-communication and reading.

11 language tests on reading comprehension and a short test of proverbs in both languages show solid competence of German, but significant differences in the competence levels in Russian.

The motivation to study Russian and other Slavic languages could thus also be interpreted as an attempt to level the felt cultural identity with the actual competence as a culturally literate speaker of Russian.

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BLAKE, RENEE (1); SHOUSTERMAN, CARA (1); NEWLIN-LUKOWICZ, LUIZA (1); KELLEY, LINDSAY (2) 1: New York University, United States of America; 2: University of Arizona, United States of America

LINGUISTIC AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN BLACK NEW YORK

In this paper, we present the results of a comparative study of the English spoken by second-generation Caribbean Americans in New York City and their African American counterparts. These two groups of black ethnic New Yorkers are often identified as being racially, socially and linguistically similar, such that race assimilationist models would have Caribbean Americans becoming virtually African American by the second generation. However, sociological research challenges race assimilationist models by showing that the children of black Caribbean immigrants are adept at switching their identities between that couched within American society and that couched within the English-speaking Caribbean communities from which their parents arrived (Waters 1999). Still, little is known about how the multi-layered identities of second-generation black Caribbean Americans are manifested in language behavior.

We focus on the use three linguistic variables for two groups of second-generation Caribbean Americans and a population of African Americans in New York City. We examine the use of postvocalic /r/ in words like floor, the tensing and raising of /ɔ/ in words like talk and the realization of /oʊ/ in words like boat. These three linguistic variables are characteristic of regional and social dialects associated with New York, African Americans and/or Caribbean English Creoles. An examination of their co-occurrence can shed light on the ways in which black New Yorkers, particularly second-generation Caribbean Americans, make use of linguistic variables in creating their social identities.

We analyze the speech of eight individuals in sociolinguistic interviews, and find subtle differences in their speech according to ethnicity. Our results indicate that Caribbean American identified blacks have higher rates of /r/-fulness than African American-identified blacks. Moreover, while both groups show the New York identified tensing and raising of /ɔ/, the length of the off-glide is different. Off-glide differences also are evident in the realization of / ov/, which is closer to a New York realization than a monophthongal Caribbean Creole realization. These results point to a similar linguistic repertoire for

black New Yorkers, with subtleties evident at the quantitative level. But an analysis of an interview with a Caribbean American student group organized as a community of practice reveals that the linguistic repertoire of second-generation Caribbean Americans is broader than individual sociolinguistic interviews may reveal at the quantitative and qualitative levels.

The ever-increasing numbers of second-generation black Caribbean Americans in the ethnically heterogeneous metropolis of New York City presents the sociolinguist with new ideological and methodological challenges when studying complex identities and linguistic negotiations across ethnic spaces. We argue that second-generation Caribbean Americans have yet to be adequately addressed in the social and linguistic schema of the U.S. Thus, in bringing attention to this population alongside their African American counterparts, we bring to the forefront the question of where these voices fit in research on African Americans, black communities more generally, and their languages. This work contributes to our understanding of the linguistic heterogeneity of black people in the U.S. (Spears 1988), and reveals the role of ethnicity in conditioning linguistic behavior.

PÁJARO, VERÓNICA University of Oslo, Norway

Y COMO NO ENTRAS DENTRO DE NINGUNA DE LAS CATEGORÍAS ERES, PUES, ALGO UN POCO EXÓTICO' CATEGORIZATION AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN THE NARRATIVES OF THREE LATIN AMERICAN MIGRANTS IN OSLO.

This paper focuses on the categorization strategies used in identity construction in the narratives of personal experience in a group discussion of three highly educated Latin American migrants in Oslo. The main hypothesis, formulated on the basis of De Fina's work on Mexican undocumented immigrants in the USA (2003) is that category labels such as 'Norwegian,' 'foreigner,' and 'Latino' function as discourse strategies by which participants are able to construct individual, situated identities by positioning themselves in relation to the stereotypical or implicit meanings entailed by those categories. Underlying this hypothesis is a social constructionist approach to identity that conceives of it as dynamic and multiple and thus negotiated and emergent in interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005).

The study is an in-depth qualitative investigation of the linguistic resources deployed in a corpus of eight narratives of personal experience (Labov 1972; Ochs and Capps 2001), collected in a focus group conversation. The participants in the study, a Peruvian, a Chilean and a Mexican residing in Oslo for a five or six-year period prior to the interview, belong to the latest and biggest immigration wave to Norway (SSB 2011). The analysis shows how the participants avoid using the categories 'immigrant' and 'Latino' to refer to themselves in favor of the label 'foreigners.' I argue that this choice is related to the current Norwegian migration context and media Discourses regarding immigrants. Thus the participants position themselves towards the experiences represented in the narratives and vis-à-vis one another, by distancing themselves from other migration groups and from stereotypical representation of immigrants in Norway. This 'middle' position is continually re-constructed in the narratives by resorting to different linguistic and ethnic categorizations, such as in the following example in which the participant uses categorizations as a means of positioning herself as a Spanish speaking Latin American 'no te ves musulmán/ pero tampoco te ves noruego, (...) te escuchan y es español / y entonces eh- como que le tienen un poco más de [respeto] al español / porque (.) finalmente es un idioma:/ europeo o medio muy popular.' The relevance of linguistic categorization in the Norwegian context illustrated in the study offers an interesting perspective for language policies at the micro level, especially in regards to the ideology of mutual equality and hence intelligibility across Scandinavian languages and that is expected of migrant communities. The study presents an interesting perspective on Latino migrant communities, as Latin Americans constitute a small, well-integrated community that is seldomly addressed in the news or media in Norway.

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VAN MEEL, LINDA (1); VAN HOUT, ROELAND (1); HINSKENS, FRANS (2) 1: Radboud University, The Netherlands; 2: Meertens Instituut / VU University, The Netherlands

CO-VARIATION AND VARIETIES IN DUTCH ETHNOLECT(S)

In a large-scale sociolinguistic project on Dutch ethnolects, conversational speech data (160 conversations) were collected from 10-12 and 18-20 years old male adolescents with Turkish, Moroccan and non-immigrant Dutch descents in the cities of Amsterdam and Nijmegen. Two phonological features of Dutch ethnolects were studied: (1) the voiced coronal fricative /z/ at the beginning of phonological words, and (2) the front unrounded diphthong / Ei/. We examined two variable properties of each feature: sharpness in voiced realizations of /z/, voicing of /z/, height of onset of /Ei/, and the degree of monophthongization of /Ei/, giving four linguistic variables: (z)-sharpness, (z)-voicing, (ij)-height, (ij)-monophthongization. How are the linguistic variables related to the main social variables: city of origin, age, language background of the speaker (ethnic origin), and language background of the interlocutor? The latter variable is interpreted as a stylistic variable, as all participants participated in three conversations with other participants in the project from three different ethnic / language backgrounds (Dutch, Moroccan, Turkish). Tables 1 and 2 show the social embedding of the linguistic variables, Table 1 providing the main effects, and Table 2 the two-way interaction effects (with statistical significance indicated by +). Table 1 Main effects for the four linguistic variables; D = Dutch, T = Turkish, M = Moroccan

	(2			
	Sharpness	Voicing	Height	
City	-	+	+	
Groups: D vs. T+M	+	+/-	+/-	
Groups: T vs. M	+	-	-	
Age	-	-	+	
Style: Language Background Interlocutor	+	-	-	

ht Monophthongization

Table 2 Two-way interaction effects for the four linguistic variables

	(2)			(IJ)	
	Sharpness	Voicing	Height	Monophthongization	
City * Groups	-	-	-	-	
City * Age	-	+	-	-	
City * Style	-	-	-	-	
Groups * Age	-	+	+	-	
Groups * Style	+	-	-	-	
Age * Style	-	-	-	-	

As can be seen in Table 1, (z) and (ij) share a main effect for city on (z)-voicing and (ij)-height. For (z)-sharpness and (ij)-monophthongization, there is a distinction between the Dutch speaker group and the two ethnic (Turkish and Moroccan) speaker groups. If there is co-variation which suggest that there are two varieties with a main division between the Dutch speaker group on the one hand and the two ethnic groups on the other, we could assume there is one ethnolect with two regional variants. If there is co-variation which suggest that there are two varieties with a main division between Amsterdam and Nijmegen, we might say there are two regional ethnolects.

The social embedding shows how linguistic variables may co-vary by sharing common sociolinguistic patterns. We need to investigate if the linguistic embedding supports the concept of over-arching patterns on the ethnic level and what the primary divisions are in the sociolinguistic patterns in both cities. In addition, we will expand the set of linguistic variables by adding morpho-syntactic variables. We will use cluster and factor analysis to analyze the overall patterns of co-variation.

ONAR VALK, PELIN; BACKUS, AD

Tilburg University, The Netherlands

IMMIGRANT TURKISH: EMERGENCE OF A NEW DIALECT CAUSED BY LANGUAGE CONTACT?

While Turkish immigrants in Western Europe orient themselves to the norms of Standard Turkish, their Turkish is constantly being influenced by the European language they also speak (Backus, 2004). As a result of language contact, slowly but surely, new varieties of Turkish seem to be evolving, with loss of certain features and/or with the influx of words and structures taken from the European languages. In this talk, we will focus on Immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands. We will present recent work, in which we investigate further to what degree Turkish has changed in the immigrant setting. Specifically, we will highlight changes in one empirical domain not investigated much before in the Dutch context, a domain which seems to be heavily affected by contact nonetheless. This is the domain of clause combination, specifically subordination. Experimental research was carried out on Dutch Turkish and also on Turkish in Turkey (TR). One of our remarkable findings is that we have found no instances of non-finite indirect reported speech (RS) in Dutch Turkish although TR Turkish often employs non-finite subordination for this. We propose that language contact leads to the finite use in RS which is also available in Turkish. The preference goes to the RS construction that is equivalent to the Dutch style. We have found an overall abundance of finite subordination in Dutch Turkish at places where non-finite was also possible, which confirms the avoidance of non-finite subordination. We will explore how we can account for our data from the perspectives of both Generative and Usage-based linguistics. In discussing our current work, we will also deal with a methodological issue: while virtually all work so far has been based on recordings of spontaneous speech, the field of language contact is running up against the limits of what you can do with such data (Gullberg et al., 2009). In our current project, we have been trying a range of experimental techniques to answer questions regarding the degree to which we can say that changes suggested by the spontaneous speech data are really entrenched in people's linguistic competence (rather than reflecting superficial effects of momentary interference at the moment of speaking). In our talk, we will briefly go over some of these techniques we use to investigate subordination. Finally, we will discuss whether these new data provide us with a better basis on which to debate the issue whether or not the changes we see are sufficient to claim that Turkish as spoken in the immigrant contexts gualifies as a new dialect.

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THARANI, SORAYA SULTAN; JUOPPERI, JANI MIIKA Högskolan Dalarna (Dalarna University), Sweden

MULTILINGUALISM AND IMMIGRANTS IN US CITIES: A DEPICTION OF LANGUAGE USE IN FICTIONAL MOVIES.

Language choice may be considered as marked or unmarked in multilingual environments. The former refers to uncooperative or unfamiliar linguistic behaviour and the latter to cooperative (Coulmas 2005) expected and ideological language use. The choice of one language, or elements of one language, over another carries relations of power that are linked to wider social meanings (Coulmas 2005) that exist beyond the immediate context of language use. This paper analyses the language choice patterns of immigrants in different cities in the US as portrayed in fictional movies.

In his study of American ethnic groups in the United States, Fishman states that bilingualism and language shift takes place long before the processes of de-ethnisation or biculturalism are evident. Furthermore, the phenomenon of language maintenance is described as less stable than the maintenance of ethnicity and culture (Fishman 1966). Bearing this in mind, this paper investigates the different situations in which multilingual choices are made by fictional characters depicting immigrant individuals. For this purpose, Coupland's (2001, 2007) perspective of the concept of 'stylization' as influencing perspectives of authenticity is used. Furthermore, Bleichenbacher's (2008) categories for the study of language choice in multilingual movies serve as points of departure for the analysis, i.e. firstly, as regards typical settings, social activities and narrative moods; secondly, how the content expressed in the immigrant language is made available to the viewer; and thirdly, the availability of code-switching. More particularly, this study investigates the usage of different languages as a narrative tool for constructing social identities including the relation between immigrant/non-immigrant languages in different social settings, as well as the positioning of language in scene construction. The movies indicate that characters reflect hybridity within private/familial exchanges. Characters depicting first generation immigrants use code-switching in the public and private environments to reflect hybrid identities. Immigrant languages dominate in kinship terms such as father, mother, brother, aunty, etc. The narrative climax and other moments of emotion are made prominent by the use of the immigrant language. Internal and external conflicts are expressed in the immigrant languages and in English. The use of English increases as the narrative enters the stage of resolution. We suggest that due to the use of the ethnic language in emotional contexts in movies, the maintenance of the immigrant language is depicted as disassociating from its instrumental use and instead gains mainly an intrinsic quality linked to an authentic ethnic identity.

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FULLER, JANET M.

Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, United States of America

TRANSNATIONAL YOUTH LANGUAGE IN BERLIN: GERMAN AND ENGLISH IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

This study looks data from a year-long ethnographic project at two German-English bilingual public schools in Berlin, Germany to address the relationships between language, identity and language ideologies for transnational youths in this urban setting. In this analysis, I focus on four children in one bilingual classroom and how they use German and English to construct various aspects of their identities. These children are classified as 'German Mother Tongue' in this classroom, and while they speak German as their dominant language, all four come from immigrant backgrounds and at least one language other than German is spoken in the home. Despite their status as multilinguals, much of the identity work they do in the analyzed conversations revolves around solidifying their position as German speakers. In the data examined for this paper, which were collected in the English classroom, the children speak a great deal of English, but the self-conscious nature of their English use, including the repair of their own and each other's 'slips' into German, only serves to underline that they are German speakers. My ethnographic work in this context supports the interpretation that the use of German in this context serves primarily to construct the identity of a participant in youth culture and is not an index of German national belonging. In this multicultural setting, German is the lingua franca and a means of delimiting the peer group boundary, while English serves primarily as a tool to construct identity as a member of the educated middle class and international elite. Both German and English have thus been bleached of meaning as ethnolinguistic or national identity markers among these urban, transnational, multilingual youths.

These findings are particularly interesting in light of recent discourses in German society which focus on linguistic assimilation as part of 'being German'. The identification of these youths as German-speaking but not necessarily German challenges ideological links of language and cultural belonging and may reflect the maintenance of ethno-national ideologies.

SHARMA, DEVYANI; TUSHA, AURELA Queen Mary, University of London, United Kingdom

ABRUPT VS. GRADUAL CHANGE IN IMMIGRANT GROUPS: EVIDENCE FROM MOR-PHOSYNTAX

Recent research (Chambers 2002; Labov 2008; Hoffman & Walker 2010) has suggested that the second generation in an immigrant community may superficially retain non-native phonetic features for identity purposes, but do not faithfully replicate their parents' system. Sharma & Sankaran (2011) showed that the earliest second generation can in fact replicate the first generation phonetic system while simultaneously controlling features of the local dialect, indicating gradual change with multidimensional competence governed more by social (demographic, political, historical) than purely cognitive (nativeness) factors. The present study extends the investigation of abrupt vs. gradual change to three morphosyntactic features: the quotative system, a/ the allomorphy, and was/were levelling. Internal conditioning for all three is distinct in Indian English and London English, and thus allows us to investigate whether British-born Gen 2 individuals in the Punjabi community in West London parallel native London systems (Cheshire et al. 2011) or non-native Indian systems. The three generations examined (42 speakers) are Gen 1, older Gen 2, and younger Gen 2. We assess frequencies and grammatical conditioning in relation to previous findings for all three variables.

We find different rates of shift for different syntactic variables. The fastest shift is in was/were levelling: we see no evidence of the L2-style Indian English variation in was/were use among either older or younger Gen 2 speakers. Notably, was/were variation in Indian English is seen as an L2 error, unlike quotatives and a/the allomorphy, which are more established, indigenized traits. The older Gen 2 group maintain elements of their parents' Indian English system in their quotative system and in lower use of prevocalic allomorphs for a and the. With the exception of the allomorphy, the younger Gen 2 no longer show such resemblances, and instead closely follows their British peers. Thus, we do not see an abrupt shift at the point of nativeness, but rather a staggered, incremental shift. The avoidance of perceived L2 errors but retention of perceived stable Indian English dialect traits by the intermediate older Gen 2 suggests that this instrumental group does not acquire their system mechanistically, but rather ascribes differential social values to variants. The study builds on the proposal in Sharma & Sankaran (2011) that Gen 2 groups must be broken down by historical phase in order to fully understand the retention of deep substrate systems. It also demonstrates the growing stability and resulting diasporic influence of Indian English.

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General Session 15

General Session: Sociolinguistics and grammatical theory

CLAES, JEROEN Universiteit Antwerpen, Belgium

'HABÍA' OR 'HABÍAN' DOS NIÑOS EN EL PARQUE? THE PLURALIZATION OF PRESEN-TATIONAL 'HABER' IN PUERTO RICAN SPANISH

In normative Spanish, presentational haber is used as an impersonal, subjectless verb, and, therefore, it shows default third-person singular verb-agreement, as is exemplified by (1a).

- a. Había dos niños en el parque. (1)
 - b. Habían dos niños en el parque.
 - 'There were two children in the park.'

However, in many varieties optional number-agreement is observed (example [1b]), which is known as the 'pluralization of haber'.

In my presentation, I will investigate this phenomenon in a recent sample of Puerto Rican Spanish, focusing upon two research questions: 1. What is the (socio)linguistic distribution of the pluralization of presentational haber in the Spanish of San Juan, Puerto Rico?

2. How can these distributions be explained in a psychologically and sociolinguistically adequate manner?

In order to answer these interrogatives, in the first part, I will focalize on the way the variation and the (extra)linguistic constraints it is subject to can be modeled in Goldberg's (1995; 2006) Cognitive Construction Grammar. At this regard, my main hypothesis contends that the phenomenon corresponds to an ongoing language change from below that consists in the substitution of the canonical argument-structure construction, in which the NP functions as a direct object (e.g. [1a]), by an innovative schema - identical in meaning, but different in sociolinguistic and stylistic significance -, in which the NP functions as a subject, (e.g. [1b]). In the second part, I will present indirect quantitative support for this conjecture, testing corollary hypotheses derived from central assumptions of variationist and/or cognitive linguistics. More precisely, taking into account the main hypothesis and Langacker's (1991: 298) notion of 'markedness of coding', I expect to find more cases of pluralized haber when the concept coded by the NP approaches an archetypical subject (Factor groups: Information-status [Prince 1992], Empathy scale, Definiteness/specificity scale [Langacker 1991]). In addition, since the repeated witnessing of a form in a single construction disfavors its use in other patterns (Goldberg 2006: 94-102), the innovative argument-structure will be more frequent with verb-forms that appear in a variety of constructions (Factor group: Distribution of the verb-form across constructions). Finally, if the main hypothesis is on the right track, the data will display social co-variation and style shifting patterns characteristic of ongoing changes from below (Labov 2001) (Factor groups: gender, age, educational achievement, social prestige and speech style). In the final part, I will evaluate how the results portray the main hypothesis.

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SCHEKULIN, CLAUDIO University of Vienna, Austria

NEG AND AUX CONTRACTIONS IN ELF: SOCIAL, CONTEXTUAL, AND FUNCTIONAL VARIATION

The general theme of this year's Sociolinguistic Symposium is Language and the City, and one 'language' that one is likely to overhear in urban settings virtually the world over is English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). ELF is defined functionally, as 'any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice' (Seidlhofer 2011: 7). Whether it is business people or tourists, international students or representatives to international organizations - or indeed, the delegates to this very symposium - they all make use of the resources of the English language to communicate within their specific domains. There is thus great diversity in both the settings that ELF is employed in, as well as in the regional and social backgrounds of its speakers. From a sociolinguistic point of view, diversity entails variability, and it is this variability which this paper seeks to address.

The features under investigation in the reported study are negative (NEG) and auxiliary (AUX) contractions in VOICE (2011), the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English, with some comparative data extracted from MICASE (2002), the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English. The initial results of this work in progress demonstrate that both NEG and AUX contractions show clear patterns with regard to such factors as domain and speech event type. Interestingly, this ordered heterogeneity is even more pronounced in VOICE, owing to the near categorical use of the respective contracted forms in spoken American English, even within rather formal domains. In addition to this analysis of contextual variation, some initial analyses of social and cotextual conditioning factors will be presented.

