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*Linda Sauer Bredvik*

# DISCUSSING THE FAITH

## MULTILINGUAL AND METALINGUISTIC CONVERSATIONS ABOUT RELIGION

DISKURSMUSTER DISCOURSE PATTERNS

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Linda Sauer Bredvik
**Discussing the Faith**

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# **Diskursmuster**
# Discourse Patterns

Edited by
Beatrix Busse and Ingo H. Warnke

## **Volume 25**

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This book is dedicated to Sawsan Chahrrour. Her untimely death in the midst of this project made it difficult to continue and yet compelled me to finish. She represented all that is good in the many dialogues I observed: a desire to live out the best of one's own faith tradition while never ceasing to question and confront the worst and a willingness to hear and grow from what practitioners of other faiths and worldviews had to say. She devoutly believed and passionately practiced Islam while graciously accepting those who did not.

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# Transcription Conventions

(based on DT2, University of California, Santa Barbara [DuBois 2014])

## GENERAL

| Symbol | Meaning |
|---|---|
| . | final contour |
| ? | appeal final contour |
| , | continuing contour |
| ?, | continuing appeal |
| # | unintelligible, one symbol per syllable |
| #word | uncertain word |
| .. | short pause, untimed, < one second |
| (1.023) | timed pause, > one second |
| wor- | truncated word |
| _ | linking, no break |
| : | lag, prosodic lengthening |
| <L2=CODE> | start of code-switch |
| </L2> | conclusion of code-switch |
| “ | rush start, anacrusis |
| [words] | overlap, marked for each speaker |
| ≅ | latching |
| & | discontinuous IU, used only when second speaker intervenes |
| * * | stress on enclosed word or syllable |

## VOCALISMS and MANNER

| Symbol | Meaning |
|---|---|
| (description) | vocalisms, e.g., sigh |
| (TSK) | alveolar click |
| (H) | audible inhalation |
| <SINGING> </> | manner in which words produced |
| % | glottal sound, glottalized word |
| @ | laughter, one symbol per pulse of laughter |

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## ARABIC TRANSLITERATION

| | |
|---|---|
| 7 | ح |
| 3 | ع |

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# 1 Lived Religion and Everyday Language

> Because religion is a cultural universal, it is intertwined with all other dimensions of humanity.... Globalization cannot be fully understood without researchers paying attention to religion.
>
> Hamidreza Ayatollahy

> Postmodernity has not led to the end of religion; rather, the globalizing world has provided new ways of doing religion and being religious.
>
> Annabelle Mooney

A Syrian Muslim known to speak Arabic, German, and English unexpectedly offers to speak French with an Alsatian Christian. A Palestinian Christian quotes—in Arabic—portions of the Qur'an that are relevant to his faith practice. A Surinamese Hindu and two Indian Christians use fragments of Sanskrit, mixed with Dutch and English, to voice their opposition to the Indian caste system based on their individual beliefs. This collision of languages and faiths is becoming ever more common in a world where there is an increasing globalized mobility of people and linguistic resources. People are interacting with a speed and volume once unimaginable in multi-layered heterogeneous societies where they must negotiate multiple cultural flows that include their linguistic and religious identities. In the midst of this complexity, many individuals, faith communities, and civic organizations are seeking strategies and spaces for effective communication.

The impetus for this research came from my own life experiences in a multifaith setting when, in 2005, the U.S. military added Islamic and Jewish worship spaces to a long-existing Christian chapel where my family worshipped. While the sacred spaces were equitably designed, typical budget constraints meant there was almost no money for the needed additional "non-sacred" spaces, e.g., classrooms, general meeting rooms, and another kitchen. It quickly became apparent that the challenges of talking about our religious differences were not going to be nearly as difficult as the challenges of sharing the crèche. Or the conference room. Or especially the coffee pot! As time wore on, it also became apparent we were not really talking about our religious differences either but merely dutifully sharing space. So I began investigating what happens in dialogues that result in a shared cup of coffee. How do participants in an interreligious dialogue achieve or fail to achieve communicative effectiveness? The result is an analytical framework that takes an emergent path and combines quantitative and qualitative analyses to investigate the metalinguistic

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and metapragmatic resources at play in interreligious dialogues and creates a more coherent theory of meaning-making in a multilingual and multifaith environment.

Researching interreligious dialogues from a sociolinguistic perspective seemed a logical place to start. Language is, of a necessity, at the root of these discourses. Humans' unique ability to use language reflexively permeates our everyday lives, and over fifty percent of the world's population are "people of the book," adherents of Abrahamic faiths that have sacred texts at the heart of their practices. One quickly discovers, however; that there are few, if any, studies that examine interfaith dialogues from a linguistic, particularly a sociolinguistic, perspective. An extensive search showed peer-reviewed journals dealing with language, talk, and discourse contain little that shine the light of research on how we actually talk with people of other faiths, something noted by a handful of scholars. Wolf (2012, 38) calls it "a revealing omission of anything to do with religion [and] … interreligious dialogues," while Moberg (2013, 4) points out "discourse analytic approaches have only rarely been utilized in the academic study of religion." Sociologist Robert Wuthnow, only somewhat tongue-in-cheek, notes that prior to the 1980s, observers of social science literature "might conclude that religion was practiced by people who could not speak" (2011, 9). And yet "talk is the cultural work that people do to make sense of their lives and to orient their behavior" (ibid.), particularly to and in religion where the sheer prevalence of talk ranges from sermons to meetings, from conversion stories to religious rhetoric in political campaigns.

Moreover, the need to understand religious dialogues is not simply about understanding discourse but about understanding them as part of a wider social concern and then applying that understanding in relevant situations. As Duranti (2003, 332) notes: the paradigm in linguistic ethnography has shifted to examining language as an instrument in a complex social process, seeking to understand what the study of language can contribute to the understanding of a particular phenomenon. Scholars historically argued that institutional differentiation would lead to the disappearance of religion and the sacred from secular organizations and public life in general (Cadge and Sigalow 2013, 147). It clearly has not, and gaining an understanding of the religious forces and flows at play in a globalized world—both in the public and civil sphere as well as in people's quotidian lived experiences—is becoming an ever-increasing priority for governments, NGOs, and religious leaders. Linguistics, with its attention to detail, interaction, and consequence, is a means to gain that understanding (Mooney 2010, 340). "We believe it a matter of competence to re-read a good book or re-watch a great movie to get more out of it. But we rarely apply the same princi-

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ples ... to our fellow citizens. And that is, in a sense, what discourse analysis is all about. In a world in which people rush off to kill those who don't agree with them and countries rush off to war, it may be a matter of survival that we learn to base our views and actions on a second (or more) hearing" of those around us (Gee 2005, xii).

This book is an endeavor to contribute ethnographic and empirical data to the sociolinguistic research of interreligious dialogues in ways that are applicable to both small conversations around dinner tables and large conversations around the world, and which encourage us to share a cup of coffee—and a "second hearing"—with those who believe differently than we do.

## 1.1 Questions and Contexts

This is an analysis of language in use in interreligious dialogues as a genre, a study of *how* people talk about their faith or worldview, and how they think these beliefs inform their lives. I investigate how people use *all* their semiotic resources—multilingual, metalinguistic, and metapragmatic—to talk about their faith practices with people who believe and practice differently.

### 1.1.1 Asking the Questions

I observed and recorded multiple hours of dialogues in order to determine if there are identifiable patterns of use of referential and indexical signs—signs that function between meaning and dialogue context—that participants use which can contribute to communicatively effective or ineffective dialogues. Observation generated the following questions:

- What multilingual and metalinguistic resources do participants use in an interreligious dialogue? This assumes that what a speaker means is not fully encapsulated in the lexicon and grammar of a language but is also created by out-of-awareness features that signal a speaker's meaning and invoke a frame of interpretation, or a context, for the interpretation of the utterance (cf. Gumperz, Goffman, Rampton, Blommaert, Tannen, and Levinson).
- Do these metalinguistic indicators (MLI) display identifiable patterns of use that lead to communicative effectiveness (or ineffectiveness)? This again takes the approach that there are cues speakers use and hearers rely on that, when processed in co-occurrence with one another, affect how constituent messages are understood (Gumperz 2003, 221). Moreover, the pluralized, potentially non-shared indexical interpretations of interactions in

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today's superdiverse environment calls for a reconceptualization of the relationship between languages, societies, and these MLIs (cf. Gardner and Martin-Jones, Blommaert, Rampton).
- How do these patterns of MLI use index and achieve a specific dialogue outcome? This question relies both on
- Ricœur's ideas of linguistic hospitality and the discourse-level approaches to pragmatics put forward by Kecskes, Romero-Trillo, Aijmer, and Simon-Vandenbergen.
- How can the microanalysis of this interactional data create a better understanding of interreligious dialogues as a wider social concern, an ever-increasing consideration in today's superdiverse world?

The results demonstrate that:
- Specific multilingual practices and metalinguistic indicators that affect dialogue outcomes can be identified.
- Certain patterns of use create and index different dialogue contexts and outcomes.
- The preponderance of these patterns functions to infer an effective dialogue context by co-creating shared senses of meaning, enabling comprehension, and demonstrating linguistic hospitality.

### 1.1.2 Discovering the Dialogues

A wide range of conversations about or including people's religious beliefs and worldviews and how they practice them can constitute "interreligious dialogues," e.g., a casual conversation between parents at a playground about festivals and dietary practices, a scholarly discussion between religious leaders and clerics, or a planning meeting for organized community activism. Conversations can be in the same language between adherents of different beliefs, in different languages between adherents of the same faith or, as in this project, between adherents of different faiths with different linguistic backgrounds. King (2011, 101) notes that in the face of this diversity, it is best to define interreligious dialogues as "intentional encounters and interactions among members of different religions *as* members of different religions" (emphasis original). Other common denominators are mutual respect and an openness to the possibility of learning from the Other while refraining from classical apologetics or proselytization (Cornille 2013, xii). This project investigates face-to-face, multiparty interactions between adherents (vocational and laity) of multiple faith

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practices and philosophical worldviews who voluntarily met (some continue to meet) for personal and professional reasons with the goal of coming to a better understanding of other faiths and practices.

Given that these dialogues are intentional encounters and communicative events for which participants share some set of communicative purposes, one is able to use Swales (1990) to approach them as a discourse genre. The rationale behind the dialogues—to discuss one's beliefs about the nature of an Ultimate Reality or God with others who believe differently—shapes the schematic structure of the discourse, and influences and constrains participants' choice of style and content (ibid., 58). The benefit of this functional approach is that it allows the researcher to maintain a "narrow" concept of genre; if two otherwise similar communicative events (multiparty, multilingual dialogues have a different communicative purpose (discussing an issue from a faith- or from a politically-informed perspective), then they are categorized as different genres (Askehave and Swales 2001, 198). Such dialogues are "clear outcomes of institutionalizing processes, which they mutually constitute, and a genre is the communicative form of an institution" (Dr. Peter Kistler, private communication, 12 June 2019).

It is interesting that sociology, more than linguistics, is increasingly investigating religion from this discursive aspect, particularly because of the role religion plays as "a social practice that interlaces with other aspects of everyday life" (Wuthnow 2011, 15; also Bender 2003). By viewing religion as a social practice and not simply as an independent or dependent variable, sociologists are investigating "lived religion" outside places of worship and giving greater attention to the ways in which talk about people's faith practices and philosophical perspectives is shaped by the contexts in which it occurs (Wuthnow 2011; Bender 2003). This study follows that trend by investigating talk about and from a particular faith perspective in the specific context of organized dialogues. Conversations were not always about a religious topic *per se* but were always approached from a speaker's own faith tradition or worldview. Dialogues also frequently progressed from an everyday topic—the musical skills of family members—to a spiritual or sacred topic—the place of music in Islam. This intertwining of talk about religious topics with talk about everyday occurrences or commonplace talk about more public aspects of religion can lay the groundwork for conversations about more difficult topics (Wuthnow 2011; Bender 2003). In all these processes, talk is concrete and situational, but it can also move interlocutors from "their comfort zones into a more pluralistic understanding of religion and themselves" (Wuthnow 2011, 11). This does not, however, preclude the possibility of "fierce debate," since the exchange and discussion of differing religious views cannot help but involve some level of

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disagreement and defense of the "rightness" of one's own faith practices (Cornille 2013, xiii).

In order to maintain this focus on the lived experience of religion in people's everyday lives, I identified existing dialogue groups with established and ongoing relationships; the expectation was that their discursive practices would be more natural and comfortable. This proved especially true with an intercultural, interfaith association of clinical pastoral caregivers comprised of members from over thirty countries who have been meeting for annually for twenty-five years. Participants are predominantly 40-60 years old with some post-graduate education and almost all are multilingual. Approximately one-third work in academia while the remainder are chaplains and spiritual counselors. Many participants have long-established professional and personal relationships, but new participants also attend each conference which creates a dynamic mix of communicative behaviors.

Much like Bender's 2003 study that investigates how religious talk happens in non-religious settings, a small group of parents whose children were friends in an international school in Poland talked frequently about religion when they met at school events or other social functions. The group's diverse faith backgrounds—Christian (both practicing and cultural), a Polish-American who grew up culturally Jewish and is now a devout practitioner of his faith, a woman raised culturally Muslim in the former Soviet Bloc, and a Polish woman who practices a syncretic Christianity that includes elements of pre-Christian Slavic folk religions—frequently led to interesting conversations.

A Scriptural Reasoning group in the United Kingdom comprised of thirteen members had been meeting weekly for approximately two years when this research took place. Scriptural Reasoning developed in the 1990s out of a university-based forum for Jewish scholars when Christian friends suggested the process might be a model for inter-faith conversations (scripturalreasoning.org, accessed 20 Nov. 2019). Participants are still predominantly adherents of the three Abrahamic faiths, and they gather on a regular basis to read excerpts from each of their writings about a common narrative or theme, and then discuss it in ways that allow participants to retain their individual faith identities while still gaining a deeper understanding of others' scriptures (ibid.). This particular group exhibited many linguistic behaviors similar to those observed at the clinical caregivers' conferences, which was not surprising as both groups place a high value on knowing their dialogue partners and displaying respect for the beliefs of the Other. It is important "to be in a place where you are comfortable to ask questions that might challenge the other" (Asygül, interview).

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Two focus groups, which met monthly, were organized specifically for this project. Both groups were a mixture of participants with existing associations/ friendships and members who met because of the dialogues. One group always met over dinner and regular participants were a Syrian Muslim woman who had lived in Germany for 34 years, an American Jewish man and his Christian-born wife who had recently officially converted to Judaism, and an American Christian woman who was living in Germany as volunteer staff at an English-speaking Protestant church. The second group formed in response to a notice on a university bulletin board and was comprised of two members (male and female) of the local Bahá'í congregation and a German-born Jewish university student, as well as the researcher. The first group had stronger existing ties, which continued through the course of the research, than did the second group.

An evening lecture/dialogue at a multifaith center in Great Britain (MFC) was the least personally connected and many of the linguistic behaviors reflected this. Fifteen individuals were part of this conversation, some who knew one another as participants in an ongoing certificate course at the center and others who were participating only in this specific dialogue.

Observation and early data analysis showed that discourses about and around religion in the global media were generating or informing many of these discussions. To further investigate that influence, and to better understand how the transnational flow of people's religious practices and beliefs moves between physical and virtual spaces (Murchison and Coats 2015, 994), I sought to identify broadcasts or online dialogues with characteristics similar to the groups I was researching. What became apparent was most online "dialogues" about religion are sequential arguments in which an adherent of a faith practice or worldview posts a video, someone of a different faith or worldview posts an opposing—frequently antagonistic—comment or video, and this cycle repeats (see Pihlaja 2018). Several panel discussions from the Australian Broadcasting Company's weekly *Q&A* program, however, were similar to the dialogues being investigated. Participants in these broadcasts adhere to a variety of religious practices or worldviews and participated voluntarily, although with a difference in motivation that will be discussed at length in chapter 7. The public persona of the participants meant they were acquainted with one another by reputation, if not by an actual relationship. The most notable difference was the lack of multilinguality in the *Q&A* dialogues; the nature of national broadcasts that feature participants recognized for their expertise or renown in a particular sphere of influence dictates that the prestige variety of a linguistic code—in this case, English—be used.

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The focus on voluntary participation and people's lived religious identities meant participants came to these dialogues with an array of macrosocial categories that created a highly complex multifaith and multilingual data set. Focusing on the co-constructive linguistic nature of the encounter and people's faith practices meant I set aside other macrosocial categories, taking a Third Wave approach (Eckert 2016) which views each macrosocial category as individually emergent (ibid., 69).

## 1.2 Situating the Research

Investigating these interreligious dialogues began from a perspective broadly informed by Interactional Sociolinguistics in order to develop "a closer understanding of how linguistic signs interact with [religious] knowledge in discourse" (Gumperz 1982, 29). This ethnographically informed approach to discourse analysis was a logical means to begin investigating the multiplicity of faiths and languages present in these particular dialogues, since Interactional Sociolinguistics was developed as "an approach to research that focuses on face-to-face interactions in which there are significant differences in the participants' sociolinguistic resources" (Rampton 2017, 1).

One cannot, starting from the perspective of Interactional Sociolinguistics, make *a priori* choices in terms of which resources to investigate but must start with ethnographic observation to investigate the context of a dialogue. Early observation revealed a multiplicity of linguistic and pragmatic resources at work in these conversations, and a great range of indexical interpretations that participants could infer (Blommaert 2013, 7; Rampton et al. 2015, 26; Blommaert and Rampton 2016, 28). This meant the project was axiomatically data-driven—an interplay between observation and data gathering, transcription, and analysis—which resulted in the development of a broad and nuanced theoretical perspective, and an innovative analytical framework that can systematically address the linguistic practices at play in multilingual, multiparty dialogues.

Theoretically, Interactional Sociolinguistics sees talk as embedded in context. Given the multilinguality of the talk in this project, I took a shared perspective from various linguistic hybridity theories to investigate the context of these dialogues using what Gee (2005) calls "little d" discourse analysis with an eye toward academic theology and Ricœur's linguistic hospitality. Methodologically, thirty-three hours of interactional data and eleven hours of interviews were recorded across six research sites.

It is at this point that I took an emergent approach to the data by adding corpus-assisted analysis and a quantitative examination of the transcribed data

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to better identify patterns that were not apparent from a purely ethnographic approach. This was essential because while sociolinguistic researchers now widely recognize that many traditional binary classifications no longer work, they can fail to adequately describe the processes at play in superdiversity from a practical analytical perspective (Rampton 2016, 91). The matrix developed from this data is one way to overcome that deficiency as it is a means to examine the patterns between sign forms, pragmatic functions, and indexical significance present in these dialogues (ibid.).

Using this framework, I will show that participants deploy multilingual and metalinguistic resources in various patterns of use that function to achieve different communicative results in interreligious dialogues. The data demonstrates that languages are only one part of a multitasking multilingual environment that also includes use of silence, disfluency, and pragmatic markers. In this setting, the lexical value of words sometimes has more and sometimes less relevance in comparison to other indexical and referential signs. Participants recognize the disparities of their linguistic competencies, are willing adopt and to accept multilanguaging practices as an everyday occurrence while also pooling their competencies and skills in order to achieve a shared sense of meaning. I will use these results to further demonstrate the necessity of analyzing the interactions between speakers' varied multilingual and metalinguistic resources across multiple dialogue trajectories to gain a more complete picture of interreligious dialogues in a superdiverse world.

## 1.3 Defining the Terms

When one takes this type of interdisciplinary approach to multifaceted data, it is crucial to locate and define the terms and criteria used in the research. First, what constitutes communicative effectiveness in these dialogues? Second, *globalization* and *linguistic repertoire* are such ubiquitous terms in sociolinguistics that it is essential to elucidate so as to avoid underdefining how they are used in this project. Lastly, what is meant by and included in the concepts of *multilanguaging* and a *metalinguistic indicator*?

### Communicative effectiveness

Dialogue participants provided the descriptions and delimitations of what constitutes "effectiveness" in these dialogues. In an ethnographic research project, it is necessary to try to "comprehend both the tacit and articulated understandings of the participants" in the study, and then try "to do justice to these under-

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standings in … reports to outsiders" (Rampton et al. 2015, 15). Interviews with participants across the various trajectories showed that they viewed communicatively effective dialogues as those:

- marked by non-contentious understanding, albeit not necessarily agreement;
- marked by lack of desire to change/convert the Other;
- in which the Other is heard and understood;
- in which the participant is heard, and/or
- in which the participant leaves with a better understanding of the beliefs and perspectives of other faith traditions and worldviews.

Communicatively ineffective exchanges are:

- a monologue, rather than dialogue;
- those in which the dialogue is obstructed, terminated, or cut off;
- combative or antagonistic, or
- those in which participants show a lack of respect or an unwillingness to hear the Other.

Multiple participants said effective dialogues ultimately give them a greater respect for other faith traditions and worldviews while strengthening their own beliefs. Tillich (1963, 62) cites similar preconditions for meaningful interreligious dialogues, including the following: dialogue partners must have a genuine interest in the religious beliefs of the Other, and such a dialogue presupposes the discovery of a common ground which "makes both dialogue and conflicts possible." "It's always important to *just recognize* the Other; it's living in their world and trying to see it on their terms. It's not always easy" (John, interview).

### Globalization and superdiversity

Globalization is best thought of as a multi-dimensional process that cuts across various spheres of activity, a shorthand reference to a cluster of changed and still fast changing social processes and characteristics, many of which have relevance for the engagement of globalization with language (Rubdy and Alsagoff 2013; Coupland 2013):

- Development of worldwide modes of transport and communication has meant speeding up of the flows of people and ideas; a general increase in the pace of global interactions and processes means people are cast into more intense and immediate contact with one other.
- Increased connectivity, unsurpassed speed with which events and messages can be transmitted has erased barriers of space and time.

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- The intensification of worldwide social relations, happenings, practices in one area of the globe can have consequences for communities in quite distant locales.
- Globalization has dislodged culture and language from particular locales; I would add that it has also dislodged religion and faith practices from previously fixed locales.

This level of globalization has resulted in "super-diversity" (Vertovec 2007), a summary term for "diversification of diversity" including: ethnicity or country of origin, differential immigration statuses, divergent labor market experience, gender, age, and mixed local area responses by service providers (ibid., 1025). Vertovec notes that these variables and their correlations are not new but that the scale and complexity of their interactions have moved beyond diversity to superdiversity (ibid., 1026). Particularly relevant to this project is his observation that multilingualism and religious diversity are marked by "multiple dimensions of differentiation (that) characterize the emergent social patterns and conditions" (ibid., 1028).

**Linguistic repertoires and resources**

Gumperz's (1964, 137) "totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction" has been the core sociolinguistic definition of a linguistic repertoire for decades. In light of hybridity and superdiversity, a linguistic repertoire has come to mean that which is possessed by an individual, rather than a speech community, and is comprised of a complex toolkit of heterogeneous (and sometimes contested) resources that individual speakers might use in the course of an interaction, including spatial repertoires, songs, and bits of various languages, e.g., Blommaert's (2010) "truncated multilingualism." This concept suggests that people have a varying grasp of a plurality of shared language styles, registers, and codes that is accumulated over the course of the speaker's life trajectory, and they then employ these specific bits and pieces of languages—linguistic resources—for different purposes (ibid.; Blommaert and Rampton 2016).

**Multilanguaging**

While hybrid language use is no longer seen as marked, what to call it remains a contested area—more specifically, a contested verb. Code-switching is chastised as too essentialist, implying still that speakers have separate, discrete languages with complete grammatical competence in each language that they

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"speak." Each of the various multilingual theories, when taken individually, lacked explanatory adequacy for the data in this project. However, taking a shared perspective from multiple hybridity theories in which these concepts are used as sensitizing rather than defining constructs (Rampton 2017, 7) enabled me to understand and clarify speakers' multilingual behaviors. Speakers do multilanguage—they use features of whatever language(s) they know in both fixed and fluid ways to create meaning while seeing this as a quotidian occurrence; multilanguaging is thus descriptive of the linguistic attitudes and behaviors of the speakers in these dialogues.

#### Metalinguistic indicators

A metalinguistic indicator (MLI) is a sign, device, or strategy that functions in the Greek sense of both "along with" and "beyond" (Oxford English Dictionary, 3rd ed.) the denotative value of an utterance. These are phenomena that have both reflexive and indexical properties and function both metalinguistically and metapragmatically to help account for the processes and outcomes of the interaction.

As will be elaborated in chapter 2, I take Jaworski, Coupland and Galasínski's (2004) approach, which views metalinguistics and metapragmatics as cognate concepts, and use metalinguistic indicator in the sense of Karin Aijmer (2013) as a means "to explicate the relation between message and context" (Levinson 2003, 28). In this project, the term includes:

- unfilled pauses (silence),
- disfluency and filled pauses,
- pragmatic markers, and
- code-switching and multilanguaging practices.

## 1.4 Explanatory Notes

This project took an interdisciplinary approach to research in order to gain as holistic an understanding as possible of all the resources—multilingual and metalinguistic—that could be creating and affecting the outcome of the dialogues. As a result, some terms are used interchangeably in ways that reflect the approaches and terminologies of different participants in these dialogues and diverse scholars whose works I reference.

- "Multifaith," "interfaith" and "interreligious" are all used to indicate a variety of religions, philosophies, and worldviews.

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- "Faith practices," "worldviews," and "philosophies" are used to indicate an individual's set of beliefs about the fundamental nature of Reality or God. As a preponderance of the participants in these dialogues are adherents of one of the three Abrahamic faiths, "faith practices" is used more frequently, but the term also recognizes and includes adherents of other religions and philosophies.
- Speakers used words or phrases from linguistic codes frequently associated with a specific faith practice—Hebrew, Arabic, Sanskrit. These codes figure prominently in this analysis at times and a choice was made to use "religious" languages or "religious" words (hereafter used without scare quotes), rather than "linguistic codes associated with specific faith practices," as a means to create less cumbersome and more elegant sentences.

## 1.5 Book Blueprint

Chapter 2 examines the broad theories and perspectives underlying the research in this project. However, given my interdisciplinary approach and the multivalent data, much of the relevant literature and theoretical arguments will be imbedded in the appropriate chapters to provide a more coherent understanding of the various constituent elements of this study. Chapter 3 defines the multilingual indicators which were identified for further analysis following the observation phase and the analytical framework that subsequently grew out of these theories and observations.

The puzzling nature of speakers' multilingual behaviors dominated my early research but, in the final analysis, silence (unfilled pauses) was the single most significant indicator of a dialogue outcome. An understanding of the other MLIs, including multilanguaging, was frequently impossible to reach without examining them in light of their co-occurrence with silence. Chapter 4 discusses the decisive role unfilled pauses play in creating—and changing—the efficacy of a dialogue.

Chapter 5 then investigates people's multilanguaging practices and the complex interactions of those practices with other MLIs. Chapter 6 examines the unexpected role of disfluency in creating communicative effective conversations. Chapter 7 first examines the lack of correlations between broad categories of pragmatic markers and the efficacy of a dialogue, showing instead how the roles and functions of the different markers vary more acutely by trajectory, speaker, and form. The remainder of chapter 7 investigates the interplay between the functions of some MLIs and the nature of the dialogue trajectory.

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Chapter 8 contains the conclusions that can be drawn from this project and how they contribute to a greater understanding of interreligious dialogues.

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# 2 Foundations and a Framework

> The hope tells me there is meaning; find the meaning.
>
> Paul Ricœur

The aim of this research was to investigate participants' discursive practices in interreligious dialogues to determine if there were patterns in their use of specific metalinguistic indicators (MLIs) that affected the conduct and outcome of the dialogues. This focus on metalinguistic indicators is based on research that demonstrates explanations for dialogue outcomes frequently lie in speakers' largely unconscious use of referential and indexical signs rather than the semantics of the utterance, particularly in conversations comprised of speakers with such disparate linguistic backgrounds and faith practices.

Given the complexity of the data—multilingual, multifaith and multiparty—it was necessary to draw on the theories of a variety of disciplines to create an analytical framework capable of situating speakers' multilingual behaviors in the context of an interreligious dialogue while also identifying the relevant metalinguistic indicators and subsequently analyzing the interactions between the indicators within and across a range of dialogue trajectories. This chapter provides a broad overview of these theories before briefly describing the emergent framework.

## 2.1 Interreligious Dialogues

The forces of globalization resulting in superdiverse linguistic environments have also created superdiverse religious environments where encounters with someone of a different faith are becoming a daily reality, although in one sense, religion has always had a global face if only because it pre-exists the concept of a nation (Mooney 2010, 310; also Coupland 2013; Hill Fletcher 2007). Driven by many of the same trends forcing paradigm shifts in sociolinguistic research, academic theologians and scholars of religion are searching for explanations and theories to analyze interreligious dialogues and create models with both explanatory and normative capabilities (Grung 2011; Moyaert 2008; Huang 1995; Leirvik 2011; Hill Fletcher 2007). The relevance of these studies lies in their focus on the concept of "the Other" and the ideas of difference and strangeness that are inherent in interreligious dialogues, ideas that influence how people approach these discourses from their specific worldviews.

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Starting mid- to late-twentieth century, theologians, scholars, and thinkers[1] began postulating a "tension between openness and identity" (Moyaert 2008, 337) that looks for a path between pluralism and particularism. The former is seen as an Ultimate Reality at the heart of all religions from which all commonalities between faiths come and which supersedes any surface differences (cf. John Hick and Karl Rahner), a position taken largely by theologians approaching multifaith interactions from a Christian perspective. On the other hand, postliberal particularism, at its extreme, believes adherents come to their faith through the paradigm of their sacred text, a process that creates such incompatible communities of practice that their discourses are nearly "untranslatable" (Moyaert 2008, 338). The latter path is exemplified in Christianity by George Lindbeck, who argues that "different religions are not exterior manifestations of the same fundamental experience, but … radically distinct ways of experiencing and being oriented toward self, neighbor, and cosmos" (Lindbeck 1984, 40, 190). From a Jewish perspective, Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik, an "unofficial" spokesperson for the Modern Orthodox Movement in America, sees interreligious dialogues through a similar lens (Morgan 2015, 8). Ultimately, "religious beliefs are unique to their adherents … [and], in this sense, every person of faith is isolated" (ibid.).

More than one researcher notes that both philosophies are dishonest—dishonest to the different faiths and dishonest to their adherents, who cannot bring their whole selves, including their religious identities, to the dialogue (Wolf 2012, 43). Neither extreme "takes the Other seriously enough to let the other be other" (Hill Fletcher 2007, 534). Within a framework of assimilation, one jumps so quickly to an assumption of sameness, there is no opportunity for honest dialogue. "The religious other is never really foreign," (Moyaert 2008, 353) and "if the expression of human difference between dialoging parties is denied, the dialogue collapses into a monologue" (Grung 2011, 26). At the opposite extreme, while particularism may have an extreme respect for otherness, it is inspired by a "fear of contamination" that cannot allow for anything productive or valuable to be gained by talking with others about their "otherness" (Moyaert 2008, 353).

Rabbi Abraham Heschel, like Soloveitchik, acknowledges Jewish particularity but "he also transcends" it by arguing that Jews and Christians—out of their faith commitments—can find a religious basis for conversation while still not

**1** Rabbi Fred Morgan (2015, 4) notes that such interactions have a more "jurisprudential flavor" for "thinkers who start from a Jewish point of view," while "in Christianity, this process would be termed theological."

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denying their differences (Morgan 2015, 11). Islamic imams are also "deeply cognizant" of the fact that the theological differences cannot be "washed away" (Dangor 2009, 289) but Islam calls it "a 'mercy' from God. Differences are seen as a blessing rather than as a problem to be overcome" (Omar 2019, 61). Such leaders regularly quote the Qur'an (3:64): "Say: People of the book! Come to a word common between us and you," an *Ayah* also frequently used by Muslims in these dialogues to demonstrate the openness of Islam to dialogues. Jewish and Muslim scholars in particular argue that the three Abrahamic faiths have a much larger struggle with atheism, materialism, and evil than with one another, and that this can and should be the basis for dialoging.

In the "messy complexity of the everyday world," where the global is frequently local, non-scholars tend to *live* out this tension. People of all faiths and philosophies recognize that real differences do exist but many also realize that sites of mutuality can likewise exist because "the multiplicity of our stories gives us many features of who we are" (Hill Fletcher 2007, 548). These sites of mutuality may be a single point of communication, but they allow people to dialogue on a regular basis in spite of the "incomprehension" that can result from these encounters with people of other faiths (ibid.). These may only be conversations about dietary differences in a playgroup or religious observations during a school holiday program; not all interreligious dialogues have to focus on "big ticket items." These conversations about "safer" religious topics also often pave the way for more difficult topics (Wuthnow 2011), e.g., how to provide space for multiple faith groups to pray in a school or workplace. In today's multireligious environments, this "hybridity of our identities provides sites of overlap that do not erase the complexity of our differences" but that still allow interreligious dialogues to occur (Hill Fletcher 2007, 548).

These common themes of lived identities and sites of narrative overlap were observed again and again in this project. People's religious identities are continuously lived out in yearly festivals and public commemorations but also in daily rituals and fleeting interactions (Bender 2003, 2). Participants took these diverse identities—religious and linguistic, sometimes fixed and sometimes fluid—into the dialogues with them, consciously seeking for sites of overlap as well as being open to recognizing and living with differences. This "quotidian transversality" can occur through interchanges that "consciously or unconsciously produce permeable borders of being across difference. It is through such practices that identities are not only traversed but reconfigured and biographies are intertwined" (Wise 2007, 4). Linguistically, people's different styles reflect the complex life trajectories of speakers who have "traveled complex routes—physically, socially, and linguistically—to end up" in the same

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conversation (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 173). While Wise (2007) focuses on cultural difference and Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) on linguistic difference as the basis for commensality,[2] this research project focuses on how religious differences become the site for commensality and a place to display linguistic hospitality.

## 2.2 Linguistic Hospitality[3]

French philosopher Paul Ricœur (2006) initially posits the concept of “linguistic hospitality” as a way to address the conundrum of linguistic diversity in the context of translation, the dilemma that it is impossible, in a good translation, to achieve an identical (semantic) meaning between two texts. When a translator recognizes this loss of a linguistic absolute and acknowledges the difference between adequacy and equivalence, they can display linguistic hospitality:

> Just as in the act of telling a story, we can translate it differently, without hope of filling the gap between equivalence and total adequacy, [linguistic hospitality becomes the place] where the pleasure of dwelling in the other’s language is balanced by the pleasure of receiving the foreign word at home, in one’s own welcoming house. (Ricœur 2006, 10)

He then goes on to suggest that this mediation between “the peculiar and the foreign” could also serve as a “model for other forms of hospitality which I think resemble it: confessions, religions, are they not like languages that are foreign to one another … which we must learn in order to make our way into them?” (ibid., 23-24).

This recognition of semantic and syntactical asymmetry between the familiar and foreign (the translator’s L1/target language and the L2 from which they are translating) can be widened to recognize the non-interchangeability of perspectives in interreligious contexts, creating a paradigm for participation in interreligious dialogues. Ricœur’s concept of moving between identity and strangeness (or the peculiar and the foreign) in which people translate—or participate in a dialogue—without hope of transferring an exact meaning but while

**2** A person or group that lives in or occupies, in a non-competitive manner, the same area as another individual or group with independent or different values or customs

**3** I owe an intellectual debt to Marianne Moyaert (2008). Her article expanding the ideas in Ricœur’s (2006) “On Translation” into the idea of hermeneutical hospitality set me on this track when I first began observing interreligious dialogues. However, I have chosen to use Ricœur’s concept of linguistic hospitality, given the linguistic rather than theological, focus of this research project.

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still remaining open to the Other (ibid., 34-35) is descriptive of the fixed and fluid linguistic resources and religious identities participants used in these interreligious dialogues; it describes hospitality and openness as a means to bridge the gap to reach an "equivalence [or understanding] without identity" (ibid.), a process that was at work in this project. "For me … it's the encounter with the Other that drives me to come. I suppose difference is part of that for me but the fact that we somehow enjoy the fact that we're different as a blessing rather than something to be conquered or you know…. I feel like I'm marinated in the difference and there's a richness that comes from that encounter for me" (Fiona, interview).

Ricœur (2006, 33), like hybrid linguists, recognizes "multiplicity at all levels of existence," most specifically a multiplicity of languages; diversity and difference are, by definition, the starting points for translation. His acceptance of asymmetry in translation is much like the assumption of inequality in metrolingualism—it is a part of everyday life, undertaken in spite of the question of philosophical impossibilities or official language policies. It is "about the ways in which people get by" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 23, 89). Rampton et al. (2015, 15) consider the interplay between "strangeness" and "familiarity" to be a constitutive feature of linguistic ethnography. Canagarajah (2007, 931) calls it "serendipity"—an "attitudinal transformation" that accepts deviations as the norm, displays "positive attitudes to variation" and is "radically other-centered."

Participants in interreligious dialogues, much like translators, often "speak across"[4] the differences from a known to an unknown faith tradition or language; linguistic hospitality implies "trying to understand the Other in his/her otherness and renouncing the natural tendency toward placing the Other within what is known" (Moyaert 2008, 359). However, unlike Ricœur, who tends to see absolutes between the peculiar and the foreign, I would argue interreligious dialogue participants have a "hybridity of cognizance," an understanding and comprehension of faith traditions other than their own that ranges along a continuum. While their own religious identities remain fixed, dialogue participants find sites of narrative overlap—points at which they are connected by life trajectories that have given them varied understandings of other people's faith traditions.

**4** Dia = across, legein = speak (*Merriam-Webster*, s.v. "dialogue (*n.*)," accessed Aug. 15, 2018, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/dialogue). See also Richard Kearney, *Introduction: Ricœur's Philosophy of Translation*, in Paul Ricœur *On Translation* (2006), who uses the Greek etymology in the context of Ricœur's theories as "welcoming the difference" (*xvii)*.

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The notion of hospitality is, in some ways, fundamental to interreligious dialogue. "Dialogue presupposes some degree of humility about one's own conception of truth and a certain receptivity, even hospitality to the truth of the other. The attitudes of humility and hospitality reinforce one another…" (Cornille 2013, *xiii*). Interviews suggest that most participants in this project were quite conscious of seeking to exhibit hospitality to participants of different faith traditions. Many of the interviewees echoed Ricœur who, in his three-volume *Time and Narrative,* talks about how "the self returns to itself after numerous … detours through the languages of other, to find itself enlarged and enriched by the odyssey" (Kearney 2006, *x*):

> For me, it's sort of like the question: why do you travel? I travel because it makes the world bigger; it makes *my* world bigger. And part of my world is religiosity and I don't have to go very far to travel into someone else's religious world. It helps me to understand the world I'm living in. And it makes the world, in some ways, less threatening because I understand where it's coming from. So it's a way of—you were talking about walls—it's a way of not closing myself up behind a wall but of being more at home in the world in which I live. (Michael, interview)

But while participants indicated they consciously seek to display hospitality, they were not typically conscious of using specific metalinguistic indicators (with the exception of unfilled pauses) or multilingual practices to display this hospitality. This is in keeping with multiple studies indicating that the use of various metalinguistic indicators is almost always unconscious, and yet this unconscious use may be a means to overcome the asymmetry between the particular and the foreign in these dialogues from both a linguistic and a religious perspective. This is the "linguistic turn," in which the phrases come first and the meaning afterward (Luuk, interview, referencing Ricœur). The use of these various indicators is the empirical evidence of linguistic hospitality.

## 2.3 A Shared Perspective: Multilingualism, Hybridity, and Code-Switching

Various sociolinguistic theories posit that in today's superdiverse environments, people appear to "take any linguistic and communicative resource available to them … and blend them into hugely complex linguistic and semiotic forms" (Blommaert 2016, 247). These theories—superdiversity (see Blommaert, Rampton), translanguaging (see Garcia, Blackledge and Creese, Canagarajah), polylingualism (see Jørgensen), and metrolingualism (see Pennycook and Otsuji, Maher)—see traditional named languages as just one among many het-

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erogeneous communicative resources that are emergent from the context of an interaction. They recognize the fact that "language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal" (Jørgensen et al. 2016, 151) and underscore "the fluid, dynamic, multiple, flexible, and hybrid natures of language … and language use" (Kubota 2016, 478). Multilingual scholars speak of linguistic repertoires or linguistic resources, which shifts the focus from a bounded, named language to the collective resources a speaker has available at any one point in time and space, including full or partial competencies in diverse languages, even snippets of a language or song (Rampton et al. 2015; Blommaert 2013; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). Moreover, the denotative and propositional meanings of words lose their traditional supremacy and become just one among a large array of semiotic resources (Rampton et al. 2015; Blommaert and Rampton 2016). These creative multilingual practices can cross what once were seen as impermeable borders of languages, cultures, and nation-states. This represents a view of language "as a social resource without clear boundaries, which places the speaker at the heart of the interaction" (Creese and Blackledge 2015, 21).

It is important to note, however, that while these hybrid or multilingual theories seek to avoid seeing languages as having clear and specific boundaries, they cannot fail to acknowledge that "even though [speakers] do not have a sense of treating languages separately in their use, they do have a set of 'ideal and orderly linguistic practices'" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2010, 243), meaning that most[5] multilingual individuals maintain traditional concepts of named languages and grammars while still using fluid hybrid language practices in their everyday lives (Pennycook and Otsuji 2010; Coupland 2013). Speakers can completely ignore monolingual communicative norms in some settings while carefully monitoring those same norms in another setting (Jørgensen et al. 2016, 150). What is important to consider when examining these practices is to understand how the participants themselves understand their own language use (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015; Blommaert 2016). In the specific context of this research, all the participants have a traditionally conceived competency in one named language (a L1) and see themselves as "having a mother tongue" or "speaking [German, Chagga, Arabic]," with most having varying competencies

**5** Recent studies in South Africa demonstrate that African multilingualism differs from a more Western approach. Leketi Makalela's (2015) Ubuntu translanguaging model shows Ubuntu "valorizes a continuum as well as an interdependence of … communication systems" where speakers do not have a single "language" that provides "a solid basis for the development of a second language" but, rather, use languages interdependently.

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in one or more additional languages. In today's superdiverse world, meaning making is "not *confined* to the use of languages as discrete, enumerable, bounded sets of linguistic resources" (Creese and Blackledge 2015, 21, emphasis mine) but neither can one "discard" the notions of languages as irrelevant (Jørgensen et al. 2016, 139), particularly in structured settings where use of a specific language or languages is expected.

In attempting to theoretically situate the multilingual practices in this data set, it became clear that any single theory lacked explanatory adequacy; the data both instantiates and calls into question assumptions of several multilingual theories. However, by adopting a shared perspective from multiple theories and using them as sensitizing rather than defining constructs (Rampton 2017, 7), one sees that speakers in this project do multilanguage—they use features of whatever language(s) they "know" in both fixed and fluid ways to create meaning while seeing this as a quotidian occurrence. The usefulness of the various multilingual theoretical constructs lies less in their theoretical originality—many build on Gumperzian notions that "addressed the challenges of language … in an age of globalization" decades earlier (Auer and Roberts 2011, 390; Rampton 2017, 9)—and more in a shift of perspective that views languages as creative communicative resources rather than structured, discrete systems (English and Marr 2015, 191).

Respective multilingual theories hold varying explanatory capabilities in part because of the diverse parameters of this particular data set. Even in a superdiverse world, there are settings where a named and bounded language is expected or even required for a verbal exchange; in this study, the dialogues were expected to take place in English or German. These structural constraints made relevant different theoretical components of translanguaging, which developed in educational settings where the standard variety of a particular language is expected but where students have varied linguistic resources that may or may not include that variety. Widening the translanguaging perspective beyond the classroom to offer "a way of analyzing how the complex practices of speakers live between different societal and semiotic contexts" (Creese and Blackledge 2015, 23) and recognizing that translanguaging not only involves a speaker drawing from their own repertoire to communicate but also "involves shuttling between the languages brought by the other to co-construct meaning" (Canagarajah 2011, 5) makes it applicable to certain empirical results from this study. Canagarajah's (2007) use of translanguaging concepts to study lingua franca English in professional and everyday settings, along with the findings of Mauranen (2006), are particularly helpful in explaining the surprising lack of misunderstandings in these dialogues. "Translingual does not disregard estab-

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lished norms and conventions as defined for certain contexts by dominant institutions and social groups. What is more important is that speakers negotiate these norms in relation to their translingual repertoires and practices" (Canagarajah 2013, 8–9). Other features of these dialogues more clearly instantiate metrolingualism (see Pennycook and Otsuji) and superdiversity (see Blommaert, Rampton), given the focus of these theories on the quotidian, sometimes fixed and sometimes fluid, ways in which people "get by with their linguistic and non-linguistic resources" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 34).

Using a shared perspective from multiple theories also made clear the "limits of the current methodological and theoretical vocabulary" (Blackledge and Creese 2015, 22). Terms such as code-switching, multilingualism, and hybridity are frequently seen as inadequate in light of today's highly complex linguistic environment or as reifying concepts in an attempt to overcome earlier theoretical fossilizations or are highly contested in light of other theoretical and historical overtones (Blackledge and Creese 2015; Canagarajah 2013; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). Nevertheless, they are helpful as conceptual constructs to visualize the multilingual communicative behavior of participants in these dialogues, behavior which creates a continuum of multilingual practices ranging from use of single words associated with a particular faith practice to resources from three different languages in one sentence. In an effort to present as comprehensive a picture of that complexity as possible, code-switching, multilingualism, and hybridity are each used to demonstrate how dialogue participants employ their multiplicity of linguistic resources in "creative linguistic conditions across … borders of culture, history and politics" and, I would add, of religion (Pennycook and Otsuji 2010, 244). Each, in a correlative manner, foregrounds the notion of languages as creative communicative resources.

Hybridity, while admittedly problematic,[6] still illuminates the linguistic resources and practices observed in these dialogues, particularly in light of the interactions between so many languages and faith practices. Speakers' linguistic behavior *was* "marked by heterogeneity in origin, composition, or appearance" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 11th ed.). Hybridity is undeniably a global existential condition and, as a *conceptual construct*, seems the best way to char-

**6** Challenges to the term "hybridity" include: association of the term with postcolonial theories and neoliberal multiculturalism which ignore issues of asymmetrical relations of power and inequality (Kubota 2016; Rubdy and Alsagoff 2014), conceptual ambiguity and polysemic nature of the term and its implicit assumption that "purity" has to precede mixture (Rubdy and Alsagoff 2014; Pennycook and Otsuji 2010), and its use by transnational elites who are economically privileged (Kubota 2016).

