Positioning the Self and Others

EDITED BY

Kate Beeching
Chiara Ghezzi
Piera Molinelli

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Positioning the Self and Others. Linguistic perspectives
Edited by Kate Beeching, Chiara Ghezzi and Piera Molinelli

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Edited by

Kate Beeching
University of the West of England

Chiara Ghezzi
Università degli Studi di Bergamo

Piera Molinelli
Università degli Studi di Bergamo

John Benjamins Publishing Company

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Kate Beeching, Chiara Ghezzi and Piera Molinelli

1. Overview

This volume brings together contributions inspired by discussions that took place during the Panel "Positioning the self and others: Linguistic traces" which was held at the 14th IPrA Conference in Antwerp, 26–31 July 2015. Though much work has been done in the area of positioning in social psychology and in the field of identity construction, less work has been done on the linguistic markers which serve to position self and other(s) in a range of contexts. This volume, therefore, aims to fill this gap in the literature by focussing specifically on the linguistic means used to index the relationship between the self and other(s) in different types of communicative activity. The volume makes no claims to exhaustivity. The linguistic features which primarily emerged as relevant from the different contributions are: (a) T/V address terms and vocatives, (b) pragmatic markers (c) code switching/code choice and (d) orthography. These elements relate, in the case of (a), to the conventionalised encoding of social hierarchies and power relations, in the case of (b), to stance-taking and social indexicalisation and, in the case of (c) and (d), to more broadly circulating language ideologies.

The volume is unusual in a number of ways:

– the range of languages which are covered: Bergamasco, Brazilian Portuguese, English, Finnish, French, Georgian, Greek, Italian, Latin, Russian, Spanish and Swedish;
– the inclusion of different communicative settings and text-types: workplace emails, everyday and institutional conversations, interviews, migrant narratives, radio phone-ins, dyadic and group settings, road-signs, service encounters;
– its consideration of both synchronic and diachronic factors (the latter feature in two of the chapters);
– its mix of theoretical, methodological and analytical approaches.

The different chapters offer a variety of perspectives on how speakers and writers project their identities and stances in relation to their interlocutors, through language.

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The volume brings together contributions with a more formal linguistic focus of a quantitative type with others which take a more qualitative, discourse-analytic, emergent approach. It investigates the impact which social factors have on the connotations which (the use of) a specific language or linguistic items have for the projection of an individual's identity, but also the impact which these factors have on the development of the pragmatico-semantic structure of particular linguistic items, at lesser and greater time-depths, in synchrony and diachrony.

The Introduction is structured in the following way. Section 2 is devoted to definitions of, and key distinctions between, terms such as positioning (2.1), identity (2.2), indexicality (2.3), (inter)subjectivity (2.4) and ideology (2.5), drawing out the ways that positioning can be conceptualised and how the volume contributes to our thinking in these areas through its focus on particular linguistic features. Individual chapters are summarised in Section 3, and Section 4 provides an overview of the contribution of the volume as a whole, focussing on address terms (and vocatives), pragmatic markers, code switching and code choice and orthography, and highlighting the findings from the different chapters.

2. Positioning, identity, indexicality, (inter)subjectivity, ideology

2.1 Positioning

This section introduces the notion of 'positioning', the theoretical and methodological approaches taken to positioning in the different contributions to the volume and how the volume might be said to contribute to our thinking in the different fields where positioning is relevant. The notion of positioning is familiar from the field of social psychology, from Davies and Harré's (1990) introduction to the discursive production of selves and Harré and Van Langenhove's (1991) outline of the ways in which we position ourselves in discourse. Positioning theory has at its core the idea of discursive practice and goes back to Bakhtin, Benveniste, Wittgenstein and Foucault. Our social reality is constructed, reproduced and can be contested through repetitive acts of daily interaction. Institutional and rhetorical practices are important elements in the constitution of social reality but it is through conversations that our positionings in relation to one another and to the broader social system are reproduced and transformed. As interactions unfold, speakers shape social reality.

Against this broader sociological and psychological background to positioning, the present volume takes a more incisively linguistic focus at the interface of sociolinguistics and pragmatics and contributes to a number of ongoing debates in linguistics. In general, and in the conceptualisation adopted in the current volume, sociolinguistics and pragmatics can be said to intersect over issues to do with context. While pragmatics focuses on how speakers make meaning in (contextualised) interactions (meanings which are not necessarily derivable from the propositional or locutionary semantics in an utterance), sociolinguistics looks at social meaning making, and how speakers position themselves linguistically in relation to relevant ideological and cultural factors and social and power hierarchies. In line with the more general move towards constructionism over the last 50 years, variationist sociolinguists (e.g. Eckert 2012) trace 'three waves' of variationist study, all of which continue to have currency in contemporary sociolinguistics, though somewhat contentiously. By first wave studies, Eckert refers to the classic Labovian variationist tradition launched in the 1960s in the US and picked up by Trudgill in the UK in the 1970s. The variationist method uses survey and quantitative methods to examine the relation between linguistic variability and major demographic categories (class, age, sex, ethnicity). These studies reveal the "big picture" of the social spread of sound change, with change in the U.S. spreading outward from the upper working class. The second wave of variation studies employs ethnographic methods which give local meaning to the more abstract demographic categories outlined in the first wave. Both first and second wave studies focus on some kind of speech community, and examine linguistic features as local/regional dialect variants, viewing them as identity markers. Building on the findings of the first and second waves of variation studies, the third wave focuses on the social meaning of variants of a particular variable. It views styles, rather than variants, as directly associated with identity categories, and explores the contributions of variants to styles. In shifting the focus from dialects to styles, it shifts the focus from speaker categories to the individual construction of personae. Coupland (2007) provides examples of the ways that speakers draw on stereotypes to 'style' their language creatively in discourse.

In many quarters it has become deeply unfashionable to take an unproblematised 'first wave' approach to social categorisation, which focuses on speakers' age, social class, gender and ethnicity and traces linguistic change through apparent time, typically examining the influence of both social class and gender in such changes; the apparently deterministic and undynamic nature of such attributions is unpalatable and suggests that 'positions' are immutable and cannot be negotiated, reinforcing essentialist conceptualisations. Styling arises, however, out of stereotyping and stereotypes are caricatures or exaggerations of features characterising particular celebrities or social types – what is more, styling is a relatively unusual and skilled performance. As Rickford (2001: 20, emphasis in the original) points out:

> Some verbal (and non-verbal) performances, especially those that involve radio broadcasts, large audiences and public occasions **are** more stylized than others … There are undoubtedly parallels to this kind of stylization in one-to-one conversation, but the opportunities and possibilities for it seem to increase as audience size grows.

Bucholtz and Hall (2010: 20) suggest that the most striking cases of identity construction or discursive positioning are when speakers 'sever the ideologically expected mapping between language and biology or culture' (transgender identity; ethnic, racial and national boundary crossing). They contend, however, that 'identity is discursively produced even in the most mundane and unremarkable situations'.

Many of the chapters in the volume look at the ways that speakers position themselves in precisely such mundane and unremarkable situations. The contributors strive to highlight the 'positionings we live by' (to take up Lakoff and Johnson's 1980 wording about metaphor) in other words to reveal the unconscious ways in which language positions us and our relationship with our interlocutors. It is possible in this way not only to unveil normative social categorisations but also to critique them.

On the one hand, speakers can find themselves positioned in relation to one another through socially conventionalised items such as T/V address forms (see Chapters 2 and 3). On the other hand, speakers draw on pragmatic markers for a wide range of purposes, positioning themselves in relation to their own speech (*if you like*, Chapter 6) and modalising (*et tout,* Chapter 7) and, in doing so, mediating their relationship with their interlocutors (positioning themselves and others). What is more, the rise in the use of particular pragmatic markers amongst young people constitutes a form of generalised 'styling' which creates in-groups and out-groups at particular points in time (cases in point include *genre* and *être là* in Chapter 7, *look* in Chapter 8, *cioè* in Chapter 9). In other words, these items become indexical (see Section 2.3 below).

Positioning can be considered to be the result of the negotiation between speakers and their interlocutors in relation to their choice of a particular linguistic feature which can be more or less conscious and free. Such a negotiation may occur at different levels: (a) an individual level – e.g. how a teenager chooses to speak to his/her peers; (b) a social level, through socially conventionalized norms which speakers may decide to follow or not – e.g. T/V address forms –; (c) institutional level, through more or less codified religious, social and political norms on which the individual has no possibility of choice – e.g. road signs.

The positioning of the self and other(s) relates to identity work, but also to face work and politeness. Politeness theory in the Brown and Levinson (1987) mould uncovered the ways in which the weightiness of the speech act (degree of linguistic politeness) is conventionally or normatively related to social distance and power differentials between speakers. Though Brown and Levinson's (1987) model has been roundly criticised by both researchers working on East Asian languages, and by those who believe that im/politeness is in the ear of the hearer, and is construed dynamically, it remains the seminal work in the area of politeness, and can help in the analysis of the ways that speakers position self and other in everyday interaction, managing both their own and their interlocutor's face. Chapters in the volume which focus on address forms (Chapter 3), greetings (Chapter 4) and veracity (Chapter 13) make reference to Brown and Levinson's model, while Leech (2014) and Culpeper (2011) underpin the analysis of the adolescents' (im)politeness in Chapter 8.

Two chapters in the volume (Chapters 2 and 6) draw, conceptually and methodologically, on variational pragmatics, a relatively new approach to the thorny problem of circumscribing pragmatic variability across regional varieties of pluricentric languages. These chapters can be said to attempt to capture norms in the ways that speakers position themselves, albeit focussing on different linguistic features (address terms in Chapter 2 and metacommenters in Chapter 6), in different languages and national varieties, Sweden Swedish vs. Finland Swedish and European French/English vs. North American French/English respectively.

Meanwhile, constructionist and (interactional) sociolinguistic approaches which fully recognise the dynamic and flexible performance of social identities, including the ways the speakers position self and other in discourse (Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson 1996; Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 2010; Jaffe 2009) are drawn upon in a range of chapters across the volume (Chapters 2, 4, 8, 10, 11) to underpin the analysis of the data. Chapters 7, 11 and 13 focus particularly on the positioning of self in narrative genres (Bamberg 1997; De Fina et al. 2006; Bamberg et al. 2007; Bamberg 2010).

A final, more technical, aspect of positioning which is covered in the volume relates to the syntactic positioning of linguistic items (which position self and other) on the syntagmatic chain. This is discussed by Salameh Jiménez et al. in Chapter 5. This chapter contributes to debates on (inter)subjectivity and (inter)subjectification (see Section 2.4 below) and whether more subjective forms occur on the left periphery of the argument structure while more intersubjective forms tend to occur on the right periphery (a hypothesis proposed in Beeching and Detges (eds) 2014). Jiménez et al.'s proposal of the Val.Es.Co. or VAMs model of discourse segmentation breaks new ground by further defining the type of unit (out of a total of eight) over which intersubjective pragmatic markers have scope. This model is also adopted in Chapter 9, Ghezzi's study of *cioè* in contemporary Italian.

The volume as a whole explores the tension between the normative and the discursive – and it does so by drawing on a range of theoretical and methodological traditions, at the interface between sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Not only is positioning analysed looking at the ways that particular language forms come to have particular social indexicalities (Chapter 2–9) which can in turn be drawn upon strategically for particular purposes (for instance in emails) but also (in Chapter 10–13), in relation to more widely circulating social attitudes and ideologies, following a tradition exemplified by De Fina *et alii* (2006).

2.2 Identity

As the third wave of sociolinguistic studies has shown, situated language use helps shape relations between interactants. These, more or less conscious, linguistic choices have an important role in the construction of a person's linguistic identity and combine to position a person vis-à-vis others (Locher and Graham 2010: 3). Identity has been widely analysed in the social and behavioural sciences (cf. Lavie and Swedenburg 1996; Jega 2000) and in such fields as sociolinguistics, interpersonal pragmatics, social psychology and narrative studies through different theoretical and methodological approaches (De Fina 2010). The perspective of these studies has gradually shifted from a vision of identity as a fixed set of categories that can be attributed to the individual or to the group towards a social constructionist approach which understands identity as a process in flux enacted in concrete social encounters and social practices. In such a perspective identity can be considered highly negotiable in interaction, emergent and largely co-constructed (De Fina 2010: 206–7).

Language is an 'identity marker' par excellence as it plays a central role in both interpreting and proclaiming identity ('language acts are acts of identity' Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181). Yet, within the perspective of this volume, the linguistic behaviour is not given *a priori*, instead it is a dynamic process taking place in specific contexts of interaction, which have specific pragmatic and socio-cultural coordinates. This implies that the identities construed through language use in such contexts are variable and indexically connected to social categories.

Such a concept of identity subsumes "many of the theoretical constructs used to study identities: it connects utterances to extralinguistic reality via the ability of linguistic signs to point to aspects of the social context" (De Fina *et alii* 2006: 4).

Indexicality therefore relates linguistic signs such as pragmatic markers, address terms, utterances, code or orthographic choices, etc., to complex systems of meaning such as ideologies, social representations about group membership, social roles and attributes, presuppositions about all aspects of social reality, individual and collective stances, practices and organizational structures (De Fina 2010: 215).

One of the aims of this volume is therefore to consider identity from this perspective as the product of these dynamic psychological and cultural processes by which speakers construct and express their senses of self. In other words, identity is conceived here in terms of constructions of the self through the use of language in context and of the different ways in which "people position or construct themselves and are positioned or constructed by others in socio-cultural situations through the instrumentality of the repertoires of languages at their disposal and with reference to all of those variables that are identity markers for each society in the speech of its members" (Omoniyi and White 2006: 1). This implies integrating analysis of how speakers encode their identities and subjectivities through language, but also how they discursively construct them.

In this volume identity is considered as "the social positioning of self and other" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 586; 2010: 18). Bucholtz and Hall's (2010: 19) broad and interdisciplinary approach to the investigation of identity includes a number of analytical levels – they cite, for example, vowel quality, turn shape, code choice and ideological structure, all of which operate at 'multiple levels simultaneously'. Bucholtz and Hall's (2010: 9–27) approach to the analysis of identity includes five principles which need to be taken into consideration: Emergence, Positionality, Indexicality, Relationality and Partialness. Some chapters in the current volume (Chapters 10–13) embed their analysis of everyday interactions (spoken or written) within a consideration of the macro, socio-cultural and ideological factors identified by Bucholtz and Hall and provide further evidence of the validity of their approach. Valentinsson's analysis of a dinner-time conversation, for example, illustrates the way that code-choice (Spanish or English) indexes and establishes an ideological linguistic hierarchy – in the US, English is seen as the more appropriate language for talk about science, scholarship and academia. In their analysis of narratives of return migration to Greece, Nikolaou and Sclafani observe interesting patterns of membership categorisation, indicating different levels of identity (dis)affiliation. Code-switching, reported speech and pronoun shifting emerge as strategies which are used in the performance of hybridity. Guerini's analysis of the spelling choices made on road-signs representing the local Bergamasco dialect reveals institutional identity-making of an ideological sort, authorising and legitimating Bergamasco as a local identity marker distinct from that associated with standard Italian. For its part, Höfler's ethnographically informed conversation analysis of interviews with members of Georgia's Greek community identifies the discourse marker *chestno govorya* ('honestly speaking') as a means speakers employ to approach difficult topics and establish membership categories such as 'Christians' and 'Muslims'. These chapters focus on macro categorisations, such as national, local or religious identities and the extent to which speakers affiliate to those categorisations. Approaching issues of identity through an ethnographic, bottom-up analysis of interviews and everyday language data allows the researcher to keep an open mind with respect to which language items emerge as salient in the enactment of identity. The shifting affiliations expressed by the speakers highlight the importance of positionality, indexicality, relationality, and, last but not least, partialness. Not only does the researcher influence the way that the data are collected and analysed, but the cultural identity enacted by the participants can only be said to be partial, subject to both ideological and contextual constraints.

Where this volume departs somewhat from Bucholtz and Hall's approach to identity which (quite justifiably) recommends attending to all five principles simultaneously, is in its focus on the specific linguistic items which seem to operate cross-linguistically to allow speakers to position themselves and others. Chapter 2–9 attempt to tease out which forms do which type of work, and to investigate the relationship between identity work and linguistic structure, at both a lexical semantic and syntactic level. This implies a level of generalisation which departs from the local ethnographically specific cultural positions and temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles which form the focus of much of the more subjective discourse-analytic investigation of identity. The attempt here is to identify the linguistic correlates of these instantiations of identity work.

Chapter 2–9 take specific speech events and linguistic items as their point of departure and explore the ways that these are used in naturally occurring data to position speakers and listeners. Two chapters investigate address forms, which can serve to position speakers in (a)symmetric social distance and power relationships. In using particular address forms, instead of positioning themselves explicitly in relation to macro identity categories of nationality or religious affiliation, speakers implicitly enact social hierarchical identities in relation to one another. Though negotiation is possible, the penalties for breaching normative practices in the use of address forms generally preclude unconventional usages. The (a)symmetric adoption of T/V and other forms positions speakers in relation to each other in a social hierarchy, and establishes a particular social identity of a specifically relational sort. That is not to say that these positions do not shift across national boundaries, or across time, as we shall see in Norrby et al.'s and Molinelli's chapters, respectively. The use of address forms has been little studied in works specifically on identity, yet they are, in many languages, pivotal ways of positioning speakers and their social identities in relation to one another.

Debray and Reissner-Roubicek's chapter on the formulation of greetings and closings in workplace emails in Brazilian Portuguese shows how the presence or absence of greetings and closings and the adoption of particular stylistic registers position writers on a relational axis, creating intimacy or distance dynamically as well as more conventionally. Again, the doing of identity work in emails – and specifically in relation to the ways that openings and closings are realised linguistically – has not previously received detailed examination.

Pragmatic markers also emerge in the volume (Chapters 6–9) as an important way for speakers to position themselves and to do identity work. As Beeching (2016: 4) argues, pragmatic markers are multifunctional, but they are particularly associated with spoken interaction, and serve to index both informality and belonging to particular social groups. Beeching's chapter in the current volume explores metacommenting expressions such as *if you like* which at one and the same time allow speakers to distance themselves from their own words and elicit the condonement and understanding of their interlocutors. The chapter reveals the ubiquity of these forms in English and French, and how they vary across varieties in Europe and America. Chapters by Secova and Aijmer highlight markers used by young speakers in French and English respectively. Whereas the quotative (*genre, être là*) and general extender (*et tout)* forms used by the speakers in Secova's data appear to be incoming forms, Aijmer highlights attention-getters such as *look, listen* or *excuse me* as being particularly frequent in, and characteristic of, adolescent talk. Both appear to be classic examples of the process of indexicalisation discussed in Section 2.3 below. Once again, forms can attract new indexicalities over time, as Ghezzi's chapter on *cioè* convincingly demonstrates. Once associated with youth-speak in Italy, *cioè* is gradually falling out of use. These chapters demonstrate that, once candidate forms for identity work are identified at a lexical level, variational pragmatic and corpus linguistic methods can be used to quantify and further explore their uses. Again, this is not an approach which is traditionally associated with work on identity construction, but has very evident potential.

2.3 Indexicality

The term 'indexicality' is adopted in two fundamentally different ways in the volume. Aijmer (Chapter 8) uses it in the sense commonly accepted in pragmatics to talk of the way that language forms 'index' or 'point at' other language forms. The pronoun 'he' can refer to 'Jack' for example and 'here' or 'now' can refer to particular contextual correlates ('Bristol' or 'Bergamo'; 'April 2015' or 'October 2020'). The term 'indexicality' has other associations in sociolinguistics and this is the type of indexicality which is most often referred to in the volume. It was Ochs (1992) who first highlighted the notions of direct and indirect indexicality (direct indexicality being the use of 'girl' to refer to a young female and indirect indexicality being the heavy use of, for example, the quotative *be like* which is typical of girls and thus comes to indirectly index 'girl'). She focussed on the way in which linguistic forms used in performing specific interactional activities can come to 'index' a social identity and gives the example of a mother using baby-talk which, as it is associated with responding to a child's needs, comes to index the social identity of care-giver to children. Silverstein (2003) developed the model, referring to the three steps or layers as n-th order indexicality, $n + 1$-th order indexicality and $(n + 1) + 1$-th-order indexicality. Johnstone (2010: 31) shows how a particular pronunciation of *aw* in Pittsburgh comes to index the friendly social identity of authentic Pittsburghers, while Beeching (2016: 16) argues that the use of certain pragmatic markers can equally have such values, indexing informality, intimacy, shared knowledge, but also youthspeak. Contributions to the current volume show the importance of particular linguistic resources in the creation, enactment, and ascription of identities when they are used by speakers or writers to represent themselves or their fictional characters as members of societal groups (see e.g. T vs V address forms in present or past societies, see also Culpeper 2011; *if you will* in Canadian and US English vs *if you like* in British English, Eng. *look* or It. *cioè* in young speech, Fr. *et out* in different generations of speakers).

2.4 (Inter)subjectivity and (inter)subjectification

In the enactment of their identities, speakers express their *subjectivity* which includes their intentions, attitudes and beliefs. Both identity and subjectivity refer to the social nature of language, but, while identity concerns the sociolinguistic characterization of an individual in relation to a social context, subjectivity refers to the pragmatic dimension of the individual in relation to a speech event.

Subjectivity emerges in a pragmatic perspective as it relates to the ways in which speakers express their perceptions, feelings and opinions in discourse (cf. Benveniste 1971). As Lyons says, subjectivity is "the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent's expression of himself and his own attitudes and beliefs" (1982: 102). In a more general sense, subjectivity is "the capacity of the speaker to posit himself as subject" (Benveniste 1971: 224). Although the expression of subjectivity is a necessary condition for each speaker, the ways in which it is enacted are different in each language in a given socio-historical moment. Linguistic strategies that speakers use to express their subjectivity conventionalize and interact with linguistic structure in a diachronic process of subjectification. Pragmatic markers provide substantial evidence of grammaticalisation through processes of (inter)subjectification, issues which are touched upon in both Beeching's study of metacommenters (*if you like/ sort of*) and Secova's study of quotatives (*c'est genre*), while the structural issues relating to the syntactic positioning of (inter)subjectified elements are addressed in Salameh Jiménez et al.'s chapter on discourse units and peripheries.

2.5 Ideology

Ideology is a term used to refer to political, cultural, religious and social beliefs which are often opaque to those who hold them and intrinsic to the language forms and assumptions they adopt. Kienpointner and Stopfner (2017) provide an interesting discussion of the history of and different interpretations of the term 'ideology', and relate this particularly to (im)politeness. With particular regard to language, it is broadly agreed by sociolinguists that there is an 'ideology of the standard' (Milroy e.g. 2001) which promotes the national, standard, language over regional languages, dialects or varieties of a language. The equality in structure but difference in status between a language and a dialect has been jokingly referred to in the saying that a language is nothing more than a 'dialect with an army and navy'. The standard language is often at the heart of the creation of a nation state. It is the standard which has prestige in a particular society and the standard language is enshrined in printed form and is often the only variety taught in schools (and through which other subjects are taught). This ideology of the standard can make speakers internalise a sense of shame about their own language/variety. The chapters in the volume indicate the ways that underlying ideologies are reflected in language forms, such as address terms (see Chapters 2 and 3), or in attitudes to language choices, which are reproduced or contested (see Chapter 11, Valentinsson's analysis of a married couple's use of English, or a particular variety of Spanish, over the dinner table or Chapter 12, where Bergamasco orthography in road-signs signals an ideological decision to support the local language).

The different chapters in this volume examine in detail the linguistic resources that index the relationship between the self and the other(s) by combining analysis of specific speech events or language forms across representative samples of particular speakers (Chapters 2–9) with the detailed analysis of data and interviews with individuals set within the wider context of communities, societies and the ideologies which circulate within those societies (Chapters 10–13).

3. Summary of the chapters

In Chapter 2 Norrby *et alii* investigate positioning through address practice in service encounter data in the two national varieties of Swedish: Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish. They draw on video-recorded service encounters at box offices in Finland and Sweden where a customer requests or collects a pre-booked ticket to a play, a concert or sports event. Such encounters typically consist of brief interactions between strangers in highly routinized, yet very dialogic settings. The authors focus on how the participants in the interactions use – or do not use – address pronouns to position themselves in relation to one another in the social roles of customer and staff-member and how other aspects such as the national variety of a language, age of speakers, and situational circumstances also impact on the positioning of self and other through address forms.

Chapter 3 by Piera Molinelli considers speakers' positionalities through address choice from a socio-historical pragmatic perspective by investigating the socio-cultural and linguistic factors which triggered and constrained changes in address choice from Latin to Italian. Socio-historical pragmatics represents a well-established line of research (see, e.g., Culpeper and Kytö 2000; Taavitsainen and Jucker 2003; Archer and Culpeper 2003; Andersen and Aijmer 2011; Ghezzi 2015). This diachronic analysis considers some of the steps which turned out to be crucial in the pragmatic development under scrutiny: Classical Latin, Late Latin, Old Italian, and subsequent changes in 16th/19th century Italian.

In Chapter 4, Debray and Reissner-Roubicek explore the ways in which interlocutors position self and others in workplace emails in Brazil. They focus specifically on the positioning of interlocutors as close or more distant in terms of their relationship, and discuss the reason for their specific strategic choices in terms of existing research on national and organisational culture in Brazil. In paying attention to the way social relationships at work are indexed through language, a focus on specific features in emails seems particularly warranted due to the reportedly large shift in emphasis in Brazilian workplaces from verbal to written communication as a way of getting things done (Pacheco de Oliveira 2009).

In Chapter 5 Salameh Jiménez *et alii* consider how speaker positioning is managed at the utterance level through the use of discourse markers. In recent years, the issues of subjectivity and intersubjectivity have been widely explored in semantics and pragmatics and efforts have been devoted to studying the relationship between the expression of (inter)subjectivity through linguistic items and the presence of these items on the left or right periphery of the argument structure. The use of the Val.Es.Co. model of discourse segmentation which distinguishes between *initial position* with scope over a smaller, monological unit and *initial position* with scope over a wider, dialogical unit is argued to shed greater light on the periphery problem.

In Chapter 6, Beeching takes a variational pragmatics approach to the analysis of metacommenting forms in English and French, in Europe and Canada/the US, drawing on a range of time-dated corpora. Metacommenters allow speakers to position themselves as 'non-expert' or tentative in their choice of expression. English and French draw pragmatically on similar linguistic resources for their pool of metacommenters, subjectivity being expressed through *sort of/kind of* and *like* in English, and *genre, comme* and post-posed *quoi* in French, while intersubjectivity is inherent in the personal pronouns in *if you like/if you will* in English and *si tu veux/si vous voulez* in French. Rates of usage, however, are shown to vary across languages and across varieties.

In Chapter 7, Secova takes a cross-linguistic and variationist perspective in the analysis of speakers' positionality through reported speech. Drawing on a recent corpus of contemporary London English and Paris French, the author analyses functional similarities and differences in the use of new quotatives (similarity quotatives *be like* in London; *genre, en mode, (faire) style, être comme ça* in Paris and deictic quotatives *this is* + SPEAKER in London, *être là* in Paris) and general extenders (e.g. *and stuff* in London, *et tout* in Paris). While different variants in both languages are indirectly associated with different social personae, they perform similar pragmatic functions such as hedging, marking solidarity and appealing to common knowledge between the speaker and the interlocutor(s).

In Chapter 8, Aijmer considers the nature of the indexicality of a group of pragmatic markers derived from attention-getters such as *look, listen, hey, come on*. Prototypically attention-getters point forwards to what is coming next in the discourse. However, the attention-getters used by adolescents in the Bergen Corpus of London Teenager Language (COLT) studied here acquire a social indexicality, too. Young people seem to have more relaxed turn-taking rules and pay less attention to politeness than adults do (Andersen 2001). Both *look* and *listen* are excellent devices for controlling the conversation. *Look* can introduce a new voice in the dramatized narrative, and is also used to interrupt and to mark disagreement in conflictive 'but'-talk.

In Chapter 9, Ghezzi also focuses on the social meanings acquired by a pragmatic marker when used by young speakers. The chapter analyses the evolution of the constellation of indexicalities and social meanings acquired by the pragmatic marker *cioè* lit. 'that is (to say)' in Present-Day Italian from the late 1970s to the present day. *Cioè* is traditionally described as a discourse marker with a reformulating and corrective value (Bazzanella 1995). However, in Present-Day Italian it has also developed a third order indexicality as its use in the 1980s was associated with a young speech style (cf. Silverstein 2003; Goldoni 1977). The marker peaked in frequency, degree of polyfunctionality and types of structural contexts of occurrence in the 1980s. Today, however, *cioè* represents a regressing variable in young speech, which is outnumbered by other incoming variables (e.g. *tipo* lit. 'type').

In Chapter 10, Valentinsson considers how the interconnection between the micro level of conversation and the macro level of language ideologies is shaped through speakers' positionalities. The chapter presents an analysis of an excerpt from a family dinnertime conversation among an English-Spanish bilingual family in the southwestern United States. A turn-by-turn analysis of an argument about 'proper' varieties of Spanish reveals that stance-taking moves such as presupposition and code-choice are linguistic forms that can convey speaker subjectivity, and they do this by generating (ideological) implications. Crucially, this shows how micro-level relationships constructed between 'the self' and 'others' through interaction constitute some of the 'mediating links' between forms of talk and ideology.

Chapter 11, by Nikolaou and Sclafani, also focuses on the need to connect momentary stances and alignments in interaction with macro-level social categories in order to understand the 'emergent' nature of identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Jaffe 2009). The chapter explores the narrative construction of identity in interviews with 11 second generation biethnic Greeks, (mainly Greek Americans) who relocated to their parents' homeland as adults within a decade prior to the interviews. Return migrants constitute an understudied group, especially from a sociolinguistic perspective, and Nicolaou and Sclafani argue that understanding the complex positioning of identities among this group provides unique insights into the broader ideologies that mediate hybrid and hyphenated identities in general.

In Chapter 12, Guerini analyses the symbolic import of spelling choices in the enactment of local identities in some municipal authorities in the province of Bergamo (Northern Italy). The chapter focuses on the introduction of road signs displaying both the Italian and the local Italo-Romance dialect (Bergamasco) version of the place-names. The author argues that the very decision to consider the local Bergamasco dialect eligible for public display at the initiative of an official authority carries social and political meaning. The analysis of the graphic solutions adopted in order to write a language currently used almost exclusively in spoken form (i.e. the local Bergamasco dialect) reveals the identity-related value of spelling choices.

Höfler, in Chapter 13, focuses on the social and cultural positionalities by members of the multilingual Georgian Greek community in interviews. Contrary to most current assumptions about how identification and language use fit together, Georgian Greek informants assert that the languages they speak are not necessarily a major determining factor for their Greekness. The chapter analyses the meta-communicative means speakers employ in the interviews in order to pragmatically restrict statements about the respective in- and out-groups to the sphere of their personal experiences and opinion. Discourse markers like *chestno govorya* 'honestly speaking' serve as strong disclaimers that what follows has face-threatening potential. The analysis focuses on elucidating the positioning(s) of the speaker and the boundaries drawn in instances highlighted by *chestno govorya*.

4. Conclusions

The principal aim of this collection was to draw together researchers interested in the linguistic means that speakers and writers draw upon to position themselves and others, subjectively and intersubjectively, at the interface of sociolinguistics and pragmatics. The different contributions (and we are far from claiming to be in any way comprehensive) highlight four main linguistic forms or strategies which serve to position speakers:

1. T/V address terms and vocatives
2. Pragmatic markers
3. Code switching and code choice
4. (Non-standard) orthography

T/V address terms, vocatives and pragmatic markers generally contribute to the ways that speakers do politeness, managing face and rapport and indexing social identities, such as being young or old, in particular power relations, or being socially distant or intimate (what we might refer to as discourse). Code-switching/code-choice and orthographic choices, on the other hand, generally serve to mediate or contest broader societal ideologies (what we might refer to as Discourse), in particular to do with national, local and ethnic identities. There is, however, some crossing of items from discourse to Discourse, and vice versa: T/V address terms for example are embedded, and shift, according to broader societal movements; *chestno govorya* (arguably a pragmatic marker) emerges as a veracity marker in comments on Discourse; non-standard orthography is used in emails to index intimacy (discourse). The existence of these cross-overs makes a strong case for the continued dialogue between researchers of a more quantitative and of a more qualitative orientation, showing the impact of ideology on social interaction and of social interaction on ideology.

The contributions gathered in this volume examine both synchronic and diachronic data, from the spoken and written varieties of different languages (different varieties of English and French, Greek, Italian, Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese, Bergamasco, Russian, Georgian and Swedish). In this way, evidence is adduced of the ways in which subjectivities and identities are articulated across a range of language families and language types. Not all languages have T/V systems, but where they exist, they work to maintain asymmetric power and social relations or to mediate (im)politeness or (dis)respect. Vocatives and other address forms (first name, title + second name), along with other stylistic choices, appear to serve a similar purpose in English which no longer has a T/V system. It is interesting that many European languages seem to be developing more symmetric T (or V) address systems – though this is far from being the case everywhere, and usage is far from standardised. This is illustrated in Molinelli's chapter about T/V in Italy and Norrby et alii's chapter on address practice in Sweden Swedish and Finland Swedish.

While most languages have a range of pragmatic markers and modal particles at their disposal, these are not often translationally equivalent, although they play similar interactional and modalising roles in conversation, often downplaying overstrong assertions of opinion and thus showing respect for the opinions of others. The volume has a number of chapters on the use of markers by young people, how these evolve, and the functions they have. The London teenagers with their use of direct imperative forms to attract the attention of their peers seem to show very different relational practices from the subjects studied for example by Secova in Paris and London, or indeed from the young Italians using *cioè* studied by Ghezzi. This argues the need to include careful consideration of the degree of intimacy between interlocutors and the circumstances in which recordings are made.

Finally, the commodification we see in the use of Bergamasco as a means of proclaiming a regional identity is further confirmation of a tendency we see developing elsewhere. Beal (2009) talks about the ways that local dialect forms have been commodified as a form of tourist attraction in Newcastle (with local expressions appearing on mugs or T-shirts) and Ferguson (2013) shows how Guernésiais is being revived in street-signs on the island of Guernsey.

The volume set out to illustrate how speakers and writers position themselves in relation to their place in society and to each other as individuals, using a wide range of linguistic forms. The different chapters show how the speaker's identity is multifaceted and how individuals may have different degrees of freedom of choice of linguistic forms depending on the context of interaction (e.g. individual vs social vs institutional levels). These linguistic forms range from very small units such as diacritics, pragmatic markers and pronouns of address to larger ones such as closings, narrative construction or language choice. All of these forms have been shown to be drawn upon to reflect or to indicate ideological preferences, stances and attitudes with regard to the societies we live in, the way we present ourselves as members of those societies, and to each other, in speech and writing, synchronically and diachronically, in a number of languages.

What emerges clearly from the collection as a whole is that, though the social indexicalities associated with linguistic forms shift and change to reflect broader cultural and ideological factors, individual speakers have a very rich palette of linguistic resources to draw upon in positioning themselves and others to construct their identities. We hope to have exemplified a small portion of these and to have stimulated further research studies in this vein.

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CHAPTER 2

Positioning through address practice in Finland-Swedish and Sweden-Swedish service encounters

Catrin Norrby, Camilla Wide, Jenny Nilsson and Jan Lindström

This chapter investigates social positioning through the use (or non-use) of address pronouns in Finland-Swedish and Sweden-Swedish service encounters recorded at theatre and event booking venues in Finland and Sweden. The results demonstrate some compelling variation in address practices which can be attributed to participant roles (customer or staff), national variety (Finland-Swedish or Sweden-Swedish), age (younger or older speaker and addressee) and situational circumstances, such as type of venue and type of transaction, as well as micro-situational aspects which occur during the course of the interaction (complications, problems or topics treated as sensitive). The study highlights that different forms of address cannot be associated a priori with a certain level of formality, but should be interpreted in their micro and macro contexts in order to understand existing cultural norms for appropriate address.

Keywords: address, pluricentric languages, Swedish, service encounters, interactional linguistics, variational pragmatics

1. Introduction

Address practice is a powerful linguistic resource for indexing social relationships between self and others in interaction. In this chapter, we compare the use of address pronouns in Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish service encounters recorded at box offices where customers request or collect tickets and where the staff member's task is to process the customer request. We analyse how address pronouns are utilized by staff and customers to position themselves in the local service encounter context and how the choice of pronouns reflects the wider context of the situation as well as the societies where the encounters take place (Sweden, Finland).

The encounters in our dataset are typically brief (on average 2–3 minutes) and highly routinized – both parties focus on the successful completion of the

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transaction. Although the interlocutors are generally strangers and unlikely to form any lasting social relationship, these interactions, nevertheless, involve negotiation and mutual attention to the task at hand since the management of interpersonal relationships is important for the successful completion of the service encounter.

A previous study (Norrby et al. 2015a) based on the same data, revealed some unexpected and complex patterns in the address choices of the interlocutors (see Section 3). The quantitative differences we found across age groups and national varieties strongly suggest that variation in address practices can be related to strategies for positioning self and other in order to establish and maintain social roles. In this chapter, we explore these aspects further through a qualitative microanalysis with a focus on how the participants in the interactions use – or do not use – address pronouns to position themselves in relation to one another. The results demonstrate that choice of address is a powerful resource for positioning self and other in social space that index participant roles (customer/staff), age/generation (younger/older participants), national variation (Swedish in Sweden or in Finland) as well as the situational context, including factors such as the type of transaction and the physical affordances of the venue.

The chapter is organised as follows. In Section 2 we provide a brief background to the two national varieties of Swedish and then, in particular, the Swedish address system and its use. In Section 3 we present the data and methods, as well as the main quantitative results from Norrby et al. (2015a) to contextualise the present study, before we turn to the qualitative analysis and results in Section 4 where we also discuss the implications of the results both in terms of social positioning and national variation. Finally, we offer some concluding remarks in Section 5.

2. Background

Swedish is a pluricentric language, a language which enjoys official status in two nations: as the main language of Sweden and one of two official languages in Finland, alongside Finnish. In Sweden, the vast majority of the population[1] of 10 million (Statistics Sweden 2017) has Swedish as their first language, and Swedish permeates all aspects of society and public life. In contrast, the Swedish-speaking Finns constitute a minority of 5.2 per cent of the Finnish population of about 5.5 million (Statistics Finland 2017). However, it is a minority with a strong legal, economic and cultural position, as a result of historical circumstances (Liebkind, Moring and

1. Sweden does not collect official statistics on language, but a recent study on the number of speakers of various languages in Sweden reports that 85% of the population has Swedish as their first language (Parkvall 2016).

Tandefelt 2007). Historically, Finland was part of the Swedish kingdom for close to 600 years until 1809 when it was relinquished to the Russian empire as a result of the Swedish-Russian war. Swedish remained the language of public administration and bureaucracy until Finnish slowly replaced it in the decades before Finland gained independence in 1917 (Saari 2012). However, in the Finnish constitution from 1918 Finnish and Swedish were given equal rights as official languages of the new republic. Nevertheless, the difference in numbers means that Finnish dominates in most public arenas in Finland today. The language contact situation in Finland naturally impacts on communicative patterns utilized in Finland Swedish – and in Finnish. However, the pragmatic similarities between Finland Swedish and Finnish can also be related to cultural and societal preferences that Finland-Swedish and Finnish speakers share as inhabitants of the same country.

2.1 Address in Sweden Swedish and Finland Swedish

Similar to many languages, Swedish distinguishes between an informal and a formal pronoun of address in the singular, often referred to as T and V pronouns after Latin *tu* and *vos* (Brown and Gilman 1960). Superficially, the Swedish pronominal address system is similar to the French where the second-person plural pronoun (*vous* in French and *ni* in Swedish) also functions as a formal pronoun of address to one person. However, contrary to French, addressing somebody by *ni* is rare in contemporary Swedish, leaving T address (*du*) as the default choice in most contexts and to most interlocutors (Clyne, Norrby and Warren 2009: 7).

In Sweden Swedish V address (*ni*) disappeared almost completely following the so-called '*du*-reform' in the late 1960s. Despite its name, the '*du*-reform' was not an officially sanctioned reform, but the result of a growing resistance to the cumbersome address usage at the time where use of titles and third person address were commonplace. Since the V pronoun had become tainted by its use 'downwards' to a person who lacked a title (Ahlgren 1978; Fremer 2015) this resulted in avoidance of *ni* in order not to offend the addressee, which sometimes produced rather clumsy constructions (*Vill damen ha något mer innan damen går*? 'Does the lady want something else before the lady leaves?'). The pervasive and rapid change to T (*du*) in almost all parts of public life is also explained by the Swedish socio-political climate of the 1960s with its democratic ideals and focus on egalitarianism. However, a much-cited study by Mårtensson (1986) suggested that the V pronoun, *ni*, was reintroduced in Sweden in the 1980s as a polite pronoun, used predominantly by young service staff to address older customers in particular. Mårtensson argued that her respondents were too young to have experienced the social stigma attached to *ni;* to them *ni* was simply a polite distance pronoun, similar to *vous* in French or

Sie in German, suitable for managing social roles in service situations. Subsequent studies on Swedish address, also based on reported use, have not found that *ni* has been reintroduced, except for service encounters where *ni* sometimes serves as 'a thin social veneer, which disappears as soon as the participant roles change ever so slightly' (Clyne, Norrby and Warren 2009: 112).

The development in Finland Swedish is similar, although the *du*-reform was not as pervasive as in Sweden; in Finland *ni* was preserved as a possible option in certain situations, particularly in interactions with older unfamiliar addressees and in service encounters (Clyne, Norrby and Warren 2009). More recent observations of Finland-Swedish address suggest that the development runs in two different directions: on the one hand *ni* seems to hold and increase its role as a polite distance pronoun in service encounters in shops, cafés and restaurants, while, on the other hand, public authorities in Finland have introduced explicit *du* address in the past decade (Lassus 2010).

Despite the strong position of T as default address in both national varieties of Swedish, the socio-cultural developments in the mid and late 20th century suggest that the address practices are complex, particularly in service encounters. Alongside T and V, other options – such as no address and indirect constructions – also exist as resources for managing interpersonal relationships in both varieties. It should also be borne in mind that older speakers, particularly in Sweden, tend to view *ni* (V) negatively, as a condescending type of address, whereas younger speakers who lack experience of the address system prior to the shift to *du* following the '*du*-reform,' are more likely to view it positively as a polite pronoun (Clyne, Norrby and Warren 2009).

3. Data and methods

In order to account for variation in address practices, both in the local interactional context and across the national varieties, we combine insights from *interactional linguistics* (Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson 1996; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001; Kern and Selting 2012; for Swedish, see Lindström 2008) and *variational pragmatics* (Schneider and Barron 2008; Schneider 2010). Broadly speaking, interactional linguistics is concerned with the analysis of the form and function of linguistic units in their situated interactional context. From this follows that linguistic structures are emergent in interaction rather than fixed decontextualized entities, and that they are a collaborative achievement by all participants rather than the product of a single speaker. Methodologically, interactional linguistics is strongly influenced by Conversation Analysis (CA), and shares its empirical interest in how participants organise social interaction, but adds a linguistic dimension to how this is accomplished. Interactional linguistics also takes great interest in contextualisation and how participants in interaction use "linguistic and paralinguistic features to suggest and evoke interpretative frames which are used by participants to 'construct' a context of interpretation" (Kern, and Selting ibid.).

Variational pragmatics is a theoretical framework which combines insights from pragmatics and sociolinguistics, in that it examines pragmatic variation across geographical and social space in order to determine what impact macro-social factors such as region, social class, age, gender and ethnicity might have on language use. It is related to cross-cultural pragmatics, but in contrast, variational pragmatics does not treat languages/cultures as homogenous wholes, but sets out to explore the pragmatic diversity found within a language/culture. Traditionally, in dialectology, regional varieties are synonymous with sub-national varieties (dialects) of a language within a given nation. In variational pragmatics, however, regional variation includes also the complexities of national variation found across pluricentric languages, i.e. languages with more than one national centre (Clyne 1992). To date, few studies take this type of areal pragmatic variation into account[2] and the present chapter on address practices in Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish service encounters should be seen as a contribution to this field.

The empirical basis of our study is a dataset of 318 audio and video recorded service interactions between customer and staff, equally distributed across Sweden Swedish and Finland Swedish. Recordings were made at a total of seven theatre box offices, event booking venues and the like, four in Sweden and three in Finland. The 318 customers were served by a total of 16 staff, 12 in Sweden and four in Finland. The age range of the customers was 16–87 in Sweden and 18–89 in Finland. Among staff, the age range was 19–64 in Sweden and 25–58 in Finland. The lower number of staff in the recordings from Finland is explained by the fact that most interactions in public life in Finland take place in Finnish, leaving only few (and smaller) venues where the conversational language is Swedish.[3] Table 2.1 summarizes the data.[4]

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2. Beeching, this volume, however, takes a variational pragmatics approach to look at metacommenting features across British, Canadian and US English and European and Canadian French.

3. The data were collected within the binational research programme *Interaction and Variation in Pluricentric Languages* supported by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (Grant ID: M12:0137).

4. We have divided the participants into two age groups: below and above 50 years. A more fine-grained division would result in some groups being too small, but more importantly, the division reflects the impact of the *du*-reform in the late 1960s. Participants who were below 50 at the time of data collection were born in 1965 or later, and have not had any first-hand experience of the *du*-reform, or the address conventions that led to the shift to near universal *du* (T). Those above 50, on the other hand, belong to generations that have been said to be ardent supporters of universal T.

Table 2.1 Participants in the service encounter study

	Staff			Customers		
	Below 50	**Above 50**	**Total**	**Below 50**	**Above 50**	**Total**
Sweden	8	4	12	58	101	159
Finland	2	2	4	49	110	159
Total	10	6	16	107	211	318

Tables 2.2 and 2.3 provide an overview of the quantitative results presented and discussed in Norrby et al. (2015a). The purpose of the quantitative analysis was to explore what address patterns are used in the data and what the main similarities and differences are between Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish service encounters. We based the analysis on whether a particular pattern, such as T address, V address and plural uses of the pronoun *ni*, occurs in the interactions in question. For example, the category 'T only' in Table 2.2 means that the customers use the T pronoun *du* at least once during the interactions, but do not use V or plural *ni*. The category 'T and plural *ni*,' on the other hand, means that they use both *du* and plural *ni* at least once. Interactions where the customers do not use T, V or plural *ni* are referred to as cases of 'no address.'

As Table 2.2 shows, T address is the most common strategy among the customers in the data. Some unexpected differences, however, surfaced, when the customers were divided into age groups. This concerns Swedish customers in particular: younger customers have a much smaller proportion of T address than older customers (T only in 34.5% vs. 79.2% of the interactions). The most prevalent pattern among younger customers in Sweden is clearly 'no address.' In the Finland-Swedish dataset the differences are much smaller between the age groups.

In the case of staff, there is much more variation in address strategies. As seen in Table 2.3, some staff also use V address, which the customers never do. The use of the V pronoun *ni* often co-occurs with the use of other address pronouns, which results in several additional combinations compared to the patterns found among customers. However, use of V address – with the exception of one single case – only occurs among Finland-Swedish staff, a point which we will return to below in 4.1. In particular, the group which stands out among staff are young Finland-Swedish staff members.

As the quantitative survey of staff address reveals, T address is the most common category for all staff except for younger Finland Swedish staff where no address is the most frequent (40.7% of interactions). In addition, most cases of V address can be found in interactions with young Finland-Swedish staff. No great differences are found among younger and older Sweden-Swedish staff and the distribution of address patterns among older Finland-Swedish staff does not differ much from

Table 2.2 Number of interactions with different types of address by customers in the data

	Sweden						Finland					
	Younger customers		Older customers		Total		Younger customers		Older customers		Total	
No address	31	53.4%	11	10.9%	42	26.4%	20	40.8%	33	30.0%	53	33.3%
T only	20	34.5%	80	79.2%	100	62.9%	21	42.9%	59	53.6%	80	50.3%
T and plural *ni*	3	5.2%	9	8.9%	12	7.5%	6	12.2%	11	10.0%	17	10.7%
Plural *ni* only	4	6.9%	1	1.0%	5	3.1%	2	4.1%	7	6.4%	9	5.7%
Total	58	100%	101	100%	159	100%	49	100%	110	100%	159	100%

Table 2.3 Number of interactions with different types of address by staff in the data

	Sweden						Finland					
	Younger staff		Older staff		Total		Younger staff		Older staff		Total	
No address	20	19.6%	12	21.1%	32	20.1%	37	40.7%	12	17.6%	49	30.8%
T only	68	66.7%	33	57.9%	101	63.5%	21	23.1%	31	45.6%	52	32.7%
T and plural *ni*	9	8.8%	10	17.5%	19	11.9%	0	0%	12	17.6%	12	7.5%
T and V	1	1.0%	0	0%	1	0.6%	5	5.5%	1	1.5%	6	3.8%
V only	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	14	15.4%	1	1.5%	15	9.4%
V and plural *ni*	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	5	5.5%	2	2.9%	7	4.4%
Plural *ni* only	4	3.9%	2	3.5%	6	3.8%	9	9.9%	9	13.2%	18	11.3%
Total	102	100%	57	100%	159	100%	91	100%	68	100%	159	100%

those of older Sweden-Swedish staff (except for a few cases of V address and a slightly higher proportion of interactions with plural *ni*).

The quantitative analysis of the service encounter data thus revealed some interesting variation in how customers and staff position themselves through address in service encounters. The purpose of this article is to explore this variation in more detail from a qualitative perspective.

4. Findings

In the following we investigate the differences in address practices across participant roles (customer and staff), nationality (Sweden and Finland) and age of participants (younger, older) in more detail through a qualitative analysis of 18 extracts. In addition, we explore a fourth dimension, situation, which was not analysed in Norrby et al. (2015a), but which clearly influences the choice of address.

To begin, we show two short service encounters in their entirety as an illustration of the two main patterns of address use in our data: address with T (*du*) and with no direct address at all. (C = Customer, S = staff; address forms are highlighted in bold. For transcription conventions, see list at the end of the chapter.)

(1) Picking up pre-booked tickets, Sweden Swedish; T address
(S: female, 19; C: male, 51)

1 C: *jag har det här att hämta ut* ((hands a note to staff))
'I have this to pick up'

2 S: *japp tackar*
'yes, thank you'

3 (11.0) ((S reads booking reference and works on

4 computer))

5 S: *har **du** legitimation med **dig** också*
'do you.T have ID with you.T as well?'

6 C: *mm*
'mm'

7 (2.1)

8 S: *två biljette:r* (0.4) *till Frölunda Leksand*
'two tickets for Frölunda Leksand

9 C: *jea*
'yes'

10 S: *yes* ((in English))

11 (11.1) ((C takes out ID))

12 S: *där tackar*
'there thanks'

13 (8.2) ((staff looks at the identity card and the computer

14 screen))

15 S: *så: vill* ***du*** *att jag slänger den* ((*den* = it, note with booking))
'so do you.T want me to throw it away?'

16 C: *den kan* ***du*** *kasta [ja]*
'that you.T can throw away yes

17 S: *[yes]*
'yes'

18 (14.3) ((tickets are printed))

19 S: *så: där har* ***du*** *[dom två]*
'so there you.T have those two'

20 C: *[mm tack tack]*
'mm thanks thanks'

(2) Picking up pre-booked ticket, Sweden Swedish; no direct address
(S: male, 23; C: male 41)

1 C: *[hej]*
'hi'

2 S: *[hej]*
'hi'

3 C: *den* ((hands over a note)) *och här e n:um:ret*
'and here's the number'

4 ((C hands over mobile phone))

5 S: *tack*
'thank you'

6 (8.0) ((S searches on computer))

7 S: *varsågod* ((hands back mobile phone)
'there you are'

8 C: *tack*
'thank you'

9 (14.2) ((tickets are printed))

10 S: *[varsågod]* ((hands over tickets))
'be so good.SG'

11 C: *[e de:t] alla fyra för bå[da]*
'is it all four for both?'

12 S: *[>det e alla<] fyra*
'it is all four'

13 C: *fint tack för hjälpen*
'good thanks for the help'

The interactions shown in Extract (1) and (2) are in many ways similar. They take place at the same venue (a box office which sells tickets to sports events mainly), and involve the same type of transaction (collecting pre-booked tickets) where the customer initiates the interaction by handing over something (piece of paper, mobile phone). Yet, (1) displays several instances of T address whereas (2) has no instances of direct address. We will return to these extracts later in the analysis below, but let us first consider how customer and staff use address forms as resources for positioning.

4.1 Participant roles: Customer and staff

In all of the interactions a staff member serves a customer who, in the majority of cases, has come to buy tickets or to collect pre-booked tickets. In a few cases the customer requests more general information about an event, or wants to change a booking, and in a few instances the service encounter concerns matters other than tickets. As indicated in Tables 2.2 and 2.3 there is a distinct difference in address patterns between customers and staff.

Customer

The most frequent overall pattern among customers is direct T address with the pronoun *du* as Extract (3) from the opening of the interaction illustrates (T forms are bolded). (See also (1) above.)

(3) Customer, Finland Swedish; T address (S: female 58, C: female, 54)

1 C: *hej he[j]*
'hi hi'

2 S: *[ja]* (.) *hej*
'yes hi'

3 (0.3)

4 C: *hur e det med de hä:r Jesus Kristus Superstar* (0.3)
'what is the situation with Jesus Christ Superstar'

5 *i morgon*
'tomorrow?'

6 (0.6)

7 C: *har* ***du*** *några biljetter kvar*
'do you.T have any tickets left?'

In (3) the customer presents the reason for the visit – inquiring about ticket availability – by addressing the staff member directly with the T pronoun *du*: *har du några biljetter kvar* 'do you.T have any tickets left' (l. 7). By addressing the staff member directly, the customer foregrounds interpersonal relationships where the request for tickets is directly linked to the staff member's ability to provide them.

The quantitative results, however, also revealed that a recurrent pattern for customers is to not address the staff member at all (about 30%), as illustrated in (4) and (5) below (see also Extract (2) above.)

(4) Customer, Sweden Swedish; no direct address (S: male, 27; C: female, 33)

1 S: *hej*
'hi'

2 C: *hej* (.) ***i kväll***, (.) ***Fanny och och (.) [°Alexander]*** *tack°*
'hi (.) tonight, (.) Fanny and and (.) Alexander please'

3 S: *[mm¿]*
'mm'

4 *hur många*
'how many?'

5 C: *eh: två stycken*
'eh: two tickets'

(5) Customer, Finland Swedish; no direct address (S: female, 25; C: female, 70)

1 C: *mt hej*
'hi'

2 S: *hej*
'hi'

3 (0.8)

4 C: ***på namnet* LAST NAME FIRST NAME *två biljetter***
'in the name two tickets'

5 ***till Kappan nu i kväll***
'for The coat now this evening'

In both these extracts the customer delivers the information necessary to complete the transaction in a succinct way, including the name of the play, the date and number of tickets, but without addressing the staff member directly (for further discussion, see 4.4 below).

In some of the service encounters, the customer displays social positioning through address immediately after greetings and before formulating a request through the use of vocative T, as illustrated in (6) where the customer is enquiring about tickets for a soccer game. This use is typical of the Sweden-Swedish data.

(6) Customer, Sweden Swedish; T address (S: male, 29; C: female, 68)
1 C: *hej*
'hi'

2 S: *hej*
'hi'

3 C: ***du*** *jag skulle ha två biljetter till är det IFK gävle*
'you.T.VOC I would like two tickets to is it IFK Gävle'

4 *som spelar tjugosjätte september* (1.0) *IFK nått*
'who are playing on the twenty-sixth of September IFK something'

A similar positioning can result from the use of a discourse particle containing T address, such as *hördu* 'listen + you.T.' Extract (7) illustrates this use, which is typical of the Finland-Swedish dataset.

(7) Customer, Finland Swedish; T address (S: female, 29; C: female, 75)
1 S: *[hej]*
'hi'

2 C: *[hej]san hejsan* (0.4) ***hör du*** *(.) den där (.)*
'hi hi listen[+ you.T] this'
skärgårdskalendern
'archipelago calendar'

3 S: *jå*
'yes'

4 C: *vad kostar den*
'how much is it?'

5 S: *den e tretti euro*
'it's thirty euros'

6 (0.2)

7 C: *tret- vi ska se- näe* ***du*** *kan inte ta bankkort va*
'thirt- let's see no you.T don't take debit cards do you?'

8 S: *nä: tyv[ärr]*
'no sorry'

9 C: [näe] näe men **hör du** jag kommer
'no no but listen[+ you.T] I'll come'

10 senare jag har bara
'later I only have'

The use of vocative *du,* as in (6), and the particle *hördu,* as in (7), both function as a means for attracting the attention of the interactional partner, the member of staff, before presenting the reason for the visit. In other words, the customers position themselves from the outset as speaking directly to the other person rather than to the institution which provides a service.

It is noteworthy that there are no cases of customers addressing the staff with V (*ni*) in our data. In (8) below the customer uses the pronoun *ni* initially (l. 4), but as the ensuing interaction makes manifest, this is not an instance of V address (i.e. *ni* to address one person more formally).

(8) Customer, Sweden Swedish; plural *ni* and T pronoun *du*
(S: male, 23, C: female, 57)

1 C: *hej [jag] skulle vilja beställ- eller köpa biljetter till KIDS*
'hi I would like to rese- or buy tickets for KIDS'

2 S: *[hej]*
'hi'

3 S: *ja*
'yes'

4 C: *har* ***ni*** *nånting den nu ska vi se*
'do you.PL have anything on the now let's see'

5 *var jag hade sett det* (.)
'where I have seen it'

6 *lördagen den sextonde i elfte*
'Saturday the sixteenth of November?'

7 S: jag kollar
'let me check'

((4 lines omitted when S. checks availability))

8 S: *nej* ***jag*** *har inga där tyvärr alls*
'no, I have none at all, unfortunately'

9 C: *det har* ***du*** *inte*
'oh, you.T don't'

When the customer asks about tickets (l. 4), this is a case of addressing the institution as a collective (plural *ni*) *har ni nånting* … 'do you.PL have anything …' rather than addressing the staff as an individual (cf. Extract (6) above). This interpretation is supported by the unfolding interaction where the customer addresses the staff later on (l. 9) directly with T (*du*) when receiving the negative news about ticket availability (see also Extract (3) for a further example). Such use of plural *ni* to address the institution is a recurrent pattern in the data. In terms of social positioning, plural *ni* puts the emphasis on the institution providing a service rather than the interlocutor as a person.

Staff

With staff, the address behaviour is much more complex: besides the ubiquitous use of T address, there are service encounters where the staff member does not address the customer directly at all (see Extract (2) for an example), as well as cases where the staff uses V address. In fact, all the following combinations exist in the data: T only, T and plural *ni,* plural *ni* only, V only, T and V, V and plural *ni* and no address at all (see Table 2.3).

In (9), the direct continuation of (4), the staff member addresses the customer directly with T.

(9) Staff, Sweden Swedish; T address (S: male, 27; C: female, 33)

1 S: *mm¿* (.) *vilken sektion vill* ***du*** *#sitta i#*
‘mm which section do you.T want to sit in?’

2 C: *eh: jag tro-* (.) *jag va inne å titta på:* (0.4)
‘eh I think- I checked’

3 *eh Dramatens hemsida*
‘eh the Dramaten website’

The second most common category also among staff is no direct address (ca 25%) as illustrated in Extract (2) above and Extract (13) below. There are also a few cases with V address, but except for one single case (see Norrby et al. 2015a) they are restricted to the Finland-Swedish data. Extract (10) shows a case from one of these encounters.

(10) Staff, Finland Swedish; V address (S: female, 25; C: female, 46)

1 ((C pays by credit card))

2 S: *mt* (.) *eh om* ***ni*** *tar ut å sätter [in på ny]tt så borde det*
‘if you.V remove [the card] and insert [it] again it should [work]’

3 C: *[oj]*
‘woops’

4 S: *vi ska se* (0.3) *näe* (0.5)
let’s see no’

In (10) the customer is trying to pay with her credit card but the credit card machine does not work properly. In line 2 the staff asks the customer to remove her card. When doing so she uses V address: *om ni tar ut å sätter in på nytt så borde det* 'if you.V remove [the card] and insert [it] again it should [work].' Later on, when she has fixed the machine, she uses a construction without address when she asks the customer to sign the receipt: *om jag får underskrift där tack* 'if I can have a signature there, please.'

While the pronoun *ni* is only used by the Finland-Swedish staff to convey V address, both Finland-Swedish and Sweden-Swedish staff use the pronoun *ni* with plural meaning to collectively refer to several customers. This use of *ni*, illustrated in (11) below, has a similar function as the customers' use of collective *ni* analysed in (8).

(11) Staff, Finland Swedish; plural *ni* (S: female, 58; C: male, 77)
1 S: *å **hur många personer e ni***
'and how many persons are you.PL'
2 C: *fyra*
'four'
3 (0.7)
4 S: *å och **har du varit å tittat på vår hemsida vad ni vill ha***
'and and have you.T looked at our website, what you.PL want?'

In (11) the staff member first asks the customer how many people will attend the play that he is buying tickets to. When she uses the pronoun *ni* 'you.PL' in line 1 she refers to the customers collectively. Given the referential meaning this is the only possible interpretation. This is also the case at the end of line 4 where she is inquiring about the customer's reservation concerning refreshments during the interval. She starts her inquiry by using T address to refer to the customer alone, *å och har du varit å tittat på vår hemsida* 'and have you.T looked at our website,' before she proceeds to talk about the whole group he is buying the tickets for, *vad ni vill ha* 'what you.PL want.'

To summarize, staff make use of a greater variety of address patterns than customers when they position themselves in relation to their interlocutor (the customer) in the service encounters investigated. Partly this is related to the fact that they act in a professional role and perform more varied actions in the service encounter. In comparison, the customers are not accountable for providing a service and hence may not have to carry out as much interactional work. Some of the variation, however, has to do with the fact that the address system in Finland Swedish is not stable, which opens up for several different strategies depending on how the staff members choose to manage the relation to the customers (see Section 4.4).

4.2 Sweden and Finland

The quantitative study (Norrby et al. 2015a) demonstrated some differences in address use between Finland-Swedish and Sweden-Swedish participants. This is true in particular of staff. The most striking feature is the *variation* in address forms among the Finland-Swedish staff, both in terms of types of expressions used and between individual staff members (see Table 2.3). In the Sweden-Swedish data, staff clearly favour T. Overall, the number of interactions where staff address their customers directly with T only is considerably higher in Sweden (63.5% compared to 32.7% in Finland, Table 2.3). However, one (older) staff member in Finland positions herself in the same way as her Sweden-Swedish colleagues and addresses her customers with T, and never with V. Extract (12) illustrates this.

(12) Staff, Finland Swedish; T address (S: female, 53; C: female, old, unspecified age)

1 S: *var vill* ***du*** *sitta där finns platser nu liksom*
‘where do you. T want to sit there are seats there now?’

2 (0.5)

3 C: ***hördu****: ja nå an- eh* (.) *vad e den där trettonde*
‘listen[+ you.T] yes well di- eh what’s that thirteenth?’

4 (0.4)

5 C: *nej vad e den där* (0.4) *där där där* (.) *man har*
‘no what’s that there there there do you have’

6 *plats för benen*
‘space for your feet?’

7 (0.4)

8 S: *sextonde*
‘the sexteenth?’

9 C: *okej*
‘okay’

10 (0.3)

11 S: *där e m-* (.) *ledigt runtomkring så* ***du*** *flyttar*
‘there are seats free around it so you.T just move’

12 *var* ***du*** *tycker sen*
‘where you.T want then’

13 C: *så jag får v:räka mig*
‘so I can spread out’

14 S: ***du*** *får göra det*
‘you.T can do that’

15 (0.4)

16 C: *kiva*
'nice'

17 (0.8)

In (12) the 53-year old staff member uses T address several times to address the customer, who is clearly older than herself, starting with *var vill* ***du*** *sitta* 'where do you want to sit' (line 1). In this particular interaction the customer also uses T several times to address the staff, for example in line 3, which is a response to the staff's preceding turn with T address. The staff member, however, uses T address consistently throughout the encounters that she participates in, in some cases numerous times even though the customer does not address her directly at all.

The address behaviour of the other Finland-Swedish staff members – and hence how they manage interpersonal relationships and position themselves and others – varies depending on factors relating to the customer (such as age), but also according to how they present themselves in their professional role. The individual staff members seem to favour slightly different types of address strategies and apply them more or less indiscriminately in all interactions. While the older staff member in Extract (12) favours T address with *du* in a similar way as Sweden-Swedish staff, the younger staff member, who works at the same venue, favours V address (V address in 20 of 37 interactions, see Extract (10)). The other older Finland-Swedish staff member uses *du* in half of 33 interactions, but uses V address in only four cases. Instead, she uses plural *ni* in 13 interactions; one of the cases was illustrated in (11) above. Finally, the other Finland-Swedish younger staff member has the highest share of no direct address in the Finland-Swedish data: in slightly more than half of the 54 interactions she does not use any address pronoun at all. One of these cases is shown in (13) below.

(13) Staff, Finland Swedish; no direct address (S: female, 29; C: male, 80)

1 S: ***sen önska dom från röda korset jag skulle ta upp***
'then they asked me from the Red Cross to write down'

2 *ännu .hh* ***namn och*** (.) ***kontaktuppgifter telefon[nummer]***
'also the name and contact information telephone number'

3 C: *[ja hap]*
'okay'

4 C: *Last name*

5 (0.2)

6 S: *nja + a:*
'well'

7 (0.8)

8 S: *Last name*

9 (0.7)

10 C: *First name och First name*
'and'

11 (4.3)

12 S: ***å en telefonnummer räc[ker riktigt bra]***
'a phone number is enough'
((ten lines omitted: customer gives his phone number))

13 (0.6)

14 S: *yes och det blir så mycket som hundra euro*
'yes and that's a hundred euros altogether'

In (13) the 80-year old customer is signing up himself and his wife for a party organized by the Red Cross. The member of staff needs to pass on his name and telephone number to the Red Cross. Instead of asking the customer directly for this information she uses constructions without direct address: *sen önska dom från röda korset jag skulle ta upp ännu namn och kontaktuppgifter telefonnummer* 'then they asked me from the Red Cross to write down the name and contact information telephone number' (l. 1–2). As seen in line 3–10 the customer responds to this as a request and provides the staff with his name. He does, however, not give the staff his phone number, and in line 12 she reminds him by saying *å en telefonnummer räcker riktigt bra* 'and a telephone number is enough.' Again, the customer treats this as a request and provides his telephone number. After receiving the information needed, the staff proceeds to talk about the payment. She starts by using the informal discourse particle *yes* (said in English) before stating the total price.

In contrast to the cases without direct address shown in Extract (2) above, the member of staff in (13) seems to consciously avoid addressing the customer. Avoiding direct address also more generally seems to be a strategy for her to position herself in the interaction with customers. Of all the staff members in the data, she has the lowest frequency of direct address. She is also the only staff member who uses direct address less than the customers she is talking to. At the time of recording, she commented on this strategy by telling the research assistants that she had started using constructions without direct address when working for another service provider since she found it difficult to conform to the house rule of V address to all customers, even those her own age.

In summary, in terms of national variation staff position themselves somewhat differently in Sweden and Finland. In Sweden, they typically address customers habitually with T (*du*), whereas staff in Finland display much more variation in how they address customers. Each one of the Finland-Swedish staff seems to favour a certain address strategy and tend to apply it more or less consistently in their interactions with customers. In this sense address can be seen as a conscious choice made by individuals in their professional role as staff, but in addition, the analysis suggests that the address strategies correlate with age, with younger staff favouring V address or no direct address. In the next section, we explore the differences between younger and older participants in more detail.

4.3 Younger and older participants

The quantitative results illustrate that, overall, younger and older customers use address as a resource in different ways. Customers above 50 years in both Sweden and Finland undoubtedly favour use of T address (*du*) whereas customers below the age of 50 display much greater use of no address. In particular, this is the case among younger Swedes: in more than 50 per cent of the service encounters where the customer is below 50 they do not address the staff member directly at all. Extract (14) shows how a 21-year-old customer is collecting pre-booked tickets without addressing the staff directly at all (See also Extracts (2), (4) and (5) above for further examples of this practice.)