Expanding on the data from a functional perspective, various explanations from the literature (e.g. Yaeger-Dror 1997 on contraction strategies; Seidlhofer 2011 on ELF) are put forward for the patterns observed, which throw into relief the dynamic dialectic between functional, contextual, and social variation. Ultimately, it is argued that ELF data is not only very much amenable to (variationist) sociolinguistic research, but indeed has the scope to provide particular insights into the interrelationships identified above, as speakers of English as a Lingua Franca have to actively negotiate potentially disparate forces with regard to communicative function and social significance, highlighting processes which are likely to be less overt in more traditional 'dialectal' settings.

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WELCOMME, AURÉLIE Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

DO DEGREES OF CONTEXTUAL VARIATION INFLUENCE SYNTAX? DEVELOPMENT OF CLAUSE-LINKING MECHANISMS IN ORAL AND WRITTEN SPEECH OF DUTCH LEARN-ERS OF FRENCH AS A FOREIGN (FLANDERS) AND AS A SECOND LANGUAGE (BRUS-SELS)

Clause-linking mechanisms (an umbrella term for juxtaposition, coordination and subordination) are difficult to acquire linguistic features playing a crucial role in language acquisition. Developmental hypotheses on the matter are numerous: on the one hand, learners should demonstrate a decreasing level of paratactic structures (juxtaposition and coordination) and an increase of subordination as their proficiency develops. On the other hand, they are claimed to produce more linear and simple structures, with less subordination than native speakers. But what would be the impact of a greater (extra) curricular contact on the development of clause-linking mechanisms? Our doctoral research had a double objective: (1) it aimed to detail the development of clause-linking mechanisms used both by learners and native speakers in oral (narrative) and written (expository) modality and (2) it compared learners and native speakers so as to identify the differences between

them.

The obtained data yielded interesting results: although learners presented a clear increase in the number of finite subordinate structures used, they never reached the same amount of subordination as native speakers. Non-finite subordination, considered to encompass the most integrated structures, seemed to be what distinguished them from native speakers. This last observation sparked our interest for a follow-up exploratory study: would a greater curricular and extracurricular contact with the L2 have a measurable impact on clause-linking mechanisms in general, and on subordination in particular? The study of Housen, Janssens & Pierrard (2001, 2002) on French and English as Foreign Languages in secondary schools in Flanders, for instance, has shown a noticeable influence of extracurricular contact on the acquisition of foreign languages in a curricular context. This presentation thus reports on a follow-up exploratory study that aims to investigate the development and distribution of clause-linking devices in the oral and written production of Dutch-speaking learners of French as a Second (Flanders) and as a Foreign Language (Brussels) at various stages of their learning curriculum (1st, 3rd and 6th year of secondary education; n = 25/group). The two contexts differ in the amount of possible curricular and extracurricular contact with French. In Flanders. French can nowadays be considered a true 'foreign' language, pupils only being in contact with French during the language hours at school. In Brussels, Dutch-speaking pupils, even in Dutchspeaking schools, not only benefit from more curricular contact, but also have more possibilities for extracurricular contact with French. In the Brussels context. French can thus be considered as a Second Language.

The collected oral (narrative: Frog Story) and written (expository texts) corpus, annotated at the clause-level, will allow us to compare the development of the clause linking mechanisms used by those two types of Dutch learners of French. Their production will also be compared to that of native speakers of the same age and curricular level.

CORNIPS, LEONIE (1,2); GREGERSEN, FRANS (3) 1: Meertens Instituut (KNAW), The Netherlands; 2: Maastricht University, The Netherlands; 3: LANCHART, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

GENDER AS A VULNERABLE CATEGORY IN CONTEMPORARY URBAN VERNACULARS INVOLVING TURKISH AND GERMANIC

Both Dutch and Danish have grammatical gender whereas Turkish does not. A study of how gender assignment varies in carefully selected samples of Danish/Turkish youngsters and Dutch/Turkish speaking children will thus shed light on a crucial issue in any theory of language change, viz. why and how a grammatical category is used for various purposes, even recategorized under the right circumstances. Gender has already been shown to be a so-called vulnerable grammatical category, i.e. prone to variation and change, in at least Dutch and Norwegian (Cornips 2008, Opsahl 2009). A vulnerable grammatical category is a category which is less entrenched structurally (i.e. neutralized in many cases) and does not lead to insurmountable communicative difficulties (or even any at all) when it is overgeneralized, i.e. neutralized, in cases where the standard language still retains it.

In this paper we will focus on two issues. A crosslinguistic comparison between Danish and Dutch gives us insight into the extent to which the vulnerablity of this particular grammatical category is related to the visibility of morphological cues. On the one hand, the gender system of the definite determiner in Danish and Dutch is very similar: both languages have a two-way distinction, namely common versus neuter; common nouns outnumber neuter nouns (2:1) and lexical gender is almost arbitrary. On the other, Danish differs from Dutch in morphological cues: it has gendered indefinite articles and gendered definite suffixes. The contrast between Dutch and Danish would seem to predict slightly different outcomes in the two speech communities. We will explore how gender assignment is exploited for various purposes, in particular the use of variable grammatical features for identity formation. We assume that when the developmental path takes too long, or communication does not involve any necessity for using the category, language external factors start to interfere with the acquisition process and variation and eventually change may emerge.

Grammatical categories that are acquired late are assumed to be most eligible in identity construction. Athough overgeneralization of the common Dutch determiner de constitutes a linguistic resource for every bilingual child acquirer (and monolingual acquirers), it only becomes meaningful in the indexing and reproducing of a 'streetwise' identity formation in urban youthful speech practices (Cornips 2008). Also in Danish language contact settings, young-sters use common determiners where neuter is target (Quist 2008).

The empirical base for this paper's refinement of the predictions involves studies of on the one hand Dutch children with Turkish as their first language (Cornips with Brand), on the other Danish youngsters who similarly have Turkish as their first language (Gregersen with Braüner and Pedersen).

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General Session 16

General Session: Losing and gaining features in the city

LEVON, EREZ (1); HOLMES-ELLIOTT, SOPHIE (2) 1: Queen Mary University of London, United Kingdom; 2: University of Glasgow

THE ONLY WAY IS /S/: DOING GENDER AND CONSTRUCTING CLASS IN THE SOUTH-EAST OF ENGLAND

In this paper, we revisit the impact of gender and social class on language (e.g., Eckert 1989, 2000; Labov 1990; Milroy et al 1994; Dubois & Horvath 1998) by investigating how speakers use gendered linguistic patterns as a way of constructing class-based identities (cf. Stuart-Smith 2007). Specifically,we consider the ways in which gendered indexicality interacts with the enactment of social class and argue for the need to treat gender and class as interdependent sociolinguistic constructs.

We focus on observed variation in the phonetic realisation of the voiceless alveolar fricative by speakers in two British television programmes: *Made in Chelsea* and *The Only Way is Essex*. In particular, we examine variation between a more fronted articulation of /s/ and a more backed variant that can at times perceptually resemble []]. The television programmes from which our data are drawn are both 'scripted reality' shows that follow a group of young friends in the greater London area. The class stratified sample – upper-class Chelsea and working-class Essex – provide an ideal test site for examining how gender and social class are imagined and linguistically constructed by the relevant communities of speakers (e.g., Schilling-Estes 1998; Coupland 2001).

Results of a multivariate analysis of 1200 tokens of /s/ produced by 16 speakers in our sample demonstrate a systematic pattern of sex-differentiation across all speakers: women have significantly higher centres of gravity (CoG) and spectral peak frequencies in their /s/ productions than the men, as consistent with previous work on this feature (e.g., Munson et al 2006; Stuart-Smith 2007). Further analysis reveals that this differentiation is quanti-tatively much more extreme in *Essex* than it is in *Chelsea*. In *Chelsea*, women's CoG and peak frequency levels are only slightly higher than the men's, and there is substantial overlap in the distributions. By contrast, the *Essex* women's CoGs and peak frequencies are on average nearly twice those of the *Essex* men's, and there is little overlap in the distributions. In addition, cross-group comparisons reveal significant differences within the sexes: the *Essex* women's CoG and peak frequency values are significantly higher than those of the *Chelsea* men. Overall then, *Essex* women are shown to have the most fronted realisations of /s/, *Essex* men the most backed, and *Chelsea* speakers lie in between.

While sex-linked differences are evident in both groups of speakers, we suggest that *Essex* speakers exaggerate these differences so as to create hypergendered articulations of /s/ as part of their construction of a distinctive class-based identity. We support this interpretation with information regarding other social practices in which *Essex* speakers engage. We also discuss the ramifications of our analysis for sociolinguistic treatments of gender and social class more broadly.

PALFREYMAN, NICK University of Central Lancashire, United Kingdom

SIGN LANGUAGE DIVERSITY IN INDONESIAN DEAF COMMUNITIES

There are over 700 spoken languages in Indonesia - but are there as many signed languages? Indonesia is a vast archipelago with a large population (over 237 million) and hundreds of spoken languages (Gordon, 2005: 391). Communities of deaf sign language users are spread over a wide geographical area spanning 5,000km. Most of these communities are urban, although an isolated sign language used by a village community has been discovered in Bali (Marsaja, 2008; de Vos, 2012). There has been no robust linguistic research into urban sign language varieties in Indonesia to date, and the linguistic diversity within and between these varieties has not yet been documented. Like spoken languages, sign languages do not always follow national boundaries, and tend to exhibit considerable variation (Lucas, 2006). In the past, at least, there has been little regular contact between users of different urban sign language varieties in Indonesia. It is therefore reasonable to hypothesise that there is both lexical and morphosyntactic variation in Indonesian sign language varieties. In this presentation, I will provide a contrastive analysis of spontaneous sign language use within two urban deaf communities in order to examine the degree and nature of linguistic variation. Spontaneous and elicited linguistic and sociolinguistic data have been collected from over 100 sign language users in the urban deaf communities of Solo (Central Java), and Makassar (Sulawesi). A notable degree of lexical variation has been found between and within the two varieties, in semantic domains such as number, kinship, and calendar terms. However, there are also striking similarities in the morphology and syntax of each variety, including a cross-linguistically unusual distribution of functions among manual and non-manual articulators. I will present examples from my data to illustrate these points, which include the perfective (SUDAH), and categories of negation, such as negative suppletion and non-manual marking. I will also discuss some of the socio-historical links between different urban deaf communities that may help to explain these findings. To conclude, I will touch upon some of the attitudes towards language that have been expressed by members of the deaf community in Indonesia, which have implications for the interesting question of how many sign languages there are in Indonesia.

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SUNDGREN, EVA

Mälardalen University, Sweden

DISCOURSE MARKERS 1967 AND 1996. INDIVIDUAL VARIATION AND CHANGE

In my Ph.D. thesis (Sundgren 2002) I present a picture of linguistic variation and change in Eskilstuna during the last decades of the 20th century. In 1967 Nordberg made a big series of recordings with 83 native inhabitants of Eskilstuna, and I made the recordings for the return visit in 1996, i.e. one generation after the first Eskilstuna survey. The main purpose was to examine language change in real time. The return visit combined the merits of a panel and a trend study, and could thus provide information on both individual and generational change. The new sample for the trend survey comprised 72 speakers. The panel study comprised 13 of the speakers that Nordberg recorded in 1967. In my investigation I analysed seven morphological and morphophonological variables.

I have now returned to the panel study to investigate other linguistic features, for example lexical and syntactic, and I have begun with an investigation of the 13 panel speakers' use of discourse markers on the two recording occasions. Discourse markers have attracted much interest during the last decades, but most investigations have focussed on how teenagers use discourse markers. My corpus consists of speakers of all ages. In accordance with Lindström (2008:78) I use *discourse marker* as 'a generic term for words and expressions which function as conversation-regulating signals or which modify utterances', and I adopt his distinction between discourse particles (primary discourse markers) and secondary discourse markers. In my account I present results from the analysis of both inter- and intraindividual variation and change.

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PEREIRA SCHERRE, MARIA MARTA (1); QUEIROZ ANDRADE, CAROLINA (2); DIAS, EDILENE PATRÍCIA (2); GARCIA LUCCA, NÍVIA NAVES (2); VIDIGAL SOARES DE ANDRADE, ADRIANA LILIA (2) 1: Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, Brazil; 2: Universidade de Brasília

PRONOMINAL SYNCRETISM IN THE URBAN AREA OF BRASÍLIA - BRAZIL'S CAPITAL

The goal of this study is to present results of sociolinguistic research on the use of second person pronouns TU/VOCÊ in the speech of Brasília, Brazil's capital, which will be 52 years old in April, 2012. The central point is that Brasília's speech, considered non-marked, is an urban variety in the process of dialect focalization which shows clear evidence of incorporating the pronoun *tu* without verb agreement, a socially, geographically and interactionally marked variant.

Brasília's demographic composition is essential for understanding TU/VOCÊ variation, specially the retention of *tu*. The pioneers in Brasília, those that built and first populated it, came mostly from the Northeast: 41.45%, but all other Brazilian regions contributed: Southeast: 30,72%; Center-West: 22.75%; South: 1.98%; and North: 0.92%. International settlers were 2.18%. Furthermore, the distribution of those immigrants in the 30 different Administrative Regions, or RAs, which nowadays comprise Brasília, is very diverse. In 2010 Brasília's urban population was 2.5 million, a big young city. The analyses used for this presentation were carried out according to the principles of the Linguistic Variation Theory (Labov 1975). Several social and linguistic variables were taken into account but, for this paper, we have selected: age; place of residence; sex/gender; parent's origin; profession; relationship between speakers; and type of discourse. The 2309 recorded tokens were statistically analyzed using Goldvarb X (Sankoff et alii 2005). Speech samples of people born in Brasília were recorded between 1992 and 2009 in different RAs: Sobradinho; Taguatinga; Ceilândia; Plano Piloto and Vila Planalto, sub-regions of the first RA. Therefore, this paper is a documentary of the use of second person pronouns, which is one of the features of the dialect focalization which Brasília is going through, in the terms of Bortoni-Ricardo et alii (2010). The results show that the greater Brasília uses the subsystem *Tu/Você* or *Você/Tu* (Scherre et alii 2009) and that *tu* is used in different rates in all age groups and RAs studied. Furthermore, *tu* is favored by males, people whose parents came from the Northeast and those engaged in alternative professional paths. Friendly relationships and discourse intimacy also favor *tu*.

Brasília synthesizes Brazil: adopts variably a supra-regional *tu* without verb agreement, which spreads through comprehensive social and discursive domains as a local feature, and, at the same time, keeps the pronouns *você* and *cê*, but not *ocê*, another marked variant of central Brazil. Brasilia's *tu* becomes a feature of dialect focalization showing that even a strong marked variant may integrate processes of dialect focalization.

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GOLOVKO, EKATERINA università degli studi di bologna, Italy

VARIATION IN THE USE OF THE COMPLEMENTIZER CHE IN TWO DIFFERENT AREAS OF ITALY

In this presentation I will show findings on regional Italian (RI) and in particular one of the most common features: general complementizer che 'that' and differences in its use in two distinct areas of Italy. I analyze RI as an intermediate variety in the linguistic repertoire on both theoretical and practical level. The theoretical part is based on the generalization of linguistic repertoires in Europe done by Auer (2005), findings on the formation and development of regional varieties in Italy (Cerruti 2011, Golovko, 2012) and theoretical framework of contact linguistics. On practical level I analyze the variable typical for regional and neo-standard Italian: uses of general complementizer che in non-standard ways.

The data comes from the fieldwork done in Salento in 2007-2010, 18 interviewed speakers (10 hours of registration). The research was carried out in several small villages in Salento, in extreme south of Italy, where traditional pottery is produced. I studied special language of traditional pottery craftsmen. Interviews on work sites with craftsmen were analyzed in quantitative and qualitative way in order to discover variation patterns in lexical choices and verbal usages. In Bologna the corpus was collected during informal observation of speakers coming from this area of Italy and the attention was concentrated on the use of the complementizer che.

Data presents different uses of che as an adverbial complementizer:

- locative meaning

Il ristorante che siamo stati - locative - substitutes in cui, dove 'where'

ART-def restaurant that be-AUX-3PL be-PTCP-PL

'The restaurant where we have been'

- temporal meaning

Giorni che non lavora- temporal – substitutes in cui, quando 'when'

Day-PL that not work-3SG

'Day when he does not work'

As well che acquires functions that are new and that were observed in the corpus from Bologna. It does not mark anymore clearly the subordinating relations:

Sono sull'autobus che arrivo

Be-1SG on the bus that arrive

'l'm on the bus and l'm arriving'

This research aims to observe non-standard uses of the complementizer and compare uses done in Salento and in Bologna. I am interested to analyze if these uses are socially or geographically dependent and to discuss the possible directions of change.

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ROBERTS, NICHOLAS STEPHEN Newcastle University, United Kingdom

COMPARING EUROPEAN PRESCRIPTIVISM WITH CARIBBEAN PRAXIS: THE FUTURE OF MARTINIQUE

This paper is the first quantitative variationist investigation of future temporal reference in the French départment d'outre-mer of Martinique. In all varieties of French, future temporal reference can be realised via three different strategies: the inflected future (je mangerai), the periphrastic future (je vais aller) and the futurate present (je pars). According to prescriptive grammars, the principle factor conditioning variant selection is the temporal distance between speech time and future eventuality (Fleischman 1982). Variationist studies – based thus far entirely on Canadian and Hexagonal French data – have tested this claim quantitatively and demonstrated that a range of other factors condition future temporal reference variability in the French language (Poplack & Turpin 1999, King & Nadasdi 2003, Poplack & Dion 2009, Grimm & Nadasdi 2011, Roberts 2011 inter alia). The present study reports on variation in a 2011 corpus of spoken Martinique French and investigates whether the constraint systems reported for other varieties of French also hold in this particular locality. The analysis is based on a sample of 30 speakers, stratified by age, educational level and gender, who were interviewed in self-selected dyads using a traditional sociolinquistic interview protocol. Due to high levels of bilingualism. informants' use of French was controlled for and measured using a modified version of Mougeon and Beniak's (1991) language-restriction index. Quantitative variationist analyses demonstrate that speakers' strategies of encoding future time in Martinique French differ from their Canadian and mainland European counterparts. Isolated chi-square and fixed/mixed-effects logistic regression models furthermore reveal the complex set of constraints governing Martinique future temporal reference variability. Finally, by contrasting variable usage in Martinique with communities in mainland France and French-speaking Canada, the present study provides a localised as well as a global perspective on French morphosyntactic variability. This investigation contributes to our understanding of the linguistic factors that unite and divide la francophonie and thus allows us to add a French perspective to the extant literature on global linguistic trends (Buchstaller & D'Arcy 2009).

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AL-ESSA, AZIZA MOHAMMAD

King Abdulaziz University, Jeddah ,Saudi Arabia

CITIES OF MIGRATION: URBANIZATION AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE IN JEDDAH

One of the sociolinguistic consequences of cityward migration and rapid urbanization is dialect contact and the development of linguistically diffuse speech communities where there are no clear linguistic norms (Kerswill 2004:30). Cities in the Arab world witnessed massive rural–urban migration in the second half of the twentieth century and the sociolinguistic impact of this in-migration is addressed in Miller (2007). In Saudi Arabia, development planning strategies of the Saudi government led to highly polarized growth of three major urban centers in the country, one of which is the city of Jeddah. To counteract this urban polarization, the government adopted strategies which encouraged the re-distribution of regional population to achieve equitable distribution of national wealth. The present paper aims at examining the linguistic change initiated by the internal migration of people from the central and southern regions of Saudi Arabia to the city of Jeddah.

The influx to Jeddah of people who speak dialects that are distinct from the local dialect has reshaped the sociolinguistic scene in the city. The native population of Jeddah speaks a mixed dialect which had been largely shaped by geopolitical and socio-religious factors, most importantly the external migration of different ethnic groups from outside the Arabian Peninsula in the past centuries. The recent internal migration has resulted in a linguistically diffuse community in Jeddah. My data show that the process of supraregionalisation (Hickey 2010), which entails the avoidance of salient linguistic features in the input varieties, is operating in the speech of 100 immigrants in Jeddah. While the regionally marked morphophonemic variants [-its] and [-its] of the feminine suffix (-ik) are levelled out from the speech of second generation immigrants, the socially salient stop variants [t], [d] and [d] of the interdental variables (Θ), (δ) and (d) which mark the local dialect of the city are acquired at a remarkably lower rate. In this paper I will present the details of the analysis of the dialect leveling and diffusion of linguistic variants in the speech of second generation immigrants in Jeddah, and I will argue that the direction of linguistic change, i.e. selection and propagation of the competing variants, is determined by the degree of the immigrants' orientation to a supra-regional norm rather than the local norm.