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acterize the dual forces of globalization and localization, fixidity and fluidity, familiar and foreign at play in these dialogues (Rubdy and Alsagoff 2013, 10; Kraidy 2002, 332).

Code-switching has validity in this project if one sees it as the juxtaposition of *features* associated with different codes that are seen in terms of all possible varieties of a "named" language, rather than being equated with "standard" languages (Jørgensen et al. 2016, 150; Auer 2010, 461). "Code-switching constitutes a basic … resource that in many situations serves as a communicative strategy to achieve specific interpretive effects" (Gumperz 2003, 221). This could be most clearly seen in participant's deliberate use of features from a religious language within an utterance as a means to convey an "untranslatable" aspect of their faith practice.

*Multilanguaging* incorporates the shared perspective of multiple hybridity theories used in this project and, equally important, best describes the linguistic attitudes and behaviors of the participants themselves. While several scholars argue that the terms *multilingual practices* or *multilanguaging* exhaust "the limits of their descriptive and explanatory adequacy in the face of such highly complex blends" (Creese and Blackledge 2015, 22; Blommaert 2016, 247), I find them, like the term *hybridity*, to be beneficial in conceptualizing the continuum of speakers' multilingual communicative behaviors in the specific genre of interreligious dialogues. A.L. Becker coined the term "languaging" in order to orient the study of language toward how speaker's utterances and meanings are affected by context (Rockwell 2011, 103). It is a way of seeing "languaging as an ongoing process," as a movement from something that is accomplished to "something that is being done and reshaped constantly" (Becker 1988, 25).

### 2.3.1 Inequalities and Disparities

Multilingual theories all recognize the inequalities and disparities present in today's hybrid linguistic environment but focus on different aspects and outcomes of those inequalities. In postulating superdiversity, Blommaert frequently discusses truncated language repertoires or truncated multilingualism, i.e., individual speakers' differential fluencies in and commands over various languages (2010, 8-9; Blommaert and Dong 2013, 370). These resources reflect a speaker's life trajectory, are the bits and pieces of language individuals stumble upon or strive to acquire, and are typically unevenly dispersed in a densely layered, stratified pattern of distribution (Blommaert 2010, 12). Moreover, what is ratified and recognized in one context is not in another. Prestige varieties of

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certain languages—English, German, French—are high-mobility resources, allowing native speakers to interact with ease and acceptance in multiple locations and situations while other linguistic resources—Malayalam, Sarnami[7]—have limited mobility and functional efficacy, and they frequently lack public legitimacy (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert and Dong 2013). Likewise, linguistic competencies and resources that convey prestige on a speaker in one location can index a migrant background in another location, e.g., the English mobilized successfully in Nigeria can backfire when used in London (Blommaert and Dong 2013, 381).

If Blommaert sees the use of mixed and multiple codes as "truncated multilingualism," Pennycook and Otsuji (2015, 84) see it as "quotidian translinguality." Metrolingual workers find it "unimportant in what language interactions occur" (ibid.), something borne out by this research where participants also see their use of different languages as mundane, the "lived experience of diversity" (ibid.). Metrolingualism recognizes and accepts that these hybrid linguistic practices are often bound up in social and economic disparity (ibid., 23) and may be recognized as such by their speakers but does not assume that "equality is in any way necessary for the recognition of metrolingualism," which instead "focuses on local language practices" (ibid). Moreover, these differences—including cultural, religious, and gender differences—can be the basis for commensality. Relying heavily on Amanda Wise's (2007) sociological study of "Multiculturalism from Below," Pennycook and Otsuji (2015) note that identities are not left behind but shifted and opened up in moments of multilingual interaction, the "lived experience of diversity in specific situations and spaces of encounter" (Wise and Velayutham 2009, 3).

Examples of uneven distribution of resources and competencies abound in the recorded data from this project. Speakers were frequently aware of these disparities but regarded them differently. Interlocutors brought what they perceived as their own lack of competence into the dialogue negatively or apologetically—"I'm so sorry, my [English, German] is so bad"—but responded positively if it was another speaker's lack of resources—"you're doing fine," "your [English, German] is just fine." At that point, the tempo of the conversation would slow, or elements would be restated for clarification. This self-reflexivity is part of the research agenda for metrolingualism, which examines not only how

7 The speakers themselves internalize this lack of public legitimacy. The L1 Sarnami speaker in these dialogues provided several other more prestige codes in which he has competencies before *finally* saying that Sarnami was his L1 "because Sarnami is not an official language."

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speakers get along with their multiple linguistic resources, but also how they "perceive and talk about this language use" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 13).

In more institutionalized and structured settings, unequally distributed linguistic resources create multilingual practices that are inherently political and reflect differing degrees of sociopolitical legitimacy and prestige (Wodak et al. 2012, 163; also Heller 2007). As Blackledge and Creese (2015, 25) note, "particular linguistic resources may provide or prevent access to powerful social networks." Moreover, not all linguistic resources are equally available to all speakers at all times since certain social contexts can prevent individuals from accessing their resources in "particular places and at particular times" (ibid.). This was particularly apparent in conversations at the caregivers' conferences when speakers of non-shared languages would display frustration at being unable to express themselves fully in one of the target languages.

Several dialogue participants specifically recognized inequalities in power afforded to L1 speakers of prestige language varieties during follow-up interviews, particularly in the context of professional conferences and dialogues. "It (English) gives you a position of being heard, of being powerful. So the question is: how are you using your power?" (Michael, interview). Most speakers in this data set are highly educated and voluntarily choose the multilingual setting of an interreligious dialogue, giving them more in common with speakers in Wodak's EU research site or Canagarajah's lingua franca dialogues than with Blommaert's speakers with migrant backgrounds or Pennycook and Otsuji's Sydney markets, both places where the social and economic disparities can be significant. Participants acknowledged deliberate attempts to be aware of the privilege they possess because of this disparity, to slow down, to be considerate when using English in a dialogue with varied L1 participants. While these and other inequalities (gender, Global South versus Global North) were frequently acknowledged and attempts were made to compensate whenever possible (see chapter 8), speakers ultimately carried on the dialogue using whatever resources were afforded them. Much like Pennycook and Otsuji's marketplaces, the ultimate focus was on "getting things done."

### 2.3.2 Choice and Quotidian Translinguality

Many multilingual theorists (Maher 2010; Rampton 2006; Bucholtz 1999; Jørgensen 2008; Jørgensen et al. 2016) view multilanguaging as a deliberate choice that creates an identity or signals group belonging—language at play, if you will (Pennycook and Otsuji 2010, 246). Data from this project instead

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demonstrates ordinary occurrences of multilingual activity driven by necessity, rather than style, between speakers who may or may not share multilingual resources, something Pennycook and Otsuji (2015, 4) note in their later research: "Our use of the term [metrolingualism] has shifted away from a focus on playful or willful creativity towards an understanding of everyday language use."

This quotidian translinguality (ibid., 84), a deployment of multiple semiotic codes in interactive movements, was evident from the start of this research, and not only in the dialogues themselves, but also in the routine interactions surrounding the dialogues. A South African professor frequently mixed English, German, and Afrikaans, for example, to achieve his communicative ends, or a dinner conversation seamlessly changed languages as another person sat at the table. Yet this behavior carries neither an assimilationist nor an integrationist notion of exchange but signals the everyday, situated nature of the exchange (Wise 2007, 23; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 10). This everyday multilingualism also recognizes that speakers often collaboratively accomplish communication tasks by pooling the linguistic resources and skills of several people (Blommaert and Dong 2013, 372; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 177). In these recordings, speakers often turned to other participants seeking a word or expression in the target language. Dialogue participants also demonstrated this collaborative behavior by repeating or recasting *other* speaker's words when there was a perception that the speaker was "in need of help" (Mauranen 2006, 146), thus ensuring the "flow of … mutually satisfactory discourse" (ibid, 140).

### 2.3.3 Non-Shared Knowledge

Speakers (and researchers) can no longer make assumptions of common ground but must recognize the salience of non-shared knowledge and the need to manage ignorance (Blommaert and Rampton 2016, 29; also Gumperz 2003). Asymmetrical interpretations grow in significance for the communicative process, particularly in situations where linguistic repertoires can be "largely discrepant" (Blommaert and Rampton 2016, 29.) At one level, this would seem self-evident since the very purpose of an interreligious dialogue is to talk about differences—differences in faith practices and the differing perspectives those practices may (or may not) provide on other issues, such as immigration or the roles of women. Diversity abounds in this study; participants have twenty different L1s (although not all were utilized in these dialogues) and eight different faith practices or worldviews. The implication would seem to be that "the nego-

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tiation of meaning in [these] … contexts may be unsuccessful, or partially successful, or just remain rather foggy" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 139).

Research found, instead, an unexpected prevalence of discourses displaying communicative effectiveness, something that is borne out in other studies, particularly in Canagarajah's (2007) observations regarding the surprising lack of misunderstanding in lingua franca English conversations. "A kind of suspension of expectations regarding norms seems to be in operation, and when forms from a different language or English variety surface, they do not interfere negatively" (ibid., 926); this occurs frequently in recordings from the caregivers' conferences. Perhaps "one reason for engaging in collaborative behavior … is reliance on the commonsense assumption that speaking a language that is not participants' mother tongue must be particularly prone to misunderstanding and therefore calls for cooperation from everyone to succeed" (Mauranen 2014, 243). Participants in discourses where many, or all, of the interlocutors are using a linguistic code that is not their L1 most often recognize their "shared incompetence" (Jaspers 2012, 139) and display a readiness for observing and acknowledging differences (ibid.); they activate complex pragmatic strategies that help them negotiate their variable forms (Canagarajah 2007, 926). Gumperz's (1982) "network of relationships" is particularly relevant for data from the caregivers' conferences; many participants have created shared communicative practices after years of participation in the group.

The data in this project will largely contravene the notion that the negotiation of meanings in such multilingual or superdiverse contexts must be essentially ineffectual. This is not to say there were not ineffective dialogues; most often, though, it was an ineffective segment within a larger, more productive exchange. Yet the suspension of expectations, collaborative behavior, and long-term participation in networks of relationships all combined to prevent misunderstandings as the participants recognized their non-shared knowledge but made conscious decisions to use the dialogues as a basis for commensality and exchange; dialogue participants were generally able to maintain their identities while, at the same time, transversing those identities and allowing their individual biographies to be intertwined—perhaps only temporarily— at some level (Wise 2007; Hill Fletcher 2007).

### 2.3.4 Fixidity and Fluidity

The antithetical notion of fixidity and fluidity is highly relevant to this project. If one focuses too long on the ideas of fluidity, multiplicity, and hybridity, it can

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seem that "everyone simply makes up everything as they go along … regardless of whether anyone understands them or not" (English and Marr 2015, 206). However, multilanguaging does not descend into "kaleidoscopic chaos" (Rampton 2016, 103), and multiple or hybrid does not necessarily translate to all aspects of an interlocutor's identity (Pennycook and Otsuji 2010, 2015). Instead, a closer look at people's multilingual practices shows that they do manage to bring "quite a high degree of intelligible order to their circumstances … and are rather adept at navigating 'superdiversity'" (Blommaert and Rampton 2016, 36).

Observation and interviews showed that many participants in this research project view their linguistic resources as fluid and some see their cultural identities as fluid, but they understand their religious identities to be fixed. People came to these dialogues as devout practitioners of a particular faith or philosophical tradition, and the idea that someone may have a pre-fixed religious identity should not be chastised as being essentialist but needs to be acknowledged. "We cannot … leap into an examination of hybridity as if fixed ascriptions of identity and their common mobilization in daily interaction have ceased to exist" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2010, 244). Indeed, "it is important not to construe fixity and fluidity as dichotomous, or even as opposite ends of a spectrum, but rather to view them as symbiotically (re)constituting each other, a dynamic emergence in the form of a spiral as people move between fixed and fluid understandings and uses of language and identity" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 111). From a linguistic perspective, this echoes Ricœur's acceptance of asymmetry in translation and his concept of moving between identity and strangeness to display hospitality. The idea that "the celebrated spaces of hybridity" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2010, 244) may also include monolithic ascriptions of culture or religion is echoed by pragmatist Istvan Kecskes (2014, 2), who states that "intercultures" are co-constructed in interactional situations with elements from participants' existing cultural backgrounds and *ad hoc* creations.

### 2.3.5 Layered and Multi-Scalar Levels of Context

Sociolinguistics has, until recently, conceptualized language practices as being solely spatially located. However, while the contexts in which people now communicate are partly local and emergent, they also are infused with information, resources, experiences, and expectations that originate in and are destined for networks and processes that can be global (Blommaert and Rampton 2016, 32-33; Rampton et al. 2015, 30-31). This is most clearly instantiated at the clinical caregivers' conferences, which occur annually in various locations with

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members from over thirty different countries. The dialogues are both local (situated in that specific place at that specific time with caregivers from that region) but also ongoing and global. Many individuals have been participating regularly for fifteen to twenty years and not only continue conversations from conference to conference (longitudinal trajectories across both time and space), but also communicate between conferences via email and telephone (virtual spatial trajectory). This ability to build and sustain translocal relationships over distance is a result of the time-space compression of contemporary social life (Gardner and Martin-Jones 2012, 6–7). Participants also bring global information to the dialogues—presentations and data from their local workspaces that are scattered around the world—as well as global linguistic resources, and they then return to those same local workspaces with information and resources accumulated from the various global contexts of other participants. These are the histories, outcomes, and material processes that exist beyond, before, and after specific communicative encounters and that expand the spatio-temporal horizons of empirical description (Rampton et al. 2015, 24). This multi-scalar context can also be seen in the *Q&A* programs that are simultaneously local (the conversation between the participants and with the live audience) and global (the broadcast). The panelists are global citizens (several are either not Australian or now live elsewhere), and many of the questions come from outside Australia (via Skype or the Twitter feed).

This everyday reality of a plethora of multilingual practices in a globalized society means these practices should be investigated as part of both spatial and temporal trajectories (Blommaert and Rampton 2016, 37, Gardner and Martin-Jones 2012, 5). Gumperz made much the same recommendation earlier when he emphasized the importance of embedding interactional encounters within broader spatio-temporal processes, rather than making "functionalist assumptions" about "closed systems of norms" (1982, 29). The current study did this by investigating interreligious dialogues across multiple sites and spaces at different temporal intervals. Taken together, this data provides an in-depth account of the linguistic and semiotic phenomena at work in interreligious dialogues on a multi-scalar level.

### 2.3.6 Words and Denotative Values

Linguistic hybridity theories postulate that in today's multilingual reality, the denotative and propositional value of a word is no longer preeminent but just one among a large array of semiotic resources available for the production and

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interpretation of meaning, turning researchers' attention to indexicality and the connotational significance of the signs (Blommaert and Rampton 2016, 27; Rampton et al. 2015, 25). This is, in many ways, a Gumperzian notion: "the interactional sociolinguistic approach to diversity is essentially a semiotic one, which allows for a shifting balance between multiple inputs" (Gumperz 2003, 219). When a speaker switches to a different register or code, for example, it is essential to consider more than meaning; the code they have moved into may carry associations that are somehow relevant to the specific activities and social relations in play and serves as a communicative strategy to achieve specific effects (Blommaert and Rampton 2016, 27; Gumperz 2003, 221). Furthermore, the dependence on semiotic resources other than lexical items is particularly important in the setting of interreligious dialogues where non-shared beliefs and languages mean that many other cues, such as silence and disfluency phenomena, have to index meaning for the participants to achieve communicative effectiveness.

While this was true at one level, other conversations demonstrated that the lexical value of a word does guide a speaker's hybrid language practices. In several dialogues, hybrid language practices—including use of religious words—were attempts to find the most accurate word or phrase to convey a concept or perspective from the speaker's faith practice that was deeply important to them. Speakers sought specific words to precisely convey the complexity of the topic rather than use other semiotic resources—entire phrases or gestures. Interview data demonstrates that speakers are aware that words may carry entirely different meanings or frameworks for interpretation, and this awareness results in a greater exactitude than might be observable in multilingual conversations about non-religious topics. Participants want to both avoid unproductive disagreement or inhospitable linguistic behavior and to present their own faith practices as clearly and fully as possible.

## 2.4 Contextualization: Metalinguistic and Metapragmatic Signs

"Meaning," while just shown to be denotative is, nevertheless, not fully encapsulated in lexicon and grammar (Gumperz and Levinson 1991, 614); it is also created in the context of language use, particularly in multilingual settings such as those in this study (Gumperz and Levinson 1991; Blommaert and Rampton 2016; Rampton et al. 2015; Aijmer et al. 2006; Canagarajah 2007). While exactly what constitutes "context" is "notoriously hard to define" (Goodwin and Duranti 1992, 2), speakers are nevertheless "remarkably adept" (Flowerdew 2014, 3) at

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the process of contextualization. They use non-verbal, prosodic, and pragmatic cues—indicators that speakers and hearers rely on as part of the inferential processes—which, when processed in co-occurrence with one another, affect how constituent messages are understood (Gumperz 2003, 221). These indicators have meta-communicative framing functions by which speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how the semantic content is to be understood, and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows (Gumperz 1982, 131).

These typically unconscious referential and indexical signs are significant largely because of their multifunctional ability to provide a link between meaning and context; they allow context into the linguistic analysis by leaving a linguistic trace of the contextualization process (Verschueren 1999; Levinson 2003; Auer and Roberts 2011; Aijmer 2013). By referring to the utterance itself, these signs play a key role in structuring an ongoing discourse and anchoring utterances in the discourse context with the ability to reference and, at the same time, alter aspects of that context (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011; Aijmer 2013). Utterances are more than just semantic propositions, as Rampton et al. (2015, 26) note; they are a "whole host" of signs that can reassure the listener a "broadly shared understanding" of the situation exists or can "nudge the recipient's inferences in another direction" (ibid.). This reflexivity is so pervasive and *essential* that language is, by nature, fundamentally reflexive (Lucy 1993, 11).

At the same time, these indicators can point to contextual or social phenomena outside the utterance, and this indexicality helps achieve coherence by integrating these domains or meanings into the discourse while concurrently changing the process of the discourse (Schiffrin 1987; Aijmer 2013; Aijmer et al. 2006). Silverstein (2009, 756) argues that these indicators do this in two ways: indexical signs link the user to contextual conditions of which the user has knowledge that is independent of the occurrence of that particular sign, and indexical signs also link users to contextual conditions that come into being only as a function of that sign at that moment. Like reflexivity, indexicality is also pervasive, continuously pointing to persons, practices, settings, objects, and ideas that are rarely expressed explicitly but that constantly invoke contexts as people try to make sense to one another (Rampton et al. 2015, 26).

This Gumperzian notion of contextualization in language, "out-of-awareness" non-denotative features that signal a speaker's meaning and invoke a frame of interpretation for the rest of the linguistic content of the utterance, is not new (Auer and Roberts 2011; Aijmer 2013; Gumperz 2003, 1992; Gumperz and Levinson 1991; Levinson 2003). What has changed with superdiversity is

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the conceptualization of what context is: from context-as-bucket to context-as-process to the current concept of a layered and multi-scalar context in which the social world is activated *in media res*. Baker (2014, 29) defines context as "the constraints on a communicative situation that influence language use;" Blommaert (2005, 251) defines it similarly as "the totality of conditions under which discourse is being produced, circulated and interpreted." Superdiversity has also pluralized the indexical interpretations today's multilingual, multicultural speakers might access in a conversation (Rampton et al. 2015, 26; Rampton 2017, 3; also Blommaert and Rampton 2016). As discussed in Section 2.3.5, this "huge range of non-shared, asymmetrical interpretations" that can occur in today's multilingual dialogues (Blommaert and Rampton 2016, 28) means that research needs to better define the relationships between language, society, and the use of multiple semiotic resources as they currently exist (Gardner and Martin-Jones 2012, 1).

Current linguistic hybridity theories, however, often fail to sufficiently investigate these other semiotic signs that are being used to create and index meaning in today's diverse linguistic environments or to bring these resources forward into the new paradigms of hybridity. While rightly discarding notions of named and bounded languages, these theories still focus almost entirely on *linguistic* resources and how they are mixed and fused. Pennycook and Otsuji (2015, 82) do note that the focus of hybridity on *individual* linguistic repertoires risks losing an understanding of the social nature of repertoire that was originally part of Gumperz's (1964, 137) definition as "the *totality* of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction" (emphasis mine). Thus there is a need to investigate a much broader array of indexical and referential signs that multilingual interlocutors might be using to co-construct socially significant interactions. If today's superdiverse linguistic environment has truly intensified and expanded the validity of Gumperz's theories regarding non-denotative signs that affect the outcome of the exchange (Blommaert and Rampton 2016; Pennycook and Otsuji 2015), then the metalinguistic and metapragmatic resources used by today's global language users to create meaning need to be analyzed in conjunction with their hybrid language practices.

From within pragmatics, Istvan Kecskes (2014, 3) makes the same observation: "There has been a longstanding problem in pragmatics-oriented research. Communication (now) involves interlocutors who have different first languages, communicate in a common language, and represent different cultures. Theoretical pragmatics, however, does not appear to pay much attention … and remains predominantly monolingual," producing pragmatic models that are then insufficient to explain multilingual practices and their traces appropriately. A better

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model is one that focuses on language in use and at a discourse level, since research has demonstrated that participants in intercultural communication settings are creative on a discourse, rather than an utterance, level (Kecskes 2014; Aijmer 2013). A discourse level of analysis, as used in this study, allows researchers to find cues that help identify the real intention of a non-L1 speaker, particularly in a multiparty conversation (Kecskes 2014). He cites several examples similar to data in this study—dialogues with short utterances that contain "mistakes" and could seem unrelated to the previous utterance (ibid., 221). Canagarajah (2007, 926) sees this shortening of utterances into clausal or phrasal segments that contain basic informational units as a deliberate syntactic strategy to facilitate communication in lingua franca English (LFE) contexts. When examined on a discourse level, these segments seem to make sense and the interlocutors understand one another. "This segmented and occasionally ungrammatical nature of intercultural communication requires us to revise our understanding of the role of contextual cues. Sometimes these contextualization cues are *ad hoc* creations of the individual in response to actual situational context" (Kecskes 2014, 221), an opinion shared by Canagarajah (2007).

The value of studying these indicators in interreligious dialogues specifically is that while a "speaker's cognitive processes are hidden to observation, pragmatic markers (and other indicators) can emerge as overt indicators of (or windows on) ongoing metalinguistic activity in the speaker's mind" (Aijmer 2013, 4) and how meaning is being co-constructed (Rampton, personal communication, May 30, 2019). If people's religious beliefs and faith practices are deeply held (a fact demonstrated by this study), the various metalinguistic indicators used in interreligious dialogues become an important window to those beliefs. Wuthnow (2011) makes a similar observation: "If sociologists' contention that predisposing values and beliefs about religion lie deep in the unconscious is true, what cannot be true is that these values and beliefs cannot be tapped through ordinary talk." Instead, he contends, religious discourse is a social practice with internalized rules that, like many other social behaviors, does not require conscious deliberation and yet is observable in the structure and content of the discourse itself, e.g., metalinguistic indicators.

Studying these metalinguistic and metapragmatic signs at a discourse level across multiple trajectories of interreligious dialogues was admittedly a challenging and problematic undertaking. The same multifunctionality that gives these indicators such power also makes them difficult to define and study, as they are semantically vague and their use relatively tacit and unnoticed by speakers and hearers. They have to be considered on an individual basis since their referential and indexical functions can be different in different utterances

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(Rampton et al. 2015; Kecskes 2014); moreover, such indicators often come as "complete assemblages where the result of the whole assemblage cannot be equated with the inferential results that each part alone might have" (Levinson 2003, 27). Gumperz (1992, 232) concurs, noting that these cues "function relationally and cannot be assigned context-independent stable, core lexical meanings. Rather, assessments depend on co-occurrence judgments … that simultaneously evaluate a variety of different cues." Gumperz recognized that the focus on the inferential processes creates a problem for the analyst, as well, since there is an inherent ambiguity in coming to a plausible shared interpretation of the situation (Auer and Roberts 2011, 389). To compensate, he developed the notion of a "communicative ecology," an ethnographic phase of observation, followed by a detailed analysis of the recorded data at a micro level to examine how indexical and inferential signs can construct, or frame, "the contextual ground for situated interpretation and thereby affect how constituent messages are understood" (Gumperz 2003, 221).

What became apparent in the communicative ecology of this data was multilingual speakers were not only accessing all available multilinguistic resources, but also any metalinguistic or metapragmatic means available to help co-create meaning in these communicative encounters. Observations showed the importance of unfilled pauses and pointed to the relevance of other indicators. Some of these indicators fit easily into Gumperz's Interactional Sociolinguistic toolbox of contextual cues—prosodic cues (intonation and stress) and paralinguistic signs such as hesitation, latch, overlap, and code-switching. Other indicators that seemed relevant were pragmatic markers[8] (discourse markers, stance markers and hedges), elements present in discourse that remain outside the propositional content of a sentence and serve to establish the relationship between the speaker and the message, the speaker and the hearer, or the speaker and the context (Romero-Trillo 2013; Carter and McCarthy 2006; Aijmer 2013). Still other markers (fillers and back channeling)—which will be shown to be relevant to the interreligious dialogues in this data set—are recognized by some as "interactional devices" with conversational functions (Stenström 1990, 252; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011, 227) or as undefined elements that, although initially void of semantic meaning, have pragmatic implications in the interaction (Romero-Trillo 2013, 2) while remaining nebulous in their classification.

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**8** As frequently noted, there is little consensus within pragmatics on how to label these indicators. However, the term *pragmatic marker* appears to be most accepted as the superordinate category (Romero-Trillo 2013; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011), and I use it in this sense.

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Given the heterogeneous nature of these indicators, labeling them was also somewhat problematic. As already discussed, these are linguistic phenomena that have both reflexive and indexical properties and function both metalinguistically and metapragmatically. While some scholars (Lucy 1993; Silverstein 1993) see metalinguistics as a subset of metapragmatics, Jaworski, Coupland and Galasiński's approach—which sees them as cognate concepts (2004, 5)—is more descriptive of these conversations. Their argument that, within linguistics, there has been a "steady shift towards appreciating the contextual*izing* as well as the contextua*lized* dimension of language" (emphasis in the original) parallels this research; it recognizes that "if language is used in ways that actively give shape to social contexts, then we are forced to consider the 'meta zone' where contextualization happens" (ibid.). The choice of the term indicator (as opposed to marker or cue) reflects Aijmer's observation that these words and signs merely "indicate," leaving speakers and hearers with a significant amount of work as creators and interpreters of the contextual aspects of a discursive segment (Aijmer et al. 2006, 102).

## 2.5 Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is polysemic, but at its root it is the study of language in use, focusing on the meaning constructed as language is used in a specific context (Bhatia et al. 2008, 1). As just seen, people's discursive practices are mutually reflexive and indexical; speakers and hearers are continually shunting between text and context (Flowerdew 2014, 5; also Fairclough et al. 2011) and discourse analysis seeks to discover the patterns that emerge in these interactions and to understand them as acts of meaning-making that construct social realities (Scollon and Scollon 2003; Gee and Handford 2012; Flowerdew 2014; Gee 2005; Heller 2003). It is a way of illuminating and gaining evidence to help explain how and why language works the way it does, particularly in this setting of multilingual conversations about people's religious beliefs (Goodwin and Duranti 1992; Flowerdew 2014; van Dijk 2008; Scollon and Scollon 2003; Gee 2005).

One understanding of discourse analysis is to plot the various approaches (conversation, critical discourse, ethnographic, multimodal, corpus-based, genre, mediated) along "two major dimensions" of text/context and semiotic mode where one can see that these seemingly "distinct approaches to discourse analysis differ … depending upon the extent to which they regard social context and/or semiotic forms that are used to construct discourses" (Bhatia et al 2008, 14). However, each addresses the use of language in a specific context and dif-

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fers “essentially (only) in terms of the objectives they serve and the applications to which they are suited” (ibid.).

Another method is to see that approaches to discourse analysis can be loosely grouped into two categories: what Gee (2005) calls “little d” and “big D” discourses. Analyses of “big D” discourses tend to look at how sets of beliefs, attitudes, and values (“ideologies” or “mentalities”) are expressed, reproduced, and changed in social practice (discourse) (Fairclough 1992). They are referred to as “big” because they focus on the broader sociocultural context and often involve analysis of institutions, e.g., Foucault's study of the 'genealogy' of prisons in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1979). It is from this strand of sociological analysis of “systems of ideas” and their discursively legitimized and contested power structures that approaches referring to themselves as “critical” evolved in the 1990s (Wodak and Meyer 2016).

“Little d” discourses tend to narrow the focus, looking more closely at the text that is produced in its immediate conversational context. Some approaches, like Conversation Analysis (cf. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson), use only closely transcribed conversational data to “understand the patterns on social life” (Bhatia et al. 2008, 4) while more ethnographic approaches (see Hymes, Gumperz, Blommaert, Rampton)—still frequently using transcribed interactional data—seek to situate specific interactions in the “living tissue of everyday life” (Heller 2003, 254) in order to gain insights into situated understandings, identify form-context relationships, and show how they contribute to interpretation (Gumperz 2003, 224). It is this view of language as a function of the context in which it is used that will be taken for my analysis. The goal of this approach to discourse analysis is to look at small-scale interactions in order to provide an insider view on larger social processes (Jasper 2012, 141), in this case the wider context of interreligious dialogues. By embedding fine-grained transcripts in closely observed ethnographic settings, this study examines the relationships between sign forms, pragmatic functions, and indexical significance to make the semiotic plurality present in these dialogues more intelligible (Rampton 2016, 104–105).

## 2.6 Constructing an Analytical Framework

What emerges from these diverse strands of theory is a nuanced and innovative analytical framework that investigates, in one complex structure, the range of multilingual and metalinguistic resources present in face-to-face interreligious discourses, and then places the multiple micro analyses in a broader macro analysis of interreligious dialogues across multiple trajectories. It is a function-

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ally oriented matrix that sees participants' linguistic behavior as rooted in a particular religious identity that is, nonetheless, open to seeking sites of narrative overlap and displaying linguistic hospitality. It combines linguistic ethnography with fine-grained corpus-assisted discourse analysis to investigate how those attempts at understanding and hospitality are empirically demonstrated.

Linguistic ethnography is a way to first investigate, rather than assume, the contexts and linguistic resources of an interaction (Blommaert and Rampton 2016, 33). "Ethnographies allow us to get at things we would otherwise never be able to discover. They allow us to see how language practices are connected to the very real conditions of people's lives, to discover how and why language matters to people in their own terms" (Heller 2008, 250). Subsequent discourse analysis of detailed interactional transcripts is a means to accurately determine which resources (both metalinguistic and multilingual) are relevant to the contextualization of these conversations, and to demonstrate how they are co-occurring to create meaning. Discourse analysis is also a means to understand the multi-scalar levels of context, both local and global, present in these dialogues.

It is at this point that my framework diverges in several significant ways to take an emergent path in the analysis of multilingual and metalinguistic data in a superdiverse world: I take a discourse-level approach to the analysis of multiple pragmatic markers, investigate dialogues across multivariate research sites, and add corpus-assisted analysis to the detailed, line-by-line analysis of recorded interactional data. The goal is not merely to determine the presence, or absence, of a single cue but rather to identify and examine the complex *interactions between* multiple metalinguistic and metapragmatic indicators and demonstrate how those patterns of interactions index and create effective (or ineffective) dialogues. This is a necessary step if one is to truly use hybrid linguistic theories to examine multilingual dialogues. To assert that speakers in today's superdiverse linguistic environments are using any and every available linguistic resource to create meaning, but then limit the research to only languaging practices presents an incomplete set of data. It is therefore essential to identify a range of meaning-making resources, *including* multilanguaging practices, and examine their interactions with one another to gain a broader perspective of the totality of semiotic resources at work in these dialogues.

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### 2.6.1 Multi-Sited Ethnography

Given the globalization of religion and interfaith encounters, this framework uses multivariate research sites to collect the interactional data in order to more fully analyze the multi-scalar levels of context at work in these dialogues. Multi-sited ethnography is a means to demonstrate how talk is constitutive of a specific social activity—interreligious dialogues—across a range of temporal and spatial situations, and to explore how the interactional accomplishments of the participants are realized in these varied settings (Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz 2011, 283). The researcher, gathering data from a myriad of dialogues, can build a bridge from the aggregate results of multiple micro-studies to the wider social concerns of interreligious dialogues (ibid.). This is possible because the process of contextualization operates not only at the level of individual conversations, but also at the level of globalization and superdiversity; the fundamentally dialogic nature of all interactions means that individual conversations also occur in response to conversations in dialogue with larger cultural conventions, traditions, and ideological formations (Jones 2013, 3). Since the broader, multi-scalar contexts cannot simply be read off any one particular interaction, the researcher still must begin with what is empirically observable—individual interactions between multilingual and multifaith dialogue participants (Heller 2003, 259-260; Flowerdew 2014). By then exploring the linkages of many individual interactions across three trajectories, it becomes possible to explore the macro of globalized conversations about religion through the aggregate micro-analyses of multiple discrete dialogues (Heller 2003; Flowerdew 2014). The result is a framework that works at the discourse level, allowing researchers to better identify all the signs indexing and inferring meaning in multilingual, multiparty conversations. Since globalization compels us to take multilingualism as a rule rather than an exception (Blommaert 2011, 135), it is crucial to address the reality of multilingual practices from both a theoretical and an empirical standpoint.

### 2.6.2 Discourse-Level Pragmatics

This study also diverges significantly from more traditional approaches by looking at multiple categories of pragmatic markers in multiple languages that are present in one discourse genre, rather than one category—or even one monolingual word—in diverse settings. Romero-Trillo (2013) makes a compelling case for a similar approach that recognizes the importance of context and investi-

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gates pragmatic markers in a dynamic system he calls "triangulation, in which the addressor, addressee, and the message are in continuous feedback" (ibid., 3). His model proposes investigating pragmatic markers by "function ... since—if pragmatic markers have a different grammatical nature from classical word classes—this will necessarily affect their linguistic behavior" (ibid.) This model does that by studying the functions of each pragmatic marker category; in other words, how do all hedges (any word used to help a speaker sound less assertive) work in the context of these interreligious dialogues? This is a means to recognize the enormous diversity of origins and forms that pragmatic markers display and the variety of functions that they can realize in a multilingual setting (Pichler 2010, 584; Romero-Trillo 2013, 3).

### 2.6.3 Corpus Linguistics: A Quantitative Look at Qualitative Data

Corpus-assisted analysis, particularly of pragmatics, allows for a quantitative analysis of qualitative data and is an additional means to study context and make inferences about meaning (Aijmer and Rühlemann 2015; Baker 2010). Observation demonstrated that speakers' use of various pragmatic markers was interacting with other MLIs but how these markers were affecting dialogue outcome was not entirely clear. At the same time, transcription of the interactional data created a small (40,290 tokens) specialized corpus. Analyzing this corpus using standard corpus methods, specifically frequency lists and KWIC, allows one to identify patterns that are not apparent using a single approach (Baker 2010, 21).

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# 3 Collecting Data *in medias res*

> What we say, how we say it, and what we accomplish through discourse are important aspects of what it means to be human.
>
> Robert Wuthnow

*In medias res* is an apt description for these dialogues. Participants came to these dialogues, much like Ricœur, recognizing diversity and multiplicity at all levels of existence—language varieties and linguistic competencies, diverse faith practices, ethnic and cultural backgrounds—and jumped into the middle of a dialogue in spite of, or perhaps because of, these disparities and dissimilarities. As they did, context was activated *in medias res*—a social world that was interactionally ratified from one moment to the next as participants with very different communicative repertoires responded to one another. The diversity present in this data set also meant there was considerable scope for difference in the social and linguistic norms and expectations that individuals in these dialogues oriented to, as well as in the types of things they noticed as discrepant (Rampton et al. 2015, 26; Blommaert and Rampton 2016, 29). The scope and capacity for difference was predicated, in part, on the dialogue setting. Participants in the caregivers' conferences expected the most diversity and provided the widest latitude to other interlocutors, while the linguistic and societal norms of participants in the platform events were the most homogenous. Particularly in the caregivers' conferences, one observed Canagarajah's (2007, 926) "suspension of expectations" regarding linguistic norms and frequent occurrences of Firth's (1996, 243) "let it pass" principle in which the criterion of a standard grammatical system were played down or set aside.

To uncover the multiple meaning-making processes at play in these conversations and gain "insight into the local communicative ecology" (Gumperz 2003, 233), I began observing people's religious practices and interfaith encounters within the chapel community and at German diaconal-organized discussions. This allowed me to build rapport and develop trust in the field as a precursor to collecting interactional data—the "lived stuff" (Copland and Creese 2015, 38; Rampton et al. 2015, 18) of the research project—and to "see the complexity and connections" of people's linguistic practices in order to "tell a story ... which illuminates social processes" (Heller 2008, 250).

Discourse analysis is a way to tie down the linguistic insights encountered during observation and to gain empirical evidence for a theory that helps explain how and why language works the way it does in a specific setting (Rampton et al. 2004; van Dijk 2011; Flowerdew 2014; Gee 2005). It is also a way to step back from the emic perspective and analyze the components and underpinnings

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of a communicative encounter, something that is of strategic value when a researcher is doing ethnography in sites and processes close to home (Rampton et al. 2004, 6), as was the case in this project. This chapter describes the numerous steps required to collect and analyze multitudinous "tiny strips of spoken interaction" (Rampton 2016, 91), a process that was—at many points—rhizomatic.

## 3.1 Linguistic Ethnography

Linguistic research projects often begin in spaces close to home when a researcher is motivated by an interest in linguistic behaviors and practices noticed "on their doorstep" (Arnaut et al. 2016, 7). The doorstep for this project was my own chapel community where the motivation was a shared space without shared dialogues. In the particular context of interreligious dialogues, Wuthnow insists it is useful to examine religious talk by drawing on ethnographic field research, as well as qualitative interviews and text analyses, in order to move discussions about religion toward "more observable aspects of culture" (2011, 14-15). "Scholars who are truly interested in understanding religion know that talk cannot be ignored. Talk conveys meaning because it is culturally [and religiously] patterned" (ibid.).

### 3.1.1 On My Doorstep

As I have a rather eclectic but broad Protestant background, I began by first observing the Muslim and Jewish communities' Friday night services to gain a broader understanding of their faith practices and how local actors managed them linguistically (Auer and Roberts 2011, 389). After several weeks of informally observing the two communities, including their interactions with each other and the two Protestant congregations in the same building, it became apparent that interreligious dialogues are complicated and fluid, and that to unpack the complexities of the discursive strategies people use when they talked about their faith and religious practices, it would be necessary to look closer for patterns in the situated everyday practices of the dialogue participants (Wuthnow 2011; Blommaert and Rampton 2016; Copland and Creese 2015; Rampton et al. 2015). So I became more involved in these religious communities while continuing my involvement in the Protestant community. I began staying and sharing the communal meals that typically followed both the Muslim and Jewish Friday evening services, joined in the celebrations of their religious festivals throughout the year, observed their religious instruction while often asking

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questions, and in the case of the Muslim community, attended many of the everyday gatherings of the women in the group—a baby shower, a bread-baking demonstration. This style of research seeks to address issues of complexity by allowing the researcher to closely observe language use and the linguistic practices of people in a specific setting, and it assumes that the researcher's own cultural and interpretive capacities are necessary to locate the analysis of the language in the interaction (Langman and Sayer 2013; Wodak et al. 2012; Blommaert 2016; Gumperz 2009, 1992; Arnaut et al. 2016).

My long-standing involvement in this chapel community *did* prove to be useful in situating and interpreting the interactions between the various congregations. The Protestant congregants, given the top-down military setting, had not been consulted about the addition of worship spaces for the other faith groups. Many who knew construction funds were available were hoping for badly needed religious education facilities, which led to initial resentment, mistrust, and apprehension from some of the Christian chapel members. The Jewish congregation had been using the existing building for several years but was in many ways invisible to the Christian congregations as their worship services and holidays rarely overlapped. The addition of an Islamic community complicated the Jewish congregation's routine, though, since both groups now needed the (limited) space at the same time due to the military nature of the chapel. Muslims' most important time for prayer is Friday afternoon while Jewish adherents begin their observances just after sunset on Friday and, customarily, at home. However, a typical American workday meant the Muslim male adherents briefly attended Friday prayers in the mosque on their lunch break and then met as a congregation (with women and children) for a sermon and potluck in the evening. Jewish adherents who were stationed far from extended family included their *Shabbat* meal with the Friday prayers and blessings in the synagogue. In addition, the Muslim community was being led by one of the military's first commissioned imams, and the group had encountered considerable suspicion from the beginning. They were understandably wary of allowing me to observe, and multiple visits and long-term relationships were necessary to allow me to capture a better sense of their faith practices and the patterns of their interactions with one another, as well as with the chapel community as a whole. The Jewish congregation was less guarded, due in part to group dynamics but also to the extant nature of the Jewish service, if not necessarily their new worship space. In both communities, though, this willingness to be a regular part of peoples' religious practices enabled me to gain their trust and consequently to gather interview data and generate insights that would not have been possible otherwise. This knowledge was crucial in informing my initial hypoth-

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eses and research questions, as well as in the final analysis, but I was ultimately unable to record conversations within these communities.

Another productive observational setting was the annual conference of an international, interfaith association of clinical pastoral caregivers. The association is headquartered in Germany but has members in more than thirty countries; members are pastors, chaplains and/or licensed spiritual counselors and consultants. Their annual conferences are a mix of plenary sessions, breakout sessions, and small group discussions. The latter two were rich sources of data, and I subsequently gathered approximately 40 percent of my interactional data and interviews from two ensuing conferences and one seminar.

### 3.1.2 Trajectories Across Time and Space

Sociologist Courtney Bender spent over a year observing and analyzing how religious talk happened amongst volunteers in a nonreligious volunteer organization and found that ethnographic investigations are able to illuminate and analyze how and why people talk about things they consciously do *not* share with one another, such as religious practices and ideologies (Bender 2003; Wuthnow 2011; Langman and Sayer 2013). Starting from a point of interpretive ethnography—with its focus on a social group's discursive practices, situated use of language and, in this project, situated practice of religion—the researcher is able to observe how individuals navigate their religious identities in worlds that are religiously plural, or even antagonistic towards such identities (Bender 2003, viii). Much like Bender, I initially became a part of the three chapel communities in an attempt to observe how people there talked about beliefs they did not share but in a space that they did share. I observed that in peoples' attempts to navigate a religiously plural space with significant structural constraints (military regulations, architectural limitations, belief systems), religious talk frequently did not occur at all. And when it did, like Bender's subjects, it was commonly interwoven with talk about everyday life.

The fact that talk about religious topics or religious differences was interwoven with talk about holidays or children or the communal kitchen (Wuthnow 2011; Bender 2003), and that shared space did not always result in shared dialogues demonstrated the need for an approach that would allow me to track the circulation of interreligious discourses across different temporal and spatial settings. Multi-sited ethnography, first proposed by Marcus (1995, 96), suggests that researchers should move out from conventional sites of traditional ethnographic research to examine the circulation of meanings and identities in dif-

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fuse time-space when the object of study "cannot be accounted for ethnographically by remaining focused on a single site of … investigation." Employing multi-sited ethnography was a means to investigate beyond the chapel community and follow the trajectories of interreligious discourses across different social, temporal, and physical spaces to identify patterns of use and the linkages of linguistic resources in multiple dialogues in order to arrive at a broader understanding of their overall significance in the discourse genre (Falzon 2009; Heller 2003; Rampton et al. 2015; Gardner and Martin-Jones 2012; Marcus 1995).

Observation had already demonstrated multiple ways in which interreligious dialogues could be enacted and that while some similar linguistic behaviors could be detected across all settings, other behaviors varied between dialogue settings. Using the concept of a trajectory, I began to track the circulation of face-to-face interreligious dialogues made up of voluntary participants with multiple faith traditions and linguistic competencies across different social spaces, both real and virtual. In the case of the caregivers' conferences, the notion of a trajectory also allowed me to capture the temporal dimensions of these particular dialogues and the ways in which that trajectory developed over time (Martin-Jones and Gardner 2012, 10; Heller 2003, 259–260).