(14) Customer, Sweden Swedish; no direct address (S: male, 29 C: male, 21)

1 C: *tjena*
'howdy'

2 S: *tjena*
'howdy'

3 C: *e::h jag tänkte lösa ut två: Frölundabiljetter*
'eh I was going to collect two Frölunda tickets'

4 *tills i morgon* ((holds out a piece of paper))
'for tomorrow'

5 S: *jajemän du hade bokningsnummer där också va*
'for sure you had a booking number there too right'

6 C: *mm*
'mm'

7 S: *nåns-* (0.7) *där hittar vi°* ((looks at paper with booking))
'somewhe- there we have'

8 (13.2) ((staff working at the computer))

9 S: *sådär*
'there'

10 (3.5) ((tickets are printed))

11 S: °*sådär då* (0.4) *oj*°
'so there then woops'

12 (13.8)

13 S: *så där då*
'so there then'

14 C: *sådär tack så mycket*
'so there thanks so much'

15 S: *varsågod*
'be so good.SG'

16 C: *ha det gött*
'take it easy'

17 S: *detsamma*
'the same'

The customer presents the reason for the visit directly after the greeting sequence (l. 3–4): *jag tänkte lösa ut två Frölundabiljetter tills i morgon* 'I was going to pick up two Frölunda tickets for tomorrow' in a turn which contains all necessary information for the staff to proceed with the request. The customer specifies the number of tickets, the game and date and hands over a document with a booking reference (evident from the member of staff's turn in l. 5). Immediately after locating the booking reference the member of staff starts issuing the tickets while the customer is waiting in silence. The whole interaction is brief (46 seconds), to the point, and there is no need for the customer to address the staff directly.

While the practice of not addressing the staff at all is a common pattern among younger customers in Sweden, it is rare among older Swedish customers who address the staff directly with *du* in ca 90% of interactions. In (15) we see how the customer addresses the member of staff with *du* several times:

(15) Sweden Swedish; T address (S: male, 27; C: male, 69)

1 S: *hej*
'hi'

2 C: *hej* ***du***
'hi you.T'

3 (0.3)

4 C: ***du*** *ja:g eh* (0.9) *mt bokat eh:*
'you.VOC.T I eh (0.9) mt booked eh'

5 *ett antal biljetter på nätet va*
'a number of tickets on the internet right'

6 S: *mm*
'mm'

7 C: *till Amadeus eh:* (1.9) *eh: åtta stycken*
'for Amadeus eh eh eight tickets'

8 *å här e bokningsbekräftelsen* (0.2)
'and here is the booking confirmation'

9 *hämta dom här* ((hands over paper with booking))
'pick up these'

10 S: *[mm] javisst*
'mm of course'

((15 lines omitted: S processes the order, customer pays and asks when the doors open))

11 (5.9)

12 C: *tack ska* ***du*** *ha*
'thank you.T'

13 S: *tack*
'thank you'

As in Extract (14) the customer has come to collect pre-booked tickets and presents the central information immediately after the greeting sequence: the name of the play, number of tickets and a booking confirmation. But contrary to (14), the customer addresses the member of staff directly, both when greeting: *hej* ***du*** 'hi you.T.' (l. 2) and when presenting his reason for the visit: ***du*** *jag eh (0.9) mt bokat ett antal biljetter…* 'you.VOC.T. I have booked a number of tickets…' (l. 4–5; see also Extract (6) for similar vocative use of the T pronoun in the Sweden-Swedish dataset). Obviously, there is no need for addressing the staff directly in this environment as illustrated by (14) above. However, by using two instances of *du* in the first possible positions – immediately after the greeting and initially when presenting his errand – the customer emphasises social (interpersonal) relationships between himself and his interlocutor.

Also younger customers in Finland tend to favour no address; in 40.8% of all encounters customers do not address the staff directly. However, the difference between younger and older customers is much less pronounced in the Finland-Swedish dataset (see Table 2.2).

With regard to staff we found no difference in address behaviour between younger and older staff in Sweden: irrespective of age, staff use T address (including plural *ni*) in around 80% of the interactions, and in the remaining cases there is no direct address. In the Finland-Swedish data, however, there are some compelling differences between younger and older staff in their address practices. Firstly, V address is primarily used by the younger staff members, and, secondly, in most cases its use seems to be related to the age of the customer. The young staff member who uses V address the most, uses it with most of the customers who are approximately ten years older than herself or more (see (10) above). However, as (16) illustrates, she sometimes switches to T address during the interactions.

(16) Staff, Finland Swedish; V and T address (S: female, 25; C: female, 47)

1 S: *[hej]*
'hi'

2 C: *[he]j*
'hi'

3 (1.3)

4 ((customer is eating an ice-cream))

5 C: FIRST NAME (0.9) LAST NAME (0.5) *jag har en biljett*
'I have a ticket'

6 *på tredje rad[en]*
'in the third row in the stalls'

7 S: *[ju]st det det var <**ni** som ringde>*
'right it was you.V who phoned'

8 (0.5) *vi ska se* (0.3*) där*
'let's see there'

9 (2.1)

10 S: *å det var personalbilje[tt]:*
'and it was a staff's ticket'

11 C: *[jå + å]*
'yes'

((10 lines omitted))

12 ((the customer pays for the ticket by credit card))

13 S: *mt* (0.4) *så där **varsågoda*** (.) *vill **du** ha kvitto*
'here it is be so good.PL do you.T want the receipt?'

In (16) the 47-year old customer is alone and is picking up one ticket for herself. After she has told the staff about her ticket reservation (l. 5–6), the member of staff responds by addressing the customer with V: *just det det var **ni** som ringde* 'right it was you.V who phoned' (l. 7). In line 13 she uses the plural form *var så goda* 'be so good,' which typically accompanies V address used by younger persons. However, in the same line, just following a micro pause, she uses T address when she asks the customer if she wants a receipt: *så där **varsågoda** (.) vill **du** ha kvitto* 'here it is be so good.PL do you.T want the receipt.' In this particular case, nothing happens that would motivate a change of address pronouns, which shows how thin a veneer V address is also in Finland (cf. Clyne, Norrby and Warren 2009: 112). Those who use V address in service encounters can suddenly, without any interactional problems, switch to T address (and sometimes back to V again). Using both T and V address in the same interaction is in fact quite common in Finland (Lappalainen 2006, 2015, on Finnish).

4.4 Situational differences

In addition to the differences discussed so far, aspects pertaining to the situation are important for how social positions are expressed through address. They include the type of venue (kind of services provided), type of transaction (requesting tickets without a pre-booking or collection of pre-booked tickets) and whether it is a highly routinised interaction, i.e. a straightforward request for tickets which the staff can provide with minimum effort, or something complicated or problematic which requires more negotiation, e.g. about seat selection or changes to a booking (see Lindström and Wide 2017). In addition, potentially sensitive topics, such as the price or payment problems, can also appear in the local interactional context and influence how the interlocutors position themselves vis-á-vis one another.

When the venue provides just a few services, i.e. tickets to a limited set of events, and where customers typically request this contextually predictable type of service, such as a ticket to tonight's ice-hockey game or theatre performance, there seems to be a preference for brief interactions focussing on the business at hand. This is illustrated in Extract (17) below (see also (4) and (5) above):

(17) Customer, Sweden Swedish; request without direct address
(S: male, 23; C: male, 41)

1 C: *[(hallå)]*
'hello'

2 S: *[hej]*
'hi'

3 (.)

4 C: ***Frölundamatchen***
'the Frölunda game'

5 S: *ja hur många ska du ha*
'yes how many do you.T want?'

6 C: *tre*
'three'

After the greeting sequence the customer initiates his request simply with one word *Frölundamatchen* 'the Frölunda game.' There are numerous examples of this situationally dependent practice in our data where customers focus on the matter at hand and deliver their request without addressing the staff. At venues which sell tickets to a limited range of events there seems to be preference for interactions where the transaction is completed without delay; in particular, this is the case at the sports arena in (17), which is usually very busy with many customers waiting in line to carry out a situationally predictable transaction.

In service encounters which involve collecting pre-booked tickets, it is often the case that the customer initiates the interaction by giving a booking reference, sometimes verbally, but very often simply by handing over a piece of paper or a mobile phone with the booking details (see Extracts (1), (2), (14) and (15) from the Sweden-Swedish dataset), or by giving the name in which the booking was made (see (5) and (16) from the Finland-Swedish dataset). This reflects different institutional practices for keeping track of pre-ordered tickets and customers position themselves as knowing customers by conforming to these practices.

With a pre-booking the successful outcome is predictable and, accordingly, customers tend to formulate their requests directly and to the point as we have seen in several extracts. In cases where the customer wants to buy tickets without a pre-booking, the request formulations are, however, less homogenous. On the one hand, there are numerous cases where the customer focuses on the target object without addressing the staff when making their request for tickets, as in Extract (4): *ikväll Fanny och Alexander två stycken* 'tonight Fanny and Alexander two tickets.' The continuation of this interaction shows, however, that the customer has already checked the theatre's website and knows that there are tickets available (see Extract (9)). Such pre-knowledge about ticket availability seems to promote directly formulated requests, similar to cases where the customer has pre-booked tickets.

This contrasts with cases where the customer does not display any such pre-knowledge and where the outcome is, from the customer's perspective, uncertain. In Extract (8) the customer asks about tickets in a guarded way: *hej jag skulle vilja beställ- eller köpa biljetter till KIDS … har ni nånting den nu nu ska vi se* 'hi I would like to rese- or buy tickets for KIDS …do you.PL have anything on the now let's see.' It is interesting to note that the customer is enquiring about tickets to a certain show, which is playing for a limited time only. This is very different from the sports events, such as the ice-hockey games which are played regularly, at least twice a week, throughout the season.

In other words, customers can position themselves as knowing parties – who have the 'right' to demand a certain service from the company (in the case of pre-bookings), or display an expectation that their request will be granted (as when they have checked availability beforehand). In both situations, it is common to make such requests without the use of direct address. However, there are exceptions where the customer uses direct address in these situations (see (15) in particular, but also (6) and (7)). It seems that *du* in such cases serves the purpose of regulating interpersonal relationships where the customer turns to the staff member as an individual, there to help them.

Furthermore, in situations with some complication, or potential problem, this seems to generate more direct address; the complication generates more talk, and hence opportunities for addressing. Extracts (1) and (2) both begin with the customer providing a note with a booking reference accompanied by a verbal action. While the staff processes the order without much talk in (2), the next action in (1) is that the staff requests identification: *har du legitimation med dig också* 'do you.T have ID with you.T as well,' addressing the customer directly twice. Later, when asking the customer whether to throw away the booking reference, the staff addresses the customer again: *vill du att jag slänger den* 'do you.T want me to throw it away.' Interestingly, the customer mirrors the staff in his response by also using direct address: *den kan du kasta ja* 'that you.T can throw away yes.' Finally, when handing the tickets to the customer the staff once again acknowledges the customer through direct address: *där har du dom två* 'there you.T have those two.'

As demonstrated by Extract (18) alternating between T and V forms in the Finland-Swedish service encounters can be attributed to a type of situational change which takes place locally, as the interaction unfolds:

(18) Staff, Finland Swedish; T and V address
(S: female, 29 member; C: male customer 89)

1 S: *jag kan hjälpa fast om **du** tar å viker*
'I can help but if you.T fold'

2 C: *ja det f- kanske bäst att **du** gör det*
'well, maybe it is better if you.T do it'

3 (0.8)

4 S: *å sådär (.) å ifall **ni** ville bidra med*
'okay and if you.V wanted to contribute with'

5 *nån summa så då ska **man** sätta det hit också*
'an amount one can put it here as well'

6 C: *ska ja- ska jag sätta slanten också dit*
'shall I- shall I put the money there too'

In (18) the customer is voting for a candidate for the annual Lucia procession, a tradition in Sweden and Finland on December 13th. In Finland, the procession is often organized by charity organisations, which is also the case here. The 89-year-old customer is casting his ballot and the member of staff offers to help, addressing him with T: *jag kan hjälpa fast om* ***du*** *tar å viker* 'I can help but if you.T fold' (l. 1). Directly after that, when she asks the customer whether he wants to contribute with an amount of money to the charity, she switches to V address followed by an impersonal construction with the pronoun *man* ('one'): *å ifall* ***ni*** *ville bidra med nån summa så då ska man sätta det hit också* 'and if you.V wanted to contribute with an amount one can put it here as well'(l. 4–5). The reason for the switch is most likely the sensitive nature of the topic. By not using T address, the staff positions herself differently to the customer and makes the question about a contribution less forceful.

4.5 Discussion

The results demonstrate some variation in how address is used as a resource for social positioning by staff and customers, younger and older speakers, and across Finland and Sweden. Furthermore, some variation occurs due to the type of venue, the type of transaction and micro-situational aspects which occur during the course of the interaction (complications, problems or topics treated as sensitive). Overall, both customers and staff use direct T address in the majority of interactions, which lends support to earlier research which – based on reported use – have proposed that T address is the default, or indeed neutral, form of address in contemporary Swedish (Clyne, Norrby and Warren 2009).

Younger customers, both in Sweden and Finland, behave similarly and differently from older customers, who display similar address patterns. In turn, this points to a similar development in society in the two countries where older participants position themselves in a similar way and have a much higher incidence of direct address, largely T address, whereas younger customers in both countries refrain from direct address to a much greater degree. Thus, it is possible that we are witnessing a shift in pragmatic orientation in the type of service encounters investigated here, where younger customers tend to focus more on the business at hand in order to achieve an outcome (e.g. purchase of tickets) without delay, whereas older customers are more tuned into establishing and upholding interpersonal relationships through the use of direct (T) address. However, this is not to say that the age differences we register are solely explained by a change over time; absolute age most likely also plays a part here. In general, it can be expected that, with increased age, we have more experience and greater knowledge about how address choice socially positions self and others.

There is also some variation which can be linked to nationality. In Sweden, both young and older staff position themselves vis-à-vis their customer in the same way; staff use T address in the vast majority of interactions (close to 80% of service encounters include staff T irrespective of their age). Much debate, particularly in

Sweden, has focused on the reintroduction of V address in service situations (see background section for a summary and references). However, with only one instance of V address in the Sweden Swedish data (younger staff to a customer about 15 years older) it is safe to conclude that V is not being introduced in service encounters of the type investigated here. In other words, there is no empirical support in our data for the diffusion of a new 'service *ni*' in Sweden for expressing polite distance, similar to V in French or German.

Traditionally, V address has not had equally negative connotations in Finland as in Sweden, and this is also borne out in the data: Finland-Swedish staff, and in particular younger staff, make some limited use of V as a polite form of address. However, while the typical recipient of V would be somebody much older than the speaker, old age does not necessarily result in V address. Extract (18) illustrates the fluctuation between T and V to an elderly customer and highlights that there are other conditions than actual age or perceived age differences that might occasion a shift to V. The fact that there is some evidence of both T and V address in the same interaction suggests that V is a thin social veneer that disappears as soon as there is a change in the social roles (away from the most routine-like service interaction).

With T largely as the default address, in particular in Sweden, use of T per se does not signal any particular closeness between interlocutors, but repeated use of T in an interaction can serve the purpose of accentuating social interrelationships and rapport over a factual focus on the transaction. Here it is particularly interesting to juxtapose service encounters with no direct address at all with those where there is a high frequency of direct (T) address. For example vocative T and use of the particle *hördu* 'listen + you.T' are resources that customers sometimes seem to use in order to establish rapport from the outset.

The greater variation in address practices in the Finland-Swedish data could be an indication that there is more real choice available, i.e. that interlocutors can recruit various address forms for positioning themselves and others in ways not possible in the Sweden-Swedish context where T is the default direct address term.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have focused on how choice of address can be a resource for social positioning. From an interactional linguistic perspective, we conclude that it is important to explore address terms (or lack of address terms) in their sequential context in order to understand their functions for social positioning of self and other. From the point of variational pragmatics, our results help shed light on the interplay between macro social factors, external to the particular interactions, as well as situational factors associated with the particular activity (service encounters at box offices) and the actions that evolve during the progression of the interaction (for example attending to problems that occur at a given moment).

Our study contributes to research on pluricentric languages, in particular Swedish as a pluricentric language. Previous research into the two national varieties, Sweden Swedish and Finland Swedish, has primarily focused on structural aspects of language, such as phonological, lexical, morphological and syntactic differences between the two national varieties (see e.g. Reuter 1992; Wide and Lyngfelt 2009). Much less scholarship has been devoted to pragmatic and interactional variation, but most studies to date have suggested that Finland-Swedish pragmatic and interactional patterns are characterised by a higher level of social distance and formality than Sweden Swedish (Clyne, Norrby and Warren 2009: 152; Norrby et al. 2015a, b). Our findings illustrate that this is a simplification; for example, younger customers position themselves and others similarly across the national borders, and differently from older ones, demonstrating that participant roles and the situational context may override national differences.

Interpreted through the lens of indexicality (Silverstein 2003) it could be argued that T in contemporary Swedish – and particularly in Sweden Swedish – simply indexes neutrality. However, repeated use of T seems to be a resource for lowering social distance and accentuating commonalities between the interlocutors (cf. Clark 1996 on common ground). As expected, V address is very limited in our data, and predominantly found among younger Finland-Swedish staff. They seem to use V to signal polite distance, predominantly in interactions with more senior customers. Accordingly, V indexes old age, and, more generally, otherness (cf. Clyne, Norrby and Warren 2009: 156). No direct address, however, a common pattern in our data, puts the emphasis on the transactional business rather than interpersonal relationships.

The differences between the two datasets, which can primarily be found among staff, point in the same direction as the results in Norrby et al. (2015b), where address practices in Sweden-Swedish and Finland-Swedish medical consultations were compared. While T address is the most common practice also in the Finland-Swedish service encounters that we have analysed, V address remains as an option which can be used in order to show respect to the customer by keeping a certain distance. This stronger tendency to keep their distance can also potentially explain why Finland-Swedish staff have a higher proportion of interactions with no address. A similar tendency to avoid addressing interlocutors directly can be found in consultations with Finnish-speaking participants (Lappalainen 2006, 2015). As discussed by Yli-Vakkuri (2005) evasiveness of this kind is typical of address practices in Finland more generally. The reasons for the evasiveness are twofold. On the one hand, not being intrusive is an important and salient feature in Finnish culture

(Isosävi 2016). On the other hand, the unstable nature of the address system in Finland, where both T and V address can be received as either polite, neutral or impolite, favours the use of constructions without direct address – as well as variation in T/V address among individuals who make different choices when positioning themselves and others, for example, in service encounters.

Transcription conventions and glossing symbols

[	point when overlapping talk begins
]	point when overlapping talk stops
¿	slightly rising intonation
wo-	audible cut-off
wo+ord	word legato pronunciation
wo:rd	lengthening of the sound
°word°	quiet or soft voice
#word#	creaky voice
>word<	produced with faster pace
<word>	produced with a slower pace
(word)	uncertain transcription
((word))	meta comment
(0.5)	silence measured in tenths of a second
(.)	micro pause, less than 2 seconds
mt	click (e.g. from smacking one's lips)
.h	audible inhalation (the more h's, the more aspiration)
VOC	vocative
T	T address
V	V address
PL	plural

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CHAPTER 3

Sociocultural and linguistic constraints in address choice from Latin to Italian

Piera Molinelli

This chapter identifies the changes which led from the Early Latin address system, when address choice was unmarked as to the reverential dimension, to Late Latin, when such functions progressively emerged establishing the opposition between *tu* and *Vos* (2PL), and then to the Italian system. Speakers of Old Italian continued the differentiation in the address system, and, starting from the *tu/Vos* opposition, subsequent developments led to a tripartite system (*tu/Voi/Lei*).

The chapter traces the main pragmatic and structural steps in the development of address terms and the external and internal factors involved. Whereas the emergence of reverential forms in the history of Latin is mainly due to socio-cultural factors, the change from *Voi* to *Lei* can be attributed to both social (contact with Spanish) and linguistic factors, since the use of honorifics triggered anaphoric abstract reference to a third person, then morphologised as third singular pronouns (*Lei*).

Keywords: politeness, address system, Latin, Italian, honorifics, *tu/Vos* pronouns

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the linguistic and sociocultural factors, which triggered and constrained changes in address choice from Latin to Italian, thus adopting a socio-historical pragmatic perspective familiar from a well-established body of research (see, e.g., Culpeper and Kytö 2000; Taavitsainen and Jucker 2003; Andersen and Aijmer 2011; Ghezzi 2015). In particular, this study explores how speakers recruited different pronouns in interaction, among the choices available to them, at various moments throughout the long chronological period taken into account. The main aim in this respect is to apply a diachronic perspective to the reconstruction of interactional patterns crucial to speakers' social positioning.

The Italian system of pronouns owes to Latin the distinction between a system based on a single pronoun of address and one based on two pronominal forms,

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where one is marked as deferent. Classical Latin had an address system with a single pronoun of address (*tu*, 2SG), while Late Latin shows the first attestation of a system characterized by a two-term situation (*tu* – *Vos*, 2PL).[1] Speakers of Old Italian continued the differentiation between an unmarked pronoun of address *tu* and a deferent pronoun *Voi*. From the fifteenth century on, the system of pronouns of address can be schematized as a three-term situation where two deferent forms are attested, as *Voi* coexists with *Lei* (3SG.F). In the twentieth century, deferent *Voi* was progressively abandoned in the standard language in favour of *Lei*, which characterizes the standard Italian system of address today. However, in a number of Southern and Central varieties of Italian, *Voi* remains the unmarked deferent pronominal form. Throughout their histories, the Latin and Italian systems of address also included nominal forms, which have played a role in the development of their respective pronominal systems.

Let us now briefly characterize the pragmatic import of address forms. Speakers select the pronoun of address and related forms in interaction on the basis of parameters of social and affective distance (see Molinelli 2015a). Social distance implies some kind of asymmetrical, non-reciprocal relationship (based for instance on age, or role in society). In such contexts, the interlocutors have different, asymmetrical degrees of power in the interaction. Non-reciprocal power semantics only prescribes usage between superior and inferior and calls for social structures in which there are unique power rankings for each individual. Affective distance is characteristic of symmetrical and reciprocal relations, differentiating address among power equals, expressing degree of intimacy rather than respect or formality.

Systems of address are pragmatic in essence because they serve to position the interlocutors' identity and depend on the system of social rules that governs their behaviour in a given historical context.[2] On the one hand, the system of address is central to communication as it defines, shapes and indexes both the speaker's and the interlocutor's identity and their mutual social relationship. It is independent

1. The capital letter in *Vos* and the following, *Voi* and *Lei* with the clitic forms *Vi*/*Ve* and *Le* are conventionally used to signal the deferent form.

2. Relevant research studies on the relationship between personal pronouns and pragmatic values include: Head (1978) (especially for typological considerations), Malsch (1987) and Helmbrecht (2003) on the relationship between politeness and personal pronouns, and Helmbrecht (2015) as regards the concept of "non proto-typical uses of personal pronouns". Nevertheless, some of Helmbrecht's statements about the areal and typological trends, which affect politeness motivated pronouns, sound less respectful of the peculiar diachrony of each of the languages considered. In particular, his idea that the development of the second person plural as an honorific pronoun was an areal feature of European languages which occurred from medieval times onwards (2015: 186) does not take the role of Latin sufficiently into account. On the whole, his studies demonstrate how necessary it is to combine a typological approach with diachronic studies.

of the content which is being conveyed in an interaction and is made up of both verbal and non-verbal elements, constituting a system in Saussure's terms: what constitutes the social deixis system which is anchored to a given socio-cultural context are not single elements, but their coherent integration.

On the other hand, address systems in Latin and Italian – and more generally in Indo-European languages – comprise nominal forms (titles, honorifics) and pronominal forms, and possibly, verbal agreement. Both nominal and pronominal forms rely on the speaker's choice, while verbal agreement is due to the grammatical constraints of the language. Together, these means enable speakers to distinguish familiar and affective values from reverential and polite ones. These values are deeply rooted in the socio-cultural situation and can change rapidly according to political, social, and cultural transformations, whenever previously established criteria are substituted or enriched by newer ones, which give rise to a new system.

Both the properties of the system of address just described above are probably two of the reasons why the system lies at the periphery of grammar, and its forms and functions are subject to rapid and dramatic changes in diachrony.

The aim of this contribution is twofold. First, it aims to discuss which nominal and pronominal forms have been selected by individual speakers or groups of speakers in order to position themselves socially and culturally through the centuries. We will see that, by means of their interactionally-based choices, Latin and Italian speakers have progressively reshaped the constellation of the available address forms in extra-linguistic circumstances which dynamically evolved over time. The paper therefore also aims to analyse the main socio-cultural factors at play and the norms for language usage, which enabled speakers to represent their identities through different forms of address at different moments, but also that prompted and favoured a change in the system itself in the long run, from Latin to Present-Day Italian. In what follows, we will therefore highlight some relevant synchronic steps, which turned out to be crucial in the pragmatic development under scrutiny: Classical Latin, Late Latin, Old Italian, and subsequent changes in 16th/20th century Italian.

Due to the diachronic nature of the present study, this chapter has a slightly different organization from the other chapters in the volume. The article is divided into different sections, which synthesize remarks outlined in relevant literature with new findings from analysis of empirical data.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In Section 2, data and methods are presented, with a focus on their qualitative properties. In Section 3, the evolution of the system of address through the centuries is outlined, moving from Classical and Late Latin, where sociocultural customs triggered the emergence of new pragmatic strategies, namely pluralization and honorifics. In Section 4, the development of the system of address is taken into account in Old Italian, and then in 16th-century, 18th-century, and 20th-century Italian, respectively. In Section 5, the main results of the analysis are summarized.

2. Data and methods

A sociopragmatic approach to written texts of the past requires methodological caution. On the one hand, the texts at our disposal provide evidence of textual choices which only indirectly mirror the actual choices made by speakers (or better, by writers). This means that this study cannot properly be considered as accounting for the speakers' choices at specific synchronic moments. Rather, the texts considered show the possibilities that speakers had when using forms belonging to the address system current at the time, in different written genres (e.g., epistolary exchanges and mimetic dialogues contained in comedies) and at different moments, along an extended diachrony of two distinct languages.

On the other hand, our corpus of written documents allows us to explore the nature of the Latin and Italian systems of address, and the changes which occurred, since the selection of the corpus has been inspired by what Culpeper and Kytö (2000: 177–178) call "constructed imaginary speech", characterized by "features which can be assumed to be strongly associated with spoken face-to-face interaction".[3] Therefore, the texts on which this analysis is based all mirror, in some way, mimetic patterns of actual language use, in accordance with norms and practices of the periods in question.

In order to describe the complex diachronic development at issue, this chapter takes a qualitative approach to different types of textual genres representative of the imaginary speech, each differentiated on a historical basis.[4]

For Latin, we offer a qualitative account of the main developments which occurred in the ways people addressed each other between Classical and Late Latin (90 BCE–600 CE ca.) and which are illustrated through selected examples drawn from texts which are representative of the historical periods under investigation (e.g., Cicero and Caesar for Classical Latin). We have considered such different textual genres as private letters, orations, and imperial rescripts[5] – genres where

3. Culpeper and Kyto (2000) look at speech-related written text types, distinguishing between recordings of speech (e.g., trial proceedings) and constructions of speech (e.g. drama, speech representation in prose fiction, and educational handbooks in dialogue form).

4. Some data in the chapter refer to previous quantitative studies, quoted at appropriate points.

5. A rescript, following the Collins dictionary, is "(in ancient Rome) an ordinance taking the form of a reply by the emperor to a question on a point of law".

speakers' positioning was particularly relevant, thus revealing address patterns, which presumably mirror contemporary linguistic conventions.[6]

For Italian we consider letters, which represent a direct written interaction, where sociopragmatic matters are of the highest relevance, and comedies, which contain interactions between speakers of different social classes, thus illustrating the sociolinguistic dynamics of the time.

3. The development of the system of address in Latin

3.1 Classical Latin

In Classical Latin,[7] the system of address is built upon two main strategies.[8]

Nominal forms represent the main strategy, and proper names are the most frequent: the use of *praenomen*, *nomen* and *cognomen* could modulate and express different address types (Dickey 2002: 56–67). Other frequent strategies included titles (*dominus* 'master'), kinship terms, terms to express affect and esteem (*carissima* 'very darling': Dickey 2002: 136ff.), and figuratively used terms like *cor* 'heart' (Dickey 2002: 152).

The second strategy implies the use of pronouns. *Tu* is the only option available, as Classical Latin does not feature reverential pronouns.[9] Evidence for the exclusive use of *tu* comes from early comedies and letters, and from the greeting formulae used by gladiators to address the emperor, which survived even after the Classical period:

(1) Svet. Claud. 21, 6 *Have, Imperator, morituri* ***te*** *salutant*
'Hail, Emperor, those who are about to die salute you'

6. For Latin, we do not have comedies in the late period; Plautus' comedies (3rd–2nd century B.C.) do not distinguish reverential forms of address though several politeness strategies can be recognized (Dickey 2002; Unceta Gómez 2017).

7. We assume the periodization proposed by Cuzzolin and Haverling (2009: 20): Classical Latin 90 BCE–14 CE; Postclassical Latin 14–ca 200 CE; Late Latin 200–600 C.E.

8. The system of address is a relevant part of politeness. Unceta Gómez (2014) and Ferri (2008) are basic readings on this issue in Latin.

9. Even a frequently cited passage such as that found in Ennius (VIII 377), *nos sumus Romani, qui fuimus ante Rudini* 'now am I Roman who before was citizen of Rudiae' but literally 'now are we Roman who before were citizens of Rudiae', represents a controversial case: the plural here could have been used by the poet to recall his *tria corda* 'three hearts' i.e., Oscan, Latin and Greek languages.

However, already in Classical Latin a new pluralization strategy emerges, which is based on the use of the plural pronoun *nos* instead of *ego* for the expression of sociative and inclusive values.[10] In this perspective, *nos* literally points to the inclusion of the addressee and evokes a sense of commonality and close relationship, also enhancing participation, interest and support (cf. Lilja 1971; Hofmann 2003: 291; Brown and Levinson 1987: 127). By including the interlocutor within an action that, in principle, does not require his intervention, the speaker wishes to establish a more direct contact, and the outcome of this supportive move is to trigger a close association.[11]

In Cicero's letters, the inclusive plural is widely attested as associating the interlocutor within a move of appraisal or contempt, in order to reinforce or mitigate a precise communicative move – and this can happen even if the letter is sent only to his friend Atticus:

(2) Cic. Att. IX, 6, 2 *sed opinor* ***quiescamus****, ne* ***nostram*** *culpam* ***coarguamus*** *qui, dum urbem, id est patrias,* ***amamus*** *dumque rem conventuram* ***putamus****, ita* ***nos gessimus*** *ut plane* ***interclusi captique simus****.*
'But I suppose I (= we) had better keep quiet, for fear of convicting myself of folly in managing to be cut off wholly and made captive through my love of my country and an idea that the matter could be patched up'

In orations, Cicero frequently uses the inclusive plural to associate his client with himself or to show his own participation and involvement in his cause (Ronconi 1946: 2):

(3) Cic. P. Sex. R. Am. 52, 150 *unum perfugium, iudices, una spes reliqua est Sex. Roscio … vestra pristina bonitas et misericordia. Quae si manet, salvi esse* ***possumus***
'the only refuge, the only hope that is left for Sextus Roscius is … the kindheartedness and compassion which you showed in earlier times. If these feelings abide, we can even now be saved' (that is: 'Sex. R. can be safe')

10. Head (1978: 164, n. 10) recalls some preceding works by Muller, Jespersen, Bean, Brunot and their observations about different meanings and definitions of the plural-for-singular first person pronoun. Head, in the same footnote, underlines the uniqueness of the status of the plural in the first person of self-reference: usually "it does not refer to several speakers … The difference between exclusive and inclusive uses of the plural in the first person perhaps underlie the alleged distinctions in meaning between "royal we", "editorial we" and the "plural of modesty. "Royal we" is normally exclusive, referring only to the speaker, while "editorial we" and the "plural of modesty" tend to be inclusive, associating the speaker with the addressee(s), the notional third person or both".

11. This is particularly evident if one considers forensic rhetoric, which is characterized by communicative patterns that foster the development of this pragmatic function. Cf. Molinelli (2015b) for a detailed discussion of these uses in Cicero's *Verrine*.

Particular types of the inclusive plural which date back to Classical Latin are referred to as *pluralis auctoris* and *pluralis modestiae*, i.e., the use of *nos* for *ego* in speaking of oneself and one's own actions. In doing so, the speaker downplays his individual personality and identifies with his audience: thus, pluralization acquires a modesty value, since the author does not emphasize his own creative process, highlighting instead the affective relationship that he has established with his readers (Pieri 1967: 217–218). By means of a plural reference, the personality of the author is defocalised and blurred in a plurality of subjects:

(4) Cic. Att. XV, 13, 6 ***nos** hic* ***φιλοσοφοῦμεν*** *(quid enim aliud?) et τὰ περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος magnifice* ***explicamus προσφωνοῦμεν****que Ciceroni*
'**I am philosophizing** here (what else can I do?) and **getting on** splendidly with my De Officiis, which **I am dedicating** to my son'

The vitality of this pragmatic strategy is witnessed by the fact that it continues to be used in later periods. A case in point is the First letter of Pope Clemens.[12] In (5) it is clear that Clemens is the only, single author; however, Clemens uses the plural to refer to his own act of writing and remembering to generalize the scope of his actions, thus conferring universal validity to his thoughts.

(5) 7.1 Ταῦτα, ἀγαπητοί, οὐ μόνον ὑμᾶς νουθετοῦντες **ἐπιστέλλομεν**, ἀλλὰ καὶ **ἑαυτοὺς ὑπομιμνήσκοντες**
Haec, carissimi mihi, non solum vos monentes ***scribimus****, sed et* ***nos metipsos conmonemus****.*
'My very beloved, **we write** all these things not only to admonish you, but also **to remember them to ourselves**'

Summing up, in Classical and Post-Classical Latin (90 BCE–ca. 200 CE) the system of address is not distinctive of asymmetric relationships, at least considering the texts at our disposal; a pluralization strategy emerges in the first person with inclusive values (sociative, of modesty). It is worth mentioning the clear distinction proposed by Head (1978: 165 fn.10) between inclusive vs. exclusive uses of the first person plural: "Use of the first person plural to show greater respect or social distance is exclusive, while inclusive use indicates proximity between the speaker

12. The passage in (5) (and all the following from the same document) shows the Greek and the Latin text of the First Letter of Pope Clemens, since the letter is originally written in Greek (presumably around the end of the first century C.E.), like all the Christian documents of the first two centuries.

and the other referent(s)".[13] In Latin diachrony, this distinction is chronologically recognisable with the inclusive use occurring first.

3.2 Late Latin

In Late Latin, some changes affected the system of address both in the nominal and in the pronominal domains.

The nominal strategy turned out to be very productive in Late Latin both in secular and in Christian contexts. Late texts reveal that there is an increasing tendency to address a person using abstract nouns accompanied by the possessive adjective, with honorific and reverential value. This reverential nominal strategy was already attested in Early Latin,[14] but it is at this chronological stage that it reaches a systematic codification within the system of social deixis. Fridh (1956: 169) highlights how abstracts nouns used as honorifics are typical of Greek and Latin letters, and reflect a tendency, common to rhetoric and poetic styles as well as to popular language, to personify an abstract quality.

The semantic and pragmatic development of *maiestas* 'majesty' can serve as an interesting example here, since its functional enrichment mirrors the emergence of the reverential values just described.

Originally, *maiestas* had a religious sense and was used to refer to the emperor, depicting him as a divinity (see Svennung 1958: 71). In Classical Latin we find the first cases in which *maiestas* was used to refer to the *princeps* (Example 6 and Ovid. trist. 2, 512). Later, in the first century CE, we have a passage attested in the Vindolanda tablets where *maiestas* refers to someone of lower status, presumably the provincial governor (Example 7):

(6) Hor. ep. 2, 1, 258 *sed neque parvum carmen **maiestas** recepit **tua***
'but neither does **your majesty** admit of a lowly strain'

(7) 344, 4.5 *[..]mine probo **tuam maies-***
***[t]atem imploro** ne patiaris me*
[i]nnocentem uirgis cas[t]igatum
esse
'As befits an honest man (?) **I implore your majesty** not to allow me, an innocent man, to have been beaten with rods'

13. In Heads' words, respect and social distance are not clearly distinct. These sociocultural concepts and their linguistic reflexes are central in several studies on politeness (Molinelli 2002; Renzi 1993).

14. See e.g. Hofmann and Szantyr (1965: 101–102) and the detailed lists provided by Dickey (2002: 132–3, 152–153).

It is important at this point to underline that the passages by Horace and Ovid constitute two bridging contexts[15] attributing the quality linked to *maiestas* to Augustus. Significantly, this use first appears in poetry texts and does not seem to reflect a stabilized pragmatic strategy of social deixis. Further evidence for this comes from the fact that in the examples given above the use of the second-person singular (*tua*) always appears, which demonstrates that the reverential value of the second plural has not yet come to light. Along the same lines, Fridh (1956: 170) argues that such titles "ne sont pas encore à regarder comme de vrais titres consacrés par l'usage et que l'origine de ces titulatures n'est probablement pas antérieure au début du IVe siècle" ('are not yet to be regarded as real titles enshrined in usage and that the origin of these titular forms doesnot arise before the beginning of the 4th century'.

In (7), an innocent man is imploring the "majesty" of the local governor: similar to (6), *maiestas* is not employed with an addressing value in a proper allocutive sense, but bears the constitutive trait of the person who is being implored. The attribution of this specific quality to a person constitutes the bridging context that determines a further complete identification of the interlocutor with the abstract quality expressed by *maiestas.* This process explains why in Late Latin the writer may refer directly to the interlocutor using the name that expresses the abstract positive quality that best represents him. Such instances exemplify important steps along the road to the conventionalization of *maiestas*, the intrinsic qualities of which were gradually pragmatically exploited as a means of social deixis. The increasing frequency of *maiestas* as a pragmatically stable honorific term of address is demonstrated by the wider use of it made by authors like Quintilian and Pliny; and between the 3rd and the 4th centuries, these nominal forms of address were systematically used as titles for emperors by the *Scriptores historiae Augustae* and by Symmachus.

Other expressions pragmaticalized in a similar vein: *tua pietas* 'your piety', for instance, is found as early as in Quintilian and Pliny (cf. *Ep*. 10, 1); later adoptions are *claritas* 'brightness', *clementia* 'clemency', *excellentia* 'excellence', *magnificentia* 'magnificence', *magnitudo* 'greatness', and, to refer to popes and bishops, also *sanctitas tua* 'your holiness'. Complementary to the use of positive address nominals, new expressions of modesty emerge: examples would be *mediocritas nostra* 'our modest self' (e.g., Vell. 2, 111, 3) and *mea parvitas* 'my littleness' (e.g., Val. Max. 1, praef.), which pragmaticalized to refer to oneself while interacting with the emperor from the age of Tiberius onwards, that is, when the *pluralis maiestatis* was becoming pragmaticalized (Svennung 1958: 81–82).

15. The definition 'bridging context' is due to Heine (2002) and seems now to be widespread among scholars, while Diewald (2002) uses 'critical'. Both indicate contexts in between from a syntactic and/or semantic point of view.

Evidence for the vitality of the nominal strategy in the address system comes from the fact that when Christianity began to spread systematically, there was a process of resemanticization of earlier titles and address forms such as *frater* 'brother'. Within the Christian religious community, authors however modified *frater* with adjectives referring to the religious lexicon, such as *sanctus* 'holy':

(8) Cypr. XII *Salutant te* ***fratres*** *tui Calpurnius et Maria et* ***omnes sancti fratres***
'Your **brothers** Calpurnius and Maria and **all holy brothers** greet you'

Parallel to that, the collective noun *fraternitas* is widely employed to refer to the whole Christian community in its entirety, and its use reinforces the sense of belonging to a unified group. Adjectives such as *omnis* 'all' and *universa* 'all together' exemplify this trend:

(9) Clem. 2, 4 ἀγὼν ἦν ὑμῖν ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπὲρ **πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος**
Sollicitudo erat vobis die ac nocte pro ***omni fraternitate***
'Day and night you were very careful of your **entire community**'

(10) Cypr. ep. XIX ***Fraternitatem universam*** *meo nomine salutate*
'In my name greet the **whole community**'

Similar adjectives, like *christianissimus* 'very Christian' and *beatissime* 'very blessed' also modify other address terms which were already part of the Latin traditional address system, such as *princeps* or *imperator*. The following examples, drawn from Ambrosius' Letter XX, show how the selection of religious-connoted modifiers serve to resemanticize an earlier address term:

(11) 1, 1 ***christianissime*** *principum*
'**very Christian** among the emperors'

(12) XL, 1 *Imperator* ***beatissime***
'**very blessed** emperor'

As these examples have shown, nominal forms constitute a majority strategy in the Latin system of address along a long diachronic span: Christian authors rely on the address system which was already used in Early and Classical Latin, partially adapting it with reference to their own religious perspective and modifying earlier lexical items by means of resemanticized adjectives (*sanctus*, *beatus*) or new ones (*christianus*).

A new development emerging in the 3rd century CE is constituted by the *pluralis maiestatis*, which is likely to have stemmed from the systematic use of the *pluralis modestiae* in formal contexts. A crucial role was played at this juncture by a specific type of text: imperial rescripts, documents that were issued in response to a specific demand made by its addressee, typically on juridical matters. These legal texts were in many cases prompted by the emperor, who tended to adopt different forms of honorific self-designation, including plural verbal forms such as *iudicamus* "we judge", *permittimus* "we permit", and abstract nominals, as in (14) from the *Codex Theodosianus* (398 CE).

(13) Codex Theodosianus (398 AD) 11, 30, 56 *Repugnantes priscorum sententias* ***nostra serenitas*** *temperavit*
'**Our Serene Highness** moderated those who made resistance to the decisions of the ancestors'

According to Hofmann (2003: 292), the *pluralis maiestatis* spreads from the fifth century onwards. Once conventionalized as a pragmatic strategy to express honorific self-evaluation, the *pluralis maiestatis* triggered the complementary use of 'illogical' second plural reference in place of a second singular reference,[16] which was re-interpreted as a deferent form of address: the *pluralis reverentiae*. This type of pluralization progressively became the conventional, ritualized strategy to express social distance and as such was codified in the social deixis system (Molinelli 2015b). Once part of the system, the *pluralis reverentiae* rapidly spread in all those social environments that were heavily influenced by official registers; Norberg (1999: 27) reports that this kind of plural was even used as a polite form to address colleagues in specific socio-cultural contexts. It occurs in Symmachus (Haverling 1995),[17] later in Cassiodorus and Gregorius Magnus (Hoffman and Szantyr 1965 II: 20–21). This use of the second plural reference pragmatically interpreted as a deferent address form subsequently passed into early Romance varieties. To cite an example, Dante uses the plural *voi* 'you' to express respect and social distance with interlocutors such as Farinata and Cacciaguida, who, by contrast, addresses Dante with the *tu* form (Ronconi 1946: 4).

The analysis of *nos* just outlined above has shown that the use of the pronoun as a cooperative-inclusive plural is the first pragmatic value to emerge. This function relies on modulations of the affective distance, typical of symmetric relations. Therefore, the inclusive plural is a linguistic means that reflects different degrees of intimacy between interlocutors sharing the same power and social status.

16. The label of 'illogical' is used by classicists (e.g. Haverling 1995), while recent studies include these plurals in "non-prototypical uses of personal pronouns" (Helmbrecht 2015).

17. According to Haverling (1995: 337–338), the earliest indisputable examples of *vos* (instead of *tu*) to express deference, respect and, more generally, social distance, first appear in Symmachus (Epist. 1, 3) – and this in spite of diverging authoritative interpretations: "Some recent experts of Symmachus take the plural in this and other passages to be sociative […] In my view, however, we are actually dealing with examples of an 'illogical use' of the plural".

A crucial development is represented by the emergence of the honorific value, which the speaker could use in order to self-evaluate himself positively: the *pluralis maiestatis*, a subjectively marked evolution of the sociative-inclusive plural, with which the speaker expresses himself as a collective plurality, self-representing himself as a subject that "counts more". This is a key development in the diachrony of Latin social deixis, since it links older values with further functions related to deference and respect. In other words, speakers using the *pluralis maiestatis* first marked an idea of social distance and asymmetric relation, which augmented the difference with the interlocutor. Significantly, while the inclusive plural flourished in the republican period, the *pluralis maiestatis* was initially used in the imperial age, by Roman Christian authority (Pope Clement I, ca. 91–101) and subsequently by emperors, starting from Gordianus III (238–244) (Sasse 1889: 7, 53, 55). The widespread interpretation according to which the *pluralis maiestatis* (and therefore the *pluralis reverentiae*) had a concrete rather than an abstract use is therefore significantly challenged.[18]

A complementary development is the *pluralis reverentiae*, used as politeness acknowledgement of the positive image of himself asserted by the speaker. This plural shares with the *pluralis maiestatis* the fact that the interlocutors have asymmetric degrees of power. Politeness and reverential forms rapidly became ritualized and codified within the system: this led to the pragmatic encoding of distance by means of the complementary functional development of *vos* (cf. Haverling 1995, for an earlier debate). The complementary role of the *pluralis reverentiae* with respect to the *pluralis modestiae* is explained by Schmid (1923: 479) in terms of a symmetrical interactional relation featuring a question inflected in the first-person plural that triggers an answer inflected in the second-person plural. Older examples of this pragmatically driven function are also found in Ancient Greek (see, e.g., Schmid 1923: col. 479) and in typologically distant languages.[19] Uspenskij emphasizes that we are dealing with linguistic processes that are anchored in specific socio-cultural

18. A long debate links the *pl. maiestatis* to the presence of two emperors in the Roman Empire from the end of the II century BCE onwards (Brown and Gilman 1960: 254 for a summary). As there were two emperors, this would justify the referential plural *nos* and the association with supreme power and authority. Without going into detail, I would like to recall that the Roman republic had double public office with two consuls, as well. This fact, by itself, does not explain the majestic plural. In order to discuss the connection between the development of the address system and the sociopolitical changes, the deep divergences between the republic and imperial Rome should be taken into account, as well as the role of the Christian hierarchy during the first centuries BCE. This topic merits further investigation.

19. Head (1978), Helmbrecht (2003 and 2015) are worthwhile readings, together with the 45A map of the World Atlas of Language Structures "Politeness Distinctions in Pronouns", http://wals.info/feature/45A#2/25.7/137.0.

and historical contexts, which, however, are motivated in terms of communicative and cognitive principles that are cross-linguistically valid (2008: 134).

It is important to observe here that the process of pragmaticalization leading to the conventionalization of these address formulae, mirroring the emergence of new social rituals, can be better understood if linked to the socio-historical context of the time. As early as the 3rd century CE the Roman Empire was torn by both internal and external crisis: Rome lost part of its political hegemony and cultural primacy, while neighbouring peoples were pushing from the East. As a result, the balance of power between senate and emperor shifted dramatically towards the latter and his court: as Norberg (1999: 27) writes,

> The emperors imposed on society a caste system according to which all were linked to a certain profession and a certain social class. At the same time a new system of honorific titles was instituted. The emperor could be called *gloriosissimus*, *serenissimus*, *christianissimus*, the functionaries were divided into four classes of which the attributes were *illustres*, *spectabiles*, *clarissimi*, and *perfectissimi*. The emperor was addressed by the words *vestra maiestas*, *vestra gloria*, *vestra pietas*, others were addressed, depending on their rank, *vestra excellentia*, *eminentia*, *magnificencia*, *spectabilitas*, etc. The titles *beatitudo* and *sanctitas* were preserved for ecclesiastical dignitaries. [transl. PM]

Summing up, in Late Latin nominal and pronominal strategies attest the shift from address forms based on symmetric relationships to asymmetric ones. Non-prototypical uses of personal pronouns shift from inclusive to exclusive; several bridging contexts attesting pluralization in the first person are difficult to interpret as referential-majestic. From non-prototypical majestic *nos* a symmetrical exclusive strategy develops: reverential *vos*, both in the secular and in the Christian domains.

4. The system of address in Italian

4.1 Old Italian

The system of address in 13th and 14th century Italian reflects the development just outlined in Late Latin: it is characterized by a two-term system where *tu* is the unmarked pronoun of address and *Voi* is used as a deferent form (Niculescu 1974; Renzi 2002, 2010).

Tu is used in communication with deities (e.g. man–God), and in informal relations, irrespective of the social status of the interlocutors, as in (14), where the noble friends, who are the storytellers in Boccaccio's *Decameron,* address each other with *tu*:

(14) *Pampinea per Dio, **guarda** ciò che tu dichi*
(Boccaccio, *Decameron*, I, Introduction)
'For God's sake, Pampinea, **have a care** what you say'

Tu is also used to show high-affective-distance in symmetrical relations, as between members of the lower and middle classes. In (15), Andreuccio, a man-servant from Perugia, rings the bell of Madonna Fiammetta in Naples, and one of her servants addresses him with *tu*.

(15) *"Chi picchia là giù?" "Oh!" disse Andreuccio "o non mi conosci **tu**? Io sono Andreuccio, fratello di madama Fiordaliso." Al quale ella rispose: "Buono uomo, se **tu** hai troppo bevuto, va' dormi […]"* (Boccaccio, *Decameron*, II, 5)
''Who knocks below there?' 'Oh!' said Andreuccio, 'dost not know me? I am Andreuccio, Madam Fiordaliso's brother.' 'Good man,' she rejoined, 'if **thou** hast had too much to drink, go, sleep it off''

Tu is also used in asymmetrical high-social-distance relations to address lower-status members. In (16), the friar addresses Sir Ciappelletto with a *tu* verbal form "*hai fatto*", but is answered with the *Voi* predicate *non dite*,

(16) *Disse (…) lo frate: Figliuol mio, bene **hai** fatto, e così si vuol fare per innanzi (…). Disse ser Ciappelletto: -Messer lo frate, non **dite** così …*
(Boccaccio, *Decameron*, I, 1)
''Son,' said the friar, '**thou** hast done well, and well for thee, if so **thou** continue to do.' 'Nay but, master friar,' said Ser Ciappelletto, 'say not so […]''

However, the deferent address also characterizes asymmetrical relations with low affective distance, as father to son:

(17) *A **voi** ser Guido padre mio sine peccato io Guiduccio **vi** mando salutem cum desiderio revidendi*
(1253, *Lettera sangimignanese di Guiduccio al padre*, Corpus OVI)
'To **you** sir Guido, my father, without guilt, I Guiduccio send my regards with the desire to see **you**'

Voi can also be used in symmetrical relations, as in courtly literature where all nobles address each other with *Voi*:

(18) *Ma sopravvenendo messer Gentile, disse alcun de' suoi forestieri: "Messere, bella cosa è questa **vostra**, ma ella ne par mutola: è ella cosí?"*
(Boccaccio, *Decameron*, X, 4)
'Then, Messer Gentile coming up: 'Sir,' quoth one of the guests, 'this treasure of **yours** is goodly indeed; but she seems to be dumb: is she so?''

Within nominal address terms, the use of titles is widespread to address people with power. Typically, titles appear in an NP with a feminine abstract head, as in (19), where *signoria* is used together with the deferent second person plural *vostra,* but with third person singular agreement in the verb *potrà*.

(19) *Segundo che la* ***v(ostra) signoria*** *vedere potrà p(e)r publico i(n)strum(en)to*
(Guido Faba, *Parlamenta*, Corpus OVI)
'On the basis of what **your lordship** will see in public documents'

Usually these titles refer to a quality, as in Latin (cf. *maiestas*). Yet, the contexts in which these titles are used are bridging (see fn. 15) since it is often impossible to decide whether they express a virtue attributed to the addressee or the interlocutor him/herself as the embodiment of that virtue. In such contexts, *Vostra Signoria* is meant literally to refer to a *Lord.*

On a formal level, such titles often co-occur, as in (19), with second person plural reference in ritualized expressions. In these centuries, it is possible to find oscillations of verbal agreement in sentences containing nominal address. Migliorini (1957: 189) notes that in the 13th century the most frequent address sequence is the deferent nominal address (i.e. *Vostra Signoria*), followed by verbs and pronouns in the second person plural:

(20) *[…] p(re)ghiamo la* ***vostra signoria*** *che (con)tra noi no(n) aoperiate ve(n)decta ma humilità*
(Trattati di Albertano volg., a. 1287–88 (pis.) Liber cons., cap. 50 5018.59)
'[…] we pray **Your Lordship** that you not exact any revenge on us but humility'

In the 14th century, by contrast, the more common address sequence employs reference to the abstract formula and uses third person singular feminine pronouns and third person verb agreement accordingly (as *Vostra Signoria potrà* in 19). The verbal agreement is not with *Voi,* although it appears in the preceding and following sentences, but with the nominal address.

In sum, in Old Italian *Voi* and concomitant forms are used as deferential address forms in asymmetrical exchanges with high affective distance by lower-status members to address higher-status interlocutors; nominal address terms can also be used. Persons equal in power, depending on their status, can alternatively use *Voi*. *Tu* is typical of intimate relations, while *Voi* is used in asymmetrical but intimate relations (e.g. son to father).

In such a system speakers position themselves according to social status, class, and, more generally, power relations: therefore the use of *tu* is typical in common people, while *Voi* is more common among nobles.

4.2 16th century

In the 16th century, the study of any linguistic phenomenon must take into account the debate on the *Questione della lingua.*[20] Therefore, we have decided to analyze the system of address in a Tuscan sample. Pietro Aretino's comedy *La Cortigiana* is characterized by the use of *tu* and *Voi* as pronouns of address. Power equals use *tu* with low affective distance, especially if they are members of the lower class who are well acquainted with each other, as in (21), where Cappa and Rosso, two servants working together, address each other with *tu*.

(21) CAPPA ***Tu sei*** *molto alegro, Rosso;* ***tu*** *vai ridendo da* ***te*** *stesso.* '**You** are very happy, Rosso. Why are **you** smiling to yourself?'
ROSSO *Io mi rido d'una giuntaria ch'è stata fatta […], e* ***te*** *la conterò piú per agio*. 'I am smiling because of a scam I carried out, and I'll tell **you** about it calmly' (Aretino, *La Cortigiana*, I, 20)

Tu is also used in asymmetrical interactions by people with higher status to address those of lower status. In (22), a sacristan addresses a fisherman with *tu*.

(22) SAGRESTANO ***Tu*** *non odi, an*? 'Can't **you** hear? Can you?'
PESCATORE *Eccomi servitore de la* ***Signoria Vostra****, infatti*. 'Here I am servant of **Your Lordship**' (Aretino, *La Cortigiana*, I, 19)

However, compared with the situation in Old Italian, the domain of use of *Voi* is expanding as the unmarked deferent form of address signaling respect in both asymmetrical (22) and symmetrical interactions, as in (23), where an old domestic addresses a baker's wife with *Voi*.

(23) *E* ***voi****, moglie di* ***messer*** *Ercolano,* ***entrate*** *con Aloigia.* (Aretino, *La Cortigiana*, V, 22)
'**You**, wife of **sir** Ercolano, **enter** with Aloigia'

Nominal terms of address can co-occur with second person plural pronouns (*Voi*) as well as with third person singular pronouns (*Lei, Ella*), and verbal forms correspond. This is particularly evident in letters, where writers show a certain degree of variation depending on the addressee and on the type of relationship.

Examples (24) and (25) drawn from letters by Torquato Tasso are cases in point. In (24), addressed to an intimate family friend, the author switches from the usual

20. The comedy *La Cortigiana* dates from 1525. At about the same time, *Le prose della Volgar Lingua* by Bembo were also published. These publications played an important role in the discussion of the Italian *Questione della lingua* (the debate concerning the preferred form of the national language).

second person plural forms of address (*Voi* and *avete*) to *Vostra Signoria* and third person singular agreement, when asking his friend for a favour. In (25) Tasso writes to Doctor Verini, who had commissioned a sonnet from him; throughout the text the poet uses third person singular address.

(24) *Del mio venire a Ferrara non sono tanto risoluto quanto vorrei, perché* ***voi*** *non* ***avete*** *voluto ch'io n'abbia maggior certezza. De' cinque ducati ho bisogno; però scrivo di nuovo a fra Iacomo, e prego* ***Vostra Signoria*** *che gli* ***dia*** *la lettera.*
(Tasso, *A Luca Scalabrino,* G885)
'I am not so sure of my coming to Ferrara as I would like to be, because **you** did not want me to have more certainty [about it]. I need five ducats; but I am writing again to Friar Giacomo, and I pray Your Lordship to give him the letter'

(25) *Mando a* ***Vostra Signoria*** *il sonetto sovra il nome di Pandolfina, ch'****ella*** *m'ha chiesto. […] se* ***le*** *piacerà di rimandarmene copia, risponderò volentieri.*
(Tasso, *Al dottor Verini,* G186)
'I send to **Your Lordship** the sonnet on Pandolfina that you have asked of me. […]. If you will be pleased to send me back a copy, I will answer gladly'

It is possible to hypothesize that speakers used the third person address, usually co-occurring with titles, in asymmetrical interactions with high affective distance, as is presumably the case in (25).

Several scholars[21] have stressed that the spread of this use can be traced back to the influence of Spanish culture. At the time, Spanish dominion characterized some territories in the South (Naples, Kingdom of the Two Sicilies), and part of the North (Lombardy). Migliorini (1957) notes that in this century, the use of titles increases dramatically. Their semantic field expanded, and such forms as *Vostra Reverenza* "Your Reverence", *Vostra Padronità* "Your Mastership", *Vostra Magnanimità* "Your Magnanimity" are attested. *Vostra Signoria* "Your Lordship" is the most frequent title referring to people of quality or power (regardless of their social status).

4.3 18th century

In the 18th century, here analysed through Goldoni's comedies *La famiglia dell'antiquario* (henceforth, *fam.*) and *L'uomo di mondo* (henceforth, *uomo*), the system of address developed further along the same direction. Interlocutors used a tripartite system where *tu* was selected in asymmetrical interactions characterized by both high and low affective distances. For instance, a master addresses his servant with *tu* in (26).

21. See Migliorini (1957) for the discussion.

(26) BRIGHELLA ***La*** *me* ***perdona;*** *ma buttar via tanti bezzi in ste cosse* … 'Please forgive me, but to throw away so much money on these things …'
ANSELMO *Buttar via? Buttar via? Ignorantaccio!* ***Senti*** *se* ***vuoi*** *avere la mia protezione, non mì parlar mai contro il buon gusto delle antichità.* 'Throw away? Throw away? Idiot! Listen, if you want to stay in my service, do not speak against the good taste of antiquities' (Goldoni, *fam.*, I, 1)

In our plays, characters also use *tu* in low-affective-distance interactions to express strong emotions, such as anger or affection. In (27) Pantalone, a middle-class merchant, is asking his daughter Doralice, married to a nobleman, to get on well with her mother-in-law. The interaction begins with *Voi*, but in the course of the conversation, when the father shows affection to her, he switches to *tu* – and, simultaneously, to Venetian dialect.

(27) DORALICE ***Signor padre, vi*** *ringrazio dell'amorosa correzione che mì fate.* '**Sir father**, I thank you for the kind correction that you are offering me'
PANTALONE ***Vostra*** *madonna sarà in tutte le furie, e con rason. […] Via,* ***cara fia, dàme*** *un poco de consolazion. No gh'ho altri a sto mondo che* ***ti****. Dopo la mia morte,* ***ti*** *sarà parona de tutto.* '**Your** mother-in-law will have flown off the handle and she is right. […] Come on, **dear daughter**, give **me** some consolation. I do not have anybody else in the world, excepting only **thee**. After my death **thou** wilt own everything'. (Goldoni, *fam.*, I, 20)

As for third person address, its domain has broadened. In many contexts speakers use the third person singular feminine pronoun of address alone, without co-occurring titles, most frequently in the forms *Ella* (subject) or *Lei* (object or oblique cases). This choice generally is due to formality and deference.

Sometimes, servants who are not well acquainted with their masters use these forms, as in (26), where Brighella addresses his master with a third person pronoun. However, more frequently, middle-class people use the third person feminine when addressing higher classes, as in (28), where Pantalone, a middle-class merchant, addresses his daughter's father-in-law, a nobleman, with *ella* (a feminine pronoun), and uses masculine agreement (*virtuoso*). Interestingly, the man in turn addresses him with a second plural form.

(28) ANSELMO *Ridete, perché non ve n'****intendete****.* 'You laugh because you do not know these things'
PANTALONE *Benissimo, mì son ignorante,* ***ella*** *xé* ***virtuoso***. 'Well then. I am ignorant and you are clever.' (Goldoni, *fam.* I, 18)

Speakers also use third person forms to address strangers with high (or perceived high) social status, as in (29), where Arlecchino, disguised as a merchant of antiquities, addresses Pantalone with third person forms.

(29) PANTALONE *Galantomo, chi seu? Chi domandéu?* 'Gentlemen, who are you? Who are you looking for?'
ARLECCHINO *Innanz che mì responda,* ***l'am favorissa*** *de dirme chi* ***l'è vussiorìa***. 'Before I answer you, please tell me who **Your Lordship** is'
PANTALONE *Son un amigo del sior Conte Anselmo*. 'I am a friend of Count Anselmo'
ARLECCHINO *Se dilett**ela** de antichità?* 'Are you interested in antiquities?'
(Goldoni *fam.*, II, 12)

The domains of the second plural forms have also broadened. *Voi* is the unmarked form for showing respect in virtually all types of interactions. It can be used by lower classes to address higher classes (especially if they are well acquainted with them), by upper or middle classes when addressing lower classes (as in 28), among equals in higher or lower classes, as in (30) and (31) respectively.

(30) ISABELLA *Cavaliere,* ***siete*** *venuto a tempo. Ho bisogno di* ***voi***. 'Chavalier, you arrive at the right moment. I need you."
CAVALIERE ***Comandate****, signora.* ***Disponete*** *di me.* "Order, Milady. At your disposal' (Goldoni, *fam.*, I, 14)

(31) MOMOLO *Stè anca fina doman, se volè.* 'You can stay up until tomorrow if you want'
TRUFFALDINO *Sorella,* ***ve*** *lasso in compagnia de sto sior.* 'Sister, I leave you in the company of this Sir' (Goldoni, *uomo*, I, 15)

However, it should be stressed that characters used a type of address not predetermined by their social class, but to position themselves and their interlocutors in the course of interactions, being constantly negotiated. This suggests that considerations relating to social status were no longer paramount in the 18th century.

Example (32) illustrates this point. All characters are lower- or middle-class people at Brighella's inn. Brighella addresses Silvio, one of his lodgers, with a third person feminine reference, while Silvio, according to his higher status, replies with the second person plural pronoun. At this point Silvio turns to the Doctor, another of his lodgers. The two, who have just met, begin a conversation with a third person form of address. At one point the Doctor invites his interlocutor to come and visit him. This invitation has the effect of reducing affective distance, thus determining a shift to the less formal, but respectful, *Voi*. The change of address form in its turn has an effect on the social positioning of the interlocutors.

(32) BRIGHELLA *Eccola là, quello l'è el* **sior Dottor** *che* **la** *cerca. (a Silvio)* 'There you go, the man over there is **sir Doctor** who is looking for you'.
[…] SILVIO ***Favorisca*** *vedere se questa lettera viene a* ***lei***. 'Please, consider if this letter is for you'
DOTTORE *[…] Permetta ch'io veda.* ***Ella*** *dunque è il signor Silvio Aretusi romano?* 'Can I see it? You are then Sir Silvio Aretusi, from Rome?'
SILVIO *Per obbedirla* 'At your service'.
[…] DOTTORE *L'amico mi raccomanda* ***lor signori****, ed io* ***li*** *prego venir in casa mia, ove* ***staranno*** *un po' meglio forse di quel che stiano nella locanda*. 'My friend has recommended **your Lordships**, and I pray you to come to my house where you will maybe be more comfortable than in the inn'
SILVIO ***Signore****, io non intendo d'incomodar****vi***. '**Sir**, I do not want to inconvenience you' (Goldoni, *uomo,* III, 8)

Nominal terms of address continued to be very common in the 18th-century. As seen in (29), the frequency and ritualization of titles in the preceding centuries had created frozen variants of the more frequent form *Vostra Signoria* as *Vussiorìa*, *Vossustrissima,* or *Lustrissima* (derived from *Vostra signoria illustrissima* 'Your illustrious Lordship').

In sum in the 18th-century, deferential address towards upper social levels had already switched from the previous *Voi*, which had become too common, to the more refined *Vostra Signoria*, to third person singular pronouns, and related forms. *Voi* has instead become the unmarked form of address used in both symmetrical and asymmetrical interaction to show respect, irrespective of social status. Conversely, intimate relations are given more prominence, and *tu* is used to address members of higher classes in moments of anger or special empathy.

4.4 20th-century

During the 20th century, the system of address is characterized by a rapid evolution, deeply triggered and influenced by the economic, political, social, and cultural transformations that characterize the historical period.

Tu is used in both asymmetrical and symmetrical interactions. Asymmetric *tu* expresses social distance from higher- to lower-status people at the beginning of the century, but this use is absent at the end of the century. Symmetrical *tu* is used among family members and more generally to indicate low affective distance. This holds true for texts written throughout the century.

The two uses are exemplified in (33) and (34) respectively. In (33) Tommy, the son of a wealthy nobleman, addresses his servant Lucia with *tu*.

(33) TOMMY *Gaspare. Dov'è Gaspare?* 'Gaspar! Where is Gaspar?'
LUCIA *È in cortile per il carico.* 'He is in the yard for the load'
TOMMY *È mezz'ora che lo chiamo.* ***Digli*** *che salga a finire di vestirmi.* 'I have been calling him for half an hour. Tell him to come up and help me get dressed'
(Giacosa, *Come le foglie*, I, 1)

Similarly, in (34) a husband addresses his wife with *tu*, and in the letter in (35) a soldier addresses his aunt with *tu*.

(34) GIOVANNI *Ieri mi* ***avevi*** *domandato ottanta lire per comprare dei colori.* ***Ti*** *ho supplicato di non far spese,* ***ti*** *ho detto che ho i danari contati!* 'Yesterday **you** asked me for eighty lire to buy some paint. I begged **you** not to buy anything, as I do not have much money left' (Giacosa, *Come le foglie*, I, 7)

(35) *Cara zia, ricevo ora la* ***tua*** *lettera e come pure ricevetti la cartolina nel quale sento ciò che mi* ***dici*** *e ne sono assai dispiacente*
'Dear aunt, I have just now received **your** letter as I received your postcard where I read what **you** tell me. I am really sorry about that'
(Palmieri, Lodi 14/1/1917)

In this century *Lei* spreads as the unmarked deferent address form at the expense of *Voi*. At the beginning of the 20th century, unmarried men and women use *Voi* to express respect in all types of interactions, as both letters and comedies testify: (36) and (37) are cases of symmetrical *Voi*.

(36) *Da molto tempo sapevo di esservi antipatico: forse prima ancora che lo* ***sapeste Voi*** (Gozzano, *Lettere d'amore*, S. Giuliano d'Albaro, 10 giugno 1907)
'I have known for a long time that you did not like me, maybe even before you knew it'

(37) GIULIA *Ho una piccola memoria per* ***voi****. Aspettate*. […]' I have a present for you. Wait!'
HELMER *Il* ***vostro*** *ritratto! Com'è bello.* […] 'Your portrait. How beautiful!'
(Giacosa, *Come le foglie,* III, 7)

The same uses are not attested in comedies at the end of the century, where *Voi* is only used by older characters of higher social ranks or by characters who use a Southern variety; see (38) and (39) respectively. In (38), Countess De Santis, an elderly lodger, addresses Gennaro, the owner, with *Voi*, having received a third person address. In (39), the same Gennaro, who is from Naples, uses *Voi* when he resorts to his Southern variety.

(38) GENNARO ***Contessa De Santis****, tra un diritto e un rovescio, per caso* ***ricorda*** *anche che mi* ***deve*** *quattro mesi di arretrati?* '**Countess De Santis**, between a plain and a purl, do you by chance remember that you also owe me four months' arrears?'
CONTESSA *E dagli! Sempre la solita storia! Soldi, soldi …ma non sapete pensare ad altro, voi?* 'Come on! It's always the same story! Money, money … can't you think of anything else?' (De Piramo, *Pensione Marechiaro*, I, 7)

(39) GENNARO *Era pure nervosa come* ***voi, signò*** 'She was also as nervous as **you, madam**' (De Piramo, *Pensione Marechiaro*, I, 2)

As for third person address, its use as the unmarked deference form is spreading into domains, which were characterized by *Voi* in preceding centuries. The different variants of third singular feminine pronouns (*Ella* and *Lei*), which were widespread during the 18th century, are less frequent, and the form *Lei* becomes the unmarked pronoun used as subject.

Third person feminine address is used reciprocally to show deference in asymmetrical interactions between members of different social status, as in (40), where a seamstress uses the third person to address her client, a noblewoman, and in the letter in (41), where a soldier addresses an officer.