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BENGALI-ENGLISH CODESWITCHING: A FOCUS ON THE THIRD VERB IN BILINGUAL COMPOUND VERBS

New codeswitching (CS) data from Bengali-English bilinguals show bilingual compound verb (BCV) constructions that are somewhat different from the structure of BCVs that have been reported so far. BCVs occur widely in CS between various language pairs. These constructions are characterized by two verbs occurring contiguously, the first verb being an embedded language lexical verb and the second verb being a matrix language helping verb such as 'do' or 'make' (Muysken 2000, Backus 1996, Edwards and Gardner-Chloros 2007, Romaine 1986). Until now this structure in Bengali-English CS has not been documented.

This paper presents Bengali-English CS data (collected during my fieldwork in India in 2010) and explains how the BCVs that occur in this data are different from the BCVs that have been reported so far. For example, educate kora 'to do educate' is a regular BCV in Bengali-English where educate is in English, and kora, a helping verb is in Bengali. But, some BCVs in Bengali-English bilingual speech have three verbs occurring adjacent to each other, where each verb performs a specific function. An example of a three-verb construction is given below.

1) Ora park-ta renovate kore dieche

3pl park-DEF renovate do-PRF P give.PRF.3P

They have renovated the park (for someone).

Here, the English verb renovate, gives meaning, kore expresses the action of doing renovating, and the third verb dieche, provides aspectual information of perfectivity and semantic information of doing the action for someone. This construction, however, still expresses one single action. Also through syntactic tests on the three-verb compounds, I show that the three ver bs together form one single syntactic unit.

This paper specifically focuses on the third verb in these constructions and examines the function that these verbs have in these constructions. The verbs that occur in the third position (also called vector verbs) of the bilingual compound, come from a list of 12 to 16 verbs, and have different degrees of grammaticalization and semantic bleaching (Basu 2010, Paul 2003) and the degree to which the third verb contributes meaning to the compound depends on how grammaticalized the verb is.

I also explain how the three-verb constructions draw from two monolingual constructions, the Bengali compound verbs $(V_1 + V_2)$ and Bengali conjunct verbs (noun + helping verb + V_2). Bengali compound verbs express one action with the help of two verbs, occurring contiguously. The first verb gives the semantic content while the second verb often loses its own meaning and gives aspectual information to the compound (Thompson 2010). The example below illustrates this construction.

2) ami or naamt a bhule gechi 1sg 3sg-GEN name-DEF forget-PRF P go.PRF.1P I have forgotten his/her name.

Overall this paper shows that the third verb is an important component of the compound, whenever it occurs in a compound, and that it performs a range of functions from giving aspectual information to semantic information to being highly grammaticalized.

ASAHI, YOSHIYUIKI

National Institute for Japanese Languagea and Linguistics, Japan

A COMPARISON OF REAL-TIME LANGUAGE CHANGES IN TWO JAPANESE KOINES

This paper attempts to compare the real-time linguistic changes in two Japanese koines, i.e. Sapporo and Kushiro Japanese in a northern island of Hokkaido. It is said that Hokkaido Japanese was formulated as a regional koine in the course of history. Today, Hokkaido Japanese is divided into the two major dialect groups, inland dialect and coastal dialect. Each has its own sociolinguistic history. The differences in its history resulted in the creation of the regional differences in Hokkaido Japanese. It is intriguing to examine how regional koines in both inland and coastal dialects have formulated and how they develop different linguistic differences.

Fortunately enough, sociolinguistic studies have been conducted since 1950s mainly by NINJAL(National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics) (NINJAL 1965, 1997, etc). Previous studies on Hokkaido Japanese have rendered its linguistic descriptions. What is more, real-time study was conducted by NINJAL in an inland city, Furano, in late 1980s (NINJAL 1997).

This paper, based on the previous studies, should be posited as another attempt to conduct a comparative real-time study in Sapporo, as an example of inland dialect, and Kushiro, as an example of coastal dialect. Each locality was once studied by NINJAL (NINJAL 1997) and Yoneichi Ono (Asahi and Ozaki 2010). Real-time survey was designed and conducted in 2011 towards 100 residents in Sapporo and Kushiro through sociolinguistic interviews. The survey obtained a total number of 200 respondents from both cities. Questions, in this survey, focused on lexicon, phonology/phonetics, accentuation patterns, and greeting expressions. The same questionnaire was used in both localities.

This paper will report the findings from the two survey results, primarily on lexical items, and will consider the directions of the real-time linguistic change through comparisons between Hokkaido and Kushiro Japanese.

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JANSEN, SANDRA University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany

LANGUAGE VARIATION IN THE URBAN NORTH WEST OF ENGLAND - THE REOCCURRENCE OF /H/ $\,$

H-dropping is one of the most stigmatized and socially marked features in the dialects of English in England. Geographically speaking there are only a few pockets left in England where /h/ is retained in word initial position, e.g. in Northumberland and its urban area Tyneside (Beal 2008). However, for Carlisle English and Cumberland English, varieties which are spoken in close proximity to the north-east of England, historical sources such as Sullivan (1857), Ellis (1869) and Wright (1977) described the loss of /h/ in word-initial position and a recent BA thesis has shown that H-dropping is quite common in Workington in Westcumbria (Tall 2009).

In the case of Carlisle English, we have the interesting situation that the use of [h] in word initial position is increasing again after a period of considerable H-dropping. This kind of change is quite unique in England but has been attested in New Zealand (Gordon 2010). This sound change could be an indication of /h/ diffusing to Cumbria from Northumberland/Newcastle where the use of velar fricatives is retained. Another possible but less likely explanation would be the reintroduction of this feature resulting from dialect contact with the two /h/ retaining varieties Scottish English and Irish English. The aim of this talk is to have a look at real time changes of /h/ in this variety and give reasons why the use of the glottal fricative had again increased after a period of loss. The analysis is based on sociolinguistic interviews conducted between 2007 and 2010. To add the real time view on this data, oral history recordings conducted in the 1980s by the local museum have also been included in the analysis. The speakers in these recordings were born around the turn of the 20th century and were mainly factory workers, i.e. speakers who probably represent the Carlisle dialect in its most vernacular form.

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HUBACK, ANA PAULA DA SILVA

Columbia University, United States of America

FINAL (R) DELETION IN A BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE DIALECT: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

Founded in 1897, Belo Horizonte, a city in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais, was designed to replace the historical city of Ouro Preto as the state capital. It was one of the first Brazilian cities to be planned by architects and engineers. It was originally surrounded by an avenue to establish the city's limits and it should have been a city of about 200,000 people. However, the city attracted so many people from countryside that it has long surpassed the limits of its original design. Nowadays the city's population is over 2 million people (2010 Census). The contact between different dialects has developed a distinctive dialect that has its own paths of language variation. Even with a population with over 2 million people, the city's dialect is still nationally known as the 'countryside dialect'. One of the characteristics of the countryside dialect (not only the one from Belo Horizonte) is the reduction or deletion of word-final segments. Among the final segments to be deleted, the letter R ([h] or [h]) is the one to undergone higher reduction rates. It is, therefore, a strong mark of the countryside dialect. Based on the sociolinguistic framework (Labov, 1972, 2001), this article analyses the final (R) deletion in the dialect of Belo Horizonte. In this case study, only nominal words, such as 'amoR' (love) or 'maioR' (bigger or biggest) were considered. Previous analyses (Oliveira, 1983) have shown that in Belo Horizonte the final R deletion in infinitive verbs is so common that it is actually rare to have speakers who still preserve it (the deletion rate is over 90% for verbal infinitives). However, in nominal forms the final (R) deletion has not been deeply investigated yet. Thus, the purpose of this paper is to describe the results achieved through fieldwork carried out with 30 Brazilian Portuguese speakers born and raised in Belo Horizonte. Analysing the data, internal and external factors were considered. Examples of such factors are previous segment, following segment, morphological structure, num

After performing statistical analysis through the Goldvarb software, the results showed an overall deletion rate of 22%. The data demonstrated that the final (R) deletion in nominal forms represents a change in progress, as young people are the leaders on this phenomenon (probability of 0.681) and the elderly are more conservative (probability of 0.269). Other sociolinguistic variables, such as social class and level of literacy were also relevant. Some internal factors were significant as well. In sum, this phenomenon is a good example of how different dialects mix and give birth to a new dialect with its own characteristics, but still preserving some old traits.

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URBAN VARIETIES IN CONTACT: THE CASE OF VIENNESE MONOPHTHONGISATION.

The Viennese monophthongisation was first observed around 1900 among speakers of the lower social classes (Gartner 1900, Luick 1904) and was accomplished around 1940. It affected the diphthongs /aɛ/ and /ɑɔ/, which were monophthongised to /æ:/ and /o:/ respectively. It then spread socially towards the middle and upper social classes of Vienna and regionally towards the south and especially towards the west, where it affected the city dialects of Salzburg and even Innsbruck (see Moosmüller 1991).

The Viennese monophthongisation is to be described as an assimilatory process, whereby one part of the diphthong is assimilated by the other. The inherent long duration of the diphthongs is preserved by compensatory lengthening. As a result of the process of monophthongisation, the vowel inventory of the Viennese dialect is enriched by two new long vowels: /æ:/ and /b:/. The vowel inventories of the other varieties of Austria were not affected by the Viennese monophthongisation. In these varieties, monophthongisation is a phonological process which is to be observed under certain conditions (informal speech situation, prosodically weak positions).

In the current contribution, we ask whether Viennese speakers of Standard Austrian German (SAG) are able to produce the Viennese monophthongisation. Method

30 Viennese speakers (age range from 17 to 84 years) of SAG (raised in Vienna, student or academic education, at least one parent from Vienna with academic education) were asked to read a text in the Viennese dialect and in Standard Austrian German. Ten speakers of the Viennese dialect serve as reference speakers. All /aɛ/ and /ɑɔ/ were segmented manually; F1, F2, and F3 were extracted by means of LPC. A 46 ms long gliding Hanning window was applied with an overlap of 95%. Duration was measured as well. The difference between formant onset and offset of the diphthongs as well as the formant slope have been calculated. Two-sample t-tests have been performed with respect to the slope, the difference between onset and offset, and the duration of the segments.

Preliminary Results

So far, ten speakers have been subjected to statistical analysis. These preliminary results indicate that the Viennese speakers of SAG are quite successful in producing the Viennese monophthongisation. However, young speakers (< 30 years) are more successful in the production of the monophthongised diphthongs.

One significant difference between the Viennese speakers of SAG and the reference speakers concerns the duration of the monophthongised diphthongs. This points to a hypercorrection performed by the speakers of SAG.

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RAMSAMMY, MICHAEL (1); TURTON, DANIELLE (2)

1: University of Manchester, United Kingdom; 2: University of Manchester, United Kingdom

THE CHANGING SOCIAL MEANING OF (ING) IN MANCHESTER

In most English dialects, (ing) has two possible realisations in unstressed positions: [Iŋ] and [In] (e.g. singing vs. singin'). Previous research has uncovered a relatively stable set of linguistic and non-linguistic factors that constrain the use of these variants cross-dialectally; however, studies aiming to probe the social meanings attributed to these variants are less numerous. A notable exception is the work carried out by Campbell-Kibler (2007, 2011): these studies reveal that [Iŋ] encompasses meanings of properness, intelligence, articulateness or poshness, whereas [In] often indexes laziness or uneducatedness. Interestingly, however, [In] may simultaneously carry connotations of urban 'coolness': thus, Campbell-Kibler (2007: 55) argues that these two variants do not constitute a continuum but a 'multidimensional landscape arrayed around a central norm'. In this connection, Eckert (2008) illustrates how the interrelated social attributes linked to these two variants can be organised into an indexical field.

With regard to the UK, studying the productive variability and social meaning of (ing) in Manchester is particularly illuminating because (ing) has up to three realisational variants: [In], [In] and [Ing]. In this talk, we address two main questions: firstly, does [Ing] have its own social attributes or does it take over some of those encompassed by [In] and [Ing] in other varieties? And secondly, since recent reports note that [Ing] is receding in use, to what extent do younger speakers attribute different social meanings to this variant from older speakers?

In order to test these questions empirically, perceptual data were collected from adolescents and middle-aged speakers of Urban Mancunian English. Simulating the methodology used in Campbell-Kibler (2007), subjects participated in perception tasks in which they were exposed to a set of short sentences: these were manipulated acoustically to differ only in the use of [In], [Iŋ] or [Iŋg]. We combine statistical analysis of the perception data with qualitative focus-group interview data in order to gage the overt and covert reactions of the two age-groups to the realisational variants of (ing). Our results reveal a number of important trends. For example, we observe that [Iŋ]-stimuli yield strong responses from both age groups: this finding is consistent with the view [Iŋ] is associated with the supra-regional norm, rather than local dialect speech. Conversely, however, the social attributes of young and middle-aged informants towards the local [Iŋg] variant differ widely; and interestingly, this variant is associated with a much narrower indexical field amongst young speakers. This, in our view, reflects the productive patterns of usage in the two age groups: the fact that the indexical field for [Iŋg] is shrinking directly mirrors the on-going decline of this variant as a feature of local youth speech in Manchester.

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A TREND STUDY OF SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS IN ACADIAN FRENCH: 1975 - 1990

This paper reports the results of a cross-sectional – or trend – study of subordinating conjunction variation in a variety of Acadian French spoken in New Brunswick (Canada). The authors' initial analysis (2005) of this variation was based on a corpus collected in 1990 and showed both stability and agegrading in the use of subordinating conjunctions. In this follow-up study, data from a corpus recorded in 1975 serve as a benchmark for the 1990 corpus. This research underscores the role of social network in structuring language variation and change in a non-urban setting.

In referential French, almost all subordinating conjunctions that introduce finite adverbial clauses occur with que 'that' (for example, parce que 'because' in 1a). The only exceptions are comme 'like', quand 'when' and si 'if' (see 1b and 1c), which do not have the que complementizer. In Acadian French, by contrast, the forms comme que, quand que and si que are considered to be traditional variants and occur in both formal and informal contexts. (1a) C'est [[parce qu'] on n'a pas voulu le faire].

- 'It's because we didn't want to do it.'
- (1b) II a fait ça [[comme / comme qu'] il voulait].
- 'He did that in the manner that he wanted to.'
- (1c) II viendra [[si / si que] tu l'exiges].
 - 'He will come if you require him to do so.'

Data from the 1990 corpus are 16 speakers born between 1936 and 1968. The earlier (1975) corpus contains recordings with 20 speakers born between 1882 and 1909. All speakers are natives of the same rural community in the northeastern region of New Brunswick. Speakers in both corpora were divided into two age groups, two genders and two social network types. About 9,400 tokens of the three subordinating conjunctions – comme, quand, si – and a comparison subordinating conjunction – parce que – were analyzed. Results show similar differences in the use of que with each of the three subordinating conjunctions: in both corpora, que occurs most often with quand, followed by comme and then by si. A rise in the use of que with quand and si (but not comme) between 1975 and 1990 is associated primarily with social networks. Speakers with strong social network ties – and few or no weak ties – make greatest use of the traditional variants. This trend effect is studied with respect to several internal factors, including the following phonological context and the [interrogative] feature on comme, quand, si and parce que. Separate trajectories are discussed for each subordinating conjunction.

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ZHOU, YIWEN

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, United States of America

SOUND CHANGE AND INDEXICALITY: LOSS OF ONSET VELAR NASAL IN SHANG-HAINESE

In an era of greater population mobility and mass media, urban dialects are subject to the influence of languages and dialects of varied degrees of prestige, the result of which is that new variants emerge and are embedded with social meanings (Eckert 2008, Labov 2001). The indexicality of the new variants, however, does not always predict their adoption by individual speakers. In this case, while the lower variety provided the sources of variation, it is the contact with the standard variety that spread the new variants. Shanghainese (the Shanghai dialect) has been in contact with neighboring dialects with an inflow of migrants for more than a century, as well as with Standard Mandarin Chinese through media and other institutions since the 1950s. Sound change in Shanghainese has been examined in a number of studies (Chen 2005, Qian 2003, Wang 2005). My paper looks at a sound change in progress and attempts to analyze the semiotic processes it went through (Irvine and Gal 2000). The loss of the onset velar nasal, i.e. deleting the onset or replacing it by a voiced fricative: e.g. [ŋø] 'river bank' (the old variant) pronounced as [ø] or [fhø] (the new variants), has been reported (Shen 1996) but not examined in detail, especially its use and acceptance among diverse groups of native speakers.

The study is based on interviews conducted in the summer of 2011 with 55 native Shanghainese speakers of both genders in three age groups: young (aged 20-39), middle-aged (40-59), and old (60 and above). The production data agree with the classic sociolinguistic conclusions in both age and gender effects that young speakers and female speakers are more likely to have the new variants and use them more often. In the meta-linguistic discussion, a large proportion of the speakers who had the new variants denied ever using them in their own speech; those who never use the new variants, however, attributed the sound change to the notorious influence of certain low prestigious migrant dialects, considering the new variants as deterioration of Shanghainese.

I argue that the new variants were introduced by the Subei people, the largest group of migrants to the city before the 1950s (Honig 1992), whose native dialect does not allow the velar nasal as syllable onsets. Due to native dialect transfer, first generation Subei migrants spoke a variety of Shanghainese without the onset velar nasal (Ruan 1988). The new variants were associated with these people, who were predominantly of lower social status. Their variety of Shanghainese was therefore rejected by old native speakers. However, I propose in this paper that the spread of the new variant among younger speakers is the result of recent intense contact with Standard Mandarin Chinese, in which the velar nasal as onset is also illegal.

ALGHAMDI, NAJLA MANIE University of Essex, United Kingdom

THE USAGE OF THE GHAMDI DIPHTHONGS BY GHAMDI MIGRANTS IN THE CITY OF MAKKA: BETWEEN PRESERVATION AND VARIATION

In this paper, I will present some of the results concerning the variables (aw) and (ay), which concerns the monophthongization of the diphthongs [aʊ] and [aj] as in [laʊn] ~ [lɔ:n] 'colour' and [bajt] ~ [bɛ:t] 'home'. The results were drawn from a sociolinguistic study that investigates the outcome of dialect contact in the city of Makka. In particular, it focuses on a group of migrants in the city, namely the Ghamdi tribe, who originally came from the south- western town of Al-Baha. According to Prochazka (1988), the Ghamdi dialect is grouped among the southern Hijaz dialects based on the reflexes of the Classical Arabic pattern that is C¹ aC² aC³. The two dialects in contact, Ghamdi and Makkan, differ at almost all linguistic levels, including phonology, morpho- phonemic and morpho- syntax. Following Labov, the linguistic changes were examined in correlation with social variables namely, age, gender and regionality. The regionality variable was chosen due to the differences between the speakers' place of birth and age of arrival to Makka. The reginality Index , includes 7 components, Chambers (2000), helps in classifying Ghamdi migrants into indigenous, nearly indigenous, fairly indigenous, Interloper, nearly interloper and fairly interloper.

The main assumptions in this study are, (i) women are the leader of the linguistic changes, (ii) young Ghamdies completely abandon their native features in favour of the Makkan features, and (iii) the more indigenous are the Ghamdi migrants the more fluent they are in using Makkan variety. However, the results reject the first two assumptions and confirm the third one. The regionality variable, in this study, was crucial in explaining the rejection and confirmation of the main assumptions, which will be presented in detail.

RAEVAARA, LIISA

Institute for the Languages of Finland, Finland

DISPLAYING THE RELEVANCE OF IDENTITY IN INTERACTION

This paper focuses on the use of word meitsi in interactions among adolescents in Helsinki. Meitsi is a word meaning 'l' but needing the finite verb inflected in a third person singular, instead of a first person singular. In the local spoken Finnish in the Helsinki area, the common 1st person singular pronoun is mä, and it is also the most usual form used by the adolescents in Helsinki. However, also meitsi is used quite commonly by some adolescents. Meitsi is a variant characteristic especially of rap texts and hip hop style, and it may indicate the speaker's identification with this subculture. In the interactions among youngsters, meitsi has other functions, too. As a third person form it invokes a particular perspective in utterances that refer to speaker's own action, working as a way to place oneself on stage. Typically meitsi works as an index of performance. The adolescents use it when they refer to their on-going action, or something they are just about to do, in situations in which they wish to get the others' attention to their action (e.g. in a Play Station rally game: meitsi ohittaa ton auton nyt 'meitsi passes that car now'; or in a billiard game: kato meitsi pussittaa täs palloi 'look, meitsi bugs up the balls here'). However, besides working as a way to place one's action on stage, meitsi is also used as a way to place one's identity on stage. By referring to himself with meitsi when describing his action, the speaker may indicate that he is not describing just some occasional action, but one which is characteristic of him, part of his identity.