Leirvik (2011, 16) theorizes there is a distinction between "spiritual" and "necessary" dialogues. Spiritual dialogues are "based on personal motivation and are guided by an expectation of being enriched by other spiritual traditions," while necessary dialogues are those "driven by a felt socio-political need" and are organized by either governmental or civic/church actors (ibid.). I propose there is a third, hybrid category. Platform events, such as the *Q&A* news broadcasts, are driven by a perceived socio-political need—at least as determined by the news editors for that broadcast—but the conversations are still entered into based on the personal motivations of the participants. I argue the motivation is some form of personal recognition, professional advancement, or a public forum for the individual's own views rather than any expectation of spiritual enrichment, but they still choose to participate. This theoretical perspective creates four dialogue trajectories:

1. Groups that meet for professional growth and knowledge. Participants may, but must not, be vocational religious leaders. They voluntarily attend for professional development but typically also expect personal benefits. The clinical caregivers' association, which meets annually in different countries, fits this classification. Many members of this group have been participating for fifteen to twenty years, creating longitudinal as well as spatial trajectories. Other participants attend only when the conference is local, thus creating intersecting local and global trajectories. (See appendix 1)

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**Fig. 3.1:** Professional trajectory dialogues

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2. Groups that meet for personal development and understanding. Members of these groups are most often not religious professionals, but lay people who take their faith practices or worldviews seriously and want to engage with others of different perspectives who do the same. This trajectory can be the most diverse—ongoing dialogues between the same participants, ongoing dialogues with varying participants, or one-time conversations that can be either planned or spontaneous—a diversity that is reflected in this data. (See appendix 2)

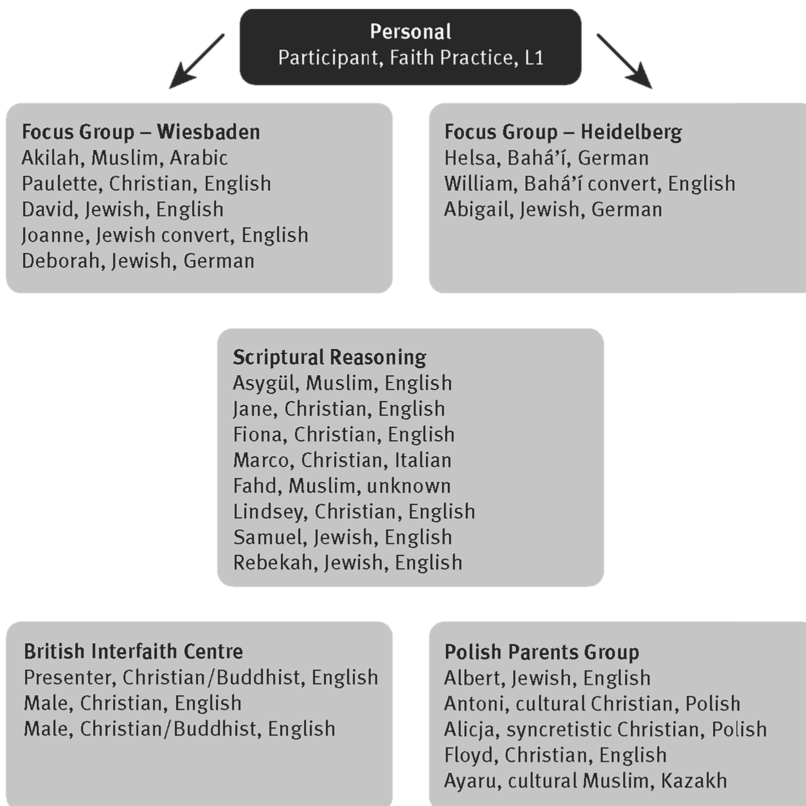


**Fig. 3.2:** Personal trajectory dialogues

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3. Groups comprised of public personalities whose vocation, celebrity, or renown gives them a platform to speak about their faith practices or lack of faith practices in the public sphere. In these "platform events," talk is "performed" for the over hearers as well as the other interlocutors (Goffman 1981, 165; Copland and Creese 2015, 45) by speakers who through "virtue of reputation or office, are assumed to have knowledge and expertise" (Goffman 1983, 167). Two weekly broadcasts from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation's *Q&A* program were analyzed for this trajectory. (See appendix 3)

**Fig. 3.3:** Platform trajectory dialogues

4. Official, or semiofficial, groups which meet for ecclesiastical or governmental/NGO reasons. These are Leirvik's (2011) "necessary" dialogues where participation is most often part of an interlocutor's job requirements. Groups tend to convene around an agenda with tasks to be accomplished, and participants are frequently speaking for someone else—their religious organization or governmental agency. This trajectory can also include multifaith volunteers who join together for social justice or community service projects. Early observation of German diaconal-organized multifaith meetings that are typically developed in response to a specific issue, e.g., building a mosque in the city center rather than the industrial area, demonstrated that linguistic practices and communicative behaviors in this trajectory are too disparate from the other three for valid comparison.

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### 3.1.3 Recordings and the Participant Observer

Gathering data from the clinical caregivers' conferences took over three years while personal development groups required a few hours to a period of months. It was clear from the beginning that multiple hours of recordings would be necessary to provide a rich enough interactional data set for analysis, particularly given a theoretical framework focused on quotidian communicative behavior and concurrent ethnographic observations that recognized religious talk was frequently embedded in long segments of non-religious talk.

Recording is a kind of sampling that mediates a researcher's access to the original event, shaping what a research "sees" or "hears" when they begin to transcribe the subsequent recordings (Bezemer and Mayers 2011; DuBois 2014; Mondada 2007). The presence of a researcher with recording equipment, while contributing to the researcher's understanding of the process, also mediates the data, a fact that the participant observer must acknowledge. In groups where I recorded only once, their long-term involvement with one another and the fact I did not participate in the discussions minimized changes in their discursive behavior due to my presence. Participants in one focus group were colleagues and friends, and I was considered a group member who just happened to be recording. I established similar social relationships with members of the caregivers' group. My presence as a researcher was acknowledged at the start of each conference and again at the beginning of individual dialogues, but my long-term engagement with the group meant I had become part of the social scene being investigated; my presence was familiar and ordinary (Langman and Sayer 2013, 4).

While it is intrinsic that the researcher is part of this participatory ethnographic research, there are differing degrees of involvement which are negotiated in an ongoing fashion throughout the research process and even within the same project (Tusting and Maybin 2007, 578; also Copland and Creese 2015; Wodak et al. 2012). As observation and initial data collection continued, my role in the various groups shifted and changed; in certain dialogues, I maintained a complete distance from the discourse while in others I shared my personal background and became a partial to full participant in the conversations. In the focus groups, my participation varied from month to month, depending on the presence (or absence) of other participants with a Christian background. My participation in the caregivers' conferences was rarely as a participant in the dialogues but occasionally as a translator for smaller discussion groups, which provided yet another perspective on the dialogues. This "indispensable" reflexive stance of ethnographic research means that the "boundaries of interaction

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between subject and objects of research are frequently difficult to delineate" (Wodak et al. 2012, 165), and yet it was this insider's perspective that provided crucial insights into and understandings of the data and patterns of usage that, at times, were unclear or inconclusive. As Hymes (1980, 99) argues:

> there is no way to avoid the fact that the ethnographer himself or herself is a factor in the inquiry. Without the general human capacity to learn culture, the inquiry would be impossible. Since partiality cannot be avoided, the only solution is to face up to it, to compensate for it as much as possible, to allow for it in the interpretation.

I recorded thirty-three hours of interactional data and transcribed 4.7 hours at a high level of granularity. Most recordings are both audio and video although a limited amount of data exists in only one format due to occasional equipment malfunctions or group restrictions. Data distribution:
– 885 minutes—professional development
– 995 minutes—personal development
– 120 minutes—platform events

### 3.1.4 Interviews and an Emic Perspective

One goal of linguistic ethnography, as discussed earlier, is to see how language practices are connected to people's everyday lives, and to discover how and why those practices matter to them (Heller 2008, 250). Interviews provide participants' interpretations and opinions, data that the researcher cannot obtain from observation or discourse transcriptions (Copland and Creese 2015, 37); interviews yield a greater understanding of speakers' linguistic practices and the meanings they attach to those practices in a particular setting. Interviews also allow researchers to know more "about subjects' relationships with one another, the contexts in which they tell their stories and hear others tell theirs, and the experience from which talk arises" (Wuthnow 2011, 11).

Both one-on-one and group interviews were conducted for this project, depending on the dialogue trajectory and the affordances of the moment (see appendix 4 for a list of all interviews and dates conducted). Interviews with participants from the professional group and continuing focus groups were conducted independent of the dialogues and began with a limited number of prepared questions (see appendix 6). Completely informal interviews—typically group interviews—were conducted when there was limited time on site or a particular setting presented an opportunity for interviews that would not be available in a later, more formal setting. In both semi-structured and impromp-

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tu interviews, the goal was to avoid the role of an "interviewer" and to encourage participants to provide insights and comments they deemed most salient to their personal discursive practices in interreligious dialogue settings—a co-construction of the interview situation between the interviewees and the researcher[1].

Multiple interviews were conducted in the initial ethnographic stage to gain an emic perspective of people's religious practices and how they understood themselves to talk about those practices. Ongoing conversations with two chapel members—Inaaya (Muslim) and Itka (Jewish)—were particularly helpful in informing the research design of this project. A subsequent, more detailed interview process began after initial analyzation of the transcripts when patterns of multilanguaging practices and use of metalinguistic indicators began to appear; a total of eleven hours of interviews were recorded.

## 3.2 Analyzing Language in Use

If ethnography provides a sense of the functions that linguistic forms and other semiotic resources have beyond the encounter at hand and what cultural and personal perspectives participants bring to and create in the interaction, then discourse analysis provides a view, perhaps only provisionally, of the communicative affordances of the linguistic resources participants draw on in a conversation (Rampton 2007, 4). Discourse analysis focuses on the linguistic and metalinguistic resources that guide participants' inferences about what is being said, since what a speaker intends to convey is rooted in both the discourse and in the local circumstances in which the discourse is produced (Gumperz and Berenz 1993, 94; Gumperz 2003, 217).

Discourse analysis in this particular project meant taking the interactional data recorded in the linguistic ethnographic stage and producing fine-grained transcripts and analytical descriptions of the data, a micro-level examination of the multilingual and metalinguistic indicators that were constitutive of these interreligious dialogues (Rampton 2016; Auer and Roberts 2011; Copland and Creese 2015). I also incorporated corpus-assisted analysis in order to provide a more comprehensive examination of the data, particularly the results for pragmatic marker usage.

**1** I found several years' experience as a reporter on daily newspapers particularly helpful at this point in my research.

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### 3.2.1 Mindful Selectivity

The common academic practice of turning a strip of naturally occurring talk into writing for analytical purposes in order to discover “strips of … interaction containing empirical evidence to confirm or disconfirm” the researcher’s assumptions and hypotheses (Gumperz 2003, 223) is inherently selective, and the process must be an acknowledged part of the analysis. One must first assemble the overall data set, the complete recordings that will be considered, and then identify segments within those conversations for transcription and annotation. The goal is to transcribe segments that are representative of the discursive practices in a dialogue trajectory and to stop when further viewings ceased to show anything new, but only additional examples of patterns that had already been identified (Cameron 2001, 29). Selection for this project was based on ethnographic observations, field notes, repeated listenings, and the salience of the religious talk within the larger conversation or in comparison to similar dialogue segments.

These selected recordings were segmented, by speaker, into intonational units that DuBois defines as “pivotal unit[s] at the intersection of form, meaning, and function” (2014, 120). Observation and preliminary analysis showed that participants were processing utterances in phrasal segments that contained basic idea or informational units (Gumperz 1992, 107), and that unfilled pauses—which can define the boundaries of an utterance—played a significant role in these dialogues (Jaworski 1993, 14). I thus sought to isolate sequentially bounded units that were marked off from one another by some degree of thematic coherence and detectable prosodic shifts (Gumperz 2003, 223), a “single focus of consciousness” (Chafe 1986, 218).

### 3.2.2 Identifying Metalinguistic Indicators

We are continuously filling in all that is unsaid but necessary for sense making, a tacit process of calibrating the words we hear to our sense of the dynamically evolving situation (Auer and Roberts 2011, 388; Rampton et al. 2015, 25; also Garfinkel 1984; Gumperz 2003). Once this interplay between metalinguistic resources and context was articulated as a research question (see section 1.1) and then positioned within a theoretical framework (see section 2.4), it was necessary to identify precisely which multilingual resources and metalinguistic indicators should be annotated for analysis. The goal was not to be exhaustive in representing all the indicators present in an interreligious dialogue nor to

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examine one cue in context-free isolation but instead to transcribe those indicators that could be shown on the analysis of the whole to be affecting the situated interpretations on which the conduct and outcome of the dialogue depended (Gumperz and Berenz 1993, 92). The final analytical framework includes twelve indicators, including multilanguaging, and places them in four sub-categories for ease of annotation: L1/L2 code switches, prosodic data, disfluency, and pragmatic markers.

**Table 3.1:** Metalinguistic indicators

| Metalinguistic Indicator (MLI) | Definition/Description | Category |
|---|---|---|
| L1/L2 | Switch by speaker from linguistic code of the dialogue to any other code | Multilanguaging |
| Back channeling | Verbal and non-verbal vocalizations used to provide (usually positive) feedback for the speaker | Pragmatics |
| Discourse marker | Words, phrases that function to organize, plan, monitor ongoing discourse | Pragmatics |
| Filler | Vocalizations ("um," "uh") used to fill gaps in conversation | Disfluency |
| Hedge | Linguistic strategy to avoid sounding too direct or authoritative | Pragmatics |
| Repeat/recast (own speech) | Speaker's repetitions and repairs of own words and phrases, reformulations | Disfluency |
| Repeat/recast (other's speech) | Other participants provide word or phrase for speaker | Disfluency |
| Stance marker | Words, phrases that do not change propositional content but express speaker's stance, attitude toward utterance | Pragmatics |
| Untimed pause (interphrasal) | Sometimes labeled as silence. Can be online process of thinking, turn taking or use of power. Less than one second, between phrases | Prosodics |

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| Metalinguistic Indicator (MLI) | Definition/Description | Category |
|---|---|---|
| Untimed pause (final contour) | Less than one second, both falling and rising intonation (end of sentence, end of question) | Prosodics |
| Timed pause (interphrasal) | More than one second, between phrases | Prosodics |
| Timed pause (final contour) | More than one second, both falling and rising intonation | Prosodics |

#### 3.2.2.1 Multilingual practices

The nature of interreligious dialogues in today's superdiverse climate means the linguistic code of a dialogue is rarely the L1 of all participants. Participants in this study have twenty different L1s, ten of which are used at some point in these conversations—English, German, Arabic, Hebrew, Russian, Polish, Sanskrit, Tamil, Dutch, French. And while German and English were the "official" codes, participants frequently switched to languages typically associated with a specific faith practice (Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit) or a code they shared with another participant (Dutch, French, Tamil) throughout the course of the dialogues. While current linguistic hybridity theories provided a sensitizing theoretical perspective for this project (see section 2.3), how to code the multiplicity of linguistic resources for analyzation remained problematic. If the research aim of multilingual theories is to see complexity of resources rather than named and bounded languages, one cannot label different "languages" within an utterance. And yet "the analysis of features must involve if and how the features are associated with one or more 'languages'" (Jørgensen et al. 2016, 139) if one is to gain a clearer understanding of the meaning being produced in the utterance. Understanding (and labeling) code-switching as "the juxtaposition of *features* associated with different codes" or varieties (ibid.) was the best way to determine if the switch was functioning as a metalinguistic indicator.

The L1 label for each dialogue, then, was the predominant code used by the speakers for a conversation[2]. Every occurrence of a switch from that code to any other language (including the speaker's L1) was annotated as an L2, regardless of the number or truncated nature of the words in the second language, or if the

2 An exception was made for "End of Conversation," a linguistically rich dialogue from the caregivers' conference that was so mixed in terms of German and English that one could not determine a predominant code for the entire dialogue and L1/L2 was annotated by speaker.

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speaker then clarified or translated the word as a type of self-repair or repeat-and-recast. To determine if use of faith-associated languages or the denotative elements of the L2 switch were affecting the dialogue, the L2 language was also noted. Each utterance was transcribed exactly as spoken, e.g., English words and German words and Arabic words, and the annotation indicating the switch and the L2 was embedded in that segment of the transcript. A segment from a predominantly English dialogue with segments of **Arabic** and *German*, for example, was annotated:

> We don't say: The Holy Qur'an. It's wrong. <L2=ARABIC> **al qur'an al kareem** </L2>. It's th-_th-_the .. (sigh) (TSK) uhm <L2=ARABIC> **kareem** </L2> is .. <L2=GERMAN> *groß-_großzügig*. (1.025) </L2> Giver. .. You know it's_it's uh (1.197)

#### 3.2.2.2 Prosodic cues and disfluency

"Tiny" intonational features can play a large part in conveying meaning; "careful analysis of prosody, the neglected acoustic cues, might help explain how we can possibly mean so much by uttering so little" (Levinson 2003, 25; also Tannen 2006). The expectation was that, given the multiplicity of linguistic and ethnic backgrounds at work in these dialogues, these seemingly small cues would play a big role in misunderstandings. These dialogues were instead predominantly communicatively effective due, in part, to the suspension of speakers' expectations regarding norms and their decisions to let pass what would be irregularities in a standard variety dialogue (Canagarajah 2007; Firth 1996). Moreover, by anchoring utterances in the discourse context, particularly a hybrid linguistic context such as this, many prosodic indicators that could have been relevant to research on a monolingual discourse at the clausal level were much less relevant when examined at the discourse level of this project.

Early transcription demonstrated two seemingly significant findings in this sub-category: two distinct functions of the repeat-and-recast phenomena, and the character of unfilled pauses. One observed that different functions were being performed and meanings indexed if a speaker recast their own speech or if they recast that of another interlocutor; these functions are explored in chapters 5 and 6. Second, when one began focusing on the interpretive evaluation of unfilled pauses—that is, relative to other matters of timing and rhythm within the event (Gumperz and Berenz 1993, 92)—it became apparent that placement of the pauses (interphrasal or final contour) mattered as much as absolute duration (shorter or longer than one second), and the analytical matrix reflects these observations.

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**Definitions**

**Filler**—vocalization (typically "um" or "uh") used to fill gaps in conversation, often indicating speaker's online process of thinking and planning.

**Repeat/Recast—**several types of disfluency in which the speaker repeats or recasts what they are saying. Phenomena are repetitions and repairs of partial or entire words and phrases, reformulations, aborted or incomplete words and utterances. Repeat-and-recast of another interlocutor's speech occurs when the speaker seems to be searching for a word or phrase and other participants then provide it to allow the conversation to continue.

**Unfilled Pauses—**sometimes classified as silence, it is a prosodic marker that can indicate a speaker's online process of thinking, turn-taking, or power. Four categories of unfilled pauses were analyzed based on pause length—untimed (<1 second) and timed (>1 second)—and by pause placement—interphrasal and final contour.

#### 3.2.2.3 Pragmatic markers

I investigated pragmatic markers by function at the discourse level by drawing on the theories of Romero-Trillo (2013, 2001) and Aijmer (2013; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011; Aijmer et al. 2006), while also relying on the Cambridge Grammar of Spoken English (CGE) (Carter and McCarthy 2006) for classifications and descriptors. In these theories, pragmatic marker is the superordinate category of items that operate outside the structural limits of the clause and includes: discourse markers, stance markers, hedges, and vocatives. Pragmatic markers do not contribute to the propositional content of the statement, they encode speakers' intentions and interpersonal meanings, and they contribute coherence to a discourse (Carter and McCarthy 2006; Romero-Trillo 2013; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011).

The question of how to annotate pragmatic markers in this data set was challenging, given their multifunctional nature and the multilingual resources at play. Multiple English dialogues contained various German pragmatic markers; L1 German speakers, for example, used predominantly English for the semantic content but then interjected a **German** discourse marker— "*also*"—or back channeling—"*genau*":

**Excerpt 3.1**

1. Researcher: And so our g:oal is: then (1.251) to develop as m:any (1.135) *good* characteristics or qualities?,

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2 Helsa <ALLEGRO> <L2=GERMAN> **Ya. Genau**. </ALLEGRO> </L2>And also there is: um .. the um (1.352) there is n- <L2=GERMAN> **also** </L2> there is no .. um pers:onal <L2=GERMAN> **also** </L2> .. existence of evil.

Most noticeable was the use of the German modal particle *"ja,"* primarily in search of agreement or affirmation from the other interlocutors. Some participants used a translator during the caregivers' conferences and segments of those discourses were in a third language, including pragmatic markers. In order to determine the function of the pragmatic markers, it was important to annotate them according to the speaker's language use at that moment in the dialogue, i.e., does the word used function as a pragmatic marker in Dutch or German? This approach was essential given speakers' unconscious, almost instinctive, use of these markers. This study examines the functions of four categories of pragmatic markers: discourse markers, stance markers, hedges, and back channeling. Back channeling, which had demonstrable effects on these dialogues, is not classified as a pragmatic marker by the CGE and is often initially seen as being void of semantic meaning. Nevertheless, multiple studies demonstrate that back channeling has "pragmatic implications" and plays a significant role in face-to-face interactions (Romero-Trillo 2013, 2).

**Definitions**

**Back channeling—**verbal and non-verbal vocalizations used to provide feedback, typically supportive or affirmative. Less frequent but can be negative. Normally used to show a listener is engaged, to encourage the speaker to continue.

**Discourse marker—**words and structures used to mark boundaries in a conversation between one topic, stage, or phase of conversation. Indicates speaker's intentions with regard to organizing, structuring, and monitoring the discourse.

**Hedge**—a mitigating word or phrase; a linguistic strategy used to avoid sound too authoritative or direct. Enables speakers to be less assertive in formulating their messages and interjections.

**Stance marker—**words or phrases which do not change the propositional content but which express the speaker's stance or attitude toward the utterance. Can also mark state of knowledge between participants.

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## 3.3 Analytical Approaches to the Data

After a dialogue was transcribed and annotated, the data was normalized to create a measurement of tendency of the observable patterns and relations in the interactional data. MLIs with meta descriptors—stance markers, discourse markers, hedges, back channeling, filler, repeat/recast of own speech, and repeat/recast of other's speech—were first compiled by speaker and then by dialogue. The remaining metalinguistic indicators—L1/L2 switches and unfilled pauses—were compiled by dialogue only, although later analysis frequently examined individual speaker's multilanguaging practices. (See appendix 5)

### Occurrences per minute

A raw number for the total occurrences of an MLI in a dialogue segment was not a useful comparison given the varied duration of the annotated segments. To normalize the data, I calculated occurrences per minute (OPM)—total occurrences of a specific MLI divided by total minutes of the transcribed dialogue segment equals OPM. OPM were calculated for each MLI in a dialogue. I annotated 18.59 minutes of the Polish parents' dialogue, for example, and there were 33 hedges in those 18.59 minutes:

$$33 \div 18.59 = 1.78 \text{ OPM}$$

Once the data for each transcript was normalized, an average for each MLI was calculated first by trajectory and then for the total data set.

**Table 3.2:** MLI occurrences per minute by trajectory

| Trajectory | Time/ minutes | OPM - L2 | OPM - back channeling | OPM - discourse marker | OPM - filler | OPM - hedge | OPM - R&R own | OPM - R&R other | OPM - stance | OPM - untimed IP | OPM - untimed FC | OPM - timed FC | OPM - timed IP |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Professional | 154.31 | 1.07 | 3.51 | 4.21 | 4.04 | 1.56 | 5.26 | 0.90 | 1.65 | 8.70 | 0.82 | 0.57 | 2.16 |
| Personal | 98.14 | 1.15 | 3.85 | 5.47 | 4.67 | 1.74 | 6.04 | 1.10 | 1.44 | 10.01 | 0.86 | 0.23 | 1.59 |
| Platform | 33.87 | 0.03 | 1.62 | 5.40 | 4.46 | 1.95 | 6.11 | 0.21 | 3.16 | 7.88 | 0.41 | | 0.03 |
| **Total data set** | **286.32** | **0.97** | **3.40** | **4.78** | **4.30** | **1.67** | **5.63** | **0.89** | **1.77** | **9.05** | **0.79** | **0.39** | **1.71** |

The OPM average of an MLI for each trajectory, as well as the total data set, precedes each chapter or section discussing that particular MLI. This is a means to place the subsequent examples from individual dialogues in a broader framework of understanding.

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**Analysis within and across trajectories**

The next step was to use this data to look for patterns of use of individual MLIs, as well as co-occurrences of multiple indicators. As the research focus was not on the mere presence of an MLI but on the variable ways individual linguistic features get clustered together when people communicate, the hypothesis was that there would be observable patterns between MLI use and dialogue topics or characteristics. Each MLI in an individual dialogue was compared against the average for that trajectory. MLIs with OPM that fell outside the trajectory norm by more than one-half of the trajectory average were categorized in a four-tier system: slightly above/below average and above/below average (see appendix 5). Again, the goal was to use these quantitative measurements in support of the qualitative data to create a more comprehensive analysis of the multi-faceted aspects of these dialogues.

All dialogues that fell within the same category for a specific MLI were then analyzed for relationships between what might be the anomalous use of that MLI and the outcome of the collective dialogues, first within a trajectory and then across trajectories. Dialogues with a high use of stance markers, for example, were investigated more closely for similarities in topics, conduct of the dialogue, and/or outcome of the dialogue. After the patterns of use for each MLI and co-occurrences between indicators were analyzed, I added corpus-assisted analysis to yield further insights into the contextualizing processes at work in these dialogues.

## 3.4 Corpus-Assisted Analysis

One result of this research is what McEnery and Hardie (2012,11) term an "opportunistic" corpus of spoken data for a discourse genre for which there is no available corpus. "These corpora make no pretension to adhere to a rigorous sampling frame.... Rather, they represent ... the data that it was possible to gather for a specific task" (ibid). As Tognini-Bonelli (2010, 22) notes, "it is the uniqueness of their language choices, not the universality of them, that causes them to be collected."

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**Description and characteristics**

ELAN[3] transcripts *de facto* create multi-modal corpora in which the audio and the visual data streams are directly aligned with the transcript of the conversation. These multi-modal transcripts were used for the preponderance of the analysis, followed by the creation of a small text-only corpus of approximately 40,290 tokens. One advantage of such a purpose-built corpus is that the language is not decontextualized and "patterns can be linked to pragmatically specialized uses within that particular context" (Koester 2010, 74). Moreover, as the corpus compiler of these corpora is typically also the analyst, the qualitative and quantitative findings can complement one another (ibid.).

To better utilize this advantage, the overall corpus was divided into four sub-corpora containing the texts from each trajectory. Observation and transcription both showed that the MFC dialogue was frequently an outlier within the personal trajectory, often demonstrating patterns of MLI use closer to the professional trajectory or, at times, the platform trajectory. As this tendency was particularly pronounced in the pragmatic marker data, I divided the data into four, rather than three, sub-corpora—professional, personal, platform, and MFC—to further investigate how varied patterns of pragmatic marker usage were functioning in these dialogues.

**Triangulating findings**

Analyzing broad categories of pragmatic markers, e.g., stance markers, across the trajectories did not yield any meaningful correlations; that is, there were no distinct patterns between the OPM of a singular pragmatic marker category and the efficacy of a dialogue. I did observe during transcription, however, that the presence or absence of specific forms appeared to have some effect on the processes and outcomes of the interactions—the frequent use of "actually" by Muslim participants, for example, or an overall lack of the discourse marker "well." Consequently, I began investigating the possibility of patterns between specific forms and the normalized frequency of their use across and between trajectories.

I compiled relative frequency lists for both single items and chunks, e.g., "I think", to determine if a specific form occurred with observable regularity in a sub-corpus—to determine, for example, if there were differences in the use of

3 ELAN is an alignment software program developed and maintained by The Language Archive at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, that links separate sound and video recordings in a single time-aligned transcript.

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"so" versus "well" as a discourse marker across the four trajectories. I began with items identified during observation, and then generated lists for items identified during transcription.

Given the small number of tokens in each sub-corpus, relative frequency lists were inconclusive, and it was necessary to conduct a concordance analysis using KWIC (Key Words in Context). Concordancing served two functions in this project: first, it confirmed the results (or lack thereof) of the relative frequency lists. Second, and more important, concordancing refers to context; it allows for qualitative analysis of quantitative data by exploring individual cases in detail to identify patterns based on pragmatics (Baker 2010, 21). Concordancing also "yields useful insights into discourse-level features of language" (Evison 2010, 130). The focus of this research was on the indicators that created and inferred a context; corpus-assisted analysis was another method of studying the contextualizing aspects of the metalinguistic and metapragmatic features at work in these dialogues.

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# 4 Silence

> I have lived my life with sages and found there is nothing better than silence.
>
> Pirkei Avot

Silence was the single most significant indicator of a dialogue outcome in this study. It is also perhaps the most ambiguous and complex of all linguistic forms. While it is sometimes viewed as the functional opposite of speech, silence is better viewed from a position that sees silence and speech as two intersecting and equally relevant communicative categories, a position that sees silence performing as many communicative roles as does speech (Jaworski 1993, 17; Nakane 2007, 30). Nevertheless, the boundaries between speech and silence are typically indistinct and fuzzy (Jaworski 1997, 381). Silence is also axiologically ambiguous (Jaworski 1993, 24), aiding communicative effectiveness in one dialogue while hindering it in another. Consequently, interpreting silence involves a greater amount of inferential effort due to its ambiguous and context-dependent nature (Nakane 2007, 30). It is likewise important to note that the interpretation of someone's silence, i.e., attributing meaning to it, can only take place "when the communication process is expected or perceived to be taking place" (Jaworski 1993, 34, 91).

## 4.1 Literature and Observations on Silence

What forms silence can take are perhaps as enigmatic as its functions; "silence has been studied from perspectives as varied as semiotics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, social psychology, and anthropology" (Nakane 2012, 158). While some see the smallest unit of silence occurring between sounds within a word, the most accepted definitions of silence create a complex continuum most clearly delineated by Nakane (2007, 7), who distinguishes seven forms ranging from micro units to macro units:

1. intra-turn pauses,
2. inter-turn (switching) pauses/gaps,
3. turn-constituting silences with illocutionary force,
4. temporary silence of individuals not holding the floor in the interaction,
5. an individual's total withdrawal of speech in a speech event,
6. the silence of a group of participants as a constituent of social/religious events, and
7. discourse suppressed by a dominant force at various levels of social organization.

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This study focused on the first two forms—unfilled pauses that occur intra- and inter-turn—and investigated the functions of these forms in naturally occurring speech in a specific discourse genre from a metalinguistic and a metapragmatic perspective.[1] Limited examples of the use of silence to suppress discourse were also observed. Scholars see unfilled pauses as a linguistic device and strategy (Tannen 1992, 11) with multiple, sometimes interrelated, functions. As indicators of metapragmatic awareness, they can reflect on and organize the discourse, provide feedback on a preceding utterance, or change the context by signaling a new stage of social activity (Aijmer 2013, 5). As a paralinguistic sign, unfilled pauses play a role in discourse-level coherence and can influence interpretation at that level by indicating junctures and meaning (Gumperz 1992, 231; Nakane 2012, 160). Beyond the narrow boundaries of pragmatics but relevant to this study, unfilled pauses can provide cognitive processing time and act as a means of social control and power (Nakane 2012, 161).

Unfilled pauses, or silence, in the specific setting of an interreligious dialogue take on another degree of relevance, given the role of silence in religious language in general. Religious language is frequently highly ritualized (Jaworski 1993, 47), and silence is used and understood as a meaning-making device in various religious practices, a fact noted by multiple religious leaders in follow-up interviews. Silence occurs in the responsive readings of the Psalms, as part of the Eucharistic liturgy in an Orthodox service, when the Torah is being removed or during the *Tachanun* in a Jewish service, and during the daylight prayers—*Zuhr* and *Asr*—in Islam. Similarities were observed in the silences during Muslim and Jewish prayers (unpublished field notes, September 2013). In this context, unfilled pauses are the type of linguistic phenomena that have more relevance and require less processing effort than in other settings, much like Sapir's condensation symbols. (A condensation symbol is one that "strikes deeper and deeper roots in the unconscious and diffuses its emotional quality to types of behavior or situations apparently far removed from the original meaning of the symbol" [Darnell and Irvine 1999, 322]).

Given this indeterminate and context-dependent nature of silence, the functions of unfilled pauses in this study were investigated from the non-essentialized, ethnographic approaches taken by Jaworski (1997, 1993) and Nakane (2012, 2007)—first by analyzing the duration and placement of pauses in the transcripts and then by exploring speakers' perspectives on silence. Focus on pause length and placement began early when a communicatively effective

**1** Although not the focus, one significant example of group silence occurs in this data set and will be investigated in this chapter.

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dialogue rapidly turned into a monologue due to one speaker's use of prolonged, unfilled pauses at the end of multiple sentences. At the same time, short interphrasal pauses appeared to be contributing to the communicative effectiveness of many dialogues, but the function of these pauses was nuanced and not entirely clear from observation alone.

Norms of pause length, particularly across cultures, are "one of the most extensively discussed" and "most contentious" issues in the research of silence in communication (Nakane 2012, 163; 2007, 12). Some studies demonstrate differences in "acceptable" pause length based on cultural backgrounds, while other studies make claims based on the comparison of intuitive data (Nakane 2012, 165); many of these studies focus on differences between Anglo English speakers and other cultures. While it seems the group least tolerant of long silent pauses is Western Europeans or Anglo-Saxon speakers (the majority of speakers in this data set), other studies indicate that any "Western" versus "non-Western" dichotomy needs more careful consideration (Nakane 2012, 165). Nakane (2007, 13) views Jefferson's seminal work (1989) as one of the few large "empirically strong studies" on tolerable length of silent pauses. Moreover, her finding that a "standard maximum" tolerable silence is approximately one second among L1 English speakers (1989, 188) was borne out frequently in this study. While recognizing that attributing "invariant" meanings to pause length is not plausible from a cultural standpoint (Jaworski 1993, 48), Jefferson's one-second mark had the most validity for this study and pauses were timed beginning at the one-second mark; anything less than one second was classified as a short (untimed) pause.

Pause placement—whether a pause occurred somewhere within a speaker's utterance or at a final contour—also appeared to contribute as much to the communicative outcome of the dialogue as did pause duration and was accordingly annotated. As Poyatos (1983, 138) notes: where silence occurs in the stream of the interactive situation is one indication of its semiotic meaning in relation to the overall utterance.

## 4.2 An Etic Perspective on Silence

Silence is a multivalent indicator, and it performed various functions in these conversations. Overall, interphrasal pauses (regardless of length) almost universally indicated a communicatively effective dialogue while final contour pauses were more paradoxical and nuanced, typically indicative of either communicatively ineffective or contentious conversations, or of effective but intermittently impassioned and fervent dialogues. The use of unfilled pauses is one

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of three MLIs investigated in this project that differed significantly between the platform trajectory and the other two trajectories. (See chapter 7)

### 4.2.1 Untimed Interphrasal

Professional—8.70 OPM
Personal—10.01 OPM
Platform events—7.88 OPM
Overall—9.05 OPM

Dialogues with high incidences of untimed, interphrasal pauses were marked by communicative effectiveness. Nine dialogues, or segments of dialogues, displayed above-average occurrences per minute of untimed, interphrasal pauses and eight were communicatively effective. This seems contraindicative, given that "fast talk, short pauses, and eliciting short speaking turns are (typically) viewed more positively than speaking slowly, making long pauses, and allowing the conversational partner to take long speaking turns" in Western cultures (Jaworski 1993, 14–15). In this specific setting, however, this form of silence indicates linguistic hospitality, a way for participants to remain open to the Other by choosing their words with care and allowing fellow interlocutors time to speak and be heard on their own terms. "My strong conviction is that silence can sometimes signal that the channel of communication remains open or that one has no intention of closing it, while speech would precisely have the effect of overtly terminating the possibility of further communication between the participants" (Jaworski 1993, 48).

This was strongly instantiated in the Polish parents' group when the conversation, after an hour, began to center on the concept of the afterlife and how people's personal views differed from or were consistent with their own faith background. Participants paused frequently (pause data for this dialogue is high in three of the four pause categories), searching for ways and words to talk about beliefs that were obviously deeply held or to raise questions that were troubling them about the afterlife. While the above-average pause data could be indicative of three L2 English speakers using the silence as online cognitive processing time, further analysis showed the pauses functioning primarily to display linguistic hospitality as speakers deliberately and consciously chose their words in response to the emotional openness of the conversation. Up to this point, the dialogue had been polite and respectful but unexpectedly restrained and somewhat dispassionate, even on topics such as "who is God?"

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and "the nature of truth." Eventually, questions centering on: "Is there a heaven? Is there a hell? How do we get there or not get there?" generated a more emotionally involved conversation. It was also at this point that the use of unfilled pauses increased substantially. Thus Nakane's (2012, 166) assertion that the significance and meaning of silence can only be determined in context; to see these pauses *only* as online cognitive processing time by L2 speakers fails to represent the full significance of their use.

Two other effective conversations in which silence signaled open channels of communication were, in fact, comprised of predominantly L1 English speakers (or L2 speakers with near-native competency). One was a small breakout group at the caregivers' conference and centered on participants' personal experiences of being an immigrant, often an immigrant with significant means and education but still experiencing feelings of loss and displacement. The three participants in this conversation ("Loss and Displacement") used the short silences to express deep emotions about their experiences of growing up or raising children far from their parents and grandparents in cultures that highly value the extended family. Lawrence, a South African chaplain, who frequently employed short interphrasal and final contour pauses (see section 4.2.3), was visibly pensive at one point in this conversation and used seven short interphrasal pauses (mixed with short final contour pauses) in a 34-second excerpt to talk about the impact of his grandfather's internal migration within South Africa on the family. In a later interview, he noted: "Listening for us is very traditional. For us, that kind of listening is part of our tradition, our culture, how I grew up." Interlocutors in a second conversation used silence to express their own emotions but also to choose their words with care. This segment was part of a larger group discussion ("Hospitality and Repulsion") at the same conference, and a Seventh Day Adventist counselor (Faith) talked about her struggles to show hospitality to differing religious practices that seemed to push her away at times or "repulse" her. One sees below how both Faith and Sarah, an American rabbi, use multiple pauses in their struggle to be both honest and inoffensive. (Pauses [**..**] in **bold**):

**Excerpt 4.1**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Sarah: | but **..** maybe there is a part of **..** you know **..** hospitality and repulsion that kind of go **..** together and tha-_it's very stark **..** |
| 2. | | maybe not nice language. But I think in **..** in **..** in asking ourselves that question [where] **..** we're not quite **..** |
| 3. | | able to connect with something I [$_1$think is] **..** and being honest with ourselves |

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Both dialogues, like that in the Polish parents' group conversation, were at the juncture of speakers' very personal experiences and their religious beliefs, and short interphrasal pauses were a linguistic means to demonstrate open channels of communication, or hospitality, that allowed the dialogues to continue.

The assumption that correlations would exist between certain topics and patterns of use of a specific MLI was demonstrated in two other conversations about speakers' beliefs and questions about life (or the lack thereof) after death. One was a focus group conversation with a below-average use of short interphrasal pauses, but almost all of the pauses were used by either Helsa, a Bahá'í participant, or Abigail, a Jewish participant, talking about their different concepts of the afterlife. One of the most effective dialogues in this category was between participants in a Scriptural Reasoning group. Scriptural Reasoning, which seeks not so much "to obtain agreement beyond the differences, but to make respectful disagreement possible" (Moyaert 2013, 65), consciously acknowledges the role of silence in the dialogue process; participants take a short training course, which includes how to listen respectfully, before joining a group. "Silence is a very big part of Scriptural Reasoning because it's such a meditative process" (Asygül, interview). This is borne out in the data; the OPM of short interphrasal pauses for this group is higher than the personal development average (11.08 OPM as compared to 10.01 OPM) and even higher when contrasted with the overall average (11.08 OPM as compared to 9.05 OPM).[2] Notably, this use of silence is also predominantly embedded in utterances regarding judgment, the Christian concept of purgatory, and Islamic beliefs about rewards in Paradise:

**Excerpt 4.2**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Fahd: | I didn't get the_the_[the **..**] |
| 2. | | purgatory? # What lies in between heaven and hell? |
| 3. | | # I: **..** [mm **..** no] I mean there is a notion that we: I mean those who have sinned **..** but: are destined for Paradise eventually |

What one sees in all of these examples is that the interaction in each case was co-constructed by speech *and* silence and must be seen as such to interpret the

**2** Interestingly, this is the only silence category with elevated data for the Scriptural Reasoning group; data for the other three categories is average to below average. This supports the argument that the use of short interphrasal pauses is a way to demonstrate linguistic hospitality, given the group's conscious focus on both hospitality (see section 4.3) and silence.

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communicative behavior of the participants as well as the meaning of the dialogue (Jaworski 1993, 18).

"End of Conversation" was the primary catalyst for studying silence data in this research project. In a nineteen-minute segment taken from a group discussion following a workshop presentation at a caregiver's conference, one sees extremes in the data. There is an overall untimed interphrasal pause rate of 9.80 OPM, which is above average for the professional trajectory (8.70 OPM). Approximately sixteen minutes of this transcript are from a communicatively effective dialogue segment. However, based on field notes taken during the dialogue, a 2.58-minute segment was extracted from the transcript; it contains the turn at talk of a single panel participant (Frederick) and the point at which the dialogue became a monologue. This small segment shows a drastic decline to 6.98 OPM of unfilled interphrasal pauses, significantly below both the overall rate for that dialogue and the average for that trajectory. This same segment shows an observable increase in the use of timed final contour pauses (see section 4.2.2) and a decrease in both multilanguaging practices (see section 5.2.5) and the use of fillers (see section 6.2.4), all of which demonstrate an unwillingness to listen, a use of silence as power, and linguistic inhospitality. This dialogue in particular will be examined in detail throughout this book to demonstrate how the co-occurrence of multiple MLIs can create, and alter, a dialogue outcome.

The one ineffective dialogue with above-average unfilled interphrasal pause data was a monologue that remained so for over an hour despite the speaker's repeated insistence she wanted to conduct a dialogue. This dialogue—an evening seminar for a British multifaith center's continuing education program—was puzzling at the time, as reflected in the field notes and a subsequent conversation with a fellow researcher. Introductory comments by both the moderator and the speaker indicated there would be adequate time for dialogue following a short presentation (a format nearly identical to the caregivers' conferences), and many of the participants exhibited an obvious willingness and desire for a dialogue. Early analysis of unfilled pause data made it all the more puzzling, as this is the only exception to the finding that elevated use of this type of silence is indicative of a communicatively effective conversation. By combining repeated listenings with an observation by the researcher, what became significant was that 30 percent of the interphrasal pauses were preceded or followed by the filler "um." (Three more occurred in conjunct with "uh.") When compared with the entire corpus, "um" has a relative frequency of 271.68 per 10K for this dialogue, in comparison with 155.71 per 10K for the remainder of the personal development dialogues. A study published in the journal *Cognition* shows that speakers use "um" to indicate a major delay in speech, even prolonging the

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syllable if the delay is ongoing and they wish to hold the floor (Clark and Fox Tree 2002, 106). As Nakane (2012, 160) notes, one party (or, in this case, an entire group) can be silenced if another party does not allow space for talk.

### 4.2.2 Timed Final Contour

Professional—.57 OPM
Personal—.23 OPM
Platform events—NA
Overall—.39 OPM

Timed final contour pauses were the most antithetical data, indicating either extreme ineffectiveness in the dialogue (or monologue) or a fervent, but effective, dialogue in which speakers were taking their time to think carefully before expressing themselves; this was often due to the nature of the topic or as a means to exhibit empathy. Silence has advantages for situations or topics that are difficult to put into words but it can also have a judgmental function, signally disagreement or disfavor (Jaworski 1993, 8; Jensen 1973, 254).

The use of silence to signal disapproval was seen early in the project during "End of Conversation." Mehmet, a Turkish Muslim university professor, and Frederick, a German Christian pastor and counselor, were co-presenters of a workshop. The dialogue which followed revolved around a phrase introduced by Mehmet—*der Islam selbst ist einen Seelsorger für die Menschen* (Islam, as a faith, is a spiritual caregiver for the people)—and his argument that the Christian concept of a spiritual counselor (in German, *Seelsorger*—lit. one who cares for the soul) could not be superimposed on a Muslim's understanding of the role of a chaplain or consultant. (The use of the German term, which carries a different, more Christian connation than "counselor" or "chaplain" in English, is significant throughout this particular dialogue.) The initial conversation that followed Mehmet's presentation was primarily between five members of the larger group and was an effective and open discussion. While the topics raised were a bit factious, speakers were respectful in what they said and how they listened to others and, as noted above, the discussion was marked by frequent use of short interphrasal pauses. After about fifteen minutes of an ongoing dialogue, Frederick began speaking and the effective dialogue became a monologue in 65.65 seconds. What is of particular interest is that, immediately prior to excerpt 4.3, five different speakers used this exact phrase—*der Islam selbst ist*

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*einen Seelsorger für die Menschen*—in their discussions before Frederick insists that he wants to talk about that specific phrase. (Pauses in **bold;** *German*):

**Excerpt 4.3**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Frederick: | I would like to dis*cuss* the text. **(6.377)** |
| 2. | | To discuss this text, **(1.252**) <L2=GERMAN> *der Islam selbst ist einen Seelsorger für die Menschen. *Punkt.** **(1.138)** |
| 3. | | *Na ja!* </L2> **(1.245)** Now .. what follows? **(2.168)** |
| 4. | | That is the headline, **(1.733)** |

Not only did use of untimed interphrasal pauses drop dramatically within this segment, but 25 percent of Frederick's total turn at talk consisted of final contour timed pauses—38.082 seconds. The average for the clinical caregivers' conference is 2 percent of a speaker's time. What followed the excerpt above was approximately fifteen minutes of a near monologue—the only other participant is a close colleague of Frederick—and it took several attempted overlaps by various participants to reinitiate a dialogue. In this segment, pause duration was most significant as Frederick sat, fingers touching, for several seconds at a time, which quite effectively worked to keep others from speaking. "This phenomenon of 'silencing' … is often found in institutional discourse where professionals or those with institutional authority may exercise control over the discourse" (Nakane 2012, 160). Frederick is a founder and board member of the association, holds a position of substantial power within the group, and displayed that power in this conversation.

The significance of pause placement, as well as pause duration, is noticeable in a communicatively ineffective segment from a longer focus group dialogue ("Who's Hungry?"). A female Syrian Muslim (Akilah), who has lived in Germany for over 30 years, was talking about the recent *Eid al-Adha* festival and—contrasting the situation in Western Europe to Syria—said: "But who's hungry here? We're all eating too much." A second participant (Deborah), a Jewish friend of Akilah's, began discussing the prevalence of hunger and homelessness in Germany. An amicable dialogue quickly became contentious with raised voices and lengthy segments of obliterative overlap. The final contour timed pause data nearly doubles, from .44 OPM for the first half of the dialogue to .86 OPM for the second half. The change in untimed final contour data is even more significant—from .44 OMP for the first half to 3.02 OPM for the second half; the average use of untimed final contour pauses for the personal trajectory is .86 OPM. Further instantiating the significance of pause placement, both categories of interphrasal data (timed and untimed) are significantly below the personal

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group average. This overuse of final contour pauses is a negative politeness strategy, functioning as a distancing tactic (Nakane 2012, 161) between two friends who were disagreeing intensely with one another.

A similar, albeit not as intense, use of timed final contour pauses as a negative politeness strategy can be seen in "Castes and Monotheism," a conversation centered primarily around differences between Christianity and Hinduism that occurred during a caregivers' conference. Four speakers, three with subcontinental Indian backgrounds, talk at various points in the dialogue about the role of the caste system in Hinduism, as well as its claims to monotheism. The timed final contour pause data is average for the overall dialogue (.52 OPM) but in a segment in which two Christian pastors both intensely questioned the Hindu spiritual counselor about their perceptions of institutionalized Hindu support for the caste system, the use of this indicator increases to .74 OPM. In a second, somewhat less contentious, segment, the three—along with Frederick—talk about Hinduism claims to monotheism, and the use of final contour pauses increases to .67 OPM. This use of silence as a negative politeness strategy and a distancing technique, combined with a change in multilanguaging practices that will be discussed later (see section 5.2.1), contributed to the overall adversarial environment of the dialogue. The discussion was ultimately marked by a basic level of respect but was never categorically effective or hospitable.