(40) LABLANCHE *Se* ***la signora*** *me lo* ***avesse*** *detto due o tre giorni fa ….* 'If **madame** had told me two or three days ago …'
GIULIA *Ha ragione …. m'è passato di mente.* 'You are right …. I forgot'
(Giacosa, *Come le foglie*, 1900, I, 5)

(41) *Gentilissimo Sig. Della Rovere, non so come ringraziar****la*** *del gentile interessamento.* 'Dear Mr. Della Rovere, I don't know how to thank you for the kind interest' (Cuccioli, war zone, 25/3/1917)

However, strangers also use the same form in symmetrical interactions, as in (42).

(42) CONTESSA *Era* ***lei*** *l'uomo nudo?* 'Was it you who was the naked man?'
PROFESSORE *Come può constatare …con chi ho il piacere di parlare?* 'As you can see … with whom do I have the pleasure of speaking?'
CONTESSA *Sono la Contessa Marisa De Santis* 'I am Countess Marisa De Santis' (De Piramo, *Pensione Marechiaro* I, 7)

As for titles, it is interesting to note that the more common title that characterizes the 18th century, *Vostra Signoria*, is attested only in a few letters (43, in the short form S:V:), probably a more conservative genre in this regard. In comedies, however, *Signore* and *Signora* become the unmarked deferent terms of address (see Example 40).

(43) *Illmo S. Sindaco Di Persiceto[…] Il sottoscritto […] rivolge alla* **S:V:** *Ill'mo preghiera […]*
'Dear Mr. Mayor of Persiceto, the undersigned pray your Lordship […]'
(Muzzi, war zone, 13/6/1916)

Speakers use *Lei* in both symmetrical and asymmetrical interactions to show deference and respect, and use *Tu* in symmetrical interactions to express low affective distance. *Voi* remains the unmarked deferent pronoun in some regional varieties, especially in the South.

As for third person address, it is relevant to note that during the 20th century people had different opinions on its use. Some considered it the proper form of address among civil, well-educated people, who are not exceptionally servile or given to flattery. Some, on the other hand, considered it to be the effect of the negative influence of the Spanish language. It is worth mentioning that especially during the Fascist regime, authoritarian measures were taken to stamp out *Lei*, but they had no permanent effect.

On January 15, 1938, Bruno Cicognani wrote an article in the *Corriere della Sera* denouncing what he called "a grammatical and syntactic aberration" (i.e. *Lei*), which he considered to be the result of exceedingly courtly Spanish manners during the 16th century – of affectation of feelings, ideas, and words. He therefore suggested returning to the Roman system of address and to *Voi* as a sign of respect and recognition of hierarchy. Many Fascist newspapers took up the arguments orchestrated by Cicognani, and soon circulars forbade the use of third person address, first among members of the party, then in the Fascist Youth, and gradually among State employees, the military, and educational institutions. The ban had been widely defied anyway – militantly by some, but also by the majority – because it is not possible to alter a centuries-old practice[22] by simple decree.

4.5 Present-Day Italian

In Present-Day Italian, the system of address comprises nominal forms, including a wide range of names (e.g., proper names), kinship terms, titles (*signore* 'Sir'), military ranks (*Sergente* 'sergeant') and work-related terms (*Professore* 'professor').[23] The nominal system has progressively reduced over time.[24]

22. For an analysis of the situation during the Fascist regime, see Raffaelli (1993).

23. See several chapters focusing on different languages in Taavitsainen and Jucker (2003).

24. Molinelli (2010 and 2015a) provide further examples and discussion.

In standard Italian, the unmarked deferential form implies the use of the anaphoric third person singular feminine pronoun (*Lei*), and related forms, to refer to the interlocutor (be it feminine or masculine). Other deferential forms include the use of first person plural (*noi*) in place of first person singular pronoun (*io*) to refer to the speaker, and of third person plural (*Loro*) instead of second person plural pronoun (*voi*) to refer to more than one interlocutor.

In areas where speakers still use *Voi* alongside *Lei*, *Voi* is perceived as the less deferential of the two. In other areas in Central (Marche, Umbria, Abruzzo) and Southern Italy (especially Campania, Calabria, and Salento), local dialects do not have a deferential form, which implies a more marginal use of *Lei*.

Therefore, speakers with intimate and symmetrical relations (two friends, colleagues) will use *tu*, while speakers with symmetrical but distant relations will use either *tu* (e.g. a teenager asking directions in the street from another teenager) or *Lei* (e.g. older speakers in the streets asking directions).

In asymmetrical relations, forms are typically non-reciprocal (*tu* will be used by higher status members, who in turn will receive *Lei*). However, especially when affective distance is also high, reciprocal *Lei* forms may be used. Interestingly, in varieties of Italian where *Voi* is still used, coexisting with *Lei*, it tends to characterize non-reciprocal relations and to be an intermediate form between *Lei* and *tu* in terms of affective distance.

In Present-Day Italian, which in recent years has undergone a striking loss of formality in relationships between people, the use of *tu* has been generalized among speakers in asymmetrical relations, such as doctor–patient. The same is true in cases of symmetrical but affectively distant relationships, such as encounters among adults meeting for the first time.

5. Concluding remarks

This chapter has outlined the diachronic development of the system of address from Classical Latin to 20th century Italian, attempting to associate what we can see in written texts to the speakers' choices in interactions. Now, let us consider the evolution of the address system in the long diachrony from a linguistic and sociocultural perspective.

In Early Latin the surviving texts show that the nominal strategy is the one primarily used; then in Classical Latin sociative/inclusive values of the plural *nos* emerge, while in the Imperial period it is possible to outline the development of the *pluralis maiestatis* and *reverentiae*. In Latin, therefore, social positioning in the address system is dependent on a lexical strategy as deference mostly relies on the use of titles. The morphological strategy of pluralization emerges from first person plural reference with inclusive meaning. The following schema can summarize the subsequent steps of such strategy:

Nos = ego	inclusive → majestic
Vos = tu	inclusive → deference

Only later does this deference value develop and become the first, basic mechanism for deference in Old Italian, and more generally in Romance languages. However, between the 13th and 16th centuries, honorifics still have a relevant role in the Italian system of address and trigger anaphoric abstract reference to a third person (*Vostra Signoria* and third person related forms). These alternatives are then morphologised as third singular pronouns (*Ella* and *Lei*). For some centuries, Italian has a three-term system of address where two deferent forms coexist (*Voi* and *Ella/Lei*). The two forms imply the use of two different morphological mechanisms to express deference (Serianni 2006: 224):

- 2p-as-2s-deferent (*Voi*): speakers refer to an individual as if on the basis of his/her merits, prestige, or authority he/she "had the worth of two";
- 3s-as-2s-deferent (*Lei*): speakers refer abstractly to the "lordship" or "highness" of the other, as if it were too daring to address him/her directly.

In the 20th century, speakers tend to reduce the system of address again: in standard Italian the unmarked deferent form is *Lei*, while *Voi* survives only in some regions both in regional Italian and in local dialects.

In order to understand the linguistic development of the address system over the centuries, the role of socio-cultural factors motivating pragmatic choices is substantial.

In Latin, changes in address choice are to be connected with the contemporary socio-political and cultural situation: the *pluralis maiestatis*, entailing a positive self-evaluation, emerges in the Imperial age, where the political system is basically structured around the prominent figure of the emperor and, from the end of the 1st century CE, of the high Christian hierarchy, and triggers later developments, such as the complementary strategy of the *pluralis reverentiae* and the productive system of honorific titles, which is instituted after the 3rd century, when a caste system where all are linked to a certain profession and a certain social class is established, along with the emergence of religious hierarchies (Molinelli 2015b).

Instead, the parameters of social distance and affective distance are relevant throughout the centuries of the history of Italian considered, but to different degrees as parameters connected with social distance seem more relevant during the 13th century, while those relating to affective distance are paramount from the 18th century.

When *Voi* extends its domains of use, it becomes so commonplace that it ceases to accomplish a deferential function; it marks affective distance (i.e. respect), but no longer social distance, which becomes served by *Lei*. In turn, in the pragmatic development of *Lei* several factors play a role. One of these is contact with Spanish culture, where codes of behavior in society associated with ceremony and with the use of titles, are paramount.

Summing up, the use of nominal address forms is particularly frequent in two time periods, Late Latin from the 3rd century CE on, and 18th-century Italian. As said for the development of the Italian address system, once a title is used to address somebody, the successive references are anaphoric forms which lead to the development of a third-person deferent form.

Therefore, different factors are at play in triggering different changes in the internal configuration of address choice domains in diachrony. Whereas the emergence of reverential forms in the history of Latin is mainly due to socio-cultural factors – the emergence of a more rigid social stratification and of religious hierarchies –, the change leading from the use of *Voi* to the predominant employment of *Lei* in the history of Italian is due to both social reasons (contact with Spanish) and linguistic factors, since the massive use of honorifics triggered anaphoric abstract reference to a third person, then morphologised as third singular pronouns (*Lei*).

The creation of the *tu/Vos* opposition, starting from a *ego/Nos* alternation, recruits linguistic forms, which already exist as deictic elements and assume a new metaphorical and pragmatic value. The formation of the Italian *Lei* system is quite different in nature: the "other" becomes a third person and along some centuries the choice between *Lei* and *Voi* underlies social rules (as is for instance the case in the 18th century). In Italian the situation is far from been resolved, though today in the standard variety *Voi* is no longer in use.

The diachronic process we have described could be better characterized in terms of a series of cyclical developments whereby the nominal strategy continued across the history of Latin and Italian. This strategy is initially highly productive due to the lack of an alternative politeness device in the grammatical system – for instance, the lack of pronouns of address in Early and Classical Latin. When pluralization finally emerges in the 3rd century, names of address are re-functionalized as honorific titles. The established use of the plural form also for the second person as a means to express deference constitutes the most important innovation in Late Latin – and as such it continued in Romance languages (see Niculescu 1974: 12; Watts *et al*. 1992: 92–93; Janner *et al.* 2014). The use of the reverential second plural develops as a deviation from the unmarked form that progressively becomes part of the system.

Similar considerations hold true for the development of the Italian address system when pluralization is substituted by third-person reference as deferent.

The contact with Spanish has again a role in the return of the nominal strategy of address which paves the way for the upsurge of third-person-reference (Sp. *Usted*, plural *Ustedes*, < *Vuestra merced*). However, the "social trend of ceremony" extends in Italy well beyond the Spanish cultural model, with independent development of the system of address, where the third person reference pronoun becomes the unmarked deferent form. In Labovian terms, the change is from above, reaching from higher registers to lower ones (different regional varieties and local dialects). Resistance exists up to the first half of the 20th century, as a rejection of the influence of foreign models, but by the end of the 20th century the cycle is complete.

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CHAPTER 4

Closeness at a distance

Positioning in Brazilian workplace emails

Carolin Debray and Sophie Reissner-Roubicek

Social relationships are argued to have a special importance in Brazilian workplaces, as in Brazil generally (Amado and Brasil 1991; Fonseca and Castor 2005; Tanure and Duarte 2005), but scarce attention has been paid to the way such relationships are indexed through language. This research explores the way employees position themselves and others in emails to shape and influence relationships, highlighting how features that are specific to the medium index workplace identities. The analysis of 77 emails from a range of workplaces focuses on phatic aspects occurring frequently in our sample, greetings and closings. Employees used these strategically to emphasise closeness or distance, and with different degrees of formality, fulfilling diverse positioning functions including contesting power, enhancing relationships, or emphasising others' independence. In addition, the relatively high frequency of greetings and closings compared to findings from other settings appears to confirm the importance claimed for relating at work in Brazil.

Keywords: workplace communication, Brazil, emails, relating at work, greetings and closings, Portuguese

1. Introduction

Relationships are said to be of particular importance in Brazil and accordingly in Brazilian workplaces (Amado and Brasil 1991; Fonseca and Castor 2005; Tanure and Duarte 2005). To date, however, because little research on workplace communication in Brazil has been attempted from an emic perspective, these claims have apparently not been explored in regards to authentic interaction. In line with the literature on relational work and rapport management (Locher and Watts 2005; Spencer-Oatey 2013) we understand a relationship as something that requires conscious attention to build and maintain – in other words, "relating at work" involves work at relating. How relationship-building is realised in Brazilian workplace emails and specifically how interactants position themselves in greetings and closings is

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the focus of this chapter. Greeting behaviour, as Krivonos and Knapp (1975: 115) point out, may be relatively trivial in quantitative terms, but "appears to have important qualitative consequences for the interpersonal transactions which follow it". They further suggest that the functions greetings perform are largely below the level of conscious awareness. Together with the emphasis on relationship-building in Brazil highlighted in the literature, this would seem to have implications worth exploring for the functions of greetings and closings in workplace communication. Among the contextual factors that influence positioning and thus relating in emails in Brazilian workplaces, the qualitative consequences of greetings and closings in respect of the identity work done in these interactions merits close examination. As such we will explore the question of what and how linguistic forms convey a speaker's subjectivity and identity in the local context of interaction, and in the wider context of organisational culture in Brazil.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) define identity as "the social positioning of self and other", meaning that identities are adopted, performed and dropped according to the relationships interactants construct with others, within the broader context they are located in, as well as with their immediate surroundings. How interactants occupy/take up positions both for themselves as well as for others in an interaction is therefore a crucial part of identity research. We envisage positioning in this paper as occurring in an interactional space in which interactants position themselves as closer or further apart from each other or to other interlocutors (present or not present) as well as to their surroundings.

In a face-to-face interaction, interlocutors give and receive a number of cues as to the positions they wish to occupy in an interaction and can act and react in tune with what is signalled by each other. In many forms of computer-mediated-communication (CMC) cues such as gestures and facial expressions are unavailable or limited at best. In addition, not only the exchange of information but also the exchange of linguistic relational cues and repairs occurs, albeit with delays, effectively making interlocutors' positioning more volatile to disagreement and acrimonious interaction (O'Driscroll 2015). Considering the importance identity construction has for individuals, this might also harm relationships long-term. At the same time email offers certain functions that are absent from face-to-face interaction: communications are more traceable and bystanders or other participants can be 'called into' an interaction at any time.

While email and other computer mediated forms of communication have been of scholarly interest for a while, a lack of research on languages other than English has been identified (Das and Herring 2016). At the same time a lot of research on email has focused on politeness (e.g. Bunz and Campbell 2004; Das and Herring 2016; Machili 2014; Park 2008a, 2008b; Vinagre 2008) or structural aspects of emails (e.g. Crystal 2001; Gimenez 2000; Perez Sabater, Turney and Fleta 2008), while other questions such as of positioning and indexing of relationships remain underresearched.

In this chapter we want to focus rather on how interlocutors use the functions that email offers to do identity work and to position themselves in regards to each other in the context of Brazilian workplace communication. Owing to the particular importance of relationships in Brazil and moreover in Brazilian workplaces (Amado and Brasil 1991; Fonseca and Castor 2005; Tanure and Duarte 2005), and considering the role that is attributed to phatic talk in building such relationships (Laver 1975) we set out to investigate how relationship-building through phatic talk was realised in Brazilian workplace emails. In addition, anecdotal evidence from Brazilian ex-colleagues suggests that there is not only an abundance of phatic talk in workplaces but it is also typically characterised as essential, leading us to predict such occurrences in email interaction as well.

Contrary to our initial assumptions, however, our data contained almost no instances of phatic talk outside the greeting and closing sequences. This threw up the intriguing question of how relationships are indexed and positions assumed and attributed in an apparently concise way at the beginning of the message, and how this corresponds with the body and the closing. We were also curious to identify any patterns of difference and similarity among the positioning done by interactants in emails collected from a range of Brazilian workplaces, to better explore the role of context in the use of linguistic devices to establish and maintain relationships.

2. Literature review

2.1 Relating and positioning: The importance of phatic talk

Phatic talk, or, going back to the term first coined by Malinovski (1936), "phatic communion", is particularly important for building and consolidating relationships and in identity construction. As Laver (1975: 232) states: "The claims being staked by the speaker, and the conclusions being drawn by the listener are all concerned with the communication of identity and attributes, of the interactants and with their psychosocial relationship." This is achieved via "indexical communications" (232), or a system of signs that convey "other than overt messages", which are explained by Bucholtz as the "subtler and more fleeting interactional moves through which speakers take stances, create alignments, and construct personas" (2009: 146). Laver (1975) highlights the importance of phatic communion at the "margins of an interaction", namely greeting and closing formulae, in which these roles and identities are negotiated and are drawn up for the middle part of the interaction. They further function to smooth the transition between the beginning of an interaction and arriving at the topic that needs to be discussed.

Similarly, greetings are understood by Levinson (1997) to encode "the speaker's social relationship to another party, frequently but not always the addressee, on a dimension of rank" (218), which he refers to as "social deixis". Levinson (1997) explains that rank and relationship can be clarified by the usage of honorifics or other specialised forms of address. The context we are looking at here provides a number of different address forms (amongst others, *você/tu* vs. *Senhor/Senhora/Dona* or even *Doutor*, which can be used even if a formal doctorate has not been acquired) and as such provides participants with a range of deictic tokens to position themselves in regards to the addressee, for example hierarchically. The importance of this type of social deixis for the construction of relationships is also highlighted by Spencer-Oatey and Franklin (2009), who emphasise that "forms of address are an extremely important feature of language use that affects rapport management" (123).

When investigating the instances in which an interaction did, or did not, start with phatic talk, Laver (1975) came to the conclusion that interactions start with phatic talk when interactants "do not know the precise details of the roles they are about to play" (218). This, in turn, suggests that such phatic talk becomes superfluous when roles are already established. Indeed, frequent omissions of greetings and closings have been reported in various studies on workplace email, for example in New Zealand (Waldvogel 2007) and the US (Scheyder 2003; Sherblom 1988) but for evidence to the contrary, see Bou-Franch (2011), in respect of Spain. Typically, however, authors have explained omissions of greetings and closings by citing workplace culture (Waldvogel 2007) or their informational redundancy (Herring 1996).

The points made by Laver (1975) and Levinson (1997) in reference to face-to-face conversations are relevant to our understanding of greetings and closings in emails. Without overlooking the ways in which email differs as a medium, or their impact, greetings and closings in email interactions can be argued to perform the same functions as they do in face-to-face interactions. For example, when Das and Herring (2016) tested Krivonos and Knapp's (1975) findings on the function of greetings in a CMC context (Orcut), they found that all of their propositions for face-to-face interactions held true for their CMC data, namely, greetings are used to (1) mark transitions, (2) reveal important information, and (3) serve a maintenance function (Krivonos and Knapp 1975).

Greetings and closings also frame the message on the screen at the top and the bottom – phatic expressions thus have a framing function around the message in the middle. However, the technical affordances of email being that the sender's email address and usually therefore identity is known to the receiver mean that greetings and closings are to some extent redundant – from a content point of view. Greetings can however have informational content, for example in highlighting who is an addressee and who is copied in as a bystander, or even a witness, in emails sent to more than one person.

Why greetings and closings are nonetheless frequent occurrences in email has sparked a small debate among scholars. Some researchers, for example McKeown and Zhang (2015), have drawn attention to earlier studies that characterise greetings and closings in emails as completely superfluous (Herring 1996; Sherblom 1988). Closer scrutiny of the literature reveals however the absence of any study that has not at least acknowledged the paralinguistic functions of these tokens and highlighted their social functions. As such, it seems that there is no dispute over whether functions are fulfilled, rather a question about the semantic aspect of greetings and closings. In response, a cross-linguistic analysis conducted by Farese (2015) resulted in his assertion that greetings and closings do indeed "have a proper semantic content" (1) which he demonstrates by elaborating on the uses of, specifically, "hi" and "*ciao*". The need for others to explore this area further is highlighted by Bou-Franch (2011: 1774), who explains that "given the optionality of opening and closing sequences, empirical research should uncover the contextual (technological, social, interactional) conditions that constrain their presence and absence as well as their shape".

2.2 Greetings and closings in emails

Investigations into the functions of greetings and closings in emails have taken various directions, with a frequent focus on markers of politeness (e.g. Bunz and Campbell 2004; Chejnová 2014). Research has also mostly been conducted on emails written in English (Kankaanranta 2006; McKeown and Zhang 2015; Scheyder 2003; Sherblom 1988; Waldvogel 2007). Among these, Scheyder's (2003) study of email interactions in a higher education setting found that the nature (and presence) of the closing line depended on interpersonal closeness, with the spread of closing formulae mirroring Wolfson's (1986) Bulge Curve. Her findings also indicated little difference between peer and superior communication with only minor differences in wording. This is contrasted by McKeown and Zhang's (2015) study of British workplace emails, which found hierarchical differences to be an indicator of higher degrees of formality (as did Sherblom's 1988 study). Other indicators were larger personal distance, and as the strongest indicator "external communication", which also led to higher degrees of formality in openings and closings of the emails. Das and Herring (2016), while also confirming the function of greeting and closing formulae for indexing social distance in Bengali interactions, nonetheless highlight the need to take cultural nuances and medium factors into account. Addressing a similar point, Bou-Franch (2011) investigated the openings and closings used in peninsular Spanish. Although refuting claims for a homogenous "language of email", she reports a high degree of sociability, which she relates to cultural factors such as the concept of *simpatía*.

One of the largest studies on email interactions was carried out by Waldvogel (2007) in two different New Zealand workplaces. Waldvogel related differences found in emails to differences in workplace culture. Most notably this included the much larger absence of greetings and closings in a workplace she characterised as having low morale and trust. Emails in the other workplace, which was characterised by more friendly and positive relationships, featured a much more cordial tone and the frequent usage of greetings and closing lines.

It therefore seems clear that while national cultural concepts, as in Bou Franch's (2011) study, can have an impact, so does the organisational culture in which they are exchanged (Waldvogel 2007). Since our explicit intent was to shed light on some of the contextual factors that influence positioning, identity work and relating in emails in Brazilian workplaces, we chose to investigate a variety of workplaces in order to investigate unifying as well as differentiating factors. Firstly, then, we will briefly illuminate some of the cultural contextual factors considered relevant in a Brazilian workplace context.

2.3 Culture and communication in Brazilian workplaces

Brazil, despite being one of the BRIC countries, has received significantly less attention from scholars of workplace culture and communication than its fellow BRIC states (Caldas 2006; Islam 2012; Pearson and Stephan 1998; Sledge, Miles and Coppage 2008). In addition, a lack of absorption of Brazilian research into the international community has also been observed (Pacheco de Oliveira 2009). This is particularly surprising, as Brazil provides a fascinating context for such studies. Its history of (in parts, forced) migration from all parts of the world has led to a fascinating amalgamation of cultural and communicative practices, leading to a culture which to Brazilians is at the same time distinctive, or typically Brazilian, and yet also highly diverse (Hess and da Matta 1995). At the same time, claims have even been made about the special function Brazilian Portuguese occupies in workplace or business communication, with O'Keefe and O'Keefe (2004: 617) asserting that:

> It is widely recognized that Brazilian Portuguese is more of an art form than it is an efficient business communication device, especially in formal business settings. What is said and how it is delivered will vary greatly by person, and by situation.

The traditions of research on Brazilian workplace culture have recently come under fire because studies have tended to adopt one of two approaches (for a full review see Da Silveira and Crubelatte 2007). The first of these was an uncritical adoption of

Hofstede's (2005) methodology and his notion of culture as a "software of the mind" encompassing a whole nation (e.g. Hofstede, de Hilal, Malvezzi, Tanure and Vinken 2010). The second was a tradition of adopting the work of some of Brazil's most famous scholars, such as historians Sergio Buarque de Holanda and Gilberto Freyre, in order to draw conclusions from Brazil's history about current cultural traits in Brazilian organisations – with sometimes problematic results. For example, Fonseca and Castor (2005: 81) suggest that "an aversion to systematic work" is a Brazilian cultural trait due to the fact that Brazil was first settled by "adventurers". Research also often included a tendency to compare Brazilian managerial practices to those of the US, to then highlight where they are lacking (Amado and Brasil 1991).

Nonetheless, some studies have been conducted that both take the regional diversity into account and set out to provide an emic perspective on culture and communication in Brazil (e.g. Lenartowics and Roth 2001). These potentially provide an important background against which the data at hand can be analysed. While the notion of a cultural trait is by no means uncontentious, nonetheless three "traits" of Brazilian workplace culture held our attention while reviewing the literature, because a wide range of researchers from different backgrounds were able to agree on them. These include, firstly, the importance and strong valorisation of relationships both within and outside workplaces (Amado and Brasil 1991; da Matta 1997; Tanure and Duarte 2005). Secondly, they identify a large power distance, which in Brazil is often reported to have a paternalistic flavour – implying that relationships are clearly hierarchical, but at the same time nonetheless often warm and close (Amado and Brasil 1991; Motta, Alcadipani and Bresler 2000; Tanure and Duarte 2005). And thirdly, they agree on the coexistence of opposites (Amado and Brasil 1991; da Matta 1990; Tanure and Duarte 2005). While this latter category can presumably be said to exist in a number of countries, especially large and diverse ones, in the Brazilian case it takes a particular direction. An example is the interplay of a strict and sometimes overwhelming bureaucracy and hierarchy, which is countered by the *jeitinho*. This can be described as finding flexible ways around rules, often associated with granting favours. They are, however, not seen as necessarily reciprocal, and thus can be granted to anyone even complete strangers (for a good account see: Barbosa 1995). This discrepancy also mirrors the often-invoked difference between high formality and high informality that characterises Brazil (Hess and da Matta 1995).

Pacheco de Oliveira (2009), however, reports differently on changes within Brazilian workplaces. These include not only a change from very hierarchical to more inclusive managerial styles, due to high employee fluctuations, but also a shift to more written communication, which affords higher traceability and thus accountability, as opposed to the traditionally high frequency of face-to-face or telephone interactions. Both these issues could potentially lead to insecurities or otherwise affect email design; and at least would likely be sparking an increase in the usage of email.

3. Data and methods

In this chapter we report on the Portuguese subset of 77 workplace emails that are part of a larger corpus. These emails were written by Brazilian employees to their own colleagues or to other organisations within Brazil. The emails stem from 5 different organisations located in different regions of Brazil (the North East, the South and the State of São Paolo).

The organisations in which the emails were collected included organisations with a business focus, namely a small IT company and a local marketing company that had its headquarters in the US, as well as institutional workplaces, namely a court of law and two universities (one in the South and one in the North East of Brazil). The workplaces selected thus span diverse contexts especially in regards to the formality we anticipated seeing in the emails.

Participants were asked to donate a selection of emails written within the last three months. When asked for clarification on the types of emails, we further specified that we were interested in emails they perceived as ordinary, ever-day exchanges. The issue of confidentiality was addressed by assuring participants that all names, places and organisations would be anonymised and pseudonyms used in any publications, as they are throughout this chapter. We had also offered them the option to anonymise identifying details themselves before even sending on the emails, which was taken up by one of the participants, as well as the freedom to choose which emails they handed over. In that the emails had been written previously, the data were not tainted by the knowledge that they would be shared with a researcher. Participants were informed about the research by means of a participant information sheet and we urged them to make sure that passing on the data did not contravene their company or organisational practices. All of them consented to having the anonymised data appear in academic publications.

While the sample size is relatively small, a much larger number of emails would have been outside the scope of this chapter to analyse qualitatively, and the dataset is sufficient to give us some, at least initial, answers to our research questions:

> How do interactants use the medium of email in different workplace contexts to establish and maintain relationships?
>
> In which ways do interactants use linguistic devices such as greetings and closings, other phatic talk or politeness markers to index relationships and to occupy positions for themselves and others?

In face-to-face interactions, immediate responses may provide some clues as to the understanding or interpreting of utterances. Given the asynchronous nature of email communications, in which responses are inherently delayed (to a greater or lesser extent), and may not necessarily form part of an interactional chain, we proceeded from the understanding that the study of positioning in email data could most fruitfully be approached from a recipient design perspective (Arundale 1999). In analysing emails, we thus orient to the steps the sender took in order to understand what was attributed to the receiver and the relationship and how this affected the framing of utterances.

In addition to the emails themselves we also requested metapragmatic comments from our participants, asking them to comment on the length of time and frequency of interaction with each recipient as well as to provide some comments on their overall relationship and reason for the email. Some of the comments contributed by participants were very detailed, while others were relatively brief. However, this supplementary data was highly important in clarifying whether our understanding of the email data mirrored that of participants themselves and provided an important context against which to do our analysis.

4. Findings: Doing closeness at a distance

4.1 Greetings and closings

Strikingly, there were almost no occurrences of phatic talk in the sample with the exception of what was incorporated in greeting and closing lines.[1] That means that following these greetings, interactants went straight into the topic of the email. Notable differences emerged in the terms of address forms between emails sent to another company or department and emails sent within the same department, and so we grouped them accordingly, as shown in Table 4.1 and Table 4.2, as "outside" and "inside" emails. After first taking a closer look at the greeting and closing formulae used in both inside and outside communication, we will take a closer look at the conditions under which greetings and closings were omitted in the sample. For this we are considering the context of the interaction as well as the body of the email and the features in the emails that are used in conjunction with the greetings and closings, and which help illuminate the choices made by participants. Finally, we look at a chain of emails that illuminate how linguistic devices in emails are

1. It should be emphasized that our sample is limited to emails from six workplaces in Brazil. In other workplaces, communication practices surrounding emails may differ.

used to negotiate positions and relationships across time, thus emphasising the constitutive power inherent in the use of greetings and closings.

Table 4.1 Greeting forms used

Emails sent within one department/organisation (n = 54)		**Emails sent to another department/organisation (n = 23)**	
Frq	**Greeting**	**Frq**	**Greeting**
20	*Oi* [first name]	5	*Olá* [first name]
		1	*Olá!*
6	No greeting	3	*Bom dia.*
		2	*Boa tarde* [first name]
3	*Oi pessoal*	2	*Oi* [first name]
2	*Pessoal*,		
4	*Olá* [first name]	2	No greeting
5	[first name], no further greeting	1	*Obrigado/Obrigada* [First name]
3	*Prezada/Prezado* [first name]	1	*Prezados,*
		1	*Prezados Senhores,*
		1	*Prezada,*
		1	*Prezada* [first name],
2	*Obrigada*, [first name].		
1	*Fala* [first name],	1	*Sr.* [first name]
1	*Ai* [first name],	1	*Caro* [first name], *Tudo Bom?*
1	*Boa noite* [first name],	1	*Ilmo(a) Sr(a)*
1	*Bom dia* [first name],		
1	*Dr.* [family name]		
1	*Queridos,*		
1	*Queridas,*		
1	*Querida* [first name]		
1	*Estimadas* [first name] *e* [first name].		
1	*Estimada* [first name].		

Table 4.2 Closing forms used

Emails sent within one department/ organisation (n = 54)		**Emails sent to another department/ organisation (n = 23)**	
Frq	**Closings**	**Frq**	**Closings**
14	*abraço(s)*, +first name	9	*Atenciosamente* [full name in automated signature]
1	*abraço*, +full name		
1	*abs*, [name in automated signature]	1	*Att*. +first name
2	*abs*, +first name		
4	*Um abraço*, +first name		
1	*Abcs*, [full name in automated		
1	signature]		
1	*Um grande abraço* +first name *Um abraço prá vocês e desfrutem do fim de semana*. [full name] [sic]		
6	*Té mais*, +first name	2	*Sem mais*, [full name in automated signature]
5	*Bjs*, +first name	1	*Beijos*, [first name]
1	*biokas*, +full name		
4	no closing line, name in automated signature	2	*Obrigada/obrigado*, [full name in automated signature]
1	No closing	1	No closing
2	first name	1	*Aguardo confirmação de recebimento e se possível um prazo de retorno!*
2	*Att*, [full name in automated signature]	1	*Desde já agardeço*, [full name in automated signature]
1	*Atenciosamente*, [automated signature of a resource account]		
1	*Valeu!*	1	*Grato pela atenção*. [full name in automated signature]
1	*Valeu*, +first name		
1	*Obrigada, desde já*. [full name in automated signature]	1	*Desde já, muito obrigado. Qualquer dúvida/ pergunta estou a disposição. Aguardo retorno.* [full name in automated signature]
1	*Aguardo retorno, MUITO GRATA, Um abraço*, +first name	1	*Desde já, muito obrigado pela sua atenção. Aguardamos retorno.*
1	*Muito obrigada por tudo! Um abraço*, +full name	1	*Espero de ter ajudado e apresento as minhas desculpas pela demora no retorno. Ateciosamente*, +full name and job title
1	*Por favor, acusar recebimento. Grata* +full name	1	*Ficei no aguardo. Qualquer necessidade estarei á disposiçao, Atenciosamente* [full name in automated signature]
1	*Agradeço antecipadamente. Atenciosamente*, [full name and rest in automated signature]		
1	*Melhoras* [no name/signature]		

4.1.1 *Formality in inside and outside communication*

Differences in greetings and closings were most striking between the group of emails sent to recipients in another organization or department and the recipients perceived to be on the insight of one's own department/organization. As Table 4.1 and 4.2 attest, there was a large difference in the choices email writers made in terms of address and closing, with inside emails being considerably more informal in greetings, closings and overall tone of the email than were outside emails, even between interactants who communicated frequently.

These differences were much larger than for example in regards to hierarchy, where differences in the use of linguistic devices to position self and others, were not so evident. The exception was the court of law, where emails between interactants were characterised by a considerably more formal tone and more formal greetings and closings than in any other of the workplaces we investigated. However, some of the participants' comments directly attributed the informality of their "upwards" emails to the fact that they had a good relationship with their boss, or that their boss was young, which may have contributed to the overall less formal tone.

The data presented in Table 4.1 and Table 4.2 is organised to show that the most common greeting inside one's own department is "*oi*", which can be translated as "hi", followed by "*Olá*" ('hello') which can be considered slightly more formal. In the outside sample the usage of "*oi*" seems less popular, with "*Olá*" or expressions such as "*Bom dia*" or "*Boa Tarde*" ('Good morning'/'Good Afternoon') being more frequently used. The usage of first names without titles clearly outweighs other choices in both inside and outside emails, which, given the strict hierarchy and formalism that are said to exist in Brazil, might come as a surprise. The only time a family name was used in the sample was in an email to a high-ranking judge. On all other occasions first names were used, in some cases in conjunction with an honorific such as "*Sr.*" (short for Senhor) or respectful markers such as: "*Estimada*" or "*Caro*" were used.

In the closings we can also see a clear difference in the formality of sign-offs. While for inside emails "*abraço*" ('hugs')[2] is the most frequently chosen word, for outside emails it is "*Atenciosamente*" or in its shorter form "*att.*" ('Kind Regards' or 'Sincerely'), which can be considered a great deal more formal.

We can also see that closings are overall longer than greetings. Given Laver's (1975) proposition that whereas greetings help to define roles and position interlocutors, partings (as he refers to closings) are being used to reemphasise these relationships, this is somewhat unexpected. However, if closings do have the function

2. This however should be considered as more formal than its English counterpart – more similar to the English "best" (personal communication, R. Marquez-Reiter).

of reemphasising or reshaping relationships long-term, this would give them almost more importance, which could be one way to interpret the finding.

In addition, the particular conventions of email writing will shape the amount and ways in which interlocutors use greetings to do positioning work. Interlocutors need, to a certain degree, to work within the boundaries that certain standards and conventions of email writing have set for them. Producing a message in an expected format can be seen as an important part of recipient design as well as a way of positioning oneself as a competent interactant.

4.2 Absence of greetings and closings

Frequent absence of greetings or closing lines was noted in several of the studies reviewed above, with the exception of Bou-Franch's (2011) study on email interactions in Spain. Similar to her sample, our sample showed that greetings and closings were used in the overwhelming majority of emails. In line with her suggestion of investigating the parameters that influence the presence or absence of greetings and closings, we will take a closer look at the absences in this email sample. The evidence from our dataset suggests that the default situation in Brazilian workplace emails is to include them, and any absences are potentially deviations from the norm, which something else has to account for.

4.2.1 *Absences of greetings and closings in outside communication*

In the outside group of emails only two emails contain no greeting and only one email includes no closing line whatsoever, though one email concludes with a closing that cannot be considered phatic talk as it asks for confirmation of receipt and has no further closing or signature.

The following outside email is the only one in the sample that does not include either a closing or a greeting line:

> Email #52 (Outside): Fernando (postgraduate student working on a robotics project) to Laura (employee at a IT company).
>
> *Pode ser agora sim!, só um momento!*
> 'We can do it now, yes!, just a moment!'

The email is the third one exchanged on that day. Not including a greeting therefore seems in line with Laver's (1975) reasoning that greetings are only used where roles have not been previously established, which in this case has happened in the emails already exchanged in a short timespan. Emails in the sample that were exchanged over the course of several days, however, tended to include greetings. A timespan short enough to warrant an absence may be limited to a few hours and possibly also to the same email chain and even then greetings were frequently included. In this email, Fernando agrees to a spontaneous Skype conversation with Laura about an event that Fernando's team is supposed to contribute to, which means the conversation is going to continue in a few moments face-to-face, making a reemphasis of their relationship potentially unnecessary at this point in time. In addition, the email seems to be written in a hurry, to get instant confirmation that Laura is still online so as to Skype with her (the email was sent at around 7 pm, so outside standard office times). Some of the standard features were seemingly sacrificed in favour of speed, including some aspects of orthographic correctness such as the missing capitalisation in the beginning of the second sentence and the doubling of the punctuation after the first sentence. So it seems that both the rush it was written in as well as the frequency of email exchange in a very short period of time account for the absence of a greeting and closing. Interestingly the tone of the emails exchanged between the two is generally more formal than this example, and features greater grammatical complexity at the sentence level. This remains true even after this email, so rather than marking a change in their communication style, it should be understood as a deviation from their normal conversational routine, which often features expressions of thanks at the beginning or the end of the email and fairly formal terms of address.

Only one other outside email contains no greeting. Here, it is highly unlikely that the receiver is known to the sender, as this email is addressed to a resource account. In light of seeing greetings as ways of indexing identities, the absence of greeting is interesting as the sender apparently considered it either unimportant or redundant to position himself in regards to an unnamed employee at that company. The email is signed off, however, with "*Atenciosamente*", which, if not a feature of his default email "signature" attached to every outgoing email, might signal that no slight was intended and the sender is willing to do a certain amount of relational work or look towards good relationships in the future.

4.2.2 *Absences of greetings and closings in inside communication*

The sample of inside emails (n = 54) includes six emails that do not contain a greeting and one that includes no form of closing. However, four emails only include an automated signature at the end and no other closing words.

Of the six emails not containing greetings, three are from the middle part of interactions consisting of several emails exchanged over a short period of time, which would suggest that positions have already been negotiated and occupied for this particular interaction. This is not to imply that those positions remain static, but that greetings might not be the tool of choice to change the initially occupied positions halfway through the interaction. One email (#67) is part of an escalating conflict and is sent to a number of people. The email, however, directly addresses one person, not by name, although the recipient is clear from the chain of emails attached. The email starts with the sentence "*Discordo completamente com sua posição*" ('I completely disagree with your position'). The omission of the greeting is marked: effectively positioning the recipient in an unfavourable way, reminding him of the weaker position he occupies hierarchically and could be interpreted as intentionally impolite. This is also one of the few emails that does not include a closing line, which makes sense in terms of Laver's view of closing functions. If partings are used to reaffirm relationships, there is no need to use them if the sender is not aiming at enhancing rapport (Spencer-Oatey 2005).

The final two emails not containing a greeting were sent in response to one another: In the first, a senior professor (Maria) is telling a course coordinator (Natália) that she has overlooked a public holiday when asked to confirm course dates. The second one is the course coordinator's response. In both emails the actual teacher of the course, Bruna, is also copied in. Bruna and Natália have previously planned the course and the dates together.

> Email #43 (inside): Maria (professor) to Natália (course coordinator)
>
> *as datas parecem ótimas, exceto pelo dia 30/5 que é feriado de corpus christi. abs, maria.*
> 'the dates seem great, except the 30/5 which is the corpus christi holiday. hugs [abbreviated], maria.'

Together with email #52 discussed above, this is one of the shortest emails in the sample, and again certain orthographical rules have been ignored, such as capitalisation both at the beginning of sentences as well as in nouns that convention requires to be capitalised: "*Corpus Christi*" and "*Maria*"). The whole email is also written in one line, and no returns were typed between the body and the closing or the name of the signature of the sender. When looking at the response, some differences in style are immediately evident:

> Email #44 (inside): Natália (course coordinator) to Maria (professor)
>
> *É mesmo!!*
> *Então, em função do feriado, passamos as duas últimas aulas para 06/06 e 20/06, o que lhes parece?*
> *Fica bom prá você, Bruna?*
> *Um abraço,*
> *Natália*

> ‘It is!!
> Then, in function of the holiday, we move the two final lessons to 06/06 and 20/06, what would this look like to you?
> Is this okay for you, Bruna?
> A hug,
> Natália’

While the email also does not include a greeting, Natália’s email includes several features not present in Maria’s: The email is composed over several lines, all rules of capitalisation are obeyed and the closing is not only not abbreviated but also extended by the indefinite article “*un*”. The question “*o que lhes parece?*” is phrased in a very formal and grammatically complex way that is infrequently used, positioning the author as a competent and very proficient writer, which might be particularly important after having been made aware of an oversight by one’s boss. While these features would suggest a careful composition of the email this is, however, contrasted by the omission of a greeting in favour of the initial: “*É mesmo!!*” (‘It is!’), which rather appears as a surprised expression than an introduction to an otherwise carefully composed email to one’s superior. An exclamation of surprise is also something one might rather expect in a face-to-face conversation than in a written format. Interestingly several emails feature such expressions, another example would be: “*[…] Ah, e se puder, me manda o PDF do livro. […]*” (Email #13: ‘Ah, if you can, send me the pdf of the book.’). In both cases the introduction of either a request or admitting that one has overlooked something is made as a spontaneous exclamation or afterthought, which seems to minimise the imposition/error. In this case it is a strategy that may help to position the sender as a sympathetic employee, who thinks and acts quickly and can easily adapt her work to changing circumstances.

Of the five inside emails that do not include closings, some are noteworthy for particular features not yet discussed in depth. Emails #70 and #69 below comprise part of the escalating conflict mentioned above. Again greetings and closings seem to mark the positions participants occupy quite clearly. Vitor, the head of department, is exchanging emails with Renato, the course coordinator, about information that needs to be provided to a professor in another department.

Renato receives the request from the other professor and then emails Vitor, stating that he does not have the information and asking whether Vitor has it. The first email is Vitor’s response (#70), followed by Renato’s (#69).

> *Renato,*
> *veja com a secretaria. Deve existir no Projeto Pedagógico de nosso curso.*
> [automated signature]

'Renato,
Check with the secretary, it should be in the pedagogical plan of our course.
[automated signature]'

Email #69: Renato (course coordinator) to Vitor (head of department)

Vitor, Como disse não faz parte do Curso de Engenharia Mecânica.
Ou seja, não faz parte do Projeto Pedagógico do Curso de Eng. Mecânica.
Veja com Bruno já que isto não é da Coordenação do Curso de Engenharia Mecânica.
'Vitor, as I said it's not a part of the Mechanical Engineering course. That is, it's not a part of the pedagogical plan of the Mechanical Eng. Course.
See Bruno as this is not [the responsibility] of the coordination of the Mechanical Engineering course.'

The head of department starts by addressing the course coordinator by his first name, without any further greeting and does not include a closing line to his email. Renato mirrors his boss's email with the exact same way of greeting and closing, effectively contesting his inferior status within the department, which is a position that could be understood as carrying the responsibility to do more relational work than his superior. This interpretation is supported by the metapragmatic comments contributed by the sender. In addition, he omits the return space beneath the greeting, making it a part of the body of the email, which conveys something (ranging from urgency to impatience) by its absence in contrast to Vitor's initial email.

The absence of a closing and the usage of a greeting that could be considered rude, if not impolite (Culpeper 2011) positions the interlocutors as at odds with each other and indicates the distance between them in an interactional space. The ensuing escalation of the conflict suggests that Vitor did understand the email as an affront that he is not willing to accept.

The analysis of Email #69 and Email #70 shows how the limited use or absence of greetings and closings can position interlocutors as at odds with each other, and create a distance between them. However, other forms of greetings can also create a distance quite beyond the realm of conflict. The outside email sample features many more formal greeting and closing lines and several expressions of gratitude, features which, if seen in terms of negative politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987), are both understood as strategies that emphasise the independence of a sender and as such position him or her at a greater distance from the recipient. In addition, interlocutors might view the interaction as occurring between two representatives of companies, rather than as a social encounter with another individual.

Interestingly, most inside emails seem to take a different path. Several emails feature endearing titles such as *querida*, slang expressions such as *valeu* ('cheers'), the abbreviated *té mais* ('see you later') or *biokas* ('kisses'), the latter also in its more common, yet highly personal, form *beijos*. Both *beijos* and *abraços* are furthermore expressions describing an activity that brings the interlocutor physically close to oneself, and, while *abraços* is to be considered more formal than "hugs" would be in an English speaking context, it seems an expression consistent with a society that is described as valuing close and good relationships.

4.3 Changes over time

To give one final example of doing closeness in the email sample we compare extracts from Email #24, Email #26, and Email #28 that show the greetings and opening sentences sent by Bruna to Natália, who we already encountered in the emails #43 and #44. These emails stem from a chain of emails in which Bruna and Natália are introduced and start working with each other. Several days pass between each email sent.

> Email #24 (Inside): Bruna to Natália
>
> *Olá, Natália!*
> *Por mim não há problema algum em fazermos o curso no mês de maio.*
> *[…]*
> *E fico à disposição para quaisquer dúvidas ou necessidades em relação ao curso!*
> *Abraço,*
> *Bruna Oliveira da Silva*
>
> 'Hello Natália!
> There is no problem for me if we do the course in May.
> […]
> I'm at your disposal regarding any doubts or needs you have in regards to the course!
> Hugs,
> Bruna Oliveira da Silva'

The first email starts with the greeting *Olá*, which is unmarked in terms of in/formality. It concludes with a rather lengthy closing expression assuring her readiness to answer any questions the other might have, the closing *abraço*, which, as we saw earlier, is the most common closing in inside emails and as such fairly standard. The use of the standard expression presents the sender as a competent writer, but could also regarded as "playing it safe" in a relationship that is only being established. She signs off with her full name, which since it is the first email, fulfils the function of providing information needed for the other party: the initial introduction email did not include Bruna's full name, merely a description of the task she is taking on.

In the second email she adopts the same greeting, but it features a slightly shorter and slightly less formal closing line and is signed off with only Bruna`s first name:

Email #26 (Inside): Bruna to Natália

Olá Natália,
Acho ótima a sugestão de encontros quinzenais na quinta-feira à tarde para as atividades. Por mim já podemos divulgar. Agora é só aguardar o OK da Prof. Maria.
Fico à disposição para o que precisares.
Abraço,
Bruna

'Hello Natália,
I think your suggestion of having biweekly meetings on Wednesday afternoons to do the activities is fantastic. As far as I'm concerned, we can already announce it. Now we just need to wait for the okay from Prof. Maria.
Meanwhile, I'm at your disposal, whatever you need.
Hugs,
Bruna'

In the third email exchanged between Bruna and Natália there appears to be a further relaxation of formality between them. The accents are omitted in the *Olá* and in the name of the recipient, as well as in the cedilla in the *abraço* at the end of the email. No further sentence is added to point out the sender's disposition to do further work, unlike in the first two emails.

Email #28 (Inside): Bruna to Natália

Ola, Natalia! esta tudo ok com as datas do curso.
[…]
Abraco, Bruna

'Hello Natalia! Everything is fine with the course dates.
[…]
Hugs, Bruna'

These relaxations of orthography and formality seem to index a good relationship between interlocutors, since they suggest that the external rules that influenced email writing in the beginning of their interaction do not apply any longer. Their relationship is good enough to move beyond formal declarations of willingness to answer questions or having to prove one's grammatical competence. There is no indication in the email chain or metapragmatic comments supplied by the participant that their relationship has taken a turn for the worse in the period between these emails. Greetings and closings as such seem to be indexical on the one hand, as they point to these changes and a changed status, but also constitutive as they are part of the strategies that bring this change about.

5. Conclusion

In this chapter we have focused on the micro level of social positionings between a small number of interlocutors in different workplace contexts in the specific communicative activity of email writing. We have mainly focused on one specific aspect of emails, greetings and closings, and have shown their importance in indexing identities and in relational claims made by interlocutors, as well as their value in indexing the positions interlocutors wish to claim for themselves or attribute to others (cf. Laver 1975). In our sample, greetings and closings were mostly used to create closeness and good relationships. However, in some emails we also found greetings used to contest hierarchy and to emphasise independence. This means that greetings and closings not only mirrored existing relationships but that they were used by interlocutors to negotiate identities and positions dynamically in a specific interaction.

As for the context of Brazilian workplaces, we found that a majority of emails featured both greetings and closings, which offers some support for reported claims about the importance of interpersonal relationships in Brazil. At the same time, the lack of other types of phatic talk was unexpected, given the importance attributed to it in anecdotal evidence.

While social factors, such as hierarchy, influenced choices in greetings and closings, the inside/outside factors identified had an impact on the interactions to an even greater extent. Outside communications were characterised by more formal greetings and closings and an overall more formal tone. Different workplaces also showed differences in the greetings and closings used, with the court of law being the most notable example, featuring stricter power difference resulting in highly formal exchanges between the boss and his employees as well as between departments.

Often a closer and more rapport-oriented indexing of the relationship between interlocutors coincided with inside emails, which tended to be less formal than their counterparts sent to other organisations or departments. When it came to outside emails, greetings and closings were nonetheless used to create positive relationships, but often at a greater distance than in the inside email sample where an indexing of closeness seemed more important, even in cases where interlocutors had never met.

Given the prevalence of greetings and closings in the sample, we paid particular attention – in line with Bou-Franch's (2011) outline of future research – to the emails that had omitted these, in order to understand what had prompted this deviation from the norm. We found that emails missing either or both greeting and closing were often a part of an ongoing email conversation and/or showed features of being written in a hurry, which seems consistent with Laver's (1975) predictions about greetings not being used when relationships have already been established and positions have successfully been claimed. In one case the omitted greeting was also used strategically to emphasise the surprise the sender expressed in the email. In one exchange the absent greetings and closings were used to index displeasure and conflict between the interlocutors as well as to make claims about and re-negotiate hierarchies. Looking at the email chain we can also trace the escalation of the conflict in the greetings (1. greeting word – 2. only first name – 3. no address term at all) on both sides, which suggests that both interlocutors understood the value greetings had in occupying specific positions in an interaction and strategically used them to clarify and advance their own position.

As such, greetings and closings fulfil very important functions in emails and are used strategically by interlocutors.

6. Future research

This chapter has contributed to the studies of workplace communication in less investigated languages and shed light on positioning strategies used to index identities in email interactions, but their role in relationship management at work remains a large and potentially rewarding field of research. Within the context of Brazil we have chosen to look at a small sample of emails spanning several workplaces and types of interactions, and added to the under-explored aspect of email chains. More nuanced investigations, for example into a specific workplace or a specific type of interaction (e.g. requests or information sharing) could shed further light on our understanding of workplace communication in Brazil.

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CHAPTER 5

Beyond the notion of *periphery*

An account of polyfunctional discourse markers within the Val.Es.Co. model of discourse segmentation

Shima Salameh Jiménez, Maria Estellés Arguedas and Salvador Pons Bordería

This paper offers an alternative analysis to the *Subjectivity, Intersubjectivity and Peripheries Hypothesis* or SIPH (Beeching, Degand, Detges, Traugott and Waltereit 2009; Traugott 2012; Beeching and Detges 2014; Higashizumi, Onodera and Sohn 2016). The SIPH focuses on the *left* and *right peripheries* of a single reference unit: *sentence*, *utterance* or *turn*. Against this *unidimensional* analysis, this paper argues in favour of a *bidimensional* analysis such as the one offered by the Val.Es.Co. model where eight different-scope units and four positions per unit offer a more flexible way to capture the evolution of discourse markers. The analysis of Sp. *¿no?* (*huh*?), *mira* (*look*), *oye* (*hey*) and *¡vaya!* (*wow!*) reveals that the subjective and intersubjective positioning of the speakers is better accounted for by taking the discourse unit and the meaning of the DM into account, rather than its structural position at the left or right periphery of an utterance.

Keywords: discourse segmentation, Val.Es.Co. model, left periphery, right periphery, (inter)subjectivity, discourse markers

1. Introduction

In recent years, the issues of subjectivity and intersubjectivity have been widely explored in the fields of semantics and pragmatics (Benveniste 1971; Lyons 1982, 1989; Traugott 1982, 1995; Langacker 1990; Traugott and Dasher 2002). Some of the literature on the topic has been devoted to the relationship between the expression of (inter)subjectivity through some linguistic items and the presence of these items in certain structural positions. Similarly, this chapter explores two main aspects of subjectivity and intersubjectivity: The language levels at which they appear, and

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how they intersect with the positioning of particular items (typically discourse markers) to the left or right periphery of an utterance. A more complex picture is evoked to account for positioning and scope by drawing on the Val.Es.Co model of discourse units (VAM).

Depending on the broader or more restrictive view of subjectivity (Nuyts 2015: 106), this concept is generally defined as the trace left by speakers in their messages. This trace can be explicitly expressed through self-referential expressions (such as *I see Mary*, Langacker 1990), entities (events, places and objects) or mental states (attitudes, beliefs and evaluations of what happens or what is being said) (Traugott 2003; Nuyts 2015). Intersubjectivity expresses the connection between speaker(s) and hearer(s) and can be conveyed by vocatives, indexicals and interpersonal discourse markers, as well as by turn-management devices (Traugott 2003; Nuyts 2012).

Recently, (inter)subjectivity has been regarded in correlation with the different parts of the discourse structure. Some authors have posited a tendency whereby linguistic elements located at the left periphery (henceforth LP) are subjective, and those at the right periphery (henceforth RP) are mainly intersubjective. This is the central idea underlying the Subjectivity, Intersubjectivity and Peripheries Hypothesis (SIPH) (Beeching, Degand, Detges, Traugott and Waltereit 2009; Traugott 2012; Beeching and Detges 2014[1]). To illustrate this hypothesis, consider Examples (1) and (2):[2]

(1) C: *a ver/ ha pagao Vic-ee// Vicente me pagó el otro día/ ayer/// Jose/* ***¿no?***
J: *(yo se lo di a Sergio)*
'C: let's see/ Vic-ee-uuh- paid/ Vicente paid me the other day/ yesterday/// José/ **right**?
J: (I gave it to Sergio)'

1. Beyond the SIPH hypothesis, recent works (Beeching and Detges eds. 2014; Higashizumi, Onodera and Sohn 2016) pertain less to (inter)subjectivity than they do to textual/connective functions versus modalising functions. The point is to systematise "what kinds of action-structure and exchange-structure functions (following Schiffrin 1987) are expressed at LP and RP" (Onodera and Traugott 2016) from a cross-linguistic perspective. However, the positional-functional correspondence tendency, without small structural units (any unit under *turn* or *utterance*) has been maintained.

2. The transcription of all the examples follows the VAM transcription conventions, some of which are reproduced here: short pause – < 0.5 sec (/), average pause [0.5, 1] sec (//), long pause > 1 sec (///), continuation of turn (=), overlaps [ ], falling intonation ↓, rising intonation (↑), suspended intonation (→), language uttered with lower intensity °( )°, no pause between interventions (§).

(2) E: *sí↓ [el teórico ya]*
L: *[¿ya has acabao?]*
G: ***¡vaya!** ¡qué suerte! oyee enhorabuena*
'E: yes [the theory test]
L: [have you passed???]
G: **wow!** how lucky! hey congrats!!!'

In Example (1), speaker C uses *¿no?* ('right?') to seek confirmation of his prior assertion (*Vicente me pagó el otro día/ ayer/// José/ **¿no?***). As a request for confirmation, *¿no?* conveys a speaker-hearer relationship (intersubjective).

By contrast, in Example (2), *¡vaya!* ('wow!') makes G's reaction to E's utterance explicit and evaluates it: Passing a driving test is good news. This is subjective behaviour in Traugott's (2012) sense.

In Examples (1) and (2), the subjective *¡vaya!* and the intersubjective *¿no?* appear at LP and RP, as predicted by the SIPH; on one hand, subjectivity is supposed to occur at the beginning of a speaker's turn because discourse conception goes hand in hand with discourse production (Example (1) above). On the other hand, since speakers are supposed to manage conversations locally, requests for confirmation, (particularly in *Transition Relevant Places TRP,* Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974) are to be expected, as in Example (2), where they appear at RP. *Vaya* and *no*, in Examples (1) and (2), can both be explained by the SIPH.

2. Background

2.1 Traugott (2012) and the problems for the SIPH: Sp. *oye* (*hey*) and *mira* (look), *no doubt* and *surely*

Examples (1) and (2) can be accounted for by the SIPH. However, recent works (Degand and Simon-Vandenbergen, 2011; Traugott 2012) provide examples that do not seem to fit the SIPH. Consider Examples (3) and (4):

(3) M: *síi [ahh/ ((también me gusta)) **oye**=]*
A: *[está bien/ está bien/ es así]*
M: *= soy mayor/ y también me gusta pasármelo bien*
S: *mm*
M: *pues sí señor oye/ de verdad// a mí también me gusta pasármelo bien/ oye/// pero yo lo/ reconozco↑/que/// que ¡hija mía!/el otro día empezaba/ el jueves↑/ y digo/* entonces/ es ya/ jueves↑/ viernes sábado y domingo ¿cuatro días de salir por la noche?/ esto es demasiado

‘M: yes [ahh/ ((I like it too)) **hey** =]
A: [it’s ok/ it’s ok/ that’s it]
M: I’m an adult/ and I also enjoy having fun
S: mm
M: well of course I do <u>oye</u> /seriously// I also like enjoying myself /<u>oye</u> /// but I must confess/ that /// that / you know/// last week she went out / on Thursday/ and I said *so/ it’s Thursday/ Friday Saturday and Sunday (/) four days in a row going out at night? / this is way too much*’

(4) A: *¿quién-quién se apunta por las tardes a correr al río?*
J: *mira↓ ahora mismo se ha ido Gerardo*
A: *pero es que yo con Gerardo no puedo correr*
‘A: who-who wants to go running near the river in the afternoon?
J: look↓ Gerardo has just gone now
A: but I can’t go running with Gerardo’

In Example (3), the discourse marker *oye* (hey) is not intersubjective despite being placed at RP. Speaker M does not want to establish contact with the rest of the speakers, or to give them the floor. In fact, although M is interrupted and overlaps with A, she keeps her turn and continues to utter her message. Therefore, *oye* boosts the illocutionary force of the unit it affects and the stance towards what is being said: In Example (3), this is disagreement with the general idea that “growing old implies not having fun anymore”. Therefore, Example (3) does not fit the SIPH: A subjective, speaker-based message is placed at RP.[3]

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3. An anonymous reviewer has pointed out that *oye* in Example (3) can also be regarded as an instance of an initial position, as its alleged scope is the act immediately following the DM. Thus, the reading, according to this reviewer, would be:

M: síi [aah! ((también me gusta))
A: [está bien! está bien! es así]
M: **oye** soy mayor! y también me gusta pasármelo bien

However, when a broader context is considered, as in Example (3) above, such an interpretation is ruled out: The same structure is repeated with prosodic features that clearly favour the final interpretation of *oye*:

M: **síi [aah! ((también me gusta)) oye**=]
A: [está bien! está bien! es así]
M: = soy mayor! y también me gusta pasármelo bien
M: **oye** soy mayor! y también me gusta pasármelo bien
S: mm
M: **pues sí señor oye/** de verdad// **a mí también me gusta pasármelo bien/ oye///** pero yo lo/ reconozco↑/que/// que ¡hija mía!/el otro día empezaba/ el jueves↑/ y digo/ *entonces/ es ya/ jueves*↑/ *viernes sábado y domingo ¿cuatro días de salir por la noche?/ esto es demasia(d)o*

Accordingly, Example (4) does not fit the SIPH either: *mira* ('look'), which is a vocative like *oye,* creates a direct link between speakers. Once the hearer's attention is gained, A provides an explicit answer. This interactive dynamics should not be expected at LP, where subjective values are supposed to be the norm.

Unlike Examples (1) and (2), Examples (3) and (4) can be regarded as counterexamples of the SIPH, as shown in Table 5.1:

Table 5.1 DMs and results after implementing SIPH.
In bold font: fit the SIPH; strikeout font: do not fit SIPH

FUNCTION-ZONE	RP	LP
INTERSUBJECTIVITY	**(1)**	~~(4)~~
SUBJECTIVITY	~~(3)~~	**(2)**

More counterexamples are provided in Traugott's (2012) analysis of the epistemic adverbs *no doubt* and *surely.* Both adverbs, originally lacking any modal features, have developed into modal adverbs and, finally, have acquired connective values. *No doubt* and *surely* can be subjective or intersubjective regardless of the periphery (L or R) in which they are placed. Consider, for instance, Traugott's (2012: 22) example of *no doubt* in Examples (5) and (6). Here, *no doubt* expresses a high degree of certainty about what the other speaker is saying or regarding what he is going to say; in other words, a subjective value. Note that this subjective function is possible both in LP[4] (5) and in RP (6):

(5) *"Oh!* ***no doubt!****" said Matilda, "you are a very discreet personage! May I know what YOU would have asked him?" "A bystander often sees more of the game than those that play." answered Bianca.* (1764 Walpole, *Castle of Otranto*)

(6) *Why … what signifies all you say? The matter's over with her,* ***no doubt****; and she likes it.* (1740, Richardson, *Pamela*)

In these two excerpts, *no doubt* underlines the speaker's stance: In Example (5), Matilda thinks without any doubt that Bianca is an extremely discreet personage.

Speaker M repeats the same structure on three different occasions.

también me gusta)) **oye**
pues sí señor **oye/**
a mí también me gusta pasármelo bien/ **oye** ///

The ascribing of *oye* to the previous and not to the following unit is supported by the presence of a longer pause after the DM (///)

4. Examples (5) to (10) have been extracted from Traugott's (2012) work about *no doubt* and *surely*. No further context is provided in the original.

This belief is conveyed by the use of *no doubt*. The same occurs in Example (6), in which *no doubt* is epistemic because it makes it the degree of knowledge about *the matter* explicit, which the speaker considers to be absolutely true. This is a prototypical case of subjectivity in Traugott's (2012) terms.

On the other hand, *surely* has different behaviour with regard to the problems raised by the SIPH. From its early appearances, *surely* presents epistemic-modal functions at LP, as in Example (7) below, but it can also be subjective at RP (see Example (8) below):

(7) *The Lord said "**Surely** they shall not see the land which I sware vnto their fathers.*
(1611, King James *Bible [HC ceotest2]*)

(8) *there needs nothing more to give a strong presumption of falsehood. Yes, reply I, here are metaphysics **surely**, but they are all on your side.*
(1751 Hume, *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*)

That the same marker can be used subjectively at both LP and RP is a challenge to the SIPH hypothesis. In addition, *surely* has further grammaticalised into an intersubjective marker in both RP (9) and LP (10):

(9) *"But, you won't take advantage of me, **surely**, Sir Arthur?" said Mr. Case, forgetting his own principles. "I shall not take advantage of you, as you would have taken of this honest man ..."* (1796–1801 Edgeworth, *The Parent's Assistant*))

(10) ***Surely** then, when his honourable friend spoke of the calamities of St. Domingo ... it ill became him to be the person to cry out for further importations!*
(1839 Clarkson, *History of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade*)

Example (9), a case of turn-giving, and Example (10), a polyphonic agreement, are analysed as intersubjective (Traugott 2012: 18), revealing that the same periphery, either left or right, can host the two different types of meaning (subjective or intersubjective): It seems that peripheries alone do not suffice to account for this distribution, either synchronically or diachronically.

In Traugott's (2012) examples, the same asymmetry can be noticed, as in Examples (1) to (4): While the correlation RP-intersubjective/LP-subjective is possible, the contrary correlation (RP-subjective / LP-intersubjective) is also possible, as shown in Table 5.2:

Table 5.2 *No doubt* and *surely*, results after implementing the SIPH. In bold font: fit the SIPH; in strikeout font: do not fit SIPH

FUNCTION-ZONE	RP	LP
INTERSUBJECTIVITY	**(9)**	~~(10)~~
SUBJECTIVITY	~~(6) (8)~~	(5)(7)

The problem above has been detected, but no alternative analysis so far has succeeded in explaining examples and counterexamples as a unified framework. We think that the cause of this descriptive inadequacy is the vagueness in the definition of the basic unit with regard to which RP and LP are defined; in all cases, *clause*, *utterance* and *proposition*. The following has been suggested by Traugott (2012: 22): "A related research question is what counts as "periphery", "edge" or indeed "initial" and "final"? It appears that the answer may differ depending on the domain investigated".

The goal of this paper is to explain the gaps in the SIPH hypothesis in order to provide a more accurate explanation of (inter)subjectivity at both LP and RP, and how they interact with different discourse structure levels (propositional content, interaction or modality).[5] To accomplish this, we will use a model of discourse segmentation, namely the one developed by the Val.Es.Co. Research Group (Briz and Grupo Val.Es.Co 2003; Grupo Val.Es.Co 2014). The use of such a model implies that: (i) The discourse is conceived as a combination of hierarchical, dialogical and monological units, and (ii) within each unit, different positions are distinguished; this means that the *initial position* with scope over a smaller, monological unit will be different from the *initial position* with scope over a wider dialogical unit. This leads to a clearer study of many discourse features, avoiding possible overlaps originating from the polyfunctionality present in the discourse structure.

The Val.Es.Co. model of discourse segmentation (henceforth VAM) will be used to analyze Examples (1) to (4) above (taken from the Briz and Val.Es.Co. 2002; Cabedo and Pons Bordería 2013) and Examples (5) to (10) above (taken from Traugott 2012). These analyses will be then compared to the results obtained with the SIPH: By using the VAM model, we will provide evidence that the position occupied by a DM (that is, LP or RP) is not the only relevant factor for the development of pragmatic functions because a hidden variable that was not accounted for previously exists: the *discourse unit* the DM has scope over.

5. Other proposals are summarised in Beeching and Detges (eds. 2014): Detges and Waltereit (2014) focused on LP and RP and added three further structural components (*preamble*, *rheme* and *P.S.*) related to four levels (Referential Contrast, Topic-Shift, Turn-Taking and Strong Speech Acts) in both LP and RP. The VAM analysis, in turn, goes beyond the notions of *preamble, rheme* and *P.S.* by positing the existence of two monological units below turns, namely *act* and *subact*. All units are structurally related, which means that (a) it is possible to provide a unified account of monological and dialogical uses of DMs in conversations, and (b) the notions of LP and RP can be opted out.

2.2 The Val.Es.Co. model of discourse units: Towards a solution

2.2.1 *Background*

The VAM (Briz y grupo Val.Es.Co 2003; Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2014) has been developed in Briz and Grupo Val.Es.Co (2003) and Grupo Val.Es.Co. (2014).[6] This framework has been applied to different issues, such as the polyfunctionality of discourse markers (Briz 2001, Briz and Pons Bordería 2010; Estellés 2009, 2011; Pons Bordería 2006, 2008), the word order in Spanish (Padilla 2001), intensification and mitigation devices (Albelda 2005, 2007, 2010; Albelda and Cestero 2011; Albelda and Gras 2011; Briz 2007) and grammaticalisation studies (Pons Bordería 2008; Estellés and Pons Bordería 2009; Pons Bordería 2013, 2014; Salameh Jiménez 2014).

2.2.2 *The units: Interventions, acts and subacts*

This model is composed of eight hierarchical units (act, subact, intervention, exchange, dialogue, turn, turn-taking and discourse), which amount to three orders of information (informative, structural and social), and to four positions (initial, medial, final and independent) (see Table 5.3).[7]

For the purposes of this paper, only the units *intervention*, *act* and *subact* will be explained here. Recall Example (11), taken from Briz and Pons Bordería (2010):

(11) (Ii) A1: ¿*Vienes con nosotros?*
(Ir) B1: *Bueno/pero tengo prisa*
'(Ii) A1: Are you coming with us?
(Ir) B1: OK/ but I'm in a hurry'

6. This model relies on different approaches, among which CA (Sacks et al. 1974), DA (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975); the La Sorbonne Group (Danon-Boileau, Morel and Rilliand 1992) and the Geneva Group (Roulet 1985; Roulet et al. 2001; Roulet 1991).

7. Within this classification, some sub-specifications can be made: *interventions* can be *initiative* (Ii) when they start a communicative process, or *reactive* (Ri) when they are produced as a response to a previous initiative intervention. For their part, *subacts* can be classified according to two main types: *substantive* (SS) and *adjacent* (AS). SS are subacts with semantic and informative content in their basis. They can be *directive* (DSS), when they convey the main content in the intervention uttered, or *subordinated* (SSS), when they are informatively and semantically dependent on a DSS. AS are subacts with procedural contents as their basis. They can be classified as *Interpersonal Adjacent Subacts* (IAS), when they are employed to highlight interactive links between speakers; *Modal Adjacent Subacts* (MAS), when they highlight the relationship between the speaker and his own discourse; and *Textual Adjacent Subacts* (TAS), when they highlight textual and discourse organization relationships.