By combining the perspectives of conversation analysis (see e.g. Heritage 1984, Sacks 1992) and interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Auer 2007, Eckert 2008; see also Agha 2007) the paper explores the different types of meanings invoked by the use of meitsi in interactions among adolescents. It discusses how the use of meitsi as an index of performance and as a way to display the relevance of one's identity are intertwined. The paper is based on my study on language practices of adolescents in Eastern Helsinki. The data have been collected in a youth club, where I spent time as a voluntary worker. They consist of audio recordings and field notes. The adolescents participating in the study are from 13 to 18 years old, mainly boys, and they have heterogeneous ethnic and linguistic backgrounds.

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CHO, YOUNG-MEE YU (1); SUH, JOOWON (2); KIM, HAE-YOUNG (3) 1: Rutgers University, United States of America; 2: Princeton University, United States of America; 3: Duke University, United States of America

APPROPRIATION AND HYBRIDIZATION OF ENGLISH IN K-POP: A CONTACT LINGUIS-TIC PERSPECTIVE

The global urban subculture of hip-hop music, which has been embraced as a vehicle of global youth affiliation and refashioning of local identity around the world (Mitchell, 2001; Pennycook, 2007), has become part of the mainstream in South Korea. This has created a fertile ground for language contact and translingual practices, where hybrid English/Korean forms are emerging and developing. Korean was already borrowing extensively from English since 1945 when South Korea came directly under U.S. hegemony. Our paper focuses on how English is distinctively styled or blended into Korean in popular Korean music (K-pop) and how the unique experimentation contributes to vitality of the Korean language.

Uses of English in K-pop have evolved into complex hybridized forms in the last two decades, coinciding with a surge of popularity of K-pop outside of Korea. Hybridization and localization of English occur at phonological, lexical, and syntactic levels. Our focus is on phonetic modifications in a corpus of 100 songs by 48 musicians released between 2006 and 2011. Analysis of the data reveals wide variations, from complete assimilation into Korean phonology to styling authentic 'native'-like English phonology and usage. English phonetics as well as syntax are often breached or glossed over intentionally. At the same time, Korean too is phonetically modified to approximate English sounds. Located in the gamut of dexterous switching and modifications

is 'code-ambiguation' (Heller, 1998) that would be particularly transparent to the bilingual audience. The degree of phonetic modifications is a strategic decision for performance of identities and indexing group affiliations. Adoption of English rhymes in K-pop began as hybrid prosody. With few precedents of rhyme schemes in Korean poetry and with the SOV word order and sentences ending with verb conjugations, creating natural sounding rhyming flow in Korean is a challenge (Kwon, 2011). Limited experimentation started with superficial rhymes with verb endings or reliance on text repetition and call-and-response styles. Later experiments better negotiate Korean syntax to incorporate alliteration, internal rhymes and variation of verb endings. We examine the evolution of rhymes in representative Korean hip-hop artists since 1990's, from periodic attempts by earlier artists such as Seotaiji & Boys (1992-1996), DEUX (1993-1995) and HOT (1996-2001), to more systematic approach by later artists such as GOD (1999-2005), to consummate examples like Cho-PD's 'Break Free' (1999) whose highly critical social message reverberates through forcefully rhymed words, and Epik High's 'Love, Love' (2007) and DJ Doc's 'Na Ir n Saramiya' (2010) with internal and multi-word rhymes.

K-pop, with its performativity and reach to trans/national audiences, has been in the forefront of translingual experimentation and innovation for constructing and fashioning novel identities and messages. We have shown that in this process, not only is English localized and hybridized strategically, but Korean sound and metrical structure is modified deliberately. We predict that this will have broad and lasting impact on the texture, timber, and rhythm of contemporary Korean.

General Poster Session

Session Chair 1: Reich, Uli Session Chair 2: Simon, Horst The Poster Session will be permant, i.e. the posters can be visited throughout the whole conference. This session is meant as an opportunity to meet the authors of the posters.

DO CARMO, MÁRCIA CRISTINA UNESP/IBILCE, Brazil

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE PRETONIC MID-VOWELS IN BRAZILIAN PAU-LISTA PORTUGUESE

This work (FAPESP – 2009/09133-8; CAPES/PDEE – 2563-11-8) investigates the variable behaviour of the pretonic mid-vowels in Paulista Portuguese. i.e., the variety spoken in the Brazilian State of São Paulo. These vowels are subject to the phonological process named vowel raising, through which the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ are pronounced, respectively, as the high vowels [i] and [u], e.g. al[i]gria (joy) and c[u]nfiar (to rely on). As a theoretical background, this research follows the Theory of Linguistic Variation and Change (Laboy, 1972). The corpus of this research consists of thirty-eight interviews with spontaneous speech samples, taken from the IBORUNA Database, available at www.iboruna.ibilce.unesp.br. The GOLDVARB-X statistical package was utilised in the quantitative analysis of the data, detecting the possible influence of ten linguistic and three social variables on the vowel raising. The general result indicated relatively low and similar percentages of application of the process: 16.1% and 16.6% for /e/ and /o/, respectively. Two other phonological processes were identified as relevant to the application of vowel raising: vowel harmony (Câmara Jr., 1970; Bisol, 1981), through which the high vowel in the subsequent syllable favours the application of the process, e.g. s[i]gurar (to hold) and imp[u]ssivel (impossible), and vowel reduction (Abaurre-Gnerre, 1981), through which the pretonic mid-vowel is raised under the influence of the place of articulation of the adjacent consonant(s), e.g. ap[ig]uei (I got attached) and [ku]lega (mate). The former was demonstrated to be the primary process, which was observed by the selection of the height of the yowel in the subsequent syllable as the most important variable for the yowel raising of both /e/ and /o/, with substantial relative weights concerning the high vowels (/i/: 0.943 for /e/ and 0.846 for /o/; /u/: 0.739 for /e/ and 0.828 for /o/). With respect to the vowel reduction, solely the subsequent consonant was selected by the statistical program as an influential variable on the vowel raising of /e/, placing emphasis on the actuation of velar consonants, e.g. p[ik]ena (small/little), with relative weight of 0.703. The labial consonants were identified as the most favourable to the application of the vowel raising of /o/, in both precedent (e.g. [mu]lecada - group of children) and subsequent (e.g. pr[um]etia - he/she/it promised) positions, with relative weights of 0.711 and 0.600, respectively. Ultimately, in relation to the social variables, the sex/gender and the level of education of the informant were demonstrated to have no influence on the application of vowel raising, whereas the age group of the informant evinced that the process is in stable variation

HUANG, LI-JUNG DAPHNE (1); LIN, YI-WEI (2) 1: Providence University, Taiwan, Republic of China; 2: Providence University, Taiwan, Republic of China

A STUDY OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDE TOWARD ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN TAIWAN

For centuries, Taiwan has been a multilingual and multicultural society, where Mandarin and Taiwanese are spoken by the majority of the population (Huang, 1993). In addition, English plays an important role in various domains including business, technology, and education. The importance of English is highlighted in its inclusion in the curriculum at the primary school level as a compulsory subject. With the increasing influence of English in Taiwan, loanwords (or lexical borrowing) are becoming ubiquitous in daily conversation. Hence, this study examines language attitudes of young people toward English loanwords in Mandarin discourse. The design of the research is based on that of Hassall et al. (2008) on attitude evaluation toward western loanwords in Indonesia. Three instruments are used: (1) a matched guise task, (2) a questionnaire, and (3) a test of knowledge of English loanword. The questionnaire includes two sections: a Likert-type questionnaire on attitudes and participants' demographical information. The participants are divided into three age groups based on their school level: 49 college students, 48 senior high school students and 62 junior high, senior high, and col-159 participants in total. Two research questions are raised: (1) What attitudes do the three age groups of young people (junior high, senior high, and col-

lege students) have in Taiwan toward English loanwords? (2) What factors affect their attitudes to English loanwords? The result suggests that all the three groups have a positive attitude toward English loanwords. Although there are variations across the three groups, in general, English is rated positively along the two rated dimensions, solidarity and status. It is surprising that English is rated positively along the solidarity dimension among college students. This positive attitude toward English, however, does not affect their attitude toward Mandarin, the majority language, that is, participants still hold positive attitude toward Mandarin. This paper presents the results regarding the participants' attitudes towards English loanwords along the dimensions of solidarity and status in comparison with their attitudes toward Mandarin.

ROEDER, REBECCA University of North Carolina at Charlotte, United States of America

ACTIVE HOMOGENEITY: THE CANADIAN SHIFT IN ONTARIO

Combining quantitative and qualitative information, this study sheds light on language change across generations in situ as well as the social networks through which language may move across regions. The Canadian Shift, a sound change in progress that is affecting the front lax vowels of Canadian English, was initially characterized as a chain shift. However, recent studies have observed a different pattern of movement over apparent time, requiring an alternative theoretical model to explain the change. Relying on instrumental analysis of data from nearly 100 speakers across 5 Ontario cities and towns, this paper provides additional observations of parallel shifting across apparent time in these vowels and adopts Vowel Dispersion Theory as a theoretical framework for positing phonetic movement towards a system that is balanced both phonetically and phonologically. This phonetically-based model has primarily been used to explain the relationship between phonological inventories and acoustic space, but the generalizations and principles that are emerging through such research are also useful in the interpretation of observations regarding sound change in progress. The scope of this research allows for both diachronic and synchronic comparison of the Canadian Shift in several Ontario cities.

STREB, RESEDA

Goethe University Frankfurt am Main, Germany

BILINGUAL LITERACY LEARNING IN THE CONTEXT OF AN ITALIAN-GERMAN TWO-WAY IMMERSION PROJECT IN FRANKFURT.

This Poster shall present the work-in-progress of a four year longitudinal PhD research in a bilingual project on primary school level. The school project is organized according to the ideas of the two-way immersion method. The Italian-German bilingual language learning starts from the first day on with simultaneous alphabetization, lead by a bilingual team of teachers and taking into account the different multilingual resources of the children, whether they are speakers of German, Italian or both.

The four year study is based on empirical research, such as regular field research and interviews in one class, continuously from first to fourth grade. At the same time different testing types were developed to record the level of the children's Italian knowledge and their language awareness. Following the sociolinguistic assumption, that language learning is a part of social practice, the data shall be analyzed on the basis of different aspects (selection):

1) Having a heterogeneous profile of language learners with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, the above cited observations and tests shall be used to discover if such bilingual language learning can be observed as a process, to be divided in phases, as Tomasello (2002) did for first language learners. The diverse linguistic resources of the children shall be included in this analysis.

2) Following Utz Maas' (2008) approach of focusing on the differences of oral and written language learning in two languages, the data shall be examined for indicators, which refer on the competences of the Italian-German project class and their literacy learning. Which impact does the simultaneous alphabetization have on the childrens' language learning?

3) The above mentioned data shall also be discussed against the background of 'construction grammar' (Fischer/Stefanowitsch, 2007). Two main questions shall be investigated: Which insights may there from arise in relation to bilingual language learning and do existing concepts of language learning need to be reconsidered in the context of multilingual education contexts?

This Poster shall contribute to a closer look at the processes of bilingual learning on the basis of a longitudinal ethnographic research project.

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OTTO, CARSTEN Universität Bonn, Germany

BILINGUALISM AT THE 'FRONTERA SUR' (SOUTHERN CAMPECHE, MEXICO)

The poster presented here reports on ongoing research.

In this initial stage of the project a detailed sociolinguistic image of the bilingual (Spanish-Ch'ol) Ch'oles immigrated into the southern municipalities of Campeche, southern Mexico is drawn. In later stages the groups' patterns of language choice, the structures of social networks and the individual characteristics of ethnic identities at the southern mexican frontier - the frontera sur - are being investigated in order to strengthen the understanding of the sociolinguistic situation of multilingual southern Mexico.

Within the framework of linguistic theories concerned with macro- and microlinguistic processes of language change the description of social networks forms a solid part of sociolinguistic research (Milroy 1987; Eckert 1988; Li Wei 1994, 2005; Stoessel 2002). In addition, recent approaches (Otto 2009a, 2009b; Hoffman/Walker 2010) have shown the importance of individually shaped ethnic identity in such contexts. Taking into account the scalar nature of different shapes of ethnic identity the author introduced earlier the term 'ethnic affinity' (Otto ibd.). Accordingly, the present investigation includes the analysis of ethnic affinity and social networks in relation to the linguistic behavior of bilingual speakers of Ch'ol. The goal is to describe, to analyze, and to explain the interdependencies of social links, ethnic affinities and language choice within this bilingual speech community in this particular migratory context. The main focus lies on the quantification of different shapes of ethnic identity in order to further develop a specification and objectification of the

term ethnic affinity.

As a necessary first step towards a thorough description as outlined above the sociolinguistic situation of the Ch'ol has to be described. Facts as e.g. numbers of speakers (further differentiated by locality & origin, sex, age, occupation, etc.) are given as well as a detailed account of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Ch'ol in this region.

In this stage the investigation tries to draw upon alternative sources such as the different Universities of the Yucatan Peninsula, i.e. Universidad Autónoma de Campeche; El Colegio de la Frontera Sur, Unidad de Campeche; Universidad de Quintana Roo, Chetumal; Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán (UADY), Mérida; Universidad Autónoma de México/Centro Peninsular en Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales (UNAM/CEPHCIS), Mérida as well as institutions like Consejo Nacional de Población, Consejo Estatal de Campeche; Universidad de Quintana Roo, Chetumal; Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Sup. en Antropología Social (CIESAS).

SOMERS, THOMAS; MAGIS, ESTER; VAN DE CRAEN, PIET Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium

BRUSSELS: A PORTRAIT OF THE MULTILINGUAL CAPITAL OF EUROPE

Geography. The capital of Belgium, Brussels is situated as an officially Dutch-French bilingual enclave within the officially Dutch monolingual region of Flanders, though only a few km removed from the officially French monolingual region of Wallonia. Within its mere 161 km2, Dutch and French, and a multitude of other European, African and Asian languages all cross and intermingle. Historical demography. Due to its close proximity to both, Flanders and Wallonia have always accounted for a regular influx of Dutch and French speakers. However, especially from WWI onwards, Brussels has seen an influx of guest workers from south European nations, and later from Morocco and Turkey. Brussels' role in the European enterprise has also triggered a wave of immigration from Western European nations, as well as many refugees from Eastern Europe. Belgium's colonial history has left its mark too. These immigrant languages are all still very much present in Brussels and continue to grow in numbers.

Linguistic diversity. While Brussels is politically bilingual, it has long since ceased to be just that in sociolinguistic terms. We can distinguish five language groups on the basis of the home language(s): those from a monolingual French background; those from monolingual Dutch families; the traditional Dutch-French bilingual citizens; those families which combine French with another language; and those where neither French or Dutch is spoken. French is by far the best known language in Brussels, next to over 50 other languages including English and French, and Spanish, Arabic, Italian, German, Turkish (Janssens 2008).

Functional distribution. Dutch and French both share official status. However, French (exclusively) is currently the lingua franca and fulfils many H- and Lfunctions for a large majority of the population, leaving both Dutch and immigrant languages including English far behind. In the economic sector, Dutch and French share equal importance. Education in Brussels is split between Dutch and French-speaking schools. However, Dutch-speaking education is very much on the rise. English keeps its international 'feel': it is seen as a neutral language, and sometimes serves to bridge gaps between speakers of two different languages. Immigrant languages are only used in L-functions (Janssens 2007). Social networks. Monolingual French-speaking inhabitants of Brussels share one thing: both in private and public they speak French, except perhaps at work where they might be forced to switch to Dutch. Dutch-speaking inhabitants born in Brussels mainly speak Dutch in private but in public easily switch to French. The reverse can be seen for Dutch-speaking immigrant from Flanders. Brussels Moroccans usually speak French in public, even despite their ethnic commercial links. The Turkish community, on the other hand, is more closed and does not easily switch to French. Southern European migrants are very open to the French language, although in private they hold on to their language (Janssens 2008).

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BLUNDELL, CATHERINE JANE University of Southampton, UK

CASA DOLCE CASA: A NARRATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE STORIES TOLD BY FOREIGN FEMALE CARE WORKERS, LIVING AND WORKING IN BOLOGNA, ITALY.

As the proportion of elderly people in Western societies continues to rise, so does the need for their care. In Italy, where this task has traditionally been carried out by family members, recent social changes have meant that a large part of this care is now being undertaken by female foreign live-in carers or badanti. The badanti often arrive in Italy with very little, if any, prior knowledge of Italian or Italians and learn about both through their work. By analysing life narratives of the women undertaking this work, this project seeks to reveal how identities are managed and negotiated in this intimate and complicated relationship.

Although there has been much interest in the badanti phenomenon in recent years, most studies undertaken have concentrated on economic or sociological aspects. In this project, I am particularly interested in the experiences of the women themselves and how they make sense of them. To this end I adopt an ethnographic approach to the linguistic analysis of narrative discourse by interviewing carers in their home environments, where caring takes place, whenever possible. Close study of the ways in which the carers recount key life events reveals common themes in the content of the narratives, which connect what are, in fact, richly individual and personal stories. In particular, I am interested in examining the narrative strategies that the carers use to recreate a 'home from home' in a new country and the construction of 'belonging' in a phase of their lives which may last from just a few months to indefinitely. Another key theme to emerge from the material, is that of family and 'fictive kin' (Karner, 1998; Hoff, Feldman & Vidovicova, 2010) and the strategies employed in negotiating the identity of surrogate-daughter to the elderly person being looked after in Italy. At the same time, transnational care-giving is evident in their relationship with their own family members, especially in the construction and maintenance of identity of motherhoodfrom-a-distance (of children left behind) (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Zontini, 2010). This poster presentation will document the progress of this project, which is still underway, as well as outlining some of the initial findings.

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STUART-SMITH, JANE HELEN (1); RATHCKE, TAMARA (1); TIMMINS, CLAIRE (2) 1: University of Glasgow, United Kingdom; 2: University of Strathclyde, United Kingdom

CHANGING SOUNDS IN A CHANGING CITY? A REAL-TIME STUDY OF GLASWEGIAN /U/

Attempting to understand the mechanisms behind language change has been at the heart of variationist sociolinguistics since the earliest studies (Labov 1963). However there remains a tension within variationist research since the majority of empirical research on language change in progress has been on apparent-time change; real-time studies are still relatively unusual (Sankoff 2006).

Recent research has demonstrated change in progress in the high back vowels in several varieties of English (e.g. Standard Southern British English, e.g. Harrington 2007; American English, Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006; New Zealand English, Maclagan et al 2009). The direction of the change seems to be fronting towards /i/ in the acoustic vowel space. In SSBE, real-time data shows that the change has been taking place over the last fifty years (Harrington 2007).

The situation for Scottish English seems to be different from that of other varieties of English. Particularly in the vernacular, /u/ (a single lexical set, BOOT, corresponding to English English GOOSE and FOOT), has been reported to be fronted, and/or central in the vowel space, from auditory accounts since before the Second World War (McAllister 1938, Macaulay 1977, Johnston and Speitel 1983). Recent investigations of Scottish English in the Eastern Central Belt suggests that /u/ is fronted and lowered, and that the tongue position is as front as that of front vowels /i/ and /e/ (Scobbie 2011). The intriguing question is whether this may reflect a real-time process of fronting, i.e. whether there has also been any change in the acoustic realization of the Scottish English vowel over the past 30 years.

We present the first results from a new variationist study of real-time change in Scottish English vernacular in Glasgow. The corpus for the real-time project consists of existing sociolinguistic and oral history recordings from young, middle, and old, male and female, speakers recorded over four decades, from the 1970s to the 2000s. Here we concentrate on presenting real-time data from young and middle-aged speakers recorded in the 1970s and 2000s. The recordings from 2000s were made for the Glasgow Media Project (Stuart-Smith 2006), and consist of spontaneous conversations from selfselected pairs of speakers. Those from the 1970s are from sociolinguistic interviews between fieldworker and informant (Macaulay 1977). All tokens of /u/ were extracted, including both Standard Scottish English items and those belonging to the Scots variable set OUT (e.g. SSE out, Scots oot). Instances of /i/ and /a/ were counterbalanced with /u/ for phonetic context and lexical item. Static measures of the first three formants were taken from the middle of the vowel, and normalization by taking the log of Bark-transformed measures (Harrington and Cassidy 1999) allowed comparison of speakers across time points

Our results suggest that in contrast to the rather substantial changes in the guality of the high back vowels south of the Border, in Scottish vernacular only rather slight shifts in fronting and lowering have taken place over the past 30 years. The changes are discussed with respect to segmental and prosodic context and the distinctive Scots lexicon.