At the other end of the spectrum are three communicatively effective dialogues with slightly to substantial above-average use of timed final contour pauses. Two were impromptu small-group discussions during a caregivers' conference, and the third was in the Polish parents' group. All three dialogues centered on topics about which the participants were ardent. The first two included Akilah[3], who has extensive training in Islamic theology, and Amir, a male Palestinian Christian pastor. The conversations revolved around the terms and concepts of "sacred" and "holy" and how they differ between Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. Akilah was passionate about the topic and frustrated at how she saw it being misrepresented by European Muslims at the conference; Amir shared her frustration at what he viewed as the inability of European Muslims to use the Arabic language correctly. He was also fascinated by Akilah's interpretation of "holy" as used in the Qur'an. In this excerpt, both speakers attempt to clarify several Arabic words and concepts to the other non-Arabic

**3** Although most participants in the caregivers' conferences take part in multiple interreligious dialogues, Akilah was the only actor I was able to follow across different social spaces; this provided valuable data about one participant's observable practices in different interreligious dialogue settings (Gardner and Martin-Jones 2012, 10).

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speaking participants at the table (one Christian and one Jew). The three timed pauses occur within 21.6 seconds of dialogue—two in the final contour position:

**Excerpt 4.4**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Akilah: | [You know. ((stuttering)) Ye-Yeah] understand me. So the translation is wrong! .. Definitely wrong! |
| 2. | Amir: | Now .. again I-I put my question. **(1.113)** This understanding that_that you you put .. well, .. for me is a revelation. |
| 3. | | Because **(2.209)** though I live in_in .. in an Arabic-speaking country, .. nobody put it: this way. **(1.679)** |

This excerpt is taken from the Polish parents' discussion about the afterlife. (As noted earlier, this dialogue demonstrated above-average use of unfilled pauses in three of the four silence categories.) This particular excerpt is of a Kazakh participant (Ayaru), who has an Islamic background but more secular leanings, talking about how she wants to believe in an afterlife but cannot, based on her observations of Polish and Kazakhstani funerals:

**Excerpt 4.5**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Ayaru: | I want to believe .. that there is something but I cannot. Because the main question mind .. in my mind if there is .. life, why people don't want to die? Are they afraid? **(1.035)** |
| 2. | | They should be happy. **(2.022)** |
| 3. | | Are they afraid they don't want to die? **(1.201)** |

Determining the multifunctionality of these long final-contour pauses involved an investigation of other participants' reactions to the silence—did a dialogue continue/ensue or was the discussion merely a monologue or obliterative overlap? The importance of the co-occurrence of multilanguaging and disfluency phenomena with this use of silence will be examined in subsequent chapters, instantiating the observation that assessments depend on the simultaneous evaluation of a variety of different cues (Gumperz 1992, 232).

### 4.2.3 Untimed Final Contour

Professional—.82 OPM
Personal—.86 OPM
Platform events—.41 OPM
Overall—.79 OPM

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The results for this category are less conclusive but still similar to those in the timed final contour category. Above-average occurrences were most often in ineffective dialogues that fluctuated between silence and obliterative overlap and which were marked by sharp, unproductive disagreement, as already demonstrated in "Who's Hungry." When pauses occurred in communicative effective dialogues, they were most often used by a single speaker.

Slightly elevated data in this category occurred in four communicatively effective dialogues that initially did not appear to share a common characteristic. Upon further investigation, however, one discovers that most of the pauses can be attributed to a single speaker discussing a topic with emotional significance for the interlocutor. One was a short breakfast conversation between Akilah and Amir, which continued the previous day's discussion of "Sacred and Holy." A second dialogue is excerpted from a larger group discussion, again following a workshop during a caregivers' conference ("Cooperation and Conflict in Tanzania"). The initial expectation was that most of the pauses in this dialogue could be attributed to a Dutch Muslim chaplain with extremely limited English competency who consistently used pauses as online cognitive processing time. Instead, they are used by a Tanzanian pastor talking about an atypical, and troubling, conflict between local Christian and Muslim communities due to a spate of burnings of both churches and mosques by Tanzanians who had been trained elsewhere and sent back to the area to incite riots. (Pauses [**..**] in **bold**):

**Excerpt 4.6**

1. Fumo: And then: this when we realized oh **..** this is not the fighting between Christians and Muslims. Is th- no one is safe. **..**
2. The Muslims are not safe and the Christians are not safe. **..**

In "Loss and Displacement," untimed final contour phases are again used predominantly by Lawrence, in combination with short and timed interphrasal pauses, to describe how his grandfather's search for work meant he had lost contact with all of his family and the impact this had on Lawrence's family:

**Excerpt 4.7**

1. Lawrence: I realized that .. my grandfather **..**
2. he only knows about himself. **..**
3. He lost touch with .. all other family. **..**

Later in the conversation, he expresses concern for his children and his fear they will fail to retain the family's indigenous language and thus lose a connec-

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tion with his parents, again reflecting the speaker's emotional involvement with the conversation:

| | |
|---|---|
| 4. | So I had to think of #that .. so that there could be a la-_a connection in terms of language. **..** |
| 5. | Because I realized that (1.267) if I cannot build that connection, (1.001) they won't be able to hear and understand each other. **..** |
| 6. | [Because they grew] up in the city .. where they speak English. **..** |

The fourth example is from a focus group conversation in which Akilah passionately explained that having a woman sing certain portions of the Qur'an was an old tradition and that extremists' prohibitions against singing—and women—were wrong. While the entire dialogue was marked by an above-average use of untimed final contour pauses, the segment in which Akilah sang jumped from 1.05 OPM to 1.97 OPM. The Arabic linguist who translated this—which immediately followed a rapidly spoken example of the same portion of the Qur'an—explained that Akilah was demonstrating how Muslims should use a slower pace to demonstrate feeling, rather than rote repetition, when praying this prayer (see excerpt 5.4). It is also an excellent example of how silence serves as a condensation symbol; an Eastern Orthodox priest explained that pauses in the liturgy allow things "to sink into the minds of people rather than becoming a kind of mechanical thing" (Henry, interview).

Silence, just shown to "communicate respect, kindness and acceptance," can also "communicate scorn, hostility, [and] coldness" (Jensen 1973, 252), as demonstrated in the following example from a *Q&A* dialogue. Two-thirds of the untimed final contour pauses in this dialogue were used by Fred Nile, a politically conservative and religiously fundamentalist Australian minister and politician, who was "preaching" at Gene Robinson, the first openly gay Episcopal bishop in the United States. Unlike the previous examples, this use of short final contour pauses occurs entirely in contentious segments that do not bring understanding or reconciliation but rather a harangue. Note also the timed final contour pause:

**Excerpt 4. 8**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Fred: | Two men cannot become one. Two women cannot become one. **..** But God has made us biologically so a male and female can become one and complement each other. **(1.08)** So that's the first thing. |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2. | | There is also a code word in the New Testament (1.04) and Jesus often referred to Sodom .. and everybody – and it's been all quoted here already. You quoted, it the story**. ..** |
| 3. | | Well I'm not leaving him out. He's: excluding himself**. ..** I haven't left him out. I want him [$_1$to come in.] |

One dialogue displayed the dichotomous functions of untimed final contour pauses in a single conversation. The discussion was intermittently highly contentious and ineffective, and it occurred rather spontaneously during a typical question-and-answer period following a panel presentation at a caregivers' conference. (The theme for this conference, which was at the height of the 2016 critical immigration situation in Europe, was on ways various faith groups could recognize, welcome, and assist immigrants in urban settings.) A female German historian came to the microphone and, in German, began talking about the "silent majority" ("*die schweigende Mehrheit")* who no longer felt comfortable traveling and staying in areas with a significant immigrant influx ("*und da fühle ich mich nicht mehr Wohl").* Many people in the room have varying competencies in German or Dutch and could understand what she was saying, and a routine question-and-answer session suddenly became extremely emotionally charged (unpublished field notes, September 2016). (Her choice of German at this point will be more fully examined in section 5.2.5). The overall dialogue was mildly ineffective, and the remaining untimed final contour data demonstrates this. However, one-fourth of the untimed final contour pauses are used by the moderator at this point in a relatively successful attempt to reclaim a rapidly disintegrating conversation. Note the concurrent use of longer interphrasal pauses, which will be discussed below:

**Excerpt 4.9**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Aline | So here we are at a very **(1.161)** precious moment **(1.671)** of interculturality**. ..** Very complicated**. ..** |
| 2. | | Very: provocative of feeling and opinion. **(1.001)** And the first thing it challenges is that .. we listen**. ..** |

### 4.2.4 Timed Interphrasal

Professional—2.16 OPM
Personal—1.59 OPM
Platform events—NA
Overall—1.71 OPM

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The data in this category is again less conclusive but comparable to the untimed interphrasal category. Six dialogues or dialogue segments show above average use of timed interphrasal pauses, five of which were slightly to highly effective. Three have been examined above—the two “Sacred and Holy” conversations, and the Polish parents’ group discussion.

The most relevant dialogue in this category (“What I Believe”) was a small group discussion comprised of chaplains and counselors from six different countries with five different L1s, and it demonstrates how silence can be used when no words can express an emotional state (Nakane 2012, 161). The task was for Christian participants to explain what their faith meant to them—as a person, not as a professional—to Muslim participants in the group. This is the only silence category with elevated data for this dialogue, and the silence was even more important than the numbers indicate since several meaningful inter-turn silences could not be attributed to a particular speaker. The group instead seemed to wait in silence, much like a meditation, until the next speaker chose to speak. The importance of silence in this dialogue was indicated in the field notes: “Sharing deeply personal things and being received in silence. When speaking stopped, attentive listening” (unpublished, September 2014). There was no pressure or direction to speak from the Muslim counselor, who was also acting as the moderator, and participants waited for one another and themselves to carefully express highly personal experiences and beliefs. “It only takes one person to produce speech, but it requires the cooperation of all to produce silence” (Pittenger et al. 1960, 88). Fumo is a long-time participant in these dialogues. (Pauses in **bold)**:

**Excerpt 4.10**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Fumo: | Yeah um .. to *me* uh **(1.302)** what is: really important is my relationship to to God. |
| 2. | | And uh **(1.302)** I'm very much encouraged by: a phrase in the Bible where .. uh .. Jesus reminded us that he would never for*sake* us **(1.013)** nor leave us. |
| 3. | | And um .. if he's always with me **(1.201)** he want me to talk to him.  And I do that through my prayers. |

Following an extensive amount of back channeling, Amir affirms Fumo and then explains his own faith as a Christian:

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. | Amir: | But what you have said is_is very important for me as well. |
| 5. | | But I_I I think I put my uh **(1.318)** expression of my faith in three words. Uh **(1.068)** faith **(1.201)** hope and love. And I take that from Corinthian uh .. thirteen thirteen. **(1.655)** |
| 6. | | Uh .. f-_for me I- .. if I'm ah a believer .. in_in .. in God **(1.234)** then I I have to believe .. #in in the #essence_ in the sense of love. |

The only ineffective segment in this category is, again, from "End of Conversation" where the use of longer pauses was clearly a deliberate power play by Frederick. His concern could have been that Mehmet would be offended by the nature of the discussion, although that did not appear to be the case on Mehmet's part. The motive behind the Christian chaplains' questions (in both English and German) was to gain information about Islamic beliefs and practices that they could then use professionally, and as mentioned earlier, while some topics had the potential to be contentious there was an attitude of respect and learning. Two other Muslim chaplains with much higher competencies in one or both of the target languages were participating in the dialogue and seemed comfortable with the interaction. Curiously, at a later point in the dialogue, one of the Muslim chaplains got into a rather heated exchange with Frederick over *his* choice of words (see section 5.2.2). What one sees, though, is that through Frederick's repeated use of timed pauses, both interphrasal and final contour, a highly effective dialogue was temporarily shut down. (Further examples will demonstrate how a dialogue was reestablished but with a slightly different character.)

## 4.3 An Emic Perspective on Silence

Silence is the only indicator investigated in this project that participants used deliberately. This became apparent during follow-up interviews, which both confirmed earlier observations and analysis and helped clarify indeterminate results. Silence is a linguistic means to display hospitality, a word almost every participant used at some point in an interview. Since speakers were more aware of how and why they used silence in these conversations, it allowed me to construct a more comprehensive emic perspective for this metalinguistic indicator than for the others. Silence, from the participants' perspectives, performs the following four functions in interreligious dialogues:

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### (1) A means to listen and gain a broader perspective

Most participants (excluding those in platform events) indicated they participate in these dialogues because they want to understand the Other, to gain a better and broader understanding of other faith traditions.

> [I] somehow enjoy the fact that we're different is seen as a blessing rather than something to be conquered.
>
> Fiona

> So it's a way of … hoping that we can also live together better. I mean, I'm still idealistic enough to hope that the dialogue, if it doesn't help the world, might help the world from getting worse. Maybe I want to be understood too.
>
> Michael

However, they quickly realize they also become much better practitioners of their own faith tradition.

> *Wenn ich bereit bin meine Auffassung von Gott und von glauben in Frage zu stellen, dann kann ich auch mich eröffnen für ein andere Auffassung von Gott und Religion und Glauben. Für mich, ist irgendwie die interreligiöse Dialog hat etwas zu tun eigentlich mit meine eigene Glauben lebendig zu behalten.* (That means if I am prepared to question and challenge my own concepts of God and faith, then I can open myself to other concepts of God, religion, and beliefs. For me, somehow, interreligious dialogues have something to do with keeping my own faith alive.)
>
> Pierre

> It makes your own faith more complete. It's more like a conversation with yourself and your own religion rather than a conversation across religions.
>
> Fahd

> One of the advantages of interreligious dialogues is I come out as a more sensitive Jew, a more aware Jew.
>
> Eli

> You need other people to … develop those different voices (within yourself) [referring to Ricœur's narrative approach in light of interreligious dialogues] … and that's how you get enriched, I think. Aspects of your own tradition are enriched by the other ones.
>
> Luuk

It is important to participants that their dialogue partners hear and understand them, not as a means for proselytizing or persuasion but as a means for understanding and perspicacity.

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> You want to slow down the pace, to check to see if they are understanding.
>
> Michael

> *Ich schaue ob ich verstanden geworden bin. Deswegen eine Pause.* (I look to make sure I've been understood. That's the reason I pause.)
>
> Tina

> *Wichtig ist, beispielweise, für mich … dass man langsam spricht. Das der andere Mensch tatsächlich hören kann. Das er in Ruhe hören kann.* (What's important for me, for example, is that one speaks slowly. So that the other person can understand. So that the other person can listen in peace and quiet.)
>
> Felix

It is, however, equally important that the other participants are heard on their own terms and not simply "fitted in" to the listener's belief system.

> *Das heißt ich muss viel intensiver über diese verschiedene Begriffe ins Gespräch kommen damit uns selbst wenn's bei gleichen Worten damit wir Verständnis haben von dem was der Andere sagt. Wird ich nicht interpretieren ‚er meint das' und er meint was ganz anderes.* (That means I have to be very diligent to clarify these different terms so that even if we're using the same words, we know we have the same understanding. I don't want to say: "that's what he means," and he means something completely different.)
>
> Felix

> The theme and mission of this (group) is not to try to mingle themselves up but respect each distinctive culture. So our goal of this is dialogue is more towards helping each one of them to be more themselves.
>
> Takaaki

> I also try to give the impression to 'the Other' that I am actually listening to what they are saying and not just fitting them into my system.
>
> Eli

### (2) A pause to allow for contemplation and careful word choice

Dialogue participants noted the importance of choosing words carefully and that unfilled pauses are a means to formulate what they want to say, as well as a way to allow for contemplation.

> In other conversations where pauses are uncomfortable but here, you never feel like that. You know, and you know for yourself, people are thinking and reflecting…. It's a completely different kind of pause, of silence.
>
> Fahd

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Pauses create a sense of equality, of people contributing in an equal kind of way.

Lindsey

*Durch die Pausen, durch das langsamerer reden, ja das hängt mitzusammen weil ich selbst immer reflektieren muss was ich jetzt sage*. (By pausing, by speaking slower, things come together because I have to reflect on what I am going to say.)

Felix

Silence has a place. We live in this very fast-paced world where everyone thinks you need to be an extrovert and talk all the time. Slow down and be with your thoughts before they're expressed.

Asygül

I feel like people are … thinking about what someone just said rather than what they are now going to say. It feels like a conversation of reflection. For me, that feels very precious.

Fiona

If you meet to have an interreligious dialogue, you usually talk about important topics. I think it's a dialogue where you discuss something that you have to think about.

Abigail

### (3) A display of inner respect, linguistic hospitality

The need to display respect for other participants and their beliefs was reiterated in almost every interview, and silence was seen by many as a means to do that.

*Ich denke das mehr Vorsicht da ist, etwas anzubieten. Ja? aus unsere Tradition…. Eine ganz große Vorsicht. Aber es ist Begegnung von Mensch zu Mensch. Und ich denke das ein innerer Respekt vor dem Fremde so sie sich ausdruckt in eine Zurückhaltung (am) Gespräch*. (I think that one has to take care in what one offers. You know—from our own tradition. A great deal of care. But the encounter is from person to person. And I think the inner respect of the Other is expressed in restraint in what one says.)

Ingrid

Keeping silence is the way to respect others.

Takaaki

*Ich mache auch eine Pause um mich einzufüllen in den andere Religion um nicht dominant zu sein mit Meine*. (I pause so I can relate to the other religion and not dominate it with my own.)

Tina

My first thought is if you give a whole sentence, it sounds a bit like a prepared position … whereas if you are pausing, it may imply you are thinking, that you actually haven't arrived at the conclusion but are searching with the person you are with for something ra-

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> ther than just telling them how it is. Again, it may give the impression this is not a closed topic but rather something that is open, unclear, and together we are exploring.
>
> Eli

**(4) A power technique**

Silence can be, as noted in the introduction, axiologically ambiguous. In this data set it also functioned to create ineffective dialogues, either when it was used either as a power technique or as a means of holding the floor. As clearly seen in “End of Conversation,” power is a “relational process that is inherently tied to communicative practices” (Wodak et al 2012, 161, also Fairclough 1989). Participants sought to avoid this use of unfilled pauses but immediately recognized when it did occur.

> Silence can harness a lot of power.
>
> Sarah

> Pauses can be used as power.
>
> Pierre

## 4.4 Conclusions: Communicating Through Silence

Unfilled pauses in this data reflect on the discourse and a speaker’s relationship to what is being said (Aijmer 2013, 5), frequently indicating respect and understanding for the diversity—religious and linguistic—present in the dialogues. Particularly in these multilingual conversations, silence functioned to achieve coherence and provide cognitive processing time that contributed to communicatively effective dialogues. This is most clearly observed in dialogues with above-average untimed interphrasal pause use where speakers reflected carefully on their word choice before expressing concepts or experiences that were difficult to put into words and where L1 speakers of the target language used unfilled pauses to give their fellow interlocutors time to understand. Unfilled pauses did work, although less frequently, to change the context from a communicatively effective to a communicatively ineffective dialogue as seen in decreased use of short interphrasal pauses and/or increased use of timed final contour pauses. Pause placement and pause duration were equally important. Interphrasal pauses were more conclusive, indicating a communicatively effective dialogue, while final contour phrases were more paradoxical.

It is important to consider these functions in light of ethnographic and interview data, as well as from an etic perspective, to avoid missing the larger

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significance of pause use. L2 speakers in this project were extremely conscious of their varied linguistic competencies (many of them overly so) and quite clearly used unfilled pauses to gain cognitive processing time. This was not, however, a function limited to L2 speakers. As seen in both the transcripts and the interviews, L1 speakers also quite deliberately used silence to choose their words with care in an interreligious setting *and* a multilingual setting. When analyzed from this emic perspective, one sees that silence is deliberately used to communicate hospitality and an openness to the Other in a discourse setting that can be difficult to navigate linguistically. Unfilled pauses are used to display respect, to provide space to be heard on one's own terms as well as to hear the Other on their terms, to choose words with care while allowing other speakers the same courtesy, to avoid domination or imposition of the speaker's beliefs while allowing time for contemplation. L1 speakers, predominantly in English conversations, also used pauses to enable comprehension and understanding by L2 interlocutors.

The role of silence in multiple religious practices carries over into conversations about matters of faith where silence acts as a condensation symbol that demonstrates linguistic hospitality. Participants recognized, and welcomed, the non-interchangeability of their perspectives in these dialogues; they found silence to be a linguistic means to display hospitality and to reach a better understanding of the Other without giving up their own religious identity. This function of silence is most clearly seen in the group silence that surrounded "What I Believe." The willingness with which the group was prepared to wait quietly and allow linguistic space for everyone to speak in their own way and time was striking. As Ingrid noted earlier: "The inner respect for the foreign displays itself by using restraint in dialogues." This use of silence can be seen in conversations that occurred at the juncture of speakers' personal experiences and their religious beliefs, for example, "Loss and Displacement" and "Hospitality and Repulsion." Hospitality can also be seen in the conversations about various perspectives on the afterlife, where several speakers' fears and uncertainties were shared only when intermixed with silent pauses.

This project demonstrates Jaworski's (1993, 4) point that silence is axiologically ambiguous and that, like speech, it can discourage or even discontinue communication. Speakers in this data set consciously avoided using silence for this purpose but nevertheless clearly recognized it as a means to exert power or deter an honest dialogue when it did occur. Participants at the British multifaith center lecture, for example, genuinely wanted to dialogue but were ultimately silenced by the lecturer's use of short unfilled pauses in conjunction with an overuse of "um." "End of Conversation" was a "discourse suppressed by a dom-

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inant force at various levels of social organization" (Nakane 2007, 7). While participants eventually reinitiated a dialogue, it was not without a fifteen-minute intervening monologue. Segments of the public platform discussions were clearly ineffective, but the nature of silence in these dialogues was more divergent and will be considered in greater detail in chapter 7. By combining etic and emic data, one thus comes to a complementary, but more complete, understanding of the use of silence as a means of communication in interreligious dialogues.

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# 5 Multilanguaging and Linguistic Hospitality

> One of the main tasks of theology is to find words that do not divide but unite, that do not create conflict but unity, that do not hurt but heal.
>
> Henri Nouwen

Meaning takes shape within specific settings and relations, construed by agents who often bring very differing communicative repertoires to an interaction (Rampton 2007, 3). Nowhere is this more obvious than at the caregivers' conferences where presentations and conversations swirl about in an animated fusion of languages. Multiple, mixed, and truncated linguistic repertoires are an expected and recognized part of these conferences where it is quite common for a conversation to change codes in mid-sentence when another person joins the discussion. While speakers' L1s are not as varied in the personal trajectory, the nature of interreligious dialogues in today's superdiverse climate nevertheless means the linguistic code of a dialogue is rarely the L1 of all the participants. Yet the argument that we "need to share one language in order to get by" assumes linguistic diversity is something to be overcome rather than recognizing that diverse and mixed sets of linguistic resources can be integrated to accomplish the task at hand (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 69, 73). Moreover, not only is it possible to integrate multiple languages to accomplish a task, multilanguaging often creates a more effective dialogue than rigid monolingualism. Multilanguaging, like silence, is a multifaceted and multidetermined metalinguistic indicator that can impact dialogues in complex ways. Far from leading to misunderstandings, however, prolific multilanguaging practices frequently led to greater understanding and also functioned as a linguistic means of displaying hospitality in these dialogues. And while it seems counterintuitive if one takes a normative view of linguistic competency and strict bilingualism, below average multilanguaging practices (monolingualism) frequently occurred in ineffective dialogues.

## 5.1 Investigating Unequal Multilingual Resources

If speakers do not necessarily need to share a language to get by—as multiple studies have shown—but are in a setting where a named and bounded language is expected, how do these multilingual participants with an unequal distribution of resources utilize their resources to create a dialogue? While many multilingual scholars research settings where speakers are constrained only by shared (however unequal) resources, e.g., urban youth styling (Rampton 2006)

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or urban marketplaces (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 2010), the dialogues in this research occurred in semi-structured settings, much like the European Union workplaces investigated by Wodak and her colleagues (2012) or lingua franca interchanges in professional contexts (Canagarajah 2007; Pitzl 2016; Mauranen 2006). Unlike the EU, however, there were neither institutionalized disadvantages nor constraints on any subsequent code-switching by participants. In this sense, these dialogues were much like Pennycook and Otsuji's metrolingual marketplaces—speakers trying to get the job done with whatever resources were at their command.

The multilingual practices of the participants in this semi-structured environment, as discussed in section 2.3, were too complex for easy categorization. Personal development group participants are predominantly L1 speakers of either English or German, and platform event speakers are all proficient in some variety of prestige English. Participants in the caregivers' conferences, however, possess a dizzying array of L1s; German is a more prevalent L1 than English (the association is headquartered in Germany), but even so, less than 50 percent of the participants in these recordings are L1 German speakers. The association also invites non-member professors, counselors, and consultants from the host country to give lectures and participate in smaller discussion groups each year, which occasionally results in dialogues involving a translator (as will be seen in "Castes and Monotheism"). In this linguistic environment where diversity is the norm, dialogue participants are unaware of, or unfazed by, others' multilanguaging practices. Participants are extremely patient with others who possess limited resources in a target language but reflect frequently, and negatively, on their own perceived lack of competency. Paradoxically, they seem unaware when they use pragmatic markers from their own L1 in the target language, most often German in an English conversation. Languages associated with specific faith traditions are used more consciously but typically as an offer of hospitality rather than a means of exclusion.

Investigating these multilingual practices across the various trajectories, one sees a "continuum of context-dependent multilingual practices … which are characterized by different patterns of language choice and which serve a range of both manifest and latent functions" (Wodak et al. 2012, 157). The continuum can range from three languages and two prosodic patterns in a single utterance to a single word from a religious language. What one detects from an ethnographic perspective is that the speakers themselves approach these communicative encounters with quotidian multilanguaging attitudes—they will use and combine whatever linguistic resources the group might share to get the job

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done; this is ordinary linguistic behavior to talk about one's faith in a super-diverse world.

This everyday translinguality became more and more apparent as research progressed but the multiple functions of these multilanguaging practices were not as clear. Did the use of a linguistic code associated with a specific faith practice function differently than the use of more stereotypical multilanguaging? Did it matter which language the features were associated with or merely the switch itself? To get to this level of "nitty gritty" (Rampton 2016, 104), one first had to establish what constituted an "L1." As Auer (2010, 461) notes, restricting code-switching to practices within an interactional episode excludes the language choice *for* that episode, a particularly relevant assertion for the caregivers' conferences. The code for the individual discussion groups that typically follow plenary sessions and workshops (and which were the primary sources for the data in this trajectory) is always determined *ad hoc*, based on the linguistic resources of the participants who form the group at that moment. Thus, the participants' cooperative language choice for each discussion is the L1 and use of any features associated with a different code (frequently the L1 of the speaker) is labeled an L2.

While the "orthodox way of dealing with code-switching … implies that … there is a precisely defined point in speech at which a set of co-occurring linguistic features (variety A) is exchanged for another set of features (variety B)" (ibid.), in most real-life situations, speakers follow completely different norms. "They may code-switch between utterances, in the middle of utterances, sometimes in the middle of a single word, and they may switch back again" (Jørgensen et al. 2016,150). This is not to say there are no norms in code choice or that everyone makes things up as they go along. Rather, in such highly diverse environments, "these norms are not typically fixed (but) are subject to constant shifting and remaking of speech, language, and discourse communities" (English and Marr 2015, 206). It is this foregrounding of languages as creative communicative resources along a continuum of multilingual practices that I take from the various multilingual theoretical constructs to use in this analysis (English and Marr 2015, 206; also Wodak et al. 2012).

## 5.2 Multifaceted Results

The multilingual reality of the world as most people experience it is typically different from the way people are traditionally taught to understand it (English and Marr 2015, 206). The multilingual reality of this data set is a continuum along which translanguaging practices and Gumperzian metaphorical code-

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switching coexist[1]; six points on that continuum will be examined in more detail. Some conversations were constrained by a solitary shared code, and other conversations were an amalgamation of German and English. The genre of these dialogues compelled speakers to use words precisely in certain instances, and their individual faith practices influenced speakers' multilingual behavior in others. Multilanguaging in this project functioned primarily to co-create a shared sense of meaning and to display linguistic hospitality; ineffective dialogues were marked by a lack of or decreased multilanguaging. Lastly, while the linguistic resources were far more diverse in the caregivers' conferences (as repeatedly shown), the intermittent lack of *shared* resources led to a slightly lower overall incidence of multilanguaging.

**L1/L2 SWITCHES**

Professional—1.07 OPM
Personal—1.15 OPM
Platform events—0.03 OPM
Overall—.97 OPM

### 5.2.1 Words of Faith and Sites of Narrative Overlap

Dialogues marked by the use of linguistic resources from Arabic and Hebrew (and some Sanskrit) demonstrated the sacred relationships between language and religion in some practices (Mooney 2010, 323) or what Wodak et al. (2012, 180) call "language for specific purposes." Such linguistic behavior was frequently observed, worked metaphorically to draw on the social and religious associations these varieties have (Parkin 2016, 74), and was a way for speakers to convey the heart and essence of their faith practice and to seek sites of narrative overlap. Other participants frequently lacked competency in that particular code, but it nevertheless was a communicatively effective MLI. This is particularly significant in light of several academic treatises which focus on postliberal theology and argue that persons:

---

**1** This is a term I use advisedly. Speakers' use of certain religious language in this data set were attempts to communicate metaphoric information about their faith, about how they intended their words to be understood (Gumperz 1982, 61); it was a use of multiple language varieties to allude to more than one social relationship within the same situation (Hall and Nilep 2015, 601).

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> of different religious traditions cannot translate concepts from one religion's scheme to another.... Even closely related terms in closely related traditions have different meanings when they are embedded in the narrative-based life of the community. (Hill Fletcher 2007, 542)

Participants in these dialogues have fixed notions of their own religious identities and *do* believe real and profound differences exist between their faith practices. But they found that using "untranslatable" words from these practices, and thus highlighting those differences, was a means to make the speaker's faith practice more understandable and welcoming.

Several examples of this can be seen in "Sacred and Holy," the lunchtime conversation between Akilah, Amir, Eli (British rabbi and counselor), and John (Argentinian/American Christian counselor and professor). All but Akilah have some competencies in Hebrew; both Akilah and Amir are L1 speakers of Arabic. Most of the multilanguaging resources in this particular dialogue were either Hebrew or Arabic and focused on how the concept of "holy" in Islam is applicable only to *Allah*. This conversation also demonstrated how interaction between multiple MLIs can create a communicatively effective dialogue; although Akilah's frustration with fellow Muslims was occasionally the impetus for use of both silence and multilingual resources, the dialogue was an extremely open exchange of beliefs. (What is significant is the real points of difference in this dialogue were intra-religious, rather than inter-religious. Akilah disagreed sharply with other Muslims who were in attendance at the conference but not participants in this conversation.)

The use of Arabic resources in this interreligious conversation functioned to open Islam to the other three participants who were quite interested in what Akilah said (see excerpt 4.4) and actively engaged in the conversation to gain a better understanding of her beliefs and perspectives. Just prior to excerpt 5.1, Amir tried to define "sacred" for Akilah, who had not quite understood the word as it had been used in an earlier presentation. The rabbi then asks Amir what the word is, and Akilah immediately jumps in with both the Arabic **muqaddas/qudūs** and the German *heilig. (German,* **Arabic**, translation):

**Excerpt 5.1**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Eli: | In Arabic? |
| 2. | Amir: | <L2=ARABIC> **muqaddas** |
| 3. | Akilah: | Eh, there is [$_1$there is nothing in] Islam [$_2$as as sacred] or <L2=GERMAN> *heilig*.</L2> No! Just_just God! |
| 4. | Eli: | [$_1$What is the word?] |
| 5. | Amir: | : [$_2$ **muqaddas** </L2>] |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6. | Akilah: | <L2=ARABIC> **SubuuH-un *qudūs rabb almalaa'ikati warruH** </L2> (sacred god, the god of angels and souls) |
| 7. | | It's *just* God! |

A few minutes later in the conversation, the rabbi attempts to discover a possible point of overlap by using the similar Hebrew word and concept when Akilah repeats line 6 (above). (***Hebrew***, **Arabic,** translation):

**Excerpt 5.2**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Akilah: | [But this is_this] is a attribute that just came in the Qur'an .. for God. For Al*lah.* [<L2=ARABIC> **SubuuH-un qudūs: rabb almalaa'ikati warruH** </L2> That's all.] (sacred god, the god of angels and souls) |
| 2. | Eli: | [Only God is <L2=HEBREW> ***Kadosh***. </L2> Yeah. .. Yeah.] (holy) |

Akilah mixes Arabic, German, and English at another point in the same conversation in an attempt to make her point. Note in line 3 that she code-switches in mid-word from the German "*heilig*" to the English "sacred." (*German,* **Arabic**, translation):

**Excerpt 5.3**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Akilah: | L2=ARABIC> **SubuuH-un *qudūs rabb almalaa'ikati warruH** </L> (sacred god, the god of angels and souls) |
| 2. | | It's just God! .. |
| 3. | | It's .. uh (1.02) fo- uh .. the Qur'an is not <L2=GERMAN> *he* </L2> not sa-_sacred. |
| 4. | | It's just *God.* Hi-himself. .. |
| 5. | | We don't say: The Holy Qur'an. It's wrong. |
| 6. | | <L2=ARABIC> **al qur'an al kareem** </L2>. It's th-_th-_the .. (sigh) (TSK) uhm <L2=ARABIC> **kareem** </L2> is .. (generous/life-giving Qur'an; generous) |
| 7. | Amir: | nope |
| 8. | Akilah: | <L2=GERMAN> *groß-_großzügig*. (1.025) </L2> Giver. .. You know it's_it's uh (1.197) (generous) |
| 9. | | uh, this is wrong. The_the Muslims, they are founding words: what doesn't actually exist in the theology. |

Akilah also sang in Arabic, on more than one occasion, to convey the essence of her Islamic faith. Excerpt 5.4 immediately followed a focus group conversation between two mothers in which they discussed the instruments their respective

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children played. This prompted David, an American Jewish participant, to ask about the Islamic view of music in light of a recent news article he had read. Akilah, frustrated as she often was with those she thought misrepresented Islam, says:

**Excerpt 5.4**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Akilah: | *Ex*tremism. Thi-_this-this uh kind of extremes. .. Uh we_we uh (1.35) (H) actually, (SIGH) uh we had always woman who uh uh .. uh who s:ings al-_uh the Qur'an. |
| 2. | David: | Um[$_1$-huh$_1$] |
| 3. | Akilah: | [$_1$Because$_1$] [$_2$the Qur'an,$_2$] if you want to *hear* it .. in the right way, it's: actually melody. |

She rapidly repeats the words that are typically spoken as a prayer, adding: "This is the way how the most of the people pray. But actually, it's: it's wrong." Then she sings the same words with feeling. (**Arabic**, translation):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. | Akilah: | <L2=ARABIC> <SINGING> **al7amdulillaahi rabbil 3aalameen arra7maan irra7eem maaliki yawmi iddeen iyaaka na3budu wa iyaaka nasta3een** </SINGING> </L2> (In the name of God, most merciful, the God of all creatures, the God of the judgment day, we worship only you, we only get help from you) |

The Arabic linguist who translated this observed (as noted in section 4.2.3) that when Akilah started singing, she slowed the tempo to demonstrate Muslims should pray (rather than merely repeat) this Suurah as an act of thankfulness. David's wife Joanne, a Jewish convert, responds by singing Hebrew portions of a prayer that also can be spoken but should be sung. (***Hebrew***, translation):

**Excerpt 5.5**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Joanne: | [$_3$Well like the$_3$] <L2HEBREW> ***Shehekheyanu wekiyemanu wehigiyanu lazman hazeh*** </L2> you could say that. (He who let us live and sustained us and let us reach this time.) |
| 2. | | "That's the .. that's the *thank* you for bringing us to [$_4$this moment in time] prayer that's appropriate in many many different settings (H), |
| 3. | | but there *is* a melody to it. It's <L2HEBREW> <SINGING> ***Shehekheyanu wekiyemanu wehigiyanu lazman hazeh*** </L2> </SINGING> |

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Not only does this example—which is highly representative of this particular focus group—demonstrate how religious words can broaden, rather than narrow, a dialogue, it also serves to instantiate how participants can and do use multilanguaging practices to seek sites of narrative overlap and commensality in their divergent faith practices. It is also one of several examples of a religious dialogue that resulted from a non-religious beginning.

Several instances of seeking narrative overlap occurred in this particular group between David and Akilah when David would use Hebrew words for concepts and practices he perceived to be similar between Judaism and Islam. In the first excerpt, it leads to an effective discussion of *Tzedakah* (Hebrew: mercy or charity) and *Sadaqah* (Arabic: charity) in the context of the Christian practice of Lent. Note Akilah's unconscious use of the German modal particle "*na*" as an indicator of a more effective conversation (see section 5.2.4). In the second excerpt, David uses an Arabic word—*Takfir*—which Akilah understands but as it means ex-communication rather than sin (which was the intent), it leads to confusion instead of understanding. (***Hebrew***, *German*, **Arabic**):

**Excerpt 5.6**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | David: | But .. you know the <L2=HEBREW> ***Tzedakah*** </L2> which I know is very similar to the Arab [word]. .. Um .. that's a .. that's another commandment which is you .. you need to give <L2=HEBREW> ***Tzedakah*** </L2> to help the poor. |
| 2. | Akilah: | Sure. Yeah |
| 3. | | And also in Ramadan when we make food so .. we have to open the doors for the po↗or people. To eat with us. |
| 4. | | And uh after .. wh-_when we celebrate <L2=GERMAN> *Na?* </L2> the end of Ramadan, it's also we have to give special money <L2=ARABIC> **Sadaqah**, </L2> .. it's: just uh_special for Ramadan .. also for the people .. to_%uhh to buy for their children also .. gifts or something like this. |

**Excerpt 5.7**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Researcher: | Is (1.134) there the same concept of .. of .. s:in (1.485) in: in: Islam as (2.035) as in Christianity? |
| 2. | Akilah: | What's a sin? |
| 3. | David: | <L2=ARABIC> **Takfir** |
| 4. | Akilah: | What?, |
| 5. | David: | **Takfir?** </L2>≅ |
| 6. | Akilah: | ≅<L2=ARABIC> **Takfir?** </L2> |
| 7. | David: | Yeah |

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8. Akilah: I don't know "what's that?
9. David: Nah?,
10. Researcher: Sin [is&
11. Akilah: [No I_]I_n-_I understand the <L2=ARABIC> **Takfir,** </L2> of course. The word. But, ..

Less frequently, Akilah used the same behavior, as in this excerpt from a conversation about fasting during Ramadan:

**Excerpt 5.8**

1. Akilah: It's just .. when_when they get <L2=GERMAN> *Pubertät* </L2>, no?, wh-_when they get uh uh .. their period. It's like um: mitz- um [(TSK) .. uh] <L2=HEBREW> ***Bar Mitzvah***. </L2> Yeah. It's the same.

Speakers can also seek common ground by using religious words from *another* interlocutor's faith tradition to clarify the speaker's beliefs in ways that are meaningful to the Other. Below is an example from "What I Believe" in which Amir uses both silence and multilanguaging to effectively explain his Christian beliefs to Akilah. (**Arabic**, translation):

**Excerpt 5.9**

1. Amir: And lastly faith. (1.251) And here comes uh: .. one of the blessings of_of Qur'an for me. Uh as_that .. uh when we say: <L2=ARABIC> **iqra'**. .. (read)
2. **bismi rabbika allathii khalaq** (In the name of the God who created) </L2>
3. Yeah. That's in Arabic. (1.201) And <L2=ARABIC> **3allama al'insaana ma laa ya3lam** </L2>. (1.142) (He taught human beings what they cannot learn by themselves.)
4. Akilah: This is_this is eh I'm very proud to hear this from #my-_(Amir) but it's_it's this is_is_a common in our culture, that we learn from each other. You know?
5. It's_it's uh uh uh (1.000) it makes me so happy tha-_to hear that he's_he's impressed from a verse of_of Qur'an.

Speakers sometimes use "untranslatable" words because the practice and the language are so closely intertwined that use of any other linguistic resources is too difficult or seems insufficient to the speaker. As Abigail (interview) explained:

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> Many of the words I use, they're concepts. Of course you can try to describe it but it's easier to use that word, as well. Maybe my conversation partners don't know that word, so I have to explain what it means but then, later on, I can use it because … I explained it to them and hopefully they know what it is. And the other thing is—it may be just shorter. I can say *minyan* is a 'quorum of 10' but *minyan* is just one word.

The following conversation occurred near the Christian All Saints' Day between Abigail and the researcher, who had just explained that in her practice of Protestantism there are no rituals for the dead, which seems a bit odd to Abigail who sees it from a Jewish perspective:

**Excerpt 5.10**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Abigail: | [Yeah:.] Do you have any other rituals, for example, like a candle or something like that? Or is that ..?, |

She continues by using Hebrew words to clarify the Jewish mourning rituals—which differ significantly from those in Protestantism—in which one prays for "your seven closest relatives" upon death every day for eleven months before transitioning to "normal life" in the twelfth month. (***Hebrew***):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2. | | you um (1.051) you have (1.25) uh three prayers every day and they all begin with <L2=HEBREW> ***Kaddish*** </L2> and then you should say <L2=HEBREW> ***Kaddish*** </L2> for (1.034) your beloved ones. But uh .. well in fact it doesn't always work because <L2=HEBREW> ***Kaddish*** </L2> is a prayer you can only say if you've got a <L2=HEBREW> ***minyan*** </L2> |

Religious words, in conveying the heart of a faith practice, can also be used to show how practices specific to that faith group might be relevant to adherents of other faiths or philosophies. Eli, the British rabbi, talks about how the ancient Jewish concept of *tikkun olam* (repairing the spiritual world) is relevant to the modern environmental movement:

**Excerpt 5.11**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Eli: | take this phrase <L2=HEBREW> ***tikkun olam*** </L2>, .. |
| 2. | | essentially repairing the spiritual world, .. |
| 3. | | and bringing it to repairing the physical world around us. |
| 4. | | They both have a responsibility. There's no question that human beings are in some way responsible .. |
| 5. | | uh and that's very important in <L2=HEBREW> ***tikkun olam.*** </L2> Uh (1.819) |

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In “Hospitality and Repulsion,” Sarah discusses the Jewish concept of hospitality in response to several Christians’ questions and struggles (see excerpt 4.1) with being hospitable and welcoming to refugees and adherents of other faiths and worldviews in ways that are not demeaning:

**Excerpt 5.12**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Sarah: | Um I-_that was very hard for me to re-_to think that I could be receiving .. anything .. um when I first started my work. |
| 2. | | Um and then I learned that in Jewish tradition one of the the grea-_a great <L2=HEBREW> ***Mitzvah*** </L2> it it's the <L2=HEBREW> ***Mitzvot Mitzvah*** </L2> can be commandment but it's also a good deed. We ca-_we can use it literally as commandment but also just a good deed .. is to .. um .. is to (1.251) recei-_receive: the opportunity. (1.063) |
| 3. | | The person who is allowing us to give to them .. is actually creating a very big .. <L2=HEBREW> ***Mitzvah***. </L2> .. Um a good deed on behalf of the relationship. |

She notes later in the same dialogue that the Jewish tradition focuses on “acts of righteous” rather than charity as a kind of almsgiving:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. | | um <L2=HEBREW> ***tzedek. .. Tzedek tzedek tirdof*** </L2> righteousness righteousness you shall pursue. That there's a righteousness going on in the interaction. It's right .. right action .. on both sides. |

The practices associated with these religious words are distinct to the Jewish faith. But the greater meaning associated with the practices can also be found in many other faith practices and worldviews, which is what prompts the speakers to use their own religious terms as a way of both defining and opening the Jewish faith to others. Abigail (interview) articulated:

> I think it does something with my mind.... It may be self-conscious, but I think I sort of reflect on what it actually is, what it means [to use specific Hebrew words.] If you only use English terms, of course you can translate ... but maybe these words are common in English and they’re used in many different contexts. Of course many of them can be used by Muslims or by Bahá’í to describe their religious concepts. I think it’s more distinct to say: ‘Okay. That’s the concept *I have* and of course yours may be similar but I think it’s to really make a distinction, to say: ‘it’s not just any word you would use.’