Table 5.3 Units and positions in the VAM. Retrieved from Estellés and Pons Bordería (2014)

Unit												
		Subact					**Act**	**Intervention**		**Exchange**	**Dialogue**	**Discourse**
		DSS	**SSS**	**IAS**	**IAM**	**TAS**		**Reactive (rI)**	**Initiative (ιI)**			
Position	Initial											
	Medial											
	Final											
	Independent											

Table 5.4 Units and positions in the VAM. Retrieved from Estellés and Pons Bordería (2014)

Unit												
		Subact (S)					**Act (A)**	**Intervention (I)**		**Exchange (E)**	**Dialogue (D)**	**Discourse (Dc)**
		DSS	**SSS**	**IAS**	**IAM**	**TAS**		**Reactive (rI)**	**Initiative (ιI)**			
Position	Initial (I)	I, DSS	I, SSS	I, IAS	I, IAM	I, TAS	I, Act	I, rI	I, ιI	–	I, D	I, Dc
	Medial (M)	M, DSS	M, SSS	M, IAS	M, IAM	M, TAS	M, Act	M, rI	M, ιI / M, E		–	–
	Final (F)	F, DSS	F, SSS	F, IAS	F, IAM	F, TAS	F, Act	F, rI	F, ιI	–	F, D	F, Dc
	Independent (Ind)	Ind										

Example (11) reproduces an exchange with two interventions made by speakers A and B. Each intervention is indicated by a number to the right of each speaker (A1, B1).[8]

In the VAM, *interventions* are the *maximal monological structural unit*; that is, words uttered by one speaker from the moment s/he takes the floor until s/he relinquishes it. Interventions are either triggered by what another speaker has said previously (*reactive interventions* rI) or they trigger a further reaction (*initiative interventions* iI), or they trigger a further intervention and are triggered by a previous one simultaneously (*reactive-initiative interventions* r/iI). In Example (11) above, A1 is an iI that triggers B1's answer (rI).

In long conversational excerpts, the succession of reactive-initiative interventions produces a prototypical conversation: such succession reflects a dynamism that places conversation boundaries at the dialogical level (minimal structural unit). Because of their dialogical character, interventions are highly likely to contain intersubjective phenomena.

The VAM does not consider that interventions (comparable to *utterances* in the SIPH) are the minimal units of analysis: Hierarchically, there are other units below them, namely *acts* and *subacts*. Consider Example (12), which modifies the previous Example (11):

(12) B1: *#No voy# #Es que tengo prisa#*
'B1: #I'm not going# #I'm in a hurry#'

Example (12) is an intervention, as is Example (11). In this context it appears isolated in order to explain the immediate constituent of an intervention: the *act*. An act is signalled by hashtag symbols (#) at the beginning and end. An act has the following main features:

a. **Isolability**: Acts are the locus where the illocutionary forces of interventions are to be found (question, acceptance, order, refusals and so on). For this reason, an act can operate in the discourse structure as an intervention on its own, without having to be accompanied by more acts. Based on these criteria, the act *#no voy#* (#I'm not going#) could be labelled an intervention: Its illocutionary force is an assertion. The second act, *#Es que tengo prisa#* (#I'm in a hurry#), has explicative illocutionary force, which is different from the previous utterance. It could also be another intervention, as it could be a reaction to a question such as "*¿Vienes al cine?*" ("are you coming to the cinema?"), in which case the implicature is a refusal.

8. This notation system is very useful for analysing long excerpts that contain many exchanges and interventions.

b. **Identifiability**: Acts have determined and fixed borders that are signalled via various linguistic marks such as action verbs, verba dicendi (*I say*, *he says*), pro-forms (*yes*, *no*, *that is*), indexical elements that separate acts, prosodic boundaries or direct speech, among others. Furthermore, at the prosodic level, acts are usually composed of only one melodic curve and, semantically, acts can often be analysed as one logical/propositional form and a set of non-propositional elements (discourse markers, procedural units) accompanying it.
(Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2014: 52)

Finally, there is another unit below an act. Consider Example (13), which is the same sample as in Examples (11) and (12) with modifications:

(13) B1: *#{No voy}{porque tengo prisa}#*
'B1: #{I'm not going}{because I'm in a hurry}#'

Example (13) shows an intervention composed of only one act. It is possible to distinguish small units that are indicated by curly brackets { }. *Subacts* are informative units and immediate constituents of an *act*. They can be *Substantive Subacts* (SS) or *Adjacent Subacts* (AS), depending on their propositional or non-propositional basis: SS have propositinal meaning; AS do have not propositional meaning, but they host procedural meanings for the information structure of the discourse (Briz and Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2003: 47; Grupo Val.Es.Co. 2014: 53).

SS are subdivided into *Director Substantive Subacts* (DSS), *Subordinated Substantive Subacts* (SSS) and *Topicalised Substantive Subacts* (TopSS) according to their informative relevance and their informative status in the act in which they are inserted.

In Example (13), the act *#no voy porque tengo prisa#* (#I don't go because I'm in a hurry#) consists of two subacts: a DSS *{no voy}*, with the most important informative weight in the entire act, and an SSS *{because I'm in a hurry}*. The second one depends on the first (as shown by the subordination conjunction *because*) and contains the explanation derived from the negative assertion in the DSS; in turn, *{no voy}* could stand on its own in the discourse, as an act and intervention, but this is not possible for the SSS: An intervention preceded by a question cannot start with a *because* clause. SSSs are dependent on DSSs:

(13′) (Ii) A1: *#{¿Vienes al cine?}#*
(Ri) B1: *¿#{porque tengo prisa}#*
'(Ii)A1: #{are you coming to the cinema?}#
(Ri)B1: ?#{because I'm in a hurry}#'

Adjacent subacts (SA) are classified according to three pragmatic subtypes: *Interpersonal Adjacent Subacts* (IAS), *Modaliser Adjacent Subacts* (MAS) or *Textual*

Adjacent Subacts (TAS). As their labels indicate, IAS show speaker-hearer relationships; MAS show speaker-text relationships and TAS show text-text relationships. The following extracts are examples of each category, respectively:

(14) C: *a ver/ ha pagao Vic ee// Vicente me pagó el otro día/ ayer/// Jose/¿no?*
'C: let's see/ Vic ee uuh has paid/ Vicente paid me the other day/yesterday/// José/ {**IAS** didn't he? **IAS**}'

(15) M: *síi [aah/ ((también me gusta)) oye =]*
'M: yes [ahh/ ((I like it too)) {**MAS** listen **MAS**} =]'

(16) B: *además/ también le ha pasado otra cosa*
'B: {**TAS** furthermore **TAS**}/ another thing has also happened to him'

Due to this distinction of smaller units below the intervention, the notion of *position* is different from the SIPH peripheries' perspective. The VAM has four positions: *initial*, *medial*, *final* and *independent*, defined in relation to each unit. This produces a combination of variables. The differences between the SIPH (Table 5.5) and the VAM (see Table 5.4) are evident:

Table 5.5 Grid with functional zones in SIPH, without suprapropositional or infrapropositional units

Peripheries			
RP			LP
functions	INTERSUBJECTIVITY		
	SUBJECTIVITY		

A total of 30 relationships based on positions and units are possible within the VAM model. Each relationship allows explanations of different discursive phenomena at different levels, suprapropositional or infrapropositional (see Table 5.4).

3. Findings

3.1 An alternative analysis using the VAM proposal

Examples (1) to (4), analysed in Section 2, are now analysed using the VAM. To do so, it is necessary to divide these examples into discourse units. By doing so, the scope of each discourse marker is made clear, and all discourse markers (*oye*, *¿no? ¡vaya!* and *mira*) are themselves discourse units, in all cases adjacent subacts (AS), which can be further specified as IAS (interpersonal adjacent subacts) for intersubjective values or as TAS (textual adjacent subacts) and, mainly, MAS (modal adjacent subacts) for subjective values.

Examples (1) and (2) fitted the SIPH, but Examples (3) and (4) did not because the explanation was based on discourse *positions* such as LP and RP, disregarding the *scope* of the elements in those positions. The SIPH analysis, taking the 'utterance' as the single unit of analysis, cannot explore relationships above or below that unit. The VAM, however, does distinguish different discourse units. For the sake of clarity, we will only focus on three of these units: *subacts, acts* and *interventions*.

A corollary of this idea is that there will be a specialisation in functions for each of the units identified. Intuitively, the functional specialisation would not be the same when there is scope over a dialogal unit as when the scope is over a monological unit. The former would be an intervention while the latter is an act. This is, in fact, what we will find in Examples (1) and (2), reproduced now as Examples (17) and (18):

(17) C: *# {a ver}/ {ha pagao Vic-ee}//{Vicente me pagó el otro día}/{ayer}#/// #{Jose}/ {¿no?}#*
J: *#({yo se lo di a Sergio})#*
'C: let's see/ Vic-ee-uuh- has paid/ Vicente paid me the other day/ yesterday/// José/ didn't he?
J: #({**DSS I gave it to Sergio DSS**})#'

(18) E: *sí↓ [el teórico ya]*
L: *[¿ya has acabao?]*
G: *# {¡vaya!} {¡qué suerte!}# #{oyee} {enhorabuena}#*
'E: yes [the theory test]
L: [you passed?]
G: #{**MAS wow! MAS**}{**DSS** how lucky!**DSS** }##{**IAS** hey **IAS**}{**DSS** congrats **DSS**!!!}#'

In Example (17), the intersubjective *¿no?* appears in the final position of an intervention. A request for confirmation can only be conceived of at an interactional level because only another speaker can confirm the words uttered by a previous speaker, and the words can only be confirmed if they have been uttered previously. In Example (17), the reaction of speaker J, triggered by C's final position *¿no?,* is evidence of this. Thus, by using '¿no?' in the final position of an intervention [I,F], the speaker contributes to the dynamics of the conversation.

If, as in Example (17′), the same marker *¿no?* is placed in the final position of a monological unit, in terms of VAM, an *act*, its function is different:

(17′) *#{Y} {me estuvo contando lo que le pasó a su amiga},* ***{¿no?}****# #{que} {en realidad no fue nada importante}, {pero la chica se estaba comiendo mucho la cabeza al respecto}#.*
‘#{TAS and TAS} {DSS he was talking to me about what happened to her friend DSS}{**MAS y'know? MAS**} # #{DSS which in fact was not very important DSS} {SSS but the girl was thinking about this a lot SSS}#’

Due to its monological scope (act, not intervention), the discourse marker conveys phatic and formulative, but not confirmative values: The speaker in Example (17′) does not use *¿no?* to give the turn and request an explicit verbal reaction from the other participant, but to plan his own message. This is not LP or RP: It is a combination of position (final) and unit (act).

The same applies to *¡vaya!* (wow!). In Example (18), *vaya* is an MAS in the initial position of a subact [I,SA], introducing an evaluation made by the speaker about the situation that is happening. This evaluation is subjective by nature. However, if *¡vaya!* is placed in the final position of an intervention [F,I] and, consequently, its scope changes, this value is lost and the illocutionary force of the second segment is also altered:

(18′) G: *#{**DSS** how lucky!**DSS** }##{**IAS** hey **IAS**}{**MAS wow! MAS**}{**DSS** congrats **DSS**!!!}#*

Although Examples (17) and (18) can be accounted for by the SIPH, the VAM analysis provides two additional advantages: a) It adds a layer of information on the scope of *¿no?* and *¡vaya!* and b), it also explains what happens if the markers change their scope, just as in Example (17′) or (18′).

Examples (3) and (4), now reproduced as Examples (19) and (20), were counterexamples to the SIPH. When analysed in terms of the VAM, they merely occupy different positions and affect different units, as in Examples (17) and (18):

(19) M: *m-muy bien*
A: *mañana a las/ocho ya la esperan también/o sea que →*
M: *#{síi}# #* *[{aah}#/ #{((también me gusta))} {oye}# =]*
A: *[está bien/ está bien/ es así]*
M: *soy mayor/ y también me gusta pasármelo bien*
‘M: v-very good
A: tomorrow at/ at eight o'clock they will be waiting for her/ so
M: #{**DSS** yes **DSS**}# #{**MAS** [ahh/ **MAS**}# #{**DSS**((I like it too))**DSS**} {**MAS** listen **MAS**} =]
A: [it's ok/ it's ok/ that's it]
M: I'm an adult/ and I also like to have fun’

(20) A: *¿quién-quién se apunta por las tardes a correr al río?*
J: *#{mira} ↓ {ahora mismo se ha ido Gerardo}#*
A: *pero es que yo con Gerardo no puedo correr*
'A: who-who wants to go running near the river in the afternoon?
J: #{**IAS** look ↓**IAS**}{**DSS** Gerardo has just gone now **DSS**}#
A: but I can't run with Gerardo'

In Example (19) DM *oye* (MAS), placed at RP – or, in our terms, the final position – conveys subjective (modal) values, which are unexpected in this zone in which intersubjective values are the most frequent. Again, this is due to the unit over which this IAS has scope: *oye* is placed at [F, A] and is not related to the intervention (dialogical level). Its function is not to take or give the floor, or to request information, but to intensify both the message and the speakers' attitudes.[9]

What Example (19) shows is that it is the unit over which the DM has scope, and not its position within a certain periphery, what determines its value. Note that if *oye* were moved to the initial or final position in the intervention (not the act), it would show interpersonal values to attract the attention of the audience, thus being an IAS (not an MAS). This is what Example (21) shows:

(21) *#{Oye} {tráete la comida al trabajo} {que hoy no podemos bajar a la cafetería}#*
'#{IAS Hey IAS} {DSS bring lunch to work with you DSS} {SSS since we can't go to the cafe today SSS}#'

Example (20) was also problematic for the SIPH: *Mira* (look), placed at LP, conveys intersubjective values in this context. According to the SIPH, subjective items are placed at LP. The scope of *mira* is the intervention: It is a request for a later elicitation (the intervention of J):

(20) J: *#{**IAS** look ↓**IAS**}{**DSS** Gerardo has just gone now **DSS**}#*
A: *but with Gerardo I can't run*

On the contrary, if *mira* were used at the initial position of an act ([I, A]), its functions would be subjective; that is, related to the formulation of the speaker's message, which is an index to draw attention to what is going to be said:

(20′) *#{Mira}/ {lo que pasó en realidad fue lo siguiente}#*
'#{MAS look MAS}/{what really happened was this}#'

9. This is the same as Beeching and Detges' (2014) modalising definition.

By integrating the SIPH within the VAM, a better understanding of examples such as Examples (17) and (18), which were regarded as counterexamples to SIPH, is achieved. This is shown in Table 5.6:

Table 5.6 Combining SIPH and VAM

<table>
<tr><th colspan="6">Unit</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2" rowspan="2"></th><th rowspan="2">Subact</th><th rowspan="2">Act</th><th colspan="2">Intervention</th></tr>
<tr><th>Initiative</th><th>Reactive</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Position</td><td>Initial (LP)</td><td></td><td>¡vaya! (2) (AMS)</td><td></td><td>mira (4) (IAS)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Medial</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Final (RP)</td><td></td><td>oye (3) (AMS)</td><td></td><td>¿no? (1) (IAS)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Independent</td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2"></td></tr>
</table>

Table 5.6 shows that *position* is a necessary but not sufficient criterion to distinguish pragmatic functions in discourse markers. Without the VAM system (see Table 5.1), a hidden variable was not considered, namely the *unit* over which a DM has scope. After our analysis, intersubjective DMs were proven to have scope over interventions; in other words, at the dialogical level, whereas monological DMs were proven to have scope over acts or subacts at the monological level.

3.2 A diachronic problem: The evolution of *no doubt* and *surely* within the VAM[10]

The problems raised by the SIPH arise not only synchronically, but also diachronically. *No doubt* and *surely* – mentioned above to exemplify the problems of a correlation based solely on *function* and *position* – have developed subjective and intersubjective functions at both LP and RP.

As Traugott (2012: 22) expressed it:

> *No doubt* and *surely* arose out of non-modal expressions; they were recruited for use as epistemic adverbs and linkers. Use at RP is a relatively late development, and infrequent. As a modal linker *no doubt* is subjective at both LP and RP, meaning at first 'I am sure that' and later 'I infer that'. *Surely* may likewise be subjective, but it may from early times be intersubjective at both LP and RP, meaning 'I want you to agree'. Therefore *no doubt* and *surely* are further examples in addition to Tottie and Hoffman's (2006) on tags, and Hansen's (2005) and Degand's (2011) on French that counterexemplify the hypothesis that "Expressions at left periphery are likely to be subjective, those at right periphery intersubjective".

10. All examples in this section are borrowed from Traugott (2012).

The hypothesis that LP hosts DMs that mainly have subjective functions, while RP hosts DMs with interpersonal, intersubjective functions does not mean that they can *only* host subjective and intersubjective DMs, respectively. In Traugott (1995) or Traugott and Dasher (2002), a cline is posited as leading from non-subjective to subjective and, finally, to intersubjective functions. However, this latter idea is not without exceptions, as the evolution of *no doubt* and *surely* indicate.

Recall Traugott's Examples (5) and (6), reproduced here as Examples (21) and (22):

(21) *"#{Oh!} {**no doubt**!}" said Matilda, "{you are a very discreet personage!}# #{May I know what YOU would have asked him?}#" "#{A bystander often sees more of the game than those that play.}#" answered Bianca.*
(1764, Walpole, *Castle of Otranto*)

(22) *#{Why … what signifies all you say?}# #{The matter's over with her}, {**no doubt;**}# #{and she likes it.}#* (1740, Richardson, *Pamela*)

In Examples (21) and (22), *no doubt* is found at LP and RP, respectively, with subjective value in both cases. Although subjective values at RP are not predicted by SIPH, Traugott dates them back to 1740. In Example (22), *no doubt* is not used to obtain the hearer's confirmation, but to assert the correctness of the speaker's judgement, setting aside possible objections – a clearly subjective value. As *no doubt* is placed at RP, it is a counterexample to SIPH, unlike Example (21), in which LP *no doubt* is, according to Traugott, a rhetorical element with no expectation of up-take: There are no doubts about Bianca's discretion.

VAM can provide a better understanding of Examples (21) and (22). Their subjectivity must not be accounted for solely in terms of their position; on the contrary, what both examples have in common is the scope of *no doubt* – in both cases, an *act*. They are the same unit and therefore have the same function: In Examples (21) and (22), *no doubt* introduces the speaker's assessment of what s/he has just said; a monological relation hosted within a monological discourse unit. This applies regardless of the fact that *no doubt* in Example (21) is a MAS at the *initial* position of an act [I, A] and, in Example (22), it is a MAS that is placed at the final position of an act [F, A].

The same applies to *surely*: it can be subjective at LP and RP (Traugott 2012: 17):

(23) *The Lord said:# … # # { **Surely** } they shall not see the land which I sware vnto their fathers#.* (1611, King James, *Bible [HC ceotest2]*)

Furthermore, it has developed intersubjective functions at RP with interrogative formulations (Traugott 2012: 18):

In earlier texts, it is used as an epistemic modal. Over time there is evidence of increased use of *surely* to manage interpersonal expectations, particularly in seeking uptake/corroboration by the Addressee:

(24) *"But, you won't take advantage of me,* ***surely****, Sir Arthur?" said Mr. Case, forgetting his own principles. "I shall not take advantage of you, as you would have taken of this honest man …"* (1796–1801, Edgeworth, *The Parent's Assistant*)

When applying the VAM, this is again a "units and scopes" issue: *Surely* can appear in the initial position of act [I, A], as in Example (23). In Example (24), it can also be placed at the final position of intervention [F, I], a dialogical unit related to interpersonal values. As Example (23) developed earlier than did Example (24), it can be posited that *surely* increased its scope from acts to interventions. This did not occur with *no doubt*.

4. Conclusions

This chapter proposed an alternative account to the Subjectivity, Intersubjectivity and Peripheries Hypothesis (SIPH): Discourse markers such as Sp. *¿no?* (*huh*?), *mira* (*look*), *oye* (*hey*) or *¡vaya!* (*wow!*), just as is the case with adverbs such as Eng. *no doubt* or *surely* (Traugott 2012), are problematic for the LP ~ RP/ subjective ~ intersubjective correlation.

However, if the notion of *discourse unit* is incorporated into *position*, the mismatches between position and subjective/intersubjective function are clarified and exceptions can fit into the model nicely. Thus, it often occurs that, when a discourse marker with an intersubjective value is placed at left periphery, it has scope over an interactive unit such as an *intervention*, rendering position less important than the very nature of the unit over which it has scope.

The VAM suggests that *position* is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition to account for the function of discourse markers; however, positions and units taken together are necessary and sufficient conditions to provide a better understanding of why the same DM can be assigned different functions despite being placed in the same *periphery*.

To conclude, this chapter shows that the subjective and intersubjective positioning of the speakers is better accounted for when taking not the left or right position with regard to an "utterance" into account, but with regard to a set of discourse units. In addition, the function of a discourse marker depends on its structural position, the discourse unit over which it has scope and the meaning of the DM itself.

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CHAPTER 6

Metacommenting in English and French

A variational pragmatics approach

Kate Beeching

Metacommenters allow speakers to take some distance from a particular lexical selection, or enter into a negotiation with their interlocutors. A variational pragmatics approach is taken to the investigation of metacommenting in English and French, in Europe and Canada/the US, drawing on a range of time-dated corpora.

English and French draw pragmatically on similar linguistic resources for their pool of metacommenters, subjectivity being expressed through *sort of/kind of* and *like* in English, and *genre, comme* and post-posed *quoi* in French, while intersubjectivity is inherent in the personal pronouns in *if you like/if you will* in English and *si tu veux/si vous voulez* in French.

The linguistic forms used for the purpose of metacommenting arise from items with similar core meanings in the two languages, but develop, increase and decrease in frequency at different rates across national varieties, giving rise to regional differences and indexicalities.

Keywords: pragmatic marker, metacomment, variational pragmatics

1. Introduction

Pragmatic markers (henceforth PMs) have been the object of substantial debate in the literature over the last 25 years, and some progress has been made in relation to their definition and function, and their historical evolution. Rather less work has been done on their sociolinguistic salience and indexicality, and the ways in which new form-function couplings are propagated. With respect to methodologies which can be taken in the sociolinguistic analysis of PMs, researchers in the variationist mould have recognised that taking a strictly Labovian approach to the spread of discourse-pragmatic features is problematic. The three main stumbling blocks in adopting a fundamentally phonological model in the study of discourse-pragmatic items such as PMs are: defining what is meant by a pragmatic

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variable, the requirement for equivalence in meaning, and circumscribing the envelope of variation.

A possible avenue for future development will be proposed which combines corpus linguistic methods with variational pragmatics, an approach which has been applied to the study of speech acts, politeness patterns and other pragmatic phenomena across regional varieties of pluricentric languages (Clyne 1992; Schneider and Barron 2008; Schneider 2010).

Most studies of PMs are semasiological, not onomasiological, that is to say that the researcher takes one PM and analyses the different senses or functions of that PM, rather than starting from a particular function and seeing what means the language has of executing that function. It is noticeable that many of the functions of PMs overlap, and a number of studies already exist which identify these functions. These are often described in broad terms as being related to different planes of talk (Schiffrin 1987) or as being textual or interpersonal (Brinton 1996), and in more interactional studies, as being used to implement positive and negative politeness (Beeching 2007), or strategies of argumentation (Detges and Waltereit 2009). The current study proposes that the functions identified in semasiological investigations might be drawn upon to begin to draw up a taxonomy of the functions of PMs, such that a variational approach to the way that these functions are implemented might be initiated. This chapter draws on metacommenting in English and French by way of a case study.

Metacomments might be described as linguistic items or behaviours used to comment on the act of speaking itself and metacommenting appears to be a ubiquitous and universal feature of spoken interaction. As Lucy (1993: 11) points out: "Speech is permeated by reflexive activity as speakers remark on language, report utterances, index and describe aspects of the speech event". Metacommenters form a sub-type of reflexive activity in which speakers remark on the language forms they are using to express their meaning. Dicendi verbs are often used in such circumstances, in expressions such as 'so to speak', 'that is to say' or 'how can I put it?'. Ghezzi (2013) and Fedriani and Molinelli (2013) show how *diciamo* ('shall we say') and *ut ita dicam* ('so to speak'), respectively, signal the use of hapaxes, neologisms and metaphors. Ghezzi (this volume) highlights the use of *cioè* ('that is (to say)') as a means of hedging. The present paper will confine itself to metacommenting PMs which derive from type-noun and similative expressions and the if-ECs *if you like/ if you will* in comparison with *si tu veux/si vous voulez.*

As well as giving speakers online planning time, metacommenters allow them to take some distance from a particular lexical selection, or to enter into a negotiation with their interlocutors about the lexical selection made. They can thus be subjective and intersubjective. English and French draw pragmatically on similar linguistic resources for their pool of metacommenters, subjectivity being expressed through *sort of/kind of* and *like* in English, and *genre, comme* and post-posed *quoi* in French, while intersubjectivity is inherent in the personal pronouns in *if you like/ if you will* in English and *si tu veux/si vous voulez* in French.

In this chapter, I will be arguing that the discourse-pragmatic level of language in general and PMs in particular are very important in conveying both a speaker's subjectivity and their identity in the local context of interaction, and that there is regional variation in the ways that metacommenting is enacted in pluricentric languages like English and French. The way in which PMs can contribute to subjectivity is raised in Section 2.1. The question of the degree to which the differential use of metacommenters is perceived as identity markers by speakers in the separate regions in which English and French is spoken is not specifically addressed in this chapter – this will require further study using perceptual questionnaires. The issue is, however, raised in relation to Labov's famous (1994) distinction between stereotypes, indicators and markers in Section 2.2 and in the final discussion and conclusion. Section 2.3 discusses the nature of the pragmatic variable and highlights the advantages of, and challenges associated with, adopting a corpus linguistic variational approach. One of the difficulties in taking an onoma- rather than a semasiological approach is that the literature on each of the PMs to be studied is extensive and it is difficult to do it justice in only one chapter. An attempt will be made, however, to summarise key points and refer readers to relevant literature in Section 2.4. Section 3 describes the methodology adopted for the case study on metacommenting in English and French, Section 4 the results of the investigation while Section 5 is devoted to a general discussion and some conclusions.

2. Background/literature review

2.1 Subjectivity and PMs

PMs have been highlighted as a particular characteristic of the spoken language, used to manage the online delivery of ongoing talk, turn-taking, conversational coherence and the interlocutors' face needs. Many PMs serve to hedge the speech act which they accompany, attenuating its strength and allowing the speaker to avoid 'playing the expert' (Coates 2013: 39). PMs of this sort can be speaker-oriented, and include the first person singular pronoun, such as *I mean* and *I think* or addressee-oriented, and include the second person pronoun, such as *you know*, and *you see*. There are other hedging PMs, such as *like*, *sort of, kind of,* which, though they lack personal pronouns, suggest approximation and for this reason protect the interlocutors from committing themselves too strongly to the assertions being made. Though these forms do not contain personal pronouns, this does not mean that they are not subjective. The term subjectivity traditionally refers to speakers' sense of themselves as 'subject' and their ways of expressing their beliefs, emotions and attitudes. Though hedging terms like *sort of* are generally considered to have undergone a process of **inter**subjectification (e.g. Margerie 2010), they clearly play a subjective role as epistemic modals. In some cases, terms like *sort of* have a more limited scope serving as modal particles qualifying an adjacent lexical item, rather than downtoning the speech act as a whole.

Metacommenters hedge an upcoming (or just-mentioned) lexical item: they are mainly approximators but may also allow speakers to distance themselves from terms which might be considered 'technical, trite, too informal, too formal etc.' (Aijmer 2002: 209). Those which are considered in this chapter fall into two main categories, as I have said, those with personal pronouns and those which do not feature a personal pronoun. Of those with personal pronouns *if you like* and *if you will* in English signally have a translation equivalent in *STV/SVV* 'if you (sing/ familiar) like/ if you (plural/formal) like' in French. While English varies between two verb forms *like* and *will*, French varies the personal pronoun *tu* or *vous*. Of the non-personal forms, two in English (*sort of* and *kind of*) are derived from type-nouns while another (*like)* draws historically on a similative for its approximative and hedging qualities. In French, one of the metacommenters (*genre* 'kind/ type/species') draws etymologically on a type-noun, another (*comme* 'like') draws on a similative, while a third *(*post-posed *quoi* 'what') appears to derive historically from an interrogative pronoun. The chapter will investigate how these forms vary across time (in the case of the French markers) and across varieties in English and French, and will discuss the relationship between indexicality and language change.

2.2 Identity, indexicality and PMs

In her summary of the prototypical features of PMs, Brinton (1996: 32–35) mentions their association with oral rather than written discourse, the fact that they are stylistically stigmatised and, more controversially, that they are more frequent in women's, rather than men's, speech. Numerous studies have investigated gender and the use of PMs and other hedging expressions with contradictory results (e.g. Holmes 1986, 1989, 1995, Beeching 2002; Coates 2013) and some have also looked at level of education as a proxy for social class (e.g. Beeching 2016). To my knowledge, though Fleischman and Yaguello (2004) compare *like* and *genre* in English and French, and Buchstaller (2006) and Buchstaller and D'Arcy (2009) comment on the differing stereotypes associated with, and development of, *be like* across the English-speaking world, few studies have been devoted to looking at PMs across national varieties or evaluating the extent to which they index that national identity.

The interrelationship between language forms and identity runs along a continuum of salience, as Labov (1994: 78) pointed out when he distinguished between *indicators* (variables which are present, but not commented upon or even recognised by speakers), *markers* (variables which show consistent stylistic and social stratification but are not open to social awareness) and *stereotypes* (variables which are topics of social comment and which can be subject to correction and hypercorrection). A number of studies inspired by Ochs (1992)'s notion of indexicality and Silverstein's (2003) indexical order have demonstrated the ways in which particular language forms can be associated with particular social identities (e.g. Johnstone *et alii* (2006) on Pittsburghese). The current study does not aim to test hypotheses concerning the direct or indirect indexicality of the forms investigated, in relation to national (or indeed other aspects of) identity as this requires perceptual questionnaires. These questionnaires would gauge, for example, how Canadian a speaker using *comme* is regarded as being or how British a speaker using *sort of* is, a further research study which goes beyond the scope of the present one. In Labovian terms, we will be regarding the forms as potential *markers* which may already be, or could become, *stereotypes*. The study is exploratory in that sense, aiming to highlight potentially indexical forms.

The amount of information we can glean about the socially, stylistically and nationally stratified nature of the metacommenters studied will be dependent on the availability of relevant corpora of spontaneous spoken conversation and the demographic information these corpora afford.

2.3 From variationist to variational

The Introduction highlighted three areas which pose a problem for the researcher keen to apply variationist methodologies to discourse-pragmatic features. Difficulties around equivalence of meaning, the envelope of variation and the structural promiscuity of PMs have been discussed elsewhere (Pichler 2013: 10–16; Meyerhoff, Schleef and MacKenzie 2015: 20; Beeching 2016: 41ff. and 2017) and will not be rehearsed here. Briefly, because PMs can appear in almost any position along the syntagmatic chain, it is impossible to identify an envelope of variation and attend to the Labovian notion of accountability. One solution is to use the word count as a denominator and adopt corpus linguistic methods and distributional frequencies per 1,000 or 10,000 words. Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 will propose a reassessment of how a pragmatic variable might be defined and offer a potential way forward.

2.3.1 *What is a pragmatic variable?*

In his programmatic paper about variational pragmatics, Schneider (2010: 244) distinguishes between five levels of pragmatic analysis: formal, actional, interactive, topic and organisational. Most variational work has thus far been conducted at the actional level, that is to say, investigating the way in which speech acts (typically requests, apologies, compliments and compliment responses) are linguistically encoded in different situations in the same language and across languages. Schneider includes 'discourse markers' (*well, you know, I see* etc.) under the 'formal' level of analysis as he envisages these as analysable in a form-to-function way (not in a function-to-form, onomasiological, manner). What I am proposing here is that, in order to look at pragmatic variation, we need to look at function-to-form, even with respect to PMs.

Terkourafi (2011) discusses the question of the pragmatic variable and argues for a procedural interpretation of what might be meant by this. She highlights (2011: 356) that there have been two interpretations of the notion of 'functional equivalence':

1. a communicatively oriented one (a variant's function vis-à-vis the speaker's intention)
2. a structurally oriented one (a variant's function vis-à-vis other items in the linguistic system).

Terkourafi argues cogently that 'linguistic variants are considered equivalent if they can be used interchangeably IN ORDER to achieve similar perlocutionary effects' (Terkourafi's emphasis). She goes on to cite Cheshire (2005: 480):

> A full analysis of the forms fulfilling the same discourse function … shows speakers drawing on a range of linguistic features. They include syntactic forms made available by the grammar, discourse markers and pragmatic particles associated with discourse management and the construction of interpersonal relations as well as performance features stemming from the demands of online production.

One of the challenges for those working on pragmatic variation over (at least) the next couple of decades will be to identify and categorise perlocutionary effects, at different levels of delicacy. For example, turn-taking (Schneider's 'organisational' level) includes taking and relinquishing a turn, and, as Traugott (2016: 29) points out, PMs which appear at the right periphery (RP) and appear to signal the end of a turn include epistemic adverbs, comment clauses, retrospective contrastive final connectors, general extenders and question tags, all of which have different perlocutionary effects. What is more, even within the sub-group of turn-relinquishing PMs which Traugott refers to as "retrospective contrastive final connectors (e.g., *then, though, anyway, after all* and *actually*)", there are clear functional distinctions to be made between, for example, ‘then’, whose procedural interpretation includes an instruction to read the immediately preceding segment as an inference warranted by another’s prior talk, and ‘actually’, whose procedural interpretation includes an instruction to read the immediately preceding segment as a contrast to, or contradiction of, (an inference warranted by) another’s prior talk. The structural positioning of *then* at RP may serve to yield the turn and is thus a pragmatic variable at the organisational level, along with *isn’t it?* However, the items which appear at RP also have different perlocutionary effects relating to their procedural interpretations, from marking an inference to marking a contrast or contradiction. This necessitates a detailed functional analysis of (at least) a sample of the forms which are being analysed.

2.3.2 *A variational and corpus linguistic approach to pragmatic variables*

This study breaks new ground by taking a variational and corpus linguistic approach to the pragmatic variable ‘metacommenting’ and in doing so for both English and French, pluricentric languages which have undergone different developments in Europe and in America. Large corpora available online provide an unparalleled opportunity to survey representative samples from large populations of speakers. It is important to bear in mind, however, that the spoken recordings that we find transcribed in publicly available corpora may be collected in very different circumstances and this makes comparison difficult because of “the context-sensitivity of discourse features” (Pichler 2010: 584). In other words, differences which we find across different varieties of the language (either synchronically or diachronically) may be due to the different contexts in which they were recorded, rather than to the region in which they were recorded. What is more, raw rates of occurrence of forms per 10,000 words may give some indication of an increase or decrease in the pragmatic function of a particular form – but manual analysis of a representative sample must be conducted to gauge the percentage of propositional to non-propositional (metacommenting) usages.

2.4 Metacommenting in English and French

2.4.1 if-*ECs*

Brinton (2014) investigates the historical evolution of a range of *if*-clauses in English which have developed metalinguistic and politeness functions: *if you choose/like/prefer/want/wish/will*. She remarks that the OED highlights the metalinguistic functions for two of these *if you like* and *if you will* and suggests (p. 272) that *if you like* ‘may occur when the speaker is searching for the correct formulation, is uneasy with the characterisation (but may think the hearer prefers it), or is unsure whether the hearer will accept the characterisation; and finally it may serve as a more general hedge ('if you wish to call it that' > 'if I may be allowed to call it that')'. Of the five characteristics that Brinton (p. 275) highlights as being shared by *if* followed by an elliptical clause (*if*-ECs), two are notable for this study, one is that *you* does not function in a truly referential manner (Claridge 2013: 162), thus perhaps drawing *if*-ECs closer to the more subjective than intersubjective zone mentioned above,[1] and that they have (limited) mobility, following but sometimes preceding the word(s) they refer to. Brinton (p. 270, Figure 14.2) surveys the relative frequencies of *if you choose/want/wish/like/prefer* (but not *will*) in the Strathy/BYU-BNC and COCA Corpora, along with the percentage that are indirect or metalinguistic. The current investigation found that *if you like* and *if you will* were the most frequently used *if-ECs* and therefore presents data on those.

It is noteworthy that the French expressions *STV/SVV* serve exactly the same metalinguistic functions as those identified by Brinton for English. Schnedecker (2016) highlights three main functions of *STV/SVV* (in both spoken and written corpora), drawing on both discourse and positional criteria. She distinguishes two main positions, either constituent-final or utterance-initial, and suggests that *STV/SVV* are used:

- in a dialogual sequence, where the form or the content of the proposition are being negotiated;
- in a process of lexical searching or approximation;
- in an interactional perspective, to manage either the speaker or the hearer's face in either strongly egocentric or heterocentric situations.

Schnedecker does not quantify which of these functions is more common and nor does she trace the evolution of *STV/SVV* over time, or over varieties of French.

2.4.2 *PMs derived from type-noun constructions:* Sort of, kind of *and* genre

Brems and Davidse (2010) trace the historical evolution of *kind of* and *sort of* which they refer to as type-noun constructions. Briefly, there appears to be a shift from the sub-type meaning familiar in 'a trifle is a sort of pudding' (= trifle is a sub-type of puddings as a general class) to one which refers to peripheral membership and thus approximation, as in 'tiramisu is sort of trifle-like' (= tiramisu is what you might call 'trifle-like'). Aijmer (2002) describes *sort of* as an 'adjuster' which can be used to flag imprecision and to hedge strong opinions. She also (2002: 209) highlights the metacommenting function which allows the speaker "to distance himself from

1. Though Claridge (2013: 162, 176, cited in Brinton 2014: 278) also notes that *if you like* leaves it 'partly up to the addressee to decide' how applicable a term is in the context and is hence strongly interpersonal.

the responsibility for using words which are inappropriate". My analysis of *sort of* (Beeching 2016: 161) in the spoken sections of the BNC and in the UWE Role-play Corpus collected from 2011–2014 revealed that the vast majority of occurrences of *sort of* are either metacommenting or hedging usages. Out of a total of 452 instances of PM (non-propositional/-sub-type) usages, 182 (40%) were classified as 'metacommenting' and 174 (38%) were classified as 'hedging and qualifying'. There were 148 propositional, sub-type usages. This means that, of the total of 600 randomly selected 'hits' for *sort of,* 75% of them were PM usages and, of those, the majority were metacommenting usages.

A similar pragmaticalisation process appears to have occurred with *genre* ('kind, type, species') in French, a phenomenon noted by Fleischman and Yaguello (2004) who compare it with *like.* Interestingly *genre* can be used to introduce reported thought or speech similar to the 'be like' construction in English (see Secova, this volume), something which is (at least as yet) not common for *sort of* or *kind of.* Mihatsch (2016) surveys type-noun (binominal) expressions in Romance languages (French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish) in relation to their syntax and semantics and also highlights the use of *genre* as an approximative and quotative (along with *style,* in French, and *tipo* in Italian, Portuguese and Spanish).

2.4.3 *Similatives*

Similatives are expressions which draw a comparison, such as 'similar to' or 'like'. PM *like* and the development of the grammaticalised quotative 'be like' have been widely studied across different varieties of English world-wide (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Buchstaller 2006; D'Arcy 2007; Buchstaller and D'Arcy 2009; Beeching 2016 Chapter 6). *Like* is highly multifunctional, but is mainly approximative, and can be construed as metacommenting when it accompanies technical, trite or other expressions which speakers might want to distance themselves from. It generally precedes noun phrases but can be used utterance-finally, a traditional (northern) usage in the UK.

As Mihatsch (2009: 65) points out, markers of similative comparison, for example French *comme*, Italian *come*, Portuguese *como* and Spanish *como,* equivalents of English *like*, have developed a derived function as approximation markers in a number of Romance and other languages. She argues that these markers flag a semantically loose use of a lexical expression. Mihatsch (2009: 85) highlights the fact that French in Canada and Spanish varieties in the United States are in close contact with English and this may have influenced the pragmaticalisation of *comme* and *como* and their adoption as quotatives. To my knowledge, unlike *like,* French *comme* is never found utterance-finally. The utterance-final position is, however, filled by *quoi* (in European French at least).

2.4.4 *Post-posed* quoi

French post-posed *quoi* appears to have derived from the interrogative pronoun or relative pronoun 'what' and is often found at the end of a concatenation of synonyms, which are summed up in an overall defining term, punctuated by *quoi*. There has been some discussion in the literature over the existence of a metacommenting function for *quoi*. Chanet (2001: 69) highlights its intersubjective nature and the speaker's desire « de voir sa propre parole entrer en résonance avec une possible parole de l'autre » ('to see his words enter into resonance with words possibly spoken by another'). Fleury, Lefeuvre and Pires (2012: 7–8) suggest that « *quoi* apparaît après un mot dont la formulation est problématique » ('*quoi* appears after a word whose formulation is problematic'). It seems that *quoi* is used when speakers are searching for the right expression to use – in other words, it is used in contexts similar to those in which one finds *STV/SVV*.

2.4.5 *Examples from the corpora (see 3.1 for details of the corpora investigated)*

All of these approximative and metacommenting forms, derived from *if*-ECs, type-noun constructions, similatives and the interrogative/relative pronoun *quoi* can be said to serve to position the speaker in relation to what is being said, to convey the speaker's subjectivity and a modest and self-effacing, non-expert, identity. They implement both positive and negative politeness, shielding the speaker and hearer from face-threat by suggesting that the wording used may not be sufficiently precise.

The following examples, drawn from the corpora investigated as part of the current study, illustrate how the forms are used to comment on or hedge the items with which they co-occur:

English

(1) *I mean, I don't have any vendetta, **if you will**, against them.*
(Strathy Corpus of Canadian English)

(2) *we are now, **if you like**, putting it into a form which anyone (pause) can use*
(British National Corpus)

(3) *I felt that it would be **kind of** tactless, you know, very rude to call someone.*
(Corpus of Contemporary American English)

(4) *You know we **sort of** seem to limp from one meeting to another without (pause) really committing ourselves* (British National Corpus)

(5) *It's **like** on a time thing* (British National Corpus)

French

(6) *je m'occupe **si vous voulez** de coordonner un petit peu tous les services*
(Beeching Corpus)
'I am responsible **if you like** for coordinating a little bit all the services'

(7) *il y avait + trois euh nécropoles* ***si tu veux***

(Corpus de Référence du Français Parlé)

'there were three necropolises **if you like**'

(8) *ils viennent m'interviewer et filmer mon numéro donc euh super costume + très beau maquillage c'est magnifique* ***quoi***

(Corpus de Référence du Français Parlé)

'they come to inverview me and film my act so er super costume + lovely makeup it's magnificent **like** (lit.=what)'

(9) *Kelly elle est rendue* ***genre*** *conseillère d'orientation on sait pas trop là*

(Corpus de Français Parlé au Québec)

'Kelly she became **like** a careers advisor not quite sure'

(10) *moi honnêtement là/j'ai* ***comme*** *décroché et je suis bien contente de vous avoir dans mon réseau* (Corpus de Français Parlé au Québec)

'me honestly/I've **like** got out of touch and I'm really happy to have you in my network'

In most cases the metacommenting expression precedes the item with which it co-occurs (its co-occurring item, henceforth COI) , but in (1), *if you will* follows the term 'vendetta' which the speaker is evidently uncomfortable with, and *si tu veux* follows *nécropoles* in (7). In some cases, as in (6), it is unclear whether the metacommenter precedes or follows the item to be commented-upon. We do not know whether the speaker is uncomfortable with '*je m'occupe*' or '*coordonner*'. In all cases where the metacommenter precedes the COI it also serves planning purposes while the speaker searches for the term required. *Quoi* always occurs after the COI as in (8) and can punctuate the last item in a list, that last item serving to sum up the previous ones. In Example (8), the circus act is described as having a super costume, lovely makeup … and the whole is summed as *magnifique quoi* 'magnificent like (lit.=what)'.

3. Data and methods

The methodology combines a quantitative corpus-based overview of rates of occurrences of the forms per 10,000 words with a qualitative analysis of the functions of a representative sample of the forms across the different corpora selected for study. The percentages of metacommenting versus propositional uses are then used to generate metacommenting rates for each form in each corpus. Section 3.1 describes the corpora, Section 3.2 describes the normalisation of the data while 3.3 discusses the classification of the data into propositional versus metacommenting categories.

3.1 The corpora investigated

The corpora used to investigate the use of the set of metacommenting PMs across national varieties of English and French were as follows:

English
The British National Corpus (BNC), 1990s, 100 million words, of which 10 million are spoken.
The Contemporary Corpus of American English (COCA), 520 million words, approximately 100 milion of which are spoken.
The Strathy Corpus of Canadian French (SC), 1970–2010, 50 million words, of which 5.7 million are spoken.
These corpora contain both written and spoken language. Only the spoken language files were selected for this investigation.

French
Enquête Sociolinguistique sur Orléans (ESLO) (1968), 303,357 words (24 speakers were selected).
Beeching Corpus of Spoken French (BCSF) (1988), 154,357 words.
Corpus de Référence du Français Parlé (CRFP) (up to 2002), 287,482 words.
Corpus du Français Parlé Parisien (CFPP), (2000–2015) 654,375 words.
Corpus du Français Parlé au Québec (CFPQ), (2008) 686,915 words.

It is evident that the corpora for English and French are very different in nature, the English corpora being much larger, and therefore more representative of their national varieties. The COCA and the French corpora have the advantage of being sequentially time-dated so that we can investigate diachronic developments (though the spoken files for COCA only go back to 1990 so the time-depth is shallow). Some of the corpora, too, (the BNC via the BNC Webquery system, and all the French corpora) allow us to access demographic data and thus to trace the usage of the forms across age, gender and educational backgrounds, though such an investigation unfortunately goes beyond the scope of the current paper.

3.2 Raw rates of occurrence per 10,000 words

In the first instance, the raw number of tokens for each of the potentially metacommenting expressions in each corpus was counted, then normalised by dividing by the word count and multiplying by 10,000 to give a rate per 10,000 words. This gives a quick-and-dirty tally of how often the forms are used in the different (varieties of the) languages. We know, however, that PMs are polysemous and that they may be used for different functions, sometimes simultaneously. In order to gauge the extent to which each form was used as a metacomment, detailed manual investigation was required. In order to do this, a sub-set of (up to) 100 occurrences of each form was randomly selected. The decision over which were metacomments was made on the basis of intuition, and difficult cases are discussed in Section 3.3 below. It was then possible to show what percentage of each form was used for metacommenting purposes and to extrapolate from this to the larger set of data, assuming that 100 cases is sufficient to generalise across a larger set.

3.3 Classifying the markers into functional sub-types

Allocating examples of *if you like* or *if you will* into propositional or metacommenting sub-categories did not prove to be overly problematic, as the propositional functions generally include a protasis and apodosis or they are part of a request. *If you like* and *if you will* are frequently accompanied by synonymous terms, suggesting that speakers are having difficulty with lexical selection and thus formulate and reformulate.

Sort of and *kind of* posed more of a problem, first in deciding whether the form was propositional (i.e. that something was being referred to as a 'sub-type' of something else) or non-propositional.

In Example (11), because of the reference to 'training with stretchers', we can allocate 'kind of training' to the propositional category, referring to different sub-types of training (with stretchers, defibrillators etc.)

(11) *And the training with respect to the stretchers, was that the only* ***kind of*** *training you recall undergoing*? (Strathy, 2001, RCMPHearing)

However, other examples were more ambiguous. In Example (12), 'kind of desire for resegregation' may refer to a fuzzy category of types of desire for resegregation, or it may be a metacommenter highlighting that the wording was found to be lacking.

(12) *and it referred to some* ***kind of*** *desire for resegregation, in a way, in schools and in classrooms.* (Strathy, 2002, NS_Legislative)

This occurrence of 'kind of' was classified as propositional because it would be difficult to delete 'kind of' (leaving 'some desire for resegregation'). The 'some type-noun NP' construction might be construed as the kind of ambiguous bridging context which allows for the shift to a non-propositional hedging reading.

Another thorny issue was deciding whether the more semantically bleached non type-noun form constituted a hedge on the message as a whole (and would thus be labelled 'approximative') or on the wording which had been selected to express the message (and would thus be labelled 'metacommenter').

In Example (13), does the speaker mean that they were ‘more or less searching for God’, or that they were ‘searching for God, as it were’?

(13) *I was always* ***kind of*** *searching for God.* (Strathy, 1997, CBC-TV)

This example was classified as a metacomment[2] – but for a number of examples it was very difficult to make a cast-iron case for the classification as a hedging approximator or a metacommenter.

4. Findings

Figure 6.1 displays rates of occurrence per 10,000 words for *if you like* (*IFyL*), *if you will* (*IFyW*), *sort of, kind of, like, si tu veux, si vous voulez, quoi, genre* and *comme*. These are rates for the forms undifferentiated for function.

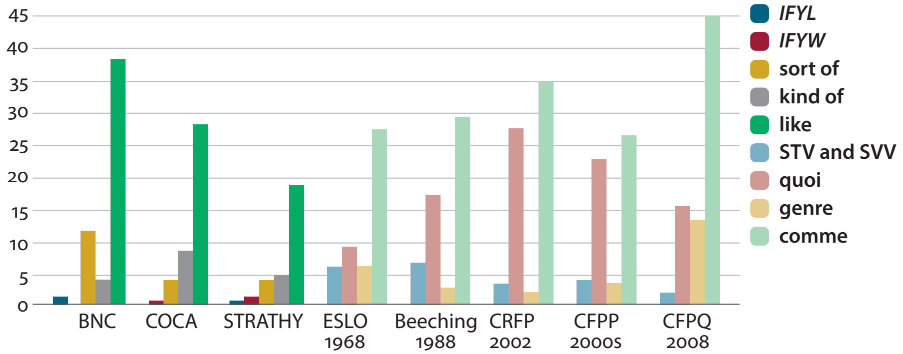

Figure 6.1 Raw rates of occurrence per 10,000 words of a range of markers

2. The full context of the example is as follows:

> Messianic Rabbi Jeff Forman followed his sister and mother to accept Jesus as his messiah.! FORMAN: Well when I first accepted him I went through an identity crisis because my heart was saying “yes he’s the messiah.” But my mind was saying “but I’m Jewish.” So there was an internal conflict for some months. But when I finally received him I felt darkness just go out of me and God gave me the gift of joy which has been with me ever since. I was always **kind of** searching for God but when I received Yeshua, I made that connection and I’ve never been the same. (Jeff playing the piano)! FORMAN: This is just one practical way to write it down’ cause it works and it doesn’t evoke a defence. I don’t say “do you want to make Jesus Christ the lord of your life?” (Laughter)!

On the basis of the fuller context, it was possible to suggest that the individual concerned was not expressing diffidence about the search for God (which seems to have been foremost in their considerations) but about the way to talk about it – whether to refer to Yeshua, God or the Messiah.

Raw rates of *if you like* are very low, but it is more common in British English (0.74) than Canadian English (0.15) where it is more common in its turn than American English (0.07). By contrast, *if you will* is very infrequent in British English (0.03), more common in American English (0.29), and most popular in Canadian English (0.49).

Sort of appears to be most popular in British English (11.88) and far less common in American (4.5) and Canadian (3.65) English. By contrast, *kind of* is more commonly used in American English (8.78), less frequent in Canadian English (5.04) and least frequent in British English (2.77).

The token *like* is of course extremely frequent – but it is most frequent in British English (38.29), followed by American English (28.26) and far less used by Canadian English speakers (19.46). Given the polysemy of the lemma *like,* the detailed analysis of a random sample from each corpus (below) will shed further light on these discrepancies.

Rates of occurrence of *STV/SVV* were grouped together for the purposes of the general overview – and we see a progressive decrease in frequency of this marker from the 1968 ESLO and 1988 BCSF Corpora (6.86 and 6.47) through the CRFP (2002) and CFPP (2000s) corpora (3.33 and 2.41). In the most recent Canadian Corpus (2008) the rate of usage is at its lowest (1.5). Raw rates of *quoi* by contrast appear to be progressively increasing in frequency, from the 1968 ESLO and 1988 BCSF Corpora (9.5 and 17.5) through the CRFP (2002) and CFPP (2000s) corpora (28 and 23). In the most recent Canadian Corpus (2008), rates are, however, lower at 16.1. Again, detailed manual analysis of randomly selected examples will shed light on why this might be.

Raw rates of *genre* are relatively high in the ESLO Corpus (6.3), but very low in the BCSF, CRFP and CFPP corpora (1.68, 1.63 and 2.3). The Canadian corpus stands out with rates of 14.15. Finally, we would expect rates of the form *comme* to be high, as it is polysemous and a grammatical form with a number of functions. Once again, it is the Canadian Corpus which emerges as the front-runner (ESLO – 26.96; BCSF – 29.41; CRFP – 35.13; CFPP – 26.17; CFPQ – 45.31).

These are broadbrush form-based tallies – we cannot assert that the usages are metacommenting or even PM, rather than canonical propositional usages. However, where we see rates of particular forms increasing dramatically over time, or across different varieties, we might expect those discrepancies to be caused by an increase in PM-usage, as PMs are less bound by syntactic and semantic constraints. This is the hypothesis which we will be testing in the more detailed analyses which follow.

Token-based tallies of the rates of occurrence of the forms per 10,000 words are displayed in Figure 6.1, above. Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 display the rates of metacommenting usages (as opposed to propositional or other PM usages) of the forms in the three corpora.

Table 6.1 British National Corpus, functional analysis of 100 occurrences of *IFyL, IFyW, sort of kind of* and *like*

	MC	PP
IFyL	64	36
IFyW – only 27 occurrences	3/11%	24/88%
sort of	77	23
kind of	46	54
like	18 (4 post-posed)	82

Table 6.2 Corpus of contemporary American English, functional analysis of 100 occurrences of *IFyL, IFyW, sort of kind of* and *like*

	MC	PP	PM
IFyL	37	61	2
IFyW	76	24	0
sort of	95	5	
kind of	81	19	
like	30	70	

Table 6.3 Strathy (Canadian) Corpus, functional analysis of 100 occurrences of *IFyL, IFyW, sort of kind of* and *like*

	MC	PP	PM
IFyL – only 88 occurrences	52/59%	36/41%	
IFyW	89	12	
sort of	71	29	
kind of	37	63	
like	11	89	4

Figure 6.1 suggests that *IFyL* is 10 times more frequent in the BNC than in COCA and 5 times more frequent in BNC than in the Strathy (Canadian) corpus. By contrast *IFyW* is 16 times more frequent in the Strathy corpus than in the BNC and almost twice as frequent in Strathy than in COCA. The functional analysis of 100 occurrences of the forms randomly selected from each of the corpora is displayed in Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3. If we look at the analysis of *IFyL* in the BNC, we see that 64% were used with a metacommenting function. There are very few occurrences of *IFyL* in the Strathy corpus (88 tokens) but 59% of these are MC usages. On the other hand, in COCA only 39% were MC usages. This suggests that at least part of the relative frequency of *IFyL* in the BNC may be accounted for by its MC usage.

By contrast, there are very few occurrences of *IFyW* in the BNC (27 tokens) and only 11% are MC usages. Compare this with COCA and Strathy where 76%

and 89% respectively of occurrences are MC usages. Non-propositional usages once again account to a great extent for the higher rates of *IFyW* in the American and Canadian corpora. This is unsurprising as PM-usages in general are less lexically and syntactically constrained than the more propositional usages. We see a marked difference in a preference for *IFyL* in British English and *IFyW* in Canadian and, to a slightly lesser extent, in American English. A Pearson correlation test confirms a moderately positive correlation between rates of occurrence of the raw lemma and MC rates (R = 0.66).

A rather different picture emerges from the analysis of *sort of* and *kind of*. The highest rates of the form *sort of*, at 11.88 per 10,000 words, are in the BNC, with much lower rates in COCA and Strathy (4.5 and 3.7). 77% of the occurrences of *sort of* in the BNC are MC usages by comparison with 95% in COCA and 71% in Strathy. British English appears to use *sort of* more both propositionally as well as in metacommenting.

Figure 6.1 shows that the form *kind of* is used a great deal more in COCA (8.78) than in Strathy (5.04) and is used least frequently in the BNC (2.77). Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 show that only 19% of the occurrences of *kind of* in COCA are propositional. Compare this with 63% and 54% propositional in the Strathy and BNC. Not only are overall rates lower in Canadian and British English but PM-usages (including both MC and other approximative usages) are also lower. Once again, it seems that higher rates of occurrence can be accounted for, at least partially, by PM-usages in COCA.

Like is the most polysemous of the forms examined and between 70–89% of usages in the samples are unsurprisingly propositional; *like* is frequently used as a verb and as an adverb expressing similarity. What is more surprising (given the slower evolution of PM *like* in the UK) is the high rate of 18% MC usages in the BNC (30% and 11% in the COCA and Strathy corpora).

Extrapolating from the percentages gained for metacommenting usages of the forms given in Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 and calculating a metacommenting rate per 10,000 words derived from the raw scores in Figure 6.1, we arrive at the combined total metacommenting scores in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 Combined rates of metacommenting per 10,000 words using *IFyL, IFyW*, *sort of*, *kind of* and *like*

BNC	17.7
COCA	20.14
Strathy	7.11

The figures suggest that American and British speakers indulge in a great deal more metacommenting than Canadian speakers. This may reflect the 'context-sensitivity of discourse features' which Pichler (2010: 584) has highlighted. The BNC has more informal everyday speech than the other two corpora (which contain a larger proportion of radio broadcasts) and it may be that the informality of the setting accounts for some of the discrepancy between the BNC and COCA/Strathy. Much of the 17.7 rate for the BNC can be attributed to high rates of metacommenting using *sort of* in British English (9.1 per 10,000 words). The fact that *sort of* is saliently British is hinted at in the existence of Jeremy Taylor's lyrics in *All Along the South Coast* (reproduced in the Appendix).[3] Meanwhile, COCA rates are inflated by high MC usages of *kind of* and *like*. This brings me on to a discussion of the question of indexicality raised in Section 3, but first we must turn to the French metacommenters *STV/SVV, comme, genre* and *quoi*.

Figure 6.1 shows rates of occurrence per 10,000 words of the forms in the five French corpora selected for detailed investigation. The French corpora are time-dated so we can trace the rise and fall of the forms across time (in Europe at least) and across national varieties (if Quebec French can be considered to be representative of Canadian French, that is). Rates of *STV/SVV* have never been high – and the forms appear to be in decline in Europe – and to be very little in evidence in Canada. *Quoi* is a far more polysemous form than *STV/SVV* but rates have increased dramatically in European French – and we can put this down to an increase in its post-posed PM-usage (Beeching 2007). *Genre* is particularly high in the Canadian (CFPQ) corpus and *comme* (again highly polysemous) is rising in frequency – and has particularly high rates in the CFPQ. Once again, the hypothesis to be tested is whether high rates of frequency reflect a higher rate of PM-usage.

Tables 6.5 to 6.10 display the functional analysis of (up to) 100 occurrences of each of the forms in each of the five French corpora.

Table 6.5 ESLO, functional analysis of 100 occurrences of *STV/SVV, quoi, genre* and *comme*

	MC	PP
STV – only 3 occurrences	0	3–100%
SVV	94	6
quoi	48	52
genre	1	99
comme	0	100

3. I acknowledge my indebtedness to Helen Watts for drawing my attention to this poem.

Table 6.6 BCSF, functional analysis of 100 occurrences of *STV/SVV, quoi, genre* and *comme*

	MC	PP
STV – only 8 occurrences	6–75%	2–25%
SVV – 92 occurrences	85–92%	7–8%
quoi	89	11
genre – 23 occurrences	1–4%	22–96%
comme	0	100

Table 6.7 CRFP, functional analysis of 100 occurrences of *STV/SVV, quoi, genre* and *comme*

	MC	PP
STV – 44 occurrences	36–82%	8–18%
SVV – 45 occurrences	40–89%	5–11%
quoi	80	20
genre – 39 occurrences	18–46%	21–54%
comme	0	100

Table 6.8 CFPP, functional analysis of 100 occurrences of *STV/SVV, quoi, genre* and *comme*

	MC	PP
STV – 38 occurrences	32–84%	6–16%
SVV	89	11
quoi	80	20
genre	47	53
comme	0	100

Table 6.9 CFPQ, functional analysis of 100 occurrences of *STV/SVV, quoi, genre* and *comme*

	MC	PP
STV – 97 occurrences	14–17%	83–85%
SVV – 7 occurrences	0	7–100%
quoi	0	100
genre	94	6
comme	33	67

What these tables reveal is that *STV/SVV* are mainly used for metacommenting purposes (over 80% of the usages are metacommenting ones) in the European French corpora, but they are rarely used for this purpose in the Canadian corpus.

In the earliest French (ESLO, 1968) corpus, usages of *quoi* are almost equally spread between a metacommenting and a propositional usage (48:52%). However, from the BCSF onwards, more than 80% of the usage is for metacommenting. This rate is surprising, given the range of propositional (interrogative and relative pronominal) usages that can be made of this form, and is echoed in previous findings that this marker has increased dramatically over the last half century. Table 6.10, however, shows that *quoi* is not used at all for metacommenting purposes, or in post-posed position, in Quebec French.

The tables also reveal that *genre* is an incoming metacommenter in European French – there are one or two potentially metacommenting usages in the two earliest corpora, but these are very rare (under 5%). In the later CRFP and CFPP corpora, *genre* is much more widely used non-propositionally and in a metacommenting way with an almost equal spread between MC and PP usages of around 50%. The Canadian corpus stands out once again – *genre* is used for metacommenting purposes (including 10 numerals and 3 quotatives) in 94% of cases. By contrast, *comme* is not used at all as a metacommenter in European French, but is used in 33% of cases as a metacommenter (including 5 quotatives) in Quebec French.

Extrapolating from the percentages gained for metacommenting usages of the forms given in Tables 6.6–6.10 and calculating a metacommenting rate per 10,000 words derived from the raw scores in Figure 6.1, we arrive at the combined total metacommenting scores for the French corpora in Table 6.10.

Table 6.10 Combined rates of metacommenting per 10,000 words using *STV/SVV, quoi, genre* and *comme*

ESLO	11.02
BCSF	21.66
CRFP	25.88
CRPP	25.22
CFPQ	28.9

Comparing Table 6.10 and Table 6.4, it seems that metacommenting features far more prominently in the French than in the English corpora. Rates of *quoi* in European and of *genre* and *comme* in Canadian French contribute particularly strongly, and rates appear to be rising as we move from 1968 to the more recent corpora established in the 2000s. It is possible that the French corpora feature more informal conversations – but most of the corpora are composed of sociolinguistic interviews of a relatively formal type. On the English side, the BNC contains spoken demographic files of a particularly informal type. Further exploration of the impact of style on the frequency of metacommenters is clearly of critical importance.

Figure 6.2 shows the rates of usage of the forms for metacommenting purposes, calculated using the percentages generated from the analyses of 100 occurrences of each of the forms examined in the data.

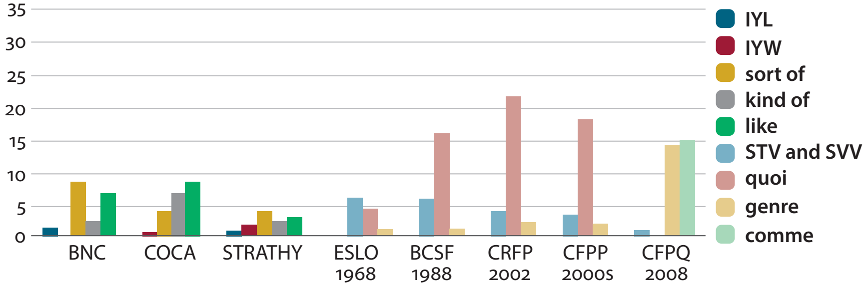

Figure 6.2 Metacommenting rates for each of the forms in the data

The hypothesis that relatively higher rates of occurrence of a form may reflect a higher rate of more non-propositional and pragmatic uses, including in this case metacommenting ones, can be tested by comparing rates in Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2. This hypothesis is only partially confirmed by these data. The hypothesis is confirmed for *IFyL* in British English and *IFyW* in Canadian English, for *sort of* in British English and *kind of* in American English and, most dramatically, for *genre* which has high rates of occurrence, and is used non-propositionally in 94% of cases, in the Quebec Corpus. However, the form *genre* is also quite frequently used in the early ESLO Corpus (more frequently than in the BCSP, CRFP and CFPP) (see Figure 6.1) and now disappears from the data in Figure 6.2, as all of the occurrences of it are propositional ones. Thus, the hypothesis that the higher rate in ESLO might be accounted for by a higher rate of metacommenting usages is not supported. Relatively high rates of occurrence, or increasing rates, are nonetheless a potential indicator of pragmaticalisation in progress and definitely merit further investigation by those interested in discourse-pragmatic variation and change.

Forms which have numerous grammatical functions, such as *quoi* and *comme* (and, indeed *like*) tend to have high rates of occurrence. The Quebec corpus has lower rates of *quoi* and higher rates of *comme* than the European corpora, reflecting the non-usage of *quoi* and, conversely, very high usage of *comme* as a metacommenter in the Canadian corpus. However, the CRFP has higher rates of *comme* than the other European corpora and yet no metacommenting usages were detected in the sample of 100 occurrences which were analysed. This is reflected in Figure 6.2.

This suggests that high rates of occurrence in polysemous forms may, but do not necessarily, reflect an increase in pragmatic functions and that manual analysis of the functions is a necessary step in our analyses of ongoing pragmaticalisation.

Corpora which are accompanied by easily accessible demographic information, such as the BNC and the CFPQ, allow us to explore apparent-time developments – Figures 6.3 and 6.4 display such data for *like* in the BNC and for *genre* and *comme* in the CFPQ. *Like, genre* and *comme* show the classic peak in adolescence posited in Labov's (2001) logistic incrementation model.

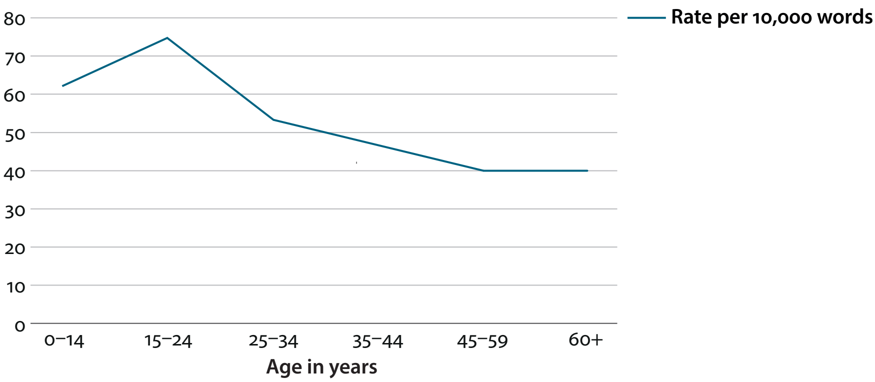

Figure 6.3 *Like*: adolescent peak in frequency in the BNC (1992) (from Beeching 2016: 141)

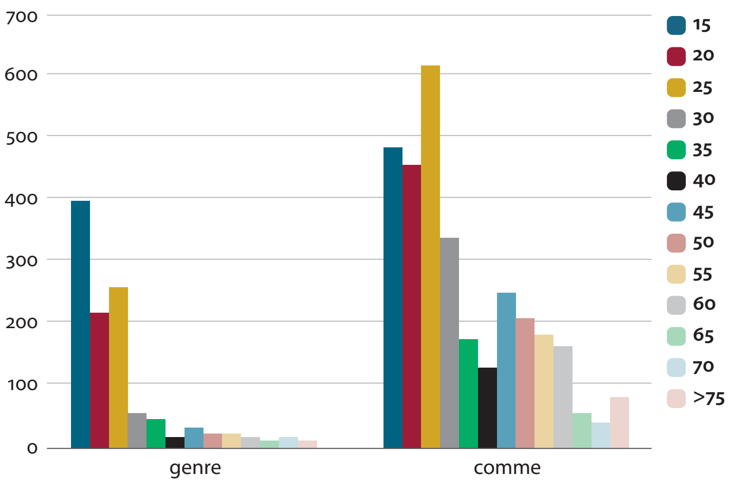

Figure 6.4 *Genre* and *comme*: peaking in frequency in the teens and twenties in the CPFQ (Canadian French)

The vertical axis in this figure shows rates of occurrence of *genre* and *comme* in the CRFQ corpus (688,542 words) while the bars show rates at different ages, indicated in the legend on the right. We can see that rates of both *genre* and *comme* are peaking in the 15–25 year-olds.