BANDA, FELIX; PECK, AMINA

University of the Western Cape, South Africa

CITIES WITHIN CITIES: CHANGING FACES OF CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

This paper explores the multilayered and contrasting faces of Cape Town as an urban city. Ultra modern space epitomizing liberal and cosmopolitan landscapes are counter pointed with ramshackle slums and everything in between. Specifically, the neighbourhood of Observatory is analyzed as one such ultra modern space which, with its century old colonial heritage and its flood of new transnational cultural occupants combines to create a cosmopolitan and trendy cultural pressure point. The neighbourhood of Blikkies Dorp ('Tin City' in English) stands on the opposite spectrum with occupants, who have been dumped there by the municipality, use recycled materials to shape and structure their living spaces and livelihood.

The aim of the paper is to show how the urban cityscapes and linguistic ecologies in these two sites in Cape Town still reflect apartheid rollover inequalities and imbalances. In terms of social networks and linguistic practices both sites still reveal historical stratification with localization of scape that take on the appearance of those that occupy those spaces. Thus, as the face of Cape Town changes, the more it stays the same. Ultimately, we argue that the kinds of social networks and linguistic ecologies in place reflect historical and semiotic landscapes that constituted the material world. In turn, we argue that the architecture and linguistic landscapes of the contrasting cityscapes still reflect the apartheid planning, which has increasingly less to do with race, and more to do with new socio-economies within the cityscapes.

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MOMMA, MAHO

Kanagawa University, Japan

CODE-SWITCHING IN REPAIR SEQUENCES AMONG FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE SPEAKERS OF JAPANESE

This paper examines code-switching in repair sequences in conversations among Japanese as first language speakers and second language speakers. In this paper, by using Conversation Analysis (CA) (e.g., Sacks, Scheoloff and Jefferson, 1974) as an analytical method, I will discuss in what environment code-switching occurs and what interactional work the participants achieve by carrying out code-switching.

Studies of code-switching (CS) have been investigated as a topic of major study for many years (e.g., Auer, 1984: 1995; Myers-Scotton, 1983). Most current CS studies can be divided into two types: studies that view CS as a 'symbolic action,' and those that consider CS as a 'practical social action'. to analyze CS occurred in an urban area in Japan.

The data for this study comes from approximately nine hours of video and audio-recorded interaction among first language speakers of Japanese and second language speakers of Japanese. Most of the interaction was recorded in Yokohama, Japan. The analysis of the data identified three types of CS depending on environment and actions of CS; (a) CS due to recipients' problems in understanding; (b) CS due to speakers' dissatisfaction with repair solution; and (c) CS due to combination of (a) and (b). In the instances of code-switching occurred in response to recipients' problems of understanding, the intersubjectivity problems recipient had faced were solved by the speakers' code-switching. As for the instances of code-switching due to speakers' dissatisfaction with candidate solutions to word searches, the speakers oriented to the problems of not finding appropriate words and code-switching was deployed to provide better candidate solutions to the search. In the instances of combination of the two types, the switches occurred as a result of both interactants' problems of achieving intersubjectivity and interactants' dissatisfaction with candidate repair solution. Moreover, this study demonstrated the following two points. First, as this study examined CS instances in repair sequences, all the CS instances were problem-related. When the participants had some problems in talk, they tended to deal with the problems by code-switching. Secondly, it was demonstrated that CS was always recipient-designed. Although the speakers did not always switch to the recipients' first language, they always switched to the language the recipients could recognize or understand.

Japan is often considered to be a monolingual country. However, in universities in urban cities in Japan, as the one the participants in this study are associated with, there are lots of teachers and students who come from different parts of the world, and the universities offer classes of various languages. Therefore, Japan being a monolingual country may be a myth, and it is actually a multilingual society, especially in urban areas.

GAUTAM, BHIM LAL Tribhuvan University, Nepal

CONTACT NEPALI IN KATHMANDU VALLEY: CONVERGENCE BETWEEN TB & IA LAN-GUAGES

Nepali is the official language as well as lingua franca in Kathmandu which is being used widely for official, business and other purposes since the unification movement in Nepal. It has got a very long history and relationship with other languages mainly spoken in Kathmandu valley and other places. Contact Nepali has become the part of daily lives of all the people in Kathmandu valley these days. Newari is the most dominant language used by Newar people .They use Newari for their domestic as well as religious and cultural purpose but speak Nepali for business as well as social activities. Kathmandu is now a multilingual city where we find people speaking at least 3 or more languages. Because of urbanization a large number of other language speaking communities like Indo-Aryan(Maithili, Bhojpuri, Tharu etc.) and Tibeto-Burman(Sherpa, Tamang, Gurung, Rai, Limbu etc.) are migrating in the capital day by day. This movement has made the language contact and convergence possible. This paper presents a brief outline of language contact situation in Kathmandu valley focusing on the possible sociolinguistic features of contact Nepali like code Switching/Mixing, Borrowing etc. of the three communities i.e. Newar, Other TB and Madhesi speaking Nepali as language of wider communication along with their domains of Nepali language use. The data is collected informally from different sources like interview, Conversation, Speech and social gatherings like religious and cultural festivals.

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SANTANA, ORLEANE (1); GOMES, CHRISTINA ABREU (2) 1: Universidade Estadual do Maranhão, Brazil; 2: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

DIALECT CONTACT, RURAL SPEECH AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN URBAN VARI-ETY OF BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

Koine is defined as a variety which results from contact among speakers from mutually intelligible dialects in a context of new settlements with immigrants from different parts of the same monolingual area. This kind of variety results from the mixing and leveling of regionally or socially marked features within the speech community (Kerswill, 2002). This presentation concerns the formation of an urban variety from an originally isolated region at the Amazonian Biome border, a case study about the city of Imperatriz, located at the southern of the state of Maranhão, northern Brazil. This region was firstly reached at the beginning of the 17th Century, but it was only in 1852 that a Mission of Jesuits coming from Belem through the Tocantins River founded the Vila of Imperatriz, From its foundation until the end of the 1960's the city was isolated from the capital of Maranhão, with a small contingent of inhabitants and no economic importance, conserving characteristics of rural areas. At the beginning of the seventies, due to the construction of two important main roads linking the north region to the centre of Brazil and its strategic geographic location, the city received a large number of immigrants from 24 states of the federation resulting in a rapid population growth. It became the economic reference of a vast region of three states of the federa-

The former is based on identity-related studies (e.g., Gumperz, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993) while the latter apply conversation analytic perspective to describe the order of social actions (e.g., Auer, 1984; Wei, 1998; Gafaranga, 2000). This study takes this conversation analytic perspective and applies it tion. Since the beginning of the nineties the city is also reference for university studies in the region. According to the latest census (IBGE/2010), Imperatriz has 245.509 inhabitants, which characterizes a big city relatively to the size of the cities in the north and northern Brazil. One phonological variable (denazalization of nasal yowels and diphthongs) and one morphological variable (verb agreement) were analysed using data from the Linguistic Atlas of Maranhão (ALiMa) and the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil (AliB). The age levels were established according to the three different moments of the history of the city - isolation until 1969 - (speakers aged 50 or more), the economic boom with intense migration from 1970 to 1990 - (speakers between 21 and 49 years-old), period of consolidation as an economic and education reference for a vast region - after 1991 (speakers between 14 to 20 years-old). Denasalization of unstressed vowels and diphthongs and the lack of verbal agreement are highly frequent in rural areas of BP (Amaral, 1920). These variants are stigmatized in urban areas. Studies about consolidated Southern and South urban varieties of Brazilian Portuguese have shown an increasing of verb agreement even among lower class and lower middle class speakers. For denasalization, stigma depends on the word and the observed patterns indicate a change toward the oral variant for words such bagagem (luggage) and viagem (trip) while it is disfavored in some morphological classes and specific words. The results for Imperatriz data revealed the same tendency observed in other urban varieties for verbal agreement but not for denasalization. The consequences of the high frequency of a rural characteristic in an urban variety for the observed pattern of denasalization are discussed.

SANOGO, NDIOUBOU BAOUMOU

Albert-Ludwig- Universität Freiburg, Germany

DYNAMICS OF LANGUAGES IN CONTACT IN ABIDJAN

My contribution will be to present Abidian as a significant room within which the most language contact between french and african languages happens.

MOHAMMED, SHIHAB

UNIVERSTY DE FRANCHE COMTE BESANCON, France

DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AND MOBILITY IN FRANCE

This research concerns the evolution of social representations of Kuwaiti students, who received scholarships from their government to follow university studies in France

Our research based on studies of verbal interaction related to 'interactional sociolinguistics' (Gumperz, 1989, Hymes, 1974). This will allow us to describe and analyze the selected social representations of our chosen group.

A description of the social image of the French world that the Kuwaiti community has, and the sociolinguistic context of Kuwait is a must to allow us to understand the socio-cultural and linguistic formation of our group.

We formulate our question as follows: temporary immigration influences and transforms the social representations of Kuwaiti students.

For this study we use two criteria that of time and space in order to formulate our hypothesis:

- The major factors for changing social representations are to be found in the psychological, sociological and cultural context.
- A high level of linguistic and communicational competence facilitates the assimilation of another culture.

Our methodology is a gualitative approach and composed of semi-directed interviews concerning our chosen subjects: France, French people and French language. Our selected group is composed of sixteen persons, divided into four sub-groups of four persons. The four groups were structured as follows: the first group was of students who had just arrived in France. The second group had been in France for a long time. The third group had finished their studies and had gone back to Kuwait. The last one called the 'control group': people who had never travelled to France. This structure follows a model of research presented by Labov (1966) and called 'apparent time'.

In our analyses we will first of all, compare the different social representations and detect the changes in them and then analyze the collected data of conversations.

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FATHI, SALAM; MOHAMED, EMBARKI UNIVERSTY DE FRANCHE COMTE BESANCON, France

GENDER AND ACOUSTIC VARIATION: CASES OF VOWELS IN ARABIC LIBYAN OF TRIPOLI.

This present study is interested in the articulatory difference and the social construction of this difference in Libyan Arabic of Tripoli between men and women. The data used is a list of words in Libyan Arabic of Tripoli containing consonants with strong distinctive values from a social point of view between men and women. These are pharyngealized consonants / s ^c, t ^c, ^c d / and the corresponding non-pharyngealized consonants / s, t, d /. Gender differences will be illustrated here through the frequency values of the first three formants [F1, F2, F3] of the vowels / i, u, a / which are in contact with the pharyngealized consonants and non-pharyngealized consonants. Based on the above mentioned facts, we formulate our hypothesis as follows:

- 1. The variation of mean values of F1 and F2 of [i, u, a] depends on the consonantal context, notably pharyngealized and non-pharyngealized
- 2. The gender difference (male vs female) has a direct impact on how to make the syllable (CV) C= Consonant V= Vowel.
- 3. The slope of the equation will be a distinctive sign between genders.

Methodology

our data concern 10 Libyan Arabic speakers, 6 men and 4 women, aged between 17 and 30. The data consist of a list of words with and without meaning (logatomes). The words are trisyllabic, that is they have the following structures: C1V1 C2V2 C3V3 where C = s, s $^{\circ}$, t, t $^{\circ}$ d, d $^{\circ}$, and V = [i, u, a]. All words were segmented and labeled manually in PRAAT. The F1, F2, F3 measures were taken at three frames of the yowel (onset, middle, offset). Regarding the locus equation, the frequency of (F2) was measured at two points of the frame: the beginning of the resonant vowel (F2 Onset) and the stable part of the vowel (F2 Mid).

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KRAUSE-ONO. MARGIT

Muroran Institute of Technology, Japan

HIGH FIVE – FIVE COUNTRIES, FIVE NEWS PROGRAMS, SAME TOPIC, SAME DAY, FIVE PRESENTATIONS

Since autumn of 2011, major prime-time TV news programs featuring a global event have been gathered on specific dates from five countries (Japan's NHK News7, Germany's ARD Tagesschau, France's TF1 LE20H, the U.K. BBC News at Six, and the U.S. CBS Evening News). The comparison and analysis of the contents and presentation (linguistic, visual, and cultural) of these national evening news broadcasts is funded by a three year grant from the Japanese Ministry of Education (MEXT).

This research was prompted by calls for greater competency in media literacy by the EU commission (2007) and by the Japanese MEXT (2008). As workplaces become increasingly international, Japanese companies are also now demanding more intra- and intercultural competency of newly employed personnel (Yoshida, 2010). Comparative analysis of mass media, especially televised news, under the premises of intercultural communication is a field little explored until now (Sueda 2009).

The comparison's aim is to show how news content and its presentations are influenced and biased by culture, and even perpetuate culture themselves. The eventual application of this method and research in academic classes should lead to students' increased information, media literacy, and intercultural competency.

This poster session will, among others, compare how the same global topic is dealt with in equivalent news programs of five different countries, focusing especially on Germany, the UK and Japan. The topics will be 2011's Gaddafi's death on October 20th, Papandreou's canceling the Eurozone referendum on November 3rd, and one year after Fukushima on March 11, 2012. The relations of the visual (static, in movement, animated, etc.) and the oral (announce, report, interview, off-voice narration, etc.) parts of the news will be examined. Also, the ratio/amount and content of international (global) and national (local) news presented in each country will become apparent. Furthermore, intra- and intercultural news analysis will be conducted to elucidate how news content and its linguistic and visual presentation are influenced by cultural norms and assumptions, and in which way media itself repeats and engenders culture.

The audience is invited to discuss the shown preliminary research results and provide constructive questions and criticism.

BOURQUIN, CÉLINE: STIEFEL, FRIEDRICH: BERNEY, ALEXANDRE: SINGY, PASCAL Lausanne University Hospital, Switzerland

INDIRECT QUESTIONING USED BY MEDICAL STUDENTS IN SIMULATED ONCOLOGY INTERVIEWS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE I DON'T KNOW QUESTION FORMAT

Background: This exploratory study examined the motives of medical students (first year of Master's degree) (N=63) for using indirect questions of the type I don't know if [you have already heard about chemotherapies], I don't know how [you feel], or I don't know what [kind of job you have] in simulated patient interviews during a communication skills course on breaking bad news. Methods: The I don't know question format was observed during an assessment of students' communication skills by means of the Roter Interaction Analysis System (RIAS). Its recurrence in the students' videotaped interviews led to this exploratory study. The I don't know questions (IDK-Qs) were subjected to a qualitative content and discourse analysis considering their context, their discursive content (biomedical, psychosocial, etc.), their intent (specific, probing or exploratory) and their effect on the simulated patients (blocking or inviting verbal expression). To assess the specificity of students' IDK-Qs, their prevalence was compared with a data set of oncologists (N=31) conducting videotaped interviews with simulated patients in the context of a Communication Skills Training.

Results: 26 of the 63 (41.3%) students asked 1-6 IDK-Qs during the interviews (with a total of 53 occurrences). The IDK-Qs were attributed to three broad content categories: medical/treatment questions (N=24); lifestyle/psychosocial questions (N=18); and 'inviting questions' questions (N=11). Most of the IDK-Qs (46/53) seemed to have an exploratory function, with simulated patients providing detailed responses or asking for more information (36/53). IDK-Qs were rare in the oncologist sample compared to the student sample (5 vs. 53 occurrences, 4/31 oncologists vs. 26/63 students). Discussion: IDK-Qs showed a question format difference between medical students and oncologists in simulated patient interviews. Among other interpretations, it has been assumed that IDK-Qs can constitute a protective linguistic strategy and a marker for psychological discomfort. The fact that in most cases the simulated patients responded extensively to IDK-Qs suggests that they did not have a blocking effect.

LANGUAGE AS A CITY. ON THE EMERGENCE OF BILINGUAL CONSTRUCTIONS.

Our language can be seen as an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses, and of houses with additions ---(L. Wittgenstein 'Philosophical Investigations' #18)

This paper presents an investigation of how new constructions emerge at the construction site (cf. Leino 2008) - or city - of language. The focus is on bilingual morphological and morphosyntactic constructions that are found in spontaneous speech and writing of first generation Finnish immigrants to Estonia. Emergence is viewed both as a diachronic process of establishing new constructions, and as their synchronic, on-line creation as speech unfolds in time (Hopper 2011, Auer & Pfänder 2011). A diachronic perspective is achieved in the current study by comparing recordings from two different decades from two immigrant communities born ca. 50-60 years apart. Emergence of bilingual constructions manifests itself on different levels of language, for example as blended word stems, inflection or derivation of words with morphemes from the other language, and blending the morphosyntax of clausal constructions from the two languages.

Many of the older speakers present all of these phenomena, including morphophonological blends and L2 (Estonian) influence in L1 (Finnish) inflectional paradigms. The older speakers' usage of bilingual constructions is frequent and shows a great amount of variation. We propose that this is an indication of diachronic processes of emergence that are further on their way than would be expected of first generation speakers. These changes are motivated with the considerable social pressure and intensity of L1-L2-contact experienced by the older speakers during Soviet rule in Estonia.

In comparison, the data from younger immigrants does not contain morphophonological or inflectional L2 -> L1 influence, and shows only occasional blending of multi-word constructions and derivational morphology. In both the groups' speech the synchronic emergence of bilingual constructions manifests itself as 1) incorporation of smaller L2 constructions into L1 constructions, 2) switching from an L1 to an L2 construction halfway through the production of it and 3) borrowing semantics of an L2 construction. On some occasions, the switch to an L2 (morpho)syntactic construction triggers codeswitching, but often only L1 lexemes are used. Comparison to the monolingual native varieties show that since Finnish and Estonian are closely related languages, the emergent bilingual constructions have corresponding constructions in both languages that may serve as a source of analogy for their emergence.

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RIIONHEIMO, HELKA

University of Eastern Finland, Finland

LANGUAGE CONTACTS AT THE CROSSROADS OF DISCIPLINES (CROSSLING)

The aim of our poster presentation is to introduce CROSSLING, a new cross-disciplinary research network that combines different areas of research dealing with language contact. At present the main fields are contact linguistics, second language acquisition research, and translation studies. Researchers of these fields have so far been working rather independently with fairly little mutual dialogue. The main goal of CROSSLING is to promote genuine discussion between these closely-related disciplines and enhance accumulation of cross-disciplinary and cross-methodological know-how. The network strives for genuine interaction and cross-pollination between disciplines and different research traditions, between theories and methodologies, different kinds of data, and researchers of different languages. The main research objectives of CROSSLING may be grouped under the following themes: 1. Translation - a neglected mode of language contact Translation is a special contact situation in which the translator moves between two languages and cultures. Although crosslinguistic influence is a natural phenomenon in translation, the role of translations and translating has been neglected in the study of language contacts. On the other hand, crosslinguistic influence has not been thoroughly investigated in translation studies, either. The guestion of whether the observed effects of crosslinguistic influence are specific for translation or whether crosslinguistic influence in translation is similar to other modes of language contact has only been raised in some recently published studies. This central research question is approached in CROSSLING from different angles, such as crosslinguistic influence and the development of translator competence, interlingual reduction, or transfer influence of English on the idiomaticity of Finnish. 2. Multiple causation in language change - universals and crosslinguistic influence in interaction In language contact research, it is generally acknowledged that linguistic changes can be brought about by both language-internal development and contact-induced cross-linguistic influence and that guite often such changes have multiple causes. The strict dichotomy of internal and external motivation of language change has been challenged, and the interplay of both language-internal or universal developmental tendencies and cross-linguistic causes has been emphasized. The same topic is timely in second language acquisition research where the so-called learner universals are contrasted with influence from the learners' native tongue. Multiple causation and the dilemma of universals vs. cross-linguistic influence is a recurrent theme in the studies of the CROSSLING members, and the project thus gives an opportunity to bring together observations and theories from the different fields of contact linguistics.

O'DWYER, FERGUS JAMES Osaka University, Japan

LANGUAGE IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN DUBLIN

The urban and suburban combine to make up the linguistic landscape of the capital city of Ireland. The boom and bust years have, no doubt, had an influence on the language used there. Hickey (2005) hypothesized significant phonological changes motivated by local disassociation. However, to date

we know very little about social distribution of the features, the functions that they perform, and how they relate to social identities in Dublin. This poster deals with an ethnographic study of language use among adolescents in a Dublin suburb. The results of the study will have implications for an urban variety of English that has not been explored in much depth, along with aiming to extend and enhance methodological practices dealing when engaging with social networks.