This linguistic and theological precision, while most often welcoming, was less frequently observed to delineate differences. In “Castes and Monotheism,” the

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Hindu spiritual counselor (Raji) preferred to speak Dutch although his receptive English is excellent. One Indian Christian pastor (Gordon) has lived and worked in Germany for many years but his L1 is Malayalam, and he most often communicates with the other Indian Christian (Alfred), whose L1 is Tamil, in English. Anne, a Dutch Christian woman, frequently translated Raji's Dutch into English for the other two participants. Some Sanskrit is used in this dialogue but rather than opening up one faith practice to the other, it is a means to pinpoint points of debate and dispute between the faith practitioners. Although not exclusionary, it is being used to clearly define points at which the participants have strong disagreements. All three men share linguistic competencies at some level of Sanskrit and Tamil and a basic knowledge of the Hindu faith. In a slightly factious segment marked by use of Sanskrit, Gordon clearly states his opposition to the caste system and his perception of institutionalized Hindu support for it, but he becomes less adversarial when Raji disavows it. Note Gordon's use of *German*, as well as ***Sanskrit***. (Translation):

**Excerpt 5.13**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Gordon: | <L2=SANSKRIT> ***Brahmā Paramātma, nuh?*** (universal that stems from self-sacrifices of primordial man) |
| 2. | | ***ātma para[mātma***]≅ </L2> |
| 3. | Alfred: | <L2=SANSKRIT> [ ***ātma paramātma*** ] </L2> |
| 4. | Raji: | ≅Yes. |
| 5. | Gordon: | And but then how can we wa-_have this contradiction between the: <L2=SANSKRIT> ***Bra-_Brahmin*** </L2> (head) soul <L2=GERMAN> *und auch* </L2> (and also) the <L2=SANSKRIT> ***śūd- _śūdra*** </L2> (soles of the feet, or lowest caste) soul or #not. #Un-_Untouchable |
| 6. | Raji: | The s_soul itself .. is not <L2=SANSKRIT> ***Brahmin*** </L2> [or <L2=SANSKRIT> ***śūdra*** </L2>] or man or woman≅ |

A second segment of the same dialogue focused on the concept of monotheism in Hinduism. In the following excerpt, Frederick temporarily joins the conversation and asks about Hindu claims of monotheism. His speech at this point, in contrast to "End of Conversation," is marked by frequent untimed interphrasal pauses and use of a German modal particle while the two Christian Indians use Tamil between themselves to clarify "thirty-three gods and goddesses." (*German*, **Tamil,** translation):

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**Excerpt 5.14**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Gordon: | gods and goddesses. |
| 2. | Frederick: | So many .. *gods*: or or [what it is <L2=GERMAN> *Ja?* </L2>] |
| 3. | Alfred: | [<L2=TAMIL> **muppatimukoTi** </L2>] |
| 4. | Gordon: | <L2=TAMIL> **muppatimukoTi tEvarkaL** </L2> (thirty-three million gods) |
| 5. | Alfred: | Yeah_yeah_[yeah_yeah.] |
| 6. | Frederick: | [So uh] (2.101) if you: if you would explain it to me because uh, (1.713) |
| 7. | | if you [#want/would.] Because I .. I .. eh it's_it's uh .. difficult for me, .. |

Raji answers these questions with a mix of Dutch, Sanskrit, and Tamil in an attempt to clarify concepts the Christian participants find confusing. (*Dutch*, ***Sanskrit***, **Tamil,** translation):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8. | Raji: | *Maar het woord* <L2=TAMIL> **Koti** </L2> (1.024) *kan als miljoen vertaald worden en ook als categorie bijna, als soort.* (But the word "koti" can be translated as million and also as something like a category, as a species.*)* |
| 9. | Anne: | The word Koti [which is] written there, .. |
| 10. | Raji: | [<L2=TAMIL> **Koti** </L2>] |
| 11. | Anne: | can be translated by (1.334) uh .. category *or* by a million |
| 12. | Raji: | *Zo is van drieëndertig .. dus drieëndertig miljoen.* (So is thirty-three or thirty-three million.) |
| 13. | Anne: | That's: how .. how they [did it.] |
| 14. | Frederick: | [okay] |
| 15. | Anne: | There was written Koti (1.435) cat*e*gory .. and they trans*lated* million. |
| 16. | Raji: | *Want in verschillende geschriften wordt gesproken over acht #, elf ##, twaalf ##,* <L2=SANSKRIT> ***Prajāpati*** </L2> *opgeteld drieëndertig*. (In the various books you can read there are eight of this, and eleven of that, and twelve of that [primordial] and that together makes thirty-three.) |

Unlike use of religious words for hospitality, which were frequently used irrespective of a group's shared linguistic resources, use of religious words to delineate differences requires the interlocutors to have some resources in common, a fact Amir commented on in an interview. "So when he said 'schools' here, cul-

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turally—it came back to me—the question: Are you speaking about schools *per se* or are you speaking about Qur'an schools?" His question was part of an ongoing conversation at the conference that highlighted *intra* as well as *inter* religious differences, in this case, within the Muslim community. As seen in "Sacred and Holy," L1 Arabic participants were frustrated by interpretations of the Qur'an being given by Germany's largely Turkish Muslim community, many of whom they viewed as "lacking necessary" linguistic competency in Arabic. This also highlights a way in which this data contravenes prevailing linguistic hybridity theories; the denotative value of words is still significant at certain points in interreligious dialogues, even multilingual ones.

### 5.2.2 The (Intermittent) Importance of Denotative Values

Multilanguaging theories propose that the denotative value of a word takes on less importance in a superdiverse environment where other semiotic resources are used to create and index meaning. Nevertheless, what a word "means" did guide speakers' multilanguaging practices in this data set at certain times. Participants were frequently cautious of the words they chose, being mindful of their differing faith perspectives and also aware of the uneven distribution of linguistic resources. In a rather humorous metacommentary imbedded in a metacommentary, Amir said: "If you have an interreligious dialogue, you should be open but [**prolonged pause**] I'm *searching* for a word … not offensive. You should say your mind but in words that will not cause disagreement or misunderstanding."

This attention to meaning can be seen in Akilah's frequent use of German in her search for English words to explain the theological concepts she expresses so precisely in Arabic. Rather than use her hands or an entire phrase or a less precise word in English to describe a concept, she uses her more extensive German resources in a search for exactitude. (Ricœur's ideas regarding a *struggle* for a balance between equivalence and adequacy are an accurate description of Akilah's multilingual behavior.) One sees this in excerpt 5.3, line 8 and her use of *großzügig*. She is attempting to explain the Arabic *al kareem* and turns to the researcher, the only other German speaker at the table. Note the concurrent use of timed, unfilled pauses:

8. Akilah: <L2=GERMAN> *groß-_großzügig*. (1.025) </L2> Giver. .. You know it's_it's uh (1.197)

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It is clear (with the assistance of an Arabic linguistic) that *großzügig* is a much better way of explaining *al kareem* (which does not translate well) to non-Muslims than the English "giver." This use of *großzügig* as an adequate explanation of *al kareem* was seen in another dialogue with multiple interlocutors from Israel and Palestine who used a combination of English, Arabic, and Hebrew between themselves; their conversation was then translated into German and some English. At one point, the Arabic-German translator struggled with *al kareem* and—eventually—also chose *großzügig*.

Akilah demonstrates this search for precision again in "Singing the Qur'an," just after she finishes singing:

**Excerpt 5.15**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Akilah: | This is_this is th- the .. the uh (1.034) like *<L2=GERMAN Vaterunser.* </L2> |
| 2. | | You know. The .. we have to say it every time. |

This is the portion of Islam's daily prayers that is as customary as the Lord's Prayer (*das Vaterunser*) in the Christian liturgy.

This later excerpt from "Sacred and Holy" shows that rather than multilanguaging lessening the denotative value of a word, multilanguaging can occur *because of* the denotative value of a word. Akilah has just criticized European Muslims' use of "the *Holy* Qur'an," saying they were being influenced by the historically Christian culture. (***Hebrew***, **Arabic**, translation):

**Excerpt 5.16**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Eli: | ≅But i_i_i #now when you .. read the prayers in Arabic if you said holy holy holy: is the Lord of Hosts, is there no word in A-_what is the Arabic word [at that point?] |
| 2. | Amir: | [<L2=ARABIC> **qudūs**] (holy) |
| 3. | | **qudūs, qudūs, [$_1$qudūs**. </L2> [$_2$#That's #the # |
| 4. | Eli: | <L2=HEBREW> [$_1$***kadosh. [$_2$kadosh***] </L2> (holy) |
| 5. | Akilah: | [$_1$ $_2$You don't find it. "You fi$_1$]nd it?,$_2$] |
| 6. | Amir: | In_in_in our Bi- in_in [.. # #Bible] |
| 7. | Akilah: | [No_no. I mean Islamic.] In an Islamic context you fi-_you don't find this <L2=ARABIC> **qur'an almuqaddas?,** </L2> (Sacred/holy Qur'an?) |
| 8. | Amir: | No_no |
| 9. | Akilah: | Never. |
| 10. | Eli: | But: the word <L2=ARABIC> **qudūs ..**</L2> |
| 11. | | [$_1$is_k-] is ***kadosh*** [$_2$in [$_3$Heb$_2$]rew.$_3$] [$_4$Yeah.] Yeah. |

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12. Amir: [1yeah]
13. [2<L2=HEBREW> ***kadosh.*** </L2> Yeah.]
14. Eli: [3ah]
15. [4<L2=ARABIC> > **qudūs** </L2>]

Eli uses a verse from Isaiah in line 1 to seek a better understanding of the denotative value of the words Akilah is seeking to clarify, and this results in several code-switches between Arabic and Hebrew. This exchange instantiates my argument that multilanguaging practices lie along a continuum that can be protean. While this use of Hebrew and Arabic shows that denotative values are important and is primarily being employed to define precise semantic values and theological concepts, it also results in points of narrative overlap. *Qudūs* is one of the ninety-nine names of *Allah* in Islam and *kadosh* is an attribute of God in Judaism.

In some conversations, one can observe the accuracy with which words and phrases are chosen but one sees even greater precision when the utterance is viewed through a cultural lens. In this later portion of the dialogue, Akilah uses both *Allah* and *rabb* to refer to God. Both are in the Qur'an—*rabb* is in the first Surah which Akilah sang (see excerpt 5.4)—but in the Arabic-speaking regions of the Levant, *rabb* is typically more closely associated with Christianity[2] while *Allah* is associated with Islam. Akilah uses *rabb* here to refer to Amir's God while using A*llah* for her Islamic deity:

**Excerpt 5.17**

1. Akilah: But the words. When *he* say **Allah**, you know or <L2=ARABIC> **rabb** </L2> or this_this words, .. I share the words with him. .. You know?

This precision was due largely to the interreligious nature of these conversations, as Amir noted earlier, but he added that culture also plays a role:

> A lot of our thoughts are derived from our faith-based standpoints. Culture holds a lot of things but religion is even bigger than that. So I, with my Palestinian Muslim friends, a word may mean much more than with my Turkish Muslim friends because it carries all of the culture with it.

**2** I'm grateful to Dr. Areej Al-Hawamdeh for her invaluable aid in translating and transcribing the Arabic portions of these recordings, and to both her and Amir for their gracious and patient assistance in helping to contextualize the use of Arabic resources in this setting. Thank you to Amir and Eli for providing the theological meaning and context for "*qudūs*" and "*kadosh*."

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The lexical value of a word—or words—in a multilingual dialogue can also be directly addressed, as in this segment from "End of Conversation." The overall dialogue, as has been shown, centered around the difficulties of superimposing the Christian concept of chaplaincy on Islam. A German-born Muslim female counselor is asking Frederick to consider officially changing various German terms used regularly by the group, including *Seelsorger*, because of their Christian connotations. A dialogue (rather than a monologue) has resumed at this point, and Gülser has just emphasized that one cannot interchange the use of *Pfarrer* (pastor) and imam in talking about religious leaders. (*German*, **Arabic**, translation):

**Excerpt 5.18**

1. Gülser: *die Sache ist aber .. dass das eine mit dem Anderen kaum vergleichbar ist. Weder von der- .. von der Struktur noch von der Funktion noch von dem was es: in der Religion selber* (the point is, however, that one is not comparable with the other. Neither from the structure, nor from the function, not even from what is in the religion itself)

2. *und ich denke es gehört .. auch immer wieder dazu .. Begriffe oder deshalb meint ich das vorhin mit dem Wasser also wir reden .. um .. in unseren Selbstverständlichkeiten oftmals und .. #vormach- und hoffen dann es ist eigentlich nur eine Hoffnung verstanden zu werden beim gegenüber.* (And I think it belongs, again, to the terms—or that is what I meant when I was talking earlier about water—is that in our self-understanding we often try to use an example and hope we're understood by the one sitting across from us.)

Following input from other interlocutors, Gülser continues discussing the non-interchangeability of certain words:

3. Gülser: *Deshalb sagen wir zu Islam auch nicht Religion sondern* <L2=Arabic> **Dīn.** (1.016) (That's why we don't say religion in Arabic but "Din.")

4. **Dīn** </L2> *ist nicht Religion auf Arabisch sondern heißt .. ich habe das bewusst sein Gott meine existent schuldig zu sein.* ("Din" is not religion in Arabic but it means: I am aware I owe my existence to God.)

What follows this excerpt (and which will be examined in greater detail in excerpt 6.4) is a dialogue between Gülser, Frederick, and a Dutch Muslim chaplain (Waseem) that is punctuated by a high frequency of fillers in an only moderately

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successful attempt to help Frederick understand why the word *Seelsorge* (the practice of caring for the soul) cannot be used equally to describe Christian and Islamic approaches to spiritual counseling:

5. Waseem: That's what I understand Islam: .. itself is also: <L2=GERMAN> *Seelsorge. .. Eh?* </L2>
6. That's not uh about doing .. some things and okay. No. It has always a relation with the .. spirituality.

Note the use of a long *interphrasal* pause in Frederick's response, demonstrating a greater willingness to listen than shown earlier:

7. Frederick: Uh (4.131) now I see .. when I talk about faith, I am not understood.

This dialogue demonstrates more clearly than any other the multifunctionality of multilanguaging and the interaction between MLIs to create or hinder communicative effectiveness. Early multilanguaging between several participants functioned to "get the job done" by using all the speakers' available linguistic resources to create a communicatively effective dialogue while rigid monolingualism (as will be shown in section 5.2.5) with the concurrent use of long final contour pauses broke off the dialogue. The dialogue was eventually restarted with a great deal of multilanguaging, but one now sees that Frederick's near monologue resulted in a more adversarial conversation in which the differences between faith practices were highlighted and the denotative value of words took on more importance.

### 5.2.3 Linguistic Hospitality

Hospitality was extremely important to participants in these dialogues although most were uncertain how hospitality looked linguistically. What this analysis shows is that speakers sometimes accomplished it by seeking sites of narrative overlap and commensality; specific religious words were intermittently used to seek or demonstrate similarities between two faith practices or to demonstrate knowledge of the Other. In other instances, it was a less deliberate, or even unconscious, use of linguistic codes that were more welcoming for the speaker's dialogue partner(s) or of resources which the speaker felt more confident employing to express their own beliefs.

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"What I Believe," for example, was almost entirely in English due to the lack of shared linguistic resources (seven speakers have five L1s, none of which are English). Pierre, an Alsatian Christian pastor, expressed frustration at his inability to articulate what he really wanted to say due to his limited English resources; he has full competencies in German and French but prefers French. Akilah instantly urged him to "say it in French." This startled the group, none of whom speak French and were not aware that Akilah does. But, as noted earlier, translanguaging "involves shuttling between the languages brought by the other to co-construct meaning" (Canagarajah 2011, 5). By inviting Pierre to use French to speak deeply about the heart of his own faith practice, Akilah demonstrates a hospitality that the entire group acknowledges. (*French*, translation):

**Excerpt 5.19**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Pierre: | Uh .. it would @be @ @ better t-_to say this in_in French uh @but uh @ @≅ |
| 2. | Akilah: | ≅S-_s-_sa-_say it_say it in_in_[in French.] Say it in French. |
| 3. | Pierre: | [What?] |
| 4. | Akilah: | %[It's just] that I want a-_I want no_no I want # |
| 5. | Pierre: | [now?, @ @ @] |
| 6. | Anne: | Do you understand French?,≅ |
| 7. | Pierre: | [$_1$#You #understand #eh] |
| 8. | Akilah: | ≅[$_1$Yes. "Uh % % but] I never ah make a_a discussions in Fr-_in French. (H) [$_2$So th-_that why I'm asking.] [$_3$ $_4$To hear the$_3$]_the ..$_4$] the words. |
| 9. | | Just_just the one sentence. Ma-_maybe one sentence. |
| 10. | Pierre: | <L2=FRENCH> *c'est pour moi c'est une combinaison entre la la croix et la résurrection .. dans la mesure ou la croix euh .. montre bien que la souffrance euh la pei- la misère la peine fait partie de la vie.* .. (That is, for me, that is a combination of the cross and the resurrection .. in the measure or the cross uh .. shows well that suffering the misery and the pain are a part of life.) |
| 11. | | *euh euh et que Dieu ne s'en est pas- par par le Christ hein- ne s'en est pas tenu a cela et euh et donc euh euh nous sommes associe euh a* .. (in that God by Christ did not want to stick with that, so we are associated uh ..) |

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When he finishes, Akilah says:

12. Akilah: <L2=FRENCH> *merci beaucoup je suis très [heureux .. parce] que j'ai compris le la majorité. ..* </L2> (Thank you very much. I'm happy that I understood the majority.)

Jean-Claude acknowledges her thanks but then apologizes to the group for using linguistic resources they do not share. Rather than displeasure, however, the group responds with acceptance:

13. Pierre: Uh @ @ @ Excuse me. @ @ @≅
14. Fumo: ≅@ Good_good good to hear that. @

This use of a “heart language” was mentioned by Beth (interview), who has participated in multiple interreligious conversations in a region where differing faith practices are cause for severe discrimination and in a region where they have led to war. “If you’re talking … in English, it’s kind of removed from your identity, and people say: ‘I can talk about it easier in a language that’s not my heart language.’ But if it’s something that’s really meaningful to them, they have to put it in their heart language.” Moreover, as discussed previously, while translanguaging does not disregard the norms and conventions of a social group, it does allow a speaker to negotiate these norms “in relation to their translingual repertoires and practices” (Canagarajah 2013, 8–9).

Occasionally, before switching to linguistic resources they felt more comfortable using, speakers sought linguistic hospitality from their fellow interlocutors. This excerpt from “Castes and Monotheism” immediately precedes excerpt 5.14 and in it, Raji asks Frederick if he can use Dutch to explain why Hindus consider their religion to be monotheistic. This is significant in that the translator is not an L1 English speaker, and Raji occasionally corrected her translations. He nevertheless sees Dutch as the best way to articulate the heart and essence of his faith practice. (*Dutch*, translation):

**Excerpt 5.20**

1. Raji: <L2=DUTCH> *Kan ik 't in 't Nederlands doen?* @ </L2> (Can I do it in Dutch?)
2. Anne: <L2=DUTCH> *Ja, ja!* </L2>
3. Raji: #Yeah. I will do it in [$_1$uh, ..]
4. Frederick: [$_1$Of course_of [$_2$course.]
5. Gordon: [$_2$okay]

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6. | Raji: | <L2=DUTCH> *Het begrip van drieëndertig miljoen goden* ..<br>(The concept of thirty-three million gods) |
| 7. | Raji: | *is als je het mij vraagt, een fout in de vertaling.* (if you ask me, is a mistake in the translation.) |

Another example of this linguistic behavior is Helsa, a Bahá'í focus group participant. An L1 German speaker, she regularly mixed German discourse markers and back channeling with her English resources or asked other participants for English words while lamenting her English competency. (Two of the four regular participants are L1 German speakers, and the other two have varying German competencies). But deeper analysis revealed a more complex picture than merely a speaker with limited competency in the target language, not least of which is because her English is not as limited as she insisted. While frequent multilanguaging can indicate a topic is significant or meaningful to a speaker, below-average multilanguaging practices can indicate a speaker is detached or dispassionate about the topic. Helsa frequently employed multilingual behavior to talk about doctrinal points of the Bahá'í faith that were difficult for other participants to understand but quite important to her. An intriguing contrast occurred, however, in a ten-minute dialogue segment regarding the administrative structure of the Bahá'í faith—locations of Houses of Worships, days for meeting and prayers—in which she used English almost exclusively. She was clearly knowledgeable about the topic but it was not a crucial matter of faith. However, as soon as a Christian participant asked how Bahá'í adherents can believe that the "prophets" from other religions—Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed—can all be revered when each claims exclusivity for God and their particularly faith practice, she immediately switches to German and continues multilanguaging to explain a topic about which she is clearly passionate. Note the cooperative multilanguaging (see section 5.2.6) on the part of William, a fellow Bahá'í and an L1 English speaker. (*German*, translation):

**Excerpt 5.21**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Helsa: | Um .. okay. Um .. <L2=GERMAN> *Was heißt bestätigen?*<br>(What is the word for confirmed?) |
| 2. | William: | Um .. uh, confirmed. |
| 3. | Helsa: | *Aha.* </L2> .. Baha'u'llah con-_confirms the state of um .. uh .. Jesus and from Mohamed and& |
| 4. | William: | status. Yeah? |
| 5. | Helsa: | The what? |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6. | William: | The status. |
| 7. | Helsa: | the status. <L2=GERMAN> *entschuldigung. Um .. na? Also* </L2> he confirms (Excuse me. Okay? So) |

### 5.2.4 Multilanguaging: Just Getting the Job Done

In a superdiverse religious, as well as linguistic, environment, spiritual counselors and consultants are expected to understand and assist people from divergent faith practices on an ever-increasing basis. Participants at the caregivers' conferences, particularly Christian chaplains, were purposively seeking input from counselors from other faiths and worldviews to gain knowledge and understanding that they could use professionally. Linguistically this meant participants strove to use resources from whatever languages were available to make their own faith practices clearer while trying to understand their fellow interlocutors. An excellent example of this is "Humanism and Chaplaincy," a conversation between a Dutch humanist consultant (ethical humanism is a state-recognized worldview in the Netherlands and Belgium), two German Christian chaplains, and a South African Christian professor. The Dutch consultant, Jan, has competencies in both English and German, and one German chaplain, Ingrid, is clearly more comfortable speaking German, although her receptive English is good. This particular dialogue was rich multilinguistically principally because of the South African professor, Adam. In this example, he casually switches between Afrikaans, English, and German, often enunciated with Afrikaans prosody, in the same sentence. (*German*, **Afrikaans**, translation):

**Excerpt 5.22**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Adam: | <L2=GERMAN. *Ya. Ya.* </L2> It's uh .. <L2=GERMAN> *dann_dann .. eigentlich ic- ich musste fragen* </L2> (then actually I have to ask) #because <L2=GERMAN> *eigentlich ist die frage ein dialogische und existentialle Frage* </L2> (actually the question is a dialogical and existential question) |
| 2. | | You know this the basic questions are really about: existential issues and life [issues.] |
| 3. | | <L2=GERMAN> *und den haben sie gefunden das* (and then they found) <L2=AFRIKAANS> **de eerste** </L2> (the first) *Frage dies- #hangt alle zusammen mit #dialogische pysiologische mit* </L2> (question is bound together with dialogical psychology) #smells. You know what [#I mean?,] |

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Jan later uses English to acknowledge a previous comment by Ingrid, but then switches to German in the next utterance and uses the linguistic resources she is most comfortable with:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. | Jan: | most people don't have .. a distinct .. religion .. when they come to a pastoral .. c-_c- counselor or #. That's true of course. Uh [like you told me,] |
| 5. | Ingrid: | [Um-huh um-huh] um-huh |
| 6. | Jan: | Uh (1.001) and #or we all .. want to .. talk from person to person from: uh </L2=GERMAN> *mensch* .. *to mensch* </L2> |

Ingrid, realizing all three fellow interlocutors can understand her, continues in German although they remain largely in English:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7. | Ingrid: | <L2=GERMAN> *Sie verstehen auch deutsch?* (You understand German, as well?) |
| 8. | Jan: | <L2=GERMAN> *Ya. Ein bißchen.* </L2> (Yes, a little.) |
| 9. | Ingrid: | *dann versuch aber <#> uncertain </#> Jetzt so verstehen Sie ja?* (Then I'll attempt but [uncertain words]. Now you understand, yes?) |
| 10. | Jan: | Yes |
| 11. | Ingrid: | *Ya. [muss ich so] verstehen. "Und dadurch ist die Frage <#> uncertain </#> bereit stellen konnen an #* (Yes, that's how I have to understand it. And that's why the question is [uncertain] can be phrased) |
| 12. | Adam: | But but if you work with the presupposition [..] that there are so many paradigms, .. even here in this #building≅ |

The other German pastor in the conversation typically uses English with the occasional German word, but she uses her more extensive German resources in this segment. Note her use of the English discourse marker "so" before she continues in German with the discourse marker "*also*":

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 13. | Elisabeth: | We- we can go .. with each other .. but we um .. <L2= GERMAN> *wir begrunden es unterschiedlich.* </L2> (we give different reasons for it) |
| 14. | | So. <L2=GERMAN> *Also. wir wir fragen unterschiedlich* (we ask questions differently) |

The "Cooperation and Conflict in Tanzania" workshop presentation by the director of a Christian-run crisis pregnancy center focused on some of the chal-

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lenges the center faced in an area with a fairly mixed Christian-Muslim population. The dialogue that followed focused on increasing tensions between Muslims and Christians in Tanzania, fomented by outside groups, and how this was affecting the young women who found themselves in crisis situations. A Dutch Muslim counselor with limited English resources was explaining Islamic law about inter-marriage between a Christian and a Muslim, which until the time of this conference was not at all unusual in Tanzania. This dialogue exhibited an overall lack of multilanguaging due to varied but unshared linguistic resources (seven L1s between eight participants). Dutch, however, was the most common resource other than English and Suez, who is struggling in English, spontaneously switches to Dutch. (*Dutch*, translation):

**Excerpt 5.23**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Suez: | [$_1$But in the] Islam, .. the-_the mo- the .. the woma-_the [$_2$girl] .. cannot (1.066) go married with: the boy. .. Christian [$_3$ $_4$boy.] Okay? |
| 2. | | And: the gir- Christian bo- uh uh girl can married with .. uh uh Muslim [boy,] .. but <L2=DUTCH> *andersom, .. het kan-_uh uh kan niet. In de Islam van* </L2> (vice versa can uh can not in Islam from) |

Gordon exhibits similar linguistic behavior; he frequently uses English and *German* in the same utterance. (Translation):

**Excerpt 5.24**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Gordon: | Today I am here not because I'm the moderator. I have chosen this moderator of [this group] because I wanted to see: *how* you are .. going: to find the commonality between .. @ @Islam and .. <L2=GERMAN> *christliche eh?,* (Christian) |
| 2. | | *ah .. Seelsorge oder* </L2> th- the caregiving you know. "That was my idea to come to this workshop actually. |

Speakers like Gordon, with resources in both German and English, frequently switched in mid-sentence and then back again. This was particularly apparent in “End of Conversation.” The first excerpt is Gülser and the second is Beate, an L1 German Christian chaplain. Both have moderate resources in English but preferred, in this dialogue, to use German. This entire dialogue was the most linguistically mixed of any in the data set; most of the participants have some competencies in German but a few have no German resources, which required some occasional *ad hoc* German-to-English translation (usually by the researcher) that then resulted in several similar multilanguaging episodes in which

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speakers realize, after several words or utterances, that they have switched into a different code. *German*, translation:

**Excerpt 5.25**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Gülser: | *im- Impuls, Sterne, .. aufleuchtende Moment .. zum Meditation und zum Nachdenken nur nachgeben. Es braucht nicht mehr viel Erklärung.* (an impulse, stars, illuminating moments to meditate on, think about. It doesn't need a lot of clarification.) |
| 2. | | <L2=ENGLISH> Um: .. so like fish in the ocean perhaps .. um: we are also as Muslims in an ocean .. and now we had also explain water. .. </L2> |
| 3. | | *Um quatsch. Anders um. Ich wollte # @ @ @ @ @* (Oh rubbish/nonsense. The other way around. I want to) |

**Excerpt 5.26**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Beate: | *Darf ich damal .. #an:spielen, weil ich das #angeschaut so denn .. also für mich so: so: .. was neues an dem .. Text von ihm ist #* (May I participate? Because what I saw that, for me, is new in his text is) |
| 2. | | *ach uh* <L2=ENGLISH> maybe .. [I can .. try the .. ] </L2> |
| 3. | | *N-nah-no eh* <L2=ENGLISH> uh I want: to um .. continue what what .. she- uh she said. |
| 4. | | What what what I: [um, (3.208)] </L2> *gesehen?* (saw) |

The most unconscious multilanguaging practices were the use of a single word or formulaic expression by speakers in their own L1, most often by German speakers in an English dialogue. The German modal particle "*ja*" rather than an English "you know" or "yes" as a tag question was the most frequent, but further examples are other modal particles as discourse markers ("*also,*" "*aber*") and "*genau*" as back channeling. What is relevant is these small bits of multilanguaging occurred only in communicatively effective segments when speakers were completely engaged with their topic and most unaware of their linguistic practices. (Communicatively ineffective dialogue segments, as will soon be demonstrated, displayed a steady decline of multilanguaging practices.) *German*, translation:

**Excerpt 5.27**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Frank: | I am I from the beginning I was thinking about a_a verse of Leonard Cohen I'm (2.73) |

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2. Audrey: <L2=GERMAN> *nochmal?* </L2> (again?)

3. Frank: of Leonard Leonard Cohen?,

**Excerpt 5.28**

1. Gordon: <L2=GERMAN> *Ya. Als* </L2> (so, thus) ah ah_ah when I was uh reading .. this uh in our- in the information material, .. I thought: this is the workshop I want to attend

**Excerpt 5.29**

1. Akilah: good. It's high or low say, oh <L2=GERMAN> *aber* </L2> (but)

**Excerpt 5.30**

1. Helsa: ≅Yeah. [It's normally] on Thursdays. <L2=GERMAN> *Genau.* </L2> (exactly, precisely)≅

2. And <L2=GERMAN> *also* </L2> (so) okay. Um .. we're meeting in Mannheim (1.185) so six or eight times [the year.]

3. [$_4$So .. $_4$] Okay. <L2=GERMAN> *Na also* </L2> (okay, also) "this is, [$_5$okay &$_5$]

Adam typically uses primarily English mixed with German and, when the conference was in the Netherlands, Afrikaans resources. This excerpt from earlier is a more unusual predominantly German utterance mixed with English resources. (*German*, translation):

**Excerpt 5.31**

1. Adam: *Dann eigentlich ich-musste fragen* </L2> because <L2=GERMAN> *eigentlich ist die frage ein* (Than actually I have to ask [because] actually the question is one of)

### 5.2.5 Paradoxical Monolingualism

Dialogues with below-average multilanguaging results were paradoxical. Three portions of ineffective dialogues showed a deliberate disuse of multilanguaging practices, even when most speakers shared a second code, while three other dialogue portions with limited multilanguaging practices were attempts at collaborative communicative behavior in light of the multiplicity of L1s present in the conversation. As shown in excerpt 5.21, below-average multilanguaging by an individual participant who normally code-switches frequently can also indicate detachment from or disinterest in the topic.

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Frederick turned a flourishing dialogue into a monologue in "End of Conversation" through an overuse of silence, predominantly timed final contour pauses (see excerpt 4.3). What is also cogent is that code-switching data decreased notably in the same segment. The use of multilanguaging practices in the overall dialogue (1.33 OPM) was above average for the professional trajectory (1.07 OPM) but dropped drastically to 0.39 OPM during Frederick's turn at talk. Observation suggested his concern might have been for his fellow panelist (Mehmet) but, given that Mehmet has some competency in German and none in English, it would seem Frederick should have switched to German. Furthermore, the majority of participants in this dialogue are L1 German speakers (or have significant German resources), and many used German, rather than English, throughout the dialogue (see excerpts 5.25 and 5.26). Frederick's refusal to use a linguistic code shared by a majority of the dialogue participants displayed linguistic "inhospitality" and demonstrated his unwillingness to allow further discussion (unpublished field notes, September 2014).

Two other dialogue portions with nearly absent multilanguaging practices are even more significant when one realizes the speakers in the ineffective portions are all either L1 German speakers or possess much greater competencies in German than in English. In each instance, there was a co-creation of an ineffective interaction by speakers' seemingly deliberate unwillingness to multilanguage. The two participants in "Who's Hungry?" normally communicate in German, but Akilah used only English in a six-minute portion of ineffective dialogue. As noted previously, she was the only participant I tracked across multiple trajectories, and there is no other recording where she does not code-switch (German or Arabic) for such a prolonged period of time. Moreover, she code-switches three times in an earlier, more effective two-and-a-half-minute dialogue segment about the recent Islamic Festival of the Sacrifice (*Eid al-Adha*). (*German*, **Arabic**, translation):

**Excerpt 5.32**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Deborah: | <L2=GERMAN> *Ein Opferfest?,* (A festival of sacrifice?) |
| 2. | Akilah: | Um-hum |
| 3. | Deborah: | *Wann war es jetzt eigentlich?* (When was that, actually?) |
| 4. | Akilah: | <L2=GERMAN> *Anfang Oktober* </L2> [Um-huh] (beginning of October) |
| 5. | Deborah: | [*Anfang Oktober ja?,] "Genau* (beginning of October, yes? Exactly) |
| 6. | Akilah: | In it's- in Germany there is no: big celebration for [for this for this] uh uhm uh .. %uh .. %uh day, |

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7. Ramadan is something difficul- uh different because you do something so ..
8. so you #feel that uh that the whole community: did something so the celebration's bigger. Actually from the meaning here, <L2=ARABIC> **Eid al-Adha** </L2> is bigger. (1.160) Because this is th-_this is the *big*gest one.

Less than two minutes later, the conversation began to deteriorate when Akilah said: "Actually nobody needs anything here in Germany. All people they have enough." Deborah responded: "No. That's not right but it's okay." Akilah proceeded to use only English for the remaining six minutes of the dialogue. Deborah code-switched three further times in her search for multilingual cooperation, but Akilah did not acknowledge any of the switches and continued in English with multiple instances of obliterative overlap by both speakers.

Claudia's use of German regarding immigrants during "*die schweigende Mehrheit*" (see section 4.2.3) only served to make that segment more inflammatory. The panel discussion was in English (one of the rare discussions in this group where most of the presenters are L1 English speakers) and—to this point—the question-and-answer session had also been in English. The use of German resources *per se* was not the issue. German in combination with Claudia's choice of words[3] and the particular topic, however, brought an almost visceral reaction from those in the group with German competencies (unpublished field notes, September 2016). At the first pause in her utterance, a second speaker (Christiane) immediately addresses her in English, but Claudia reverts to German. At the conclusion of Claudia's turn at talk, there is a sense of outrage from those in the group with German competencies (ibid.). Aline's attempt to reclaim the conversation in excerpt 4.9 immediate follows this excerpt. (*German*, translation):

**Excerpt 5.33**

1. Claudia: <L2=GERMAN> *das würde # von *uns* entgegenzukommen.* (1.844) (that would serve our interests)
2. Christiane: I'm sorry. Uh if you speak about we, .. [$_1$do you mean] we or do you- do you [$_2$speak about you?,]
3. Claudia: [$_1$*Ya. Okay*]
4. </L2> [$_2$I mean] I mean [$_3$uh uh ..]

3 *Die schweigende Mehrheit* (the silent majority) is a politically loaded term in Germany with a variety of dogmatic interpretations, particularly following the influx of immigrants and refugees in 2016.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5. | Christiane: | : [$_3$because I don't] I don't [$_4$think ...] |
| 6. | Claudia: | <L2=GERMAN> *[$_4$Ya okay.] Uh ich meine damit viele die: die-_dieses sogenannten schweigende Mehrheit die das unter ein andere sagen aber nicht aufstehen wurde und das zu sagen.* (Yeah, Ok. I mean that many of these so-called silent majority that say this under their breath to one another but would not stand up to say it.) |

In examining Christiane's use of English, it is important to understand that she is an L1 German speaker with moderate English competencies. She frequently used, and was more comfortable with, German throughout the conference; in a later, more effective segment of this same dialogue, she used German. But Christiane was so incensed at Claudia's comments that she refused to identify herself with Claudia by using their shared L1 resources.

Paradoxically, lower multilanguaging practices can also indicate linguistic hospitality. Several dialogues with a multiplicity of L1s exhibited lower-than-average multilanguaging practices, instantiating findings from multiple studies of English as a lingua franca that show multilingual practices depend to a large degree on "the multilingual resource pool" that speakers in an interaction share (Pitzl 2016, 298). Participants align their moves and strategies in relation to the collective linguistic resources they bring to a conversation and then collaboratively build coherence (Canagarajah 2007, 932). What happens in multiparty conversations such as these, particularly those with a higher number of participants, is that overlapping individual multilingual resources are likely to be limited (Pitzl 2016, 298) and speakers' collaborative behavior is to remain in English. This is not to say these conversations contained no code-switches, but that switches were limited and typically used more deliberately than in other conversations, as can be seen in "What I Believe," "Cooperation and Conflict in Tanzania," and "*Tikkun Olam*," where seven participants had six different L1s. What distinguishes these communicatively effective monolingual conversations from ineffective (rigid) monolingual discussions is the concurrent use of pauses (see sections 4.2.1, 4.2.4) and disfluency phenomenon (see excerpts 6.2, 6.10) to index linguistic hospitality. Pause data shows elevated use of short, interphrasal pauses and/or below-average use of long pauses, particularly final contour pauses and use of fillers was typically elevated in these conversations. These co-occurring MLIs function together to demonstrate the attitude behind a speaker's monolingual behavior.

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### 5.2.6 Collaborative Multilingual Behavior

Collaborative multilingual behavior is a multilayered phenomenon. As just demonstrated, some dialogue participants exhibited collaborative behavior by using English as a lingua franca and limiting the group's multilanguaging practices. In many other conversations, however, collaborative behavior was exhibited when speakers pooled their linguistic resources to achieve a communicative task (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 177; Blommaert 2010, 9), either at the instigation of the speaker or when participants other than the speaker initiated "active co-construction of expressions" (Mauranen 2006, 135).

#### 5.2.6.1 Speaker-initiated cooperation

Speakers frequently initiated cooperative behavior by asking a fellow participant for a word or expression, sometimes in the target language of the dialogue and sometimes in another shared language, and the resulting cooperation allowed the discourse to then proceed. This example between William and Abigail contains two examples of cooperative behavior, one speaker-initiated and one other-initiated. Abigail, an L1 German speaker, is searching for the word for "purgatory," which William supplies before seeking the correct term in German. Abigail does not directly acknowledge William's assistance; rather, she repeats her initial search for the word "to be purified." But she then acknowledges his request by responding with the German *Fegefeuer*:

**Excerpt 5.34**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Abigail: | So something not not you do- you won't stay there forever but it's: it's .. um only .. a phase where you hav-_do have to go through to to .. to be purged and then you'll go to the other world [$_1$that's where&] |
| 2. | William: | [$_1$To be purged to] be purified yeah. What [$_2$is what was] I've forgotten what is uh purgatory in: in German? |
| 3. | Abigail: | [$_2$to be purified. Yeah] |
| 4. | | <L2=GERMAN> *Fegefeuer* </L2> |

One sees in another dialogue from the same focus group that the cooperative behavior extends over several utterances between all three participants and involves back channeling and interphrasal pauses, as well as multilanguaging. (*German*, translation):

**Excerpt 5.35**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Helsa: | and one: .. part of this is to .. carry the .. culture the .. |

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2. <L2=GERMAN> *also die: .. ständig fortschreitende Kulture. .. Na? beiträgen. Also*, (so, the constantly advancing civilization .. yeah? .. contributes)

3. William: ≅ever ad-_ever advancing civilizations

4. Abigail: [right]

5. Helsa: *[Ya] Na* </L2> and and to to to give your part (1.023)

6. that this civilization .. um .. [develop]

7. Abigail: [so you #]

8. so you d-_d-_ th-_th-_the contribution to [for the] development,

9. Helsa: [yeah]

10. [$_1$Yeah. yeah.]

11. Abigail: [$_1$So every- everyone has to contribute something to [$_2$to to ad]vance [$_3$the culture? Okay

12. Helsa: [$_2$<L2=GERMAN> *Richtig. Ya*] (Correct. Yes.)

13. [$_3$Ya. Ya. </L2>]

In the Polish parents' discussion about the afterlife (see section 4.2.1), Ayaru is explaining why she cannot believe in an afterlife, given the emotionalism of a Kazakh funeral. Lacking the necessary English resources, she turns to her husband and begins speaking in Russian, a shared code they tend to use more often than Polish, and Antoni finishes the explanation for her. (*Russian*, translation):

**Excerpt 5.36**

1. Ayaru: You cannot keep quiet, just be sad. No: .. you have to cry you, have to scream, you have to show a littl- and it's .. like um (1.294)

2. hys- hysteria <L2=RUSSIAN> *takaja # takoe vse ljudi prihodyat .. takaja isterika obschaya* </L2> (It's like like everyone is coming like general hysteria)

3. Antoni: Th-_the-_ they .. almost hysteric [$_1$reaction because] they .. the person each other you know (1.585) motivate [$_2$each other to] .. to cry to: (1.842)

In this excerpt from "Who's Hungry," which immediately follows excerpt 5.32, Akilah says for the first time that most western Muslims have too much to eat, making it difficult to fulfill the obligation of *Eid al-Adha* to give meat to the

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poor. Deborah is technically both Muslim and Jewish[4], but she chooses to practice Judaism and so understands the Rosh Hashanah practice suggested by David. She lacks, however, the necessary resources in English, so she seeks cooperative behavior by asking for the word in *German*:

**Excerpt 5.37**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Akilah: | Who's hungry here?! Everyone is eating too much meat. |
| 2. | David: | ≅#Well #if you can .. adapt the Rosh Hashanah ker-_tradition of eating apples and honey instead. (1.034) So you have a sweet year. @≅ |
| 3. | Deborah: | ≅[Yes.] What sweet and <L2=GERMAN> *was heißt Gesund?* </L2> |
| 4. | Researcher: | Healthy |

This particular focus group frequently employed cooperative multilingualism, as Akilah routinely used German to ask the researcher for English words. This is one of the few examples of cooperative behavior entirely in English, presumably because Paulette lacks competencies in German:

**Excerpt 5.38**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Akilah: | So it's_it's actually .. ah spa (1.118) for you. A month in a year. You have to change to your whole .. |
| 2. | | [Yes. Your_your_your-your regular-_your] regular system you know?, your regular_er-_life. "You have to change it fro-_uh, |
| 3. | Paulette: | [I think .. so_so_so kind of a training ground,] |
| 4. | Akilah: | how you call it?, Up down? |
| 5. | Researcher: | Upside down |
| 6. | Akilah: | ≅Upside down. [Yeah. So] this is Ramadan. |

In "Cooperation and Conflict in Tanzania," Anne discusses birth control and self-defense for the at-risk girls with Layla. As noted in "Castes and Monotheism," Anne's English resources are occasionally limited and here she turns to a Flemish-speaking Belgian colleague next to her, uses Dutch to ask for a word, and then says: "Information?" in English. They then collaborate to finish the conversation in English with a great deal of cooperative overlap:

**4** Her father is Muslim and her mother Jewish. According to Jewish matrilineal and Muslim patrilineal laws of descent she is, therefore, both.

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**Excerpt 5.39**

1. Luuk: No. Uh uh (1.718) uh .. technical information so people don't get pregnant kind of uh .. [$_1$uh]
2. Anne: [$_1$kind] of information how to avoid to get pregnant [$_2$#that]
3. Luuk: [$_2$is that] something that the government #offer or # .. prevention prevention.
4. Anne: prevention

#### 5.2.6.2 Other-initiated cooperation

**REPEAT-AND-RECAST OTHER**

Professional—.90 OPM
Personal—1.10 OPM
Platform events—.21 OPM
Overall—.89 OPM

Interactive, co-constructed expressions (Mauranen 2006, 135) are those instances when *other* participants initiate the cooperative behavior by supplying the word or phrase “which the current speaker seems to be lacking” (ibid.), thus allowing the conversation to continue. While this can involve multilingual resources, it can also be a speaker supplying the remainder of the utterance in the target language. These interactive repairs are most often retroactive, i.e., after a “problem” has been recognized, whereas self-repairs (see chapter 6) tend to be proactive, i.e., the speaker is looking ahead (ibid., 137). Observation showed that speakers frequently repeated or sought to repair their own speech before finishing an utterance as a way to create comprehension or prevent misunderstanding, but that they instigated other-repairs only after another speaker seemed to hesitate or flounder. These “seemingly unsolicited clarifications and repetitions” appear to arise from a “perception of the speaker in need of help” (ibid., 146). One sees that in this excerpt where Helsa uses “attitude” when she means “qualities.” Note that William still recasts his own utterance before finally supplying the correct word; Helsa then repeats it, acknowledges it in *German*, and switches back to English:

**Excerpt 5.40**

1. Helsa: Okay. And (1.268) um the human has the possi*bil*ity to develop any: um: attitude?, .. which the #spawn *needs* in the hu- in the spiritual world,

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2. William: quant- uh, [$_1$#opportu- no] qualities [$_2$# qualities] um .. <L2=GERMAN> *Ja?* </L2>
3. Helsa: [$_1$Qualities] .. [$_2$<L2=GERMAN> *Ya. Genau*] (exactly) </L2>
4. Um (1.034) and it is in the .. responsibility .. of each: one .. to *de*velop them. (1.018) <L2=GERMAN> *Genau.* </L2>

These other-initiated repairs were initially investigated as part of an overall examination of speakers' repeat-and-recast (disfluency) phenomena. One observed that speakers frequently repeated or recast syllables, words, and entire phrases, and yet this disfluency—which is defined as an interruption in the regular flow of speech and often viewed as a performance or cognitive error—seemed to create more, rather than less, effective dialogues. Further investigation showed that there was a functional difference, however, between a speaker repeating or recasting their own speech as opposed to repairing that of another interlocutor. Mauranen (2006, 147) notes that the functions of repeat-and-recast phenomena are not easy to determine, and it is plausible that "several purposes are simultaneously served by the same behavior." Speakers' repeat-and-recast of their own speech is a self-initiated behavior that functions to achieve coherence and comprehension. Repeat-and-recast of another's speech is a collaborative behavior that functions much like cooperative multilanguaging to create a shared sense of meaning; two-thirds of the dialogues with above-average occurrences of other-repairs also had elevated multilanguaging practices. This corresponds with Mauranen's (ibid., 137) findings that "speakers in multiparty encounters often engage in co-construction of expressions." Self-repairs allow speakers to forward plan their utterances to aid comprehension while other-repairs are focused on collaborative behavior. Other-repairs are *not* focused on grammatically correct expressions but on cooperating to create an utterance that makes the speaker's intended meaning clear and allows the conversation to continue. So while others may "correct" a speaker's word, as in excerpts 5.21 and 5.39, participants do not reformulate a speaker's utterance to conform to the standard variety. Moreover, as can be seen in the following excerpt from the Scriptural Reasoning group, other-repairs do not necessarily occur in conjunction with multilanguaging but still function to facilitate the flow of the conversation:

**Excerpt 5.41**

1. Asygül: [$_1$So it's recompense]. It's recompense: basically. It's-_is-_it's would be a .. [$_2$um]
2. Jane: [$_2$get your] just desserts
3. Asygül: your just:_your just desserts. [Yeah .. yeah ..]

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Overall, the Scriptural Reasoning data demonstrates that repeat-and-recast of the other's speech, like multilanguaging, is a linguistic means of displaying interpersonal involvement with and openness to the Other. While self-repairs are below average for the group, their repetition of another's speech is above average. As Tannen (1987, 584) notes, repetition of another's speech "provides a resource to keep talk going—where talk itself is a show of involvement, of willingness to interact.... All of this sends a metamessage of involvement" and may be the highest-level function of repetition, the level at which "messages about relationships are communicated." Repeat-and-recast of another's speech creates "an emotional experience of connectedness" (ibid.), something that is deliberate in the Scriptural Reasoning process.

Repeat-and-recast of another's speech does differ by trajectory. While self-repair data is fairly consistent across all three trajectories, other-repairs are considerably lower for the platform trajectory (.21 OPM as compared to .89 OPM for the entire data set). Two characteristics that distinguish the platform trajectory from the other two trajectories account for this. Participants for these broadcasts are chosen for their expertise or prominence in a given field; this characteristically includes competence in a prestige variety of the broadcast language. Other-repairs are frequently triggered by the perception of a speaker in need, something that is unlikely to transpire during a national broadcast. Second, other-repairs indicate cooperative linguistic behavior and personal involvement that, again, is unlikely to occur between mildly opposed conversational partners who are expected to disagree. (A more in-depth investigation of the differences between trajectories will be undertaken in chapter 7.)