Labov (2001: 455) suggests that the peak in adolescence is "a general requirement of a change in progress" – the somewhat belated peak for *comme* may either indicate that this form stabilises later or that *comme* has arrived somewhat earlier than developments for *genre.* The fact that adolescents wish to position themselves in relation to others by asserting their new generational identity in particular discourse-pragmatic linguistic practices propels linguistic change.

5. Conclusions

Though caveats must be issued with regard to the comparability of the corpora, as the "context-sensitivity of discourse features" is well known (see Pichler 2010: 584), the paper demonstrates the following with respect to the metacommenting functions of the forms analysed:

– *if you will* is more common in Canadian and US English while *if you like* is more common in British English, but neither is very frequent;
– *sort of* is much more frequent in British English than *kind of* which in its turn is more frequent in US and Canadian English; *like* is more often used in British and American than in Canadian English;
– *si tu veux* and *si vous voulez* are in decline; post-posed *quoi* has risen in frequency in European French, but is not used in Canadian French;
– *genre* and *comme* are much more frequent in Canadian French than in European French, though we see some evidence of the rise of *genre*, but not *comme,* in European French (see also Isambert 2016, and Cheshire, personal communication).

The linguistic forms used for the purpose of metacommenting arise from items with similar core meanings in the two languages, but develop, increase and decrease in frequency at different rates across national varieties, giving rise to cultural differences and indexicalities. As Dostie (2009: 201) remarks:

> …regional variation – a not insignificant characteristic of DMs – results from the fact that an item whose meaning predisposes it to become a pragmatic item becomes pragmaticalized in one region but not necessarily in the other, or does not attain the same degree of pragmaticalization in one region as in another.

While cognitive universals seem to underlie the recruitment of 'if + T/V + verb of volition' and 'type'-nouns for metacommenting purposes in the two languages, the use of *comme* ('like') in Canada appears to arise through French-English bilingualism and can thus be said to index a particularly Canadian identity. Post-posed *quoi*, by contrast, indexes speakers from the other side of the Atlantic in hexagonal France. In Labovian terms, the differential use of the forms for metacommenting usages in Europe and America makes them indicators – further studies may reveal the extent to which they are stereotypes, that is, that they are perceived by speakers as indexical of, for example, being 'typically British' or 'typically Canadian'.

Both innovation (degrees of pragmaticalization) and propagation underly regional variation. The functional pressure to recruit IF-ECs, type-nouns, similatives and post-posed forms for metacommenting purposes derives, however, from universal psycholinguistic factors to do with hesitations in formulation in ongoing spontaneous production and from (inter)subjective factors relating to the ways that speakers position themselves and others in interaction.

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Appendix

All along the south coast

All along the South Coast the sea is sort of … there,
The sun is sort of shining through a sort of salt sea air,
There's a … sort of shall we or shan't we? A sort of yes or … no.
A sort of rolling up of trouser legs and a dipping of the toe.

All along the South Coast the day is sort of bright,
At least it's sort of brighter than it is at sort of night.
There's a sort of should we? could we? a sort of yes or … no.
Well it could be sort of fun, we ought to sort of have a go.

All along the South coast they're turning out the lights.
It's sort of past 11 o'clock and we've sort of seen the sights.
There's a sort of shall we? dare we? a sort of … groping of the thighs …
A sort of gasp, a sort of pleasure, a sort of burst of sort of sighs.

All along the South Coast the waves beat on the shore,
They sound, well, sort of different than they sort of did before.
There's a sort of did we or didn't we? a sort of smoothing down of clothes,
A sort of better take you home now, d'you think it sort of shows?

All along the South Coast we sort of settle down,
It's just as sort of good as any other sort of town,
Only now we're sort of… older, we sort of stop at home,
We paint the walls and mow the lawns, and leave the world … alone.

CHAPTER 7

Direct speech, subjectivity and speaker positioning in London English and Paris French

Maria Secova

This paper examines functional similarities and differences in the use of pragmatic features – in particular quotatives and general extenders – on the right and left periphery of direct quotations. This comparative study, based on the analysis of a contemporary corpus of London English and Paris French (MLE – MPF),[1] finds that the form and frequency of these particles tend to vary not only with respect to social factors such as speakers' age and gender, but also with respect to the different pragmatic functions they come to perform in different interactional settings. The contemporary data is analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively to show how different variants position the speaker in relation to: (i) the content of the quote, (ii) the interlocutors, (iii) the presumed author of the quote. The paper aims to contribute to a better understanding of pragmatic universals and variability in the use of direct speech.

Keywords: direct speech, quotatives, general extenders, language variation and change

1. Introduction

Direct speech, a universal and ubiquitous feature of spoken language, has been the subject of linguistic inquiry for many decades. More recently, the analytical focus has begun to shift from traditional approaches based on written models to approaches oriented towards the pragmatic goals and social meaning of direct speech in spoken language. Direct quoting, with its many different forms, has also been identified as a favourable site for variation and change. It has therefore been a major subject in variationist research, whose primary focus has been centred

1. ESRC-RES-062330006: 'Multicultural London English – Multicultural Paris French' (www.mle-mpf.bbk.ac.uk).

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on recognising emerging forms and analysing their linguistic patterns and social conditioning.

Inquiries into spoken forms of direct speech have been the most prolific in the Anglo-Saxon linguistic tradition. While research on metropolitan French has been scarcer and predominantly limited to theoretical or literary studies (Rosier 2008; Marnette 2005; Genette 1983), the emergence of authentic spoken corpora in recent years begins to offer great promise to the field. A wealth of recent research has been dedicated specifically to informal vernaculars where innovative forms of direct speech begin to emerge, especially among young generations typically considered as "linguistic innovators" (Cheshire *et alii* 2011). Data containing direct quotations are, however, notoriously difficult to come by, which constitutes a methodological challenge commonly recognised in studies of informal vernacular phenomena generally. Below are two examples of such informal forms from the present corpus (a comprehensive list of all quotative forms can be found in Appendix [1]):

(1) *après* ***on était là*** *"mais arrêtez d'être jaloux et tout (.) il est beau il est beau!"*
'then we were like "stop being jealous and everything (.) he's handsome so he's handsome!"'

(2) **we were like** "you're very bad you know (.) second time you done this" like.[2]

This article aims to fill the gap in research by comparing innovative trends in the use of direct speech in London English and Paris French, and by investigating the pragmatic functions of emerging forms in relation to speaker positioning and subjectivity. In particular, it seeks to understand how these innovative particles help speakers index their subjective stances and modulate the identities and subjectivities in relation to different parameters such as context and pragmatic function in informal interactions. It is hoped that the comparison will reveal functional similarities in the two systems, the motivations that may explain the emergence of new informal forms and the driving forces of their development. I will begin this study by reviewing existing literature on spoken forms of direct speech, before turning more specifically to the development of innovative variants. This will be followed by a detailed comparative discussion of the functions of direct speech in relation to speaker positioning and a general conclusion.

2. As we will discuss in the following Sections, the boundaries of direct quotation are difficult to delimit, and we cannot establish with exactitude whether the quote in Example (2) ends before or after the *like*.

2. Background/literature review

2.1 Characteristics of direct speech in spoken language

Before setting out to examine the emerging forms of direct speech, we should briefly elaborate on the general characteristics of quotation in spontaneous speech, as these will become important for our discussion later. Reported speech is generally divided into direct and indirect speech. While indirect speech uses grammatical subordination by quoting in a paraphrased manner, in direct speech the quote is presented in its putatively original, literal form, with more or less explicit elements indicating that the quoted sequence occurs in a different time and place. Direct quotes have also been shown to be more frequent in informal speech and more rare in writing (Morel 1996), which could be attributed to the general tendency of spontaneous speech to favour parataxis over subordination (Andersen 2002). While quotations in writing are quite straightforwardly delineated with symbols such as quotation marks, their realisation in speech is more complex, and is often based on a combination of linguistic and extra-linguistic devices such as the use of specific vocabulary, changes of tone or grammatical person, mimicry, gestures or postures. Direct quoting is usually characteristic of informal situations, and generally occurs in narratives of personal experience. With its potential to create an effect of reality and immediacy, direct speech has been described as a crucial feature of a "performed narrative" (Wolfson 1978), reproducing a "lived experience" (Clark and Gerrig 1990: 793).

Direct quotations in spontaneous speech typically co-occur with some common markers on their right and left periphery. On the left, they tend to be introduced by quotative expressions such as verbs (e.g *say, tell, ask*), discourse markers (e.g. *like*) or even the so-called "zero" quotative (where no quotative expression is used), as in the following examples:

(3) *ah non mais c'est insupport- ouais ça drague "oui t'aurais pas un numéro?"*
'oh no it's unbearab- yeah they're always on the pull "oh do you have a phone number?"'

(4) *I wanted to wear an outfit that just (.) "yeah this girl's a working girl you know with the shoes and the smart hair."*

In addition to explicit markers such as quotative verbs, the separation of quoted and non-quoted material can be facilitated by other devices emulating the original situation, such as sound effects, interjections or discourse markers, serving to add an authentic touch to the quoted stretches of speech. In the data presented in this paper, some informal markers are often automatically placed at the beginning or end of the quoted sequence regardless of its content. In cases such as (5) and (6), particles like French *ouais* 'yeah' and English *yeah* are used to mark the beginning of the quote, and can sometimes be the sole quoted material, as in (7).

(5) *au début de l'année moi je l'aimais pas parce que genre elle disait trop "**euh ouais** arrêtez de bavarder" **et tout**.*
'at the beginning of the year I didn't like her 'cos like she was always saying "um yeah stop talking" and everything.'

(6) *and then I said "**so yeah**" like "I would like to go to a club" **kind of thing** I was sixteen at the time.*

(7) *du coup après j'ai mis juste les chansons du Roi Lion ma sœur et moi on était là "**ouais**" et tout.*
'so then I put on the songs from Lion King my sister and I we were like "**yeah**" and everything'

(8) '*cos she was asking about me coming round hers tonight (.) I was like "**yeah** whatever".*

As seen in previous examples, quoted speech often co-occurs with general extenders such as *and stuff, and that, nanana* or *blah blah,* or even a combination of these:

(9) *ils disent "monsieur vous vous prenez pour qui" **et tout nanana**.*
'they're saying "sir who do you think you are" **and everything blah blah**'

(10) *I've gone home whatever said something's wrong with him so I'm like "no" **whatever blah blah** I was like "I didn't touch him blud!"*

The above extracts highlight the fact that in informal interactions, the actual use of direct speech and its form take precedence over its content. That is, the sole fact that speakers quote themselves or someone else without being able to reproduce the wording with complete accuracy, shows that quoting must serve functions other than information exchange. For instance, it may be used for purely expressive and rhetorical purposes, such as embellishing or emphasising various relevant points in a narrative. The markers used around direct speech concomitantly support this strategy, by fulfilling functions similar to those of discourse markers. On the left, they serve to mark new segments of speech and allow the narrator to gain more time for reflection. On the right, they may indicate that the speaker does not wish to provide a more extensive account of what has already been said, while at the same time creating rapport with the interlocutor and appealing to a degree of (presumed) common knowledge (see also Secova 2014).

One empirical difficulty involved in studying direct speech in spoken language is the impossibility of establishing exactly where it starts and stops. Many authentic examples illustrate that, despite prosodic and grammatical cues, the anchoring stretch of discourse can easily be confused with the stretch of quoted speech, and their boundaries are not always easily distinguished (for discussion, see Gadet and Guérin 2012). The presence of discourse markers on its peripheries complicates this task because they can fulfil many functions simultaneously, and may express both the epistemic stance of the narrator as well the original content of the quote. Consider *ouais* in Example (5) above, which may be employed in two ways. It can be used to mark the start of a new statement allowing the speaker to "buy time" before inserting the original quote. Yet it can just as well be used to animate the quoted sequence and thus be attributed to its original content. Similarly, *whatever* in Example (8) can be used as an extender used by the narrator to condense details in the account of her experience, but it can also be attributed to her original quote (meaning 'whatever, it's all the same to me'). Indeed, the presence of pragmatic particles in the immediate vicinity of direct speech has been noted elsewhere. Co-occurrence patterns have been found, for example, for interjections (*ah, oh, bah*) but also connectors and modal adverbs (*oui, non, bon, ben*, see Morel 1996). Both left- and right-peripheral discourse particles significantly contribute to speaker stance and positioning in interaction, by serving a variety of different pragmatic functions that will be examined in the following Sections of this paper.

2.2 The evolving functions of direct speech: A diachronic perspective

Direct speech has been described as a discourse site prone to linguistic change, often accompanied by *grammaticalisation*, a process whereby "particular items become more grammatical through time" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 2). We will briefly review this process here, as it will become important for the discussion of the functions of direct speech in relation to speaker identity and positioning. The process of change has, again, been explored mainly in the Anglo-Saxon context, in quantitative studies examining the distribution of forms, their social conditioning, the cross-varietal differences as well the diachronic evolution of variants (see, for example, Buchstaller 2001; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Fox 2012, among many others). Such studies have identified several signs of grammaticalisation and its converging processes. One of them is *decategorisation*, which in the case of quotative expressions can be characterised by a change from major verbs with a referential function (e.g. *say*) to discourse markers and other minor grammatical particles (e.g. English *like*/French *genre*). This process can be accompanied by a loss of some morphosyntactic characteristics; for instance, a loss of conjugation and variability when a full verb is replaced by an invariant particle (e.g. *après il dit* 'quote' vs. *après c'est genre* 'quote'). Such a change can be accompanied by phonetic reduction, a loss of syntactic flexibility or even fixation (e.g. *c'est genre* – 'it's like' – used as a quotative collocation). On one hand, the grammaticalising expressions lose their propositional content, but on the other they acquire and strengthen their pragmatic functions. They are thus increasingly linked to the speaker's personal attitude (subjectivity), as well as their attitude towards the interlocutor/s (intra-subjectivity) and towards the discourse flow and content (metadiscursivity). Such a development towards epistemic functions is commonly referred to as "subjectification" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 92). Lastly, the grammaticalising forms often co-coexist with older forms, or remain polysemic (they are used with traditional meanings as well as those developed later).

Let us look at some common examples of grammaticalisation in quotative forms, focusing more closely on a relatively recent form, English *be + like*, whose use has increased exponentially since the 1980s when it was first reported, and is now emblematic of younger generations (Ferrara and Bell 1995; Buchstaller 2001; Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004, 2007). Over time, the grammaticalised form has developed new pragmatic functions, but has also evolved into a fixed form which was, until relatively recently, never used as a quotative. Studies have shown that *be + like* was initially used mainly in the first person: a grammatical context that was later extended to all persons. The first-person occurrence may be linked to the fact that the variant was initially used mainly in contexts of inner monologue, that is, when speaker expressed their personal thoughts, attitudes and views (Ferrara and Bell 1995: 270). According to Fox (2012: 241), the fact that *be + like* has spread to third-person contexts might be indicative of its extension into actual direct speech, while at the same time keeping its original function of inner monologue. She further shows that non-lexicalised sounds and gestures are the most favourable context of occurrence of *be + like*, which is in line with the observed grammaticalisation continuum ranging from sounds, gestures and inner monologue to actual direct speech (Ferrara and Bell 1995).

Another study by Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007: 211) shows that the proportion of reported speech expressing inner monologue appears to have increased significantly in recent decades. While this context represented only 8% of total quotative occurrences in octogenarians, its number has more than tripled among young adults (aged 30). The study further shows that the change has accelerated among the new generation (the first users are now 40–49 years old) and is at its most pronounced around the age of 30. The authors explain that this development may be reflective of a change in the ways in which speakers construct and retell stories. In particular, the stylistic option of expressing inner monologue in narratives of personal experience may have increased before *be + like* entered the system, thus paving the way for a new development and creating a niche for a new quotative expression. Due to its semantic properties, *be + like* was a prime contender, later grammaticalising into a full-fledged quotative (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2007).

Thus it would seem that the linguistic trends in the quotative system go hand in hand with the pragmatic and cognitive changes in society, and may reflect more or less universal motivations (comparable especially in culturally similar societies with similar types of informal interactions). Although the use of *be* + *like* is still correlated with young people and many resist the change due to prescriptive pressures of the linguistic marketplace (Buchstaller 2015), this variant has now become well entrenched in the quotative system.

The popularity of *be* + *like* nevertheless allows other innovative forms to develop alongside. Recent studies have uncovered another new form in English, *this* is + speaker, a deictic quotative expression found among young Londoners (Cheshire *et alii* 2011; Fox 2012):

(11) ***this is my mum*** "*what are you doing? I was in the queue before you*" (Cheshire *et alii* 2011: 172).

This variant in the initial phase of grammaticalisation allows for interesting observations regarding the environment in which such constructions arise and the ways in which they develop. Cheshire *et alii* (2011) note that *this is* + speaker is used in both quotative and non-quotative contexts, and its frequency peaks among speakers aged 8–9 who often used this form to describe their "states, feelings, actions, gestures and expressions" (2011: 174). While being considerably less frequent than *be* + *like* (3% against 45% among speakers aged 16–19), it offers interesting parallels. Similarly to *be* + *like*, this innovative form may have entered the system as a description marker, before developing into a full-fledged quotative.

Like quotatives, general extenders have been shown to be subject to grammaticalisation. In this case, the process is usually characterised by a set of changes, most notably decategorisation, semantic-pragmatic change and sometimes morphological and/or phonetic reduction (Cheshire 2007; Tagliamonte and Denis 2010; Pichler and Levey 2011; Secova 2014 and 2017). Decategorisation tends to result in a loss of the original morphosyntactic characteristics and an extension to new grammatical contexts, which can be observed in Examples (5)–(7), where the extender is not appended to a set of inanimate nouns (its putatively original grammatical context) but to direct speech. Another characteristic of grammaticalisation is semantic-pragmatic change, whereby some forms progressively develop new pragmatic functions, while their 'set-marking' function progressively subsides. The pragmatic functions can be characterised as intersubjective (e.g. hedging, indexing solidarity, appealing to common ground between the speakers) or textual (e.g. structuring discourse, punctuating discourse units). It is, however, important to remember that most grammaticalising extenders remain multifunctional and retain set-marking/referential meanings in certain contexts (Pichler and Levey

2011: 452). Finally, it has been suggested that some short forms (e.g. *and stuff*) might have developed from longer forms (e.g. *and stuff like that*), and that some short forms are phonologically reduced in certain contexts (e.g. *and that*, often reduced to monosyllabic /ənæ/; see Cheshire 2007). While evidence is inconclusive in this respect and several studies point to the fact that short forms appear among the earliest extender attestations (Pichler and Levey 2011), it is interesting to note that in both datasets examined, short forms are preferred (see Appendix [2]). This again shows the extent to which discourse-pragmatic features in English and French share functional similarities within comparable contexts of occurrence, as well as a propensity to acquire new subjective, inter-subjective and textual discourse functions.

In the next sections, I will attempt to demonstrate that change in innovative discourse-pragmatic particles such as quotatives and general extenders in English and French follows a similar path and tends to occur in specific pragmatic and morphosyntactic contexts. The new uses are often closely linked to the core semantic properties of the original expressions, but lead to more nuanced meanings that, altogether, contribute to the rich repertoire of functions related to speaker subjectivity and positioning in interaction.

3. Data and methods

The analysis presented here is based on the corpus collected as part of the 'Multicultural London English – Multicultural Paris French' project.[3] The French sample consists of 34 informal recordings carried out in self-selected peer groups of 2–5 people usually lasting over an hour. There are 77 speakers aged 10 to 19: 41 women and 36 men, all from or living in the Paris metropolitan area. The English sample selected for comparison is slightly larger, consisting of 100 Londoners aged 10 to 19 (44 women and 56 men).[4] The two corpora contain several self-recordings carried out without the presence of the investigator.

In both locations, the recordings were carried out using sociolinguistic fieldwork methods in such a way as to obtain informal, vernacular speech data. In order to mitigate 'the observer's paradox' (Labov 1972: 61), investigators strove at all times to put speakers at ease, create a relaxed conversation environment and encourage them to speak freely. Informal methods are particularly relevant for the analysis of discourse phenomena such as direct speech, as these are usually found only in

3. ESRC RES 062330006: 'Multicultural London English – Multicultural Paris French' (www.mle-mpf.bbk.ac.uk).

4. Linguistic Innovators: The English of Adolescents in London, RES-000-23-0680.

highly intimate conversations, especially those that contain narratives of personal experience with strong emotional involvement (Buchstaller 2015).

The data collected in both locations contain a large variety of vernacular features such as informal discourse markers, non-standard grammar, slang and swear-words, which suggests that the sociolinguistic methods were applied successfully. Using a convergent methodology, the MLE-MPF corpus thus offers a unique possibility of comparing two sets of data and contexts which, at least for French, have been rarely investigated.

4. Findings: Pragmatic functions and speaker positioning

4.1 Hedging and approximation

There is a large pool of new quotative expressions with cross-linguistic similarities, based on the core semantics of approximation and similarity. We can cite the example of French *genre* and English *like*, but there are others. In French, the word *genre* frequently occurs as a lexical item with a determiner (e.g. *les choses de ce genre, ce genre de choses*), which needs to be distinguished from its use as a bare form (e.g. *elle a genre vingt ans,* 'she's like twenty years old'). While innovative uses of the bare form have been examined in various sources (e.g. Yaguello 1998; Rosier 2002), the quotative function is discussed more sporadically (with the exception of Fleischman and Yaguello 2004). This may not be surprising given the grammaticalisation path of discourse markers, initially adopting general discourse functions (mitigation, exemplification) before spreading to more specific contexts such as reported speech. Consider some examples below, illustrating discourse marker and quotative uses:

(12) a. A: *il dit des mots* ***genre*** *en français soutenu.*
'he says words like in formal French'
b. M: nobody knew how to dance **like** proper salsa yeah.

(13) a. B: *il fait son footing et tout* ***genre*** *"pf pf pf" <imitation/gestures> les petits abdos et tout.*
'he does his jogging and that like "pf pf pf" <imitation/gestures> little sit-ups and everything.'
b. G: *she just threatened to tell my dad* ***I was like*** *"go and say whatever you want I really don't care".*

The comparative semantic core of words such as *genre* and *like* is likely to be the root of the current functions that these words have developed over time. Particles with similative meanings allow speakers to "acknowledge, and even highlight the approximative value of the quotation and thereby shield themselves from potential criticism regarding the inexact nature of the reproduction" (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XV). While it is unlikely that the primary motivation for quotative choice is the avoidance of criticism, the epistemic hedging function seems especially useful for the reporting of material that may have never been explicitly verbalised, such as thoughts, attitudes, stances, points of view etc. (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012: XV). This function allows the speakers to position themselves vis-à-vis the inexact content of the quote, while at the same time exploiting the stylistic option of enhancing their narratives using direct speech.

In terms of grammaticalisation, the term *genre* appears to have followed some of the mechanisms described above, already attested for English *like.* If we assume that the bare form *genre* has developed from longer nominal phrases (e.g. *ce genre de, de ce genre, du genre*), we can observe the effect of morphosyntactic and phonetic reduction. The process of pragmatic extension has been accompanied by sematic bleaching, i.e. the loss of some of the more exact meanings that nominal *genre* had. On the other hand, though, the innovative forms of *genre* have adopted more subjective functions, including epistemic hedging, mitigation and approximation (for a comparison of other similar particles, see Mihatsch 2010).

The use of quotatives with mitigatory and hedging meanings seems widespread. Similar grammaticalisation cases have been noted even in typologically distinct languages, where the quotative system often recruits expressions whose core semantics is based on resemblance and comparison (Buchstaller 2012; Beeching 2007). Examples include *van* in Dutch (Coppen and Foolen 2012), *bare* and *liksom* in Norwegian (Hasund *et alii* 2012), *ke'ilu* in Hebrew (Maschler 2002) or *tipa* in Russian (Wiemer 2010). Studies have shown an adolescent peak in quotative expressions with mitigatory meanings, such as *be like* (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004, 2007). Others have claimed that expressions with approximative meanings in general are more popular among younger speakers, who are more likely to lack conversational confidence and may therefore be in greater need of support from expressions with discourse-marking functions (Rodriguez 2002).

Regardless of speaker's level of confidence,[5] approximation and vagueness seem very useful in allowing speakers to position themselves in relation to both the interlocutor and the content of the quote. Particles such as *like* and *genre* allow them not only to report someone else's words, but also to reproduce their attitude, if only in an approximative way. This strategy is especially useful when speakers quote themselves, and thus become able to legitimise what they think and feel, or express their general train of consciousness. In French, there are several expressions with

5. In fact, our data show that the most prolific users of innovative quotatives with hedging and mitigating functions seem to be the most confident and extroverted speakers.

similative meanings able to fulfil this function; consider the example of *genre* and other informal variants such as *en mode,* comparable to English *like*:

(14) A: *je l'ai regardé comme ça (.)* ***genre en mode*** *"tu veux quoi" et tout.*
'I looked at him like that (.) like "what do you want" and stuff.'

(15) G: *those girls that- all just love him* ***like*** *"Kevin oh please Kevin come and hug me"*

Examples (14) and (15) bring out particularly clearly the fact that speakers take the liberty to use direct speech even if the quoted words have never been explicitly verbalised or uttered by the presumed author. Again for Tannen (1986: 311), every attempt to quote someone else may be considered as 'constructed dialogue'. In this way, speakers attribute discourses to others not necessarily based on what they actually said, but rather based on the impression they gave. When we quote, our primary goal may not be to provide a literal reproduction of the words as they were uttered, but perhaps only to give a general idea of the original author's attitude and to add vividness to an account.

Much of the previous work on the subject considered verbatim reproduction as a prerequisite for the use of direct speech (Genette 1980), which has since been called into question. Clark and Gerrig (1990: 795), for instance, note that the narrators usually choose to reveal only limited aspects of someone else's discourse, and only those they wish to communicate to their audience. Reported speech is thus a strategic choice serving various rhetorical and argumentative purposes, in that it allows speakers to project *themselves* in a certain light and position *themselves* with regard to their argument and to their interlocutor(s).

The selective nature of quoting is evidenced by the fact that speakers only use instances that can fulfil certain argumentative needs, that is, the instances that can support their reasoning or their account of a given experience. The following extract illustrates the extent to which the narrator's argument is highlighted by the sequence of direct speech, in the attempt to condemn, with obvious irony, the behaviour of posh Parisian girls who change their attitude as soon as they find out that someone comes from an estate:

(16) A: *genre il y a quelqu'un de la cité nanana direct elles sont là à prendre de grands airs* ***genre*** *"ah tu viens de la cité ah d'accord" <imitation>.*
'like when someone comes from an estate blah blah directly they are there getting all snobby like "oh you come from an estate oh alright" <imitation>'

Similarly, in extract (17), the narrator justifies her argument that, despite what her classmates might think, dermatology is not an easy degree course:

(17) L: *ils arrivent en dermatologie et ils* ***font style*** *"oh la la c'est trop simple ils ont des massages des masques et tout".*
'they come into dermatology and they're like "oh it's too simple they have massages masks and everything"'

And in (18), the speaker condemns the indifference of his teachers, expressing his surprise in a sequence of direct speech and thus justifying his decision to leave the classroom:

(18) R: *sometimes we didn't even have a teacher (.)* ***we were just like*** *"oh where's the teacher?" (.) and we just went.*

Perhaps to a much greater extent than *like,* the discourse marker *genre* contains an element of irony and/or incredulity, which has had an important part to play in its development as a quotative. Many of its uses encode a degree of sarcasm and disbelief. Interestingly, the word is still used in this way as part of a fixed intransitive construction *faire genre* (and other similar ones, such as *faire style* or *faire krari*[6]), meaning "to show off" or "to pretend". The data reveal many such instances where speakers criticise someone's hypocrisy or false appearances:

(19) A: *il traîne pas avec les gars qui* ***font genre****.*
'he doesn't hang out with the boys who just pretend <to be cool>'

(20) N: *y en trop elles font* ***krari*** *des fois [.] genre elles te connaissent pas elles veulent pas parler et tout ça.*
'there's many girls who just play games sometimes (.) like they don't know you they don't want to talk and all that'.

The word *genre,* and other similar expressions, appear to have fulfilled a functional niche that originated in ironic explanations and justifications, before expanding into the realm of direct speech. Within the quotative system, they are still occasionally used to ironic effect, but are now largely desemanticised as fixed quotative constructions (e.g. *faire genre*). From a pragmatic perspective, the range of functions they fulfil has also expanded to include different possibilities and levels of commitment to the truth conditions of the quote. These possibilities can be presented as a continuum between hypothetical thoughts, attitudes and impressions on one end, and actual explicit direct speech on the other. The extended functional range allows speakers to better position themselves not only towards the content of the quote, but also towards the person(s) to whom they attribute it. While the quotation might never have been explicitly uttered, mitigatory words like *genre* still allow speakers the possibility to quote directly, if only to give an approximative impression

6. *Faire krari/crari*: to pretend that something is true/to be pretentious

of the quote's author (or indeed of themselves in self-reports). This dissociative, face-saving strategy is strengthened by the use of general extenders whose functions, despite their different syntactic position, are very similar to left-peripheral *like.* As shown in Examples (5) to (10), extenders can be considered as hedges and approximation markers, routinely used to bypass assertiveness, avoid literal interpretation of the quote and show a reduced commitment to its actual occurrence.

4.2 Imitation, focus and emphasis

The data reveal a large of proportion of quotative expressions containing a deictic element, and whose main function seems to be to attract the attention of the audience to the quote or to its author. This type of quotative is not new, and has been attested in many previous studies and languages (Buchstaller and Van Alphen 2012; Cheshire *et alii* 2011; Fox 2012). They usually contain an adverb, as previously exemplified in *être là* in (1), or a demonstrative pronoun, as illustrated in *this is* + *SPEAKER* in (11) and *comme ça* and *like that* in the following examples:

(21) L: *t'as l'impression que t'as des araignées sur la tête quoi c'est horrible et* ***j'étais comme ça*** *"aaah"* <imitation, shouting>.
'it feels like you have spiders on your head it's horrible and I was like that "aaah" <imitation, shouting>'.

(22) W: *they go "oh he's turning eighteen soon" they think "what we gonna do we can't say anything to him now" you're* **like that** *"I've got so much freedom*!".

Unlike traditional quotatives and even some widespread recent ones (e.g. *be like*), deictic quotatives usually occur only in narratives with a high degree of emotional involvement. Being the chief preserve for expressions with emphatic functions, such narratives allow speakers to recreate the original event in an authentic fashion, by adopting the voice, accent, intonation and even gestures and postures of the author of the quote. The narrative thus becomes something of a dynamic and expressive performance, where narrators position themselves as main actors of a central event. Direct speech has an important role to play in this process, in focusing the attention directly to important elements in the story. According to Fox (2012), the new London quotative *this is* + speaker, for example, tends to occur at a salient point in a narrative, at moments of 'high drama'. Examples such as (21) show that deictic quotatives may contain an important mimetic element with or without actual speech. While there may be methodological difficulties involved in identifying 'quotative' instances without direct speech, examples of gestures and sound effects are crucial in explaining the arguably universal development of certain performative quotatives on a continuum from *showing* to *quoting*. This has again been noted in previous studies (e.g. Cheshire *et alii* 2011; Fox 2012), where a deictic form has been shown to occur in both quotative and non-quotative contexts. In non-quotative contexts, the variant was recruited mainly for descriptions of the protagonists' "states, feelings, actions, gestures and expressions" (Cheshire *et alii* 2011: 174):

(23) ***this is the boy*** *falling asleep he went "<sound effect>"*

Examples such as the above suggest that direct speech plays a major role in the retelling and re-enactment of past events. In French, the variant *être là* fulfils similar functions, occurring in descriptive (24) as well as quotative contexts (25):

(24) *et moi* ***je suis là*** *je comprends rien donc (.) "ok c'est gentil merci"* <rire>
'and me I'm there I don't understand so "ok nice thanks a lot"<laughs>'

(25) L: ***il était là*** *"mais quoi mais j'ai rien fait!"*
'he was there "what? but I haven't done anything!"'

Many quantitative studies have shown that the type of content speakers use in a quote is a significant predictor affecting quotative choice and influencing the way in which speakers will position themselves vis-à-vis the arguments they are making. Importantly, the use of mimicry and gestures in examples like (24) and (25) validates speakers' justifications and contributes to their credibility and authenticity. The 'content' factor has also been shown to play a major part in the grammaticalisation of innovative quotatives. For example, when *be + like* began to be used, it was often associated with non-lexicalised sounds and gestures (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004), while *this is* + speaker in London was shown to be linked to highly performative direct speech (Fox 2012). The non-quotative occurrences are also interesting to observe, since they tend to occur very close to, if not immediately before, the quotative occurrences. Extracts (23) and (24) show that both *être là* and *this is* precede quotations by a single clause. This suggests that there are cross-linguistic similarities in the trajectory of grammaticalisation from descriptions to direct speech.

The importance of mimesis and sound effects in the way speaker project themselves and others is well illustrated in the following extract. It features an animated exchange in which speakers use different variants strategically to perform subjective functions such as dramatic enactment, justification of one's own actions and the communication of subjective feelings and points of view:

(26) O: *dès qu'on détourne la tête de la feuille du cours je sais pas on-*
A: *+ <ouais on regarde la fenêtre et tout il dit-*
O: *il* ***crie*** *"ouah ouah ouah"* <imitation>.
C: *ou sinon il* ***fait*** *"à ton tour de lire !"* ***t'es là*** *"ah euh".*

A: *après après* ***on est là*** "<gestes>" (.) *après il* ***fait*** *"bon ok Chloé lis !"* (..) *euh t'es-* (..) *le temps de réaliser et tout.*
C: *que- quand il parle allemand* ***il est là*** *"ah ha ha oui oui"* (.) *c'est pour ça que toujours tu dois viser ta feuille même si tu penses à autre chose (il) faut regarder la feuille !*
'O: as soon as we look away from the textbook, I don't know, if-
A: + < yeah we look at the window and stuff he goes-
O: **he shouts** "ouah ouah ouah" <imitation>.
C: otherwise **he goes** "your turn to read!" **you're like** "ah oh".
A: and then **we're like** "<gestures>" (.) then he **goes** "alright Chloé you read!" (..) ahem you're- (..) before you realise and all.
C: when he speaks German **he's like** "ah ha yes yes" (.) that's why you always have to keep your eyes on the worksheet even if you're thinking about something else you need to look at the sheet!'

In this lively, stylised narrative, quoting is accompanied by various prosodic and extra-linguistic features such as a change in voice quality, intonation, sound effects and gestures, all contributing to an expressive and authentic rendering of the performed event. Many previous studies have noted that adolescents often adopt this type of stylisation in order to replicate the voice, attitude or behaviour of others or of themselves in performed narratives (e.g. Rampton 2009; Trimaille 2007; among others). Whether or not speakers succeed in creating the effect of authenticity very much depends on the linguistic devices they use. These devices, often selected from a pool of features with similar functions (in the sense of 'feature pool' introduced by Mufwene 2001), enhance speakers' expressive style and verbal dexterity, and ultimately contribute to their credibility and even their popularity with the audience. Adolescent linguistic socialisation is thus inherently linked to a speaker's capacity to forge an identity through verbal content but also, and crucially, through the linguistic means they use to articulate it. Expressivity and authenticity play an important role in adolescent interactions, and speakers seek out linguistic resources that allow them to exploit them as fully as possible. Direct speech is a prime example of expressive content, and the above example illustrates the varying degrees of expressivity that different forms can convey. A number of studies have highlighted the fact that the presence of sound effects, typical of mimetic re-enactments of past events, is particularly common in the initial stages of grammaticalisation where quoting closely resembles imitation (Buchstaller 2001: 3). Therefore, direct speech and imitation are useful resources that speakers draw upon directly to render their tales more expressive, dramatic or simply amusing, and indirectly to support the arguments they are making. Importantly, these resources are also effective in self-presentation, as speakers use them selectively to mark their affiliation or affirm their difference, and ultimately to position themselves in relation to the content of the message and to their interlocutor(s).

4.3 Inner monologue

One of the common functions of direct speech is to express inner thoughts, feelings and attitudes. It allows speakers to verbalise a stream of consciousness, creating an effect of immediacy and authenticity. Expressing inner monologue through direct speech constitutes another discursive strategy that has been identified as one of the most important predictors in the development of innovative variants. Here again, mimesis and sound effects are often recruited as essential supporting elements (Buchstaller 2001). Consider the following extracts, in which speakers re-enact their inner feelings in this way in reaction to particular stimuli:

(27) K: ***j'étais là*** *"pitié pitié pitié" <voix> j'étais en train de prier dans le tram et tout.*
'I was like "please please have mercy" <voice> I was praying in the tram and everything'

(28) M: ***j'étais là*** *"nooon c'est pas possible!"* <voix grave>
'I was like "no way!" <serious voice>'

Examine a comparable example in English:

(29) S: *they would give you money and* ***you'll be like*** *"oh" <surprise>.*

The use of quotations to express inner thoughts has, once again, an important rhetorical and self-presentation function, rather than that of reporting something that has been said before. In fact, it is probable that quotes of this type have never been explicitly uttered. The grammatical characteristics of some quotatives, as illustrated, for example, in (29), show the imaginary character of direct speech. The quoted segment, uttered in the second grammatical person and future tense, cannot have been previously verbalised and is thus purely hypothetical.

Rather than presenting verbatim quotations, innovative forms with inner monologue are used strategically to portray the author in a certain light and to illustrate or justify their attitude. The co-occurrence of these variants and expressions such as *"oh", "oh my god", "wow"*, as well as exclamations and insults, is indicative of the usefulness of this technique in the construction of a performed narrative. A relevant question arises here whether the development of new quotatives, and innovation in the use of direct speech in general, is linked to new ways of representing inner states of mind, consciousness and thought. This question has indeed been raised by Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2007) who analysed the functional niche of *be + like*, and noted that the highest the proportion of inner monologue in the occurrence of direct speech was among young adults, who were, incidentally, the first users of this variant. The authors wondered: is it only the quotative variants that are changing, or has there been a change in the way people recount past events? And if so, is inner speech an evolving universal necessity in informal interaction? At a time when people disclose more and more of their private life on social media and other sources where information is readily available, we can speculate that spoken language generally might be undergoing a change whereby it is becoming more subjective and informal, and speakers are making greater use of linguistic features allowing them to express inner thoughts more directly, instantaneously and openly. As we saw in many previous examples, the narrators use inner monologue strategically to position themselves with regard to their argument, often resorting to minimal though highly expressive content. Particles that accompany inner speech, such as interjections, contribute to accomplishing this strategy. Together with these particles, the innovative quotative forms are useful in conveying nuanced subjective stances, with different degrees of expressivity and commitment to the content. They are thus a prime example of a stance-taking and self-positioning pragmatic feature.

5. Conclusions

As we have seen, direct speech actively contributes to the construction of speaker stance and persona. In this article, I have explored the functions of innovations in direct speech, such as new quotatives and general extenders. The main focus was on their pragmatic functions that serve to index speaker identity, subjectivity and positioning vis-à-vis different actors in the communicative space. I also addressed the question of how these particles developed, what pragmatic motivations drove this development, what contribution they made to the interaction, and what similarities one could draw from two relatively distinct languages, English and French.

Innovative quotatives in both languages tend to be associated with indexical stances and attitudes such as youth, coolness and casualness. They usually display higher frequencies among young people that progressively decrease with advancing age as speakers enter adulthood and adopt a more standard language (Buchstaller 2015). In both languages examined here, the innovative variants display many functional similarities but also slight language-specific differences. For instance, *this is* + speaker in London is only used in moments of high drama and introduces actual direct speech (Cheshire *et alii* 2011; Fox 2012), while *être là* in Paris seems to collocate with inner monologue and to index a non-committal stance. Similative and type-noun quotatives such as *genre* and *like* are similar in reducing speaker commitment to the truth conditions of the utterance while strengthening the subjective and argumentative functions. Overall, innovative forms make a significant contribution to speaker positioning and stance, as they mark different degrees of expressivity, subjectivity and commitment to the content of the quotation.

General extenders, such as *and stuff* in London and *et tout* in Paris, are frequently used on the right periphery of direct speech to mark its boundary, but also to perform similar pragmatic functions such as hedging, marking solidarity and appealing to common knowledge between the speaker and the interlocutor(s). Extenders in both languages are also similar in grammaticalising from referential expressions to particles with predominantly pragmatic functions (Cheshire 2007; Secova 2014).

The evolution of new variants raises questions about the complex representation and reporting of speech and thought. The immediacy of spontaneous speech and the lack of planning are among the many factors that influence the choice of direct over indirect speech, but also the choice of specific particles introducing and framing quotations. The question then is: what are the reasons for emerging forms being more frequent in certain contexts? While often stigmatised, can these variants actually enrich speakers' linguistic repertoire? This paper has attempted to show that innovative variants tend to offer a much wider range of pragmatic functions than traditional ones. Canonical quotatives are often pragmatically restrictive and cannot always adequately express the full spectrum of discourse functions connected with reported speech and thought. Emerging variants, on the other hand, offer the possibility to enhance expressivity, emotion and authenticity even in the most banal utterances that may never have been uttered. At the same time, these variants seem more efficient in expressing speaker's epistemic stance and mitigating the impact of verbatim interpretation. As a result, they lend themselves very well to the representation of thoughts, attitudes, value judgments and justifications – and of the full range of mental phenomena ranging from intimate thoughts to explicit words. The evolution of emerging variants does not necessarily constitute language simplification characterized by a loss of precise and appropriate expressions, but rather, and more importantly, leads to pragmatic enrichment giving rise to a more nuanced and varied repertoire.

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Appendix (1) Quotative forms in London English and Paris French

FRENCH			ENGLISH*		
Variant	**N**	**%**	**Variant**	**N**	**%**
Dire	426	39.3	*Say*	679	29.1
Faire	307	28.3	*be + like*	532	22.8
zero form	128	11.8	*Go*	429	18.4
être là	29	2.7	zero form	322	13.8
Genre	17	1.6	*Think*	228	9.8
être comme ça	15	1.4	*this is* + speaker	61	2.6
c'est	15	1.4	*Tell*	24	1.0
dire/faire genre	8	0.8	Other	59	2.5
en mode	6	0.6			
Other	87	8.4			
TOTAL	1036	100	TOTAL	2334	100

* Distributional London data adapted from Cheshire et *al.* (2011).

Appendix (2) General extenders forms in London English and Paris French*

FRENCH			ENGLISH		
Variant	**N**	**%**	**Variant**	**N**	**%**
et tout	263	62.92%	*and that*	155	20.92%
tout ça	44	10.53%	*and all that*	104	14.04%
nanana	31	7.42%	*and stuff*	102	13.77%
etcetera	28	6.70%	*or something*	94	12.69%
(les/des) trucs comme ça	13	3.11%	*and everything*	60	8.10%
et tout ça	12	2.87%	*or something like that*	26	3.51%
ou quoi	6	1.44%	*whatever*	25	3.37%
ni rien	5	1.20%	*and stuff like that*	21	2.83%
ou un truc comme ça	4	0.96%	*and all*	19	2.56%
un truc comme ça	4	0.96%	*and shit*	13	1.75%
(les/des) choses comme ça	2	0.48%	*or whatever*	13	1.75%
machin	2	0.48%	*kind of thing*	12	1.62%
ou quoi que ce soit	1	0.24%	*something like that*	10	1.35%
Other	3	0.72%	*and what not*	10	1.35%
TOTAL	418		*and things like that*	9	1.21%
			and things	7	0.94%
			that sort of stuff	6	0.81%
			or anything like that	5	0.67%
			or anything	4	0.54%
			Other	46	6.21%
			TOTAL	741	

* Distributional data adapted from Secova (2017).

CHAPTER 8

Positioning of self in interaction

Adolescents' use of attention-getters

Karin Aijmer

Look, listen, come on, excuse me are examples of imperatives of verbs which have developed into discourse markers with an attention-getting function. It is shown that the functional markers are used by adolescents to position themselves in relation to what is said and other participants in the conversation in order to mark their disalignment with the norms of adult society. In the adolescents' world impoliteness is the norm associated with creating a positive self-image of the speakers. Attention-getters are also an important part of how adolescents perform as tellers of narratives or anecdotes. Adolescents use attention-getters for irony and 'mock politeness' and in joking competitive exchanges.

Keywords: attention getters, adolescent speech, *look*, *listen*, *come on*, *excuse me*

1. Introduction

Look can have the function to draw the hearer's attention to what is said:

(1) *oh look look you can hear what everyone's saying when you listen to oi oi Bon, oi Bon. <shouting> Liam </> I can hear everything* (33701)[1]

Look is an imperative of a verb of perception. However in the example above it has lost some of its imperative force and is used as a discourse marker with communicative and discourse functions. According to Ghezzi and Molinelli (2014: 129), *look* has undergone a process "from an invitation to direct the sight to something in the deictic context" to inviting the listener to paying attention to what is said (cf. also Waltereit 2002 on the Italian *guarda*). *Look* as a discourse marker is placed outside the clause and does not contribute to the propositional content. It is multifunctional and found in many different contexts. *Look* will be described in this paper together with *listen, come on, excuse me* which are other examples of imperatives of verbs

1. For a key to the transcription, see Appendix.

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which have developed further into discourse markers. The aim is to analyse their distribution and uses in conversations among adolescents focusing on how the speakers use them to position themselves in the social landscape and to create a social and cultural identity for themselves in the interaction.

The approach takes its inspiration from theoretical and methodological frameworks combining discourse analysis, pragmatics and sociolinguistics. Thus the focus in is on the use of language to convey indexicality, stance and the construction of identity. We can for example hypothesize that adolescents use language to position themselves in relation to what is said and other participants in the conversation in order to mark their alignment or disalignment with the norms of adult society. This will be illustrated by a study of *look* and other attention getters along the following lines:

– to what extent is the use of attention-getters a reflex of the context where they are found (an informal conversation among adolescents)?
– how do speakers use attention-getters to position themselves in relation to the hearer (the audience) or as a part of the social group?
– how are attention-getters used strategically for special functions and to build a certain speaker identity?
– what are the socio-cultural and interactive norms motivating the adolescents' use of attention-getters?

The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 is a short overview of how attention-getting discourse markers with a focus on *look* are dealt with in previous work. Section 3 contains some corpus data on the distribution and frequencies of *look, listen, come on* and *excuse me.* Section 4 discusses the findings in more detail. In Section 5, I return to a discussion of how attention-getters are used by the adolescents in specific ways to construct a teenager identity.

2. Background review: Attention-getters in previous work

Attention-getting devices can be both verbal and non-verbal as pointed out by Romero Trillo (1997). He describes the over-riding function of attention getters as follows:

> The reason for using attention-getting or attention-maintaining techniques may be a speaker's feeling that s/he is not being listened to or the need to emphasize part of an utterance because of its importance for the correct understanding of the message. These techniques may be either physical like tapping on someone's arm, waving a hand before the listener's eyes, etc., or linguistic, the latter of course

> being less face-threatening than the former …. it is likely that most languages will combine gesture and linguistic strategies for its performance.
> (Romero Trillo 1997: 208)

Romero Trillo analysed *look* and *listen* and their Spanish correspondences together as discourse markers with the function to attract the hearer's attention to what is said (Romero Trillo 1997: 208). His study showed that the Spanish discourse markers (e.g. *oye* ('listen'), *mira* ('look'), *fíjate* ('look')) were more frequent than the English markers.[2] On the other hand, there has been little discussion about the stylistic and social variation of those elements.

The link between linguistic elements and power has been discussed within Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough (1989) associates the use of *look* with a certain style and with functions such as putting someone right. In the following example text the speaker is Margaret Thatcher (then Prime Minister). *Look* reproduces a sort of reported speech which is used for polemical purposes:

> … I think it's wrong to think in material terms because really the kind of country you want is made up by the strength of its people and I think we're returning to my vision of Britain as a younger person and I was always brought up with the idea <u>look</u> Britain is a country whose people think for themselves act for themselves can act on their own initiative.

According to Fairclough (2001 (1989): 152), the use of *look* is an example of Margaret Thatcher's 'toughness and determination': '[B]eginning an utterance with *look* marks it as putting somebody in their place, or forcefully correcting their misapprehensions' (quoted from Aijmer 2010).

Culpeper (2011) draws attention to the potentially impolite uses of the imperative discourse markers. According to Culpeper (2011: 135), 'message enforcers' such as *listen here* can be regarded as 'conventional impoliteness formulas'. The impoliteness formula is associated with power and with rudeness depending on the degree of intensity expressed. In fact, the same linguistic form can be either polite or impolite. This idea will be further discussed below where it is argued that young speakers use different politeness rules than adults.

2. A large number of scholars have discussed how perception verbs acquire pragmatic values in different languages. See e.g. Pons Bordería (1998), Brinton (2001), Dostie (2004), Company Company (2004), Rossari (2006), Ghezzi (2012); other studies are contrastive such as Cuenca and Marín (2000), Fagard (2010), Van Olmen (2010), Iliescu (2011).

3. Data and methods: Corpus analysis of the attention getters

The material for this study comes from the Bergen Corpus of London Teenagers (COLT) (Stenström et al. 2002). The COLT Corpus was compiled with the aim of recording the language of London teenagers from different social backgrounds. The recordings were made in 1993 and the transcriptions make up 500, 000 words. The informants are between 13 and 17 years of age and they come from different boroughs in London. The texts consist of informal chats among two or more individuals.

Look was the most frequent attention getter in the corpus. It was for example more frequent than *listen* in the discourse marker function (see Table 8.1).

Table 8.1 The frequency of the four attention-getters in COLT

Type	Number
Look	284
Listen	136
Excuse me	71
Come on	261

All the attention-getters were more frequent in COLT than in other corpora of the same size. Table 8.2 (cf. Aijmer 2010) compares the frequencies of *look* and *listen* in the London-Lund Corpus (LLC) with their frequencies in COLT. Both corpora contain about 500, 000 words of Spoken English.

Table 8.2 The frequencies of *look, listen* and *excuse me* as attention-getting devices in the LLC and in COLT (the figures within parentheses refer to all examples of *look* and *listen* as imperatives)

	LLC (adult speakers)	COLT (teenagers)
Look*	30 (365)	284 (880)
Listen**	6 (32)	136 (275)
Excuse me	10	71

* In all there were 1,694 examples of the (lemma) *look* in COLT and 864 examples in the LLC.
** In all there were 354 examples of the (lemma) *listen* in COLT and 48 examples in the LLC.

Table 8.2 shows that there are differences between the corpora which may reflect the formality of the conversations, the age of the participants and the relationship between the speakers as well as other social factors. Since the London-Lund Corpus was collected in the 1960s and 1970s the difference in time may also explain the differences in frequency.

4. Findings

4.1 *Look*

Look has been regarded as an attention-getter when it is not modified (cf. 'look at me') and is not followed by a complementation clause (e.g. *look what I'm doing*). *Look* can be followed by a vocative and is sometimes marked as an exclamation by the following punctuation. It was found in combinations with other discourse markers *(oh look, ooh look*, *look I mean, no look, look here, look listen*).

In its canonical function *look* is an attention-getter. *Look* has 'a performative nuance' inviting the listener to pay attention to what has been said (Ghezzi and Molinelli 2014: 129). The speaker 'demands' that the other party pays attention and intersperses his or her conversation with *look* to remind the hearer to listen to what is said. However, according to van Olmen (2010: 228), the characterization of imperatives such as 'look' simply as an attention-getter is unsatisfactory in many examples. In most cases where *look* is used the speaker is committed to what is said. Ghezzi and Molinelli (2014: 129) suggest that *look* "develops a secondary dialogic function through which the speaker expresses her stance toward the previous/following utterance by inviting the listener to pay attention to its content". A number of specific cognitive functions of *look* can be derived from this meaning. We can for example distinguish several functions depending on whether *look* can be analysed on the discourse level (aspects of turn-taking or topic change) or refers to the contents of what is said (*look* signalling an upcoming explanation, or adversativity).

4.1.1 Look *as a marker of relevance*

Look was frequent in my material in its basic function of drawing the hearer's attention to what is relevant. In (2) *look* points forward to an upcoming explanation to Robert's question: 'I know the answer to this because it's on my computer, I've read the book in primary school'.

(2) Robert: *[They're] not <unclear>*
Peter: *But erm*,
Robert: *My question [is]*
Peter: *[I've read,] I've read, look, I've got that computer so I knew those questions, I've read The Demon Headmaster, in primary school.* (32503)

In (3) *look* focalizes on something in the preceding discourse which functions as justification for a request.

(3) Josie: *Oh no.*
Cassie: *Do you want not want the rest then? Let me have the rest. Can I have a tiny sip please.*
Josie: *No.*
Cassie: *Please, look I gave you some crisps <unclear>.*
Carla: *No.*
Josie: *<nv> scream </nv> Oh go* (33704)

Look is a part of an exchange which can be interpreted as playful banter. Cassie asks for a tiny sip. *Look* flags an upcoming explanation for why Josie should give Cassie a tiny sip (I gave you some chips and therefore you should give me a sip).

4.1.2 Look *and turn-taking*

Look plays an important part on the level of discourse management. Teenagers act as if they are justified to take the turn to signal an upcoming explanation or justification also if this involves an interruption and may violate turn-taking rules. According to Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974), the system of turn-taking in conversation focuses on the fact that 'overwhelmingly' one person speaks at a time and that the other person waits for his time to speak. However who gets the turn, who takes turns and who is prevented from taking the floor in conversation depends on social and situational factors. Thus teenagers seem to have different turn-taking rules from adults. According to Andersen (2001: 6), "turn-taking rules are acquired and managed by adolescents, but seem to operate differently from the rules that constrain adult conversation in that the principle of "survival of the fittest" applies to a greater extent in adolescent speech (Poulsen 1996)".

Look has been selected because it marks the relevance for the hearer of the information expressed in the following sentence. It co-occurs with an interruption and the speaker's self-selecting the turn:

(4) 1 Matthew: *because then they'll sort them out. Do you understand what I mean? He's not [gonna]*
2 Peter: *[Yeah] but Ollie [ain't got]*
3 Matthew: *[Look]*
4 Peter: *gonna start, Ollie ain't gonna start nuffink. So, [yeah]*
5 Matthew: *[Put] it this way, if Paul wants to tell Lou, let him, [cos Ollie just]*
6 Peter: *[Yeah, but], [er]*
7 Matthew: *[Look], Ollie is the one that started it all in the first, he let that happen, but if anything,* (39801)

Look is used by Matthew in an effort to take the turn in order to signal an upcoming explanation. In Turn 7 the speaker resumes the effort marking its relevance by means of *look*: "a participant in a linguistic interchange self-selects and takes a turn in the conversation other than at a TRP [transition-relevant position]" and moreover "successfully attains the floor with this strategy" (Bousfield 2008: 233).

Look is found in collocations such as 'no look wait', 'yeah but look':

(5) Peter: *if she says, so if she says,*
Anthony: *How would you like her to take it?*
Peter: *So if she says oh Julian [fancies me,]*
Craig: *[No look, wait.]*
Peter: *then what are you gonna say? You're gonna say yes aren't you?*
Craig: *I don't [know.]*
Anthony: *[Jules,] how* (41701)

In (6) *look* is accompanied by the impolite and abrupt *shut up:*

(6) Peter: *<mimicking African accent> Oh Shabba Ranks </>…*
Anthony: *Why do you think …*
Peter: *There's why [don't you]*
Robert: *[Look, Jase] shut up, man.*
Peter: *[The, the play with the witches]*
Robert: *[What time's,] why, <reading slowly> what does* (34401)

To sum up, in conversations among adolescents interruptions seem to be tolerated to a larger extent than in adult conversation. Interrupting ongoing talk to take the turn are 'impolite' actions unless there are special reasons for it. However actions which seem to be impolite according to rules of polite behaviour in the society can be interpreted differently depending on the situation and who the speakers are. Given the context that the speakers are friends we can assume that the speaker's intention is not to offend the hearer's face and that the strategies used to compete for the turn do not increase social distance but enhance group solidarity.

4.1.3 Look *as argumentation marker*

Look is also modal and subjective. According to Brinton (2001: 189, "it expresses epistemic certainty and strengthens the argumentative position of the speaker, thus operating both on a scale of epistemic commitment and on a scale of rhetorical strength". Van Olmen (2010: 228) uses the term 'argumentation marker' rather than 'attention-getting device' for the same use. What is typical of *look* (and its Dutch correspondence *kijk*) "is that the speaker is committed to what follows or, in other words, that, in his or her opinion, the rest of the utterance is an important and truthful contribution to the conversation" (Van Olmen 2010: 228).

In the teenager data *look* can for instance reinforce the speaker's needs or wants with the aim to make the hearer do something (*look I want a cup of tea*, *look I think need some trousers*, *look I need my book, look I wish they would, look I'll do that*). In addition to its use for emphasis it conveys hurry, impatience and irritation (associated with the attention-getting function and an abrupt change of topic):

(7) Lynn: *English, or is she studying English? … Oh right … mmm. What the hell are we doing?*
Emma: *I do not know.*
Lynn: *Look, I need my book. Stop doing your homework …. Say you didn't understand it or something. I dunno.*
Emma: *Lynn, what do we have to do.* (40601)

The emphatic *look* can also be inserted before a constituent:

(8) *That's quite good actually, Jo, look, that joke.* (37104)

Another nuance of *look* is adversative ('the actual message is at odds with what has been said by the others'; Van Olmen 2010: 229). The argumentative *look* often co-occurred with *but* or with *no. Look* in the combination *no look* in (9) challenges the previous statement by Eric and argues that if I (=Margaret) talk into it (the microphone) quite loud it cuts out and then it takes some time to come back:

(9) Eric: *No it does cut out, it doesn't cut out*
Terry: *[<unclear>]*
Margaret: *[No look] if I talk into it quite loud like this it cuts out … and then it takes a while to come <laughing> back on again </>…* (33906)

In (10) the context is argumentative and conclusive. *Look* is used by Ben to take the turn in order to argue that John is the one who will be beaten up rather than Ollie. The transition from one aspect of the topic to another is interrupted by John ('you shut up as well!'):

(10) Ben: *No, no! Oi oi oi, Neil! Neil! Right, Ollie will get beaten up, right?*
John: *You shut up as well!*
Ben: *No but not at me.*
John: *Well I said shut up.*
Ben: *Look, then you'll get beaten up, right? And then Ollie will be [stay best friends]* (39801)

4.1.4 *Patterns with* look *marking escalation*

The speaker's strategies can emerge as conversational patterns. "Patterns are always potentially present in language, and language users always have options whether or not to establish patterns, and if so, what kind of patterns to create" (Carter 2004: 101).

Look is for example found in patterns of increasing escalation. Repetition of what has been said earlier with or without some variation may be regarded as a strategy to introduce a more subjective perspective in the interaction:

(11) ***they came*** *look,* ***they came this way****, they didn't go, they didn't go the long way round, I believe ya, they came this way up here* (36402)

The speaker uses *look* as a starting-point to focus more attention on 'they came this way'.

In the following example (another illustration of the pattern *look* + repetition of an earlier utterance) *hey look wicked* points forwards to the speaker's explanation that 'she wasn't talking about her':

(12) Caroline: *No Grace.* </>
^many: <unclear> (2)
Josie: *I wa =* ***I wasn't talking about her*** *innit I was talking about the girl behind the bar. Hey look wicked.* ***I wasn't talking about her****.*
?: <unclear> (3)
Cassie: *Sounds marvellous.* (35207)

Example (13) involves *look* + repetition across several turns in the conversation. *Look* is itself repeated for more emphasis and exaggeration:

(13) Marcia: *It's not Jason's either it's mine!*
Cassie: *It's the one in the sink innit?*
Anne: *But* ***I haven't got it****.*
Marcia: *I know.*
Anne: *Look I, look look look* ***I haven't got it****. [Look* ***I haven't] got it.]***
Eve: *[They look] good anyway.*
Anne: *You got it ….* (4) No (35207)

The function of *look* seems to be in "the dialogic building of a relationship of accord between the speakers, the extensive repetition here creating what might be termed an affective convergence or commonality of viewpoint" (Carter 2004: 8).

4.1.5 *Patterns with* look *as a part of reported speech*

The attention getter can also belong to a quotation in reported speech (33 examples of *look*). By quoting what has been said the speaker recreates an event in the past (or imagines a future event) using his/her own words. In fact, the quoted event may have little to do with what actually was said (see Secova, this volume). According to Carter (2004: 211), "almost all everyday speech reporting is creative, that is, it is a creative reconstruction of what the original speaker said and involves reports with varying degrees of dramatization". The scenes recreated "occasion the imagination of alternative, distant, or familiar worlds, much as does artistic creation" Tannen (1989: 26). When the teenagers use quotation they make an effort to dramatize a real or imagined speech event, they exaggerate for comic effect and parody and switch between different voices. Attention getters can be regarded as an important part of the speaker's repertoire of voicing strategies. They are pronounced with a put-on voice or parody the original ('primary') speaker with the function to draw the hearer's attention to the relevance of what follows.

In (14) the humour comes from the combination of the attention getter with the formal 'sir' and the use of a 'parodic voice'. The speaker takes advantage of the attention-getter to add some flavour to the narrative (urgency, impatience, determination, authority).

(14) Margaret: *Yeah I don't, I don't think even a fucking dog on heat would fancy Mr <name> [for Christ's sake.] ….*
Anna: *No <u>should I go to school and say here look listen to this sir</u>, you'll find it very interesting.*
Margaret: *<nv >laugh </nv> ^1 I don't, I dunno I, I can never work out whether I I actually like Mr <name> or not, cos he can be, he can be, he's such a cunt sometimes* (33905)

Both *look* and mimicking help the speaker to distance himself from what is said. The intended effect of the exchange in (15) is humorous as suggested by the accompanying laughter:

(15) Dan: *<laughing> I thought it was excellent </> when he was saying <mimicking> look right, no one slags off my [<unclear> </>]*
^many: *[<nv> laugh </nv>* <unclear>]
Cassie: *[What is that Dan?]* (33905)

In (16) *look* alone (without a preceding reporting verb) invites the hearer to imagine the original speech situation. *Look* has been chosen because it conveys that the request is urgent:

(16) <unclear> *and I couldn't exactly say … can I go to the toilet? So I did one and then this, by this time I was desperate. <u>Look</u>, I've got to go to the toilet! Alright then. I went running and I went running and I <unclear> the relief of sitting down* (32901)

Example (17) illustrates how the speaker uses a specific (exaggerated) prosody for intensifying and mocking purposes. Peter shows his appreciation of the performance by laughing:

(17) Cassie: *they got all spit on them and, they got food stuck in and everyone takes them out and they go ≤mimicking≥ ooh look this is my brace* </>
Peter: <nv> laugh </nv>
Cassie: *It's disgusting*
Peter: *Yeah but if I were gonna eat I'd take them out ii, then I'd put them*
(41001)

To sum up, teenagers go to great lengths mimicking other speakers often in an exaggerated way. By repeating the words of others in a creative ways they can establish an affective attachment to the hearer.

I have so far not discussed the frequencies of *look* in different functions. A quantitative analysis can however give a profile of how adolescents use *look* to perform different tasks in the conversation. The frequencies of the different functions are shown in Table 8.3. The table indicates that *look* is frequently used by teenagers for turn-taking and especially for topic-shift. The high frequency for argumentation reflects the fact that adolescents use *look* for playful fighting. Another interesting observation is the high frequency of *look* in reported speech.

Table 8.3 The functional distribution of the discourse marker *look* in the material

Function	Number
Explanation	37
Turn-taking/interruption	16
Topic shift	82
Argumentative	34
Look + escalation	6
Look in reported speech	33
Ambiguous examples	78

In addition *look* conveys a number of subjective meanings which do not appear from the table above. It can convey impoliteness, power, irony, solidarity, camaraderie, etc. These meanings emerge in the interaction and are used by speakers to construct a particular identity.

4.2 *Listen*

There were fewer examples of *listen* than of *look* corresponding to the fact that it was only used to draw attention to what is said ('listen to what I say'). *Listen* is confrontational as indicated by its collocations *listen here, look listen, now listen, alright listen, okay listen mum, right listen yeah.* Like *look* it was a feature of involved story-telling and of reported speech:

(18) Cassie: *It's got loads of stuff and it's got Madonna on it.*
Josie: <unclear>
Cassie: *I let him borrow it. Everyone said don't lend it to him,* ***listen****, they goes don't lend it to him, don't, you won't get it back <unclear> he'll give it back.* (32912)

In (19) it is repeated to keep the listener's attention:

(19) John: *Can you all bring your <unclear> please.*
Peter: *<nv> scream </nv> Oh guess what, yeah?*
John: *-Yeah <unclear>*
Peter: *There's this man I know and he's that quick yeah, he's he erm my uncle yeah, he's at college and there's this man at his college yeah and listen yeah because they've got TVs and they're allowed to stay up as long as they want. Listen, what are you watching and he goes The Tweelight (sic) Zone* (37804)

In (20) Sarah uses *listen* to draw attention to what Vicky would sound like mimicking her voice:

(20) Sarah: *My room = no it was erm, Vicky. [<name>]*
Peter: *[Didn't] sound like Vicky actually.*
Sarah: *<mimicking> Yeah agree, okay listen, you know, erm no no she's like this and she's erm are you doing anything tonight, you know, do you wanna go out or something* (42701)

4.3 *Come on*

Look and *listen* are the imperatives which are most frequently studied as attention-getters. Another imperative which can be used as an attention-getter is *come on* (see Stenström 2013). In both English and many other languages the imperative of *come* has been grammaticalized into a discourse marker drawing the hearer's attention to what follows (cf. Fedriani and Ghezzi 2014 on Italian, Greek and Latin and Stenström 2013 on Spanish). Like *listen* it is oriented to the hearer rather than the speaker. It is expressive and emotional can have a number of functional values such as hurry, impatience, encouragement. In the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* several senses are distinguished:

come on spoken

1. used for telling someone to hurry *Come on! We're going to be late*
2. used for encouraging someone to do something such as make a greater effort or stop being sad: *Come on! It's not the end of the world.*

3. used for telling someone that you do not believe what they are saying *Oh come on! Only a fool would believe a story like that.*

Come on was frequently followed by a familiarizing term of address (*come on bitch, come on fat boy, come on man, come on chaps, come on blokes, come on fool, come on gov, come on love, come on you little bastard*) intended to show intimacy and bonding even if the address form is insulting. *Come on* was whispered, shouted, or sung in the material. It was found in the combination *oh come on* (14 examples), *I mean come on* (8 examples), *so come on* (6 examples) and it was repeated in many examples. Just like *look* and *listen* it does not seem to be motivated by politeness but involves rudeness, and 'mock impoliteness'.

It is followed by questions or requests and has an encouraging, appealing or insisting function. *Come on* is for example used to encourage someone to hurry up (Stenström 2013: 55):

(21) Cassie: *Sort of thin. <nv> laugh </nv>*
Anne: *<unclear>*
Cassie: *You need treating, pull some weight. Oh God, <u>come on</u> are we going then? Come on Bon bum. Oops.*
^many: *<unclear>*
Susan: *Oh shit.* (33701)

In the example below *come on* has been inserted mid-utterance with an insisting function (sense 1):

(22) Cassie: *what's the situation with you and your wife … Shelley?*
Tricia: *<unclear>*
Susan: *Shelley… <unclear>.*
Cassie: *Yeah, what's the situation, <u>come on</u>, between you and your husband today?*
Tricia: *He said he abused you and [<unclear>]*
Cassie: [*I'm his daughter] and he abused me*! (32612)

In combination with *I mean* or *oh* it seems to have the function to tell someone that you don't believe what they're saying (sense 3):

(23) *Exams, yeah, so you don't have any lessons you just come back here, you can revise, <u>I mean come on</u> how much have we got to learn anyway in a term we haven't [done that much work.]* (42602)

Come on was also used in patterns of repetition with an escalating function. In (24) the function of *come on* needs to be understood within the larger discourse. In the sequence illustrated Cassie asks for a bit of Kit Kat. Michael repeats this as *Give me* *a bit of Kit Kat. How rude*. The request is repeated by Cassie with an increase of the focalization on the action (*Come on fucking give me some more right now*):

(24) Cassie: ***Give me a bit of Kit Kat. Give me a bit of Kit Kat. Can I have a bit*** *Peter darling*?
Michael: *Don't you ever say please?*
Cassie: *Please.*
Michael: *How rude can you get.* ***Give me a bit of Kit Kat.*** *How rude.*
Cassie: <u>*Come on fucking give some more right now*</u> ***Can I can I have a bit please.***
Michael: <unclear> *this rude English baby here* <unclear>
Cassie: ***Can I have a little*** (33704)

Repetition and escalation are used by the adolescents together to create a relationship and confirm membership in the peer group.