The heterogeneous area in question, 7 miles from the centre of the city, can be seen to represent the changing face of Dublin and Ireland. The intention is to identify salient variable linguistic patterns at the sociopragmatic (humour), phonological and sociopragmatic etc levels,n and to understand the social meanings of variation: the relationship between linguistic behaviour and adolescent speech communities. As mMale respondents will be the predominant focus, as by exploring other contexts and focusing on features such as humour, it may be possible to enhance understanding of the nature of masculine identities hitherto developed by Kiesling (2005) among others.

Observation and free recording techniques, successfully employed by Eckert (2000), lead to general interviews that provide linguistic data, and language ideology attitudinal information. It is possible to gain insights on identity construction, orientation and affiliations which reflect respondents' social and cultural positions, and give insights into inter-group relationships and identity negotiation. In order to verify this data, the methodology tools of the Survey of Regional English (SuRE, see Asprey, Burbano-Elizondo & Wallace, 2006), such as the Identification Questionnaires (IdQ) and an Affiliation Score Index (ASI), can be suitably employed.

Identity construction can involve several often overlapping complementary relations, a series of boundaries and symbols (e.g. values, beliefs, ways of talking etc.) that distinguish speech communities in a context (Bucholtz and Hall 2010). I aim to create a thick sociolinguistic description of linguistic realities for the adolescents in question. The significant sociolinguistic processes and sociocultural factors that contribute to the construction of local identity will be examined alongside indexical fields, and other factors that determine employment of linguistic resources. The poster will conclude with implications for variation and change within Dublin.

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BORTOLATO, CLAUDIA

University of Exeter, United Kingdom

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE ACROSS GENERATIONS. A LEXICAL-STATISTICAL AP-PROACH TO THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE PERFORMANCE OF VENETIAN COMMUNITIES IN CANADA.

The phenomenon of emigration is a significant chapter of Italian history, which has involved some 27 million people for about a century since Unification in 1861.

Particularly during the twenty years after the Second World War, this phenomenon evolved, turning into mass emigration from Italy. Canada, which had been in previous decades only marginally touched, became an important destination for Italian migrants during those years. Until 1967 Canada welcomed immigrants through the programme of sponsorship. New policies were adopted that year, closing the borders to the mass of manual workers entering the country in favour of numerically more limited immigration involving workers of higher skills and educational levels. Nowadays people of Italian origin are about one and a half million in Canada, mostly residing in the metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. Among these, about 300.000 are those who actually emigrated from Italy. People with at least one parent born in Italy, however, are 712.420. The specific historical moment allows fieldwork which includes three generations. According to the well known model devised by Gonzo and Saltarelli (1983), the third generation is usually the last speaking the language of their grandparents, bringing to an end the cycle of a heritage language in a foreign language country.

The great majority of studies carried out so far on Italian communities abroad have focused on qualitative aspects of language maintenance (e.g. Bettoni and Rubino, 1996), forecasting the disappearance of heritage languages among Italian communities (e.g. Vedovelli 2011). This piece of research aims instead at approaching language maintenance from a quantitative perspective, analysing the Italian performance of those Italians of Venetian origin who can still speak this language.

The data presented are the results of the lexical-statistical treatment of 42 interviews carried out among Italo-Canadians of Venetian origin in the metropolitan areas of Toronto and Vancouver during the summer of 2009. In order to make the sampling more homogeneous, and thus allow statistical comparisons, the informants were selected only from those who emigrated during the mass emigration years in Canada (1945-1967) and their descendants of the second and third generation (according to the classification proposed by Bettoni 1986). The second independent variable taken into account is gender. The aim is thus to investigate if and how language maintenance could develop in a different way between these two categories.

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PARTANEN, NIKO TAPIO University of Helsinki, Finland

LANGUAGE SHIFT IN KOMI: THE DYNAMICS AND INTERACTION BETWEEN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

Komi Zyrian is a Uralic language spoken primarily in the Komi Republic in Russia. According to the Russian population census there were 202,348 Komi Zyrians in the Republic in 2010 (Russian National Census 2010). Censuses conducted since the 1920s show that the number of Komis has not increased in a way that corresponds with the natural population growth. The explanation is the assimilation of Uralic people into the Russian population (Lallukka 2008). In Komi this has led to a complete language shift in many regions (Leinonen 2006). Especially after the 1960s the non-Komi population has increased, and the percentage of Komis has fallen. The cities and larger villages became predominantly Russian speaking when people from other parts of the Soviet Union were relocated to the Komi Republic.

Throughout the Komi Republic there are villages where Komi is learned by children. However, children in the regional centres generally speak more Russian. Often geographic isolation has prevented the non-Komi population from increasing, but even in the most remote settlements the whole population, including the elderly, is now bilingual. The movement of young people to the cities is leading to many of these very settlements becoming endangered. This is apparently an old process, and thus the cities have a Komi-speaking population in all age groups with extensive Komi-speaking networks in both urban and rural areas.

My research in the Komi Republic shows that in Syktyvkar the natural intergenerational language transmission has been severely interrupted. Komis who are born or have moved there have not been able to transmit full competence in Komi to their children. On the other hand, Komis living in the cities have access to political and institutional resources and have been able to influence their situation at the administrational level. A recent example is the passing of a law in 2011 which made Komi an obligatory subject in all schools in the Republic. However, the language is not learned by children in urban areas, and meanwhile rural populations continue to dwindle. It is common for urban children to spend holidays in the villages, which provides them with access to a Komi-speaking environment. At the same time these monolingual urban children widen Russian's sphere of use in the rural areas.

I have investigated the processes young bilingual Komis encounter in Syktyvkar and the kinds of Komi networks they have. The interviews are semistructured and conducted using a sociolinguistic guestionnaire. In the summer of 2012 I would like to continue my research in the villages to acquire better data from rural areas.

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CURDT-CHRISTIANSEN, XIAOLAN; SUN, BAOQI National Institute of Education, Singapore, Singapore

LANGUAGE USE PATTERNS IN HOME DOMAINS IN SINGAPORE

Singapore, a multilingual multicultural island country with 76% of its population being Chinese, has adopted compulsory bilingual education since the 1970s. For ethnic Chinese children, English is essential for success in education and career development, while Chinese is required as a school subject and deemed to preserve cultural traits and Asian values. However, how these two languages are used at home is far from clear due to the diversified language environment. Based on the language profile survey collected among 565 Singapore English-Chinese bilingual children (aged 8 to 9) who receive concurrent formal instruction in both languages within a bilingual context, this paper explores trends and socioeconomic differentials in language usage among their family members. The results suggest that family language use patterns are closely related to social-political and economical factors. Multilingualism seemed to shift towards bilingualism: English and Mandarin are the two dominant languages used among family members, while the loss of other Chinese varieties (dialects) is prominent as these languages are only spoken by elder family members. Moreover, educated parents and well-off families were more likely to balance the use of English and Mandarin. Finally, a number of social implications are discussed.

NAIMA, MATI UNIVERSTY DE FRANCHE COMTE BESANCON, France

LANGUAGE, PLACE AND IDENTITY

Our proposal looks at the issue of language in its relation to identity and place. Within the framework of the thesis we carrying out on 'Interactional strategies of French teachers to promote the appropriation of L2: code switching (L1 / L2) in a didactic situation in Algerian context,' we dealt with these three concepts. In a scholastic situation, the teaching of foreign languages rarely occurs in the target language as the two codes Arabic/French are alternated although this is considered a taboo. The reform has been started but nothing was said about the possibility of innovating ways to promote a reliable bilingual teaching. For us, it may be time to change that by introducing a new approach with the use of L1, through training schemes for teachers of French as a foreign language. Thus, learning a foreign language, it is not being understood or understanding others in another language, but also through one's mother tongue, an opportunity to reflect on one's language, one's identity in contact with the other language in an exchange or a learning context (opening of the unknown) to assume ownership of the L2.

Research hypotheses

1. French language teachers would have no idea on what really code switching is.

2. The current training model would not enable to reflect on one's teaching activities, especially regarding the acquisition by the use of another language for learning a foreign language.

Methodology

In order to know if code switching could be a favorable tool for the appropriation of French, a qualitative approach was taken: observing classes, individual interviews and questionnaire representative of the linguistic situation in Algeria, representations of the French language, the context Learning and its identity at the point of entrance into the language of the other.

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YOUNG, ANDREA SUSAN; NORTIER, JACOMINE Université de Strasbourg, France

LANGUAGES IN URBAN COMMUNITIES – INTEGRATION AND DIVERSITY FOR EUROPE (LUCIDE)

The LUCIDE project aims to develop policy ideas about how to manage the new and more complex citizen communities. It wants to present a comprehensive picture of how communication occurs in multilingual/multicultural settings across the EU and beyond and so to support institutions (councils, schools, hospitals) and national economies to make better productive use of diversity as an economic resource and also to shore up social cohesion by fostering better communication and mutual understanding.

Five major issues will be examined during the course of the project:

- What constitutes 'good practice' in language learning for immigrants?
- How do cities foster social inclusion through linguistic support in social services?
- How do cities provide for communication and cultural exchange with 'neighbouring languages'?
- Are there any particular challenges for cities for cities which have traditionally been in countries of emigration, but which are now receiving many
- immigrants?

Whilst the long term goal of LUCIDE is to suggest some viable and convincing policy directions to support a vision of the 21st century city, strengthened by its diversity, our poster for SS19 will present an initial snapshot of the realities of the multilingual city in education, in the economy, in civil society and in cultural life, based upon recent data (such as theUtrecht city report) from the range of cities involved in our network (Athens, Greece; Dublin, Ireland; Hamburg, Germany; Lemesos, Cyprus; London & Sheffield, UK; Madrid, Spain; Melbourne, Australia; Osijek, Croatia; Ottawa & Toronto, Canada; Rome, Italy; Sofia & Varna, Bulgaria; Strasbourg, France, Tromsø, Norway & Utrecht, Netherlands). The LUCIDE project is funded by the EU's lifelong Learning Program, Key Activity 2 (Languages)/Networks and will be conducted between December 2011 and December 2014.

HING, JIA WEN

National University of Singapore, Singapore

LINGUISTIC ECOLOGY OF CHINESE IN SINGAPORE: DISCUSSING FACTORS BEHIND THE GENERAL SHIFT OF CHINESE DIALECTS

Singapore is a multi-racial, multi-ethnic mega-city where Chinese makes up approximately 75% of total population (Yearbook of Statistics Singapore, 2011). Singaporean Chinese consists of immigrants and descendents from the Southern China continents, whom ethnicity includes Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hakka, Hainan, etc. each with their own dialects. These dialects record a dip in usage, and the decline is felt in daily interactions. Malay, English, Chinese Mandarin and Tamil are the official languages in Singapore. Among the four languages, English is widely promoted as the language of communication across the nation. For survival and success in this vibrant sociolinguistics background, the government advocates and promotes bilingualism in education, so that each Singaporean will pick up at least two official languages, namely the 'mother tongue' and English. Language policy that has affected Chinese the most is Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC), whereby Chinese Mandarin is promoted as the language of communication among different Chinese ethnics. SMC is believed to be the major factor behind the decline of Chinese dialects. Other factors include socioeconomic values, science and technology, etc.

The proposed poster will primarily discuss macro-societal factors-- geography, historical demography, economy, language planning and policies-- behind the general shift of Chinese dialects towards English and Chinese Mandarin within Singaporean Chinese community. Primary data including speeches of government officers, media documentation, reports on the Ministry of Education, publications by Promote Mandarin Council and such are analysed. These data are time and context-sensitive, which includes ample evidences from different point of view which are used as the foundation in scrutinizing the shift. There isn't really a distinction between 'urban' and 'rural' in Singapore. Any changes in the linguistic ecology affect the linguistic urbanicity as a whole. The proposed poster shall address the discussion in five sections: 1) General linguistic background in Singapore, 2) General trends of language use in Singapore, 3) History, economic activities, social status, politics and media that have influenced the development of Chinese dialects, 4) Language planning and policies, 5) Current and future development of Chinese languages. Two centuries ago. Chinese came to Singapore as immigrant workers. Though affected by various macro-societal factors. Chinese languages interact and are integrated into the development of other languages available on this tiny island. For example, Chinese dialects have seeped into the formation of Singlish the local creole.

Despite a general trend of language loss, Chinese dialects survived in certain local productions including movie and drama series, as well as in political speeches, as a mean to generate resonance within certain groups of Chinese. With new bilingualism policy proposed in 2011, the future development of Chinese Mandarin and other dialects remain unpredictable. It is hoped that continuous analysis shall reveal more about the future development of Chinese dialects

- How do cities promote intercultural dialogue and understanding by celebrating community cultures in common spaces?

MEDIUM-SIZED, EASTERN EUROPEAN, POSTSOVIET URBANICITY: VILNIUS, LITHUA-NIA

Due to objective reasons Lithuania doesn't possess any superdiverse linguistic urban environment of the kind that is proto(typical) to global metropolises: (1) it is small (3.05 million inhabitants);

(2) comparatively short time ago it was a closed Soviet state;

(3) the economy is not attractive enough for multicultural labour force.

The biggest cities of Lithuania – the capital Vilnius (0.54 million inhabitants), Kaunas (0.35) and Klaipeda (0.18) – are big cities only on the Lithuanian scale. Nevertheless, representative surveys in Lithuania (2008-2011) confirm the existence of the phenomenon urbanicity and its significance for linguistic diversity. The idea of this poster is thus to demonstrate a connection between urban environment/the size of the city and the extent of multilingualism. The main focus of the poster is the proficiency and use of two relevant (non-native) languages - Russian and English in Vilnius compared with the remaining biggest cities. Besides, two more variables are examined: urban daily communication zone and more remote and smaller town areas (< 30 000 inhabitants).

The research shows the general tendency for Lithuania (1) to concentrate linguistic diversity primarily in Vilnius and (2) differences between the biggest cities, the urban zones and the least influenced by urban neighbourhood towns (see the maps below). This means that English is used more often and for more purposes (especially in the age groups up to 35) in the capital than in the other cities and in the cities than in their zones and least used in the rest of the country. Even Russian, which it is still known by almost all population (especially in the age groups over 25), shows statistically significant differences between the frequency and range of its use. The exceptions from the general tendency can be explained by historical demographic (concentrations of Polish and Russian populations) and economic factors. The data on attitudes and usage domains of the languages in the public sphere and work also show a clear functional distribution and different extent of usage of English and Russian, especially in Vilnius. The research shows that both languages are attributed positive 'market' values and seen as having international potential. Additional data on use of Russian and English as indexical means for identity construction by Vilnius adolescents are provided.

Interesting to note, that geographic mobility from province to Vilnius doesn't reduce dialectal diversity in the urban context: the number of respondents in Vilnius claiming to have proficience and to speak dialect is almost the same as in smaller towns. That gives a suplementary dimension of superdiversity in Lithuanian capital.

The poster also includes more data that picture the dynamics of language contacts and linguistic portrait of the capital city:

• data from home language survey (2008) covering 11 000 school pupils from 92 Vilnius' schools and showing increasing multicultural identity of the youngest citizens of Vilnius;

more maps and graphs illustrating knowledge, use and status of Lithuanian, English, Russian, Polish as foreign and native languages in Vilnius.

HSIEH. CHIA-LING

National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan, Republic of China

METADISCOURSE IN PERSUASION: A CONTEXTUAL PERSPECTIVE

Persuasion occurs when language is used to influence a person's inner attitude or external behavior (Chaiken 1996; Gass & Seiter 1999). A key resource that allows language users to engage with their audience is metadiscourse (Crismore et al. 1993; Hyland 2005). A wide array of metadiscourse devices has been identified in persuasive discourse (Fuertes-Olivera 2001; Dafouz-Milne 2008). However, more emphasis needs to be given to the contextual factors that affect the pragmatic roles of metadiscourse. This paper discusses these factors from the perspective of communication media and culture as they relate to metadiscourse strategies, with a particular focus on how they affect persuasiveness in Chinese and English Internet forums. The data observed are authentic persuasive messages posted on Taiwan and American websites. Results indicate that the communication medium yields a unique effect. Due to the efficiency required in computer-mediated communication (Ferrara et al. 1991; Aitchison 2001), devices that specify the macro-structure of a text (e.g. frame and endophoric markers) are underrepresented in both languages. Interactive (e.g. evidential markers) and interactional (e.g. self-mention markers) metadiscourse often co-occur to compensate for the limitation of non-face-to-face interaction (Herrings 2002; Barnes 2003). First-person pronouns are omnipresent, demonstrating how the Internet has created platforms for greater voluntary self-disclosure. The operation of metadiscourse is also culture dependent, exhibiting a salient distinction between individualist and collectivist values (Triandis and Gelfand 1998; Goncalo and Staw 2006). More boosters thus appear in English to uncover conflicting viewpoints, while more hedges in Chinese to maintain group cohesion. Despite the conceptual and functional generalities in metadiscourse across languages, the selection and distribution of metadiscourse devices also reflect communicative norms specific to particular communication media and cultures. Language use is therefore more than communication, it is itself a sociocultural act that decides and accounts for the way language is presented and understood.

VAN DER BOM, ISABELLE AGATHA MARIA University of Sheffield, United Kingdom

MOVING STORIES: NARRATIVE IDENTITY OF HONG KONG IMMIGRANTS TO THE UK

The handover of Hong Kong from the British government to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 had widespread ramifications in the political, economical and social sphere. One effect of the handover is the change in people's perceptions of their identity (Brewer, 1999; Sussman, 2010). This is the case not only for those living in Hong Kong and surrounding territories, but also for Hong Kong immigrants and their families in the United Kingdom.

This poster will present some preliminary findings from a study of the relationship between migration and identity construction among Hong Kong immigrants and their families in the UK. It will focus upon linguistic self-representation in narrative discourse. Data has been collected through ethnographic fieldwork in a complementary Chinese school in Sheffield. England. Drawing on semi-structured interviews and participant observation. I explore how immigrants from Hong Kong and their families negotiate their identity in light of current global fluctuations and the local context of a living in the multiethnic city of Sheffield.

This study has two major aims: (a) to research narrative identity of Hong Kong immigrants and their families, and (b) to work towards a more integrated

theory of narrative study, which includes sociolinguistics, narratological, and stylistic perspectives. Using a combination of Labov's and Waletzky's (1967) approach to narrative with a focus on deixis, and the stylistic framework of Text World Theory (e.g. Gavins 2007; Werth 1994, 1995, 1999), I show how combining methodological perspectives allows for a more detailed understanding of how participants negotiate the different factors that influence identity. In particular, I will focus on the effects of agency and stereotyping.

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WEBER, OREST; STIEFEL, FRIEDRICH; GUEX, PATRICE; SINGY, PASCAL Lausanne University Hospital, Switzerland

MULTILINGUAL MEDICAL SETTINGS: PUZZLING LINKS BETWEEN DIFFICULTIES IN VERBAL INTERACTION AND PHYSICIAN-PATIENT AGREEMENT ON CAUSES AND TREATMENT OF MUSCULOSKELETAL PAIN

Background and aims: Agreement between doctors and patients on causes and treatment of musculoskeletal illnesses is critical for positive clinical outcomes. Given the increasing linguistic diversity in Western health care settings, many patients suffering from chronic musculoskeletal pain are currently migrants with various levels of fluency in the language used for communication in their medical visits. Our still ongoing gualitative study screens exolingual clinical encounters without interpreters for various difficulties of comprehension detectable in interaction (mainly repaired and unrepaired misunderstanding and non-understanding). It further investigates the links between those difficulties and the emergence or perpetuation of disagreement on pain causes and treatment between patient and physician. Comparable research has already been carried out on linguistically diverse family practice settings (e.g. Roberts et al., 2005), but, to the best of our knowledge, not on specialists' encounters. Methods: Fifteen medical visits with allophone migrant patients (with various levels in French) suffering from musculoskeletal pain were videotaped in the pain clinic and the spine re-education unit of the Lausanne University clinic and submitted to discourse analysis. Data on physician-patient agreement were collected in semi-structured post hoc interviews with the physicians and patients of the videotaped consultations. Results: Doctor-patient disagreement is mainly related to surgical/analgesic interventions, medication, physical re-education, return to work, social insurances and psychological aspects. With some migrant patients having low proficiency in French, extended misunderstandings massively obstruct patient information on causes of pain and treatment. With patients with medium to very good French, several non-clarified comprehension difficulties also impact on agreement, mostly when complex issues are discussed. In these cases, linguistic sources of misunderstanding/non-understanding are often closely intertwined with a lack of adaptation from the physicians to patient's level of health literacy. However, difficulties in comprehension are not the only source of doctor-patient disagreement. Relational aspects - establishing 'rapport' in consultations - and overt or covert resistance to the other's ideas also play an important role.