## 5.3 Complex Functions and Multifaceted Conclusions

Multilanguaging is a multifaceted and multidetermined metalinguistic indicator that can impact dialogues in complex ways. Far from leading to misunderstandings, however, prolific multilanguaging practices frequently lead to greater understanding and also function as a linguistic means to display hospitality.

These interreligious dialogues displayed a continuum of multilingual practices that did not neatly fit a single linguistic hybridity theory. Speakers' multilanguaging behaviors were triggered by a plethora of factors that varied both by speaker and in context-dependent ways (Wodak et al. 2012, 158). Some were genre-determined, such as the use of faith-associated languages and the precision with which words were chosen, and others were the result of structural constraints, e.g., "official" dialogue codes. Still other multilanguaging decisions resulted from a speaker's individual resources and those of the interlocutors in

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that specific dialogue at that moment in time.[5] Other multilanguaging practices reflected the fluidity and openness of metrolingualism and translanguaging. Yet these diverse multilingual behaviors did have an overarching function and that was to create communicatively effective dialogues. If metrolanguaging in urban marketplaces is simply "a matter of getting things done" (Pennycook and Otsuji 2015, 3), multilanguaging in interreligious dialogues is simply a matter of "sharing the faith."

The use of religious language, instead of creating barriers, most often bridges the gaps between faith practices and worldviews and allows participants to reach "equivalence without identity" (Ricœur 2006, 22). It allows participants to share their faith practices in ways that do not seek to minimize differences between religions but to make those differences more understandable and hospitable. Use of religious language demonstrates Ricœur's concept of moving between identity and strangeness, in which people participate in a dialogue without hope of transferring an exact meaning but while still remaining open to the Other. It is a means to find sites of narrative overlap and commensality, where words or songs can reveal shared spaces of identity and experience between faith practices and worldviews. Metaphorical code-switching is a way for speakers to demonstrate how practices specific to their own faith might be transfigured in ways that are applicable to other people's faith journeys.

Jews and Muslims frequently used their faith-based languages to make their practices more open and understandable, while Christians avoided faith-associated vernacular for the same reason. From an etic perspective, this is largely due to the historic lack of an association between the Christian faith and a single linguistic code. From an emic perspective, more than one participant commented on it during the interviews:

> *Ich aber interkulturell oder interreligiös nicht voraussetzen kann das mein Gegenuber das gleiche meint. Oder ein ganz anderen Hintergrund für diese Begriffe hat.* (In an intercultural or interreligious setting, I can't assume the person sitting across from me means the same thing. Or has the same background for these terms.)
>
> Felix

> I intentionally seek to enhance communication by avoiding certain words or connotations.
>
> John

5 The clearest example of this is Akilah's use of French in "What I Believe." While she frequently employed multilanguaging behavior across two trajectories, there was no other setting in which she had a fellow French speaker with whom she could share these particular resources.

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This is not to say, however, that Christians completely avoided faith-based languages. John said he would, at times, use a language "of the other person that I normally would not use" if it might enrich communication and understanding, as seen when Amir uses Arabic from the Qur'an with Akilah. This practice was also observed when Christiane (a Catholic theologian) frequently used Hebrew terms when discussing aspects of the Christian Old Testament. What emerges from this data is that peoples' faith practices determine different patterns of language choice while still fulfilling the same function—to facilitate a more hospitable understanding.

"The encounter always takes priority over the answers. That's fundamental" (Michael, interview). This priority of the encounter, of using whatever linguistic resources are available to create an open and understanding encounter, was demonstrated in speakers' unconscious use of their own L1 in another target language or three codes in the same sentence; it shows a speaker immersed in a conversation. This is Ricœur's linguistic hospitality, the place where the "pleasure of dwelling in the other's language is balanced by the pleasure of receiving the foreign word at home, in one's own welcoming house" (2006, 10). These multilanguaging practices were entirely indicative of effective dialogues even when they occurred in dialogues with average occurrences of L1/L2 code-switching. Speakers also *shared* whatever linguistic codes they might have in their search for communicative effectiveness. They collaboratively combined their resources and skills by using multiple languages to allow the discourse to proceed in ways that assured continued comprehension (Mauranen 2006, 140, 144). The result was a better understanding of other people's beliefs and perspectives than could be obtained from a monolingual conversation. At the same time, *cooperative* monolingualism (in contrast to *rigid* monolingualism) was an awareness that a lack of shared resources in a multiparty conversation dictated the use of a single code to display collaborative linguistic behavior. While the goal of these groups is to respect the language of each participant, "to join the discussion, you've [sometimes] got to put them aside and use the common language and the common … rules of discourse" (Takaaki, interview).

The genre of these dialogues sometimes generated multilingual practices that contravened the notion in many hybridity linguistic theories that the semantic value of a word (or utterance) takes on less importance in today's super-diverse world. The fixidity of people's religious identities combined with a desire to display hospitality occasionally dictated multilingual behavior that was "ideologically shaped" (Wodak et al. 2007, 159); speakers persisted in their search for a more exact meaning because the concept or practice it signified mattered deeply to them or they wanted to avoid the possibility of offending

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others. This linguistic behavior can result in the use of resources that are not always shared, but it is also the point at which dialogue participants “speak across” the differences from a known to an unknown faith tradition or language and seek to “welcome the other in his or her otherness” (Moyaert 2008, 359).

Paradoxically, code-switching can create less-than-effective dialogues when a religious language is used to delineate, rather than widen, a faith practice. Yet it still *does* function as a means for interlocutors to seek clarity and understanding at points where deep and honest disagreements exist and can contribute to understanding, one mark of a communicatively effectively dialogue. Nevertheless, it is a more distant and less congenial understanding. Rigid monolingualism (when a shared code exists but is not used), on the other hand, co-occurs with changes in the use of disfluency and unfilled pause phenomena to co-create a communicatively ineffective dialogue. At points of honest disagreement or misunderstanding, to remain stubbornly in one language when linguistic multiplicity exists demonstrates an unwillingness to welcome other languages, to hear the Other in their own language.

These paradoxical functions of multilingual behavior argue for the study of other MLIs in combination with hybrid language use. When multilingual practices are investigated concurrently with speakers’ use of silence and disfluency phenomena (see chapters 4 and 6), one is better able to understand the manifold functions and meanings of their context-dependent multilingual (or monolingual) behavior (Wodak et al. 2012, 159).

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# 6 Creating Communicative Effectiveness Through Disfluency

> Repetition is a resource by which speakers create a discourse, a relationship, a world.
>
> Deborah Tannen

Disfluency—using fillers, repeating syllables and words, or interrupting oneself to correct or recast a previous utterance—is frequently seen as an "error in the cognitive processes of language production" (Fraundorf 2015, 1) or a "performance error" (McKelvie 1998, 1). Dialogues in this study demonstrated that such disfluencies, far from being errors, are "indispensable" (John, interview) in creating communicative effectiveness and interreligious understanding. Preliminary expectations for this project were that communicatively effective dialogues would be marked by well-formed utterances that were devoid of disfluency phenomenon, in which one interlocutor spoke and the others listened. Instead, as has been repeatedly noted, interreligious dialogues are complicated, and the most effective dialogues were marked by frequent and varied forms of disfluency while conversations made up of the expected well-formed utterances and rigid turn-taking quickly became ineffective monologues. This chapter examines how repeat-and-recast of a speaker's own speech and fillers function to enable coherence and comprehension in a multilingual environment and to display linguistic hospitality in an interreligious environment.

## 6.1 We Are All Disfluent

Disfluencies are interruptions in the regular flow of speech and are viewed as performance errors or cognitive errors in many linguistic sub-disciplines where fluent speech that resembles written speech by a native speaker is the default norm (Fraundorf et al. 2015, 1; McKelvie 1998, 1; Lickley 2015, 445). In reality, corpus studies of unrehearsed speech show disfluency is a pervasive phenomenon and fluency is the exception; "everyone is disfluent some of the time" (Lickley 2015, 452; McKelvie 1998, 1). Formal descriptions of such "disturbances" began in the late 1950s with a myriad of subsequent categorizations, some focusing on the form and others on the function of various disfluency phenomena (Lickley 2015, 452). The advent of recording technology and creation of spoken corpora eventually resulted in a general consensus on disfluency annotation schemes that includes these phenomena:

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- filled pauses (um, uh),
- repetitions/repairs (of partial words, whole words, phrases),
- reformulations/substitutions (where a partial word, word, or string of words is replaced by another word or string),
- insertions (where a speaker repeats a string, but adds a word or more), and
- aborted/incomplete categories (where a speaker abandons the utterance mid-stream) (Lickley 2015, 453; McKelvie 1998,11-12).

Observations showed that speakers frequently repeated or inserted syllables or words, partially as an online thinking process but also in an attempt to choose their words with care in an interreligious setting. Recast phenomena (substitutions or repetitions) were not grammatical reformulations, e.g., "as I was saying," but rather instances of a speaker leaving a word or phrase incomplete or changing direction in mid-phrase, as can be seen in this example from "*Tikkun Olam*":

Eli: It's exactly .. It-_the first text has a .. but we still have a role,

Fillers—"uh" or "um"—were also used to gain cognitive processing time but, again, seemingly as a way to show respect. What indicated a need for further study was that far from creating misunderstanding, fillers and repeat-and-recast appeared to lead to more effective conversations, a finding that was borne out in later analysis. (The rare exceptions were two speakers in the professional trajectory with such limited competencies in the target language that their use of fillers was excluded from the analysis as it disproportionately skewed the results.)

Based on these observations, the question was whether disfluency phenomena are a means for multilingual speakers to create effective dialogues since their function is "not always easy to determine" (Mauranen 2006, 147). The answer, according to several scholars, is yes. Although disfluencies can interrupt the flow of speech, they do not necessarily impair and can even facilitate comprehension (Fraundorf et al. 2015, 1), particularly in hybrid linguistic settings such as these where their function might be to make meanings clearer, the interaction smoother, to gain more planning time, or several functions could be achieved concurrently (Mauranen 2006, 147). Tannen (1987, 576) argues that repetition is "one of a range of patterns that contribute to coherence in discourse." Referencing studies by McKelvie (below), Baker (2010, 120) adds that disfluencies should not be dismissed as random '"performance errors" but seen rather as an important part of dialogue management:

> Hesitations allow time for forward planning of utterances; word repetition can be used as a way of seizing a turn in conversation; speech repairs allow the correction of things already

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> said, or the inclusion of additional material without re-saying an entire utterance. (McKelvie 1998, 2)

In monolingual conversations, repeat-and-recast behaviors give speakers an opportunity to change what is said or emphasize a specific word or phrase in order to reach a common topic or shared sense of activity (Blommaert et al. 2005, 212). Disfluencies can also benefit listeners by allowing them to increase their attention to the speech stream, to predict that what the speaker will refer to next might be difficult, or to aid comprehension by receiving information at roughly the rate the speaker is producing it (Fraundorf et al. 2015, 1; Tannen 1987, 582). Such disfluencies play an even bigger role in multilingual conversations. Not only to do they perform all the previous functions, but they also allow interlocutors to scale their expectations to the situation and their fellow interlocutors, shifting varieties as repertoires and competencies allow, in order to reach a sharable code (Blommaert et al. 2005, 212). Seidlhofer (2004, 218) found that the misunderstandings one might expect in English as lingua franca exchanges, although infrequent, could be resolved by "overt negotiation using communication strategies such as rephrasing and repetition." Mauranen (2006, 140) concurs, arguing that self-repairs allow a multilingual conversation to continue with the maximal amount of understanding. Moreover, in real-life multilingual situations, speakers tend to manifest their cooperation toward the contents and flow of the interaction rather than "defective" forms of L2 speakers, e.g., disfluency (ibid., 124).

What is salient in this study is use of disfluency indicators as a means to display linguistic hospitality. Dialogue participants, both in observation and interviews, demonstrated their extreme caution in choosing words that were "neutral" (Fahd, interview) and framing utterances in ways that demonstrated respect for the beliefs and faith practices of the Other. Self-repairs and fillers are a means to do this by creating time for forward planning of utterances and comprehension checks (McKelvie 1998, 2). "Repetition is a resource by which conversationalists together create a discourse [and] a relationship" (Tannen 1987, 601).

## 6.2 Disfluency: Creating a Discourse

**Repeat-and-Recast Own**

Professional–5.26 OPM
Personal—6.04 OPM
Platform events—6.11 OPM
Overall—5.63 OPM

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**FILLER**

Professional—4.04 OPM
Personal—4.67 OPM
Platform events—4.46 OPM
Overall—4.30 OPM

Fillers and repeat-and-recast of a speaker's own words were frequently used in opposition in this data; that is, dialogues with a higher use of fillers had a lower-than-average use of repeat-and-recast phenomena and vice versa. One example is "End of Conversation" where filler data is 6.34 OPM, slightly above the professional trajectory average of 4.04, and repeat-and-recast phenomena are 3.67 OPM, well below the trajectory average of 5.26 OPM. "Sacred and Holy," on the other hand, demonstrates an extremely high use of self-repetition, 8.3 OPM as compared to the trajectory average of 5.26 OPM, and a slightly lower use of fillers, 3.6 OPM in comparison to 4.04 OPM. Use of one phenomenon did not, however, necessarily preclude use of the other; both worked to fulfill the following functions:

– to express emotional or sensitive topics with care,
– to choose the speaker's words in ways that reflected hospitality and respect,
– to enable coherence and comprehension in a multilingual environment, and
– to create a mutual relationship (Tannen 1987, 575).

### 6.2.1 Elevated Filler Phenomenon

The distinction is small but conversations with above-average filler use were more personal, discussing the individual aspects of a person's faith practice or philosophy. In this excerpt from "Humanism and Chaplaincy," Jan is explaining his lack of belief in the afterlife in the context of multifaith chaplaincy to his three Christian interlocutors; note his concurrent use of interphrasal pauses and self-repairs—"how do you say that?"—to make his meaning clearer. (Filler in **bold**):

**Excerpt 6.1**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Jan: | And **uh** I don't believe in .. the afterlife. I just don't. |
| 2. | | So I can .. sympathize with .. #someone .. but I don't .. well, there is a difference. And I think when you talk to: another person, of course you have to to respect .. or like t-_you know to respect what .. what his beliefs .. or her her beliefs are |

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but, .. **um**: in the end .. **uh** (2.152) you can't **uh** (1.368) how you say that?, (1.485) **uh** [1do away with the differences.]

Just prior to Jan's comments, Elizabeth mentions "existential questions" and notes that while she and Jan would give different answers, the questions remain the same. Like Jan, she inserts multiple fillers in her utterance and also reformulates and repeats part of her reply to ensure comprehension in an L2 setting before yielding her turn at talk:

3. Elisabeth: Maybe if I: **uh** make: answers to your #words **um** maybe **um** .. the: way how to form it in the world, how to form it in your life, is different, .. but the existential question is just the same.

Participants in "What I Believe" demonstrated through their use of silence (see section 4.2.4) and multilingualism (see excerpt 5.19) that they were mindful and respectful of the sensitive nature of what their fellow interlocutors were saying; one sees in their use of fillers their awareness of the deeply personal and emotional aspects of what they themselves are saying:

**Excerpt 6.2**

1. Elisabeth: So that's the deeper deeper meaning of the cross to me and I discovered it I_I told it **uh** (Pierre) yesterday, (H) 15 years ago in Amsterdam, listening the: **um** .. Passion of John **uh** .. by Johann Sebastian Bach (H) and I_I saw Jesus being next to me so **um**, and_and **um**, ..

Felix, the speaker immediately after Elizabeth, displays the same use of fillers:

2. Felix: For me, my life is a gift: **uh** of God .. and: **um** (1.268) shows me he loves me.

Given Pierre's limited English resources, one initially judges his use of fillers to be online cognitive processing time in a L2. However, following Akilah's hospitable offer to listen in French, one sees the same patterns of filler usage when he talks about the meaning of his faith in *French*:

3. Pierre: **uh** (1.118) it-_I-I ca-_cannot .. **eh** (1.251) b-_**uh**: (1.151) **uh** be by **uh** .. accept **uh** suffering.

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4. *__euh euh__ et que Dieu ne s'en est pas- par par le Christ hein-ne s'en est pas tenu a cela et __euh__ et donc __euh euh__ nous sommes associe __euh__ a ....*

Speakers are not often aware of how or when they use most individual metalinguistic indicators. But a clear pattern emerged in this particular dialogue ("What I Believe") from an etic perspective that shows how fillers combined with silence and multilingualism to create a communicatively effective dialogue in an extremely sensitive setting. While the use of these MLIs may have been subliminal, the respect and relationships (some provisional) that developed because of their use were recognized by the participants and acknowledged at the conclusion of the conversation by Akilah (who was moderating the group):

5. Akilah: It's nice to hear that **uh** consensus between us. Between the **uh uh uh** (1.529) different religions.

Fillers can invite listeners to think about what the speaker just said (Clark and Fox Tree 2002, 91), which is one definition of a communicatively effective dialogue—a participant not only hears the Other but is also heard on their own terms. It appears Akilah is seeking that understanding in this excerpt from the more effective portion of "Who's Hungry?". The dialogues in this particular focus group occurred prior to the 2016 influx of refugees to Europe, including from Akilah's native Syria but, at this point, there was already a steady flow of people arriving in Germany. Akilah was actively volunteering, in addition to her professional duties as a cross-cultural trainer in the state police academy, to help as many Arabic-speaking refugees as possible, and her concern became more and more palpable in each subsequent dialogue. In this excerpt, she just finished explaining that her immediate family had observed *Eid al-Adha*—the largest and most religiously significant of the Islamic festivals—rather quietly that year. This is the first time she mentions that people in the West have more than enough:

**Excerpt 6.3**

1. Akilah: And_and .. actually the_the the meaning of of_**uh** sacrificing **uh** or **uh** .. *a*nimal. You know and_and **uh** give it to the poor people. <HI> Who's poor here? Everyone is eating too much meat. </HI>

2. So nobody need it. So that why we don't- also we we *stop* actually .. sacrificing **uh uh uh uh** .. anything. So just we send money: to the (1.202) poor .. places in this **uh** ..≅

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What followed demonstrated that Akilah's attempts to gain understanding from her fellow interlocutors had not been entirely successful. She repeated: "Actually, nobody needs anything here in Germany. All people they have enough." This was immediately followed by the rather heated exchange between Akilah and Deborah (see excerpt 5.32) in which use of fillers dropped drastically (see section 6.2.4), and one sees Deborah did not truly listen on Akilah's terms. Nevertheless, at this point in the dialogue, Akilah is thinking about the situation of family and friends still in Syria and, with the help of fillers, asking her fellow participants to do the same.

Fillers can be an attempt to enable comprehension about something meaningful to the speaker, as seen in this excerpt from the latter third of "End of Conversation." So far, this particular dialogue has been communicatively effective, then halted due to Frederick's overuse of final contour pauses (see excerpt 4.3) and rigid monolingualism (see section 5.2.5) in combination with a drop in fillers (see section 6.2.4), restarted but with a focus on the denotative value of certain words, and has reached this juncture where Frederick realizes he truly does not understand what Mehmet and the Muslim chaplains are trying to explain. Waseem now uses fillers (frequently as tag questions) in an attempt to facilitate comprehension about a topic that is important to him personally:

**Excerpt 6.4**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Frederick: | What- what I now understand, .. Islam: understood (1.172) as (1.335) **uh** .. having faith in God. (2.964) |
| 2. | Waseem: | having faith in God. But Islam .. also: as a religion, which you meant th-_the whole, that's what I **uh** understoo- **uh** what I **uh** believe .. (H) |
| 3. | | **uh** .. we-_for example it's_it's **uh**, .. we are to **uh** pray **huh?** for five times .. a day. ..That's not only praying and: doing this and .. okay, then you are: finished. |
| 4. | | No. it has .. it has a_a_a specific: goal. That is to .. **uh**: to give your soul **eh?,** <L2=DUTCH> *Ziel* </L2> .. to give your: soul some .. uh energy **eh**?, S-_Spirituality We pray, .. five times to ge- a d-_a day, to get .. spirituality. .. **Huh?**, |

As already seen in excerpt 5.18, Waseem's use of disfluency was only somewhat effective:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 5. | Frederick: | **Uh** (4.131) now I see .. when I talk about faith, I am not understood. |

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### 6.2.2 Elevated Repeat-and-Recast Phenomenon

Dialogues with above-average occurrences of repeat-and-recast phenomena centered to a greater extent on the public aspects of a person's faith practice or worldview. While still topics and experiences with a great deal of meaning for the speaker, these conversations focused on the communal aspect of the speaker's, or even the faith group's, religious practices. In this excerpt from the *Q&A* dialogue "Faith and Love," Mohamad Abdalla, a prominent imam and Muslim scholar, talks about the mistaken (in his understanding) notion that self-proclaimed martyrs will be given seventy-two virgins when they arrive in Paradise. (Note use of "well" as a discourse marker [see section 7.2.3] and "actually" as a stance marker [see section 7.2.1].) (Repeat-and-recast in **bold**):

**Excerpt 6.5**

1. Mohamad: **Yeah but th-_I mean** there is the Hadith doesn't .. **spe-_specify** seventy. There [are .. **many] Hadith. Well not seventy-two actually**. It doesn't. [$_2$There is] there are .. uh various traditions and that is a problem in **west-_western discourse**. Not looking at the context when we talk about Islam or Islamic issues.

Later in the same dialogue, Robina Courtin, a Catholic-born Buddhist nun, talks about the notion of marriage and fidelity in a Tibetan Buddhist context:

2. Robina: And the other point for for Buddhism, because there is no **concept-_you** know **th- of course** in-**_I_I kno-_I was taught as** a Catholic, that God made us all and **chri-_and and you need** to have sex within the sacrament of marriage.

One sees that, in contrast to the personal nature of earlier conversations, these conversations were more about the shared practices and collective doctrines of speakers' faith practices and philosophies, and the use of repeat-and-recast was more prevalent than the use of fillers. This can also be seen in a conversation between Paulette and Akilah about the different fasting practices in Islam and Christianity; (note Paulette's use of "you know," which can indicate a mutual relationship [see section 7.2.3] and "I guess" to soften her statement):

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**Excerpt 6.6**

1. Paulette: **i-_is not i- _you don't have**_to fast **in .. in** in Christianity. "**I mean .. and then** it's different with .. you know we've got *Cath*olics and: Orthodox and: Protestants. You know so they all might view it a little different **like I .. I guess** the **Catholics, I'm not Catholic** so um ..
2. Akilah: (H) But we don't say this for **the ki-_children**. "We say <HI> oh you still have the **time #with #the eat** </HI> you know **you have to eat**. And it's nearly seven o'clock

This conversation also demonstrates how repeat-and-recast phenomena (of both the speaker's and the other's utterance) function to create a relationship. In the following excerpt, Akilah and Paulette express their agreement that fasting is something that should be done in private:

3. Paulette: There's that element **that .. that yo-_you fast in private** too. [**That you don't you know the ..**
4. the scripture] says that you should dr- you should clean and dress and **no one should know you're fasting**.
5. Akilah: Hmm. (TSK) .. [$_1$This is]
6. Paulette: [$_1$So that would be] a difference [$_2$yeah.]
7. Akilah: [$_2$Fast-_fast]ing .. it's .. it's like this. Because **nobody can .. know if you are really fasting** or not.
8. Paulette: Right

The focus of the conversation in "Sacred and Holy" (see excerpt 4.4, section 5.2.1) was a clearer understanding of the concept of holiness in Islam and how it differs from Christianity. In this excerpt, John wants to confirm he understood Akilah correctly that the notion of "holy" should not be applied to the Qur'an as a book:

**Excerpt 6.7**

1. John: **Is that_is** that consistent with what you're saying about **uh well .. th_the text is_it** doesn't even say holy?,

This pattern of self-repetition continued between Akilah and Amir at breakfast the following morning. Note Akilah's addition of "the Christians" to make clearer this is not something Muslims say. (*Arabic*, translation):

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2. Akilah: **[$_1$But] but** when we talk: like this**, we .. we** don't say it **the, (1.602) in the Christians** they say <L2=ARABIC> *taqaddasa ismu uh uh taqaddasa ismu arabb* </L2> or so (the sacred name of God)

While this topic was clearly important to Akilah, it nevertheless centered on the differences in communal Islamic linguistic practices, rather than her own practice of singing her daily prayers or the plight of family and friends in Syria, and resulted in the higher use of repeat-and-recast strategies, rather than fillers.

Repeat-and-recast speech patterns were not substantially elevated in "Hospitality and Revulsion" (5.89 OPM as compared to the trajectory average of 5.26 OPM) but the rabbi's use of disfluency, in combination with her code-switching that was investigated in excerpt 5.12, illustrates the interactions between MLIs and a faith practice. Sarah's pattern of repetition, particularly of Hebrew, is typical of a learning strategy used in studying the Torah, as well as a means of emphasis in the Tanakh. (*Hebrew***, repeat-and-recast**):

**Excerpt 6.8**

1. Sarah: um <L2=HEBREW> ***tzedek. .. Tzedek tzedek*** *tirdof* </L2> **righteousness righteousness** you shall pursue. That there's a **righteousness** going on in the interaction. It's right .. right action .. on both sides.

2. It had to be .. selfless, altruistic. .. Um and then I learned that in Jewish tradition one of the the grea-_a great <L2=HEBREW> ***Mitzvah*** </L2> it it's the <L2=HEBREW> ***Mitzvot Mitzvah*** </L2> can be **commandment** but it's also a **good deed.** We ca-_we can use it literally as **commandment** but also **just a good deed** .. is to .. um .. is to (1.251) recei-_receive**:** the opportunity. (1.063)

### 6.2.3 Managing the Conversation Through Disfluency

Repetition can function on the interactional level to "simply manag[e] the business of a conversation," Tannen (1987, 583). This is important to understand when one sees not all effective dialogues have above-average use data for one disfluency indicator. In effective dialogues without elevated data in one category, however, both indicators demonstrate a propensity to be neutral or slightly below average. Further examination revealed that some effective dialogues with

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average disfluency phenomena[1] displayed characteristics more indicative of a teaching or mutual learning environment, rather than a conversation with differing viewpoints. This is not to say that speakers did not have differences or these were monologues, but rather that the focus was on information dissemination. This ordinary pattern of repeat-and-recast serves not only to tie parts of discourse to other parts but, more importantly, to tie participants to the discourse and to each other, linking individual speakers in a conversation (Tannen 1987, 584).

Using self-repairs to link parts of a discourse together can be seen in the following excerpt from a more academic, less contentious, segment of "*die schweigende Mehrheit*." Safiya, a Muslim professor at an American university, references her earlier presentation explaining why Muslim women living in the West who still cover might be gaining personal independence even if appearances indicate differently, e.g., they are wearing only a headscarf instead of a full burka or going out in public in a burka rather than never leaving the house. Note her rephrase in line 2 to move the focus from women's behavior—she had been criticizing the extreme focus on what only women do—to human behavior:

**Excerpt 6.9**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Safiya: | So I just want to give the example of when uh the Shah of Iran .. **mandated actually made it illegal for wo-_Iranian women** to wear the veil. (H) |
| 2. | | That we can't dictate **wom- uh behavior .. human behavior**. So I just leave it at that for now just as points for us to ponder. |

The rabbi's use of repetition serves to bring the individual speakers into the conversation in this excerpt from "*Tikkun Olam,*" which was toward the end of the group discussion and revolved around the dual responsibility for healing the world between God and man. Here, Eli emphasizes not only humanity's responsibility but his understanding that *tikkun olam* extends to the individual as well as the environment. (Note his use of "I think" as a stance marker but also how disfluency softens the statement):

**Excerpt 6.10**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Eli: | So .. one of these *is* saying I think **you've-_I've given you** a *beau*tiful world. Don't spoil it. |

1 "*Tikkun Olam*," "Cooperation and Conflict in Tanzania," and the Scriptural Reasoning dialogue

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2. | | And the other is saying, I've given you a world that needs work: on it. It needs improvement. .. **You know do it. *And* .. you also need improvement. You're not perfect. You also have to work on yourself**. |

The role disfluency plays in tying a discourse and the participants together is shown to be even more meaningful in multilingual conversations where speakers often do not share an L1 and misunderstandings might be expected (Mauranen 2006, 123). As noted in chapters 2 and 3, the expected prevalence of misunderstanding was largely absent from these dialogues for various reasons, particularly speakers' suspension of expectations regarding L1 language norms and a willingness to overlook non-standard utterances (Canagarajah 2007; Firth 1996). Studies also show that "proactive self-repairs" play a role in enabling understanding (Mauranen 2006; Seidlhofer 2004). Non-L1 speakers, anticipating difficulties in a lingua franca setting, work to proactively offset this by rephrasing and reformulating their utterances for maximum clarity before finishing their turn at talk (as seen in Elizabeth's reply in excerpt 6.1). Just prior to the following excerpt from the Polish parents' group, Antoni talked about how he struggled with what he saw as a contradictory notion of a god who is forgiving and good but then punishes someone forever. Not only does he frequently recast his own speech, but he also integrates the other-repair of a fellow interlocutor (Alicja) to better express his ideas on reincarnation. Note the frequent use of fillers, pauses (both short and long), and the discourse marker "you know" as a comprehension check:

**Excerpt 6.11**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Antoni: | But for me for instance, **the more (1.085) uh: the most** uh (1.466) |
| 2. | | say proper **wa-_way .. of uh .. punishment and so on** would be for instance eh .. Hindu idea of reincarnation that if you are bad you are |
| 3. | | demoted to the lower level, but finally if you are ultimately very good, then **you move you know [your- _uh .. you move** somewhere] |
| 4. | Alicja: | [to a higher kingdom #you #know. **You could be a cat**. @ @ @] |
| 5. | Antoni: | **that's uh .. that would be: .. more (1.952) not so_no_not so** cruel **to be to be to be a cat** you know |
| 6. | | I would accept **to be be # # it is true that I would be a .. a_a_a angry cat** you know sometime you know and uh .. **repent my .. repent my you know .. sins** uh |

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Mauranen (2006, 138) argues there is significantly more reformulation to prevent misunderstandings by L2 speakers in contrast to L1 speakers in the same conversation, but this data does not instantiate that. In a later portion of this same conversation, for example, Floyd (who is an L1 English speaker) uses similar patterns of repeat-and-recast mixed with fillers and hedges to be certain that in expressing his strongly held Christian beliefs he does not offend the rest of the group who he knows has different (or less strongly held) beliefs than his:

**Excerpt 6.12**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Floyd: | So:, for me from a Christian perspective that there is an afterlife, um .. and |
| 2. | | **for those,** like (Albert) was saying, **even at the last moment there is** .. um forgiveness there is uh grace or mercy for **those persons** um (1.368) and I'm not a perfect person so: I'm glad for that. **That there is** hope .. uh even at the end. Um: for me, .. it is uh through the faith in Jesus . |
| 3. | | um (1.368) and I'm not a perfect person so: I'm glad for that. **That there is** hope .. uh even at the end. Um: for me, .. it is uh through the faith in Jesus. |
| 4. | | and: because he talked about **everlasting life** .. um that we would have (1.118) **uh if we followed him, if we obeyed** him that there would **be everlasting life** |

Faith demonstrates similar disfluency patterns when posing her initial struggles with displaying hospitality in religious settings that differ from her own ("Hospitality and Repulsion"). The group was predominantly Christian but linguistically quite diverse and, as an L1 English speaker, she reformulates her ideas multiple times before yielding her turn at talk:

**Excerpt 6.13**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Faith: | So I guess I'm just opening **it up to .. like how** do you (1.001) **how have all of you** .. managed .. that kind of hospitality?, (1.487) |

After her fellow interlocutors asked her to clarify, she responds:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2. | | Are you hospitable .. **to (1.352) in your worshipping communities, your religious communities, your non-religious communities**, how do you *engage* with .. uh I'll call it **religious others? .. Other [traditions]** |

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### 6.2.4 Articulate but Ineffective

Tannen (1987, 584) argues that the various functions of repetition—either of the speaker's or of another's utterance—work to create an emotional experience of connectedness in a discourse. To this point, data regarding the use of fillers and repeat-and-recast phenomena (including of another's speech [see section 5.2.6.2]) in these conversations demonstrates that disfluencies *do* create a "metamessage of rapport" between interlocutors (ibid.). The reverse can be seen, however, in dialogues that became contentious or ineffective in mid-discussion. When an existing, effective dialogue started to become contentious without seeking understanding, speakers tended to resort to well-formed utterances and rigid turn-taking or well-formed utterances and obliterative overlap. Two clear examples are "End of Conversation" and "Who's Hungry?". Both of these dialogues demonstrate how changes in the co-occurrence of multiple MLIs change the context of the dialogue. The opening portion of "Who's Hungry?" began with the passionate, but congenial, discussion about the recent Islamic *Eid al-Adha* (see excerpt 6.3). As the conversation became contentious, use of fillers dropped noticeably from 6.11 OPM (above average) in the initial effective portion of the dialogue to 3.0 OPM (slightly below average) in the subsequent ineffective portion of the dialogue. Both speakers talked at length over one another and, at one point, Deborah said: "Don't, don't cut my words." This pattern of filler usage occurred in combination with a significant decrease in multilanguaging practices that resulted in rigid monolingualism (see section 5.2.5) and a substantial increase of timed final contour pauses (see section 4.2.2).

An almost identical pattern can be seen in "End of Conversation." The dialogue was initially marked by a willingness to hear and be heard, and to seek a better understanding of, if not agreement between, the Muslim and Christian perspectives on the meaning and role of a *Seelsorger*. Use of both disfluency phenomena, but particularly fillers, dropped as the dialogue became a monologue. During Frederick's short turn at talk, filler use dropped drastically from 6.34 OPM to 1.16 OPM and repeat-and-recast data dropped from 3.67 OPM to 0.76 OPM. Again, this was in co-occurrence with notable changes in the use of silence (increased use of timed pauses, a substantial decrease in the use of untimed interphrasal pauses), and a pattern of rigid monolingualism. As his monologue gradually gave way to another dialogue, use of fillers increased.

A similar pattern can be seen in a segment from "Castes and Monotheism." As already demonstrated, the overall dialogue outcome was equivocal; excerpts displayed diminished efficacy when speakers became less interested in hearing divergent viewpoints and more intent on "converting" other participants to their

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own way of thinking. This can be seen when Gordon and Alfred rather strongly explained their opposition to the caste system and demanded to know whether Raji supported it as part of his faith practice. Filler use dropped noticeably from a dialogue average of 3.46 OPM to 1.86 OPM. Similar, although not identical, changes in MLI patterns of use can be seen when compared with the altered co-occurrences of MLI in “Who’s Hungry?” and “End of Conversation”. Use of timed final contour pauses as a negative politeness/distancing strategy increased, as did multilanguaging practices that delineated, rather than welcomed, the differences between Hinduism and Christianity.

This analysis shows how filler use is more multidimensional than a speaker simply taking time to think, particularly among L2 speakers or in a difficult conversational setting. Fillers functioned as much to reflect cooperative behavior and create a mutual relationship in these dialogues as to gain cognitive processing time. Speakers, both L2 *and* L1, did use disfluency phenomena to gain cognitive processing time *but* to gain that time to enable coherence and comprehension as a way of reflecting respect and linguistic hospitality. In the three ineffective segments examined above, all seven participants are L2 English speakers and use of disfluency phenomena dropped drastically as the dialogues became increasing ineffective. Filler use in particular was average to low in all the ineffective dialogues or segments; even when the greater discussion was effective, filler use dropped in the ineffective segments, regardless of the linguistic competency of the speaker(s) in the target language. What this drop in disfluency indicates is that speakers were not as willing at these points in the conversation to be hospitable or accommodating but were more fixed on expressing only their opinions or beliefs. As these were topics about which speakers clearly had feelings and opinions, it was not necessary to use disfluency to gain cognitive processing time if one was more focused on expressing only that opinion and less focused on enabling comprehension or choosing one’s words to display hospitality.

## 6.3 An Emic Perspective on Function

The prevalence of disfluency phenomena, particularly recasting utterances, was noted in field notes from the beginning of the project. “Paralinguistic cues such as re-phrasing are very frequent” (unpublished, February 2014), especially in dialogues with multiple Muslim participants. From an emic perspective, the use of repeat-and-recast phenomena is “indispensable. Where I’m trying to understand better, it confirms or further attests the accuracy of the content” (John, interview). It becomes even more important, he continued, as a way to maintain a dialogue if there is disagreement between the interlocutors.

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John was the anomaly, however, in his *conscious* recognition of the use of disfluency phenomena to create an effective dialogue. One participant, a female German counselor, noted that “perhaps” she occasionally used fillers but it was not a conscious linguistic behavior. Most counselors in the professional trajectory instead acknowledged that although they frequently used repeat-and-recast in a counseling setting, they actively sought to avoid that type of linguistic behavior in an interreligious dialogue. “One of the things I learned from counseling is that is I repeat back to the speaker what I think I’ve heard” to see if I have it right (Eli, interview). What was telling, however, is that his answer contained repeat-and-recast of his own speech, rather than rephrasing the interviewer’s speech. It was also typical of his linguistic behavior in the recordings where his use of disfluency phenomena was notably higher than other participants in the same conversations. Amir (interview) added: “I do repeat myself in a different way, especially when I’m preaching. Like I would do a sentence in high Arabic and then I would say ‘that means ...’ in our daily life Arabic ‘this’” Like the others, he was less certain he would do it in an interreligious dialogue, and if he did, with caution, adding: “maybe not the same word but a different word that holds the same meaning.” This Arabic rhetorical device will be examined in more detail in chapter 7.

Other participants were not aware of using disfluency specifically, but they frequently articulated aspects of their conscious behavior in interreligious dialogues that could be exhibited linguistically through use of repeat-and-recast and fillers—choosing words with care, slowing down to enable understanding (both religiously and linguistically), demonstrating respect and a willingness to listen and learn. Ingrid (interview) noted that the more secure a relationship, the faster one tends to speak, adding: “*Darum dies Vorsicht. Um nicht das Gegenüber zu überrennen*” (That’s the reason for caution. That one does not overrun your fellow interlocutor.) Several participants noted deliberate attempts to slow down to enable understanding. Disfluency was frequently used unconsciously in co-occurrence with speakers’ more deliberate use of unfilled pauses to meet these objectives. Like most MLIs, this subconscious use of disfluency is a surface phenomenon that provides an observable indicator of a speaker’s deeply held beliefs and objectives (Aijmer 2013; Wuthnow 2011).

## 6.4 Conclusions: Effectively Disfluent

“It is always possible to say the same thing in another way,” Ricœur (2006, 25). In briefly expanding his underdeveloped notion that linguistic hospitality can serve as a model for “Eucharistic hospitality,” Ricœur reiterates that there exists no “perfect translation,” that even in the same community there is something

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"foreign in every other" (ibid: 24-25). This, however, is the reason that "we define, that we reformulate, that we explain, that we try to say *the same thing in another way*" (ibid., 25, emphasis in the original). In Tannen's words (1987, 601): "repetition is a resource by which conversationalists together create a discourse, a relationship, and a world."

Conversationalists in these dialogues found any number of ways to say the same thing and to make clear what was important to them; they used disfluency to reflect hospitality and create relationships. While the use of fillers and repeat-and-recast of one's own speech were not mutually exclusive, different patterns of use reflected different emphases. Conversations centering on existential and personally sensitive matters were marked by a slightly higher use of fillers, while dialogues about the more communal and public aspects of a faith practice or philosophy displayed a slightly higher use of repeat-and-recast phenomena. Disfluency phenomena in general worked to tie conversations and people together and to prevent misunderstanding in L2 conversations; average patterns of usage were often in settings where the dialogue was more educational than expressive or demonstrative.

Disfluency phenomena, when analyzed from an expansive perspective, demonstrate that patterns of interactions between more than one MLI do affect the outcome of a dialogue. Frequent disfluency, a high use of short interphrasal pauses and—most often—conspicuous multilanguaging work together to send a metamessage of rapport between communicators. In contrast, a decrease in the use of fillers (and to a lesser degree, self-repetition) combined with decreased multilanguaging practices and an increase in the use of final contour pauses function to index and create communicatively ineffective dialogues. As speakers became less hospitable—typically in settings where one person was seeking to "convert" the Other or was no longer seeking understanding at points of disagreement—they resorted to rigid monolingualism and precise, clipped utterances that were devoid of disfluency and interphrasal pauses. These co-occurring patterns of MLI use send a metamessage of distance and linguistic inhospitality, rather than one of understanding or openness.

From an etic perspective, the misunderstandings and ineffective dialogues one might expect from a lack of shared religious and linguistic backgrounds were not exhibited in this data set. Instead, multilingual and multifaith speakers employed self-repairs and fillers to ensure coherence and comprehension (Mauranen 2006, 140). Participants were concerned that shared meanings were achieved in ways that displayed respect and hospitality; to this end, they regulated and modified their own utterances by seeking and offering alternative expressions (ibid., 144). This displayed both a willingness to cooperate toward

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comprehension and an awareness of how precarious such understanding could be in a multilingual and multifaith setting (ibid, 140).

The interreligious dimension of these dialogues necessitated a more multifaceted analysis, though. Disfluency does gain cognitive processing time, and it created comprehension and cohesion in these multilingual conversations. But it is also necessary to consider speakers' motivation and perspective when investigating these conversations. As consistently articulated in interviews, participants viewed hospitality and respect as the two paramount objectives of their own conduct in an interreligious dialogue. To display that linguistically, they choose their words with extreme care. In these conversations, participants were seeking to speak with circumspection for the sake of the Other. They were searching for ways to articulate topics and experiences that were emotionally and existentially important to them as a person. Disfluency creates the necessary forward planning time to achieve these objectives. Repetition, whether of one's own speech or another's utterance, also helps create relationships; it is another metalinguistic means for dialogue participants to build rapport across their linguistic and religious differences.

The drop in use of disfluency phenomena when conversations became contentious and ineffective also supports the argument that elevated use of disfluency phenomena is indicative of deep interest or personal involvement rather than solely as a means to gain cognitive processing time. Particularly striking was the drop in the use of fillers when conversations between only L2 English speakers became ineffective. This suggests speakers no longer wanted to listen, to find a common ground, or to understand the Other, and disfluency thus became unnecessary as the speakers produced fluent utterances that clearly stated *their* point rather than disfluent utterances that displayed hospitality.

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# 7 Pragmatic Markers and Trajectories

> When you want to learn something, you don't take a book. You talk to someone.
>
> Monsieur Ibrahim

Pragmatic markers, like other metalinguistic indicators investigated in this study, represent "speakers' ways of signaling and providing information … about how language is being used at any point in the ongoing stream of talk" (Gumperz 1996, 366). Even more so than other MLIs, pragmatic markers can be used in a number of specialized ways that can only be explained with reference to the characteristic properties of the situation where they are found (Aijmer 2013, 6). In these dialogues, patterns of pragmatic marker use demonstrate the contextualizing and the contextualized dimensions of language (Jaworski et al. 2004, 5)

This chapter first investigates stance markers, hedges, and discourse markers, and then examines more closely the points at which the three trajectories diverge most markedly—use of back channeling, silence, and stance markers. The MFC, as noted in section 3.4, was somewhat of an outlier in the personal development trajectory and, at times, exhibited linguistic behaviors more analogous to the platform trajectory. During the transcription process, it became evident that patterns of pragmatic marker use in the MFC dialogue were disparate enough to be skewing the results for the personal trajectory. MFC pragmatic marker data will therefore be considered as a separate trajectory.

## 7.1 Pragmatic Markers: Linguistic Essential Elements

The decision to include pragmatic markers in this study was made during the ethnographic phase when speakers were observed using their own L1 discourse markers and back channeling resources in the target language of the dialogue. The goal was to determine whether a specific category of pragmatic markers—hedges, for example—had a discernable impact on the conduct of an interreligious dialogue, regardless of the linguistic code of the marker. The expectation was that markers that attempt to soften speakers' positions or indicate their stance, for example, would have more impact in these dialogues, given the often sensitive or ardent nature of the discussions. "When we communicate we do not use language simply to convey a message. We use certain linguistic elements metalinguistically to refer" to the utterance or to point to phenomena outside the utterance (Aijmer et al. 2006, 105). Moreover, as "pragmatic markers are linguistic essential elements in the communicative process" (Romero-Trillo

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2013, 6), it was necessary to include them in an investigation of linguistic hybridity theories to determine the broader range of semiotic resources multilingual speakers were using in this multifaith setting.

What analysis indicates, however, is that correlations between broad categories of pragmatic marker usage and the efficacy of a dialogue are ambiguous. Pragmatic markers are protean, and the roles and functions they assumed in these conversations varied more acutely by trajectory and speaker than did other MLIs. The choice of form within a category of pragmatic marker was also influenced by faith practice and trajectory. This reinforces the supposition that investigating metalinguistic indicators that can also be lexical or grammatical elements requires an awareness of "fine-tuned distinctions that are not readily observable without particular analysis" (Kecskes 2014, 222; also Levinson 2003).

Pragmatic markers are universal discourse-level phenomena (Mauranen 2006, 126; Aijmer et al. 2006, 103), but their use in multilingual or lingua franca conversations is under researched (Mauranen 2006, 126; Seidlhofer 2004, 217). The research that does exist is either cross-linguistic comparative research (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2003; Fernandez-Villanueva 2007; Cuenca 2008) or research on the use of pragmatic markers by L2 learners (Müller 2004; Romero-Trillo 2002) and from a functional standpoint, most studies focus on intra-linguistic differences (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011, 234). Little to no research exists on the use of multilingual pragmatic markers in one setting to determine how their use influences a dialogue.