(25) is another example illustrating that it is important to consider the function of *come on* in relation both to the interaction and who the speakers are. Alexandra wants her can of Coke back ('give me it back'). When she does not get it she pretends to cry. *Come on* is used in a teasing way by Sibyl encouraging Alexandra not to give up:

(25) Alexandra: *Now* ***give me it back***!
Sibyl: *Mm mm. Bit* [tight though.]
Alexandra: [<mimicking crying> ***I want] my can of Coke back*** </>
Sibyl: <u>*Come on! Come on! Come on! Come on*!</u>
Alexandra: ***Gimme it!*** *No I'm turning it off now*.
Sibyl: <singing> *Woh oh oh [oh oh* (32611)

Come on has an insisting and appealing quality which lends itself to verbal play. As a result we find patterns with *come on* and repetition emerging in the course of the evolving conversation.

The telling of the story has to be dramatic to keep the audience's interest as illustrated in (26). *Come on* is used to draw attention to 'loads of food' (encouraging another person to start eating?). It also conveys hurry and impatience which is increased by repetition.

(26) *and he goes outside* <u>*and he goes*</u> *quick, quick, quick <unclear>* ***loads of food, loads of food****, quick,* <u>*come on, come on, come on*</u>*,* ***loads of food!*** *He goes <nv> slurps </nv> ah, no thanks, somebody just threw away a lovely corn on the cob* (32701)

In (27) the story retold would be less efficient without *come on* drawing overt attention to the request and how it was voiced by the speaker:

(27) *what's a matter, mate?* <unclear> *well you know and the man threw me off the train and listen, he goes come on gov, give me the letter I'll read it.* <unclear>… <unclear> *I done it silent, see.* <nv> (32701)

Come on has emotional and expressive meanings which are not shared by *look* or *listen*. It is for example used in an encouraging and appealing way which makes it suitable in requests. Like *look* or *listen* it is used with a bonding or solidarity function in particular with a familiarizing vocative; it forms patterns in the evolving conversation together with repetition which can be analysed in terms of convergence and identity-construction (Carter 2004).

4.4 *Excuse me*

The polite *excuse me* was used ironically by the adolescents: the speaker says something which is interpreted as 'polite' on the surface but is 'more deeply' interpreted as impolite (Leech 2014: 232). In Example (28) Peter has hit Robin and Robin has pushed him in return. Peter uses *excuse me (did you push me*) ironically since it is clear that politeness is not intended. Neither the question nor the answer (*no I never did push you*) are to be taken seriously. Since no politeness is intended the exchange can be described as 'banter'. The speakers are close friends who like to joke at each other's expense (Leech 2014: 120). The speakers' laughter underlines the playful character of what is going on (verbally and non-verbally). The speakers co-operate to construct a little dialogue:

(28) Sarah: *and keep still! I can't hear him …. Shut up*!
Robin: *Don't fucking hit me!*
Sarah: *Ooh!*
?: *Ooh!* <nv> *laugh* </nv>
Sarah: *Excuse me, did you just push me?*
Robin: *No I never did push you.*
^many: <nv> *laugh* </nv>…
Sarah: *All right, look! What's* (32701)

In (29) *excuse me do they look like yours?* is not a genuine question since the questioner knows that the earphones do not belong to Peter. The question is teasing or provocative and a part of a 'joking ritual' where Grace has the last word (*well they're not):*

(29) Peter: *What you doing with my earphones?*
Grace: *Excuse me do they look like yours?*
Peter: *Yes, they do.*

Grace: *Well they're not*.
Peter: *Yeah, so where'd you get them from*?
Grace: *They're mine*, (37904)

Excuse me is ironic and humorous in the context where it is used:

(30) Peter: Right, three vam=, a vampire walks into a pub and goes erm
Terry: Oh yeah. I know.
Peter: excuse me, <mimicking Romanian accent> I want a pint of blood </>.
Terry: Yeah.
Peter: And the man goes sorry mate we don't do blood. And (32617)

Attention-getters seem to be excellent devices for emotional effects, for characterizing a person in a story and to evoke laughter. In (30) *excuse me* imitates the quoted speaker (speaking with a Romanian accent). The humorous effect is created by the knowledge shared by the conversationalists that the speaker is a vampire wanting a pint of blood. From a different perspective the teller of the story shows himself to be a competent 'joke teller'.

5. Conclusion

One reason why attention-getters are so frequent in adolescent conversation (see Table 8.2) is that speakers use them to situate themselves indexically in the context and to construct an identity for themselves. Identity should not be regarded as a fixed entity which can be associated with linguistic behaviour but "as constituted in linguistic interaction" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 585). According to Carter (2004: 199), "identity is not simply a personal construct nor is it an entity which is pre-existent, singular, fixed and unchanging. It is multiple and plural and is constructed through language in social, cultural and ethnic contexts of interaction. It is dynamic and mobile and emergent, and not normally something passively received or assumed". Let us consider how speaker use attention-getting devices to construct a particular identity and differentiate themselves from adults.

An example is how adolescents make frequent use of attention-getters to interrupt the other party in the conversation or use them for abrupt or unclear topic shifts in the conversation. Adolescents seem to behave in conversation as if they follow a hidden agenda giving them the right to be rude or incoherent. In the adolescents' world impoliteness is the rule thus creating a positive self-image of the speakers, strengthening the social bonds between the participants in the conversation ('we know each other so well that we can be rude to each other').

Attention-getting markers are also an important part of how the adolescents perform as tellers of narratives or anecdotes. They can have one role in the reported speech (introducing the quotation) but have as their primary function to characterize the teller as entertaining in the eyes of the audience. Young people quote other speakers "for purposes of mimicry and parody" (Carter 2004: 205). In this way they can signal that they are individuals "who are fun to be with or who offer new perspectives on things" (Carter 2004: 109).

Speakers create patterns by means of repetition and attention-getters to increase their status as members of the peer group. They can be exaggerating or ironic and expect their verbal performance to be appreciated by the other parties in the conversation.

Speakers make more use of *look* than of *listen* and *come on*. The reason seems to be that *look* is used with more functions than *listen* and *come on*. Both *listen* and *come on* were primarily listener oriented. *Listen* (like *look*) was used for interruption and to draw the hearer's attention to something important. *Come on* was used with meanings such as appealing, encouraging, insisting. In the conversations among teenagers *listen* had the function of establishing a closer contact between the speakers. *Excuse me* was used as an attention-getter in 'non-polite' ways for parody and joking making it possible for the speaker to show off his or her verbal skills.

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Appendix

Symbol	Comment
,.?!	sentence-like boundaries
CAPS	sentence beginnings
,	brief pause
.	medium pause
…	long pause
<nv> yawn </nv>	non-verbal sound
<unclear>	unintelligible speech
[text]	single overlap
(5)	pause of five seconds
<singing> text</>	paralinguistic features

CHAPTER 9

Constellation of indexicalities and social meaning

The evolution of *cioè* in Contemporary Italian

Chiara Ghezzi

This chapter analyses the evolution of Italian *cioè* lit. 'that is' in recent diachrony. *Cioè* developed a social indexicality as in the 1980s it was associated with a young speech style. Through a corpus-based analysis of listeners' phone-ins to a radio station, this study analyses the functions of *cioè* in the speech styles of different age-cohorts and its diachronic evolution over the last thirty years. The evolution of *cioè* shows that speakers employ it creatively, through a progressive bleaching of its original semantic and pragmatic values. The expansion of its functions and contexts of occurrence is so extensive that the expression became stigmatized as a 'verbal tic' characteristic of the language spoken by an age-cohort of speakers. These same social values are at the origin of the progressive decline of *cioè* in new generations of young speakers and in the community as a whole.

Keywords: *cioè*, reformulation markers, Contemporary Italian, social indexicality, age-based varion

1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the evolution of social meanings attached to the discourse marker *cioè* 'in other words / that is to say / or better' in the recent diachrony of Contemporary Italian, i.e. from 1976 to 2010.

Cioè has originally pragmaticalized through a rebracketing of the demonstrative *ciò* 'that' and the third person singular of present indicative of the verb *è* 'is'. Its original syntactic structure and semantic value is similar to Lat. *id est*. The form has a long history in the written records of Italian, as its first attestation goes back to the 13th century (DELI, s.v.).

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The marker structurally derives from the corresponding Italian adverb. As a discourse marker *cioè* is traditionally described as having a reformulating and corrective value (Bazzanella 1995: 248–249; cf. Examples 1 and 2).

(1) *Sono arrivato tre giorni fa,* ***cioè*** *mercoledì.* (Treccani, s.v.)
'I arrived three days ago, **that-is** on Wednesday'

(2) *Ti telefonerò;* ***cioè****, verrò io personalmente.* (Treccani, s.v.)
'I'll call you, **or-better**, I'll come in person'

Markers with reformulating or corrective values have been thoroughly defined, studied and described in Romance languages (see, among others, Gülich and Kotschi 1983, 1995; Roulet 1987; Rossari 1994; Kotschi 2001; Briz 2001, 2002; Cuenca 2003). This is also true for Contemporary Italian, as *cioè* has been the subject of a number of studies moving from the 1980s (e.g. Berretta 1984; Bazzanella 1985, 1995, 2001, 2011; Manzotti 1999; Fuchs 2004; Siemianow 2006; Dal Negro and Fiorentini 2014), none of which however have considered its sociolinguistic stratification.

Descriptive studies of spoken language consider *cioè* as the unmarked form within the repertoire of reformulation markers (RM) along with forms as *voglio dire* 'I want to say', *intendo dire* 'I mean to say', *diciamo* 'let's say', *in altre parole* 'in other words' (Bazzanella 1995: 248–249). In Prague School terms this means that it has more functions than other markers, that its frequency is higher, that its distributional restrictions are smaller and that it can be used in the place of other RMs (cf. also Pons Bordería 2014: 111).

As a matter of fact, in addition to the prototypical reformulation value, in the spoken language at particular moments in recent history, *cioè* has also acquired a number of other pragmatic values which may be subject to age-graded variation and to changes in speakers' preferences with time.

This is clear if one considers examples such as (3) below uttered by a teenager in the late 1970s during a telephone call to a radio station, where the uses of *cioè* cannot be interpreted as reformulations, as it is difficult to identify the item being reformulated and the reformulation as such.

(3) *il fatto è che anche se scappi di casa: (.)* ***cioè:*** *ci sono* ***cioè*** *io che ho: ad esempio qundic'anni ci sono i problemi di: non so dov- la casa di di come campare (.) di dove trovare i soldi per andare avanti (.). e poi c'è sempre il fatto del* ***cioè*** *delle dei genitori che che chiamano la pula e* ***cioè*** *ti rimandano a casa come niente*
(15_25_d_d_1980_LUI)
'The thing is that even if you run away from home, **that-is,** there are **that-is** me that I am for example fifteen there are problems, I don't know, your house, how you get by, where you find money to get by. And then there is always the

thing, **that-is**, of your parents that call the cops and **that-is** they easily send you back home'

An impressionistic survey conducted through N-Gram viewer (smoothing of 3, Michel *et alii* 2011) on the frequency of the adverb *cioè* in written texts shows that its use peaked in the 18th century and, again in the 1950s, after which it began to decrease once more.

During the second half of the 20th century, and especially in the late 70s the discourse marker progressively became a very frequent catchword among younger speakers to the extent that those years are known as *gli anni del* cioè 'the age of *cioè*' (Goldoni 1977: 10; Dal Negro and Fiorentini 2014: 96). *Cioè* was both flagged and stigmatized already in the late 70s and early 80s. Consider for instance these comments on the use of the marker by Luca Goldoni in the introduction to his book entitled *Cioè*.

> *Quando parlo con un ragazzo al primo "cioè" mi concentro e dico stiamo attenti, adesso puntualizza meglio. Al secondo "cioè" strizzo gli occhi e mi sforzo per non perdere neppure una sfumatura. Al terzo "cioè" la mia tensione è allo spasimo. Poi mi lascio andare come un naufrago e non seguo più le capriole del discorso. Certo, certo, ripeto stancamente.*
> *Una volta tentai di spiegare a mio figlio: se, prima di parlare, ti concentrassi un attimo sul pensiero da esprimere, eviteresti almeno dieci "cioè". Ma mi sono accorto che era un suggerimento patetico, ridicolo come quelli classici di una volta: ricordati che tuo padre mangiava la polenta e ne aveva di grazia. Contro "cioè" non c'è nulla da fare, è una specie di lubrificante che permette qualsiasi discorso, qualsiasi cambiamento d'umore, qualsiasi contraddizione. L'altro giorno un amico di mio figlio cui avevo chiesto dove andava in vacanza quest'estate ha risposto cominciando con "cioè". Una ragazza cui avevo chiesto se le era piaciuto* Cadaveri eccellenti *mi ha detto: "sì, cioè no"*.
> (Goldoni 1977: 8–9)
> 'When I talk to a teenager, the moment I hear the first *cioè*, I concentrate and I tell myself "be careful, now he is going to clarify better". At the second *cioè* I squint and I try not to miss a nuance of meaning. At the third *cioè* I am in agony. Then I decide to let myself drown and not to follow the somersaults of speech. Sure, sure, I say wearily.
> Once I tried to explain to my son: if you concentrated a moment on the thought you want to express before speaking, you would avoid at least ten *cioè*. But I realized it was a pathetic suggestion, ridiculous as those of the old times gone by: remember that your father ate polenta and was very gracious. Against *cioè* there is nothing you can do, it is a sort of lubricant that allows any speech, any changes in mood, any contradiction. The other day a friend of my son, whom I had asked where he was going on holiday this summer, answered beginning with *cioè*. A girl whom I had asked if she liked *Cadaveri eccellenti* told me: "yes, *cioè* no."'

Moreover, around the same time, in October 1980, a famous teen magazine for girls was founded with the emblematic name of *Cioè* (http://www.cioe.it/).

The famous Italian comedian Carlo Verdone, in one of his sketches of the early 1980s used to play the character of Ruggero, a young guy who lived in the commune of the Children of eternal love, and who imbued his conversations with *cioè*.[1]

Cioè, today, is still frequent in the spoken language, although it is no longer associated with youthspeak and is rather considered a 'totem-word of the 1977 students' movement' (Bartezzaghi 2010: 23).

Beeching (2016: 4) underlines how the association of discourse and pragmatic markers in general "with naturalness and friendliness" leads to their propensity to project a friendly sociability. This implies that the makers can also be used to implement social indexicality. This notion becomes particularly useful to analyse the trajectory of use of *cioè* in recent diachrony and to explain its different uses within society.

The notion of indexicality, i.e. the property of a sign to point to (or to index) some object in the context in which it occurs, was originally introduced by Charles Sanders Peirce who in his semiotic theory describes it as one of the fundamental sign modalities. Labov (1972: 178–180) also highlighted the links between linguistic signs and social features, distinguishing between "indicators" (variables which are present, but not commented upon or even recognised by speakers), "markers" (variables which show consistent stylistic and social stratification but are not open to social awareness) and "stereotypes" (variables which are topics of social comment and which can be subject to correction and hypercorrection). Silverstein generalizes this insight to a wider range of sociolinguistic phenomena through the introduction of different orders of indexicality. When variables (first-order indexicals) are "swept up into an ideologically driven metapragmatics" they develop into second-order indexicals (Silverstein 2003: 219). At this stage speakers notice the linguistic forms and attribute meanings to them that are shaped by ideologies about e.g. class or correctness. Third-order indexicals emerge when a feature characterized by second order indexicality comes to be perceived as meaningful in terms of another ideological value, for instance locality, by drawing on the belief that places and linguistic features are essentially linked (Johnstone 2011b: 164). Other social values may also be attached to features such as speaker age, as this chapter will try to show. When this happens the forms become markers for social values, to the point that they serve to construct stereotypes by becoming "overt topics of social comment" (Labov 1994: 78).

1. Many Carlo Verdone's sketches performing the character of Ruggero are available on Youtube, e.g. at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EEhWevVc0M.

The process by which sets of linguistic forms become ideologically linked with social identities has been called 'enregisterment' (Agha 2003, 2006). This process occurs through metapragmatic activities that permeate discourse. These are activities in which "people show one another how forms and meanings are to be linked" (Johnstone 2011a: 657). This happens through a variety of discursive practices, as for instance face-to-face conversational interaction, personal experience narrative, but also a range of public discourses (as Goldoni's book *Cioè*) and performances (as in Carlo Verdone's sketches).

Moving from these premises, this chapter aims to investigate how the discourse marker *cioè* is used by different age-cohorts of speakers to convey their identities in the local context of interaction.

It will be argued that *cioè,* and more generally pragmatic and discourse markers, are items which are commonly employed by speakers to convey their subjectivities and identities in the local context of interaction. This chapter in particular focuses on the age-based stratification of the pragmatic values of *cioè* and on their diachronic developments in two comparable communities of speakers in 1976–1980 and in 2010.

The chapter also analyses the indexicalities and social meanings that emerge at the pragmatic level in relation to the use of *cioè* by different age-cohorts of speakers. Building on the notion of indexical order, it will be argued that social meanings which have been progressively attached to *cioè* constitute in themselves an indexical field, or a constellation of ideologically related meanings activated in the situated use of the marker.

This chapter will first present the corpus of spoken data upon which the research is based and the methodologies of analysis (Section 2). The discussion will continue with the description of most frequent pragmatic functions of *cioè* according to previous works and with the examination of the functions it performs within the corpus, followed by an analysis of its distribution (Section 3). The chapter closes with a general discussion and some conclusions (Section 4).

2. Data and methods

Data analysis is based on a spoken corpus of listeners' phone-ins to a radio station based in Milan (Corpus Errepi). The corpus gathers conversations collected in 1976–1980 and in 2010, and is stratified by the sex and age of the speakers as described in Table 9.1 below.

The selection of speakers was not random but relied on the listeners' information about their age and, secondly, on available personal information (e.g. education, family background, and city of residence). When speakers gave contact

Table 9.1 Number of speakers in each age-group, by sex

	1976–1980		2010	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
15–25 – young speakers	6	6	6	6
26–45 – young adult speakers	6	6	6	6
46–65 – adult speakers	6	6	6	6
66–90 – elder speakers	–	–	6	6
Total	18	18	24	24

information, they were directly asked for more details on their sociolinguistic situation. Only speakers living in Lombardy were chosen. In the 1976–1980 corpus it was not possible to find phone calls in which speakers belonged to the older age-cohort, a clear indication of preferences for the use of the radio by the younger generation in those years.

The analysis of the relationship between age-graded variation and diachronic change in preferences within the community is tackled, through quantitative and qualitative methodologies, taking into consideration the frequency of occurrence of *cioè* in different age-cohorts, in correlation with its pragmatic functions within a specific structural context.

As it is widely acknowledged (cf. Beeching and Detges 2014; Briz Gómez and Val.Es.Co 2003; Salameh Jiménez *et alii* in this volume), there is a correlation between the positions a marker occupies, the discourse units such positions refer to and the pragmatic functions performed. In this paper 'position' is understood in terms of 'discourse units' on the basis of the *Theory of discourse units* proposed by Briz and Grupo Val.Es.Co. (2003), which has the advantage of highlighting how the structural, social and informative dimensions interact in defining the structure of conversation (cf. also Salameh Jiménez *et alii* in this volume).

The model identifies three discourse dimensions (the informative, the structural and the social level), six corresponding discourse units and four positions (initial, medial, final, independent). The relevant dimension, considered within this analysis, is represented by the structural level and corresponding discourse units, namely

1. interventions, described as the maximal monological unit uttered by the same speaker and surrounded by pauses. Interventions can be initiative, if they trigger another intervention, reactive, if they are triggered by an intervention, or reactive-initiative;
2. acts, the immediate constituents of interventions, the monological discourse units with (full) propositional content and with non-propositional subacts

attached to them. An act has clear formal boundaries and is independent, *i.e.* it is the minimum requirement for an intervention to exist;

3. subacts, the immediate constituents of acts. They have clear formal boundaries, full propositional content and are dependent on a wider structure, which hosts it. Subacts can have propositional meaning (substantive subacts) or non-propositional meaning (adjacent subacts). The latter divide into interpersonal (IAS), textual (TAS), topicalized (TopAS) and modal (MAS) subacts. Discourse and pragmatic markers usually operate as adjacent subacts (cf. Salameh Jiménez *et alii* in this volume).

This chapter will argue that this theory of discourse units, summarily outlined above,[2] can be of great help in the study under discussion, especially in determining the structural contexts of occurrence of *cioè,* their correlation with synchronic variation within different age-cohorts of speakers and possible changes in their preferences in the use of *cioè* with time.

The analysis of the structural contexts of occurrence of *cioè* aims at uncovering correlations between the speaker's age, the position of the marker and its pragmatic functions.

3. The pragmatic functions of *cioè*: Background and findings

The synchronic description of the pragmatic values associated with the marker *cioè* in the corpus Errepi can be considered to be well-established, thanks to a number of previous works that describe the use of the marker in Contemporary Italian (Berretta 1984; Bazzanella 1985, 1995, 2001, 2011; Manzotti 1999; Fuchs 2004; Siemianow 2006; Dal Negro and Fiorentini 2014). *Cioè* typically introduces a change in the uttering perspective, because of a retro-interpretation of a preceding discourse movement, which also includes "discourse memory" and shared knowledge (Rossari 1994: 9; Pons Bordería 2014: 110–111).

All descriptions concur regarding the following functions attributed to *cioè*, exemplified in (a) and (b) below:

a. Paraphrastic reformulation, either induced by the same speaker (self-reformulation) or by a different speaker (hetero-reformulation). The marker underlines a semantic equivalence between the two utterances, which is made explicit by the presence of *cioè.*

2. For a detailed overview of the Model Val.Es.Co. adopted in this analysis see Salameh Jiménez *et alii* in this volume.

(4) *è gente che anche voi dovete mandar fuori dalle vostre file* ***cioè*** *cercare di eliminare* (15_25_d_u_1980_SAL)[3]
'Those are people you should expel from your ranks **that-is** you should try to get rid of'

The value of paraphrastic reformulation is evident in Example (4), where a first formulation ('you should expel from your ranks') is rephrased for the sake of clarity ('that-is you should try to get rid of'). Since the second formulation is an appendage to the first one, it can be considered to be subordinated to it. That is, in cases of paraphrastic reformulation, *cioè* precedes a subordinate subact, which, together with the directive act it is appended to ('those are people you should expel from your ranks'), builds a reformulation move.

b. Non-paraphrastic, self- or hetero- reformulation (which in extreme cases can amount to a denial). Within these contexts the marker procedurally signals a change in the point of view, which it indexes. This pragmatic function is well represented by Example (5).

(5) *Io appartengo a quella generazione che non ha mai avuto il posto fisso* ***cioè*** *io ho quarant'anni laureato col master* (24_45_s_u_03241009_UGO)
'I belong to the generation that has never had a permanent job **that-is** I am forty years old with a bachelor and master degree'

The non-paraphrastic reformulation implies a polyphony of voices and/or points of view, which is exemplified in (5), as 'I never had a permanent job, but as a matter of fact, and seen from another perspective, I am fully entitled to have one'. The presence of *cioè* in these contexts underlines a retro-interpretation of the initial point of view, in relation to which the speaker may distance himself to various degrees (Pons Bordería 2014: 110).

The discrimination between the two types of reformulation is grounded on the basis of the semantico-pragmatic function of the different markers. In the paraphrastic type, the marker allows a predication of identity. Two 'points of view' are presented as equivalent (expel = get rid of). In the non-paraphrastic type, instead, the two points of view are not considered equivalent, as the one introduced by *cioè* can be understood as a reconsideration of the first according to the speech situation perspective.

This process gives rise to a more or less pronounced distance-taking in relation to the point of view expressed at first. Different degrees of distance are possible from recapitulation, re-examination, distance, up to renunciation (cf. Rossari 1994: 22).

3. All the examples in this section are taken from the corpus used for this research (corpus *Errepi*) which gathers phone conversations broadcasted on the radio (see Section 2).

The same polyphony of voices leads to corrective uses of *cioè*, here exemplified in (6), where the marker underlines a correction of a previous statement.

(6) *Mio padre dei giorni, **cioè** delle sere, fa delle scenate assurde a mia madre* (15_25__d_d1980_FUGA)
'My father some days, **or-better** some evenings, makes some absurd scenes to my mother'

When *cioè* acquires these pragmatic values, it typically introduces a directive subact, if both points of view are explicit, or an act, if the first point of view is left implicit. However, especially in hetero-reformulations the marker moves from monologic to dialogic values, and can also fill the initial slot of an intervention, as is exemplified in (7).

(7) *PREMIC: (3.0) ma per esempio. e su quando concretamente. cioè cos'è successo concretamente che ti ha fatto venire il bisogno la voglia di scappare di casa.* (15_25_d_d_1980_FUGA)
'but for instance, and on what in particular, I mean, what happened in concrete (terms) that made you want to run away from home'
*LUI: (–) **cioè?***
'what do you mean?'

c. Planning device. *Cioè* also performs another function which is more rarely taken into consideration in descriptive grammars. This function of *cioè* is exemplified in (8).

(8) *ti dico la verità. mi faccio colp- **cioè** è colpa mia.* (46_65_s_u_09225_MA)
'I tell you the truth, I make fault, **that-is** it is my fault'

The corrective value of *cioè* can be used strategically to signal formulation and planning-related problems. In such contexts the speaker signals to the interlocutor that he intends to keep the floor, although he has a formulation problem. This use of *cioè* is typical after false starts or hesitation phenomena. In this function *cioè* is generally in a medial position in acts or subacts.

d. Modal values (boosting or hedging). In some contexts within the corpus, the marker also acquires modal values that increase or decrease the illocutionary force of a speech act (cf. also Pons Bordería 2014 on similar values of Sp. *osea* 'that is'). Both the boosting and the hedging values are exemplified in (9) and in (10), respectively.

(d.1) Modal (boosting)

(9) *il sindaco della Louisiana non esiste. **cioè.*** (15_25_s_d_051911m)
'the mayor of Lousiana does not exist. **that-is**.'

The boosting value of *cioè* in these cases is acquired through an inference, drawing on the prototypical paraphrastic value of the marker. The speaker lets the interlocutor infer that he may have much to say about, and disagree with, concerning the previous statement. The use of *cioè* represents an interaction-managing strategy by means of which the speaker calls the interlocutor to virtually take the floor and draw a plausible inference about the supposed state of affairs which the speaker left unexpressed on purpose.

This use of *cioè* is based on syntactic vagueness, or "clausal ellipsis", as it ideally introduces "unfinished ends of sentences for which the speaker knows that the hearer could finish the utterance with more informative noun phrases" Cutting (2007: 225).[4]

(d.2) Modal (hedging)

(10) *io:* ***cioè****: non che sia sbagliato (.) questo. però bisogna prendere una decisione.* (15_25_s_u_07234_SEL)
'I, **that-is**, I don't think it is wrong, this idea, but we have to make a decision'

Hedging values are also derived from the prototypical paraphrastic value and draw on the inference that a paraphrasis is always an approximation (more or less precise) of a statement. In such contexts the use of *cioè* metalinguistically signals a less-than-literal resemblance between a chosen expression or speech act and a potentially more precise alternative with the same reference. In other words its use implies a relativisation of the propositional content of the utterance. *Cioè* signals an interpretive resemblance in form rather than in content.

It is precisely this value which is at the origin of both hedging and hesitation/planning uses. The common denominator between the two lies in the fact that the conversational implicature arising is that the speaker, through the use of *cioè*, may suggest that a particular reformulation of a speech act or word may not be the most appropriate one to use (e.g. for social or stylistic reasons). Evidently, the relation between these two types of use must be construed as a continuum rather than as discrete and clearly identifiable functions.

The common denominator between these two uses is that they restrict the meaning of the modified unit to a specific scope, which relaxes the illocutionary force of the speech act, the category boundaries, or the linguistic connotation of the chosen expression.

Hedging and boosting values seem to have a complementary distribution, as the first more frequently occur in the left periphery of acts and the latter in the right periphery. However, positions are not fixed as *cioè* can appear with similar values also in the left periphery of acts, subacts or whole interventions.

4. See also Recanati (2002, 2004) and Fedriani and Miola (2012).

e. Presentative values. The use of *cioè* can also have demarcative values, as it can be used by speakers to take the floor. This value of *cioè* is exemplified in (11).

(11) ***cioè***. *io premetto che (.) voi mi crederete un sovversivo*. (15_25_d_u_19128_TU)
'**that-is**, I will start by saying that you may think me subversive'

In such contexts the marker typically occurs in the left periphery and acquires a dialogic value as it introduces whole interventions.

Whereas descriptions offer detailed overviews of uses of the marker, they usually do not address the issue of the correlation between the positions *cioè* can occupy, the discourse units such positions refer to, and the functions they express within different groups of speakers. An attempt to analyse some of these correlations in relation to a stratification of speakers in age-cohorts is presented in the following Section.

3.1 Contexts of use and age of speakers

The comparison of the frequencies of use of *cioè* in apparent time, i.e. in the two cross-sections of speakers in the 1976–1980 and in the 2010, respectively, proves rewarding (cf. Table 9.2).

Table 9.2 Data 1976–1980 and 2010 corpus

1976–80	**PR**		**NPR**		**HM**		**BM**		**PL**		**PR**		**Total**	
	AF*	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**
15–25	10	15	47	71	29	44	29	44	23	35	16	24	154	232
26–45	8	13	29	47	14	23	10	16	13	21	10	16	84	137
46–65	2	4	10	21	8	17	1	2	6	13	2	4	29	61
66–90	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	**20**	**32**	**86**	**139**	**51**	**84**	**40**	**62**	**42**	**69**	**28**	**44**	**267**	**152**
2010	**RP**		**RNP**		**MH**		**MB**		**PL**		**PR**		**Total**	
	AF	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**	**AF**	**RF**
15–25	0	0	7	15	0	0	2	4	5	11	1	2	15	33
26–45	0	0	10	15	4	6	1	1	2	3	0	0	17	25
46–65	3	5	14	24	6	10	6	10	2	3	1	2	32	56
66–90	4	9	8	17	2	4	0	0	2	4	0	2	16	34
Total	**7**	**14**	**39**	**71**	**12**	**20**	**9**	**15**	**11**	**21**	**2**	**6**	**64**	**29**

RP = Reformulation – Periphrastic, RNPv= Reformulation – Non Periphrastic, MH = Modal – Hedging, MB = Modal – Boosting, PL = Planning, PR=Presentative
* For both corpora, the counts of actual occurrences (AF = absolute frequency) have been normalized to make the quantitative analysis comparable for the two corpora analyzed. Frequency has always been normalized (RF = relative frequency) for the occurrence of *cioè* per 10000 words.

The use of *cioè* in 1976–1980 is characterized by age-grading, with a peak in frequency in the youngest age-cohort and a decrease of frequency of use of the marker with age (cf. Figure 9.1). Instead, a completely different picture can be drawn for the 2010 corpus (cf. Figure 9.1), where *cioè* is not characterized by age-grading and where the youngest age-cohort has the second lowest frequency of use of *cioè*, while adults have the highest frequency. If we assume that the adult speakers (46–65 years) in 2010 are the generation which used *cioè* in 1976, we can hypothesise that they have kept using it, albeit to a lesser degree, whereas the younger generation do not use it with a frequency similar to that of their peers in 1976 (cf. Figure 9.1).

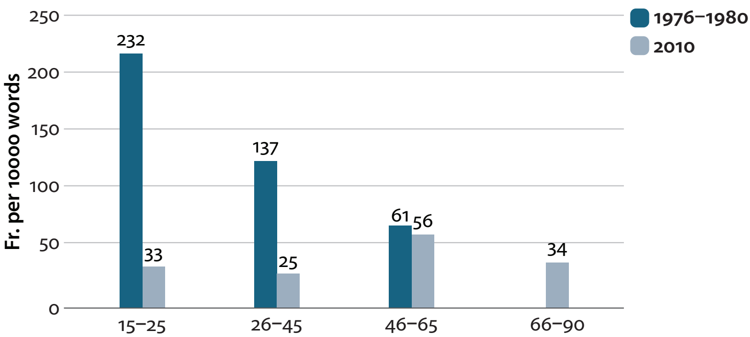

Figure 9.1 Frequency of *cioè* in 1976–1980 and in 2010

The comparison of data in real time shows that the distributional frequencies of *cioè* in both corpora (1976–1980 and 2010) are rather different as *cioè* has decreased in frequency from 1976–1980 to 2010 (cf. Table 9.2), thus highlighting a variation in the preferences of younger speakers for the use of the marker.

The study of more qualitative data on the correlations between the pragmatic functions performed by the marker (cf. §3) and the age of speakers gives a clearer picture of the distribution of *cioè*.

In the 1976–1980 corpus (Figure 9.2), *cioè* is more frequently used as a reformulation marker with non-paraphrastic value, but other functions are also attested and evenly distributed, the only exception being the reformulating paraphrastic value, which overall has the lowest frequency in all age cohorts. It is worth noting that the youngest speakers use *cioè* in its modal functions a great deal more than the adults.

Different cohorts of speakers differ in their use of *cioè* not only in terms of frequency of use, but also in relation to the pragmatic values of *cioè*. The youngest speakers use the marker more regardless of function. The 46–65 age-band use the marker the least.

A different picture can be drawn for the 2010 corpus (Figure 9.3), as the frequency of all pragmatic functions has dropped in all age cohorts, if compared with

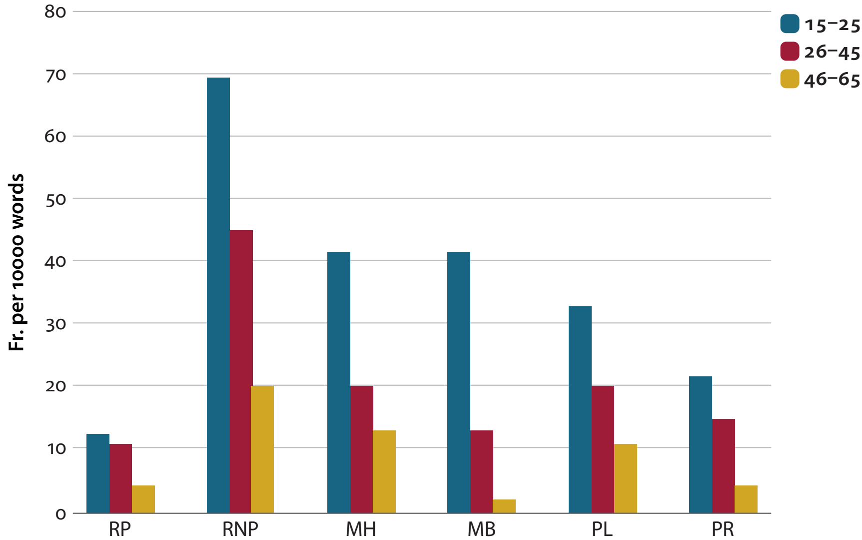

Figure 9.2 Pragmatic functions of *cioè* and age of speakers in 1976–1980

the frequency of occurrence of the marker with the same function in 1976–1980. However, it is noteworthy that the non-paraphrastic reformulating value is still the most frequent value acquired by *cioè* in all age-cohorts, that some pragmatic functions of *cioè* are not attested for young speakers (the paraphrastic reformulation and the hedging value), that adults represent the age-cohort with higher frequency of use of *cioè* with a non-paraphrastic reformulation value and with hedging and boosting values.

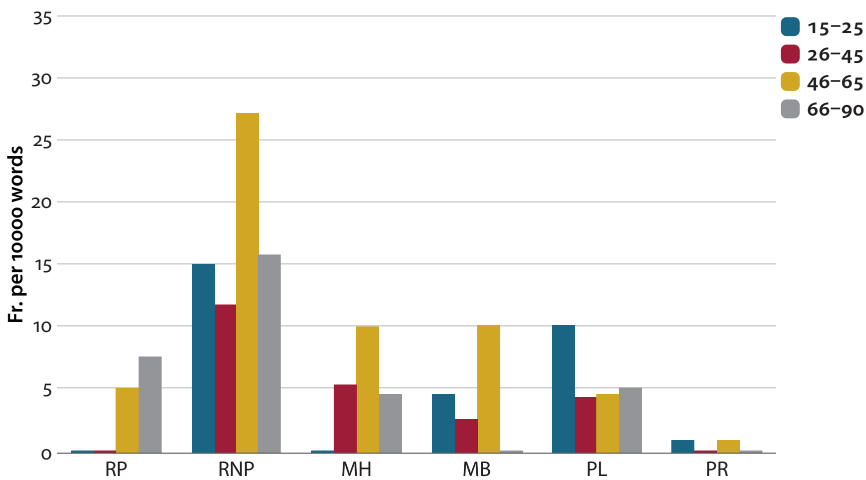

Figure 9.3 Pragmatic functions of *cioè* and age of speakers in 2010

For the 2010 corpus younger speakers use *cioè* less than in the earlier corpus. The way they use the marker is rather different from that of their peers in 1976. Only the non-paraphrastic reformulation and the planning values seem to have a significant number of occurrences. Although they use *cioè* less, they have maintained the use of the marker in its most frequent functions characteristic of younger speakers in 1976–1980 (i.e. in non-paraphrastic reformulations).

The analysis of the quantitative correlations between the position the marker occupies and the type of discourse unit in which it occurs offers interesting insights into the functional choices made by speakers within different age-cohorts.

Among the pragmatic values of *cioè,* interesting cases, which will be analysed in detail here, include the non-paraphrastic reformulation values and the boosting values. The distribution of these two functions is interesting for different reasons. The first represents the more frequent, and more prototypical, function performed by *cioè*. The second is the function whose frequency is more divergent in speakers of 1976 and 2010.

As for the non-paraphrastic reformulation value, speakers in the two corpora are consistent in their use of *cioè,* which always appears in the left periphery of acts or subacts (Figures 9.4 and 9.5). This is true for the two points of reference in time and regardless of speaker's age. However, in 2010 *cioè* is used with similar frequencies both before acts and before subacts, while speakers in 1976–1980 had a preference for its use in subacts. In 2010 young speakers also use it in the left periphery of whole interventions, mostly as a hetero non-paraphrastic reformulation.

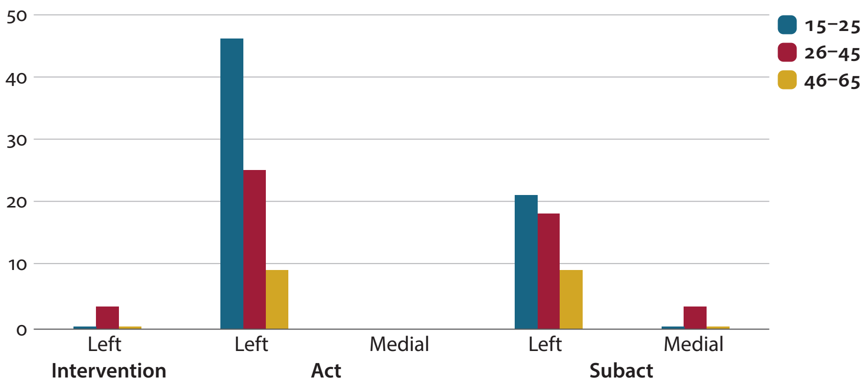

Figure 9.4 Structural embedding of non-paraphrastic reformulations and age of speakers in 1976–1980

Data therefore show that the structural embedding of *cioè* in this function has remained stable in the two communities, although its frequency has dropped in 2010.

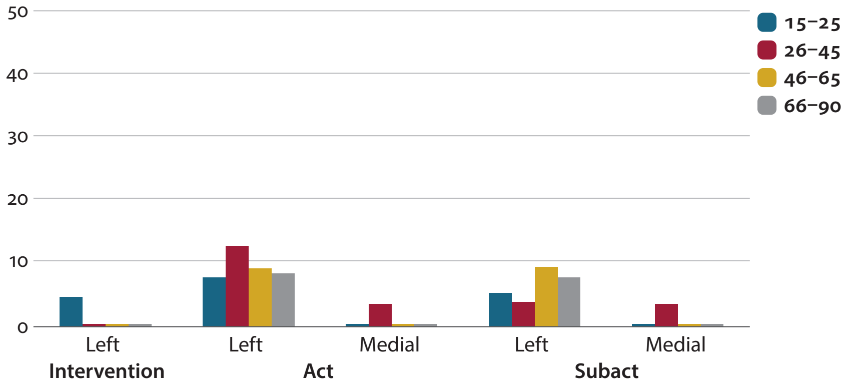

Figure 9.5 Structural embedding of non-paraphrastic reformulations and age of speakers in 2010

The analysis of structural embedding of boosting values shows a different and rather interesting picture (Figure 9.6 and 9.7).

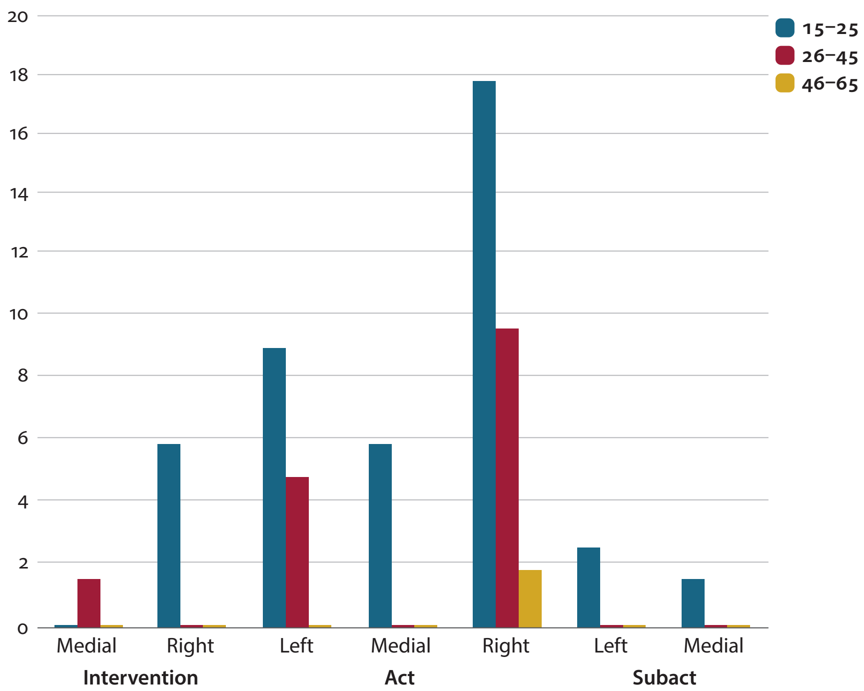

Figure 9.6 Structural embedding of boosting values and age of speakers in 1976–1980

The structural embedding of the boosting use of *cioè* in 1976–1980 (Figure 9.6) shows that it is possible to identify generational styles in terms of structural contexts of embedding. In particular, younger speakers use *cioè* in the widest variety of structural contexts, while other age cohorts use the marker only in the contexts which are more prototypical also for young speakers (*i.e.* in the left and right periphery of acts).

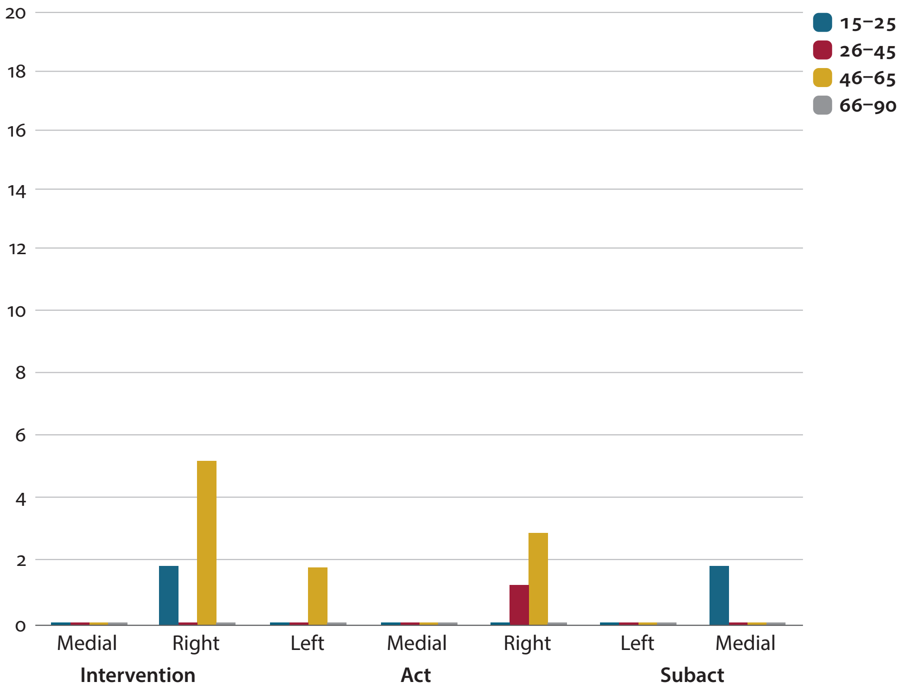

Figure 9.7 Structural embedding of boosting values and age of speakers in 2010

As for the distribution of *cioè* in 2010 (Figure 9.7), data show that adult speakers have generally maintained the use of the marker, although with a lower frequency, in the most common contexts typical of their teenage years (*i.e.* in the right periphery of interventions, in the left and right periphery of acts).

4. Concluding remarks

The trajectory of change described above for the discourse marker *cioè* represents an example of how discourse-pragmatic variables can help convey the speakers' identity in the context of interaction. Specifically, this study has concentrated on variation in the use of the marker in correlation with the age of speakers. In this regard, the rapid evolution that characterizes the use of *cioè* shows interesting patterns in terms of both intergenerational variation and changes in speakers' preferences with time. This is true for the pragmatic functions performed by *cioè* as well as for its structural contexts of use.

As for the variation in use with age, different generations of speakers are characterized by specific conversational styles which include both a variable distribution of frequencies of *cioè* and corresponding pragmatic uses in structural contexts. Younger speakers in 1976–1980 are characterised by a socially connotated use of *cioè*, as they use the marker with a quantitative frequency that exceeds all other age-cohorts in the same years. The marker is also used by younger speakers in qualitatively different ways as in some pragmatic values *cioè* is overextended creatively in structural contexts which are unusual or rare in other age-cohorts.

As far as changes in speakers' preferences with time, young speakers today have dropped the frequent use of *cioè* and have also reduced consequently its structural contexts of use. Adult speakers in 2010, who may represent the age-cohort corresponding to young speakers in 1976–1980, have partially abandoned the use of *cioè* that characterized their teenage years. Therefore, the high number of different functions performed by *cioè*, typical of the youth language in 1976–1980, tend to be abandoned over time by the age-cohort that first began the overextension process, but also by other age-cohorts, and by the community as a whole.

The use of *cioè,* a variable belonging to the discourse-pragmatic level, can thus help convey the speakers' identity in the local context of interaction as its frequency of use, and corresponding functions, are subject to change, and this change corresponds to a social stratification which is age-based.

This pattern of evolution may have to do precisely with the status of *cioè* as a discourse-pragmatic variable. The changes of frequency of use of *cioè* in younger generations of speakers in 1976 and in 2010 are revealing in this respect. Variables operating at the discourse-pragmatic level, of which speakers are more linguistically and socially aware, seem to be subject to change in the direction of an ongoing change in the linguistic community, even in older age cohorts, even long after the end of the so-called 'critical period'. This is probably one of the reasons why discourse-pragmatic variables are less stable, move through the community and are more available to speakers to take on social meaning by virtue of their temporariness (cf. also Bazzanella 2006). It is possible to hypothesize that speakers do not have equal access in terms of perception towards different levels of language, so that features belonging to the discourse-pragmatic level can be more easily perceived as more or less fashionable or outdated (Niedzielski and Preston 2000). This is also probably why discourse pragmatic variables more often develop into 'catchphrases' which become the object of metadiscourse comments by the linguistic community.

It is possible to identify different types of indexicalities developed by *cioè* which can be correlated to sociolinguistic variation. *Cioè* was used by young speakers in 1976–1980 to signal informality, solidarity, and in-group identity, it thus developed a second order indexicality. These social meanings may have had a role in accelerating the spread of the marker through that age cohort. In other words, when *cioè* acquired the social meaning of expressing in-group identity, more speakers, young or adults, who wanted to identify with youthspeak more frequently adopted the variable in their speech and extended its use to non-prototypical contexts up to the point that it was used as a highly desemanticized marker, extremely common and versatile, which speakers often used as a mere filler word.

The analysis of structural contexts of use of *cioè* confirms this hypothesis, as the marker became more frequent, it was also used in a wider variety of structural contexts and with a higher number of pragmatic functions. It is possible to assume that the appearance of variables with a high social meaning comes frequently in structural contexts that are more prominent, and therefore less prototypical and more marked for that form. For *cioè* this is the case of the right periphery of interventions in modal boosting values. These contexts are also highly salient on a social level and represent, therefore, the perfect *loci* for speakers who want to identify strongly with a community of speakers.

Young speakers of 1976–1980, as they grew into adults, have dropped their frequency rates of use of *cioè* in the direction of an ongoing change, but at the same time they have maintained *cioè* in more prototypical contexts (i.e. with non-paraphrastic reformulations).

Its use, with time, acquired a social third-order indexicality as it became more and more associated with the particular speech style of teenagers. In the community, stereotypes arose linking the variable (*cioè*) to young speakers (e.g. the birth of the teen magazine *Cioè*). Older speakers stigmatized its use and metadiscoursive and prescriptive comments were made about the use of *cioè* by young speakers (cf. Goldoni's book *Cioè* 1977, comedians' performances).

The social meanings attached to the marker probably had a role in its progressive abandonment in upcoming younger generations. This may have paved the way for innovations through new function-form configurations in new generations of young speakers. It is interesting to note, in this regard, that the analysis of more frequent markers used today by younger speakers shows that teenagers have a high preference for *tipo* lit. 'type' (Ghezzi 2013). Not only have young speakers today dropped the frequency of use of *cioè*, but they have also substituted it with a marker with a different pragmatic function (reformulating value, *cioè,* vs exemplifying value, *tipo*). However, what has remained stable is the inclination of teenagers to overextend a form, among those available within their repertoire.

It is probably this peculiar style of use which makes teenagers more noticeable on a linguistic level – as their interlocutors may more easily perceive the overextended form – and which may favour the development of social indexicalities in speakers belonging to other age cohorts and in teenagers themselves.

Social meanings which progressively have been attached to *cioè* constituted themselves an indexical field. If *cioè* characterized the speech of teenagers in 1976, it does not in 2010. Moreover, the marker acquired a social indexicality precisely in the late 1970s, and today its use is still associated with the language used in those years which are known as 'the years of *cioè*'. This rapid evolution shows how the indexical field associated with the form, i.e. its stigmatization and the attitudes of speakers through the years, motivated the diffusion of the form in the beginning, but, subsequently, its progressive abandonment in society.

Young people or adults can use forms drawn from stereotyped lists of features to perform an identity, often in ironic, semi-serious ways. This use of features presupposes that there is a correlation between being young and young-sounding speech ('young' forms can thus be used even by people who are not young but who want to perform a youthful *persona*).

This recursive work on the indexical value of variables creates an indexical field, which is a representation of a continuous process of reinterpretation and is constituted by a constellation of meanings which are ideologically linked to the style of a particular group of people (Eckert 2008: 464). *Cioè,* in this perspective, can be considered a stylistic variable whose social meaning is neither unique nor fixed; rather, it draws on a social indexical field which speakers employ to reflect or reassert their particular place in the social space, and to make ideological moves; in other words, the use of *cioè* especially in the late 1970s did not simply invoke a pre-existing indexical value, but also claimed to create a new one.

In turn, it gained social meaning through its use 'across' styles, which included combinations it entered into and ways in which it became modified. This is precisely what has happened to *cioè* when younger speakers in the late 1970s began to overextend its use in a number of different structural contexts which were unusual in other age-cohorts. In this case changes implied new function-form configurations, new meaning connotations, based on cognitive associations with aspects of the context in which the variable was used, as well as on speakers' stances.

The different layers of indexicality attached to the marker did not progress gradually, but developed simultaneously and in multiple directions, therefore creating a multi-layered indexical fluid field, a "constellation of ideologically related meanings" any of which can be invoked in context (Eckert 2008: 454). In the case of *cioè* at first the development of these social values may have had a role in the propagation of the marker within a specific group of speakers, who used it as a marker of social belonging. However, in the long run, these same social values seem to have set the premises for the overall decrease of the marker within the speakers' community. *Cioè* has become stigmatized, precisely because it was used by young speakers in the way they used it. These stigmatizations may have had a role in its progressive abandonment by new incoming generations. Social salience has promoted propagation, but also abandonment in the long run. When markers are at the right end of the trajectory of change, as they are almost entirely desemanticized, completely pragmaticalized, extremely frequent, routinized, and polyfunctional, they also become socially salient and, as "meaningless filler words", stigmatized. (Beeching, 2007: 101).

As a result of these peculiarities of the indexical fields, changes of the social meanings attached to them can be rapid and decisive, also depending on the rapidity of socio-cultural changes. The transformations that Italy was experiencing in the late 1970s may have had a role in fostering the rapid changes in function-form configurations which were seen to be characteristic of *cioè*. It is probably not by chance that the marker became the "totem-word of the 1977 students' movement" (Bartezzaghi 2010: 76).

Social life is a continual process of constructing categories and identities and linguistic style is just an additional resource for this process of construction.

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CHAPTER 10

"Proper is whatever people make it"

Stance, positionality, and ideological packaging in a dinnertime conversation

Mary-Caitlyn Valentinsson

This study analyzes a family dinnertime conversation in order to understand how language ideologies are created through everyday talk. Drawing on Conversation/Discourse Analysis and linguistic anthropology, this study address three questions central to this volume: (1) What and how do linguistic forms convey a speaker's subjectivity and identity in the local context of interaction and to what level of language do they belong? (2) Which forms position individual speakers or groups of speakers socially and culturally (because of their association with particular situations or situational dimensions)? And (3), what are the socio-cultural norms for language usage, which enable speakers to represent their identities? I argue that a range of linguistic stance-taking strategies, and the way these strategies create positionalities for interlocutors, illustrate the relationship between ideology and everyday interaction. This paper also argues for the importance of understanding the sociocultural context of talk in order to interpret interactional data.

Keywords: language ideology, stance, positionality, Dominican Spanish, Ecuadorian Spanish

1. Constructing ideology via stance and positionality

Language ideologies can be understood as the concepts, ideas, and beliefs we hold as 'common sense', 'obvious', or 'natural' about the nature of particular languages or language varieties. While these beliefs can often be benign, they frequently work through distortion, falsity, and mystification. This is particularly true in the case of ideologies about 'standard language(s)'. As Lippi-Green (2012) explains, standard language ideologies draw heavily on the authority of cultural institutions and vaguely defined notions of 'expertise' in order to legitimize certain varieties as 'proper', 'correct', or 'standard'. The negative effects of these processes of distortion,

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falsity, and mystification provide a useful lens for studying hierarchy and power in society (Woolard 1992: 236–238). Woolard's assertion that "language ideology is a mediating link between social structures and forms of talk" (1992: 235) tells us that ideology and day-to-day interaction are crucially linked. The nature of these links, however, remains underspecified. In this study, I show how three of the driving questions of this volume can address this issue by illustrating how stance-taking moves in discourse generate claims which, packaged together, construct broader 'positionalities' for speakers in an interaction.

The notion of *positionality* has, in various forms, been crucial to studies of language, society, and interaction – including how these topics relate to ideology. Erving Goffman has been central to this project, namely for his work on participant roles, framing, and footing. These three concepts highlight the various relationships that a participant in an interaction can have to(wards) statements in discourse (Goffman 1981) the relationship of a given participant's role with respect to another's (Goffman 1979) and the ways in which interactions can be understood in contextually appropriate ways (Goffman 1974). Although Goffman does not directly define the notion of positionality, his ideas have formed much of the foundational thinking about the ways in which people orient to different facets of a given interaction.

Within the last 15 years, sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists have attempted to further refine this notion through the concept of *stance* (Englebretson 2007; Jaffe 2009). The study of stance within sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, linguistic anthropology/ethnography, and related disciplines has been robust, although in many cases the precise uses of terms like *stance* or *positionality* is not always explicitly defined. Jaffe proposes two general uses for these ideas: *positionality* is given a broader interpretation, as "how speakers and writers are necessarily engaged in positioning themselves vis-à-vis their words and texts (which are embedded in histories of linguistic and textual production), their interlocutors and audiences (both actual and virtual/projected/imagined), and with respect to a context that they simultaneously respond to and construct linguistically" (Jaffe 2009: 2). *Stance* is given a more narrow interpretation, namely as the act of "taking up a position with respect to the form or the content of one's utterance" (Jaffe 2009: 1). In more precise terms, stance has also been described as "a pragmatic function whereby the speaker's type and degree of commitment, or stance, on the propositions being expressed is reflected through linguistic means" (Mendoza-Denton 1999: 273); these "linguistic means" can range from individual lexical items (cf. Kiesling 2004; Mendoza-Denton 1999), entextualized utterances (cf. McIntosh 2009), or conversational strategies and routines (cf. Jacobs-Huey 2006; Irvine 2009). In other words, *stance* may refer to a speaker's role vis-à-vis her own utterances, whereas *positionality* encompasses a speaker's role with respect not just to what she says, but what others say, and the values that these utterances take up in certain sociocultural contexts.

The distinction between these concepts leads to an understanding of *stance* as perhaps more ephemeral or momentary. Although the linguistic forms that index particular stances are always tied to broader processes of social meaning and should not be understood as especially unique to any given interactional moment, the reflection by a particular speaker on her own utterance is necessarily tied to a more constrained interactional and sociocultural context than the notion of *positionality*. For this reason, it may be productive to understand *positionality* as established via an accrual of implications generated by stance-taking moves over the course of an interaction – in a sense, *packages* of ideological statements or concepts. Understood in this way, positionality as a function of identity allows us to more clearly see how first order indexicalities become linked to *n*-th order indexes (Silverstein 2003). The data in this study shows how linguistic and discursive stance-taking moves generate ideological statements which, accumulated over the course of an interaction, can establish broader sociocultural and ideological positionalities for interactants.

Drawing on tools from Conversation and Discourse Analysis, as well as linguistic anthropology more broadly, this study presents an analysis of a short excerpt of talk-in-interaction in which language ideologies emerge from linguistic and discursive stance-taking moves in conversation. Broadly, this study speaks to three of the central questions of this volume: (1) What and how do linguistic forms convey a speaker's subjectivity and identity in the local context of interaction and to what level of language do they belong? (2) Which forms position individual speakers or groups of speakers socially and culturally (because of their association with particular situations or situational dimensions)? And (3), what are the socio-cultural norms for language usage, which enable speakers to represent their identities? I argue that a range of linguistic stance-taking strategies, including presuppositions and code choice, and the role of these strategies in establishing different positionalities for interlocutors, constitute some of the 'mediating links' between forms of talk and ideology, and that such conversational moves are important in recreating and reinforcing broader language ideologies. I argue for the importance of understanding the sociocultural context of talk in order to interpret such conversational moves.

In the following section, I describe the sociopolitical context in which this data was collected, mentioning the importance this context has for interpreting the data. Next, I briefly describe the methods and some methodological concerns for this particular data set. Next, I analyze how stance-taking generates ideological statements through implication, and how these statements can be "packaged" together as positionalities; I also consider the role of code-choice in this endeavor. I finish with a broader view of how language ideologies can emerge through the positionalities of 'selves' and 'others' in interaction.

2. The sociopolitical hierarchies of Spanish

Understanding the sociopolitical situation in which the conversation analyzed here occurs is crucial for two reasons. First, one of the central topics of this conversation is heritage language attrition among Spanish speakers in the United States, an inherently social and political subject. Second, the racist ideologies that create diametric opposition between English and Spanish, and the Hispanophone devalorization of Caribbean and some South American varieties of Spanish generally form the basis for the fractally recursive (Irvine and Gal 2000) ideological relationship constructed by one of the participants here.

The Pew Research Center on Hispanic Trends reports that, as of 2013, Hispanics/Latinos accounted for a bit less than 20% of the total U.S. population. Of this number, the vast majority live in the Western and Southern states (particularly California and Texas, but also including Arizona and New Mexico). With respect to language use, while "the share of Latinos who speak English proficiently is growing, the share that speaks Spanish at home has been declining over the last 13 years" (Krogstad, Stepler and Lopez 2015). While earlier work on language shift argued for a three-generation time frame for shifting to the mainstream/majority language (Fishman 1965), more recent work has argued that for some Latino communities, this shift is in fact happening even faster (Portes and Hao 1998; Eilers, Oller and Cobo-Lewis 2002). Relatedly, the "share of U.S.-born Latinos who live in households where only English is spoken" is quickly growing (Krogstad, Stepler and Lopez 2015). Despite these trends, one of the most enduring stereotypes in the conservative US mass media for the past few decades has been that Latino immigration to the US is 'endangering' English (Wolford and Carter 2012). This has resulted in a wide-spread policing of the linguistic practices of Latino/Hispanics generally and Spanish-speakers specifically: their use of English is considered at best "disorderly" (Uriciuoli 1996) while their use of Spanish is "censored as out of place, even offensive" in most "mainstream" public places (Zentella 2003: 51). We find these ideologies expressed most openly in states with both politically conservative populations *and* high populations of Spanish-speaking immigrants, such as Arizona and other states in the southwestern region of the country (Hill 1993). Yet while Spanish-speaking Latinos must carefully monitor both their Spanish and English usage, "heavy English "accents" in Spanish are perfectly acceptable for Whites … [written, publicly displayed] Spanish by Whites is often grossly nonstandard and ungrammatical" (Hill 1998: 682). On the one hand, these linguistic forms allow White speakers to cultivate a stance of relaxed, funny cosmopolitanism. But in order for these forms to be interpretable as funny or cosmopolitan, one must have access to highly racist discourse about Spanish-speakers specifically and Latinos more broadly. The indirect indexicality (Ochs 1992) of Mock Spanish forms allows

White speakers of these forms to racialise and denigrate Spanish speakers covertly (Hill 1998: 683–684). In short, Latinos who use Spanish in the US find their language use subject to constant policing, and also used to racialise and denigrate Latinos generally.

Negative stereotypes about Spanish and Spanish speakers also circulate within the Hispanophone world. In Arizona, most Spanish-speaking immigrants hail from Mexico (Pew Hispanic Center 2011). Thus, within Arizona, the dialects of these regions are more prominent. Speakers of Spanish from other regions, such as the Caribbean and South America, do exist, but in much fewer numbers. Northeastern states–such as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts–as well as states in the southeast (e.g., Florida) tend to have higher rates of immigration from the Caribbean than from other Spanish-speaking regions (Pew Hispanic Center 2011). Throughout the Spanish-speaking Americas, the dialects of Mexico and Colombia are typically considered the most prestigious and tend to dominate Spanish-language mass media in the United States. But across the Hispanophone world as a whole, Castilian Spanish tends to be considered the most prestigious (Toribio 2000: 1140–1142). On the other hand, the dialects of Spanish spoken in the Caribbean, and Dominican Spanish in particular, are widely considered to be less prestigious, and often disparaged, including by speakers of these dialects themselves (Toribio 2000; Bailey 2001).

The sociocultural background provided here is crucial for two reasons. First, the situation of heritage language attrition described above is part of the central motivation of the conversation analysed here. Second, the racist ideologies that create diametric opposition between English and Spanish, and the Hispanophone devalorisation of Caribbean varieties of Spanish generally form the basis for certain ideological concepts constructed by interactants in this conversation. With this sociopolitical background, the indexicalities of the implications generated in the conversation analysed here become clearer.

3. "Now you can see how crazy we really are": Data and methods

Within the paradigm of Conversation Analysis, there is a general expectation that data be collected and analysed through a perspective of "unmotivated looking" (ten Have 1999: 120–122). That is, the researcher does not approach the data with a preconceived notion of what features of conversation will be analysed, and instead attempts to organically discover what aspects of the language use are of interest. Other paradigms argue that the mere presence of someone identifiable as a researcher irrevocably alters the "authenticity" of the data, so steps must be taken in order to mitigate (but not completely do away with) this "observer's paradox"

(Labov 1972). While this project was not designed as one falling strictly within a CA paradigm, I did attempt to collect this data via unmotivated looking, and did not specifically elicit any of the topics of conversation covered during the data collection. Of course, what resulted was an interaction in which the effect of my presence is deeply apparent. Instead of discounting this data, I chose to critically consider the role that my presence as a researcher played in the stance-taking choices each speaker used and the resulting positionalities. Because the central concerns of this study are with a sociolinguistic reality far beyond the immediate interactional level, this facet of the data provides additional richness, rather than an obfuscation of how people 'really' speak.

The family at the centre of this study consists of 5 members: Sandra and Miguel,[1] a married couple in their mid-30s, and their three children.[2] They live in a major metropolitan area of Arizona, in the United States. Sandra is originally from the Dominican Republic, and Manuel from Ecuador. They are both balanced bilinguals, having come to the US in their teens, and use both Spanish and English on a daily basis, including with their children. The children, while passively fluent, do not appear to have a strong productive command of Spanish, and communicate with their parents primarily in English.

After turning on the recorder, the food was served and all family members and myself proceeded to chat. Although there were of course instances in which participants explicitly oriented to the recorder, for the most part everyone was able to carry on with their interactions in a fairly normal manner. Standard-fare topics for American family dinner time conversation (Ochs and Kremer-Sadlik 2013) were addressed during this meal: the children's schoolwork, upcoming travel plans, Sandra's business dealings, Sandra's brother's family (who had recently moved nearby and purchased a home), all came up, among other things. Once the recorder had been turned off and we were cleaning up, Sandra commented to me that "now [I] could see how crazy [they] really are!" This kind of metapragmatic commentary indicates an orientation to the markedness of the situation (i.e. having someone

1. All names used are pseudonyms.

2. The Institutional Review Board proposal under which this data was collected did not allow me to use data from individuals under the age of 18. As this was a family dinner time conversation, the interactional contributions of the children are audible throughout the data, including in the selection presented for analysis here, but their turns are noted in the transcript simply as "((child speaking))". Although this clearly diminishes the clarity of the interactional picture, the focus of this analysis is on the positions and stances undertaken by the parents, so the exclusion of the childrens' speech does not take away from the overall claims that can be made here. Furthermore, this excerpt was one of the few instances during the meal in which the adults in the conversation oriented mainly to one another, and did not generally take up the children's contributions or allow the children to take the conversational floor.

record your conversations), but also to the fact that the conversation(s) that had taken placed felt relatively normal for this family. Sandra's use of the adverb "really" in this context also indicates an assessment of the foregoing interaction as a "true" representation of their "craziness" (cf. a statement such as "He says he's from New York City, but I know he's *really* from Long Island" – the use of "really" indicates a truer, more authentic representation of where the referent of "he" is from). Given this context, I now move to the analysis of the interaction at the heart of this study, in which Sandra and Miguel contest one another's stance and positionality.

4. Generating implication through stance-taking

To analyse this interaction, I present analyses of excerpts of the conversation in sequential (i.e. turn-by-turn) order.[3] For each excerpt, I describe the stances being taken (towards speakers and towards propositions), the linguistic/discursive features that construct each stance, and the implications generated by these stances. After describing the elaboration of stance-taking throughout this interaction, I will summarize how these stances can be packaged together to indicate broader speaker positionalities.

The conversation analysed here begins with Sandra initiating a new topic, as seen in Excerpt (1) below. Sandra uses a question – "You know Mary-Cait told me?", line 1 – in order to segue into a presentation of the new topic of discussion. The issue of the children's acquisition of Spanish was tied into a previous discussion between Sandra and Manuel about a possible trip for their children to the Dominican Republic. Based on a conversation she and I had earlier that day about the so-called "critical period" of language acquisition (see Hurford 1991) and her own children's Spanish language abilities, she argues that their planning should be sped up.

Manuel's first move directly follows Sandra's topic opening, described above, and reproduced in part below. Manuel uses his turn to proffer a suggestion about these plans (albeit in a humorous, joking manner):

3. Speaker names are abbreviated as follows: "R" stands for "researcher", "M" for "Manuel", and "S" for "Sandra". English translation of Spanish utterances is provided in italics beneath the Spanish. Full transcript and transcription conventions can be found in Appendix A.