Conclusion: An adequate use of interpreters appears crucial in medical communication on chronic musculoskeletal pain. Patient education is also decisive and has to be adjusted to the patient level of health literacy.

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CHEN, KATHERINE H.Y.

The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong S.A.R. (China)

NEGOTIATING MULTILINGUALISM: RETURN MIGRATION AND IDENTITIES IN HONG KONG

This paper reports sociolinguistic and ethnographic research on Hong Kong Chinese who returned to Hong Kong after migrating to an Anglophone country. In investigating this 'moving population' during an era of increasing global movements, this project conjoins diverse areas of transnationalism, sociolinguistics and bilingualism, so to erect a knowledge base which attends to local-global articulations and micro-macro sociolinguistic junctures. Investigation of returnee's linguistic repertoires and practices, their re-adaptation and re-negotiation of identities during their reversion, and ways through which the flexibility of individuals connects to larger regimes of social organization, all inspire fascinating insight into ways in which individuals maneuver in a globalized world where boundaries are constantly crossed. The 2001 Hong Kong census reported that 3.5% of the population (over 240,000 people) were ethnic Chinese holding a foreign passport. This new trend in mobile and flexibile citizenship (cf. Ong 1999) has significantly inspired studies in population research and the social geography of returnees in Hong Kong (Ley & Kobayashi 2005, Sussman 2005, Waters 2005, 2007, 2008), but little within linguistics/sociolinguistics domains.

This research investigates the micro structurally distinctive styles of code-switching used strategically by these returnee bilinguals, and the mediating language ideologies associated with a macro societal trajectory in post-colonial Hong Kong. Data includes 110 hours of natural speech among a selfforming community of returnees, interviews, and ethnographic observation across six years.

TEIXEIRA, ELIANA PITOMBO

Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana, Brazil

PRONOMES PESSOAIS: A FLEXÃO DE CASO NO PORTUGUÊS FALADO EM LUANDA

PERSONAL PRONOUNS: CASE INFLECTION IN LUANDA SPOKEN PORTUGUESE

It has been observed that - in the case of contact between languages - the morphologic level is the most affected by changes in direction to simplification of the system. Lucchesi and Mendes (2009) demonstrate the regularity of this simplifying process referring to the pronominal case inflexion in Portuguese-based Creoles, in standard Brazilian Portuguese and in Afro-Brazilian Portuguese. It's well-known that in the developing of Latin to Portuguese only pronominal inflexion was kept. However, in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) it is observed a drastic reduction or alteration of its forms. This is the case of 'si' that has disappeared of the system, and the use of the nominative forms 'ele'/ 'ela' and the dative form 'lhe' as direct object. The present study aims to describe the personal pronouns case system used in the speech of illiterated and educated speakers in Luanda, the capital of Angola.

During the civil war which ecloded just before Angola's independence from Portugal, in 1975, the city began to shelter a large number of people from the hinterland, looking for safety and a chance of working. This fact resulted in an overpopulation, ostensibly marked by great social differences. The low income population survives by selling whatever one can imagine along the ways congested by an infernal traffic.

Using the theoretical-methodological framework of quantitative sociolinguistics, we have established the following external variables: native language (portuguese/national languages), age (20-45 /above 48 years old) and level of education (none or very low/university level). As internal variables, we've considered the syntactic function of the pronoun, its form, and the person of the discourse. The results show that the non-native speakers of Portuguese use more non-standard forms than the native ones. The fact puts in evidence the influence of source languages. It also shows a certain degree of restructuring of the paradigm, as a result of imperfect learning, a fact which is further evidence in favor of the contact hypothesis as a driving force of linguistic change.

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SERRA, CAROLINA RIBEIRO

Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

PROSODIC PHRASING PERCEPTION IN RIO DE JANEIRO DIALECT: SPONTANEOUS AND READING SPEECH

The main goals of this research, which focuses on prosodic phrasing, in Brazilian Portuguese, are: (i) to find a correlation between the prosodic constituents boundaries -- as described by the Prosodic Hierarchy Theory (Nespor & Vogel 1986) -- and the perception and production of spontaneous and reading speech breaks; (ii) to describe the phonetic/phonological characteristics and the syntactic ranking of perceived and non perceived edges; and (iii) to capture the most relevant cues to the perception of prosodic boundaries for each speech style (Blaauw 1994).

Our corpus includes 10 extracts of spontaneous (informal interviews) and reading speech (orthographic transcription of spontaneous speech). In the perception test, 11 referees heard the oral sample, without punctuation, and marked the perceived breaks. The five speakers and the 11 referees are graduate students from Rio de Janeiro, between 22 and 38 years old.

The results point out to the fact that prosodic breaks are mainly perceived at the intonational phrase boundary, regardless the speech style: spontaneous speech (91%) and reading speech (99%). In the last one, 64% of the intonational phrase boundaries, described by the Prosodic Hierarchy Theory, were perceived as breaks, but, in the first one, only 37% were perceived. The leading cue to a break perception is a pause (92%) and this fact explains, by itself. 87% of the perceptive results. The most usual nuclear contour in both styles is H+L* L% (the neutral declarative contour in Portuguese), but its freguency at perceived breaks draws a distinction between reading speech and spontaneous speech (67% and 30%, respectively). In spontaneous speech, contours like L+H* H% and L*+H H% are also produced (34%). In general, descendant nuclei in reading speech are predominant, as well as the edge tone L: in spontaneous speech, both the descendant and ascendant nuclei distribution and low or high boundaries are similar. According to the statistic test, the L edge was globally significant for perception.

The results show that perceived intonational phrases present a higher number of syllable and prosodic words (PW) than those which were not perceived, for all speakers and styles. According to the statistical analysis, size affects the prosodic phrasing and the break perception.

The statistical results point out to the fact that breaks are mainly perceived at the matrix phrase limit (reading speech: 59%; spontaneous speech: 61%), showing the endurance of the matrix phrase edge/intonational phrase boundary mapping. Spontaneous speech displays a more frequent variation, as regards the relation of predictive, perceived and produced phrasing.

We conclude that reading and spontaneous speech share the same prosodic grammar, performed by the same type of phonetic/phonological cues, no matter being more consistent in reading speech and more diffuse in spontaneous speech, which adds a higher difficulty in spontaneous speech, than in reading speech, in the systematic perception of prosodic boundaries.

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ADDA-DECKER, MARTINE (1); CANDEA, MARIA (2); LAMEL, LORI (3) 1: LLP-CNRS, France; 2: Sorbonne nouvelle university, CLESTHIA, France; 3: LIMSI-CNRS, France

RECENT EVOLUTION OF SOME NON STANDARD VARIANTS IN FRENCH BROADCAST NEWS

This work in progress results from a collaboration in sociolinguistics and automatic speech recognition. Two non standard pronunciation variant types in contemporary spoken French were selected, whose distributions are controversial in the field of sociolinquistics i e

1/ constrictive consonants as epithesis (so called 'devoiced high vowels') and 2/ affricated or palatalized plosive consonants /t, d/ before a subset of vowels. Both are considered as non standard variants, but the first type seems to be associated with middle class speakers when they are in a dominant position, while the second one tends to be associated with working class speakers of immigrant descent, in formal or informal situations. Recent publications suggest that pronunciation of journalists, in particular newsreaders, are the closest model to what ordinary speakers consider 'standard French'. In order to study a potential spread of these non standard variants in so-called standard speech, we explored the pronunciation of several French journalists over a period of almost 14 years. We made use of already transcribed oral corpora, ESTER 1 and 2 (150 hours, 1998-2003) of broadcast news as well as a small selection of news recorded in 2010 and 2011 (from the Quaero program) if a frequency increase of these non standard variants is noticed over the target period, then this could provide highly valuable evidence for the hypothesis of an ongoing phonetic change, along with a low level of speakers' awareness about these variants. In order to investigate our 200h corpus, a (semi) automatic approach was used to facilitate the processing : the speech recognition system developed by LIMSI-CNRS was used to align the reference transcriptions with the audio data. By changing some parameters in the system we were able to explore different system configurations (setups); a special manipulation allowed to identify and to align automatically the unexpected constrictive consonants in final position, after /i, y, e, u/ and the affricated pronunciation of /t, d/ before high vowels /i, y/. This preliminary survey provides some clear tendencies in the evolution of the considered sociolinquistic markers, in addition according to the sex of speakers, the channel and the period. For example, in some data, frequency of constrictive consonants as epithesis is 10 times higher in 2011 than in 1998. This encourages the design of new approaches combining automatic speech processing technologies and collections of relevant speech data for sociolinguistic investigations.

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PÉREZ. AARÓN: GALINDO. MAR University of Alicante (Spain), Spain

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC AWARENESS: THE CASE OF SPANISH FACEBOOK GROUPS

Since Internet arrived to the daily life of millions of people, it has changed our way of life, its impact being comparable to that of press, automobiles, telegraph or television. On the one hand, Internet has brought new textual and communicative genres such as chats, blogs, email, with an undeniable influence on language (Crystal, 2001). On the other, the net has turned into a great platform for expression and communication, becoming a productive field of research for linguists. As a result, David Crystal (2011) has suggested the creation of a new trend called Internet Linguistics. Doubtless, one of the main vehicles for communication in the Internet are the social networks, and among them, Facebook. Thus, our poster presents a study of this social network from a sociolinguistic perspective, since it has proved to be a rich source for sociolinguistic awareness (Reguena Santos & Ávila Muñoz, 2002). Indeed, a considerable amount of Facebook groups in Spanish owe their humorous dimension to the arising of sociolinguistic awareness among Internet surfers, who are able to immediately recognize and identify the association between some social and language features. In order to study this phenomenon, we analyzed more than 500 Facebook group pages; especifically, those related to the most productive group in Spanish: 'Señoras que...' (women who...). Our study sheds light on the success of these Facebook groups by emphasizing the sociolinguistic basis behind. Furthermore, it constitutes the biggest inventory of language and social features ever done in Spanish. Thus, by highlighting this spontaneous show of sociolinguistic variation in Facebook, our research claims for the investigation of social networks as a wide research field in (socio)linguistics, since it holds the key for communication as understood in contemporary world.

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MANZHURIN, EVGENY; BALAGUROV, NIKITA European University at Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation

STYLE, SPATIAL SEMANTICS AND LIGHT: ETHNOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION IN DARK ROOMS OF SAINT PETERSBURG'S GAY VENUES

Our presentation is developed on the material from an ongoing field study conducted in the dark rooms of Saint Petersburg's gay venues by a team of two researchers from Department of Anthropology and Department of Art History, European University at Saint Petersburg. Apart from interviews collected from dark room visitors and gay venue staff, we analyze audio diaries of several volunteers who are themselves regular visitors.

For the purpose of the proposed presentation a dark room is defined as an unlit or scarcely lit space at a gay venue which is structurally isolated from the lit areas and is used – primarily, but not solely – for (semi-) anonymous sexual interaction (which in this presentation we call cruising). Although sexual intercourse as such is excluded from the scope of our study, our findings could be easily translated into epidemiological terms and thus be applied in such domains as public health and infectious disease control.

Our study concentrates on conventions and structures of communication, both verbal and non-verbal. We start with an overview of linguistic and spatial practices common to the field and provide a general description of lighting conditions. We also suggest an analysis of dark room layouts in terms of location of lit and dark areas as well as closed and open spaces to show the underlying semantic organization of the cruising space.

The main bulk of our research employs two frameworks widely applied in sociolinguistic studies: description and analysis of communication (speech) genres (as insightfully suggested in Bakhtin, 1986 and developed, among others, by Hymes, 1974) and communication styles/registers (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Halliday 1978; Trudgill 1992). We outline three communicative situations and suggest a paradigm supporting the discrimination of corresponding genres. We explore the importance of light with regard to anonymity, tactual liberty and outline three light-dependant communication styles whose conventions are also supported by spatial and linguistic means.

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DE CASTRO, RENATA

Universidade Federal de Alagoas, Brazil

THE CHANGE IN LATIN'S DATIVE

Regarding the Latin case system, it may seem at first that the functions are well defined by their cases, or the cases by their functions. However, in the history of Latin there is a case of particular complexity by its construction diversity: the dative. This diversity occurs due to the dative's presence in the sentence, which causes an apparent lack of structural semantic unity. It is apparent, because it is possible to think about this case's fluidity from its variations. It is usually attributed to the Vulgar Latin (V.L.) the responsibility for the transformations suffered by Latin, mainly the reduction of the inflectional name system. However, the Classical Latin (C.L.) was a simplification of the Indo-European system of cases. Nonetheless, one cannot deny that the V.L. accelerated the reduction process, by optimizing a former tendency. During the Roman domination, bilingualism was important to transformations, and also was the distance between a small elite, which spoke a Latin closer to the C.L., and the majority of the population. Clearly, not only external sociolinguistic factors determined the dative's variation, but also did the internal factors inherent to the structure of Latin. One might think that the cause of the shift in the dative's functions was already in the Latin system. In its structure, the variation would be latent, ready to be triggered, arisen, and turned into an effective change. Some phonetic modifications deriving from the desinential similarity were registered, but they are not the only ones responsible for the breakdown of the system of cases; probably, the distinct desinences fell into disuse due to functional factors. The progressive change in the phonetic system helped the suppression of formal differences in certain cases. However, this phonetic change also protected. as far as it could, the functional limit of the cases that became interchangeable, following a tendency that emerged from its origins, with similarities among the functions of certain cases, such as the dative, genitive, and ablative. Thus, viewing the language as a systemic structure allows us to think that all linguistic variations are already internally programmed. Therefore, the possibilities of differentiation would be suspended until they could be effective. The latent variations could be accomplished through elements external to the language, which could cause pressure. That is, the variation would already be part of the system - this is invariable in its principles, which are not inherent to it - and extralinguistic elements would create the necessary circumstances, so a variation could be started. Once triggered, and being social, the language would assume some variations and would turn them into a change. As Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (2006) discussed the interaction of intraliguistic and extralinguistic factors in the process of linguistic variation, this research intends not only to analyze how the dative variation from the two coexisting Latin varieties happened - classical and vulgar -, but also to analyze the structural rearrangement of this case based on Chomsky's theory. For this purpose, the parametric sociolinguistics must provide the necessary theoretical apparatus.

DUCHÊNE, ALEXANDRE; FLUBACHER, MI-CHA

Institute of Multilingualism, University/PH of Fribourg, Switzerland

THE CITY AS A SITE FOR LANGUAGE COMMODIFICATION

The bilingual Swiss city Biel/Bienne is known as the 'city of communication'. Over the last ten years, it has attracted a variety of companies in the communication sector, ranging from ICT firms and software developers to call centres. This economic shift away from heavy industry towards the provision of services was a conscious move on the part of the city's administration. Far from random, the transformation of the city's economic activity is typical of the political economy of late modernity, where communication has taken on a central role and language skills have become an important resource. The branding of Biel/Bienne as the 'city of communication' has to be situated in these developments. Not only has the city actively sought to attract companies from the communication sector to open up business, it has done so, successfully, by promoting its most valuable resource: The city's bilingual population, competent in both French and (Swiss) German. Especially call centres targeting the trilingual market of Switzerland (German, French and Italian) are looking for multilingual speakers (so-called agents) in order to maximize managerial profit by employing one person with several language skills instead of several people proficient in only one language.

In our poster we will contextualise the economic shift of the city and explain its conditions of possibility by going back in history. However, we will also turn to the present by drawing on data from an ethnographic study (2010-2011) of a call centre in Biel/Bienne. Recordings and (participant) observation of interactions, trainings, quality management, etc. inform our analysis; qualitative interviews add a second dimension. We will visualise extracts of this data to discuss three relevant points: 1) How languages are used on a daily basis in a multilingual economic environment and thus become an economic resource, 2) how agents come to terms with their working conditions, and 3) how the individual and social consequences of the 'city of communication' can be interpreted. Our poster contributes to the discussion of whether the commodification of multilingualism as typical of late modernity also implies a real valorisation of the multilingual speakers and their work.

RAJAGOPALAN, KANAVILLIL

State University at Campinas (UNICAMP), Brazil

THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF SÃO PAULO (BRAZIL): ITS COMPLEXITIES AND CHALLENGES IN THE DAYS AHEAD

The city of São Paulo, a sprawling megalopolis of around 11 million inhabitants (upwards of 19 million, if you consider the greater city) is the financial, industrial and cultural hub and nerve-centre, not only of Brazil but the entire continent of South America. It is claimed to be the largest city in the Southern and Western hemispheres. It attracts an endless stream of immigrants from the rest of the country as well as the rest of South America. Over the past decades, the city, along with the rest of the country, has also attracted waves of immigrants from countries across the world, looking for better job opportunities of which there is no dearth. São Paulo boasts significant pockets of immigrants from Portugal, Italy, Japan, Korea, the United States, China and so forth. And in the hundreds of sweatshops that have sprung up in the alleyways of the inner city, different dialects of Spanish, often with a sprinkling of indigenous languages such as Guarani and Quechua are routinely heard.

Historically, the country's language policy was one of total assimilation geared towards fostering monolingualism in all spheres of public life. But the recent turn of events marked by large scale migrations have made considerable dents into traditional ways of going about implementing language policies or rather simply abstaining from taking any stance vis-à-vis growing but largely ignored multilingualism (mostly in extra-official spheres). As a matter of fact, there was very little by way of language planning or policy implementation, except leaving things untouched as though they were going to be resolved on their own over time.

But clearly recognizable changes are already there on the horizon. There is widespread recognition today of the fact that Portuguese, the country's national and official language, is not a major player on the international stage and that, with all its ambitions to weigh in more and more on international affairs, the country needs to invest in making its population functionally proficient in two other international languages to wit, English and Spanish. This is clearly reflected in the decision by some of the country's major newspapers to have on their web-sites pages in English and Spanish with a summary of the day's headline-making stories.

There have been some initiatives, albeit timid and often ill-conceived, to introduce the teaching of the two languages at primary and secondary school levels. As for the tertiary, i.e. university, level, a working knowledge of English is obligatory and an absolute must for entry into post-graduate courses. But the fact remains that the country is currently caught between competing wishes for establishing itself as a regional power and being a player in the world at large, hopefully earning a permanent seat in the UN Security Council. In linguistic terms, this tension translates itself as one between Spanish and English. It is a veritable balancing act, shot through with political implications of all sorts. In addition, the official policy of the state is often at loggerheads with the public attitudes towards foreign languages.

YAMASHITA, RIKA

University of Tokyo, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science

THE SOCIAL MEANING OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE IN PAN-ETHNIC G MOSQUE IN TOKYO SUBURBS

How do migrant and local languages interact? This paper analyses the linguistic ecology (Haugen 1972) at G mosque, using data from participant observation in community events and interviews with parents (2007-2010). Without any official demographic data on Muslims, Muslims are an invisible minority group in Japan. It is a very heterogeneous community in terms of socio-economic status, linguistic background and ethnicity. Both Japanese and non-Japanese Muslims form a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991) as Muslims in Japan, gathering at urban mosques, making it a micro-cosm of urban linguistic issues.

G mosque is in a residential area in Tokyo suburbs, developed in the 1960's with good access to central Tokyo. Many members are Pakistanis and other South Asians; other members include Japanese, South-east Asians, sub-Saharan Africa etc. Muslims gather to pray together, talk, listen to lectures, and bring their children to learn and play with their peers. The pan-ethnic nature of Islam and how the Japanese already share many of the same virtues as in Islam are often repeated in institutional discourses by non-Japanese Muslims. Many Muslim children go to local schools, receiving education in Japanese language and Japanese school culture. G mosque provides complementary evening classes in English and the Qur'an. Unlike complementary schools elsewhere (e.g. Blackledge, Creese et al, 2008), the school does not provide mother tongue classes. The parents at G mosque are far more willing to invest in learning English (and some Arabic). The motivation towards teaching English in this community is different from that of the non-Muslim Japanese. Most parents, many who work in selfowned businesses, do not wish their children to be white collar workers in Japanese companies or organisations. They feel proud that their community and their everyday life is self-sufficient, without receiving financial aids from public services. Parents worry that working and living in Japan may not be the best option in future in terms of cultural, ethnic and linguistic issues they anticipate as a minority group, concluding that children should be fluent in English.