In seeking to address this research deficit, it was important to consider the multifunctionality of pragmatic markers. The same form can have multiple functions, e.g., "okay" can be used as a discourse marker to organize ongoing dialogue or adverbially to indicate stance. Speakers tacitly use elements that "are semantically vague enough to allow for multiple purposes" (Aijmer et al. 2006, 104). At the same time, certain functions can be realized through several forms (Romero-Trillo 2013, 4; Aijmer 2013, 8–9); "perhaps," "possibly," and "maybe" can all function as hedges, for example. This is particularly relevant to these types of multilingual interreligious conversations where the universal features of face-to-face interactions—politeness, hedging, back channeling—can be enacted in a L2 target language with a variety of forms from either the L2 or various L1s, depending on the collective linguistic resources of the dialogue participants. As Kecskes (2014, 5) points out, "I can be polite both in English and Russian, but the linguistic means each language allows me to use differ to a great extent." Moreover, pragmatic markers can have a nearly limitless array of functions (Romero-Trillo 2001:532; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011, 229) while overlapping with other markers in some of their meanings and still have

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little in common formally (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011, 229). "Many elements which have been categorized as belonging to other word classes can be categorized as pragmatic markers when they are not part of the propositional content" (ibid.).

This wide multifunctionality does not indicate incoherence or conversational chaos, however. On the contrary, pragmatic markers are necessary to *achieve* coherence by "indexically pointing to and integrating these domains or meanings in discourse" (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011, 229). Romero-Trillo (2013, 3) calls them a necessary "skeleton," the elements that "fill the discourse slots that spoken language needs to scaffold the cognitive net of interaction." However, this multifunctionality in combination with the multilingual nature of these dialogues meant the research focus had to be on language in use rather than on pragmatic competence (Aijmer 2013, 8–9), particularly since violations of pragmatic norms in the target language rarely lead to loss of intelligibility in multilingual conversations (Seidlhofer 2004, 217).

To do justice to the multifunctionality and multilinguality of pragmatic markers in this data set, I used concepts rather uncritically and worked with an expansive notion of what constitutes stance, discourse markers, hedges, and back channeling; I "cast the net wide" when annotating the individual pragmatic markers[1] in order to ascertain all possible means speakers were using to enact that pragmatic function (Kaltenböck et al. 2010, 3), particularly since a single form "often fulfills in certain of its uses a function on the propositional level and in other uses a function on the non-propositional level" (Aijmer et al. 2006, 102). Some forms were rather easy to classify (distinguishing between "well" as a discourse marker as opposed to a manner adverb), while others were less clear-cut. One of the most challenging forms, for example, given the professional or platform context of many dialogues, was "I think." Did the speaker use the form as a stance marker ("this is my professional, educated opinion"), as a hedge ("this is *only my* opinion," implying that others might easily hold a different opinion), or as a mental process verb?

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**1** As noted in section 3.2.2.3, this analysis uses *pragmatic marker* as the superordinate term and then sub-classifies markers on the "basis of more detailed functional distinctions" (Aijmer et al. 2006, 102).

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## 7.2 Forms, Functions, and Faith

Pragmatic marker forms and their patterns of use varied substantially by trajectory (something that will be explored in greater detail in section 7.3). Multiple scholars, beginning with Schiffrin (1987), have observed that the use and function of pragmatic markers varies depending on the social setting and the purpose and attitude of those in the interaction, particularly when studied at the discourse level (Aijmer 2013; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011; Romero-Trillo 2013; Pichler 2010; Kecskes 2014). Researchers need to consider "inferential schemata … tied to (derived from, if one likes) the structural properties of the activities in question" (Levinson 1979, 371), i.e., interreligious dialogues as a genre. The use of pragmatic markers also varied *within* trajectories, most significantly in the personal trajectory which was linguistically more homogenous but exhibited a much greater diversity of purpose and objectives for meeting than the other two trajectories. The Scriptural Reasoning group, for example, was the most articulate in its goals and purposes. Participants are given some "ground rules" before joining the group and the most important is that "we try to encourage people to speak from 'I'—'I think,' 'I feel.' It's kind of a disclaimer that I'm not talking for my entire faith tradition" (Asygül, interview). "I'm conscious of making sure I speak for myself, so that when I say something, I'm not ascribing something to my tradition" (Fiona, group interview). The results of this approach are that usage data for all three pragmatic markers is elevated in the Scriptural Reasoning dialogue. The pragmatic marker data for the Polish parents' group, on the other hand, is average to low in all three categories, reflecting the restrained and direct nature of that discussion. My hypothesis was that while this group is well acquainted, they normally talk informally at school or while biking together rather than in a more structured dialogue setting, which was confirmed by one of the participants. "I would say they [the other participants] would have called it an academic setting" (Floyd, interview).

In what follows, I examine stance markers, hedges, and discourse markers individually (back channeling will be discussed in section 7.3.1) and show that occurrences per minute (OPM) serve as a useful analytical starting point but are incomplete in their ability to explain how these individual markers are indexing and creating the outcome of a dialogue. To gain a more in-depth understanding of the contextualizing functions of these MLIs, one also needs to investigate how the frequency and forms of pragmatic marker usage were determined by the dialogue trajectory and by speakers' roles in and attitudes toward the dialogue.

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### 7.2.1 Stance Markers

Professional—1.65 OPM
Personal (without MFC)—1.39 OPM
MFC—2.75 OPM
Platform events—3.16 OPM
Overall—1.77 OPM

Stance marker data are the most divergent within the pragmatic marker MLI. The use of stance markers varied by faith practice; it was significantly higher in platform events, and the use of specific forms varied by trajectory. Stance markers are words or phrases that do not change the propositional content of an utterance but express the speaker's attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment to the utterance (Carter and McCarthy 2006, 222; Biber and Finegan 1989, 93). Gray and Biber (2015, 224) further divide stance into epistemic stance, which "expresses certainty, doubt, actuality, precision or limitation, and the source of knowledge," and attitudinal stance, which "expresses attitudes, evaluations, and personal feelings or emotions."

Jewish and Muslim participants in these dialogues displayed a higher use of stance markers overall than did adherents of other faith practices, and examples of this can be seen across all three trajectories. The two clearest examples in the professional trajectory are dialogues in which Jewish rabbis were leading discussions at caregivers' conferences. In "Hospitality and Repulsion" (see excerpts 4.1, 5.12), Sarah's use of stance markers was 2.21 OPM, whereas for the remaining participants it was .88 OPM; the overall dialogue average was 1.21 OPM. Eli's use of stance markers while discussing *tikkun olam* and caring for the environment (see excerpt 5.11) was 2.5 OPM compared to .78 OPM for the other participants; the overall dialogue average was 1.77 OPM. Similar results can be seen in data from the personal development trajectory; Abigail's use of stance markers when discussing the Jewish perspective on the afterlife was 1.60 OPM, in contrast to .65 OPM for the others (overall use was 1.05 OPM). In the Scriptural Reasoning dialogue, the two Muslim participants used fifteen of the sixteen stance markers. Asygül's average was 2.46 OPM while Fahd's was 5.69 OPM; the group average then dropped to .42 OPM. While other examples are not as stark, Muslim and Jewish participants consistently exhibited above-average use of stance markers.

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The one platform dialogue that included participants from these two faith practices—an imam and a Jewish atheist singer[2]—exhibited the same analytical trends. Mohammad's use of stance markers was slightly elevated (3.02 OPM) when compared with the group average of 2.98 OPM, but Deborah's was markedly higher—5.22 OPM. Notably, Mohammad's stance markers frequently doubled as back-channeling tokens (see section 7.3.1).

Judaism is a faith tradition that values opponents in a dialogue, "like great rabbis who disagree" (Eli, interview). In follow-up interviews with Jewish participants, they all agreed that Judaism respects—and expects—dialogue partners who take a position, which can be seen linguistically in the elevated use of stance markers by Jewish participants in this data set. "The very fact of having an opponent in that way is valued, is seen as sharpening the mind, getting closer to what the truth might be" (Eli, interview). It can be viewed as each participant "bringing their full energy to the dialogue by genuinely sharing strong opinions. Bringing their disagreements is almost like honoring the dialogue. And if they were just to be neutral that's seen as a waste of time almost" (Rebekah, interview). She added that she and other Jewish colleagues once participated in *lectio divina*, a Benedictine practice that incorporates and values silence when reading the Christian Bible. "It was very disturbing to us. That idea that you would be silent in the face of this text and you wouldn't talk about it and give your views."

The use of specific forms of stance markers was also higher among Muslim and Jewish speakers, a fact first observed in Akilah's frequent use of "actually, they're wrong!" when discussing her disagreement with extremists' interpretations of the Qur'an. A corpus search revealed that 72 percent of the occurrences of "actually" in the personal development trajectory recordings were by Muslim or Jewish speakers but they comprised only 36 percent of the participants. In the professional trajectory, 57 percent of the utterances containing "actually" were made by Jewish or Muslim speakers but they comprised only 15 percent of the participants. The use of "definitely" was even more limited; all but two utterances were by Muslim speakers. Interestingly, the remaining two occurrences were by an L1 Arabic-speaking Christian. This kind of presentation is central to Arabic rhetorical argumentation, according to a study of Arabic-Islamic rhetorical strategies by Barbara Johnstone Koch (1983). She notes that attempts to "prove" a truth using Western styles of logic presupposes an admission that there is doubt or that doubt is possible (ibid., 53–54). But in certain cases in Arabic-Islamic society, particularly in theological exchanges, she argues there is

**2** She explained that she is an American cultural Jew rather than a practicing Jew.

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no possibility for doubt "or truths are not matters for individual decision" (ibid, 55), and so the speaker simply presents the truth and then re-presents it in a different manner. "The arguer presents his truths by making them present in the discourse … calling attention to them with external particles" (ibid.). Argumentation is structured by the notion that it is the presentation of an idea and the linguistic forms used to describe it that are persuasive (ibid., 56), resulting—in these particular dialogues—in an elevated use of specific epistemic stance markers by Muslim and Arabic speakers. This was corroborated in an interview with Amir, who said:

> But Arabic itself (is) different.... You know, like in English, it is wrong to say two words of the same meaning in one sentence. In Arabic, it's not. There's a word for it in grammar which says 'this is for *tawkid,'* assurance."

Speakers' choice of form was also indicative of the trajectory. Performativity is a defining characteristic of the platform events; interlocutors have a public identity that is enacted as they speak. In contrast, people speaking for themselves about themselves and often to friends define the personal trajectory. Thus, words like "absolutely" and "necessarily"—epistemic stance markers displaying precision and certainty—appeared predominantly or entirely in platform events while attitudinal stance markers that can soften a statement by displaying personal feelings, e.g., "even," appeared more frequently in the professional and personal trajectories. Personal development dialogues contained the fewest stance markers and the most conciliatory forms. Speakers seemed less willing to express an absolute opinion when others might hold a different opinion about the same topic, given the intimate nature of these groups (three to six participants) and the friendships that developed. As Floyd explained (interview), "If all you have is an argumentative, conflictive relationship, you're not going to have a very deep relationship."

**Table 7.1:** Stance markers

| Stance Marker | Professional | Personal | Platform | MFC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| absolutely | 1.98 per 10K | 2.37 per 10K[3] | 12.52 per 10K | 0 |
| necessarily | 0 | 0 | 6.26 per 10k | 0 |
| even | 15.28 per 10k | 12.65 per 110k | 6.26 per 10k | 10.45 per 10K |

3 All uses of "absolutely" in the personal trajectory were by Muslim speakers.

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"I think" is the most illustrative of how the same form has multiple functions, depending on the setting. It had the lowest usage in the personal development trajectory, and every occurrence functioned as a hedge. It had the highest occurrence in the platform group where it functioned almost entirely as a stance marker. "I think" in the professional trajectory, where speakers' focus is on hospitality and openness but where they also participate in their professional capacities, acted as *both* a hedge and a stance marker. However, when it functioned as a stance marker, it typically was in combination with linguistic behaviors that indicated the speaker's willingness to hear what the Other thought too, as in this example where the rabbi is speaking as an "expert" on whether humankind or God is responsible for *tikkun olam* in the world. Note that "I think" is embedded between a filler and a repeat-and-recast of his own speech, followed by a hedge ("just"), a short unfilled pause, and a softening from "most" commentaries to "many commentaries," all of which are markers or forms indicating hospitality:

**Excerpt 7.1**

1. Eli: But ah: **I think**- it feels universal. [$_1$"It's just is that] because [$_2$.. most-_] many commentaries on Genesis are dealing with Adam and Eve,

This fluctuation between a speaker's professional capacity and a desire to exhibit hospitality—between a stance marker and a hedge—can also be seen in this excerpt from "*die Schweigende Mehrheit*." Judi is a British tutor in theology and was one of the panelists for the presentation that preceded this question-and-answer session. Another theology professor, Christiane, has just sharply questioned Judi's interpretation of a biblical passage in light of the refugee situation in Europe; (both professors research at the intersection of migration and theology). Judi, who defends her position, still wants to be hospitable and open, and she displays this by starting with "I think" in a professional, professor mode but then softens it with other hedges and a more personal "I think." (**stance markers**, *hedges*):

**Excerpt 7.2**

1. Judi: **I think** there's always a danger uh and if I'd had more time I'd have gone into the hermeneutics a bit more of .. applying any text to the current context so *I don't think* that's at least that's not what I was hoping to do and **I think** you're absolutely right to point out that the minority majority power non-power dynamics are different.

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2. *I think:* that for me .. it's very helpful to try and mine these texts or insights even though we can't apply them exactly. So yes **I don't think** it's an exact mirror, but **I think** human dynamics: are perennial

The MFC dialogue was something of an outlier, as noted earlier, with analytical results that fit patterns from all three trajectories, depending on the MLI. At the outset of the dialogue, the speaker repeatedly said she wanted a participatory discussion, which never occurred. Corpus-assisted analysis showed that her use of certain epistemic stance markers was closest to the patterns observed in the platform event dialogues. "Certainly" and "in fact" both had relative frequencies of over 20 per 10K in the MFC dialogue; the next nearest trajectory for both stance markers is the platform trajectory, but the relative frequency in both instances was less than 7 per 10K. "I think" was used exclusively as a stance marker in the MFC dialogue and the relative frequency of "actually" was quite high in comparison with the other three trajectories. Contrariwise, the use of attitudinal stance markers—which might have eased the strident tone of the epistemic markers enough to allow a dialogue—was noticeably lower than in other trajectories. Analyzing the particular stance forms the speaker used (or did not use) in conjunction with her overuse of "um" (see section 4.2.1) and underuse of back channeling (see section 7.3.1) helps demonstrate how a monologue, rather than a dialogue, ensued.

### 7.2.2 Hedges

Professional—1.56 OPM
Personal (without MFC)—1.76 OPM
MFC—1.45 OPM
Platform events—1.95 OPM (adjusted: 1.30 OPM)
Overall—1.67 OPM

Hedges are expressions speakers use to avoid sounding too blunt or assertive (Carter and McCarthy 2006) and, like all other pragmatic markers, do not "fall within a single syntactic form" (Fraser 2010, 203). Fraser goes on to argue that "it seems best to treat them as an inventory of devices by which the speaker can qualify or attenuate commitment to either the meaning or the force of an utterance" (ibid.), that is, hedging the speaker's commitment to either the content of the statement or the force with which the utterance is made. Like stance markers, the specific forms used to hedge speakers' statements differed significantly

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by trajectory, demonstrating that their use is “shaped to a large extent by the expectations and requirements of a particular discourse community” (Kaltenböck et al. 2010, 3).

One example is the use of “for me,” which was substantially higher in the professional group—14.29 relative frequency per 10K as opposed to 6.3 per 10K in the personal trajectory or 6.2 per 10K in the platform trajectory. In follow-up interviews with the counselors and consultants, many of them acknowledged that they occasionally (usually unwittingly) used their professional linguistic practices in these dialogues to demonstrate their willingness to hear the speaker on the speaker’s, rather than the hearer’s, terms. “For me” is a linguistic means to demonstrate that the speaker is approaching the conversation with an open-mindedness that recognizes theirs is only one of multiple viewpoints and a receptiveness to hear other beliefs. Caution and respect were mentioned frequently, particularly by professional participants, and most observations were similar to Fiona’s description of her deliberate efforts to avoid speaking for all of Christianity: “I say … this is my view of how Christians think about this. So being careful not to wield a kind of party line” (Scriptural Reasoning group interview).

Frequent hedging did occur in the Scriptural Reasoning dialogue, used by participants who were quite deliberate about speaking only for themselves. Another participant noted in the group interview that while she was not necessarily conscious of choosing words that functioned as hedges, she was conscious of trying to show respect. “But maybe I do, without realizing it, in this kind of environment.” Other studies show that: “[s]peakers tend to use hedges rather unconsciously” (Kaltenböck et al. 2010, 10), something further confirmed by ethnographic observation and follow-up interviews; speakers in these dialogues were typically unaware of how or when they hedged their statements. Yet pragmatic markers are “surface phenomena” that, on a deeper level, “mirror” the speaker’s mental processes (Aijmer 2013, 4); speakers’ conscious desire to demonstrate respect is displayed linguistically through the unconscious use of hedges.

Participants in platform events are chosen for their expertise or prominence in a particular area, a fact that was reflected in their limited use of hedges that indicate uncertainty or lack of knowledge. “I guess” was used infrequently and then only in personal and professional dialogues. “I don’t know” had a relative frequency of 22.13 per 10K in the personal development dialogues but was used as a hedge only twice in the platform event dialogues. Because speakers in the other two trajectories were participating largely because they wanted to learn more about different faith traditions, they were able to hear what the Other had to say by admitting an ”unknowingness” that speakers in platform events could

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not do. Professional and personal participants were also able to share their own perspectives from a less strident position. The use of "some" to soften a speaker's opinion, for example, was almost non-existent in the platform event data (only four occurrences), while it appeared frequently in the personal development data (37.17 per 10K) and somewhat less frequently in the professional trajectory data (17.25 per 10K). "Some" did appear in the MFC dialogue but almost entirely as a determiner meaning "certain" or "particular," e.g., "some strands of Christianity." Once again, rather than softening a statement, this use makes an utterance sharper and more exact. In contrast, this excerpt from the Polish parents' group shows how "some" cushions the conversation about the afterlife:

**Excerpt 7.3**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Alicja: | in the end there were **some** big meadow with flowers and **some** good energy like but |
| 2. | | um yeah people yeah go to **some** sort of afterlife |

"Just" is another form that reflects the mutually constitutive nature of pragmatic markers and trajectories. In this excerpt from the Scriptural Reasoning group, it functions as a hedge (and is preceded by the use of "I don't know" as a hedge):

**Excerpt 7.4**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Asygül | I don't know. I was **just** (1.046) I was **just** throwing out what I was thinking out there. |

While it occurs as an adverbial stance marker in this *Q&A* excerpt:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2. | Krauss: | So it's not as if I need that: God: to come to that conclusion. God is **just** redundant. [$_3$It's not necessary.] |

"Just" functioned almost entirely as a hedge in the personal trajectory but functioned as either a hedge or an adverbial stance marker in both the platform and professional trajectories. In the platform dialogues, use was evenly divided between the two sub-categories while a higher percentage of the occurrences in the professional trajectory were hedges.

Hedges, like stance markers, thus demonstrate that the professional trajectory is occasionally a middle ground between the personal and platform trajectories. Interlocutors do participate fundamentally for personal growth, but the fact that these are professional conferences with certain expectations and requirements can be seen in speakers' use of hedges. "I don't know" and "some"

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were used much less frequently in the professional dialogues than in personal development dialogues but still with a noticeably higher frequency than in the platform events. Data for "maybe" also demonstrates this amalgamation of participants' professional and personal identities. While "some" was used more frequently in the personal trajectory, "maybe" had a somewhat higher rate of usage in the professional trajectory; it was nearly non-existent in the *Q&A* dialogues and there were only two occurrences (neither by the presenter) in the MFC data. Although both words indicate uncertainty and lack of specificity, "maybe" indicates there still exists a possibility or probability; "some," on the other hand, is much more informal and implies a higher degree of ambiguity. A participant in a professional setting, while still seeking to soften their utterance, is likely to be more willing to commit to a proposition than is a participant in personal development dialogues. Participants in the platform events, on the other hand, appeared unwilling to indicate any degree of uncertainty.

**Table 7.2:** Hedges

| Hedge | Professional | Personal | Platform | MFC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I don't know | 11.83 per 10K | 22.13 per 10K | NS | 0 |
| some | 17.25 per 10K | 37.15 per 10K | NS | NS |
| maybe | 11.82 per 10K | 9.48 per 10K | NS | NS |

While forms clearly varied across trajectories, initial analyses showed that the overall use of hedges was fairly consistent across trajectories; this was inconsistent, however, with transcriptions of the platform event dialogues. Upon further examination, it became clear that most hedges in the platform events were used by the moderator to manage the "performance" of the debate, rather than by the participants to soften their stance in conversations with one another. When the moderator's hedge data was removed from the overall data analysis, the use of hedges in the platform events dropped from 1.95 to 1.30 OPM, and in the more contentious of the two dialogues, it dropped to .87 OPM. This again reflects the essence of a platform event, which is comprised of speakers who are expected to perform and index expertise and competence rather than diffidence or deference.

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### 7.2.3 Discourse Markers

Professional—4.21 OPM
Personal (without MFC)—5.48 OPM
MFC—5.33 OPM
Platform events—5.40 OPM
Overall—4.78 OPM

Discourse markers are words and phrases that function to link segments of the discourse to one another in ways that reflect choices of monitoring, organization, and management exercised by the speaker. They connect adjacent units of information to signal contrast, consequence, or time/logical transition, and they enable the speaker to exercise control in the discourse (Carter and McCarthy 2006, 208–209; Romero-Trillo 2013, 2). But not all discourse markers are created equal. Researchers interested in discursive practices have found that *how* different matters get launched in conversation relates to the kind of relationship being constructed through talk (Bolden 2009; 2006). In analyzing over eighty hours of naturally occurring casual American English interactions, Galina Bolden (2006, 662) notes that some "minute and, at first glance, inconsequential details" of discursive practices can underscore a speaker's concern for their conversational partners more than others.

The validity of Bolden's findings could be seen in the use of "well" and "so" in these dialogues. Multiple research findings purport that "well" is one of the most frequently used discourse markers in conversational English, but this was inconsistent with early data transcription, which showed speakers in the professional and personal trajectories frequently organized their discourses with "so." Subsequent transcription of platform event data, however, exhibited an overuse of "well" by speakers. When the relative frequencies of the two discourse markers were analyzed in the corpus, "so" had a much higher relative frequency in both the personal development and professional dialogues while "well" displayed a higher relative frequency in the platform data.

**Table 7.3:** Discourse markers

| Discourse Marker | Professional | Personal | Platform | MFC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| so | 119.76 per 10k | 139.11 per 10k | 76.68 per 10k | 146.29 per 10k |
| well | 20.21 per 10k | 32.41 per 10k | 59.47 per 10k | 20.90 per 10k |

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While both forms function to organize the discourse, they do so in entirely different manners. Observation showed that "so" implied the speaker not only understood but also empathized with the previous utterances and information and was more willing to become personally involved. "Well," while implying the speaker may have understood the previous utterances and information, also indicated distance and either an unwillingness to become engaged with the topic or a desire to change the topic or take control of the conversation. Interviews revealed much the same perspective. "'Well' … sounds more like a contradiction, like 'I want to contradict you.' 'So'—I think it's a consequence, in terms of that is why" (Abigail, interview).

Bolden reaches much the same conclusion. She finds the use of "so" indicates *other-attentiveness* (2009, 996). Use of "so" is an "important discursive practice for bridging discrete encounters in an ongoing construction of a social relationship" (2006, 682). It is a method of building and maintaining social solidarity and a resource for "accomplishing understanding" (2006, 682; 2009, 974). "Well," in prefacing utterances that launch new conversational issues, projects a response that is in some way problematic (Bolden 2015, 415). "Well" can project disagreement or disappointment, express authority and power, or signify a dispreferred response (Bolden 2015, 415; Aijmer 2013, 15), demonstrating that not only do discourse markers demarcate discourse connections, but they also have the potential to index social relationships (Bolden 2006, 662). Using a discourse sample between a professor and a student, for example, Carter and McCarthy (2006, 212–213) show how the professor uses "well" to structure and control the discourse in a way that indicates the uneven power relationship between the two.

One sees in this data that the communicative effect was entirely different based on which form was used. "So" created a heightened perception of linguistic hospitality; speakers' reactions and subsequent utterances indicated that they had been heard and wanted to cooperate. The following excerpt from "Cooperation and Conflict in Tanzania" shows how "so" structures an ongoing conversation about interfaith relations in Tanzania which then leads to a discussion about *halal* butchering practices in Tanzania, South Africa, and the Netherlands. Fumo and Layla explained that peaceful relations between Christians and Muslims in Tanzania existed until a few months before this conversation, intermarriage was not uncommon, and the custom was to allow Muslims to butcher all the meat so that everyone could buy it, particularly women in mixed-faith marriages. In the months leading up to this conference and dialogue, however, trouble had been fomented between the two faith groups. (Note the concurrent use of "you know" as a discourse marker):

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**Excerpt 7.5**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Fumo: | **So** they were using .. Tanzanians themselves. But most of those Tanzanians who are caught, they are Muslims. They are not Christians. |
| 2. | | Muslims, young men, .. were were being .. taken out of the country and: being bribed .. trained. And they were sent back. .. |
| 3. | | To burn the m:_mosques and attack the the uh #leaders. You know?, |

Here Lawrence begins discussing how meat is butchered in South Africa, followed by two back-channeling tokens:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4. | Lawrence: | Because in South Africa it's: not like in Tanzania where .. it is only Muslims that are slaughtering. |
| 5. | Fumo: | [okay] |
| 6. | Gordon: | [okay] |
| 7. | Lawrence: | **So** following that (1.001) the: Muslims have their own um .. uh (1.335) butcherists where they buy meat. They don't buy meat everywhere. |
| 8. | Fumo: | Um. Okay |
| 9. | Lawrence: | And then they have their council that regulates the type of *food* (1.151) that they can eat. And there is a label that they are using (1.051) in the country. |
| 10. | | **So** this- "I'm just emphasizing the issue of slaughtering that .. for Muslims in this- it is like that all .. in all countries .. where they they've got specifications in terms of slaughtering. |

Zuez then talks about his challenges as a Muslim chaplain in the Dutch Army:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 11. | Suez: | And uh **so** this uh uh uh they must .. uh uh slaught_special slaughter uh uh uh house .. and (1.801) yeah. .. Without [this,] I cannot buy from anywhere meat about to eat. |

This is followed by several back-channeling tokens before Layla speaks:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 12. | Layla: | You- you know in our country, .. as I said we have mixed .. marriages. Eh interreligious marriages. **So:** .. if we say yo-_you have this shop for Muslims and this shop for: .. Christians uh meat (H) |

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 13. | | it's a problem because: the wife is a .. Muslim the husband is a .. Christian. The children who they are is mixed. "**So**: .. they have to go to buy meat and: someone will cook. |
| 14. | | **So** that's: why .. @ we decided okay the Muslim can .. slaughter .. **so** that: everyone can buy. |

This give-and-take shows how the use of “so” to manage an interaction, in conjunction with the frequent use of interphrasal pauses and disfluency phenomena, can construct a positive social relationship and achieve understanding.

In contrast, dialogues marked by a high use of “well” tended to be less communicatively effective or marked by an overall perception of distance and detachment rather than hospitality. At times, “well” prefaced extremely contentious verbal exchanges, as demonstrated in this *Q&A* excerpt between Amanda Vanstone (one-time liberal senator to the Australian parliament and cabinet member in the Howard government) and Lawrence Krauss (theoretical physicist and outspoken atheist). Amanda has just finished saying that while she thinks churches “have let us down,” she still sees a place for religion. Note Lawrence’s latching as she barely finishes speaking in line 3, and the two instances of obliterative overlap between lines 4–6:

**Excerpt 7.6**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Amanda: | Yeah. **Well:** .. |
| 2. | | Uh I don't have the same confidence in reason .. a-_and rational. |
| 3. | | and I don't think history shows that men, left to their own devices, .. always do good things. So the churches, .. in my mind, have had a role to play .. in guiding people as to what .. is a moral and good life to lead, but - .. they haven't always done it themselves≅ |
| 4. | Krauss: | ≅**Well** they don't [$_1$**have the same world&]** |
| 5. | Amanda: | **[$_1$And .. and .. it-]** no they don't. But do we not all have to be the same? We **[$_2$don't all have to be the same.]** |
| 6. | Krauss: | **[$_2$Well, then why is it any different than]** reason? |
| 7. | Amanda | Uh .. **well** I think I think reason is not to be trusted but the churches haven't- you've got a point. |

The use of “well” is also frequently an attempt to wrest control of the conversation away from another interlocutor, as in this *Q&A* dialogue excerpt between Josh Thomas (a gay comedian) and Mark Coleridge (the Archbishop of Brisbane) about the Catholic church’s views on homosexuality:

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**Excerpt 7.7**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Josh: | I just: think .. the: churches really overhype what the texts say about homosexuals. There is not that many: texts. There is [about five, I think? They are all quite] weird. Um .. |
| 2. | Mark: | [No. No. .. Yeah. Yeah.] |
| 3. | | [**Well** hang on. It depends] how you read them. |

In contrast, when "well" does appear in the professional trajectory, it is used to indicate disagreement with the proceeding statement (similar to the platform trajectory) but then is typically combined with one or more other MLIs to indicate openness or hospitality, as demonstrated in the following excerpt from "Humanism and Chaplaincy":

**Excerpt 7.8**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Jan: | **Well** (1.785) I think it's true that in practice (1.485) hospitals, the army etcetera (1.918) #prisons .. uh, |

Throughout this particular dialogue, participants discussed the very real differences between consultants and counselors who believe in God, as a supreme being, and those who believe in no deity at all. Jan, as an ethical humanist, holds drastically different beliefs on some points than his three fellow interlocutors, who are all Christian, but the conversation was remarkably open, and all four participants looked for points of overlap in their differences. In this segment, Jan begins with "well," as he disagrees with a previous statement by Elizabeth, but immediately follows with a hedge ("I think"), an interphrasal pause, and a filler ("uh"). Jan continues to talk—the next five utterances are interspersed with back channeling and overlap—before he finally expresses disagreement (again interspersed with three interphrasal pauses and the use of "some" as a hedge):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2. | | but I I think to some .. at some point, at some level .. **we: .. don't agree.** |

"You know," used as a discourse marker, functions much like "so" as an indication of cooperation and intimacy. "You know" projects the assumption that knowledge is shared or that assertions are uncontroversial, and it reinforces or enhances common points of reference; as an addressee-centered marker, it is used more frequently in interactions between friends and can signal that the speaker is "sensitive to the needs of their listeners" (Carter and McCarthy 2006, 221; also Jucker and Smith 1998). "Tag questions [often 'you know'] are indica-

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tive of how well they know each other" (unpublished field notes, February 2014), Given these functions, it is unsurprising that there was a significantly higher pattern of usage in personal trajectory dialogues (91.68 per 10K) than in the *Q&A* dialogues (37.56 per 10K); use in the professional trajectory (54.70 per 10K) and the MFC dialogue (41.80 per 10K) fell in the middle.

"You know" used between friends in a comfortable conversation occurs in the following excerpt from "Singing the Qur'an." Akilah has just responded to Joanne and Paulette's discussion of their sons' musical talents by saying she has no musical talent herself but, after Paulette's comments, adds that several of the Syrian refugees she is helping are quite musical. Note the concurrent use of interphrasal pauses, disfluency, and code-switching:

**Excerpt 7.9**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Paulette: | I always say- **you know** my mother .. I think music can be a gene? I don't know. "I mean ['cause my mom] 1.084) could play: in the dark .. **you know** und uh, .. |
| 2. | Akilah: | the problem is this. "Is uh the group now from the refugees **you know**?, they are all: is really uh, *good* at these. Uh one is playing uh .. organ, .. |
| 3. | | and the other one is uh the #buckets: what's the oriental?, uh .. uh <L2=GERMAN> *Trommel? Trommel?* </L2> (drum). And [the other one] is #lute. **You know** the or-_the oriental one also?, .. |

A similar pattern was observed with the use of the German modal particle "*ja*." German modal particles, while differing in some ways from English pragmatic markers, are also expressions that do not change the truth-value of a sentence and the meanings of which are context dependent (Bross 2012, 184–185; Durrell 2011). "*Ja*" has multiple functions but was most frequently used in this data set as an affirmative particle (Durrell 2011), a search for agreement indicating that the proposition was—or should be—evident to the hearer (Bross 2012, 192). Similar to "you know," "*ja*" was a reflexive response by L1 German and Dutch[4] speakers, and it appeared quite often in the final position as a tag. It also appeared entirely in communicatively effective dialogues where speakers were most unselfconscious of their multilanguaging practices (see section 5.2.4). While early observation seemed to indicate speakers were using a variety of L2 pragmatic markers in the English dialogues, a more thorough analysis of the corpus revealed that only this use of "*ja*" occurred with observable regularity,

**4** "Ja" also acts as a modal particle in Dutch.

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with a much higher use (relative frequency of 22.18 per 10K) in the professional dialogues than in the personal development trajectory (11.07 per 10K). Given that the "official" codes for caregivers' conferences are German and English, this finding is unsurprising. The following example is indicative of how "*ja*" was used in multiple conversations. Anne first uses "*ja*" while facing Raji to affirm that she has heard and understood his Dutch and then, after a few seconds of overlapping speech with Raji, seeks affirmation from Gordon and Alfred that they have understood the translation:

**Excerpt 7.10**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Anne: | [$_1$is brush] after "after eating. In order to *clean.* [$_2$<L2=DUTCH> **Ja.** </L2>] |
| 2. | | the tongue. They even brush the tongue <L2=DUTCH> **[Ja?] Ja.** </L2> |

What this analysis shows is that discourse markers have one function which relates to the structure of discourse as text and a second, interpersonal, function in which they are used as resources for social action and deployed to enact or negotiate relationships between interactants (Aijmer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011, 231; also Bolden 2015, 2009, 2006).

## 7.3 Do Trajectories Matter?

Investigating use of the same metalinguistic indicators across the three dialogue trajectories highlights the interaction between the functions of the indicators and the nature and structure of a dialogue setting. While dialogues in all three trajectories consisted of face-to-face interactions between predominantly multilingual participants who adhere to various faith practices or philosophies, speakers' motivations and expectations differed, as did the structure of dialogues in the platform trajectory.

Difference in interreligious dialogues "is expected, welcomed and seen as crucial," and the expressed aim of the dialogues is to increase understanding of and between the differences (Grung 2011, 25); the dialogues in this project shared this goal. Dialogues in the professional and personal development trajectories met Leirvik's (2011, 16) criteria of a "spiritual" dialogue, one that is based on speakers' personal motivations and guided by their expectations of "being enriched by other spiritual traditions." The *Q&A* dialogues met my criteria for a hybrid "spiritual/necessary" category—dialogues driven by a perceived socio-political need but still entered into based on the personal motiva-

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tions of the participants, albeit more egocentric than those of the other interlocutors. The fact that participants chose to engage in all three trajectories, although not always for "spiritual enrichment," created similar communicative behaviors that could be compared across the range of trajectories. Conversations were not necessarily about a religious topic but were deliberately approached from the perspective of the individual speaker's faith practice or belief system and, most often, from a position of respect. What further analysis revealed were the *dissimilarities* that resulted from the performativity of the platform events, including the timed and moderated broadcast format, and participants' varied motivations and expectations for engaging in these dialogues.

The *Q&A* dialogues are Goffmanian in that they are "an activity set before [multiple] audience[s]" (1983, 7) in which the speakers "by virtue of reputation or office, [are] assumed to have knowledge and expertise" (1981, 167) that they then use in the performance of the dialogues for the overhearers as well as in conversation with one another. *Q&A* is a weekly, televised panel discussion produced by the Australian Broadcasting Company. The goal of *Q&A*, according to their website (http://www.abc.net.au/tv/qanda/about.htm), is "to create a discussion that … reflects a diverse range of views," mostly about politics but also about the "big issues that set Australians thinking, talking and debating." Moreover, panel members (typically five) are chosen with the aim of creating "a complex discussion where two or three panelists can agree on one issue but be at odds on another" (ibid.). Audience members, who are encouraged to participate by asking questions, are also pre-screened to create a diverse (on multiple scales) audience. The expectation is that panelists and audience members—while remaining respectful—will express opinions that may be controversial and make "assertions of facts that others will challenge;" this is in contrast to the other two trajectories, in which differing opinions and beliefs are expected but controversy is not deliberately sought.

The live-broadcast nature of these particular platform events means speakers are performing for multiple audiences—the live (and online) audience of *Q&A* as well as their individual constituencies. The Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane, in discussing the church's view on gay marriage with a gay comedian, must be aware of both his superiors and his congregation when making statements on the matter. Likewise, a fundamentalist Christian minister must uphold his constructed identity as a "keeper of the faith" in repeatedly attempting to "convert" the first openly gay American Methodist bishop and an avowedly outspoken atheist and physicist who, in turn, performs his identity as a staunch detractor of any faith practice. As Bauman (1975, 293) notes, "performances involve on the part of the performer an assumption of accountability to an au-

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dience for the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content," and "each community will have its own metapragmatic orienting frameworks" (Bauman 2011, 711). The live-broadcast element also dictates a highly scheduled and coordinated structure and a management of face-to-face-interactions (ibid., 715). In the *Q&A* dialogues, the moderator begins a conversation with a question or mildly provocative statement and then chooses a participant to begin the conversation. The dialogue continues unaided until it becomes too inflammatory or one interlocutor appropriates the conversation, and the moderator steps back in to redirect (manage) the event. This event management, while endemic to a broadcast conversation, differs significantly from actions of moderators (when present) in the professional trajectory who serve mostly to politely introduce a question and congenially end the session at the specified, but slightly flexible, hour. Rarely in the professional trajectory did a moderator need to forcefully redirect a conversation; the exception was "*die schweigende Mehrheit*" (see excerpt 4.9). Within the personal development trajectory, only the Scriptural Reasoning group uses a moderator and she functions solely to introduce the next portion of text for discussion.

One might expect more similarities between the professional and platform trajectories. Participants in both trajectories take part in these dialogues for reasons that are connected to their professions, many of which have some direct connection to a faith practice or philosophy. The interlocutors in the caregivers' conferences are primarily clinical pastoral caregivers, consultants, and/or vocational clergy, and half the *Q&A* participants are religious professionals. Some of the dialogues from the caregivers' conferences occurred in a moderated setting in which one professional gave a (time-constrained) workshop presentation followed by a dialogue. The analysis, however, demonstrates a lack of parallels between the two trajectories. Instead, it demonstrates the saliency of motivation. While the usage patterns of certain pragmatic marker forms in the professional trajectory fell at some midpoint between the personal and platform trajectories, the epistemic qualities of these forms were typically mitigated by the concurrent use of other MLIs that functioned to soften the utterance. The emic perspective from multiple follow-up interviews with caregivers was an expectation of spiritual enrichment and personal growth. As Pierre, echoing the sentiments of others, noted earlier: "For me, somehow, interreligious dialogues have something to do with keeping my own faith alive." In the platform events, observation and etic data indicates that participants chose to engage in the dialogues for reasons connected to their "social personality" (Goffman 1981, 168).

The patterns of usage for three metalinguistic indicators—back channeling, silence, and stance markers—differed considerably between dialogues in the

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platform trajectory and conversations in the professional and personal trajectories. (A fourth MLI—repeat-and-recast of another's speech—also demonstrated different patterns of usage in the platform trajectory [see section 5.2.6] but not at the same level of relevance). Each of these MLIs will be examined in more detail below to demonstrate how people's communicative behavior in the same genre can differ in co-occurrence with other dimensions of the social setting (Heller 2003, 259).

### 7.3.1 Back Channeling

Professional—3.55 OPM
Personal (without MFC)—4.12 OPM
MFC—2.26 OPM
Platform events—1.62 OPM
Overall—3.46 OPM

"Because of the sensitive nature of interreligious dialogues, back channeling is important to show you are listening, understanding" (unpublished field notes, September 2013). An inexperienced and nervous Muslim scholar was moderating a small-group discussion during which I asked a question. I then remained attentively silent because he was so visibly nervous, until I realized he had stopped talking and was not going to continue until he received a verbal back-channeling token from me. This search for feedback—typically performed with gaze or intonation by the speaker—was noticeably absent in the *Q&A* sessions and the MFC dialogue.

Back channeling is verbal and non-verbal vocalizations used to signal (typically supportive) attention, interest, or understanding by the hearers in response to the speech of another (Schegloff 1981, 79). Often contested, it nevertheless has been shown to have conversational functions, an "undefined element that … has pragmatic implications in the interaction" (Romero-Trillo 2013, 2). Back channeling functioned in these dialogues to demonstrate linguistic hospitality and indicate attention in settings where dialogues could be sensitive or emotionally charged. The absence of this function was apparent in the *Q&A* sessions, particularly in the "Religion, Marriage and Euthanasia" broadcast where the OPM was 0.90. Upon further investigation, one sees that, unlike the young Muslim scholar, no one sought back channeling in these dialogues. Speakers frequently looked at the audience or to the moderator as they spoke, rather than at their fellow interlocutors. The goal was the proper performance of

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their role as an expert, in which delivering clear, authoritative utterances is valued over a search for mutuality or understanding. Fellow interlocutors, meanwhile, were simultaneously formulating their next expert response—often contradictory or contentious—rather than seeking to demonstrate understanding or support. There was also a lack of discursive space for back channeling. The management of "gaze and attention" (Bauman 2011, 715) that is necessary for this kind of platform event tends to preclude back channeling as the moderator will redirect the conversation to another participant at the discursive junctures which allow for back channeling in other trajectories. Participants themselves precluded back channeling with frequent overlapping speech that became *obliterative* overlap in the more contentious segments (see excerpts 7.6, 7.7). All of these discursive behaviors indexed and further created a platform event, specifically a broadcast news panel.

While the performativity necessary for a platform event tends to preclude back channeling, there still exists a continuum on which participants can locate their performance. "Religion, Marriage and Euthanasia" was the more contentious of the two dialogues, largely due to the efforts by two participants—Fred Nile and Lawrence Krause—to convert those who did not agree with their positions. The desire to convert the Other is one indicator of a communicatively ineffective dialogue and, as shown in this dialogue, can be linguistically demonstrated by a lack of back channeling. The other *Q&A* session, "Faith and Love," had a much higher incidence of back channeling (2.16 OPM in contrast to 0.90 OPM) and a greater effort at non-contentious understanding, if not necessarily agreement. The vocational Christian minister in "Faith and Love" is a less religiously zealous Catholic bishop (although still conservative on many social issues), and the two atheists were less intent on conversion; one, Deborah, also claims a Jewish cultural heritage. Notably, a disproportionate number of the back-channeling tokens in this dialogue were the epistemic stance marker "absolutely," used by Mohamad to signal not only attention but also precision and certainty. This indexed his role as someone versed in Arabic rhetoric, as well as an expert imam qualified to speak to the topic at hand, while still indicating understanding or interest in the previous speaker's utterance.

One also sees this mutually constitutive nature of platform events quite clearly in the back-channeling data from the MFC dialogue, particularly when combined with data regarding use of silence (see section 4.2.1) and stance (see section 7.2.1). The event was a classic Goffmanian "platform monologue" (1981, 137), ironically what the speaker specifically stated she did *not* want. The announced format for the evening—a *short* lecture by a visiting professor followed by an extended period for dialogue—in combination with the venue (smaller,

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intimate space) and the setting (continuing education class that expected student participation) could have easily supported a dialogue. It nevertheless remained a monologue because the speaker performed only her role as visiting lecturer, rather than also a role as a "fellow conversationalist" (ibid., 139), by neither seeking nor allowing discursive space for back channeling.

The frequency or scarcity of back channeling was also determined by participants' expectations of or motivations for joining a dialogue. Participants in the professional and personal trajectories joined primarily to be enriched by other spiritual traditions, a fact observed and confirmed by subsequent interviews. A communicatively effective dialogue meant participants sought to hear each other on the speaker's terms, not the hearer's preconceptions, and that all left with a better understanding of the beliefs and perspectives of other worldviews as well as their own. Back channeling is a linguistic means to create such a dialogue. Frequent indications of attention, interest, or understanding by hearers allow speakers to continue, particularly when topics are sensitive or there exists a wider range of theological and philosophical viewpoints. The latter was demonstrated by above-average back channeling in dialogues with adherents from non-Abrahamic practices—Hindu, Bahá'í, and ethical humanists. The level of back channeling was also high for the Scriptural Reasoning group, which is deliberately structured to display hospitality and listening behavior.

The data regarding back-channeling use is an unsurprising finding in this study, but it nevertheless instantiates the role that such linguistic behavior plays in displaying linguistic hospitality and creating communicatively effective dialogues. It also clearly demonstrates a point at which the various trajectories of interreligious dialogues do not intersect but, rather, at which the performativity necessary for a platform event requires dissimilar linguistic behaviors within the same discourse genre.

### 7.3.2 Silence

Silence, so essential to the conduct of dialogues in the professional and personal trajectories, was conspicuously absent in the platform dialogues. Much like back channeling, this results largely from a format that requires management of time, as well as gaze and attention. A platform event that is being broadcast under controlled time constraints cannot allow for empty discursive space, particularly in a culture that values "fast talk, short pauses, and eliciting short speaking turns" (Jaworski 1993, 14) and where interlocutors start getting nervous after the "standard maximum" one-second silence (Jefferson 1989, 188). (It

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is notable that there are no pauses longer than Jefferson's standard one-second maximum in either *Q&A* transcript.) Certain other functions of silence—as a means to organize the discourse, to change the context, or as a means of social control and power (Nakane 2012, 160-161)—were performed by the moderator. And rather than use silence as cognitive processing time, speakers tended to use the speaking time of other participants to formulate their next utterance.

Different uses of silence also reflect participants' motivations and goals for a dialogue. Silence is a linguistic means to display hospitality, based on both etic and emic data. It is a means to allow dialogue partners to be heard on their own terms rather than "listened to" for persuasion or disagreement. It can also allow for contemplation, which is contradictory to the essence of a platform event. Participants in the caregivers' conferences in particular noted their attempts to reflect carefully (and silently) on their word choice to avoid imposition of their own beliefs on others, while the elevated use of stance markers in the platform events displays a deliberate attempt by speakers to express, if not necessarily impose, their beliefs to their fellow interlocutors and their audience(s). Lastly, in the other two trajectories, silence also acts as a condensation symbol in view of the relevance of silence to various faith practices and liturgies (see chapter 4). Silence in a platform event, by intimating that the "expert" has nothing to say, can be a subtle indication of ineptitude or inadequacy.