Excerpt (1)

```
1  S: Sabes que me dijo Mary-Cait? Que the best age for kids to learn
2     You know what Mary-Cait told me? That
3     (.) a new language or a- any language °is before the age of 12°
4     (.) so (.)
5     ((clicks tongue twice)) we're gonna have to expedite the: whole
6     like trip
7     to either you know like
8     >Ecuador [for them to stay<
9              [((child speaking))
10    EH NOT Ecuador um Dominican Republic or something for them to
11    stay (.) you
12    [know (.)                          [a certain amount of time
13    [((children speaking))             [((children speaking))
14 M:                                    [If you want them to learn
15    Spanish (.) probably DR is not the °best choice°
16 R: Ey!
17 M: [(laughing)]
18    [((children speaking))
```

Although on the surface Manuel's statement simply suggests he is against the notion of "a trip to the Dominican Republic", the sarcastic tone he uses in lines 14–15 generates an implication that Manuel accepts the belief in the commonly held stereotype of Dominican Spanish as highly non-standard and improper (Toribio 2000: 1190). However, at no point in this statement does he refer to himself or his own beliefs explicitly. Rather than saying, "I don't want the children to learn Spanish in the Dominican Republic (because the Spanish there is improper)," Manuel hedges. By beginning line 14 with an "if" clause, he situates his comment in the conditional aspect, so it is not immediately attributable to Manuel's 'core' beliefs – in other words, this statement only applies in the case that Sandra actually wants her children to learn Spanish (which, of course, she does). Within this conditional clause, Manuel refers to Sandra ("you"), attributing the desire for the children to learn Spanish at all with Sandra and therefore positioning himself as an objective outsider to this desire. Finally, his use of the hedging adverb "probably" allows Manuel to mitigate the strength of his statement. The stance he takes here, then, is one of rather strong disalignment with Sandra, but it is 'contained' within hedging strategies that (attempt) to distance Manuel from the weight of the claim (cf. Irvine 2011: 18). This stance of disalignment with Sandra and Dominican Spanish also implicates an additional stance – one of positive alignment with his own variety of (Ecuadorian) Spanish, and with an alternative locale for their family vacation.

Despite Manuel's attempt to discursively contain the implication generated by his utterance, some "leakage" (Irvine 2011: 26) occurs, as Sandra's subsequent utterance, shown in Excerpt (2), shows her taking a stance of disalignment with respect what Manuel implied, *not* with what he actually said. While her short pulse of laughter and smiling intonation in lines 16–19 (as well hollers and laughter from me and the children) show that, on some level, Manuel's statement is interpreted humorously, Sandra's response indicates that she is also engaging with the comment more seriously:

Excerpt (2)

```
19 S: [.hh (.) £Wo:::w excuse me:::£ (.) because in Ecuador hablan ↑tan
20                                                        they speak
21    bien el español no?
22    Spanish So well, no?
```

In this turn, the use of the exclamative "wow", with the vowel lengthened, and the phrase "excuse me" (also with final vowel lengthening) indicate a stance of surprised disbelief. This stance-taking move allows Sandra to tell us that she has identified a "trouble spot" in Manuel's linguistic performance (Irvine 2009). Goffman referred to these linguistic "trouble spots" as "faultables" – elements that either the speaker or listener can find fault with, and hence move to correct (Goffman 1981). Next, Sandra's use of the tag "no" with question intonation at the end of her turn sets up the question she poses (lines 19–22) as a marker of a challenging/combative stance (cf. Mendoza-Denton 1999; Koshik 2003). Again, this challenge does not address Manuel's initial statement directly, but rather the implication behind it, i.e. that Dominican Spanish is not prestigious enough for their children to learn. Sandra's response generates an implication that Manuel's Ecuadorian Spanish is not as good as he thinks. In this turn, then, Sandra constructs an overall stance of surprised incredulity, critiquing Manuel's authority to make such a statement.

In Excerpt (3), we see Manuel engaging Sandra's previous move by aligning himself with outside sources, namely discourses of scientific and academic authority:

Excerpt (3)

```
23 M: Actually hhh,=
24 S: =[Ah no
25 M:  [if you do some research=
26 S: =E::xcuse me no
27 M: There's a ci=
28 R: =Oh no I gotta hear this I gotta hear this!
29 S: [(laughs)
30 M: (There's a city in Ecuador called uh (.) ((child speaks)) no it's
31    called well the main city's called Loja but (.) ↑in there, there's a
32    city, that supposedly, after Spain they're the one that >speak cuz<
33    they use all the the right verbs like vosotros (.) sois (.) like they
34    use all that stuff on a daily (.) basis like that's how they speak
```

First, Manuel's use of the discourse marker "actually" in line 23 pragmatically establishes the stance that he will express in his turn as contrary or in opposition to Sandra. In particular, this "actually" challenges the implication generated by Sandra's previous utterance (i.e. that Ecuadorian Spanish isn't so good either, so he is not well-positioned to critique Dominican Spanish). In the talk that follows, Manuel attempts to argue that Ecuadorian Spanish is indeed more 'proper' than Dominican Spanish through an appeal to "research" (line 25), indicated an alignment with scientific, academic, and institutional expertise. Specifically, this appeal acts pragmatically as a sort of evidential marker, giving weight and substance to the claim he is about to put forward (cf. Jacobs-Huey (2006)'s analysis of the use of medical jargon by hair care professionals and Matoesian (1999)'s study of the positioning of legal experts in court proceedings).

Sandra makes two attempts to take the floor from Manuel before he is allowed to describe the "research" he has in mind. Her use of "excuse me" in line 26 parallels her use of the same phrase in line 19, indexing a faulting of the fact that Manuel's turn, so far, has not answered the question she posed in lines 19–23, thereby constructing a combative, accusatory stance (cf. Koshik 2003). It is not clear whether Sandra would have eventually prevented Manuel from taking the floor had I not insisted on hearing Manuel's case. In my sarcastic interjection, I called for Manuel to tell about the "research", expecting that Manuel would not be able to provide any especially relevant or accurate information. Regardless of whether Sandra or Manuel actually interpreted this remark as sarcastic, my move resulted in Sandra discontinuing her attempt to block Manuel from taking the floor, offering Manuel an opportunity to attempt to legitimate his claims.

The mini-narrative that Manuel then puts forward, drawing on stances of scientific authority, sets up several multi-layered semiotic relationships. First, Manuel continues to use linguistic techniques of containment in order to distance himself from the implications generated by his utterances. Lexical items like "supposedly" (line 32), and restarts (lines 27, 30) and pauses (lines 30, 31, 33, 34) point to an anxiety or discomfort with the responsibility of the full force of his claims. In line 32, Manuel says "…after Spain they're [Spanish speakers in the city of Loja, Ecuador] the ones that >speak cuz< they use all the right verbs …" This utterance establishes a hierarchical relationship between "the Spanish spoken in Ecuador" and "the Spanish spoken in Spain" in which Castilian Spanish is at the top of scale of prestige and Ecuadorian Spanish is in (at least) some secondary position. Given Manuel's previous implication about his perception of the relative prestige of Ecuadorian to Dominican Spanish, this new hierarchy generates an implication of a more complex scale of prestige: Castilian Spanish is the most prestigious/correct, followed by the variety of Ecuadorian Spanish used in the town of Loja, followed then, by extension, other varieties of Ecuadorian Spanish, with Dominican Spanish implied to be last in this ranking. Sandra picks up this point in the following sequence, shown in Excerpt (4):

Excerpt (4)

```
S: Pero tus hijos no van a ↑ir a esa región
   But your kids aren't going to go that region
   [((child speaking))
M: [No no they're not gonna go to that region but
S: [Porque you- not even you are from there [so (.) excuse me?
    Because
M:                                          [Y-yeah I know (That would
   sound [really weird sounding) But they they USE that language over
   there (.)
         [((child speaking))                               [Proper
S:                                                         [↑Exactly
S: but eh [ok proper Spanish (.) [but proper is whatever people makes
   it £so£=
          [((child speaking))    [((child speaking)]
R: =Yeah what does proper actually mean
M: [(ah)
S: [Eh:: verdad(.)((child speaking)) so verdad porque como estas (.)
    Eh:: right                        right because like you're saying
   hablando de que mi país £no se habla bien español (.) so now ↑you
   that my country doesn't speak Spanish well
   explain that one to me£
```

Here, Sandra again finds a faultable in the implied hierarchy set up by Manuel's narrative, namely by contesting its relevance since, as she puts it, "your kids aren't going to that region" (line 35). Indeed, even though Manuel tries to regain control of the floor and provide a justification of relevance (line 38), Sandra faults the relevance of his contribution on another level, noting in addition to the impossibility of the children going to that region to learn Spanish, that he himself is not from that region (line 39). Repeating the "excuse me?" question (line 39) further contributes to the construction of a challenging stance in this sequence.

In lines 41–44, Manuel makes another attempt to justify the relevance of his story, again appealing to notions of 'propriety'. Sandra also repeats a previous strategy, taking a challenging stance by faulting his use of this term "proper" as open to interpretation and lacking intellectual rigor (line 46). When I, in line 49, ask a question that aligns myself with Sandra's stance of challenging doubt, she constructs her own stance of alignment with scientific and academic discourses through her uptake of my questions (lines 51–55), drawing on my perceived authority as someone who is directly engaged with such institutional discourses.

Manuel makes one final argument, again appealing to discourses of expertise and institutional authority, in a mini narrative, shown here in Excerpt (5):

Excerpt (5)

```
M:  Proper I (.) cuz I I I I go with (.) the: kids that I work with (.)
    They tell me they're like oh you you speak Mexican >I said no I
    speak Spanish< (.) >(or whatever would happen)< (.) and then we have
    these battles that like certain words that they use for things (.)
    and I say no that's (.) the way I'm saying it is more (.) correct (.)
    And they're like why? I say cause you can find it in the
    dictionary like=[(laughs)
R:                 =[No but—who writes dictionaries?
S:  You done?
M:  [(laughing)
R:  [Yeah thank you
```

In order to situate his speech as "correct" (line 60), Manuel draws on the indexical relationship between "the dictionary" (line 61) and notions of propriety. Interestingly, though, the technique used to make this claim shows evidence of additional strategies for distancing oneself from the interactional force of their statements. Manuel's embedding of his stance within this story about children he works with is similar to processes described by Hill and Zepeda (1993). In their study, Hill and Zepeda analyse a story told by a woman called Mrs. Patricio in which she recounts the troubles her son has had in finishing high school in such a way so as to present herself as not morally accountable for his issues. Hill and Zepeda (1993: 198) write that "the representation of [a] story-world society makes moral events [such as the issue of "proper" language in Manuel's case, or the diffusement of responsibility for Mrs. Patricio] sociocentric, rather than egocentrically focused in [Mrs. Patricio's, or Manuel's] "own" experience". Hill and Zepeda argue that embedding moral propositions within the constructed dialogue of a story-world make them "relatively inaccessible to challenge by [an] interlocutor". Manuel's presentation of a moral story here, after his two previous failed attempts at getting his ideological stance taken up, makes the implication generated in several of his previous turns (that "Manuel's variety of Spanish, Ecuadorian Spanish, is better than Sandra's Spanish", supported by the claim "The words Manuel uses can be found in the dictionary") more difficult to contest.

Over the course of this interaction, Sandra and Manuel are engaged in an ongoing construction of stance-taking towards each other and each other's utterances. These stance-taking moves generated implications about the speakers' language ideologies which, taken together, create coherent 'packages' of ideological concepts that establish speaker positionality. Manuel, for instance, first implies that *Ecuador is a better place for our children to learn Spanish than the Dominican Republic*; next, that *Spanish in Spain is the best form of Spanish*, and that *Ecuadorian Spanish is almost as good as the best form of Spanish*; that *Correct forms of language are found in the dictionary*, and that he also uses words that are in the dictionary. Packaged together, these claims to establish Manuel's broader sociocultural positionality, which we might describe by saying *Manuel's dialect of Spanish is a good one (at least better than Sandra's).*

Sandra, on the other hand, primarily appears to be constructing stances that disalign her from her husband. Her stance taking first implies that *Ecuadorian Spanish isn't all that much better than Dominican Spanish*; furthermore, that *the 'proper' kind of Ecuadorian Spanish isn't the kind of Ecuadorian Spanish that Manuel speaks or that their children would learn*; and finally that *the notion of propriety is a social construct*. These smaller-scope implications add up to a package a larger claim that, contrary to Manuel's position, *Manuel's dialect of Spanish isn't any better than Sandra's.*

On a micro-interactional level, then, this excerpt shows how the negotiation of stance in a conversation can construct and contest larger-scope positionalities. But this focus still keeps us at a fairly narrow level of analysis. In order to further develop the connection between micro and macro levels of analysis, I turn to a consideration of code-choice as a broader conversational resource for the construction of stance and positionality.

5. The relationship between code choice and linguistic hierarchy

A recurrent theme throughout the data presented here is that when issues of language are foregrounded, Manuel speaks exclusively in English. As a fluent Spanish speaker who can (according to his interpretation of prestigious Spanish dialects) lay claim to a variety of Spanish that is close to the prestigious form of Ecuadorian Spanish he describes, this seems strange. It would be fair to argue that my presence – in other words, the presence of a native English speaker – influenced his code choice here. However, when considering the dinner conversation as a whole, Manuel switches into Spanish about the same amount as Sandra, including in speech directed towards me. Since both Sandra and Miguel interact with me in both languages, my mere presence does not seem like a very convincing reason for his total lack of Spanish use during this portion of the conversation. Indeed, I do not think it possible to clearly establish an irrefutable reason for Manuel's exclusive use of English in this excerpt, or at all. There is never one single meaning behind the choice of a particular code, but rather the meanings are emergent given the particular sociolinguistic context. Or, as Wei (2002: 167) puts it, the "meaning [of code-switching and, by extension, code-choice] emerges as a consequence of bilingual participants' contextualization work and thus is 'brought about' by speakers through the very act of code-switching." In this conversation, Manuel's frequent reliance on stances in which he appeals to institutional authority – specifically ones related to discourses of science, scholarship, and academia – suggests that his code-choice indexes and establishes an ideological linguistic hierarchy. In the positionality he constructs, the relationship between English and Spanish in scholarship and academic institutions in the US is such that English is seen as more appropriate, proper, and is given greater weight. This possibility is made more salient by the ethnographic context described earlier: as Latino residents of Arizona, Manuel and Sandra have both frequently been exposed to discourses in which the Spanish language as a whole is denigrated and devalued (Hill 2008). This knowledge, then, could reflect a fractally recursive (Irvine and Gal 2000) projection of Manuel's implied hierarchy of 'proper' Spanishes on to a hierarchy in which English is more 'proper' than Spanish, at least in the context of scientific or academic discourse in the United States (Figure 10.1). In short, the sociopolitical positionality Manuel constructs with this code-choice throughout this conversation is one that is in line with this kind of hegemonic language ideology structure:

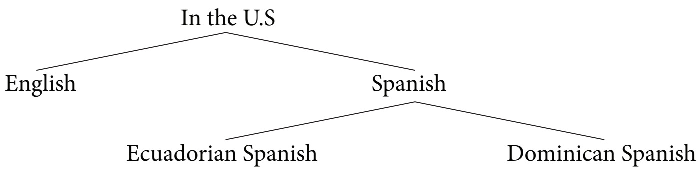

Figure 10.1 Schematic representation of the hierarchical structure of the linguistic hierarchy of English, Ecuadorian Spanish, and Dominican Spanish, established via Manuel's embedded implications

In contrast to Manuel, Sandra makes frequent use of Spanish over the course of this interaction. Although she has no turns delivered entirely in Spanish, the fact that Sandra uses Spanish at all during this particular interaction establishes several important points. Most obviously, the use of a different language than her primary interlocutor contributes to the signalling of an overall stance of disalignment. It is even more notable that Sandra elects to use Spanish even when the 'propriety' or 'correctness' of her own dialect is being criticized. Rather than just using her native dialect of Spanish, though, Sandra code switches between English and Spanish. Given the context in this interaction, it seems possible that the 'meaning' of Sandra's choice to code-switch is to signal the difference between the ideological position that Manuel has established and her own. Although this positionality does not directly contradict the English>Spanish hierarchy projected from the Spain>Ecuador>Dominican Republic Spanish, it does suggest some degree of disalignment with the higher-order hierarchy as well as the lower-order one.

Code choice and code switching can be rich sources of meaning-making in interaction. Here, we see how the construction of differing ideological positions via stance-taking over the course of the interaction was mirrored in broader linguistic choices – that is, the choice of which language to use over the course of the entire conversation. Both the micro-level stance-taking processes, and the codes in which these stances are constructed, show how language ideologies are established in individual utterances, negotiated and built upon across turns in an interaction, and further elaborated in conversational choices that extend past the moment of the individual turn.

6. Conclusion

Expressing a linguistic ideology is an inherently positional endeavour, as it situates a speakers' perception of herself and others in social space. But ideology is often seen as some massively large-scale force, beyond the mundanity of people's every day interactions. In this study, I sought to illuminate this connection between the micro and the macro by asking how ideologies in large-scale social structures are connected to forms of talk, and what these links look like in every day conversation. Through a micro-level analysis of family dinner time conversation, I propose an answer to this question in three parts. First, the turn-by-turn analysis of Sandra and Miguel's conversation showed how stance-taking moves in conversation generate implications about people's beliefs. Second, a view of the stance-taking moves over the course of the conversation showed how, taken together, the implicit meanings engendered through stance-taking can collectively package positionalities. Third, a consideration of code choice over the course of this interaction and within the ethnographic context of this conversation contributed to a nuanced understanding of the sociopolitical positionalities of each of the participants. These three major findings speak to three of the core questions of this volume. Question (1) of this volume asks: what and how do linguistics forms convey a speaker's subjectivity and identity in the local context of interaction and to what level of language do they belong? This study focuses on the level of conversation, discourse, and interaction, and the analysis presented here argues specifically that stance-taking moves can convey speaker subjectivity and identity, and they do this by generating (ideological) implications. Question (2) asks which (linguistic) forms position individual speakers or groups of speakers socially and culturally (because of their association with particular situations or situational dimensions)? As mentioned above, this paper argues that ideologies are fundamentally positional, in that they serve as mental frameworks for locating the self and others in social and cultural spaces. The stance-taking moves analysed in this conversation, then, serve to position Sandra, Manuel, and the various people and groups their claims invoke, in the same way that they construct language ideologies. Furthermore, understanding code-choice as one of these possible stance-taking moves reveals most clearly how certain linguistic forms position individual speakers or groups of speakers socially and culturally, particularly in the fractally recursive relationship of the indexicalities of the various language and dialect choices in this conversation Finally, question (3) of this volume asks what are the socio-cultural norms for language usage, which enable speakers to represent their identities? The ideologies that are constructed through the stance-taking moves enacted by Sandra and Manuel are not unique to this conversation, or this family, but rather are broad socio-cultural knowledges, circulated throughout the various social contexts in which these speakers move. This simultaneity – the active construction of language ideologies in everyday talk, and the ongoing circulation of these ideologies throughout the broader culture – reveals how norms of language use shape how these speakers can represent their identities and positionalities.

While an investigation of a roughly 2 minute long conversation between two individuals has a decidedly micro-level focus, this analysis shows that even in such short amount of time, speakers take stances that project their beliefs on to broader landscapes of sociocultural and political knowledge. The alignment or disalignment with these systems of beliefs contribute to the construction of a sense of hierarchy and power, with implications both for the local, micro-interactional level, and the more global, ethnographic and sociopolitical levels. Even micro-level linguistic choices, then, can construct and reconstruct large-scale linguistic ideologies. Note that the case analysed here is not one of speakers creating 'new' language ideologies as if from thin air – indeed, a thorough understanding of the stance-taking and positionality in this excerpt requires a rather detailed knowledge of the social and cultural context in which these individuals live, and therefore of the ideologies that already circulate and are familiar to these speakers. In their discursive and linguistic choices, they are actively drawing on knowledge of not just the status of English and Spanish in the US, but also of the status of various dialects of Spanish across the Hispanophone world. Through this study we also see that these processes of connecting the micro to the macro are not always so clear-cut and obvious. Indeed, the value of this particular study is that the detailed sociocultural and ethnographic information we have to contextualize the data analysed presents an exceptionally clear case of how these linkages work. I argue that knowledge of the situatedness of any interaction is crucial to fully interpreting concepts like stance and positionality. The study also demonstrates that ideologies are not pre-determined facts that circulate through society, but rather actively created, re-created, and contested in everyday interaction.

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Appendix A. Full transcript

S: Sabes que me dijo Mary-Cait? Que the best age for kids to learn
You know what Mary-Cait told me? That
(.) a new language or a- any language °is before the age of 12° (.) so
(.)
((clicks tongue twice)) we're gonna have to expedite the: whole like
trip
to either you know like
>Ecuador [for them to stay<
[((child speaking))
EH NOT Ecuador um Dominican Republic or something for them to stay
(.) you
[know (.) [a certain amount of time
[((children speaking)) [((children speaking))
M: [If you want them to learn
Spanish (.) probably DR is not the °best choice°
R: Ey!
M: [(laughing)]
[((children speaking))
S: [.hh (.) £Wo:::w excuse me:::£ (.) because in Ecuador hablan ↑tan
they speak
bien el español no?
Spanish so well, no?
M: Actually hhh,=
S: =[Ah no
M: [if you do some research=
S: =E::xcuse me no
M: There's a ci=
R: =Oh no I gotta hear this I gotta hear this!
S: [(laughs)
M: [There's a city in Ecuador called uh (.) ((child speaks)) no it's
called well the main city's called Loja but (.) ↑in there, there's a
city, that supposedly, after Spain they're the one that >speak cuz<
they use all the the right verbs like vosotros (.) sois (.) like they
use <u>all</u> that stuff on a daily (.) basis like that's how they speak

S: Pero tus hijos no van a ↑ir a esa región
But your kids aren't going to go that region
[((child speaking))
M: [No no they're not gonna go to that region but
S: [Porque you- not even you are from there [so (.) excuse me?
Because
M: [Y-yeah I know (That would
sound [really weird sounding) But they they USE that language over
there (.)
[((child speaking)) [Proper
S: [↑Exactly
S: but eh [ok proper Spanish (.) [but proper is whatever people makes it
£so£=
[((child speaking) [((child speaking]
R: =Yeah what does proper actually mean
M: [(ah)
S: [Eh:: verdad (.) ((child speaking)) so verdad porque como estas (.)
Eh:: right right because like you're saying
hablando de que mi país £no se habla bien español (.) so now ↑you
that my country doesn't speak Spanish well
explain that one to me£
M: Proper I (.) cuz I I I I go with (.) the: kids that I work with (.)
They tell me they're like oh you you speak Mexican >I said no I speak
Spanish< (.) >(or whatever would happen)< (.) and then we have these
battles that like certain words that they use for things (.) and I
say no that's (.) the way I'm saying it is more (.) correct (.)
And they're like why? I say cause you can find it in the
dictionary like=[(laughs)
R: =[No but–who writes dictionaries?
S: You done?
M: [(laughing)
R: [Yeah thank you

Appendix B. Transcription conventions

S: / M:	Sandra/Manuel	Wo::rd	Vowel lengthening
R:	Researcher	(word)	Inaudible or unclear speech
, / (.)	Short/long pause	[word	Overlap
word	Gloss	[word	
>word<	Faster speech	Word?	Question intonation
Word=	latching	£word£	Smile intonation
=word		(laugh)	Laughter
WORD/°word°	Increased/decreased volume	Hhh./.hhh	Outbreah/inbreath
Word	Emphasis		

CHAPTER 11

Representations of self and other in narratives of return migration

Alexander Nikolaou and Jennifer Sclafani

This paper examines self and other representations in interviews conducted with second-generation Greek return migrants (in their majority Greek Americans), who relocated to their parents' homeland as adults within a decade prior to the interviews. Through the analysis of stories of linguistic and cultural assimilation, conflict and transition, authenticity and hybridity, we explore how return migrants construct and negotiate identity positions vis-à-vis other members of their immigrant community, native Greeks, and the interviewer through the employment of indexical devices during the interview. Return migrants constitute an understudied group, especially from a sociolinguistic perspective, and we argue that understanding the complex positioning of identities among this group may provide unique insights into the broader ideologies that mediate hybrid and hyphenated identities in general.

Keywords: identity, narratives, positioning, membership categorisation, code-switching, constructed dialogue

1. Introduction

Scholars across many disciplines reject the notion that identity is a set of static, and immutable traits inherent in the individual self. The current anti-essentialist paradigm within which much of the work on identity has been carried out is based on the fundamental reconceptualisation of identity as a process, not a product (De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg 2006) as a "becoming rather than an entity" (Barker and Galasinski 2001: 10). Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) define identity as "the social positioning of self and other". This definition underscores the discursive deployment of resources, indexicality, membership categorisation and positioning in the construction and negotiation of identity in the local context of interaction. Current work on discourse and identity has underscored the emergent nature of identity and has emphasised the need to connect momentary stances and

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alignments in interaction with macro-level social categories (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Jaffe 2009).

Much of the recent research in applied and sociocultural linguistics on the topic of discourse, identity, and migration has dealt with the process of immigration, the discursive construction of immigrant identities and communities, and issues related to the teaching of heritage languages to second-generation learners in immigrant communities. This study departs from this trend by focusing on the process of *return* migration, and examining the intersections between language, identity, and migration among second-generation biethnic Greeks (in their majority Greek Americans) who relocated to their parents' homeland as adults.

King and Christou (2010: 168) define second generation return as "'return' of the second generation children of first-generation immigrants to their parents' country of origin". These scholars stretch out 'second generation' to include: (1) children who were born in the home country but raised in the host country (the so called 1.5 generation); (2) children whose parents are of different national origins; (3) host country-born children who have one parent who is first generation (imported through 'marriage migration' and the other parent is second generation. The offspring belonging to this category have been labelled the 2.5 generation; (4) children who were born in the host country but then were sent back to their home country for part of their schooling. All four categories identified by King and Christou are represented in our data. To these, we may add another three emerging from our data: First, individuals born in the host country who moved to the home country as adults and after a few years they returned to the host country; in other words, their "return" was not a permanent relocation. Elsewhere such migrants are referred to as "transnational migrants". Second, individuals born in the host country who maintain their transnational links with the homeland through frequent visits for commercial or other purposes without relocating there. A final – and rather difficult to label – type of migration that emerged in our data is that of an individual whose father was the only Greek parent. This participant was born in a country which was not the place of origin of either of her parents and as a child she moved to a number of different countries while at the same time spending her summers in Greece before relocating in her late teens to the United States, and then moving to Greece in her twenties. Despite her numerous geographical relocations, this person self-identifies as a Greek American.

2. Background

Our approach is informed by social constructionist (De Fina and King 2011) perspectives which view identity as an interactional accomplishment. Particularly central to our analysis is Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) emphasis on the relational aspect of identity, which highlights the idea that subject positions are constructed through orientations toward various sets of complementary relations, such as sameness and difference, genuineness and artifice, and authority and delegitimacy. Narrative discourse in particular has been considered a privileged site for the negotiation of social reality (De Fina and King 2011: 166; Bamberg and Gerorgakopoulou 2008), because it allows speakers to express opinions and beliefs indirectly, through the mediation of characters. Narratives also serve as loci of identity performance through the use of linguistic devices such as pronominal reference, code-switching and style-shifting (De Fina 2003) which allow speakers to construct and negotiate alignments and distinctions between self and other through the subjective representation of displaced events and interactions. According to De Fina (2006), narratives operate on two levels: the level of schematic representations and the level of interactional negotiation. The first level serves as a discursive plane for character representation through membership categorisation. At the second level, narrators adopt evaluative positions toward these representations, negotiated interactionally through performance devices.

Essential to understanding how representational work and identity ascription are accomplished in narrative discourse is the discursive process of positioning. Introduced by Hollway (1984) as an analytic tool for the study of the construction of subjectivity in the area of heterosexual relations, and further refined by Smith (1988) as a distinction between agency and subjectivity in the discursive practice, positioning was defined by Davies and Harré (1990: 48) as "the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines". Conversations are 'symbolic spaces' in which subject positions are enacted, contested or accepted in the discursive construction of personal stories, situated in moral spaces where a person indexes multiple identity positions.

Van Langenhove and Harré (1999) identify three orders of positioning. A first order positioning takes place when individuals locate themselves and others in a moral universe through categorisation and participation in lived story lines. A second order positioning occurs when the first order positioning is questioned and the story line itself becomes the focus of the interaction. A third order positioning occurs outside the initial discursive context of the narrative. A somewhat related but important distinction is further made by the two scholars between performative and accountive positioning. Performative positioning involves a deliberate act of positioning of self or other within the storyworld and thus it is related to a first order positioning. Accountive positioning is a response to first order positioning that involves talk about talk. When the questioning of first order positioning occurs within the ongoing conversation then it amounts to second order positioning. If it happens outside the initial conversation then it overlaps with third order positioning.

Davies and Harré's (1990) positioning theory was further developed by Bamberg (1997) and then Wortham (2001) who applied it specifically to the analysis of storytelling, as an analytical framework that stresses the performative dimension of narrative analysis, in contrast to its traditional structural focus. In particular, Bamberg developed a three-level position analysis construct in order to account for the enactment of identities in autobiographical narratives. Level 1 involves how narrators position themselves vis-à-vis other characters within the world of the story. Level 2 focuses on how narrators position themselves (and are positioned) vis-à-vis their interlocutors (the audience or the interviewer) as they narrate the story. As De Fina and Johnstone (2015: 158) explain, "the way identity emerges in this context is therefore related to the negotiations going on in the here and now of the storytelling". Level 3 explores the links between identity work in the local context of the storyworld and broader discourses and master narratives that extend beyond the reported events and interactional context and relate to more enduring identities or selves.

3. Data and methods

3.1 Scope and data collection

This study seeks to uncover how Greeks from the diaspora discursively construct their identities in narratives about their relocation decisions, experiences and difficulties they encountered upon moving to Greece as well as their reflections on their evolving linguistic and communicative competence in Greek throughout this process. Through the analysis of stories of linguistic and cultural assimilation, conflict and transition, authenticity and hybridity, we address the following questions: What and how do linguistic forms convey a speaker's subjectivity and identity in the local context of interaction and/or in the wider context of their various local communities and societies? To what level of language do they belong? Which of these forms position individual speakers vis-à-vis (1) other members of their immigrant community; (2) native Greeks; and (3) the interviewer? What types of indexicalities and social markers are employed and how are they negotiated during the interview in the construction of ethno-cultural identities?

Data collection began in mid-January 2014 in the form of semi-structured interviews and is ongoing. An interview guide was developed and used to maintain data consistency but the interviewer would frequently depart from the script to ask more in-depth questions or elaborate a point further. The interviews lasted between 20 and 50 minutes with the average time being 34 minutes. To date a total of 11 interviews have been conducted with Greeks from the diaspora – 9 Greek Americans, 1 British Greek and 1 Greek Australian. All interviews have been fully transcribed using a reduced version of Gail Jefferson's transcription system. The first author interviewed 8 participants based in Athens; the second author interviewed 2 participants in the US and UK, and both authors conducted one joint interview. Our participants were recruited via personal and professional networks and through snowballing.

3.2 Analytical focus

Our primary analytical focus is indexicality as a central process in the creation, enactment and ascription of identities (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg 2006). We rely on the concept of indexicality as a set of resources through which identities, via positions and stances, are discursively constructed. Phonological, grammatical or lexical forms may be used to signal degrees of proximity to, or distance from groups of people linking the micro level of local identities with macro level wider ideological and cultural frames (De Fina et al. 2006). Moreover, De Fina et al stress the centrality of indexicality as the mechanism underpinning the three main theoretical perspectives in the study of discourse and identity i.e., social constructionism, membership categorisation, and an antiessentialist notion of identity. Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 594) enumerate various linguistic strategies with indexical potential:

> (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels: (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one's own or others' identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientation to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups.

In this paper we are looking at the use of pronominal choices, code-switching, membership categorisation and constructed dialogue as micro-level devices of positioning (positioning level 1 and positioning level 2) within the storyworld and the interactional context of the narrative (Bamberg 1997). The guided interviews provided the interactional framework within which participants narrated their early experiences as children of immigrant parents in the foreign land, their efforts to cultivate and maintain intra-ethnic group affiliations, as well as their problematic and often painful experience of settling in the parental homeland. It should be noted that all of the indexical devices we are focusing on are at play at various points in each of the interviews from which we have selected to analyse excerpts. However, it would not be possible to showcase all the aforementioned indexical strategies in each interview without going well over the scope of this paper.

4. Findings

4.1 Greek ethnic membership alignment and class membership markers

In the first example, explicit membership categorisation markers and pronominal reference are employed as level 1 positioning devices indexing ethnic and class (dis)affiliation within the narrative. The excerpt comes from our interview with Antigone, a Greek American academic in her mid-50s who works in Greece. Antigone is asked to give some examples of participation in Greek cultural activities. It has been argued that ethnic identification is not so much a matter of theoretical admission as a matter of participation in relevant cultural events (Christou 2006b). Admittedly, this interview question is based on the possibly problematic presupposition that – at least in the case of Greeks – going to church, taking folk dance lessons and learning the heritage language are activities that authenticate an individual's ethnic identity. In other words, at positioning level 2, Antigone has been asked to account for her Greekness.

(1) Participants: Interviewer, Antigone

106 I: *Mm-hm* (1.0) *okay .hh u:m did you take part in (.) Greek cultural activities sort*
107 *of* (0.9) *going to [church] or taking dance, folk dance le[sson s or Greek language*
108 A: *[well]* *[right]*
109 I: *lessons.*
110 A: *Uh, uh-huh, well um, o- one thing we did do was we always celebrated Greek Easter*
111 I: *Mm-hm*
112 A: *we didn't go to church cos my father is basically was was a was atheist actually*
113 *uhm he had some problematic relationship to religion he never sort of it it it it*
114 *clarified it but I mean I was ↑baptised I was baptised in Athens actually I was*
115 *baptised Greek Orthodox.*
116 I: *Mm-hm*

117 A: *u:hm but um and when I ↑married I was married in the Orthodox Church as a result of*
118 *having been baptised so I didn't have a problem*
119 I: *uh-huh*
120 A: *being in the Greek Orthodox Church but the only: like he for some reason ((tut))*
121 *was um didn't spend a lot of time with (.) Greeks except for this group from Long*
122 *Island that involved also my my godmother who was a doctor and her family u:m he*
123 *was (.) a bit (.) had complicated you know ambivalent relationship u:h feelings*
124 *about the Greek American community from what I gathered.*
125 I: *And what do you think u:h what was the origin of these ambivalent (.)feelings?*
126 A: *U:m, probably twofold. One was the war itself that you know he couldn't return*
127 *right away (.) u:m to see his parents and so forth because of his um you know*
128 *because of his party affiliations and so forth but the other probably be- more the*
129 *real I think reason was because there was some class issues↑ like my grandmother*
130 *and grandfather particularly my grandmother for some reason were a bit snobbish*
131 *and not for any real cos they didn't have money themse- I mean they were middle*
132 *class but they weren't eh I mean they owned their own house and so forth but I*
133 *think um (.) my mother is working class very working class I mean see you know*
134 *barely finished high school and eh you know her parents lived in Pittsburgh and her*
135 *brother worked in the steel mills night shifts and her father died actually of of*
136 *the lead poisoning from the steel mills (.) um so I think they they sort of looked*
137 *upon my father as um they didn't understand why he had married my ↑mother*
138 *and: eh she her apparently her English this is the >sort of< law in the family*
139 *then her English wasn't very good*

Antigone begins her response by saying that her family always celebrated Greek Easter (l. 110), which is the most important and popular religious festival in Greece, and is *par excellence* an ethnocultural event enthusiastically celebrated even by the non-religious Greeks. Antigone's use of the extreme case formulation 'always' (Pomerantz, 1986) preceding the noun phrase 'Greek Easter' indexes a retrospective display of identity performance She then segues into a description of her father's "problematic" relationship with the Orthodox Church, contrasting his lack of religious affiliation to her official membership in the Orthodox Church. She uses the phrase 'I was baptized' three times (l. 114–115) and the related phrase 'having been baptized' in an explicit logical relationship with being married in the Church. This repetitive pattern accentuates – by flouting Grice's maxim of manner and perhaps quantity – her religious affiliation which discursively bolsters her implicit claim to Greek identity as a response to my question about cultural practices.

Antigone moves on to say that her father's relationship with fellow Greeks living in the States was 'complicated' and 'ambivalent', with the exception of a group of people from Long Island to which her godmother, whom she notes is a medical doctor, belonged. This overt professional membership categorisation may at first seem peripheral information but in the context of what she has said earlier and what follows a few lines below, it is clear that she is scaffolding a contrast between her paternal and maternal ethnic background based on social class differences. Shortly before this excerpt she is asked to describe the cultural and ethnic composition of the neighbourhood she grew up in in the States. Her reply is 'in Stamford it was basically upper-class white'. The salience of her prima facie irrelevant response is unmistakable. It is discursively connected with her first reference to her godmother being a doctor and the first female medical graduate from Athens University for that matter. Through these membership categorisation devices, Antigone is building an educated middle-class membership family profile, which she later contrasts with the working-class background of her mother of Italian origin.

Interestingly, when Antigone continues to discuss her family, she refers to her paternal Greek grandparents (in lines 131–132) as 'my grandparents', while she refers to her maternal grandparents as 'her [mother's] parents' (134), and her maternal uncle as 'her [mother's] brother' (135). By using 'my' combined with proximal family terms to refer to her paternal (Greek) grandparents and 'her' combined with distal terms to refer to her maternal (Italian) grandparents Antigone indexes her affective proximity to the Greek side of her family.

So in this segment of the interview we clearly see that by using explicit membership categorisation and pronoun shifts Antigone constructs relationships of antagonism (her parents vs her grandparents, her father vs other Greek Americans), disaffiliation (her father's troubled membership of the Greek Orthodox Church, Antigone's psychological distance from her maternal grandparents) but also affiliative relationships (Antigone's attachment to the Greek side of the family and participation in important ethnocultural events). Before moving on to the next excerpt we want to briefly comment on the use of the marker 'you know' which is particularly salient in this excerpt as it appears four times. In the literature 'you know' has been treated as a marker appealing for agreement (Eckert 2003; Moissinac 2007) or asserting shared knowledge/background with the addressee (Paoletti and Johnson 2007; Schegloff 1980). While it can be said that in all four instances 'you know' functions as an agreement seeker positioning the interviewer as a co-participant in the construction of the narrative on two occasions (lines 126–127), Antigone with this expression mobilises the interviewer's shared knowledge of the post war history of Greece (the fact that the civil war ended with the defeat of the communists and the fleeing of large numbers of the defeated Democratic Army into neighbouring countries under Soviet control) in order to provide a plausible justification for her father's infrequent visits to his parents and his gradual estrangement from them. It appears that 'you know' has a two-fold function. It draws the interviewer more intimately into the narrative by positioning him as a co-participant and at the same time it authenticates him as a legitimate member of the shared cultural background (positioning level 2).

In the next example, taken from the same interview Antigone responds to the interviewer's question about when she started learning Greek.

(2) Participants: Interviewer, Antigone

147 I: *.hh so: you said earlier the the language in the house in the home was English so:*
148 (0.3) *eh how did you start learning eh Greek e:h was it in the States, did you go*
149 *to: Greek school uh what happened?*
150 A: *uh informally, uh I learned it in the summers when I was here*
151 I: *Mmm*
152 A: *with my grandparents my father ne:ver made the effort to pass on the language*
153 *which was which later in life became an issue for me: of (.) complaint u:m but it*
154 *was part of his like general rejection of the culture I ↑think uh in*
155 *in different lev- on the different levels one was because he left so young and then*
156 *sort of left kinigimenos*
hunted
157 I: *Hm-mm*
158 A: *U:m you know chased so to speak*
159 I: *Hm-mm*
160 A: *And the other thing is I think that he basically u:m felt uh u:m* (2.5) *that this*
161 *was the language that belonged to his pa:s[t and something that didn't*
162 I: *[uh-hu::::::h*
163 A: *necessarily want to pass on*

164 I: *U:h I see .hhh e:h so you did not go to Greek school you eh acquired the language*

165 *Informally, mmm*

166 A: *Yeah and this is the problem for me this is has remained the problem.*

Antigone's self-reflexion is noteworthy in the extract. She not only states the facts, she also provides an unequivocal interpretation of her father's motives for distancing himself from his Greek linguistic heritage. His unwillingness to pass on the language to his daughter is framed as a token of his rejection of the Greek culture. And this is dramatically summarised in her use of the word 'hunted'. The brief code-switching that occurs in line 156 animates the narrative by using the Greek participle *kinigimenos* (translated into English by Antigone as 'chased') which is a very loaded word and its use serves as the dramatic apex of the account of her father's disalignment with his ethnic heritage. Code-switching here can be seen as a form of double-voicing (Stroud 1998) in the sense that Antigone no doubt evokes her father's language in relation to the dramatic turn his life took as a result of his communist leanings during the devastating civil war. Following Stroud, the use of *kinigimenos* in this context is also an example of heteroglossic ambiguity as the word fuses Antigone's voice with that of her father's.

Antigone frames her father's lack of effort to pass on the language explicitly as a problem for her. Thus, Antigone builds a staged account of her father's disalignment with his Greek identity by providing narrative indexes of political, religious, familial and linguistic disaffiliation and effectively positions her father as having rejected the two most important building blocks of ethnonational identity – religion and language which contrast with her willingness to retain her affiliation with the very ethnic categories her father turns away from.

4.2 Pronouns others and hierarchies: Greeks, ethnic, Anglos, and Aborigines in Australia

Our next excerpt highlighting pronominal reference as well as explicit membership categorisation as an index of returnees' identities comes from Demosthenes, a 44-year-old Greek Australian who works as a teacher trainer and English test developer. Demosthenes explains his reasons for code-switching while in Australia. He justifies his refraining from using Greek on the grounds that he had experienced physical and verbal racial attacks from Anglo Australians.

(3) Participants: Interviewer, Demosthenes

115 *like* (0.7) *being brought up a::s a Greek Australian even a boy*
116 *I would (.) you know I was like .hh u:m couple lot of flak from other students well*
117 *back then from other yes students I would say you know because I'm Greek or*
118 *someone else would cop some because he's Italian or Yugoslavian from (.) those that*
119 *identify themselves as (.) native you know it's like Australians but the native*
120 *Australians in reality are Aborigines yeah so (0.7) maybe that's why I recall I*
121 *mean I'm digressing here that I recall being into fights .hh because back then they*
122 *would use e:h some derogatory terms like wog .hh I mean you know .hh wog for us*
123 *maybe you know someone from Gree: Greek background and you know some Italian*
124 *background, even Yugoslavian and we would call them Skippies from Skippy the*
125 *kangaroo and even in primary school I would get into to fights (0.8) because you*
126 *know some would be saying this and that.*

In this excerpt, Demosthenes' juxtaposition of 'us' versus 'those' and 'them' indexes his affiliation with his Greek cultural background in the context of Australia. At the same time, he challenges the Anglo-Australian's implicit claim to 'true native status' by repositioning them as just another group of immigrants since the true natives are the aborigines. In this narrative, Demosthenes also constructs his resistance to the dominant ethnic hierarchies within Australia, describing how he and his Greek Australian friends often defend themselves against the racial slurs directed against them with counter insults, using shared domestic cultural categories such as the generic label 'Skippy'. This example illustrates a slightly more complex constellation of identities of self and other than we saw in Antigone's excerpt because Demosthenes discursively combats a feeling of being othered as an ethnic outsider in his youth by positing a third group – Australian aborigines – who may be othered in dominant discourses of white Australian society, as the true "self" or legitimate ethnic group of Australia, while he adequates Anglo-Australians with all the other non-native groups of Australia.

4.3 Liminal identities

The next example is taken from, Daisy, a 73-year old Greek American retiree who untypically – compared to the rest of our data set – visited Greece for the first time when she was 60 and ever since she has been coming back on short trips once or twice a year. Daisy responds to my question about her feelings when she first came to Greece.

(4) Participants: Interviewer, Daisy

275 I: *A:nd um (.) the*

276 *first time you* (0.5) *y- you came to Greece .h did you feel that u:m*

277 D: *I was **shocked.***

278 I: *((laughs)) why were you shocked.*

279 D: *Well because this is and that's why you've got to buy- get this book American*

280 *Aphrodite. Go on to Amazon and get it okay? Becau:se what and she says it so well,*

281 *what Greeks did that went to America they created a Greek ghetto with everything-*

282 *nothing changed from the thirties. <u>It was</u> still the same. So when I came to Greece*

283 *and I expected that it would be the way we had everything in America. <u>Wow</u> e- e- G-*

284 *Greece moved ↑on and America's still stuck in the th- in thirties and forties*

285 *Greece of- and twenties Greece so they- so first of all I was **shocked** they don't do*

286 *Greek dancing here (0.5) because that's where you have any ama eheis horoesperida,*

If you have a dancing party

287 *oti eheis ehoume t- ta Greek dances ((claps her hands)) that's ↑it. You may have*
that you we have t- the

288 *some American but it's all Greek. Here it's only when there is a presentation or*

289 *something going on that was the first time. Secondly, I was **shocked** elinides edo*
Greek women here

290 *den kanoun ola ta- ta um uh uh ta sweets pou emeis ola there's no bakery so*
don't make all the-the that we all

291 ***everybody** knows how to go- cook all the Greek ah sweets. 'N here **nobody** does it.*

292 *You go to the: zacharoplasio you go to the sto fourno and you buy everything okay,*
pastry shop baker's

293 *wow. I was also **shocked** that uh that here they go to eat all the time* (0.4)

294 *↑constantly ↑constantly (0.5) okay and I was like wow I knew that everybody eat at*

295 *different hours that didn't bother me because I mean (.) I'm I was prepared for*
296 *that, I've done my reading .h it was just the ↑cultural things that we have a*
297 *static Greek mentality there that doesn't move on. The other thing I was* ***shocked***
298 *because I was associating with people who are professors and- and diplomats*
299 *etcetera .h I'd be talking and they were going to hysterics and I would say to*
300 *them what are you laughing about. Because I did not know that I was speaking Greek*
301 English. (1.3) *How would I know that because this is part of what I learned as I was*
302 *growing ↑up and so the first time they went into hysterics ( ) was when I said to*
303 *them* moovare to kathisma. *They said* ti? *((laughs)) so now if I do that they'll*
move the chair what
[Gr 2nd person imperative suffix]
304 *tell me what the word is*. Metafere to kathisma *okay. But I- how would I know that?*
move the chair
305 *And the th- the thing that's happened in America now (0.9) so I had come back I've*
306 *got my my Engl- my Greek and I wonna practice it. I talked to (ti) tous pio*
(what) the more
307 *neofermenous the newer immigrants they talked to me back in English. No Greek*
newcomers
308 *talks (.)Greek.*

This excerpt follows a long contribution in which Daisy lashes out against the narrow-mindedness, complacency and 'clannish instinct' of Greek Americans and she talks about her need to break away from this milieu and involve herself in American groups. The wording of the question that begins this segment shows an interactional alignment with Daisy's preceding accounts of her troubled diasporic experience. Cutting in right after the hesitation marker 'u:m' in the interviewer's turn, Daisy displays her reciprocal alignment to the positional frame of the question (positioning level 2).

Daisy describes her first visit to Greece in terms of implicit or explicit dichotomous differences that can be summarized as 'we do this but you don't' or vice versa. She makes a number of positional statements each prefaced by the phrase 'I was shocked'. This phrase occurs five times in this excerpt and belongs to an indexical category Bucholtz and Hall (2005) label 'displayed evaluative orientation'. By using a mental process verb that denotes a strong negative psychological state (despite the verbal exaggeration that is toned down by the softener ‘that didn’t bother me in line 295 and her moment of laughter in 1. 303) Daisy unmitigatedly positions herself as the cultural ‘other’. The differences she experienced can be summarized as follows.

- Greeks have moved on compared to Greek Americans who are a few decades behind
- People in Greece don’t do Greek dancing except at special cultural events
- Greek women don’t make traditional Greek sweets
- Eating habits are very different
- Her Greek was a hybridized version of Greek proper.

The first point she makes is a continuation of the criticism she levels a few lines earlier against Greek American parochialism which she finds hard to accept. Earlier in the interview she makes a series of positioning statements that place her on a different footing as the ‘enlightened’ Greek American and against the backdrop of what she says earlier in her interview we can safely assume that she is pleasantly shocked, as it were, that Greece is a progressive, forward looking society compared to the self-ghettoing of the Greek American community. Interestingly before she elaborates her first ‘I was shocked’ account, she steps out of her storyworld in order to teach the interviewer something about Greek Americans. She uses unqualified imperatives to get him to buy a book that would help him make sense of her criticism of the Greek diaspora in America, thereby positioning the interviewer as an outsider (positioning level 2).

The next two items on the list refer to activities that she perceives as quintessential performances of Greekness. The indirect contrast that she sets up between Greek Americans and Greek Greeks regarding these activities serves to position her as a more authentic Greek (elsewhere in the interview she makes an explicit reference to her adeptness as a Greek cook). On one level, she appears to be critical of Greeks for being indifferent to fundamental Greek cultural practices. By using two contrastive extreme case formulations in line 291 ‘everybody knows how to cook all the Greek sweets’ vs “n here nobody does it’, Daisy juxtaposes the two groups at the level of identity performance. Significantly, in lines 286–292 she switches freely between Greek and English using Greek words when she refers to common Greek cultural practices such as organizing Greek dancing parties or visiting Greek pastry shops and bakeries to buy the necessary ingredients to make Greek sweets. Employing code-switching here is in itself “an act of identity” (Gardner-Chloros 2009) as she perfomatively authenticates her Greekness and at the same time she aligns herself with the interviewer on the level of shared cultural knowledge and momentarily places herself on an equal footing with him shortly before she begins and extended turn of self-othersisation.

Her third 'shocking' experience was the irregular eating habits she witnessed in Greece. Interestingly, Daisy plays down the problem by saying that she had done her reading before coming to Greece. This conjures up a vision of the tourist who reads foreign culture survival pocket guides. By positioning herself as the 'ignorant foreigner' in the land of her parents she performs a conscious act of othering herself from her autochthonous compatriots. The final element in the recounting of her cultural disalignment is a jocular reference to her linguistic hybridity. As part of socializing with a high caliber of Greek professionals working in the States she learns that the kind of Greek she had spoken all her life in the States is not standard but a hybrid variety that contains English words adapted to the morphological system of Greek. Daisy reports this "revelation" to the interviewer through constructed dialogue that involves three instances of code-switching into Greek: the actual example of the morphologically hybrid Greek *movare to kathisma* leading to the reported interjection *ti* (second instance) and finally the corrected version *metafere to kathisma* (third instance). In this brief account, code-switching constitutes a dialogic enactment of her linguistic hybridity by creating a 'persona' (Sebba and Wootton 1998) that collectively represents all these individuals who through explicit membership categorisation ('diplomats', 'professors') she legitimizes as authoritative Greek speakers.

By positioning herself as acquiescing to the linguistic judgment of the educated indigenous Greeks she implicationally allows herself to be othered by people who claim legitimate authority in matters of linguistic usage. This is indexed by her explicit reference to their high professional status. However, the fact that she treats her linguistic hybridity light-heartedly indicates that she does not perceive it as posing a serious threat to her ethnic identity status.

The positional acts Daisy performs in this excerpt render her a liminal figure projecting on the one hand an essentialised Greekness chronotopically displaced (Bakhtin 1981), and on the other hand a realignment of her diasporic identity with the more 'up-to-date' cosmopolitanism of modern Greece.

4.4 Constructed dialogue as a positioning device

The following two examples of self and other positioning demonstrate how return migrants position themselves with regard to their Greek compatriots and diasporic backgrounds through direct reported speech, or, using Tannen's (1986) term, "constructed dialogue". As we'll see in the following examples, narrators do not strictly report what was said, but they alter it through narrative embedding, translation, and metalinguistic commentary. Speakers also animate voices that were not actually "spoken" or "heard", but convey their own and others' unspoken thoughts through dialogic syntax. Given the ability of constructed dialogue to animate the speech, thought, and experiences of both self and other, this is an important positioning device to consider in the discursive construction of identity.

The first example comes from a 24-year-old Greek-American woman named Theresa, who moved to Athens at 18 to live with her boyfriend and study at an American university, but returned to the US after two years. Theresa responds to the interviewer's question about whether she considered it an advantage or disadvantage to be a Greek American in Greece.

(5) Interviewer, Teresa

374 T: *(…)Definitely a disadvangage. ((laugh)) I mean (…) I feel*
375 *like, I mean all the stereotypes would be that Americans are just*
376 *like snobby or they'rejust whatever, y'know or <u>rich</u>. Just-*
377 *they're rich. So they- I mean nobody ever necessarily treated me*
378 *that way but I had (.) I had that kind of suspicion that people*
379 *who didn't know me maybe on the street, like a taxicab driver or*
380 *maybe in the supermarket, or people hearing me speak in English.*
381 *I remember one time, it was getting- things were getting kind of rocky*
382 *over there and was with a Greek girl, walking like back to*
383 *the (.) /metro/, and she was like, don't speak English.*
384 I: ((laughs))
385 T: *Let's just speak Greek, because we're gonna get- it was*
386 *like really around the time when there was a lot of um* (..)
387 I: *Riots [and stuff?]*
388 T: *[Attacking and stuff] and like bombs, and tear- bombs*
389 *and stuff. And she was like don't speak because if they hear*
390 *you're a, you're a, she said /stoxo/, like you're a-*
target
391 *like a target.*
392 I: *Mm.*
393 T: *And I was like the only Target I know has a bunch of sales*
394 *all the time so, ((softer)) don't know what kind of target*

you're talking about but I don't want to be a target, like what
is- what is going on here? What do you mean target? So I was
nervous I was like What do you think about people who speak
English? And I couldn't fake it- I mean I COULD, I could pretend
that I'd I could be speaking English with a Greek accent, I can
do it perfectly fine I make fun of my Greek grandmother all the
time.
I: ((laughs))
T: *But- it felt strange to be told not to speak English, in*
Greece, ((under breath)) *I was like what the heck? But*

In this narrative, Theresa begins by describing one of the most salient stereotypes of Americans in Greece – as snobby and rich. She then recounts a personal experience during a period of civil unrest in Athens in 2009, using constructed dialogue to create an alignment vis-à-vis her Greek friend within the storyworld. In line 9, she voices her friend's admonition that Theresa should not speak English in public, for she could be considered a target for rioters. It is important to note here that Theresa is being interviewed only by the second author, whom she knows speaks very little Greek, so it is marked that she when she voices her friend's utterance, she first says the word 'target' in Greek, *stoxo*, before glossing the word in English. This code-switch within constructed dialogue has multiple functions: first, it heightens the dramatic tension in the story by giving the recounted interaction an additional flair of foreignness and perhaps even danger. Additionally by juxtaposing her friend's utterance in Greek and her own response in English, Theresa aligns herself with her American interlocutor. Thirdly, she performs a reflexive positioning act in which she positions her current self in the narrating moment as more aware of the Greek language and her relative social position as a Greek American in Greece – than she was at the time of the narrated events.

Theresa emphasizes her naïveté at the time of the story when she associates the word 'target' with the popular American discount retail chain. This move is also polyfunctional: Not only does it convey her incredulous stance toward her friend's admonition, but it conjures up an alternative stereotype of Americans in Greece to the rich, snobby American that she reports being positioned as: namely, what is known among many Greeks as the *xazoamerikanaki*, or the 'stupid little American', who, in this situation, is naïve as to why an English speaker would be implicated in Greece's economic problems. The types of Americans juxtaposed in this narrative speak to a much wider phenomenon of cultural clashes experienced by many returnees in Greece, which resonates in Theresa's comment expressing an ambivalent stance toward her own ability to pass linguistically as a Greek. What is remarkable in this narrative is how a story of civil unrest due to a political and economic crisis segues so seamlessly into a personal reflection on language competence.

The second example is a similar narrative of cultural otherness that emerges in an interview with Christos, a 36-year-old Greek-British man who had lived in Athens for 6 years before returning to London just before this interview in early 2014. In the following excerpt, Christos responds to the same interview question about advantages and disadvantages to being an Englishman in Greece, but unlike Theresa, he sees his English ancestry as an advantage:

(6) Participants: Interviewer, Christos

279 C: *U::h well, there's a ton of public bureaucracy you have to do in*
280 *Greece as you know↑, and I would say that in almost every occasion*
281 *when I went in there as an Englishman, they were very helpful*
282 *Because they understand that my Greek was not so good↑, and I*
283 *would say they quite often went out to help the foreign*
284 *Englishman. Ah for an example, perhaps you could use when I was*
285 *doing my driving license- I had an American license (which I*
286 *couldn't) drive it over there so I had to get a Greek license*
287 *And um (.) so for example <u>there</u> a lot of the bureaucracy was sort*
288 *of waived because they said "Oh he's English, he's …" y'know I*
289 *think part of the assumption there is that "Because he's English*
290 *we can trust him not to do anything dodgy, he will – hh y'know-*
291 *fill out the forms correctly, we don't need to keep an eye on*
292 *him," and (xxx) things like and I still had- I still ended up*
293 *having to bribe my way into getting my driving license but I*
294 *think I had to less perhaps than, ei- either a native Greek or a*
295 *foreigner from a different country would have had to pay.*
(…talk omitted …)
322 I: *Um, did you ever feel like there was a way that you could pull out 333 the Greek half of your identity and use Greek in order to*
334 *negotiate your way in situations like that?*
335 C: *Yup! Yup I pretty much found that that especially with the taxi*
336 *drivers that once my Greek became good enough↑, when uh I stepped*

337 *into a cab, they assumed I was English, I spoke to them in English*,
338 *always wanting them to try to do something dodgy, and then as soon*
339 *as they did something dodgy I'd switch to Greek and they'd become*
340 *very apologetic. And they'd say* ((laughing voice)) *"Oh sorry*
441 *you're Greek! I thought you were a foreigner" sort of thing*

Christos employs similar linguistic strategies of self and other positioning in relation to cultural stereotypes here, but Christos embraces the stereotype of the "foreign Englishman" as a self descriptor from perspectives of both self and other in lines 2 and 6. However, this positioning as an outsider is enabled via repeated allusions to a prominent negative stereotype of Greeks as essentially corrupt. It is notable that Christos actually positions a hierarchy of "others" in this story when he reports he was not only treated well as an Englishman but better than other foreigners, and even better than other Greeks. Again, this underscores a stereotype of Greeks not as just corrupt in their dealings with outsiders but also treacherous amongst their own. Interestingly, these negative stereotypes that emerge about Greeks serve as an illustration of how Christos was treated well as an outsider. As we can see in line 280, he frames his entire story as an offering to the interviewer, as something positive and reportable about living in Greece as an outsider, which is an identity they share.

Shortly after Christos tells this story, the interviewer inquires whether he ever uses his Greek language skills to his advantage and he responds with a narrative of "passing", in which he speaks English only in order to bait taxi drivers into attempting to swindle him. This scenario, however, presupposes a certain insider status on Christos's part: that is, in order to outsmart the cab driver in this way, he must not only be familiar enough with the underhandedness of Greek cab drivers in general, which reveals a certain degree of insider knowledge, but he must also underhandedly lead the driver into thinking he is an outsider, which reveals that as an ethnic Greek, he also has the ability to act in ways that he associates with Greekness.

Within the story, Christos reveals his insider status by code-switching into Greek, to which the cab driver responds 'Oh sorry you're Greek!' Here, Christos's self-categorisation as Greek (and the only time he explicitly refers to himself as Greek in the interview) occurs through constructed dialogue from the cab driver's point of view. This storyworld-level self-positioning as Greek via the voice of another, however, contributes in a converse manner to his self-positioning more broadly in this interview, as it emphasizes that he, as an Englishman and unlike the Greeks, is not generally a "dodgy" or corrupt person.

Through this analysis of positioning and constructed dialogue in narrative interaction, we find that return migrants position themselves ambivalently in relation to Greeks. Both Theresa and Christos maintain a sense of otherness vis-à-vis Greek culture in their narratives, whether they see this as an advantage or disadvantage, but they also demonstrate an awareness of Greek culture and Greek stereotypes of foreigners and returnees from the diaspora through their interactions with Greeks, a trend that also in emerged in the analysis of shifting pronominal reference in the previous examples.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, we have explored the interactional construction of ethnic identity through the voices of return migrants to Greece from the diaspora. We have analysed how particular discursive strategies highlight affiliation and disaffiliation, belongingness and estrangement, us and them, self and other. Membership categorisation, pronoun shifting, code-switching and reported speech as constructed dialogue were identified as key positioning devices for the discursive construction of identity. More specifically, the analysis of membership categorisation (Examples 1, 3, 4) and pronoun shifting (Examples 1, 3, 4) shows their strategic use as markers of alignment with the speakers' Greek identity and disalignment from equally legitimate identities (Italian background and 'generic' Austrialness respectively). Additionally, the analysis of code-switching and constructed dialogue (Examples 2, 4, 5, 6) highlights identity as performance. Speakers do not merely lay claim to particular identities, they perform them. Daisy and Theresa's code-switching indexes their linguistic hybridity through intentional and unintentional displays of morphologically 'bad' Greek which automatically detracts from their claim to 'full' Greekness. By contrast, Christos code-switches as a display of insider status in order to trick the cab driver into believing that he was an autochthon. These instances of code shifting are embedded in narrative reporting which through constructed dialogue allows the speakers to position themselves both performatively and accountively in relation to other characters (positioning level 1) in their storyworlds as more or less Greek, but also in relation to the interviewer (positioning level 2). In connection to this last point, our analysis has identified a small number of lexical items that function as positioning devices. In Example (1) the use of the marker 'you know' is a bid to draw the interviewer as a 'compatriot' into a shared context of historical and cultural facts. On the other hand, the speaker in Example (4) uses bald on record imperatives to persuade the interviewer to read about Greek Americans and thereby positions him as an outsider. Thus, in the local context of interaction (the interview setting), speakers employ a number of positioning devices to express affiliative and disaffiliative stances with respect to macro level ethnic categories but also vis-à-vis vis their interlocutor and thereby frame their hybrid ethnic identities.

These strategies support and build on Christou's sociological characterisation of return migrants as "relational subjects" fundamentally performing their "subjectivity and agency in constructing and deconstructing their migrancy" (Christou 2006a: 842). It also contributes to the sociolinguistic literature on identity by examining how self and other positions are layered and redefined in the discursive practices of marginalisation and authentication. Furthermore, this study contributes to our broader understanding of how various linguistic forms index a speaker's subjectivity and social identity in interactional contexts, and how language simultaneously indexes meanings that are relevant to the local interaction and the broader community. Finally, we see that a complex array of linguistic strategies and features associated with two distinct languages come together in a bricolage that at once displays authentication and disaffiliation with the communities that speak these languages.

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CHAPTER 12

Orthography as an identity marker

The case of bilingual road signs in the province of Bergamo

Federica Guerini

This chapter focuses on the introduction of road signs displaying both the Italian and the local Italo-Romance dialect (Bergamasco) version of place-names by some municipal authorities in the province of Bergamo (in Northern Italy). I will argue that the decision to consider the local Bergamasco dialect eligible for public display carries social and political meaning. Bilingual road signs will be shown to challenge the traditional distinction between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' items of the linguistic landscape (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 25). Through the analysis of the graphic solutions adopted in order to write a language used almost exclusively up until now in the spoken form (i.e. the local Bergamasco dialect), I will offer a few observations on the significance of orthographic variation and on the symbolic, identity-related, value of spelling choices.

Keywords: orthography, Bergamasco dialect, road signs, spelling choices, identity

1. Preliminary remarks

For decades, sociolinguistic studies have focused on spoken language as the privileged object of inquiry: writing was considered to be "the imperfect graphic rendition of speech sounds" (cf. Coulmas 2013: 2). The analysis of language variation and language use in social contexts was considered to be most fruitful if based on spoken data. In a number of recent studies, however, the focus has shifted towards written language, and specifically, towards the role that script and spelling choices play in indexing social and ethnic identities as well as in expressing the affiliation to (or disaffiliation from) certain social groups (e.g. Jaffe 2000; Sebba 2007, 2009 and 2012; Blommaert 2013; Maybin 2013).

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In accordance with the principles of classic variationist theory – i.e. that the choice of a given linguistic variable, either above or below the level of awareness, can convey social meaning – the choice of a spelling variant or the use of a certain graphic element has been shown to be indexically associated with the social identity of language users (Sebba 2012: 5–7). In other words, the choices made in order to visually represent language in literate societies have been shown to serve identity-related functions parallel to those performed by the choice of a given phonological (or morpho-syntactic) variant in spoken communication. These indexical associations have potential significance for at least one of the research questions addressed in this volume: what linguistic forms convey a speaker's subjectivity in a given sociolinguistic context? To what level of language do they belong?

Though not all the conceptual and analytical tools of variational sociolinguistics may be applied to the study of orthographic choices, a number of scholars have recently advocated a sociolinguistic approach to the analysis of written language. Researchers who investigated controversies over spelling reforms involving both European and non-European languages (e.g. Catach 1991; Bird 2001; Jaffe 1996 and 2003; Johnson 2005; Bermel 2007; Bidese 2015) showed that orthography may be influenced by a number of non-linguistic factors. Language users – who ultimately determine the overall success or failure of any orthography implementation initiative – seem to attach little or no importance to the technical concerns affecting the linguists who face the challenge of establishing a consistent relationship between graphical and phonological units. As in speech, language users display an unexpected degree of awareness of the symbolic significance of spelling choices. The selection of a spelling variant, such as a grapheme, but even of smaller units, like an accent or a diacritic mark, may evoke strong reactions. Any phoneme-grapheme correspondence may be perceived as indexically associated with a certain social, political or ethnic group, and hence, function as an identity marker (see the examples discussed in Sebba 2012: 4–6). In this sense, the adoption of a sociolinguistic approach to the analysis of written language appears to be a promising line of research, which has been rather neglected so far.

If writing must be understood "as a structural precondition to the emergence of the public sphere" (Coulmas 2013: 35), since the presence of the written word brought about new dimensions of communication that changed the organization of society to an extent inconceivable before the advent of written messages, the study of the linguistic landscape (Landry and Bouris 1997: 25) is indeed crucial in order to grasp how spelling choices can be exploited to position the self and other. This is especially true in the case of minority languages and non-standard varieties, whose presence in the linguistic landscape may become the site of political and/or ideological struggle.

In the sociolinguistic setting that this chapter takes into account, the use of Italian on road signs is the unmarked choice; any deviation from this norm – such as the use of a minority language or, more overtly, the choice of a local variety which has not been granted minority status – can be exploited in order to assert a cultural and linguistic identity in opposition to the mainstream one. To put it differently, the public display of a language where it would not be expected parallels the violations of the socio-cultural norms for language usage described by some of the other contributions to this volume.

At a more subtle level, the analysis of the graphic solutions adopted in order to represent a hitherto unwritten language reveals that there is a correlation between the latter and the way speakers position themselves in a given sociolinguistic setting. Indeed, (ortho)graphic solutions are part of a larger set of linguistic strategies and practices whereby speakers either affiliate with mainstream socio-cultural groups (if the graphic solutions are modelled on the orthography of the dominant language) or reinforce their distinctiveness from the latter (if they are designed in order to prevent the minority or subordinate language from 'looking like' the dominant language).

This chapter focuses on the introduction of road signs displaying both the Italian and the local Italo-Romance dialect (Bergamasco) version of place-names by some municipal authorities in the province of Bergamo (in Northern Italy).[1] After providing a brief overview of the sociolinguistic setting under investigation (Section 2), I will illustrate the different policies implemented by municipalities in the province of Bergamo, which range from the retention of monolingual (i.e. Italian-only) road signs to the adoption of bilingual (Italian/Bergamasco dialect) signage displaying the name of the main settlement and of the various hamlets within the municipal territory (Section 3). I will argue that the decision to consider Bergamasco eligible for public display carries social and political meaning. Through the analysis of the graphic solutions adopted in order to write a language used almost exclusively up till now in the spoken form (i.e. the local Bergamasco

1. Note that in this paper I will use the term 'dialect' in order to translate the Italian term *dialetto*, whose meaning is different from the meaning attributed to 'dialect' within an English-speaking context. Italo-Romance *dialetti* are not social and/or geographical varieties of Italian, but autonomous linguistic systems derived from the varieties of Latin spoken across the Italian peninsula. In fact, "the structural distance between the standard [i.e. Italian, F.G.] and most Italo-Romance dialects is comparable to that existing between different Romance languages, such as Italian and Spanish" (Berruto 1997: 395). Lack of space prevents a fuller discussion of this point (but see the outline offered in Section 2); for more details on the Italian sociolinguistic context the reader is referred to the various papers contained in Guerini and Dal Negro (2011), as well as to Maiden and Parry (1997); Grassi, Sobrero and Telmon (2003); Ruffino (2006); D'Agostino (2007) and De Mauro (2014).

dialect), I will offer a few observations on the significance of orthographic variation and on the symbolic, identity-related value of spelling choices (Section 4). The final Section (5) will underline how spelling choices lend themselves to symbolic purposes, both in the presence and in the absence of an orthographic standard.