Attrude towards non-Japanese children learning Japanese scripts is conflictual at institutional level and at personal level. South Asian parents consider learning kanji characters difficult and time-wasting, affecting their children's attitude towards learning them. Meanwhile, the imam framed children's Japanese literacy skills as 'promising' in respect to spreading Islam in Japan. In conclusion, rather than considering it an outsider language or unuseful language in global terms, institutional discourses attach a new social meaning to the Japanese language which fits their aim as a community and their interethnic reality. Members associate themselves with the imagined community (Anderson 1991) of Muslims around the world, which is culturally, spiritually, and economically larger than Japan on its own. This view promotes learning

MENSAH, EYO OFFIONG

University of Calabar, Calabar, Nigeria

THE URBANIZATION OF NIGERIAN PIDGIN

The rapid migration of people with diverse linguistic backgrounds to the city helps to promote multiingualism as a sociolinguistic behaviour. In the Nigerian context, new migrants are often entangled in the linguistic triangular web of English, Nigerian Pidgin (hereafter NP) and the indigenous languages and need to learn one or more of these languages to meet the demands of communication in the city. NP stands out as the most widely preferred of these languages given its linguistic simplicity, flexibility, neutrality and enormous grassroot appeal. This paper, therefore, examines the social status and mobility of NP and its role in the commodified and digitalised urban space in Nigeria. It discusses the rapidly changing profile of NP in the linguistic ecology of two cities (Calabar and Port Harcourt) as demonstrated in public mediated communication like the Naija hip hop culture, stand-up comedy, advertising communication, political discourses and computer mediated communication such as chat boards and text messages among others. The paper agrees with Jowitt (1991) that NP contributes to the construction of national and transnational public which have more popular appeal than the public spheres mediated in standard (Nigerian) English. The paper joins the call for the official recognition of NP by Nigerian policy makers and language planners in order to reposition and further strengthen its social functions and communicative potentials. This feats could enable the language to meet the challenges of globalization and modernization while indexing a more favourable response towards multilingualism in the city. Discussion

The emergence of metropolitan status of cities has had its attendant sociolinguistic challenges in defining the urban linguistic ecology. Languages compete in different domains of use in a diaglossic relationship and speakers of these languages encounter one another for the purpose of cross-linguistic communication. A study of two cities in Nigeria - Calabar and Port Harcourt reveals a multilayered linguistic ecological system where English, NP and the indigenous languages are constantly competing for relevance in the urban space. NP stands out as the bridge between the demand for English and the indigenous languages in these cities and provides people with a wide range of opportunities that promote interethnic communication. The results of this study demonstrates that there is strong NP vitality in Nigerian cities. The issues that frame this thematic session are as follows:

- What are the factors that are responsible for the rapidly changing profile of NP in the linguistic ecology of Nigerian cities (using Calabar and Port Harcourt as the reference point)?

- What are the commodified and digitalised domains NP has made greatest impacts in the city?
- In what ways and to what extend has NP been exploited to meet urban linguistic challenges?
- Any future for NP in the city?

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ERSIN, PINAR (1); ABAYLI, ZEYNEP SENA (2); BAYYURT, YASEMIN (3) 1: MARMARA UNIVERSITY, TURKEY; 2: BOGAZIĆI UNIVERSITY, TURKEY; 3: BOGAZIĆI UNIVERSITY, TURKEY

THE USE OF THE THIRD PERSON -S IN AN ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA CONTEXT: A TURKISH CASE

Since Seidlhofer's (2006) extensive survey paper on research on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in the European context, studies on ELF have been significantly developed. In their current survey article on research on ELF, Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011) emphasize the abundance of ELF research in linguistic domain; namely, phonology, lexis/lexico-grammar and pragmatics more than any other domains (business English, academic English). This study makes an attempt to close the gap in ELF research by combining linguistic level of ELF with that of an academic level by drawing on Boğazici University Spoken English Language Learner/User Corpora (BU-SELC). This visual presentation demonstrates the preliminary results of an ongoing empirical study on the use of a lexico-grammatical element; namely, the verbal -s suffix - 'the 3rd person -s', in academic debates among freshman students in the Department of Foreign Language Education. The data is comprised of two 48 minutes classroom debates, which made a total of 96 minutes video-recording and approximately 12.000 words corpora. In order to analyze the data, the simple concordance program (version 4.0) was used. The preliminary findings of the study reveal that the use of this feature through the speech productions of the participants follows a similar pattern to that of other ELF users in Europe and other world contexts (Breiteneder, 2005).

MURAWSKA, MAGDALENA

School of English, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland

TOWARDS A PATIENT-CENTERED MODEL OF MEDICAL CASE REPORT

A case is an essential element in medicine. It commences the whole process of diagnosis and treatment through gathering information, its interpretation and presentation (Hunter 1991; 68). It frames the patient's account of a disease into a story and retells it in the physician's discourse. This poster presentation reports on the work in progress on a project for a new type of case report that is patient-centered, i.e. the one that emphasizes the individual experience of illness. To this aim, an interactive type of case report will be demonstrated, which will be used as the basis for the new model. Introduced by the BMJ a few years ago both as a teaching and learning tool, it is a series of case reports devoted one particular topic, published in subsequent issues, starting with case presentation, through case progress to case outcome. Apart from the inclusion of the readers' responses and comments supplied in the course of treatment, interactive case reports contain the patients' account which appears in the third part. The presentation will focus on the patient-centered elements of interactive case reports, i.e. the aforementioned patient's voice (subjective and lay perceptions) as well as the enhanced status of the patient in the doctors' contribution (patient's textual visibility and acknowledgement of the experience of illness), which will be illustrated

with the examples from authentic interactive case reports. It will also be demonstrated how they can be used in the proposed model. It is believed that such a case report can be beneficial both to doctors in the development of compassion towards patients and to patients who become active participants in the process of diagnosis and treatment. It is a model for a narrated story of the case from the doctor's perspective but with the patient's voice and co-constructed by both parties.

MURATA, YASUMI GEE Meijo University, Japan

TURN TAKING AND TALK DISTRIBUTION IN FIRST-ENCOUNTER CONVERSATIONS FOR MALES IN UK, US AND AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH VARIETIES: QUANTITATIVE AND **QUALITATIVE ANALYSES**

Turn taking and talk distribution patterns are two of the key factors constituting communication style. The literature indicates that the way people take turns and how much they speak in a conversation varies greatly from language to language and from culture to culture. Most critically, differences in attitudes towards features such as turn taking patterns, pauses, and length of turns are recognized to negatively affect interpersonal relations (FitzGerald 2003).

This study examines turn taking and talk distribution patterns in casual conversations for three major Inner Circle varieties of English. As stated in Clyne (1994), turn change and maintenance are largely determined by power relations and long pauses, which in his data were caused by combination of particular speech acts and cultural styles. To date, however, there has been little research that compares turn taking patterns and talk distribution in interactions within UK, US and Australian regional varieties.

The data analyzed consisted of nine 30-minute casual conversations, with three from each region. Each conversation included three participants who had not met or talked prior to the recording. Participants were adult males with ages ranging between their mid-twenties to mid-forties. They were also controlled for educational level as university graduates or above. Their regional English speaking 'native' authenticity was assessed based on self-reporting that their school and home language had always been English. All nine conversations were deemed successful from the follow-up interviews that took place immediately after the conversations' recording, during which each participant was interviewed alone by the researcher. The recorded conversations were later transcribed and analyzed for the number of turns and volume of talk for each participant to see; firstly how turns and talk were distributed among the participants, and secondly whether there were any regional differences in the distribution patterns. A gualitative analysis categorizing the types of turn taking was also conducted. I employed Clyne's (1994) turn classification of 'turn giving', 'turn receiving', 'turn maintaining', 'turn appropriating', 'turn terminating', 'turn direction', 'turn deflection' to identify what each participant was actually doing with their turns in the flow of conversation.

The results reveal the extent to which the common Anglo communication style, characterized by the principles of equality and democracy, is reflected in the collected data and whether or not there is any influence from the localized cultural scripts.

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VOSSSCHMIDT, LIISA; LÖNNROTH, HARRY University of Vaasa, Finland

URBAN MULTILINGUALISM AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN TIME AND SPACE. THE CASE OF THE CITY OF VAASA, FINLAND

The city of Vaasa with approximately 60,000 inhabitants is one of the most multilingual cities in Finland today. As is well known, Finland is officially a bilingual country with Finnish (90.37 % in 2010) and Swedish (5.42 % in 2010) as the two national languages. The city of Vaasa/Vasa, founded in the beginning of the 17th century, is an officially bilingual municipality with Finnish (approx. 69 % of the population) and Swedish (approx. 25 %) as the main languages. However, about 6 % of the city's population speak some other language than Finnish or Swedish as their first language. In Finland, Vaasa is commonly considered a bilingual city, where Finnish and Swedish are used side by side. However, in Vaasa many other languages have been spoken during the course of time, languages of which we know relatively little.

The bilingual book project in progress, Vaasa kieliyhteisönä – Vasa som språkgemenskap [Vaasa as a language community], edited by Harry Lönnroth and Lijsa Voßschmidt at the University of Vaasa, aims at filling this gap in research. The edited volume in guestion is a bilingual scientific compilation. where multilingualism and multiculturalism are analyzed in the light of different language groups in the past and present of the city. Previously, similar books have been published concerning the cities of Helsinki (ed. Juusela & Nisula 2006) and Tampere (ed. Lönnroth 2009, cf. also Koskinen ed., in progress).

The book project is based on research on multilingual urban milieus, which in recent years has become a major focus of interest among scholars internationally. The perspective of the compilation is interdisciplinary and the languages and language groups of Vaasa are discussed as a cultural and social phenomenon in time and space (cf. Massey 2008). Apart from the Finnish and Swedish languages, the influence of many old linguistic minorities are described in detail. Moreover, the book gives a picture of the other languages of the city and the linguistic situation and the linguistic map of the city in the 21st century.

The project is a part of the work of the research group Intercultural Phenomena in Time (IPIT) at the University of Vaasa. The IPIT research group concerns itself with the investigation of cultural hybridities as they are revealed in ideologies, prejudices, and practices. Research within IPIT aims at the identification and critical analysis of these hybridities prevalent in a given chronological, spatial, cultural and generic contexts. In our poster at the Sociolinguistics Symposium 19, we will, among other things, discuss the topic by presenting a Finnish case of urban multilingualism in the 21st century.

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JEON, LISA

University of North Texas, United States of America

URBANICITY AND LANGUAGE VARIATION AND CHANGE: MAPPING DIALECT PERCEP-TIONS IN AND OF SEOUL

Studies in perceptual dialectology conducted in the U.S. (cf. Dennis Preston, 1989) have shown that people have strong opinions about the number and placement of dialect regions. Similar studies in other parts of the world have corroborated these results in Japan (Long 1999); France (Kuiper 1999); the Netherlands (Rensink 1999); and in the UK (Montgomery 2007). There has been relatively little research conducted in this area on Korean, however, with early studies using only short language attitude surveys. An exception is Long and Yim (2002) who conducted the most extensive study to date incorporating the methods of perceptual dialectology and language attitude research.

The present study is an extension of Long and Yim (2002), but differs in its method of investigation in an important way. This study highlights the importance of urban areas in perception (Montgomery and Beal 2011). It uses ArcGIS to geo-reference hand-drawn maps from over 200 Koreans living in areas that represent the dialect regions outlined in Long and Yim (2002). During this process, dialect categories for subjects' perceptions in and of Seoul were identified and mapped. In addition, demographic information was correlated with results showing how subjects' perceptions are stratified by factors like age, sex, socio-economic class, social networks, and time spent living in the dialect region.

A preliminary analysis of these data suggests that Koreans' perceptions of dialect regions are not limited by province boundaries as suggested by Long and Yim (2002). In fact, the data reveals not only perceptions of dialect variation unassociated with geographic borders, but also taps into the way people connect ideas about language and place (Johnstone 2010). These findings shed new light on the relationship between urbanicity and language variation and change in Seoul. The results from this study have implications for perceptual dialectology, language attitudes research, and urban linguistic ecologies.

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HIRAMOTO, MIE (1); ASAHI, YOSHIYUKI (2)

1: National University of Singapore, Singapore; 2: National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics Hiramoto, Mie

USE OF FOREIGN-ORIGIN PERSONAL PRONOUNS: OBSERVATIONS IN OVERSEAS VARIETIES OF JAPANESE

Japanese is known for its range of personal pronouns selected in order to suit pragmatic contexts like the relationship between interlocutors. Suzuki (2001:162) discusses the use of Japanese pronouns in self-referent situations: a person alternating between the first person pronouns boku (less formal masculine register) and watakushi (formal neutral register) both of which are approximately equivalent to the English first person pronouns 'I-my-me'. Similarly, the second person pronouns omae (vulgar register) and anata (formal neutral register) equates to 'you-your' in English.

In Japanese, personal pronouns are often replaced with titles or proper names, or dropped entirely when their reference is understood from the context. Furthermore, compared to other languages, such as many of the Indo-European languages, Japanese pronouns are agglutinative and do not behave as portmanteau morphemes when it comes to grammatical markings. That is, Japanese pronouns are not marked paradigmatically according to case or number as in English, for example. Instead, such grammatical information is marked by explicit number and case markers in an agglutinative manner. Based on many examples from languages with morphological paradigms, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) espoused the commonly held belief that personal pronouns are generally immune to borrowing in the absence of extreme cultural pressure. However, Thomason later (2001) makes distinctions between language types and further explains that there are languages that tolerate pronoun borrowings and those that do not. In this view, Japanese falls into the former group.

There are a number of examples of pronoun borrowings in Japanese spoken outside of Japan. The following demonstrates a few examples from Japanese spoken outside of nese spoken in Hawai'i.

(1) From a second generation son to his father (data collected in 1977 by a local Japanese American university student in Hawai'i, cited in Kurokawa 1978:74)

Papa tsudê. kôte kita yû no bâtsudê sake VO. Papa 2PP-GEN birthday today sake SFP qo-buy-Past

'Papa, today's your birthday; I brought back sake for you.'

Kurokawa 1978:74) Okâ-san, last night mî wa 2-ji made benkyôshitetta.

last night 1PP-NOM 2 o'clock until study-PAST mother 'Mother, last night, I studied until 2 o'clock.'

Concerning Japanese spoken in Hawai'i, some scholars have attempted to explain the use of English pronouns, e.g., mî (from 'me') or yû (from 'you'), as a form of solidarity building among Japanese living in Hawai'i's plantation communities (Higa 1975, Kurokawa 1976). Nonetheless, the pronoun borrowings are not an idiosyncratic phenomenon observed merely in Japanese spoken in Hawai'i. There are reports from other regions, including the North American continent, Brazil, Taiwan, Sakhalin, Palau, and the Bonin Islands. By investigating both previously available and recently collected data from Japanese spoken outside Japan, this study aims to explain the use of the borrowed personal pronouns (e.g., English mî and yû) from a Japanese pragmatics points of view. We hypothesize the intricacy of the Japanese honorific system regarding pronoun usages plays a role in motivation of pronoun borrowing among Japanese spoken overseas.

GIAKOUMELOU, MARIA; PAPAZACHARIOU, DIMITRIS University of Patras, Greece

VARIETY WITHIN VARIETY: THE LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF CORFU

The major goal of our study is to investigate the dialectal situation and geographical variation in the island of Corfu (Greece) within the framework of Perceptual Dialectology (see Preston 1989, 1999). More specifically, our aim is twofold a) to report on the perceptions of the Corfiots about the linguistic situation in the island and about the number of the different varieties they recognize within this specific region, identifying the criteria they employ for their categorization, and b) to describe the effect of the attitudes towards the social identity of speakers of a different variety on their understanding of the difference among varieties.

The linguistic landscape of Corfu is almost completely unexplored, since the dialect spoken in the island has never been systematically investigated. A few amateur and sporadic studies (see, for example, Salvanos 1918, Laskari 1998), mainly concerning the history and the society of the island, imply that the dialect is divided into two major varieties; the variety spoken in the city of Corfu, which was heavily influenced by the Italian variety of Veneto because of the longtime occupation of the island by the Venetians, and the variety spoken in the rural areas, which remained 'pure' and unaffected by foreign influences due to geographic and socio-political facts.

In order to check if the above distinction reflects the locals' beliefs and attitudes about their own and others' dialect areas of a region, we follow three techniques, which are of both of a qualitative and a quantitative nature: a) conversational evidence, b) questionnaires about attitudes, c) a 'Draw-a-map' task (see Preston 1999: xxxiv, Niedzielski & Preston 2003).

The results confirm the lack of homogeneity inside the dialect; however, they present a greater variability than it has been presented by the previously mentioned studies, as, according to Corfiots' judgments, there are four different varieties spoken in the island: the variety spoken in the villages of North Corfu, the variety of the villages of Middle Corfu, the Corfiot of the city, and the variety spoken in the villages of South Corfu. The differences of the varieties that lead to this categorization are identified on the phonological level (and more specifically on intonation) and on the vocabulary (the Corfiots claim that they can immediately detect a speaker's exact origin, based on his different 'singing talk'). Furthermore, it is shown that the South Corfiot is perceived by the speakers of the other varieties as more different, reflecting their general attitude towards the people of the South, who are characterized as 'autonomists', 'people with a different culture, lifestyle, idiosyncrasy, even different looks'.

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VLADIMIROU, DIMITRA (1); HOUSE, JULIANE (2) 1: Hellenic American University, Greece; 2: Hamburg University, Germany, Hellenic American University, Greece

'HIS CLASS IS INCREDIBLY BORING AND POINTLESS': INTERACTION IN ONLINE ACA-DEMIC CONTEXTS

The study of academic 'tribes and territories' (Becher and Trowler 2001) has largely focused on journal articles, students' writing and lectures, in other words on academic discourse produced within formal, institutional contexts. This paper aims to shift attention to academic discourse practices in online informal contexts.

The empirical data for this study consist of students' contributions to a Greek university student forum. 892 responses to the 'opinion for lecturers' thread have been collected, dating from 2007 to 2012. The dataset includes the code of practice established by the moderators. Drawing on views of (im)politeness as socially ubiguitous in 'virtually all modes of human communication' (Bousfield 2008), this study initially examines the linguistic instantiations of (im)polite behaviour, including unconventional orthography, images and emoticons. The analysis focuses on the co-construction of offensive behaviour and the function of (im)polite strategies as a means of establishing common ground, strengthening solidarity between the participants of a student community of practice, and entertaining one another. (see Culpeper 2005). Special attention is given to a number of contextual factors specific to computer mediated communication, such as, asynchronicity and anonymity of participants, but also the public nature of the forum.

(2) From a second generation daughter to her mother (data collected in 1977 by a local Japanese American university student in Hawai'i, cited in

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TODD, RICHARD (1); GRUNFELD, ELISABETH (2) 1: University of Sheffield, United Kingdom; 2: Fusion Corporation Research & Development

'JUST-NOTICEABLE-DIFFERENCES', BUT SIZEABLE IMPLICATIONS: THE CASE FOR NON-NATIVE SPEAKER PROSODY

Recent perceptual work, such as Todd (2012), details how fine-grained differences between the utterances of foreign- and British-born ethnic minority speaker-types may distinguished, or confused, when listeners are provided with minimal cues. This provides further valuable understanding of human listener performance and robustness in one type of adversity. By broadening illustrations such those of Riney & Flege (1998) it also arguably indicates how the 'perfection' of second (or subsequent) language acquisition (on phonetic grounds) can still be an arduous (if not unachievable) task for extremely proficient non-native speakers. None of such studies however, have contemplated how the implications of perceived speaker-foreignness (even if only 'just noticeable') can develop into a further 'adversity'.

This work highlights an adversity that is latent; one which the non-native/foreign-accented speaker must often bear alone. Here, the issue of listener misperception is raised. However, the difficulty is not in direct relation to the Ethnic Group Attribution of a speaker. It instead, concentrates on the way (in)frequency of social interaction between foreign out-groups (e.g., non-native speakers) and the population at large and can (i) severely impact on the extent to which various language attitudes and hegemonic practices harden; (ii) unwittingly pose risks to comprehension and thereby maintain separations and anxieties of the effected minority-group speakers; and lastly, (iii) exacerbate perceptions of speaker credibility or honesty.

Taking the matter of emphatic utterances, the study leans on the legal, and most particularly forensic, context to illustrate the extent to which interlocutor differences can push a 'just noticeable' nuance in speech production closer to a meaning or inference quite removed from what the respective listener/ speaker group would expect. In doing this, the work reveals that some anxieties which foreign or non-native talkers express about formal (and moreover, critical) speech scenarios could be justified. Thus, it is not only about these speakers finding the right words, but them seemingly lacking the 'right' way to say those same words that can undermine them at times.

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