2. Bergamo and its territory: Sociolinguistic background

In present-day Italy, the dominant position of Italian is beyond dispute, and its official status is taken for granted by government, institutions and common people alike. But in the second half of the XIX century, when political unification was achieved, Italian was selected as the national language of a territory where less than three per cent of the population considered it as their mother tongue. The large majority of Italy's inhabitants spoke one of the Romance varieties that, just like Italian, derived from the varieties of Latin spoken across the peninsula. The latter, including Bergamasco, the language spoken in Bergamo and its province, are traditionally referred to as *dialetti italo-romanzi* (Italo-Romance dialects, cf. Maiden and Parry 1997).

In the second half of the XX century, as a result of an Italianization process which associated the promotion of the national language to the cohesion, the identity and the economic development of the newly-born Republic, the spoken use of Italian progressively spread through all social classes and in domains of language use which were traditionally dominated by Italo-Romance dialects (cf. De Mauro 2014). At present, Italian is a *de facto* national language[2] regularly used in a number of written, institutional and formal domains, but also in ordinary, informal talk. Bergamasco, like most Italo-Romance dialects, is hardly ever written, it is only occasionally heard in radio and television programs, does not occur in official documents and it is mostly employed either within the family domain or in informal conversations. Despite the ongoing domain loss and the harsh decline of native speakers, in the sociolinguistic setting that we are taking into account Bergamasco retains its role as the language of intimacy and solidarity, and its public display tends to be associated with the expression of local values and identity.

Over the last ten-fifteen years the presence of Bergamasco in the local linguistic landscape has become more and more visible, through commercial signs, business names and public advertisements. It may seem paradoxical in the light of what has just been stated, though a correlation between low intergenerational transmission and high visibility in the local linguistic landscape is not completely uncommon in

2. The 1948 Italian Constitution includes no article assigning Italian official status (cf. Guerini 2011: 112–114).

language shift contexts (e.g. Vigers 2013).[3] There is no agreed-upon orthography for Bergamasco. As I said, Italian is the language of literacy and written communication in the local community. Spontaneous attempts to write Bergamasco have resulted in a number of idiosyncratic spellings, while XIX century orthography proposals – such as Tiraboschi's (1873) – that display a higher degree of internal coherence, but also entail greater metalinguistic awareness, are largely ignored by the lay people.[4] Hence, the written display of Bergamasco entails a certain degree of orthographic variation, and spelling choices have the potential to convey social and political meaning.

The use of Bergamasco on road signs began in the second half of 1990s. Trescore Balneario and Dalmine (both in the Province of Bergamo) are believed to be the first municipalities in Lombardy to introduce the dialect version of place-names on municipal boundary signs (cf. Pacchioni 2002). In 1999, when Law 482 on the protection and promotion of Italian minority languages was passed, some Italo-Romance varieties – such as Friulan, Sardinian and Ladino – were granted minority language status, while others (including the various Italo-Romance dialects spoken in Lombardy) were neglected, thus triggering a "struggle for visibility" (Gorter 2013: 201), that enhanced the display of these varieties in the public space for ideological and political purposes.

The Italian equivalent of the Road Traffic Act, *il Codice della Strada*, which was approved by the Chamber of Deputies in 2003, allows the use of languages other than Italian (e.g. minority languages) on signposts and road signs. A subparagraph of its article 37 states that road managing authorities are allowed to use "regional languages or local idioms […], in addition to the designation in Italian language" on municipal boundary signs. A rather indefinite claim, which led a number of municipalities, in Lombardy as well as in the bordering Piedmont region, to set up signposts and road signs that include the dialect version of place-names.

3. Vigers maintains that, in Brittany, Breton speakers are likely to be fewer than the road signs themselves (2013: 173), with the important difference that "the toponymy of Western Brittany remains Breton despite language shift" (2013: 176), whereas in Bergamo and its province – as in other parts of Northern Italy – place names have long been replaced by their Italian equivalents, the Bergamasco version being confined entirely to oral usage.

4. In a similar way, the phonetic orthography devised by Glauco Sanga in the 1980s (see Sanga 1987) draws upon phonological skills to be found mainly in linguists and scholars. For a fuller discussion of this point, cf. Guerini (2012: 61–62).

3. The survey

This survey takes into account the 244 municipalities included in the Province of Bergamo. All the signs erected at the border between two municipalities were documented through digital photography; in addition, digital pictures were taken of the street signs displaying the dialect version of the name of the various settlements and minor hamlets within the boundaries of each municipality. The fieldwork was carried out between July and September 2011, hence the empirical data that I am going to illustrate reflect that particular time period.

In 2011, 69 municipalities out of 244 (28.3%) had introduced bilingual (i.e. Italian/Bergamasco dialect) road signs, while 175 municipalities (71.7%) retained monolingual (i.e. Italian-only) road signs. The fact that bilingual signs are found in less than one municipality out of three may be interpreted as an indication that the phenomenon is still confined to a limited portion of the territory. However, as I mentioned in the opening section, the very decision to consider Bergamasco eligible for public display is charged with ideological meaning. Besides, as Gorter maintains, "the language in which signs are written can influence the perception of the status of the different languages and affect linguistic behaviour" (2013: 202).

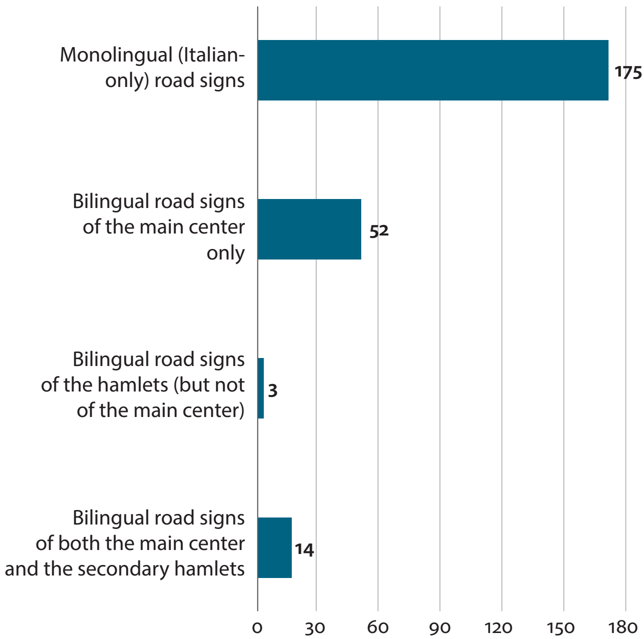

Figure 12.1 Breakdown of the data concerning the municipalities of the province of Bergamo

Hence, the presence of Bergamasco on public signage could shape community members' attitudes and, possibly, encourage its use in other written domains.

A breakdown of the data concerning the municipalities that erected bilingual road signs (cf. Figure 12.1) shows that, across the province, the policies are rather inconsistent. 52 municipalities out of 69 adopted bilingual boundary signs displaying the name of the main urban center. The municipal council of Caravaggio belongs to this first sub-group (cf. Figure 12.2, Bergamasco on top).

Figure 12.2 Boundary signs introduced by the municipal council of Caravaggio

Fourteen municipalities erected bilingual road signs of both the main urban center and of the various settlements and hamlets within the municipal territory. An example is provided by the municipal council of Sorisole, which introduced bilingual road signs of both the main urban center (*Sorisole*) and of the major settlements, *Petosino* and *Azzonica* (Figure 12.3). Note the stickers bearing the slogan *Tèra de Bérghem* 'Bergamo-land', a form of tagging which is generally associated with the supporters of the Northern League, an autonomist-separatist political party. Like the use of Bergamasco on boundary signs, these stickers are "a claim of ownership" (Spolsky 2009: 69): they represent an example of bottom-up items, applied by individual social actors on top-down official signs, whose presence in the linguistic landscape has become a site of ideological struggle.

And finally, three municipalities (*Casnigo, Castelli Calepio* and *Ponte Nossa*) retained monolingual boundary signs, but introduced bilingual signs displaying the name of the various settlements (*frazioni*, in Italian) within the municipal area (cf. Figure 12.4).

Figure 12.3 The road signs introduced by the municipal council of Sorisole

Figure 12.4 Road signs introduced by the municipal council of Castelli Calepio

If we consider the distribution of the phenomenon across the province of Bergamo, we may notice that the introduction of bilingual road signs is an urban and peri-urban policy, implemented by the municipalities surrounding the province's main urban center of Bergamo (cf. Map 12.1 in the Appendix). Bilingual road signs are largely absent from the mountain areas in the province, such as the Brembana valley, the Serian valley and the Scalve valley in the north; with a few exceptions, bilingual signs are also absent from other peripheral areas, such as the Sebino districts in the east and the Imagna valley.

Identifying one single reason behind this distribution would entail a gross oversimplification. Nevertheless, when I examined the official statistics issued by the province of Bergamo, concerning the foreign population in the year 2011, I noticed a striking correspondence between the municipalities where bilingual road signs are absent and the districts of the province of Bergamo where the presence of immigrants is scarcer (cf. Map 12.2 in the Appendix): by comparing the two maps, it is apparent that bilingual road signs are nearly absent from the districts where immigrants amount to less than 5 per cent of the resident population.[5]

As I said, it is of course impossible to prove any direct cause-effect relation: further empirical evidence is required before any conclusion can be reached. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that a higher percentage of immigrants and the resulting higher visibility of immigrant languages in the local linguistic landscape may be one of the factors which prompted the adoption of bilingual road signs as a visual symbol of the local cultural and linguistic identity.

Bilingual road signs are usually implemented by right-wing local councils or by coalitions including the Northern League, a federalist political party, whose representatives advocate greater autonomy and sometimes even secession for Italy's northern regions, and politicize the promotion of the 'local languages' (including Italo-Romance dialects) as the first step towards defining what is specific to and precious about northern culture and values.[6] The Northern League has enjoyed widespread support in the province of Bergamo since the 1990s, and its strong anti-immigrants stance is in fact on of the most popular aspects of its political philosophy.

Nevertheless, when the town council that introduced the bilingual signs steps down, either in accordance with term limit requirements or for other political reasons, the signs are not removed, since many perceive the Bergamasco toponym as the 'real' name of their local places, irrespective of their political inclinations. Removing them would be an unpopular move, that no administration is willing to make.

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5. It is important to note that by 'immigrants' here I do not mean 'tourists' – though Bergamo and its province are also attractive tourist destinations–, but labor immigrants and asylum-seekers (who come mostly from Africa and the Middle-East), whose increasing presence tends to be regarded as undesirable by the local population.

6. On the 'language question' in Bergamo and its province and the role played by the Northern League, see Cavanaugh (2009: 156–188). The latter rightly observes that "Northern Leaguers (known as *leghisti* (pl.) or *leghista* (sing.)) cast the national government as a colonizing force, which imposed its foreign language and culture upon the north and tried to erase the sociocultural and linguistic differences that fill the peninsula in order to achieve an artificial unity". See also Cavanaugh (2013).

4. Analysis and discussion

4.1 The semiotics of code-preference in public signage

Researchers have addressed the study of public signage from a variety of theoretical perspectives; a direction worth exploring, which has received relatively little attention so far, is the approach that Scollon and Scollon-Wong (2003) called *Geosemiotics*, i.e. "the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs in the world" (2003: 110). The approach relies on what may seem a trivial observation, i.e. the fact that the meaning of public signs can only be interpreted by considering their placement in a certain social and cultural context. This entails the identification, within a given linguistic community, of *geosemiotic zones*, i.e. of broad areas, such as a university campus, a shopping mall or a urban neighborhood, in which there is an agreement – either explicit or tacit or a combination of both – about how semiotic systems ought to be represented. In bilingual contexts,

> […] where there is a choice of codes available, that choice forms a code preference semiotic system. When two or more codes appear in the same picture, the choice of position is in itself a semiotic system which indexes the places in which the sign appears and is an indexable sign for social actors in that world.
>
> (Scollon and Scollon-Wong 2003: 124)

In the absence of explicit government policies regulating the relative position of two (or more) languages on a sign, the analysis of the latter can reveal the functional allocation of the languages in the community repertoire or the existence of a struggle for dominance between the languages in contact, and hence, become a rich source of sociolinguistic information.

Lack of space prevents us from discussing Scollon and Scollon-Wong's model in details. One last point, however, needs to be mentioned, given its relevance for the present analysis. By comparing data from various sociolinguistic settings, involving the use of different writing systems and/or in situations of language contact, the researchers reached the conclusion that in bi- or multilingual public signs,

> […] the preferred code is located *above* the secondary or peripheral code if they are aligned vertically; if they are aligned horizontally the preferred code is located *in the left position* and the peripheral code is located in the right position. A third possibility is that the preferred code is located *in the center* and the peripheral code is placed around the periphery.[7]
>
> (Scollon and Scollon-Wong 2003: 120, *my emphasis*)

7. Scollon and Scollon-Wong (2003: 121) point out that their assumptions cannot be uncritically extended to languages written from right to left, such as Arabic, whose position on street signs

Most of the bilingual signs set up in the province of Bergamo assign the same space to the Italian and the Bergamasco version of the place-names. Italian is placed on top – a clear indication of code preference, in Scollon and Scollon-Wong's terms –, while the dialect version is below it, along with the municipal crest and on a brown background (which, unlike a blue or a white background, indicates a tourist trail), as illustrated by the pictures in Figure 12.5. Note that the fonts employed may also differ: one of the signs may be written in capital letters, and the other – as a rule, the sign displaying the Bergamasco place-name – in lower-case letters. This asymmetry in font choice is certainly a visual feature which deserves more careful consideration since, like the order of languages, it could contribute to the identification of a code preference system.

Figure 12.5 Examples of Italian as the preferred code

Counterexamples are also quite common. A number of boundary signs display Bergamasco as the preferred language in Scollon and Scollon-Wong's terms, either by assigning more space to it or by placing the Bergamasco version in the upper position (e.g. Figure 12.2 above). A few municipalities left the Italian sign in the upper position, but the Bergamasco version was accompanied by a welcome message in the local dialect, as in the case of Zogno (cf. Figure 12.6). All in all, it is difficult to identify a consistent pattern. As I mentioned in Section 2, the extreme heterogeneity that we encounter in the policies implemented by the various municipal councils is encouraged by the very general formulation contained in the Road Traffic Act (C*odice della Strada*).

in language contact situations they have not been able to investigate with sufficient accuracy. The validity of their observations, however, is confirmed by other sources – at least, as far as vertical alignment is concerned. The analysis of the signs erected in the Old City of Jerusalem, for instance, convinced Spolsky that "writing a street signs in Hebrew, Arabic or English in Jerusalem was a reflection of the political situation […]. The order of languages, like the language choice, becomes a claim of ownership: when the Israeli electric company took over the supply of electricity to the Old City from the Arabic company, the Danger signs switched the order of languages, with Hebrew *moving to the top*" (Spolsky 2009: 70, *my emphasis*).

Figure 12.6 Examples of Bergamasco as the preferred code

The municipality of Bergamo provides another interesting case in point: the road signs set up in 2011, when the city council rested in the hands of a coalition including the Northern League political party, placed the Italian version on top, but the Bergamasco version (below it, preceded by a welcome message) was given much more prominence.[8] In May 2015, after the Democratic Party took the lead of the city council, the signs were replaced by a more sober signage (cf. Figure 12.7). Interestingly, the Bergamasco toponym appears on the new signs as well.[9] Note that the presence of Bergamasco does not fulfil any *informative* function. Bergamasco place-names do not convey any additional information to local community members and may be a source of confusion and misunderstanding to outsiders. Indeed,

Figure 12.7 Boundary signs erected by the municipal council of Bergamo in 2011 (left) and in 2015 (right)

8. Incidentally, note that the Bergamasco signage includes a para-etymological interpretation of the toponym (in the bottom-left corner: *Dal germanico «Berg-heim»/Dal latino «Bergomum»*), which is attributed both a Germanic and a Romance (Latin) etymological origin.

9. Between the Italian (*Bergamo*) and the Bergamasco (*Bèrghem*) place name, the 2015 sign encloses the indication *Città dei Mille*, 'City of the Thousand'. The reason for this is that Bergamo is often referred to as *City of the Thousand* since it is believed to be the home town of most of the (roughly thousand) volunteers who joined Giuseppe Garibaldi in the XIX century resurgence movements that led to national unity.

bilingual signs are not aimed to outsider, but rather, to the local people: their function is symbolic, identity-related (cf. Spolsky 2009: 69).

In this sense, the display of Bergamasco on road signs cannot be interpreted in terms of commodification (in the sense of Johnstone 2009) of a local linguistic variety, i.e. as part of an attempt to make Bergamasco a "valuable commodity", whereby Bergamo and its province might appear 'peculiar' or 'quaint', and thus more attractive to tourists and newcomers. As I said, its presence is a "claim of ownership" (Spolsky 2009: 69), a voluntary deviation from the norm privileging the public display of Italian to the exclusion of the local vernacular language.

4.2 Orthography as an identity marker

Let us now focus on orthography and spelling choices. As I said in Section 2, Bergamasco lacks a standard orthography and it is used almost exclusively in the family domain or in informal conversations. All the individuals who occasionally write Bergamasco are literate in Italian, which is the main written language in the local community. Hence, their spelling choices cannot escape the influence of Italian orthography. This influence may potentially result either in the attempt to imitate the Italian orthographic norm or to distance oneself from it. In this sense, orthographic choices do not exist in isolation, but are always the result of language contact.

Orthography is probably one the most visible features of a written language, hence even a small difference, such as the presence of an accent or a certain combination of graphemes (e.g. the use of the digraph <ch> in order to express the voiceless stop [k] occurring in *fresch* 'fresh' and in *Bergamàsch* 'Bergamo people', cf. Figure 12.8; in Italian the same sound never occurs in word-final position), may function as a marker of identity. This is especially true when the spelling conventions of a minority or subordinate language are close to those of the dominant language – either as a result of a similar phonological system or because of the high amount of shared or cognate vocabulary. As Jaffe (2000: 502) reminds us, orthography can be an important tool of *Abstandsprache* and spelling choices can be exploited in order to increase the distance between related languages.

In the data collected for this survey the symbolic value of orthographic choices is apparent in the redundant use of accents and diacritical marks, that are unnecessarily added to all the syllables in a word (mono-syllabic, unaccented clitics included, cf. Figure 12.9).

Figure 12.8 Bus advertisement: *Ol Lacc Frèsch di Bergamàsch* 'The fresh milk of the Bergamo people'

Figure 12.9 Accents and diacritics as tools of *Abstandsprache*[10]

Apparently, the sole function of these marks is to set Bergamasco apart from the main language of literacy, i.e. Italian:[11] in the toponym *Én Càstèl* /eŋkasˈtɛl/, 'to (the) castle', the preposition *én* forms a single phonetic word with *càstèll*, which is stressed on the second syllable, like the Italian *castello* /kasˈtɛlːo/, on top; in a

10. My thanks to Luca Mignani for providing both these pictures; both signs were set up by the town council of Casnigo.

11. Unlike the orthography of other Romance languages, such as French, Italian orthography makes a limited use of accents and diacritics. Word stress is graphically marked only when it falls on a final syllable, though its position may have distinctive value, as exemplified by the following minimal pairs: *ancora* /ˈaŋkora/ 'anchor' ~ *ancora* /aŋˈkora/ 'again'; *principi* /ˈprinʧipi/ 'princes' ~ *principi* /prinˈʧipi/ 'principles'; *capitano* /ˈkapitano/ '(they) happen' ~ *capitano* /kapiˈtano/ 'captain' ~ *capitanò* /kapitaˈno/ '(he) led/directed'. For more details on Italian orthography, the reader is referred to the 'classic' work by Migliorini and Folena (1954), which was recently reprinted with an introductory essay by Claudio Marazzini (2016). Incidentally, Migliorini and Folena (1954: 7; 43–44) suggest to distinguish homographs (like those mentioned above) by marking the tonic vowel with an accent irrespective of its position in the word, a measure which, however, did not actually prevail. See also note 12.

similar way, *ól sègràt* /olseˈgrat/ 'the churchyard' bears a single primary stress, like the corresponding Italian noun phrase, *il sagrato* /ilsaˈgrato/. What justifies the use of accents on unstressed syllables?

Part of the answer probably lies in Mark Sebba's account of how spelling choices can function as markers of difference and belonging:

> *Creating distance* is important particularly for unstandardized language varieties and dialects that need to establish what they are *not*: in other words, to demonstrate that they are different from the very thing that they might generally be taken to be, the dominant language. (Sebba 2009: 42, *emphasis in the original*)

Indeed, in language contact situations characterized by the presence of competing orthographic traditions, the choice of a given orthographic variant is often governed by ideological underpinnings and may be interpreted as an act of identity (Le Page and Tabouret Keller 1985: 181) comparable to language choice in bi- or multilingual speech.

The willingness to set Bergamasco apart from the national language can be detected in a number of unusual spelling choices. The municipal council of Costa Volpino, for instance, set up bilingual bordering signs where the spelling of the Bergamasco place-name displays an accent which has no obvious phonological or phonetical justification (see Figure 12.10). In fact, the first part of the toponym (*Costa* /ˈkɔsta/) is accented on the initial syllable, as the Italian one; the presence of an accent on the second syllable of *Costa*' can only be explained as an attempt to make the Bergamasco toponym look different from the Italian one, i.e. "to establish a symbolic difference" (Sebba 2009: 112) between two closely related forms.

Figure 12.10 Bordering sign set up by the municipal council of Costa Volpino

Another example comes from the municipality of Villa d'Ogna, in the upper Seriana Valley. The local municipal council set up bilingual boundary signs where the initial sound of the Bergamasco place-name /ˈela ˈdɔɲa/ was spelled as an open front vowel

/ɛ/,[12] rather than as a closed one (see Figure 12.11). Within a very short time, the accent was erased, thus supposedly bringing the spelling more in line with the pronunciation. The person behind this was evidently a local community member, who amended a spelling inaccuracy that the visibility of the signs had made apparent. Examples like this show that Bergamasco road signs defy the classical distinction between *top-down* and *bottom-up* linguistic landscape items (Ben-Rafael *et alii* 2006: 10). Bergamasco signs are of course issued by the local municipal authorities, and hence, a top-down initiative, but once they have been erected, they become a *public good* (Coulmas 2013: 104), of whom the whole community is a custodian. This explains why removing them tends to be perceived as an unpopular political move by left-wing and right-wing municipal councils alike.

Figure 12.11 The bordering sign set up by the municipal council of Villa d'Ogna (left) and its amended version (right)

5. Conclusions

Spelling choices lend themselves easily to symbolic purposes, both in the presence and in the absence of a shared orthographic norm. In the presence of a highly-standardized written norm, the use of non-standard spellings – e.g. in graffiti or in other informal public texts – has "the potential to challenge linguistic hierarchies, for [it] can make non-standard voices visible/audible in a medium that habitually does not recognize them" (Jaffe 2000: 498). The highly playful, non-standard varieties of English which have recently arisen in a number of Internet forum and chat lines (e.g. Grondin 2010; Miola 2013; Fiorentini 2015) are a good example of how spelling choices can be exploited in order to express one's affiliation to a non-mainstream cultural and/or social identity.

12. In Italian, the phonological opposition /e/~/ɛ/ has a low functional load, though it serves to distinguish a word pair with high frequency of occurrence, i.e. the conjunction *e* /e/ 'and' as opposed to *è* /ɛ/ '(she/he/it) is', the third person singular present form of the verb *essere*. This distinction is graphically marked by the presence of a grave accent on the verb form.

In the absence of an established written tradition – i.e. in language contact situations where a politically and/or economically dominant language is in a diglossic relation with a subordinate language, which retains its role as a vehicle of intimacy and solidarity among local community members – the very decision to use the subordinate language in texts intended for public display may fulfill identity-related functions. The analysis of the graphic solutions adopted in the bilingual boundary signs erected by some municipal councils of the province of Bergamo has shown that the use of accents or the selection of a certain spelling variant can be exploited in order to establish an oppositional identity between two closely related language varieties, i.e. to distinguish the subordinate language (in this case, Bergamasco) from the unmarked choice in written domains, Italian, the national language.

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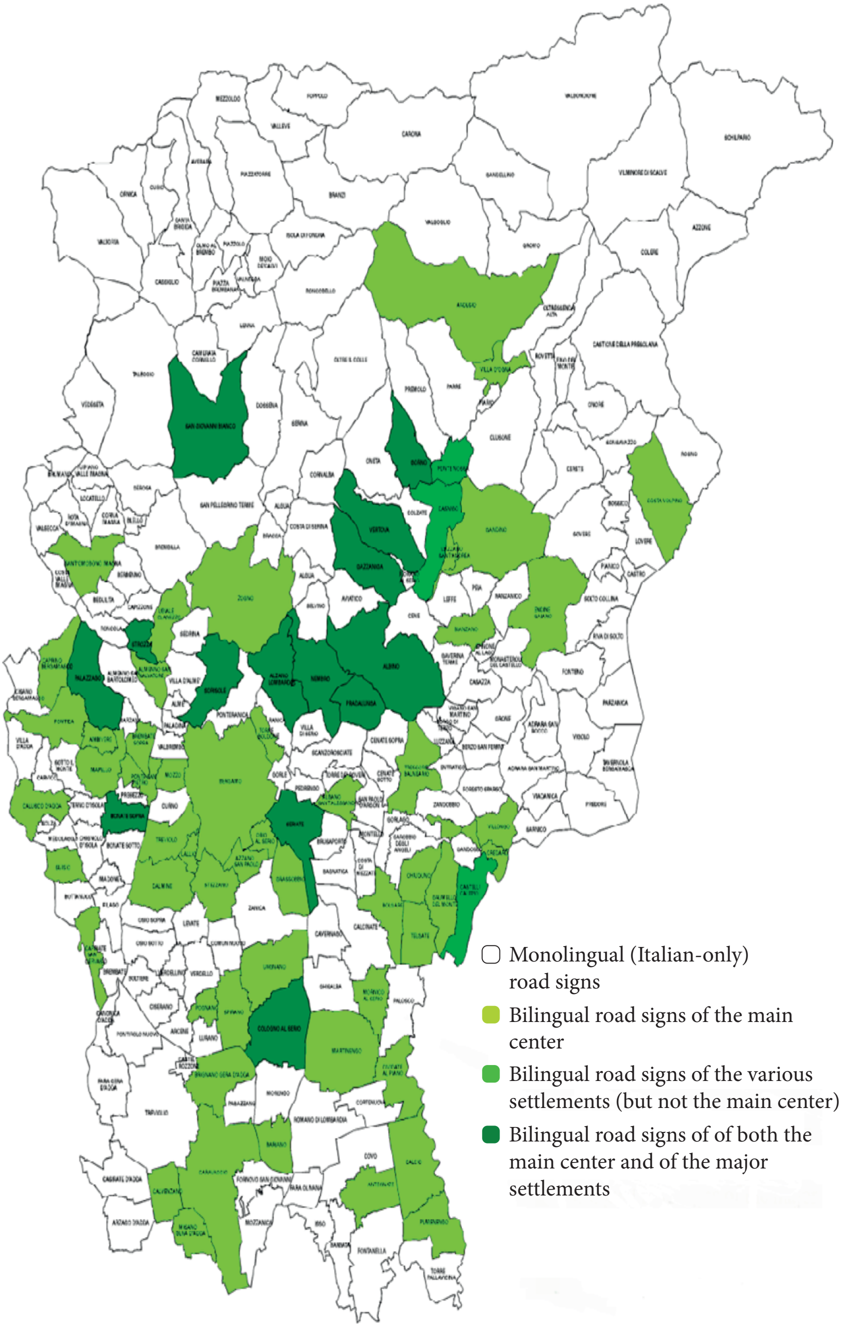
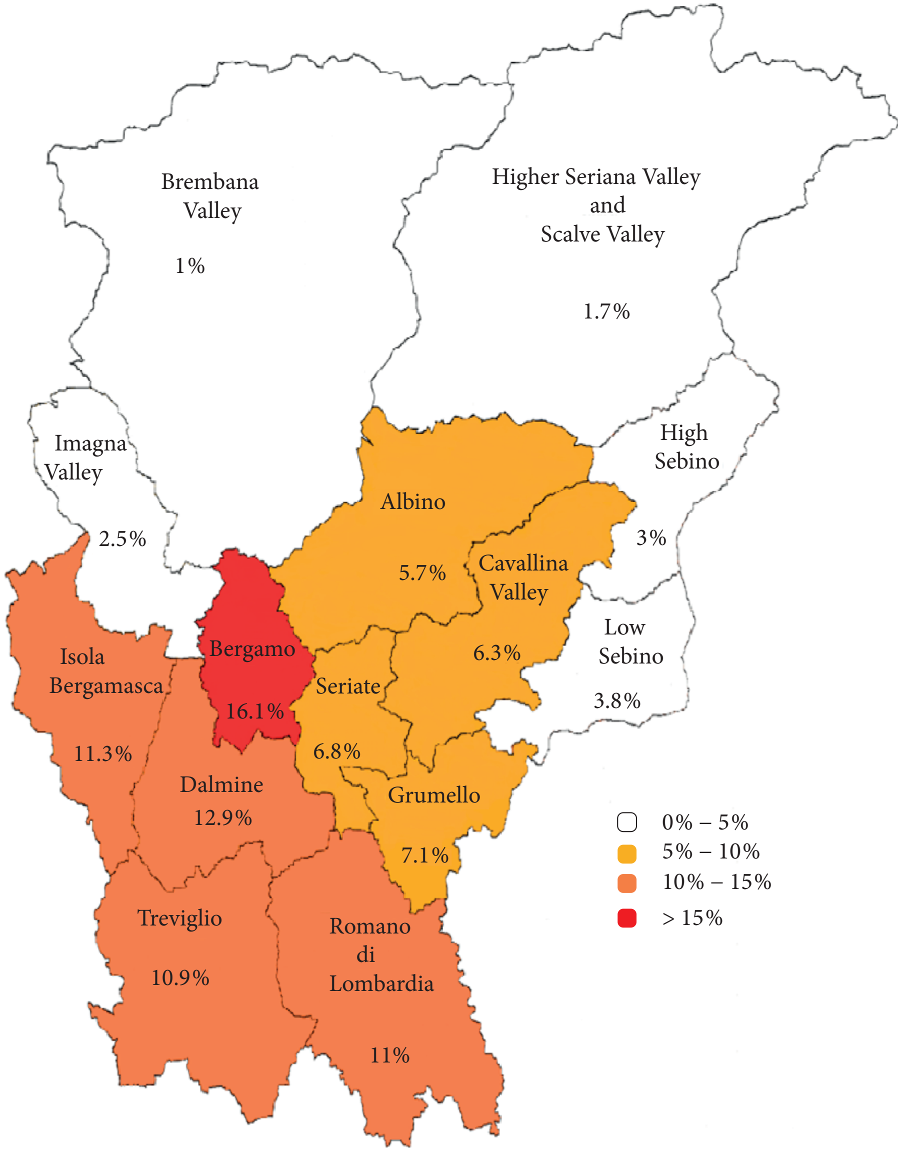
Appendix: Maps



Map 12.1 Overview of the policies adopted in the province of Bergamo



(Source of the data: Province of Bergamo 2011)

Map 12.2 Percentage of immigrant residents in the various districts of the province of Bergamo

CHAPTER 13

Positioning the self in talk about groups

Linguistic means emphasising veracity used by members of the Georgian Greek community

Concha Maria Höfler

This paper focuses on the discourse marker *chestno govorya* 'honestly speaking' as a device allowing speakers to create greater closeness between interlocutors and then drawing sharp social boundaries in positioning their own community in relation to others. The study is based on an ethnographically informed conversation analysis of 49 semi-structured interviews with members of Georgia's Greek community and elucidates the links between the nano level of interaction and larger societal discourses ranging from the communal to the (post-) Soviet imaginary. It is shown how *chestno* serves firstly as a disclaimer of potentially difficult topics ahead, of risky self-disclosure which fosters intimacy, enabling speakers to establish the recurring boundary between 'Christians' and 'Muslims' or rehearse stereotypes, established as a child. Methodologically, a corpus search for veracity devices, such as *chestno govorya,* can help identify sections of discourse where problematic issues relating to the way speakers position themselves in their community are being discussed.

Keywords: Greeks in Georgia, discourse markers, positioning, categorisation, boundary work, conversation analysis

1. Introduction

Giving an interview to an outsider heightens the conversational demands on the interviewee(s): implicit and seemingly 'obvious' knowledge about how the (social) world works must be made explicit (Rabinow 1977). In interviews collected in Georgia in 2013–14, this challenge is met by members of the multilingual Georgian Greek community through the frequent use of positioning strategies emphasising their subjectivity in the context of the interview interaction.

Contrary to most current assumptions about how identification and language use interact, religious affiliation (and ancestry) rather than language use is what

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members of the multilingual Georgian Greek community make most relevant in the construction of their being 'Greek' – i.e. in the construction of their collective identification.[1] Linguistically, this community may be divided into two subgroups: *Pontic Greeks* speak a Greek variety, *Urum Greeks* a variety closely related to Anatolian Turkish (Skopeteas 2014). The two varieties are mutually unintelligible, so community members speak Russian or Georgian when communicating with each other. Factors uniting this multilingual community are their origin on the Southeastern coast of the Black Sea, their affiliation with the (Greek) Orthodox Church, the official classification as 'Greeks' in the Soviet Union, mass emigration in the past 25 years, and the perception of being part of a greater Greek diaspora reaching back to the Byzantine Empire (Sideri 2006).

Today the Georgian Greek population lives in ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous areas. The rural areas in particular have seen a lot of emigration and internal migration since the end of the Soviet Union (Wheatley 2006). These changes have, of course, influenced my interviewees' conceptions of who their in-group and numerous out-groups are. Being in a minority situation in multi-ethnic Georgia, they position themselves not only with regards to the Georgian societal majority but also to other minorities, of which Azerbaijanians (6.3% of the population) and Armenians (4.5%) are the most numerous (Geostat 2016). This leads to a rather complex picture of positions, leading them to draw social, spatial, and temporal boundaries of greatly varying strength and quality between the groups they make relevant in the interviews.

Linking the analysis of identification in spoken data to the "the social positioning of self and other" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 586), this paper investigates the meta-communicative subjectivising strategies speakers employ in the interviews in order to pragmatically restrict statements about the respective in- and out-groups to the sphere of their personal experiences and opinion. Speakers not only position their in-group in relation to other groups they make relevant in their life world(s) but also themselves in relation to the subject under discussion. In this dual process of self- and other positioning in terms of (ethnic, national or other social) categorisations as well as interactional identification, discourse markers like *chestno govorya*[2] 'honestly speaking' emphasise the speaker's veracity and serve as strong disclaimers that what follows bears the potential for conflict. Taking these kind of discourse markers as an indicator that interactively more precarious situations are

1. For how this plays out with regard to community members' competence in Standard Modern Greek (and especially the lack thereof) cf. Höfler (2016, 2018).

2. Transliteration of Russian and Georgian follows the BGN/PCGN standard (National Geospatial Intelligence Agency 1949/2009).

imminent, the analysis focuses on elucidating the positioning(s) of speakers and the boundaries drawn in these instances.

In a nutshell, it is shown how discourse markers underlining the speaker's veracity, serve to position her in the interview situation as prepared to speak 'openly' (and 'courageously') about conversationally 'dangerous' topics by creating greater 'intimacy' between interlocutors. These moments are then used by interviewees to position their own community in relation to others.

2. Identification, boundaries, positioning, and veracity in discourse

In this Section I will briefly delineate the requisite theoretical framework behind identification, positioning, boundaries and discourse necessary to gainfully investigate what I will call *veracity devices* like *chestno govorya* 'honestly speaking.' First of all, building on the by now well established two-sided understanding of *identification* as consisting of the complex interaction between *(self-)identification* and *being identified* (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Jenkins 1994; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Tabouret-Keller 1997), identification will be explored in its processual nature instead of reproducing the rather static conceptions of *identity*. There is no 'essential' static identity any person ever acquires, instead identification is not only a social,[3] but also a profoundly precarious endeavour, one we keep narrating to ourselves and others (Hall 1996). This narrated nature of identification is what makes it so amenable to an analysis focusing on oral data (Bamberg 2010). *Groupness*, taking individual identification to the level of collective processes, relies on the establishment of categories, which are used to order the (social) world (Barth 1969; Brubaker 2002; Wimmer 2008). These categories are filled with ascriptions and evaluated (Hausendorf 2000), a process that will be exemplified in the analysis (Section 4). Furthermore, a sense of commonality based on shared experiences and practices is necessary for *belonging* to a 'group' (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2011), the categories used in boundary work are fundamental but not sufficient.

The creation of categories pertaining to an *imagined community* relies on the notion of them being somehow limited or bounded (Anderson 1991). Crucially, boundaries are relational (Lamont and Molnar 2002),[4] making their drawing, negotiation, contest, subversion etc. a fundamental process in the creation of 'groups' and thereby of (collective) identification. Therefore, focusing on categorisation as

3. As first developed in Mead (1980).

4. As much relating things on opposite sides of the established boundary, as on either side of the boundary (Tilly 2004).

a way to put people into 'groups' as well as on the boundaries constructed between the relevant categories[5] offers insights into how interactants construe their social world. Examining boundaries drawn in interaction, it becomes apparent that they differ – among other things – in their strength, which can be conceptualised in at least two (not mutually exclusive) ways. Boundaries can be understood as consisting of thicker or thinner *layers* (Haselsberger 2014), with each "boundary feature" adding to its thickness,[6] or being on a continuum from *durability* via *permeability* to *liminality* (Schiffauer *et alii* 2018). Analytically, it may further be fruitful to separately take into account their *spatial*, *social*, and *temporal* dimensions (Schiffauer *et alii* 2018).

Like identification and boundaries, *positioning* emerges dynamically through interactants indexing their positions and potential belonging on various levels of discourse (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 592). Three levels of discourse are usually presumed: the macro level of (political) societal discourse, the local community-related meso level and the micro level encompassing the interaction at hand and the participant roles, stancetaking etc. played out in it (cf. Bucholtz and Hall 2005). However, participant roles and evaluative stances frequently shift and change during an on-going interaction. Since the level of conversation is the one analysed most closely in this paper, another level of discourse may be introduced. I follow Arendt (2011) in distinguishing between the micro context of the conversation and the *nano context* of particular conversational phases, for example one introduced through the use of *chestno govorya*. Conceptualising discourse in this way enables the analysis of positions on the meso and macro levels of discourse through the analysis of micro and nano level positionings. Importantly, these positions are never fully intentional:

> Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts.
>
> (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 606)

5. Boundaries rely on (the construction and perception of) *difference* (Green 2009), which does not automatically imply that all differences constitute boundaries (Barth 2000). Again, it is those differences which are made relevant in (everyday) interaction as defining group membership which count.

6. While Haselsberger's (2014) approach conceptually takes processes of adding further layers to a boundary into account, she unfortunately says nothing about the processes of dissolving them.

Positioning interactants on the nano level of the conversation, meta-communicative devices emphasising the speaker's veracity enable very direct and conversationally foregrounded positioning work.[7] Interactional displays of veracity like *chestno govorya* 'honestly speaking' are neither scalar (someone is not 'a little honest') nor is there anything resembling a discursively used antonym. Rather, something else is at stake: the legitimation of an utterance otherwise impossible at that particular point of the on-going conversation (Stoltenburg 2009: 249f). It may be described as an anticipatory interactional routine signalling communicative challenges (Stoltenburg 2009: 257), one that helps to establish a certain closeness, which in turn renders otherwise socially undesirable statements "less impossible".

In terms of veracity as politeness work, it is mainly discussed as a device protecting the addressee's *negative face* (Brown and Levinson 1987; Stoltenburg 2009). In the interview corpus at hand however, it is used exclusively to protect the speaker's own face, underscoring the fact that interviews – especially those given to a complete outsider – are a very particular conversational context.[8] Stoltenburg (2009: 275) proposes a juxtaposition of honest/direct versus polite/indirect speech, with veracity markers on the direct end of the continuum. Using another spectrum – that of mitigation and intensification devices – he would rank it as a mitigation strategy because it serves as a disclaimer of potentially risky material ahead. Other approaches, however, would rather count it as one of intensification, since speakers do not actually distance themselves from whatever statement follows the introductory display of frankness (Roth 2005). One viable way of classification is, of course, to treat 'honestly speaking' as context dependent and to analyse it accordingly. Taking a closer look at the instances of *chestno govorya* and its variants in the corpus, another possibility suggests itself: displays of candour, and especially variants of *chestno*, are used to create a context of greater intimacy in which otherwise 'unsayable' things may safely be uttered. 'Veracity' is then an intensification device prefacing impoliteness, which at the same time draws interlocutors closer together – or moves the conversation along a proximity-distance continuum towards the former.[9]

7. On dealing with communicative tasks around categorisation and belonging either in the background or foreground of conversation cf. Hausendorf (2000).

8. Protecting the speaker's own face is, of course, also apparent in one of Stoltenburg's own examples where *also ich muss GANZ ehrlich sagen* "I have to say REALLY honestly" introduces a personal statement and at the same time marks it as confidential and potentially risky (Stoltenburg 2009: 267).

9. In the context of modelling oral and written interaction, Koch and Oesterreicher (2011) elaborate a continuum between *Nähesprache* 'speech of proximity' and *Distanzsprache* 'speech of distance'.

Approached in this way, it is an example of interactional relationship work, one for which 'intensification' and 'mitigation' are somehow insufficient descriptions, even though they do play a role when *chestno govorya* is uttered.

3. Data

The data analysed in this paper are part of a bigger study (Höfler, forthcoming) based on 49 semi-structured interviews with self-identifying members of Georgia's Greek community collected in 2013 and 2014. 23 interviewees still speak or have a family history of speaking Urum[10] (age range: 19–77, average age: 43.9, 13 female, 10 male). 26 interviewees still speak or have a family history of speaking Pontic Greek (age range: 19–81, average age: 50.5, 14 female, 12 male). As place of residence plays an important role in this community (Höfler 2011), interviews were held both in the bigger cities of Tbilisi and Batumi (11 Urum and 10 Pontic Greeks) as well as the rural areas of Ts'alk'a, Tetrits'q'aro and Ach'ara (12 Urum and 16 Pontic Greeks). Interview length varied between 30–90 minutes. Interviewees were offered the choice of the (main) language used in the interview, with the majority opting for Russian. Switches into Georgian were enabled by the presence of my colleague Nika Loladze whose first language is Georgian. The interviews covered a broad range of topics designed to allow an insight into the socio-economic and political transformations in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the factors and processes used to establish belonging in the Georgian Greek community.

All interviews were recorded and later transcribed according to GAT 2 (Selting *et alii* 2009),[11] annotated and analysed using tools of the software package EXMARaLDA (Schmidt and Wörner 2009).

4. Emphasising veracity in the interview corpus

In the interview corpus, speakers use all sorts of meta-communicative discourse markers to position themselves in relation to what they say about their life worlds. These discourse markers can be termed subjectivisation devices, since in the cases

10. I.e. interviewees whose direct ancestors still speak or used to speak Urum. Note that this does not necessarily mean that the interviewees themselves are competent speakers of Urum – or Pontic Greek in the case of speakers with Pontic Greek as the heritage language.

11. I am grateful to Anno Chkhaidze, Ani Chutkerashvili, Sophio Gachechiladze, Gvantsa Jishkariani, Nino Ushikishvili and Mariam Varazashvili for their invaluable help in the transcription process.

studied here they emphasise the speaker's position with respect to their statements – as opposed to positioning themselves through the way they speak and what they say. These subjectivisation devices fall broadly into two categories: those restricting what is being said to the sphere of the speaker's personal experiences and perceptions, and those underlining her veracity – the latter being the focus of this paper. In terms of the continua discussed in Section 2 above, the first category comprises mitigating strategies whereas the latter is made up of intensification strategies creating greater proximity between interlocutors. Devices in the first group would be versions of *ya (tak) dumayu*[12] '(that's what) I think', *po-moemu / po moemu mneniyu* 'in my opinion' or *ne znayu* 'I don't know', with the last also serving to manage expectations attributed to the interviewer(s) by the interviewee. Devices in the second group emphasise the speaker's candor and/or the truth of what she is saying, such as with *chestno govorya* 'honestly speaking'. Both types of strategies allow the speaker to draw boundaries between the groups they perceive in their world. While the former may be used in order to interactionally protect the face of the speaker by restricting what is said to personal experience and feelings (Roth 2005; Dijk 1987; Wodak *et alii* 2009), something else is at stake in case of the latter, especially in the case of constructions involving *chestno* 'honestly'. Whereas versions of *pravda* 'truth' (including *govoryu pravdu* 'I say the truth', *pravdu pravdu* 'the truth is the truth', or *pravdu nada govorit'* 'truth must be told') are used to intensify statements pertaining to almost all of the interview topics, *chestno govorya* 'honestly speaking' and its variants are used in a much more restricted number of contexts.

So, while interviewees, unsurprisingly, vary in terms of the subjectivisation strategies they employ,[13] there is much less variation in the contexts where they use *chestno govorya*. This could be an effect of the interview situation in which interviewees might interpret some questions as having a 'desirable answer', therefore 'stepping up' the conversational work on legitimising a failure to comply with these expectations. Rather frequent examples not involving boundary work seem to be answers to my question about the *Greek Federation of Georgia*, which many interviewees have no dealings with, or their personal reasons for staying in Georgia after

12. In this paper I focus on the Russian part of the corpus.

13. Interviewee LT for example references *pravda* 'truth' exclusively and copiously in the construction *ne pravda* 'isn't it true?', which other interviewees do to a much lesser extent – if at all.

having spoken at length about the Georgian Greek emigration.[14] Speaker AM,[15] a 49-year-old Urum Greek woman living in Tbilisi, is a case in point (0:20:58–0:21:57). When asked why she did not leave, her first answer is to mitigate that she is unsure, before launching into a longer explanation centering on 'having roots' in Georgia due to the long time her family has lived there,[16] which she frames with *chestno govorya ya voobshche ne khochu nikuda uezzhat'* 'honestly speaking, I really don't want to go anywhere at all' at the start and the almost identical *chestno govorya ya ne khochu uezzhat' nikuda* 'honestly speaking, I don't want to go anywhere'. Typically for its use in this corpus, *chestno govorya* is not used to end the discussion of a particular topic (even though the second construction completes the frame and thereby brings it to a close) but rather to set the stage or to open up a closer, more intimate space in which the topic may then be explored on a 'more personal' level.

Chestno govorya and its variants also differ strikingly from other meta-communicative veracity devices in that speakers seldomly use it by itself: In any sequence it is either clustered with other veracity markers like *pravda* (as in Example 2 below) or uttered repeatedly (as in Example 1). As already introduced above, my argument is that this (repeated) display of veracity creates greater closeness or intimacy between interactants, thereby making it possible to issue 'more open' – i.e. harsher – statements or to manage the interlocutor's expectation (i.e. before saying something that is unexpected or socially less desirable) – or both, as we will see below.

In the following two excerpts *chestno (govorya)* is not used merely as a device to manage expectations in the interview but also to position the speaker as 'open' and 'candid' while talking about boundaries. In both cases, boundaries are established, to some extent re-analysed (in the case of EC by herself, in the case of OP by one of the interviewers) and either upheld as in the first excerpt or somehow dissolved.

The first example is an excerpt from the interview with EC, a 37-year-old Urum woman who was born in rural Ts'alk'a and now lives in the capital Tbilisi. She is a housewife and has two teenage children who, quite remarkably for their generation and their urban upbringing, speak the heritage language Urum well. In the conversation before the excerpt (which starts almost an hour into the interview), CH

14. Bear in mind that the Greek population has decreased considerably from 100 000 at the end of the Soviet Union in 1989, via 15 000 in 2002 to only 5500 in the most recent census of 2014 (National Statistics Office of Georgia 2013; Geostat 2016).

15. All speakers have been anonymised and provided with arbitrary acronyms. Choosing 'real' names for them is next to impossible, unfortunately, as both first and surnames are highly coded for national affiliation in the Southern Caucasian context. My interview partners have names that would be categorised as Greek, Georgian, Russian or 'internationally Christian'.

16. *zdes' svoy dom korni (-) roditeli* 'here is my house, my roots, my parents'.

asks EC whether someone's nationality matters to her (thereby already pointing out the fact that national categories might matter to some people). EC answers that it never mattered in her life, giving examples of being friends 'with everyone', and mentioning Georgian and Armenian girl-friends (which is the typical answer to this question). CH then asks whether nationality might matter to other people in Georgia, which EC concedes and then proceeds with:[17]

(1) Marrying the right people (EC, 0:55:37–0:56:29)

1	EC:	*(-) a:*	*znaete*	*chto h e*	*vot*	*chestno*	*skazat'*	*vot*		
		and	know_2PL	what	well	honestly	to_say	well		
		vot	*druzheskie*							
		well	friendly							
2		*otnoshenie*	*[da*	*u*	*menya]*					
		relationship	yes	at	me					
		'and, you know that, well, to say honestly, I have friendly relationships, right?'								
3	CH:	*[mhm]*								
4	EC:	*h ya*	*nikogda*	*ne*	*smotryu*	*a*	*vot*	*e*	*vot*	*moy*
		I	never	not	look_I	and	well		well	my
5		*deti*	*zhe*	*vyrostayut*	*oni*	*zhenit'sya*	*khotyat*			
		children	also	will_grow_up_they	they	to_marry	want_they			
		'I never look at that, but well, well when my children grow up they will want to marry'								
6	CH:	*mhm*								
7	EC:	*vot*	*e*	*chestno*	*vot*	*skazhu*	*ya*	*by*	*o_*	*khochu*
		well		honestly	well	will_say_I	I	would		want_I
8		*chtoby*	*vot*	*oni*	*zhenilis'*	*na*	*grekov*	*[vot °h]*		
		so_that	well	they	married_PL	on	Greeks_M	well		
		'well, I'll say it honestly, I would want them to marry Greeks'								
9	NL:	*[mhm]*	*[da*	*((chuckles))*	*da*	*da*	*da]*			
			yes		yes	yes	yes			
		'yes, yes, yes, yes'								
10	CH:	[((laughs))]								

17. [ ] indicate that two interactants speak at the same time; °h indicates the drawing of breath; : indicates vowel lengthening; (-), (–) and (–) indicate short pauses; (()) bracket para- and non-linguistic utterances. CH refers to myself, NL to my colleague Nika Loladze. The language of both interviews is Russian.

11 EC: *[chestno govoryu chestno vot] ya khochu chtoby*
honestly say_I honestly well I want_I so_that

12 *vot nu esli poluchitsya chto ne poluchit[sya moy syn]*
well well if happens that not happens my son
'honestly, I speak honestly, well I want that, well if it turns out that it doesn't happen, that my son'

13 NL: *[hm]*

14 EC: *polyubit gruzinku*
will_love Georgian_F
'falls in love with a Georgian'

15 CH: *[mhm]*

16 EC: *[ili] armyanku glavnoe ni musul'manku [chestno govoryu*
or Armenian_F main not Muslim_F honestly say_I

17 *potomu chto]*
because that
'or Armenian girl, the main thing is not a Muslim girl, I speak honestly, because'

18 NL: *[mhm da]*
yes
'yes'

19 EC: *h e nu ya lyublyu etikh uvazhayu musul'maninov nu*
well I love_I these respect_I Muslims well

20 *potomu chto u nikh religiya drugaya h ni [khochu]*
because that at them religion other not want_I
'well, I love these, I respect Muslims, well, because their religion is different, I don't want'

21 NL: *[mhm]*

22 CH: *[mhm]*

23 EC: *[vot iz za etogo] a tak u menya est' podrushki*
well from for this and so at me is girl_friends

24 *musul'manki ya mogu govorit' [h]*
Muslims_F I can_I to_say
'well, that's the reason and well I have Muslim girlfriends I can say'

25 NL: *[hm]*

26 EC: *no u nikh vera drugaya vot iz za etogo [chisto*
but at them belief other well from for this purely

27 *poetomu]*
therefore
'but they have a different faith and therefore, only because of that'

28 CH: *[mhm]*

29 EC: *h ni zakhochesh' no khochu chto moy rebënok*
not will_want_2SG but want_I that my child

30 *syn ili dochka vot em polyubila ili tam [zhenilsya]*
son or daughter well loved_F or there married_M
'you don't want that, but I want that my child, son or daughter fell in love or married'

31 NL: *[hm]*

32 EC: *imenno na greka [vot]*
namely on Greek_M well
'a Greek, well'

33 NL: *[mhm]*

34 CH: *[mhm]*

35 EC: *[vot] eto interesuet*
well this interests

36 CH: *[mhm]*

37 NL: *[da]*
yes
'yes'

38 EC: *a tak esli po:_ polyubit i pozhenitsya puskay*
and so if will_love and will_marry let_2SG

39 *shastliv budet*
happy will_be
'well, if they fall in love and marry, let them be happy'

Having been repeatedly asked about the importance of nationality in her life and the wider Georgian society, and having stated that national categories matter to at least some people in Georgia, EC finds one instance where national belonging does matter to her: in the case of her children getting married. After a number of hesitation markers (line 1), she starts by assuring her veracity (*chestno skazat'* 'to say honestly'), the fact that she does have very good relationships – in the context of the conversation at this point it is clear that this means she has many non Greek friends (1–2) –, and that she 'never' pays attention to nationality (4). Further hesitation markers are employed before she introduces the topic of her children growing up and being in need of spouses (4–5). In (7) EC repeats her honesty, searches for the right words and finally states that she would like to see her children marry endogamously. This is acknowledged with chuckles by CH and NL, who thereby align themselves with her, taking up her offer of greater proximity. By repeating what she has already said in the conversation before and positioning herself as 'open', she sets the stage, as it were, for the apparently difficult topic ahead. In addition, she excuses her marriage preferences, which contrast her earlier statements about the non-importance of nationality.

Further assurances of veracity (11) precede the concession that if it did not turn out to be the case that her son fell in love with a Greek girl, he should choose a Georgian or Armenian one – as long as he did not fall in love with a Muslim girl (11–16). The in this specific context briefly durable boundary of nationality is made permeable in lines (11–16) by allowing Georgian or Armenian girls to enter the realm of acceptable matches. Making boundaries of nationality less relevant allows her to establish the one boundary that apparently can not be breached: that of religion (16). The very candid *glavnoe ni musul'manku* 'the main thing is not a Muslim girl' is followed by yet another *chestno govoryu* 'I speak honestly' (the fourth *chestno* in the excerpt). Here – as in the other cases – 'honesty' does not mitigate what is being said at all but alleviates its face threatening potential by creating greater closeness between the interlocutors at the same time as excusing the socially perhaps less preferred evaluation.

Interestingly, this boundary is uncrossable only in the context of marriage. Muslims deserve 'love', 'respect' (16), and 'friendship' (22), not only on an abstract level but also in her personal relationships. In lines 18–19 and 22–25 respectively, EC first mitigatingly states her love and respect (18), refers to her personal friendship with 'Muslim women' (19), and then states their different faith (18f, 25) as being 'the only' reason for not considering them acceptable matches (22, 25).[18] EC then generalises the belief that an inter-religious marriage is nothing any mother could want *ni zakhochesh'* 'you won't want this' (27), using the generalised Second Person Singular to abstract away from her individual case, thus making a marriage between a 'Christian' and a 'Muslim' even more implausible and undesirable.

Having extensively defended the religious boundary, she then repeats her preference for a Greek son- and daughter-in-law (27–30), before closing the topic with a more general plea for her children's happiness in marriage (36) – and/or presumably

18. Even the wording of this reasoning is identical making the repetition even stronger: *vot iz za etogo* 'for this reason' (22, 25), the second time with an added *chisto poetomu* 'purely because of this'.

life. It is unclear whether this final statement would allow one of her children to marry a Muslim or whether the boundaries she set previously still apply.

Summing up, national and religious categories exist and are important for EC in establishing who might be an acceptable match for her children. Despite the fact that, immediately preceding this 'confession', she has just spent almost two minutes discounting national categories as having any impact on her personal life. Apart from telling us something about EC's marriage preferences for her children, we also learn what categories she deems to be relevant in everyday life: 'Greeks', 'Georgians' and 'Armenians' are the national categories mentioned. Tellingly, they all belong to Christian categories, specify the in-group ('Greeks'), the societal majority ('Georgians') and the largest Christian minority in Georgia ('Armenians'). 'Muslims', on the other hand, are a category that is not further specified and could in the Georgian context refer either to 'Azerbaijanians' – the largest ethnic minority in Georgia –, 'Muslim ethnic Georgians', or to categories outside of Georgia, i.e. 'Turks'. Religious categories, then, override national ones, with 'Christians' being categorised along lines of nation and/or their specific Church, whereas 'Muslims' remain a rather monolithic entity without any further subcategorizations along national, ethnic or religious lines. This reveals a difference in thinking about 'Christians' and 'Muslims', presumably encompassing a difference of knowledge – EC's 'Muslim girlfriends' (as much a claim to knowledge about that group as one about her personal openness) notwithstanding. These aspects tie in nicely with a long line of work on out-group homogenisation (Dijk 1987; Tajfel 1981; Wodak *et alii* 2009) and shows where the durable boundaries are drawn time and again in the context of the Georgian Greek community: along religious rather than national lines, rendering the categories 'Christian' and 'Muslim' the most important *standardised relational pair* in the corpus in the sense of Sacks (1972).

While Excerpt 1 focuses boundaries drawn in the present (and perhaps projected into the future), the following Excerpt 2 redraws boundaries of the past. OP is a 62-year-old Pontic Greek, former sailor and ship mechanic living in Batumi. In conversation about life during the Soviet Union, CH asks whether life was any different for members of different nationalities. OP replies, there 'never was anything', i.e. no problems (0:12:58), apart from the deportation of Pontic Greeks to Kazakhstan in 1949. To him – like to all of our interviewees affected by it – the reasoning behind these deportations remains a mystery, since Greeks lived and fought in WW2 as part of the Soviet Army 'like everyone else'. The conversation then centres on dates and regions of deportation and return and OP explains that (Pontic) Greeks were deported from all areas of the Soviet Union and were by no means the only nationality, listing 'even Georgians', 'Armenians' and 'Chechens'. Right before the following excerpt, NL echoes *chechentsy byli da* 'there were Chechens, right?'

(2) Redrawing past boundaries (OP, 0:14:56–0:15:53)

1 OP: *nu vot tam znaesh' chechentsy [h]*
well here there know_2SG Chechens
'well, you know, the Chechens'

2 CH: *[hm]*

3 OP: *vot kto (-) bezobraznichal chestno govorya (-)*
here who misbehaved_M honestly speaking

4 *chechentsy pravda*
Chechens truth
'like, if someone misbehaved, honestly speaking, it was Chechens, really'

5 CH: *hm*

6 OP: *vot ne khochu plokhogo nechego skazat'*
here not want_I bad nothing to_say
'I don't want to say anything bad'

7 NL: *nu a*
well but
'well, but'

8 OP: *no tam oni bezobraznichali sil'no h i vy znaete*
but there they misbehaved_PL strongly and you know_2PL

9 *ya byl malen'ki*
I was_M small
'but they really behaved badly there and you know I was small'

10 NL: *hm*

11 OP: *((chuckles)) i kogda (-) a chechentsy to sdelali*
and when and Chechens that did_PL

12 *chechentsy eto sdelali da*
Chechens this did_PL yes
'and when it was like, ah, Chechens did this, Chechens did that, right?'

13 CH: *hm*

14 OP: *e ya u menya assotsi_ nu malen'kiy rebënok da*
I at me associ_ well small child yes
'I had the associ_ well, I was a small child, right?'

15 CH: *hm*

16 OP: *assotsiatsiya byla takaya chto chechenets (-) eto navernoe*
association was_F such that Chechen this probably

17 *chto-to h strashnoe [((laughs))]*
something terrible
'my association was that a Chechen is probably something terrible'

18 CH: *[((chuckles))]*

19 NL: *[((chuckles))]*

20 OP: *[ya zhe ne znal chto eta natsiya]*
I even not knew_M that this nation
'I didn't even know it's a nation'

21 NL: *[((chuckles))] a chto oni delali*
and what they did_PL
'but what did they do?'

22 OP: *h nu:::: byli:: (--) raznye [h]*
well were_PL different
'well, they were different'

23 NL: *[hm]*

24 CH: *hm (--)*

25 NL: *nu ne znayu chto vy imeete v vidu*
well not know_I what you have_2PL in view

26 *grabili khuliganili*
robbed_PL hooliganed_PL
'well, I don't know what you have in mind, did they rob, hooligan?'

27 OP: *nu khuliganili grabili da takoe bylo*
well hooliganed_PL robbed_PL yes… such was
takoe (--) no
such but

28 *grabili khuliganili vsE budem govorit' [h]*
robbed_PL hooliganed_PL everybody will_we to_say
'well, they hooliganed, robbed, yes, such things happened, but EVERYBODY robbed and hooliganed, we can say'

29 NL: *[(net)]*
(no)
'no'

30 OP: *no prosto i_ oni (---) bol'shinst_bol'shinstvo sluchaev u*
but simply i_ they major_majority happenings at

31 *nikh bylo*
them was_N
'it's just that the majority of cases involved them'

32 NL: *da*
yes
'yes'

33 OP: *ponimaesh' h khotya (---) i greki:::: i armyani*
understand_2SG although and Greeks and Armenians

34 *i gruziny kto tam tol'ko ne byl russ[kie nu]*
and Georgians who there only not was Russians well
'you understand? although Greeks and Armenians and Georgians, who wasn't there, Russians, well'

35 NL: *[da]*
yes
'yes'

36 CH: *((chuckles))*

37 OP: *(shchas tam budem) [kogo-to]*
(now there will_we) somebody
'we won't turn anybody'

38 CH: *[((chuckles))]*

39 OP: *[delat' ikh angelochkami konechno net] konechno net (--) h*
to_do them angels of_course no of_course no
'into angels now, of course not, of course not'

40 NL: *[da da ((chuckles)) da]*
yes yes yes
'yes, yes, yes'

41 CH: *da*
yes
'yes'

42 OP: *da*
yes
'yes'

Having already spoken about OP's and his family's deportation to Kazakhstan, OP introduces his explanations by using a demonstrative adverb to refer back to the place *tam* 'there' and re-introducing the category *chechentsy* 'Chechens' (line 1).

The discourse markers *chestno govorya* and *pravda* 'truth' (3) allow OP to say something 'very frank', namely the ascription that 'Chechens' behaved badly, without threatening his face – which he protects nonetheless in line 5 with a mitigating statement of not having any bad intentions. NL signals interest in the topic (6) and OP repeats the negative ascription and strengthens it with *sil'no* 'strongly' (7). From these opening remarks which set the stage of the following story, he then 'goes back in time' to elucidate the context by talking about the child that he was (7–8) and the conclusion he drew from the reported speech of older people talking about actions attributed to 'Chechens' (10). Invoking older people of his community, not only shifts the stereotype that 'Chechens' 'always misbehave' away from himself but also allows him to strengthen his community's grievances by generalising the talk within his community. He stops himself from relating the *assotsiatsiya* 'association' he formed from this type of community talk to repeat that he was just a 'small child', guarding against a potential negative evaluation his 'association' might inspire in his interlocutors (13). He proceeds to fill the category 'Chechen' as *navernoe chto-to strashnoe* 'probably something terrible' (15–16), laughing again (presumably at the portrayal of his younger ignorance) before reaching the apex of his narration, in which his younger self is unaware that the category 'Chechen' is actually one of nationhood (19) – something very fundamental in the Soviet time. To his younger self the category label is instead linked with misconduct.

OP might have stopped talking about 'Chechens' at this point, but NL asks for clarification on their characteristic behaviour (20) and gets a strong but very hesitant answer of them being *raznye* 'different' (21) and repeats his request for clarification, this time offering – potentially face saving – possibilities of established negative behaviour like robbing and 'hooliganing' (24). OP takes up the offered behaviours but relativizes their scope: according to him 'everybody' (with focal stress on *vsE* 'everybody') engaged in this type of behaviour (25–26). The only behavioural difference he explains is in terms of frequency of the misdeeds – turning it into a difference of degree rather than kind (28). Somehow, the higher frequency remains an issue (30) in comparison with other national categories he then invokes (30–31). Without explaining other potential differences or taking back the attribution of unexplained and undefined difference, he then positions himself as 'a realist': somebody who will not allow the interactants to turn people into 'little angels' just because they are closer to or part of his own community: i.e. somebody who is not prejudiced against members of perceived out-groups (34–36).

In terms of meso level positioning and establishing boundaries, the narration is intended to establish a strong boundary between an in-group that is set as 'Greeks' by the previous sequences of conversation and 'the Chechens'. 'Nationality' is introduced as a category that orders humans by their ancestry and elevates people belonging to the category 'Chechens' to the same status as those belonging to any other national category – in this case the 'Greeks', 'Armenians', 'Georgians', and 'Russians' (30–31) introduced later. This boundary depiction is problematized by NL's requests for clarification (20) and offer of possible ascriptions to the category 'Chechen' (24), which leads OP to describe the difference as one of frequency rather than category (25–30), thus relativizing the durability of the established boundary, dissolving it for this moment in the interaction – but without taking back the negative ascription. This perceived 'difference' without behavioural examples may be read as a link to larger imperial discourses as discussed below.

In addition to drawing and dissolving this social boundary, OP establishes a temporal one between himself at the point of the interview – as a 'knowing' adult – and as a young 'unknowing' boy (7–8). Reference to this temporal boundary serves a strategic purpose: he uses the 'naïveté' he ascribes to his younger self to thicken the boundary between his own group and the 'Chechens' by filling the category with 'misbehaving rather than 'nationality' (20). Furthermore, shifting stereotyping to other members of his community and his younger self helps alleviate potential threats to his own face in the interview situation.

5. Conclusion

Summing up, at least four important points emerge for an analysis of positioning by means of veracity devices in talk about 'groups'. First of all, on the nano level of conversational context especially (clusters of) *chestno* serves as a disclaimer of potentially difficult topics ahead and is used by speakers to position themselves as 'really opening up'. Speakers thereby initiate a change in proximity between interlocutors, rendering their relationship more intimate at that moment in the interaction, should the addressee align herself with this enhanced proximity.

Secondly, on the meso level of local (social) positionings, *chestno* enables interactionally unexpected or even dispreferred utterances (such as that even though 'everyone else has left' one still does not want to leave Georgia at all) and the construction of very clear boundaries, in the excerpts mostly between the Christian in-group and various Muslim communities. That EC in Excerpt 1, for example, does not mention 'Azerbaijanians' as a national category she is on good terms with, is in line with how ethnic relationships play out in Tbilisi and Georgia as a whole. Notably, this boundary is not established solely by the Greek minority but by Georgians as well. Thus, EC – like most interviewees – positions herself in perfect alignment with the societal majority.

Thirdly, these boundaries may be linked to larger macro level discourses relevant to the interactants, reminiscent of Green's (2009) conception of boundaries as *traces* and thereby historical. OP's childhood memories of Kazakhstanian exile can be read in light of the imperial (Soviet and earlier) discourse, portraying ‘Chechens’ as ‘wild’ ‘uneducated’ ‘dirty’ ‘savages’ – a stereotype he reproduces further on in the interview. In both instances, he positions his community as being part of the Soviet *mission civilisatrice* with all the connotations of colonial supremacy this implies.

On a methodological level, finally, looking for veracity devices in the corpus helps identify sequences of conversation deemed to be problematic by the speaker. Exploring these sequences helps to determine relevant boundaries, social desirability – and in the context of the interviews at hand also what interviewees expect interviewers to find problematic. They are therefore a fruitful starting point for the analysis of how speakers position themselves and their community in talk about groups.

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Though positioning has been addressed in social psychology and in identity construction, less attention has been paid to the specific linguistic markers which are drawn upon in discourse to position the self and other(s). This volume focusses on address terms, pragmatic markers, code switching/choice and orthography, the indexicalities of which are explored in different communicative activities.

The volume is unusual in: i) the range of languages which are covered: Bergamasco, Brazilian Portuguese, English, Finnish, French, Georgian, Greek, Italian, Latin, Russian, Spanish and Swedish; ii) the inclusion of different communicative settings and text-types: workplace emails, everyday and institutional conversations, interviews, migrant narratives, radio phone-ins, dyadic and group settings, road-signs, service encounters; iii) its consideration of both synchronic and diachronic factors; iv) its mix of theoretical and methodological approaches.

The volume illustrates some of the linguistic means speakers draw on to position themselves and others and hopes to stimulate further research studies in this vein.

"In *Positioning the Self and Others*, Beeching, Ghezzi and Molinelli bring into conversation a dozen substantial, well-designed projects about the linguistic indexing of positioning, subjectivity and identity. Authors take detailed looks at a wide variety of linguistic variables, from choices about what pronouns to use to choices about what language to use. I enthusiastically recommend this collection of state-of-the-art research."

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