### 7.3.3 Stance Markers

The use of stance markers, in contrast to back channeling and silence, was significantly elevated in the platform events, which is unsurprising. Performance itself is an act of stance taking (Jaffe 2009); performing as part of a platform event that expects speakers to make "assertions of fact that others will challenge" (*Q&A* website) presupposes that speakers will take a stance. Speakers in platform events—people with positions of political or professional prominence and power—use certain stance markers to "construct" that identity (Aijmer 2013, 15-18), to take up a reflexive position *vis-à-vis* their performance (Baumann 2011, 711). Moreover, there are cultural expectations of what discursive strategies a "priest" or an "atheistic scientist" uses—metapragmatic orienting frameworks—and so speakers continue to use them as a means to index their public identity in a public forum (Aijmer 2013, 15-18; Baumann 2011, 711). Mark Coleridge, in clarifying a previous comment about homosexuality:

> No, I don't **necessarily** mean that at all.

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or Lawrence Krause, in debating with Fred Nile on exactly who gets to heaven:

> So that all the- so **basically** you're an atheist about all the other religions. It's just yours that you're not. Is that correct?

It follows that use of stance forms displaying precision and certainty—"absolutely" and "necessarily"—appear almost entirely in the platform subcorpus, (as noted in section 7.2.1) and that "I think" is used almost exclusively as a stance marker, rather than a hedge, since speakers are commenting on the topics in their professional capacity. The effect of these epistemological stance markers in the *Q&A* dialogues was to create a more controversial and adversarial communicative setting than that created by the more cooperative, hospitable stance forms employed in the personal development groups or by professional counselors. This occurs for two reasons. First, stance markers reduce the conscious processing effort required by the hearer to reach the speaker's intended interpretation (Aimer and Simon-Vandenbergen 2011, 230). Accordingly, stance markers displaying epistemic certainty point a hearer to a less cooperative reading of the speaker's utterance. Second, like discourse markers, stance markers have an interpersonal function that can express a speaker's attitudes toward and solidarity (or lack thereof) with their fellow interlocutors' utterances. The stance forms most frequently chosen in the *Q&A* dialogues tended to express dissonance and disagreement rather than solidarity.

## 7.4 Conclusions: How Forms and Trajectories Matter

Broad patterns of pragmatic marker usage did not directly influence the outcome of the dialogue, unlike the other metalinguistic indicators in this study. Instead, there was a mutually constitutive dance between form, trajectory, faith practices, and outcome. Pragmatic markers do act as the necessary scaffolding (Romero-Trillo 2013, 2) in multilingual, multiparty dialogues, and they are being used to achieve communicative effectiveness. Yet the relationship between scaffolding elements is not simple; different forms are necessary to perform the same function based on the trajectory of the dialogue. The trajectory frequently dictates forms and patterns of use, and it is most often a specific form rather than an overall category that influences the outcome of the dialogue. Coherence is achieved as the various forms point to and integrate different meanings into a conversation based on the trajectory and speakers' expectations for the outcome of that particular dialogue.

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This dance between form, function, and trajectory—as well as speaker motivation and faith practice—can be most clearly observed in the patterns of use of stance markers. Muslim and Jewish speakers—predisposed by grammatical structures, and rhetorical and faith traditions—used substantially more stance markers than participants from other faith practices and philosophies; Muslims speakers in particular employed considerably more epistemological forms than their fellow interlocutors. The interplay between form, frequency, and trajectory is also seen in the extremes between platform event and personal development dialogue data. Expectations that speakers will perform their professional identity in a platform event resulted in an excessive use of epistemological stance markers, while the close and congenial nature of most personal development dialogues necessitated limited or attitudinal stance markers.

The final element of the scaffolding—a speaker's motivation for participating—is particularly salient when analyzing stance marker data. Differing beliefs may be an essential characteristic of an interreligious dialogue, but participants in professional and personal dialogues are motivated by a desire to develop their own faith practice while learning about the practices of others and, to that end, focus on sites of narrative overlap and ways of reaching non-contentious understanding. Platform participants are motivated by a desire to demonstrate their expertise and—in several cases—to "defend the faith," whatever that belief system might be. Accordingly, they frequently displayed a stance toward a topic and, at times, another interlocutor. Participants in the platform events and the professional conferences all possess professional expertise that could result in similar patterns of stance marker usage but, as counselors and consultants, professional participants instead deliberately sought to use words that bridged, rather than solidified, differences. Those who are chaplains and spiritual counselors in public spaces in particular expressed a desire for more knowledge about the approaches of other faith practices to counseling in light of the growing diversity of European society. To obtain this, they made frequent use of unfilled pauses, multilanguaging, and back channeling to allow and encourage other interlocutors to speak while, at the same time, refraining from stance taking that demonstrated disapproval of another *speaker*. If they disagreed with another's *utterance* or *perspective*, professional participants typically combined an oppositional MLI with one or more cooperative MLIs.

The same characteristics of platform events that encourage stance markers discourage hedges, particularly those that might seem to display inadequacy or unknowingness. In contrast, the desire to express hospitality or display a willingness to learn in personal development groups and at professional conferences *invites* the use of hedges. As with stance markers, a complex interaction

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existed between form, function, trajectory, and speaker motivation that is evident in a closer analysis of specific hedge forms. Words like "just" and "I think" functioned almost entirely as stance markers in the platform dialogues and only as hedges in personal development groups. Participants in professional dialogues occasionally indexed their professional identity with their use of stance markers but also sought to show respect and hospitality, which then resulted in mixed patterns of use of these forms. Even when professional speakers used the same forms as stance markers, the markers were frequently embedded in other MLIs—disfluency and short interphrasal pauses—to indicate the speaker's openness to the Other.

This relevance of form is perhaps most obvious in the different dialogue outcomes achieved by the use of "well" or "so" as a discourse marker. "Well" indexes distance or a dispreferred response while "so" indexes other-attentiveness and empathy, and speakers' motivations and expectations become visible in their choice of one form over another to organize and manage the dialogue. Participants in the professional and personal trajectories are motivated by a desire to learn more about the Other and an expectation of spiritual and personal growth. One sees this in the prevalence of "so" as a discourse marker in these dialogues. Participants in the platform category are motivated by professional incentives to share their individual expertise, and one sees this in the prevalence of "well" as a discourse marker in these dialogues. "You know" and "*ja*" reflect, more than create, the nature of the dialogue and the closeness—or distance—of the interlocutors.

The expectation that there would be demonstrable effects in speakers' use of various L2 pragmatic markers on the dialogue outcome was not borne out, with the exception of the modal particle "*ja*" in both German and Dutch. Speakers' individual multilanguaging practices were varied and functioned collectively to create more communicatively effective dialogues (see chapter 5), but there was not a consistent pattern of use of specific L2 markers or forms across multiple dialogues by multiple speakers. Instead, the unexpected finding was that speakers' faith practices were a determiner of their pragmatic marker usage, and these linguistic practices reflected and influenced the outcome of the dialogue.

Such multivalent results support Kecskes' (2014) argument for a shift of emphasis in pragmatic research from the societal to the individual, in much the same way linguistic repertoires focus on individual speakers. Aijmer (2013, 18) puts forth a similar argument, noting that both the speaker and the setting are relevant: "pragmatic markers … have a number of innovative or *ad hoc* meanings depending on the speaker or the social activity in which they occur."

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The common ground (linguistic and cultural) necessary for monolingual cooperation-based pragmatics was limited in these multilingual dialogues, and there was more reliance on the provisional creation of language by individuals in the course of the interaction. Within this particular professional trajectory setting, participants' long-term involvement has created a loose "community of practice" but in a broader setting, such common ground would be limited. Moreover, the Gricean paradigm of *subconscious* cooperative behavior was enhanced in these multilingual dialogues by conscious, often monitored, endeavors by interlocutors toward linguistically cooperative behaviors (Kecskes 2014, 2–3).

This project followed three trajectories of interreligious dialogues across time and space to investigate how the linguistic behaviors of participants might intersect or diverge. The observable differences in use (both frequency and form) of stance markers, back channeling and silence between platform events and the other two trajectories demonstrate that people's communicative behavior in the same discourse genre does differ in co-occurrence with other dimensions of the social setting and their identities (Heller 2003, 259). The expectations of how a speaker will perform and index their identity as an expert or public personality in platform events, combined with the management of discursive space, resulted in patterns of usage of stance markers, silence, and back channeling that contrasted sharply with their use in professional and personal development dialogue settings. At the same time, the similarities between the three trajectories—face-to-face interactions, a multiplicity of faith practices and philosophies, a desire (sometimes irresolute) to be respectful of other interlocutors, and voluntary participation—resulted in analogous OPM of discourse markers, disfluency phenomena, and hedges. Dialogues marked by high use of these MLIs exhibited certain characteristics while low use tends to create different dialogues.

Investigating multiple dialogues across the three trajectories also revealed varying patterns of interaction between pragmatic markers and other MLIs. An overuse of epistemological stance markers combined with an underuse of silence and back channeling created a moderately effective dialogue but one that lacked linguistic hospitality and personal spiritual enrichment. This data shows that platform events can result in understanding but a much more contentious understanding than occurs in the other two trajectories and, I argue, more often on the part of the audience for whom the dialogue has been performed than between the interlocutors. The speakers typically have performed these roles more than once in other platform events, and each comes to an event with an "understanding" of what the others believe and a reluctance, as seen by their

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use of epistemological stance markers and silence, to gain further understanding or change their perspective. While this linguistic behavior is constitutive of a platform event, it also creates a less hospitable communicative setting than the other two trajectories. In contrast, generous use of interphrasal pauses, back channeling, disfluency, and multilanguaging combined with limited use of epistemological stance markers creates a more linguistically hospitable and communicatively effective dialogue.

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# 8 Linguistic Resources for a Shared Cup of Coffee

> The point of learning to speak together differently is learning to live together differently. It's a dance of words with arts of living.
>
> Krista Tippett

> The purpose of anthropology is to make the world safe for human differences.
>
> Ruth Benedict

Differences and investigating how people converse in spite of, or perhaps because of, those differences was the purpose of this research project. What I found was that communicatively effective multilingual, multifaith dialogues are complicated, displaying all the characteristics that from a normativist point of view should make them communicatively ineffective—a myriad of multilanguaging practices, a prevalence of disfluency phenomena, and a preponderance of unfilled pauses in the midst of speakers' multilingual, disfluent utterances. Effective dialogues are also uncertain dialogues—marked by a higher use of hedges and a lower use of stance markers, or at least attitudinal rather than epistemic stance—that privilege the utterances of the Other with frequent back channeling and other-attentive discourse markers.

This project began with four research questions. The first two questions—what referential and indexical signs were present in these dialogues and did they display identifiable patterns of use—produced preliminary results that raised another question: "Why are individuals participating in these dialogues?" The answer to that question also answered the third research question—how were these indicators affecting dialogue outcomes? Participants, not necessarily consciously, nevertheless adopted Ricœur's notion of linguistic hospitality by displaying a willingness to reach "equivalence [or understanding] without identity" (2006, 34–35). The identified metalinguistic indicators were most often mutually constitutive of the hospitality that both motivated participants and operated to achieve communicative effectiveness; they functioned to bridge the difference between the familiar and the foreign. Lastly, how can the microanalysis of this interactional data create a better understanding of interreligious dialogues as part of a wider social concern? How can this research lead to more shared cups of coffee?

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## 8.1 What Signs and How are They Used?

The first two research questions focused on the metalinguistic and multilingual resources present in these conversations and their possible patterns of use. First, what referential and indexical signs were participants using in interreligious dialogues, and second, were there identifiable patterns of use, either individually or in co-occurrence? Research demonstrates that multilanguaging practices, unfilled pauses, and disfluency each influence the outcome of a dialogue, and that varying patterns of use between these three indicators index and create different dialogue contexts. While notable correlations do not exist between expansive categories of pragmatic markers and the efficacy of a dialogue, there are patterns of use between specific pragmatic marker forms and other MLIs that do affect the conduct and outcome of the dialogues; these functions tend to vary more acutely by form and trajectory.

1. Silence is the single most significant marker of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of a dialogue. Unfilled pauses—rather than consistent, steady speech—give multilingual and multifaith participants time to hear, to understand, and to choose their words with care. Unfilled pauses achieve coherence and enable comprehension and understanding; they also carry power to suppress a discussion.
2. A continuum of multilingual practices creates and indexes effective dialogues more frequently than monolingualism. Multilanguaging and code-switching function to co-create a shared sense of meaning and are means of displaying linguistic hospitality.
3. Disfluent, rather than fluent, speech gives participants time to speak with circumspection, and enables coherence and comprehension in a multilingual environment.
4. Pragmatic marker forms that display uncertainty and unknowingness or which indicate a willingness to prefer the other speaker function to create and index more effective dialogues, while forms that display epistemic certainty and dispreferred responses create and index distant or confrontational dialogues.

More important are the research findings that demonstrate relationships between co-occurrences of various MLIs and dialogue outcomes. As stated from the beginning, the goal of this research was not to identify the mere presence (or absence) of a specific metalinguistic indicator in context-free isolation but to investigate the complex *interactions* between multilingual practices and various metalinguistic indicators, and to demonstrate how those interactions create or infer communicatively effective or ineffective dialogues.

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1. Increased, or a prevalence of, multilanguaging practices in combination with higher use of untimed interphrasal pauses and disfluency phenomena (particularly fillers) create and index more effective dialogues.
2. This same pattern (elevated multilanguaging, interphrasal silence, and use of fillers) can also co-occur with certain pragmatic marker forms to create an effective dialogue. Most often this is in conjunction with the use of "so" or "you know" as discourse markers, fewer (or attitudinal) stance markers, and the presence of back channeling and hedges.
3. Contrariwise, various patterns of decreased multilanguaging, elevated use of timed final contour pauses or decreased use of untimed interphrasal pauses, decreased use of fillers, lack of back channeling, use of "well" to organize the discourse, and an elevated use of epistemic stance markers can index distant, inhospitable, and/or ineffective dialogues.

These patterns instantiate claims by multiple scholars that multilingual speakers in a superdiverse environment are using whatever communicative resources they have at their disposal to co-construct a socially significant interaction. They also support my theory that it is necessary to identify and investigate semiotic resources beyond and in addition to the multilingual resources at work in a superdiverse environment, and to bring them forward into the new paradigms of linguistic hybridity. Silence, disfluency, and certain pragmatic marker forms co-occurred with speakers' multilanguaging practices to create and infer contexts of comprehension, shared meaning, and linguistic hospitality. Or, when employed differently, they inferred dispreferred responses, an unwillingness to listen or understand, and linguistic inhospitality. When a multilingual speaker employs only one of their available linguistic codes, for example, what type of dialogue are they co-creating? Without investigating speakers' concurrent use of other metalinguistic resources, e.g., silence and disfluency, in combination with a participant's monolingual utterances, one has an incomplete view of the "communicative ramifications of superdiversity" (Rampton 2016, 91).

These findings also point to the importance of investigating multilanguaging behavior not only in co-occurrence with other MLIs but as a continuum. As discussed earlier, the various hybrid linguistic theories individually lacked explanatory power for the multifaceted functions of the multilingual behaviors in these conversations. Multilingual speakers can—and often do—freely multilanguage. However, as Pennycook and Otsuji note, "fixed" and "fluid" are not dichotomous. Particularly in settings such as these (and as further demonstrated by Wodak et al., Canagarajah, Pitzl), multilingual speakers must often con-

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tend with structural constraints requiring fixed linguistic behavior while still frequently lacking a full command of the linguistic resources necessary to operate within those constraints. Depending on the setting, e.g., professional conversations between colleagues, speakers must take a more deliberate approach to their multilanguaging practices than they are able to take later at dinner. Moreover, this particular genre brings self-imposed constraints for most participants who, quite conscious of their own desires to be respectful and hospitable, are also more aware of the lexical value of the words they chose to use, including the deliberate use (or disuse) of words and phrases associated with various faith practices. The interactions between unequally distributed linguistic resources and the constraints imposed by both trajectory and genre combined to create a multilanguaging continuum that I found clearly articulated only by Wodak and her colleagues:

> We have observed a continuum of (more or less) multilingual practices that are highly context-dependent and serve a range of manifest and latent functions.... Language choice thus depends on manifold factors... Moreover, language for specific purposes comes into play. Most importantly, the genre of interaction ... and the specific community of practice, i.e., the history of topics and meetings, seem salient. (Wodak et al 2012, 179–180)

It is a continuum I argue is a more descriptive and productive way of investigating multilingual interactions in settings where fluidity is understood and welcomed, but where fixidity is sometimes necessary.

These multivalent results also argue for a shift of focus to the individual in pragmatics research, as well. The traditional focus on a societal common ground in monolingual, cooperation-based pragmatics needs to move to an understanding of the provisional, *ad hoc* meanings created by individuals in the course of multilingual interactions. Such shifts in research foci will help create a more coherent theory of meaning-making in multilingual and multifaith environments.

## 8.2 Achieving Communicative Effectiveness

One needs to look at the functionality of these metalinguistic indicators from a botanical perspective to determine how they affect the conduct and outcome of the dialogues. Like a plant that divaricates, they function (or branch) at one level to provide *multilingual* speakers with cognitive processing time for forward planning of utterances, to achieve coherence and comprehension, to enable speakers to use whatever linguistic resources are at their disposal to co-create meaning, to enable multilingual cooperation, or to index and perform a particu-

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lar identity. On another level, they function to provide *multifaith* speakers a means to hear and understand the Other on the Other's terms while still allowing the speaker to be heard on their terms. They allow dialogue participants to display respect and understanding for their fellow interlocutors' beliefs, and to gain a better understanding of other faith traditions and worldviews. They can also create a context of inhospitality or index an expert identity being performed for a platform event, rather than an individual seeking spiritual enrichment and personal growth.

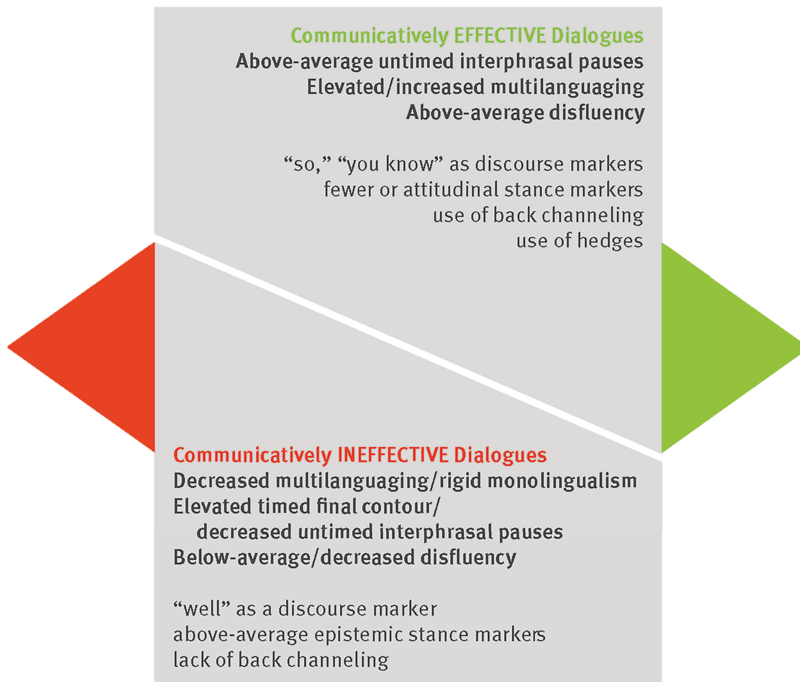


**Fig. 8.1:** Multivalent results

These metalinguistic indicators are the *empirical evidence* of Ricœur's linguistic hospitality. Certain patterns of use allow other participants to infer the speaker's intention to be respectful, to hear what the Other has to say on their own terms, and to be hospitable to those beliefs and practices. They are the mediation between "the peculiar and the foreign" (Ricœur 2006, 23). This display of linguistic hospitality allows religious differences to become sites of commensality and exchange (see section 2.1) where interlocutors with varied faith practices

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are able to navigate their differences and "open up in moments of non-hierarchical reciprocity" (ibid.).

This framework also provides an empirical analysis of the contextuali*zing* process of language. By examining the metalinguistic and metapragmatic functions of these MLIs, one sees how these out-of-awareness features invoke different frames of interpretation for the rest of the linguistic content of the utterances. The ability of these indicators to help identify the real intentions of multilingual speakers works in the majority of these dialogues to infer a context of shared meaning, cooperation, respect, and hospitality.

## 8.3 The Micro and the Macro

The final research question—how the microanalysis of this data can create a better understanding of interreligious dialogues as part of a wider social concern—has two answers. The first is that one gains a macro perspective on interreligious dialogues from the multiple microanalyses in this project. The second is that the framework that emerged from this research project can be used to further investigate other multilingual and multifaith conversations.

### The macro perspective

Interreligious dialogues take place daily, some planned and organized, others by happenstance. Following the three trajectories of interreligious dialogues across time and space was a means to create a macro analysis composed of multiple microanalyses. This provides a more precise picture of the patterns of use and linkages of linguistic resources that people use to talk about their faith practices and worldviews in a multilingual environment. Using data from the *Q&A* broadcasts and the caregivers' conferences added a globalized perspective to data collected in the personal groups much closer to home. It also revealed the points at which the use of multilingual and metalinguistic resources intersect and the points at which they diverge in the same genre. Making these linkages between interactions in multiple settings allows one to see how language use varies in co-occurrence with other dimensions of the social setting and speakers' identities (Heller 2003, 259).

### The framework

The analytical framework that emerged from this research not only provides an in-depth perspective on the data presented here, but it can also be used to explore other multifaith conversations in a variety of settings. Because the ap-

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proach is to view multilanguaging as a continuum, one can analyze dialogues with a wide, or narrow, range of linguistic resources and practices. By first observing the dialogue settings ethnographically, one gains a detailed description of the context that can then be used in an empirical analysis of the transcribed data which is triangulated with further corpus-assisted analysis. This relatively emergent approach to studying interactional data is one way to examine patterns between signs, pragmatic functions, and indexical significance in a superdiverse and globalized world, and thus provide the researcher with more comprehensive results that hold greater explanatory capabilities of participants' linguistic behaviors.

## 8.4 Epilogue: Inequality, Hospitality, and a Shared Cup of Coffee

One question raised throughout the course of this project—by multilingual scholars whose theories I used, by academic advisors and colleagues, and by dialogue participants themselves—was, and remains, the question of inequality. Several dialogue participants specifically recognized the inequalities in power afforded to L1 speakers of prestige language varieties during follow-up interviews, particularly in the context of the professional conferences and dialogues. But they also raised questions of gender inequality and the prevalence of Global North participants and conference locations in contrast to the Global South. Focusing on the co-constructive multilinguistic nature of the encounter and peoples' faith practices meant I set aside the many other macrosocial categories participants brought to these dialogues, including gender and culture. There remained, nevertheless, inequalities between speakers' linguistic resources and, less often, the privilege a certain faith practice might convey.

The best understanding of how the participants themselves deal with the multiplicity of inequalities present in these dialogues came during a conversation with Luuk, a long-time participant and board member of the caregivers' association. He mentioned a movie I watched early in this project and one which touched me deeply—"Of gods and men." It is a French drama that tells the story of nine Trappist monks, quietly working and living with their Muslim neighbors in the Atlas Mountains during Algeria's brutal civil war in the late 1990s. Facing a corrupt government, increasingly violent insurgents, and repeated attempts to get them to leave the country, they choose to remain and continue their steady monastic lives—dispensing medicine to all (villagers and insurgents alike) and quietly participating in the lives of Muslims they considered their friends. Ultimately, seven of the nine monks were kidnapped and

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beheaded. Luuk noted how the film portrays well one of the challenges (and critiques) of the notion of "hospitality"—how do the more powerful in an unequal relationship display that hospitality? The monks, he noted, realized that they could not fully fulfill their obligation to be hospitable because not everyone came to them:

> So they choose to go [speaking for the monks] "where the people live and give them the opportunity to receive us. And when they are hospitable to us, we also fulfill our own obligation to be hospitable." I thought that was a beautiful metaphor that those roles should also be interchangeable. And when you're in a more powerful position and you say "I'm hospitable" but you never go to the other person where he or she lives, then you are saying: "we are happy you are here but we are not changed by your presence." (interview)

What I observed is the most communicatively effective conversations were comprised of participants who sought to go where the less powerful were, who changed or adapted their linguistic behavior to co-create meaning with interlocutors who possessed less competencies in a target language or who were a minority faith group in that conversation. As Luuk quite honestly observed, the questions of inequality can "never be completely solved because, in society, the imbalance stays. But we [in positions of power] ask those questions, yes." Participants knew inequalities existed, but they talked because of them and in spite of them. "We're trying to find where we have shared places" (Floyd, interview). "We're trying to help the Other understand us and trying to understand the Other" (Eli, interview). "Whether or not we believe one another's creeds, we have to listen to them, to be willing to admit that's what others see and believe. Otherwise, we have not the slightest comprehension of their starting point" (unpublished field notes, September 2016).

The point of this research was not *critical* discourse analysis; it was not to pinpoint the inequalities, their causes, and effects. Rather, it was to examine how people communicate in the face of inequalities—linguistic, religious, gender, cultural. Participants sought similarities but they also acknowledged different answers to the same "existential questions" (Adam). "To be confronted by religious difference and to honestly admit that it does not make sense from one's own perspective is simply to acknowledge that we inhabit different cultural-linguistic schemes" (Hill Fletcher 2007, 548). The sites of narrative overlap which participants found in these conversations did not do away with the inequalities. But if one is not able to enter "through the foreign door … would we not be in danger of shutting ourselves away in the sourness of a monologue? … Credit, then, to linguistic hospitality" (Ricœur 2006, 29). The hope is

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that this research demonstrates ways to dialogue—to talk across the inequalities and differences—over a shared cup of coffee.

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# Appendix 1—Professional Trajectory

**Trajectory: professional.** Faith practices and worldviews are relevant to vocation/profession, interreligious dialogues beneficial to conduct of job. Encounters take place across time and space, ongoing contact between participants. *Locations*: Mennorode, Netherlands; Ghent, Belgium; Düsseldorf, Germany

**Description**: International, interfaith association of clinical pastoral caregivers. Members from 30-plus countries with multiple religious practices and worldviews, predominantly Abrahamic faiths. Languages (official)—English, German. Linguistic codes, faith practices vary by conference location, e.g., annual conferences in Belgium and the Netherlands included ethical humanist and Hindu consultants as they are state-recognized chaplaincies. *Researcher level of participation*: occasional translator in small group sessions.

**Total recording time**: 885 minutes (14.75 hours)

| Conversation/ Location | Date | Participant | Faith group | L1 | L2 (s) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **End of Conversation** Mennorode | 18-Sep-14 | Elizabeth | Christian | German | English |
| | | Gordon | Christian | Malayalam | German, English, Tamil |
| | | Frederick | Christian | German | English |
| | | Gülser | Muslim | Turkish | German, English |
| | | Beate | Christian | German | English |
| | | Felix | Christian | German | English |
| | | Tina | Christian | German | English |
| | | Waseem | Muslim | Turkish | Dutch, English, German |
| | | Horst | Christian | German | English |
| | | Renée | Christian | Portuguese | English |
| | | Mehmet | Muslim | Turkish | German |
| **What I Believe** Mennorode | 18-Sep-14 | Anne | Christian | Dutch | English, German |
| | | Elizabeth | Christian | German | English |
| | | Felix | Christian | German | English |
| | | Pierre | Christian | French | German, English |
| | | Akilah | Muslim | Arabic | German, English, French |

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| Conversation/ Location | Date | Participant | Faith group | L1 | L2 (s) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Fumo | Christian | Chagga | Swahili, English |
| | | Amir | Christian | Arabic | English, German, Hebrew |
| **Castes and Monotheism** Mennorode | 16-Sep-14 | Anne | Christian | Dutch | English |
| | | Gordon | Christian | Malayalam | German, English, Tamil |
| | | Alfred | Christian | Tamil | English |
| | | Raji | Hindu | Sarnami | Hindi, Dutch, English, German |
| **Sacred and Holy** Mennorode | 14-Sep-14 | Amir | Christian | Arabic | English, German, Hebrew |
| | | Akilah | Muslim | Arabic | German, English, French |
| | | Eli | Jewish | English | Hebrew |
| | | John | Christian | Spanish | English, Hebrew |
| ***Tikkun Olam*** Mennorode | 16-Sep-14 | Eli | Jewish | English | Hebrew |
| | | Takaaki | Christian | Japanese | English |
| | | Frank | Christian | Flemish | English, French |
| | | Akilah | Muslim | Arabic | German, English, French |
| | | Maria | Christian | Spanish | English |
| | | Audrey | Christian | English | German |
| | | Alfred | Christian | Tamil | English |
| **Humanism and Chaplaincy** Mennorode | 16-Sep-14 | Jan | Humanist | Dutch | English, German |
| | | Elizabeth | Christian | German | English |
| | | Adam | Christian | Afrikaans | Dutch, German, English |
| | | Ingrid | Christian | German | English |
| | | Frederick | Christian | German | English |

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| Conversation/<br>Location | Date | Participant | Faith<br>group | L1 | L2 (s) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Cooperation and Conflict in Tanzania** - Mennorode | 15-Sep-14 | Fumo | Christian | Chagga | Swahili, English |
| | | Luuk | Christian | Flemish | English, German, French |
| | | Lawrence | Christian | Setswana | English, Sesotho, Sepedi, Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa |
| | | Zuez | Muslim | Arabic | Dutch, English |
| | | Gordon | Christian | Malayalam | German, English, Tamil |
| | | Anne | Christian | Dutch | English, German |
| | | Layla | Christian | Kipare | Kimeru, English, Swahili |
| **Breakfast**<br>Mennorode | 18-Sep-14 | Amir | Christian | Arabic | English, German, Hebrew |
| | | Akilah | Muslim | Arabic | German, English, French |
| ***die schweigende Mehrheit***<br>Ghen*t* | 13-Sep-16 | Claudia | Christian | German | English |
| | | Safiya | Muslim | Katchhi | Gujarati, English |
| | | Aline | Christian | English | |
| | | Judi | Christian | English | |
| | | Amir | Christian | Arabic | English, German, Hebrew |
| | | Christiane | Christian | German | English |
| **Hospitality and Repulsion**<br>Ghent | 13-Sep-16 | Sarah | Jewish | English | Hebrew |
| | | Maria | Christian | Spanish | English |
| | | Christiane | Christian | German | English |
| | | Faith | Christian | English | Spanish |
| | | female | Christian | Dutch | English |
| **Loss and Displacement**<br>Ghent | 13-Sep-16 | Lawrence | Christian | Setswana | English, Sesotho, Sepedi, Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa |
| | | Judi | Christian | English | |
| | | Amir | Christian | Arabic | English, German, Hebrew |

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| Conversation/ Location | Date | Participant | Faith group | L1 | L2 (s) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Seminar - Düsseldorf | 28-Nov-15 | | | | |
| Plenary Q&A - Ghent | 12-Sep-16 | | | | |
| Multi-faith coordinating committee - Ghent | 14-Sep-16 | | | | |
| Workshop - Ghent | 15-Sep-16 | | | | |

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# Appendix 2—Personal Trajectory

**Trajectory: personal**. People who practice a faith tradition, adhere to a specific worldview, or think reflexively about personal roots/ties to a faith tradition (either by birth or nationality) and have a personal desire to engage in interreligious dialogues. Typically laity rather than a religious leader.

**Wiesbaden focus group**—acquaintances of the researcher; met monthly for five months. *Researcher level of participation*: introduced topics of conversation, occasional dialogue participant when input from a Christian tradition was appropriate. As the group grew more comfortable with one another and included other Christian participants, researcher's participation diminished.

**Heidelberg focus group**—respondents to advertisement on university bulletin boards. Met monthly for five months but with limited participation. *Researcher level of participation*: introduced topics of conversation, participated in dialogues when input from a Christian tradition was appropriate.

**Polish parents' group**—parents' group from an international school who interact frequently; conversations often include religious topics. Met one evening specifically for this project. *Researcher level of participation:* introduced topics of conversation

**British multifaith center**—hosts an ongoing program of courses and seminars to facilitate interfaith dialogues. Recorded one evening session. *Researcher level of participation*: none

**Scriptural Reasoning group**—meets regularly to discuss specific texts from the three Abrahamic faith traditions. Recorded one session. *Researcher level of participation:* none

**Mannheim mosque**—established group of Abrahamic faith participants from Israel and Palestine. Conducted one-time dialogues in Germany for education, awareness. *Researcher level of participation*: none

**Total recording time**: 995 minutes (16.5 hours)

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| Group/Location | Date(s) | Participant | Faith group | L1 | L2 (s) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Wiesbaden (Germany) focus group** | 19-Aug-14 | Akilah | Muslim | Arabic | German, English, French |
| | 29-Oct-14 | David | Jewish | English | Hebrew |
| | 20-Nov-14 | Joanne | Jewish convert | English | Hebrew |
| | 26 Jan 15 | Researcher | Christian | English | German |
| | 2-Mar-15 | Paulette | Christian | English | |
| | | Deborah | Jewish( practices)/ Muslim (background) | German | Croatian, English, Hungarian |
| **Heidelberg (Germany) focus group** | 14-Aug-14 | Abigail | Jewish | German | English, Hebrew |
| | 28 Aug-14 | William | Bahá'í convert | English | German |
| | 25-Sep-14 | Helsa | Bahá'í | German | English |
| | 28-Oct-14 | Researcher | Christian | English | German |
| | 11-Nov-14 | | | | |
| **Polish parents' group (Krakow)** | 29-May-16 | Antoni | Christian (cultural) | Polish | English, Russian |
| | | Albert | Jewish | English | Hebrew, Polish |
| | | Alicja | Christian (syncretic) | Polish | English |
| | | Floyd | Christian | English | Polish |
| | | Ayaru | Muslim (cultural) | Kazakh | Polish, Russian, English |
| **British multifaith center** | 22-Feb-16 | Presenter | Christian/Buddhist | English | |
| | | male | Christian | English | |
| | | male | Christian | English | |
| **Scriptural Reasoning (Great Britain)** | 24-Feb-16 | Asygül | Muslim | English | |
| | | Jane | Christian | English | |
| | | Fiona | Christian | English | |

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| Group/Location | Date(s) | Participant | Faith group | L1 | L2 (s) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Marco | Christian | Italian | English |
| | | Fahd | Muslim | unknown | English |
| | | Lindsey | Christian | English | |
| | | Samuel | Jewish | English | |
| | | Rebekah | Jewish | English | |
| **Mannheim (Germany) mosque** | 16-Nov-16 | | | | |

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# Appendix 3—Platform Trajectory

**Trajectory: platform**. Public personalities whose vocation or profession allows them to speak in the public sphere about or from the perspective of their faith practice or worldview. In these platform events, talk is "performed" for the overhearers as well as the other interlocutors (Goffman 1981: 165; Copland and Creese 2015: 45). If sexual orientation is mentioned, it was relevant to the conversation in relation to religion.

**Total recording time**: 120 minutes (2 hours)

| Dialogue/Date | Participant | Faith group | Identity/Profession |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Faith & Love** | Mark Coleridge | Christian | Catholic archbishop |
| 1-Apr-13 | Josh Thomas | atheist | TV personality, gay |
| | Robina Courtin | Buddhist convert | Buddhist nun, teacher, and feminist activist |
| | Mohamad Abdalla | Muslim | Imam, professor |
| | Deborah Conway | Jewish atheist | Musician |
| | Tony Jones | unspecified | News moderator |
| **Religion & Marriage** | Gene Robinson | Christian | Episcopal bishop, first openly gay ordained |
| 27-May-13 | Amanda Vanstone | Christian background | Australian cabinet minister, radio presenter |
| | Lawrence Krauss | atheist | Physicist, outspoken atheist |
| | Fred Nile | Christian | Protestant (religiously conservative) minister, member NSW parliament |
| | Susan Ryan | Christian background | Cabinet minister, age discrimination commissioner, women's activist |
| | Tony Jones | unspecified | News moderator |

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# Appendix 4—Interviews

**Total recording time**: 658 minutes (11 hours)

| Participant(s) | Date of interview | Location of interview | Trajectory | Faith practice |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| bread baking | 2-Dec-13 | Kaiserslautern, Germany | initial observation | Muslim |
| baby shower | 8-Jan-14 | Kaiserslautern, Germany | initial observation | Muslim |
| Inaaya | 26-Sep-13 | Kaiserslautern, Germany | initial observation | Muslim |
| | 20-Dec-13 | | | |
| Itka | 3-Dec-13 | Bremerhof, Germany | initial observation | Jewish |
| | 24-Jan-14 | Kaiserslautern, Germany | | |
| rabbi | 12-Feb-14 | Kaiserslautern, Germany | initial observation | Jewish |
| lay leader – chapel | 17-Feb-14 | Enkenbach, Germany | initial observation | Muslim |
| Akilah | 28-Feb-14 | Frankfurt, Germany | Professional, Personal | Muslim |
| female student | 16-Jun-14 | Heidelberg, Germany | initial observation | Muslim |
| Abigail | 1-Jul-14 | Heidelberg, Germany | Personal | Jewish |
| | 12-Sep-17 | Heidelberg, Germany | | |
| female chaplain | 17-Sep-14 | Mennorode, Holland | Professional | Humanist |
| Michael, Pierre, Dieter | 27-Nov-15 | Düsseldorf, Germany | Professional | Christian |
| Ingrid | 28-Nov-15 | Düsseldorf, Germany | Professional | Christian |
| Gordon | 28-Nov-15 | Düsseldorf, Germany | Professional | Christian |
| Luuk | 28-Nov-15 | Düsseldorf, Germany | Professional | Christian |
| Felix | 28-Nov-15 | Düsseldorf, Germany | Professional | Christian |
| Eli | 22-Feb-16 | Edgeware, England | Professional | Jewish |
| Asygül | 24-Feb-16 | Cambridge, England | Personal | Muslim |
| Rebekah | 24-Feb-16 | Cambridge, England | Personal | Jewish |
| SR group interview | 24-Feb-16 | Cambridge, England | Personal | varied |
| Henry | 12-Sep-16 | Ghent, Belgium | Professional | Orthodox |
| Takaaki | 12-Sep-16 | Ghent, Belgium | Professional | Christian |

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| Participant(s) | Date of interview | Location of interview | Trajectory | Faith practice |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sarah | 14-Sep-16 | Ghent, Belgium | Professional | Jewish |
| humanist consultant | 14-Sep-16 | Ghent, Belgium | Professional | Humanist |
| Renée | 15-Sep-16 | Ghent, Belgium | Professional | Christian |
| Lawrence | 15-Sep-16 | Ghent, Belgium | Professional | Christian |
| Amir | 15-Sep-16 | Ghent, Belgium | Professional | Christian |
| | 23-Oct-18 | Vienna, Austria | | |
| John, Tina | 16-Sep-16 | Ghent, Belgium | Professional | Christian |
| Mannheim mosque | 16-Nov-16 | Mannheim, Germany | Personal | varied |
| Deborah | 30-Mar-17 | Wiesbaden, Germany | Personal | Jewish |
| Ilsa | 15-May-18 | Mannheim, Germany | Necessary | Christian |
| Floyd | 14-Aug-18 | Wiesbaden, Germany | Personal | Christian |

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# Appendix 5 – MLI Data by Dialogue

- Dialogues or dialogue excerpts identified as representative of the discursive practices within one of the three trajectories were segmented by intonational units, transcribed, and annotated by individual speaker.
- Stance markers, discourse markers, hedges, back channeling, filler, repeat/recast of a speaker's own speech, and repeat/recast of another interlocutor's speech were first compiled by speaker and then by dialogue. L1/L2 switches and unfilled pauses were compiled by dialogue only, although later analysis frequently examined individual speaker's multilanguaging practices.
- The occurrences per minute for each MLI were calculated by dividing the total occurrences of an MLI by the number of transcribed minutes from a dialogue. Example from the Polish parents' dialogue:

$$33 \text{ hedges} \div 18.59 \text{ minutes} = 1.78 \text{ OPM}$$

- Once the data for each dialogue or dialogue segment was normalized, an average for each MLI was calculated first by trajectory and then for the total data set.
- This chart shows each dialogue by trajectory. Excerpts from within dialogues that were used for further comparison or analysis are listed below the dialogue in *italics*.
- As noted in the monograph, the multifaith center in Britain was somewhat of an outlier in the personal trajectory, and trajectory averages for each MLI were calculated both with and without the MFC data (see page 193). Further analysis demonstrated that different patterns of MLI use were significant only within the pragmatic marker category (see chapter 7).
- Metalinguistic indicators for each dialogue were compared against the average for that trajectory and color-coded for further analysis within the trajectory and then across the trajectories.

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| File | Total time | Time/ minutes | L2 | OPM - L2 | back-channel | OPM - BC | discourse marker | OPM - DM | filler | OPM - filler | hedge | OPM - hedge | R&R (own) | OPM - own | R&R (other) | OPM - other | stance marker | OPM - stance | untimed/ interphrasal | OPM - untimed IP | untimed/ final contour | OPM - untimed FC | timed/ final contour | OPM - timed FC | timed/ interphrasal | OPM - timed IP |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Professional Trajectory** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| End of Conversation | 1126.779 | 18.78 | 25 | 1.33 | 37 | 1.97 | 79 | 4.21 | 119 | 6.34 | 28 | 1.49 | 69 | 3.67 | 20 | 1.06 | 32 | 1.70 | 184 | 9.80 | 15 | 0.80 | 26 | 1.38 | 45 | 2.39 |
| *Frederick's talk at turn* | 154.964 | 2.58 | 1 | 0.39 | 0 | | 12 | 4.65 | 3 | 1.16 | 0 | | 2 | 0.76 | 2 | 0.76 | 7 | 2.71 | 18 | 6.98 | 1 | 0.39 | 18 | 6.98 | 10 | 3.87 |
| What I Believe | 717.797 | 11.96 | 4 | 0.33 | 10 | 0.84 | 31 | 2.59 | 110 | 9.20 | 20 | 1.67 | 64 | 5.35 | 1 | 0.08 | 9 | 0.75 | 86 | 7.19 | 3 | 0.25 | 9 | 0.75 | 38 | 3.17 |
| Tikkun Olam | 1087.927 | 18.13 | 11 | 0.61 | 92 | 5.07 | 98 | 5.41 | 37 | 2.04 | 20 | 1.10 | 103 | 5.68 | 12 | 0.66 | 32 | 1.77 | 186 | 10.26 | 17 | 0.94 | 3 | 0.17 | 20 | 1.10 |
| Sacred and Holy | 1648.363 | 27.47 | 36 | 1.31 | 63 | 2.29 | 142 | 5.17 | 99 | 3.60 | 40 | 1.46 | 228 | 8.30 | 17 | 0.62 | 58 | 2.11 | 233 | 8.48 | 25 | 0.91 | 19 | 0.69 | 82 | 2.99 |
| Breakfast | 517.228 | 8.62 | 13 | 1.51 | 35 | 4.06 | 34 | 3.94 | 32 | 3.71 | 11 | 1.28 | 55 | 6.38 | 10 | 1.16 | 18 | 2.09 | 72 | 8.35 | 10 | 1.16 | 6 | 0.70 | 41 | 4.76 |
| Cooperation and Conflict in Tanzania | 397.774 | 6.63 | 3 | 0.45 | 24 | 3.62 | 35 | 5.28 | 41 | 6.18 | 8 | 1.21 | 40 | 6.03 | 4 | 0.60 | 3 | 0.45 | 67 | 10.12 | 8 | 1.21 | 3 | 0.45 | 11 | 1.66 |
| Humanism and Chaplaincy | 371.221 | 6.19 | 14 | 2.26 | 39 | 6.30 | 24 | 3.88 | 29 | 4.68 | 12 | 1.94 | 27 | 4.36 | 4 | 0.65 | 14 | 2.26 | 52 | 8.40 | 2 | 0.32 | 0 | | 8 | 1.29 |
| Castes and Monotheism (dialogue) | 1040.727 | 17.35 | 50 | 2.88 | 118 | 6.80 | 61 | 3.52 | 60 | 3.46 | 9 | 0.52 | 60 | 3.46 | 43 | 2.48 | 24 | 1.38 | 111 | 6.40 | 5 | 0.29 | 9 | 0.52 | 23 | 1.33 |
| *Caste system* | 162.381 | 2.71 | 10 | 3.69 | 16 | 5.90 | 15 | 5.54 | 5 | 1.86 | 1 | 0.34 | 12 | 4.43 | 2 | 0.74 | 4 | 1.48 | 14 | 5.17 | 1 | 0.37 | 2 | 0.74 | 2 | 0.74 |
| *Is Hindusim monotheistic?* | 536.099 | 8.93 | 28 | 3.14 | 49 | 5.49 | 35 | 3.92 | 33 | 3.70 | 8 | 0.90 | 26 | 2.91 | 22 | 2.46 | 15 | 1.79 | 63 | 7.05 | 4 | 0.45 | 6 | 0.67 | 19 | 2.13 |
| Schweigende Mehrheit | 642.034 | 10.70 | 4 | 0.37 | 2 | 0.19 | 45 | 4.21 | 38 | 3.55 | 19 | 1.76 | 34 | 3.18 | 3 | 0.28 | 29 | 2.71 | 77 | 7.20 | 11 | 1.03 | 4 | 0.47 | 17 | 1.59 |
| Hospitality and Repulsion | 988.064 | 16.47 | 5 | 0.30 | 60 | 3.64 | 59 | 3.58 | 41 | 2.50 | 43 | 2.61 | 97 | 5.89 | 20 | 1.21 | 20 | 1.21 | 150 | 9.11 | 14 | 0.85 | 6 | 0.36 | 27 | 1.64 |
| Loss and Displacement | 634.309 | 10.57 | 0 | | 61 | 5.77 | 49 | 4.64 | 17 | 1.61 | 31 | 2.93 | 35 | 3.31 | 5 | 0.47 | 16 | 1.51 | 124 | 11.73 | 19 | 1.80 | 3 | 0.28 | 22 | 2.08 |
| **Personal Trajectory** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Heidelberg focus group | 180.512 | 3.01 | 9 | 2.99 | 16 | 5.32 | 20 | 6.64 | 18 | 5.98 | 7 | 2.33 | 10 | 3.32 | 3 | 1.00 | 0 | | 35 | 11.63 | 2 | 0.66 | 0 | | 8 | 2.66 |
| Heidelberg focus group | 1086.732 | 18.11 | 57 | 3.15 | 102 | 5.63 | 96 | 5.30 | 93 | 5.14 | 20 | 1.10 | 74 | 4.09 | 40 | 2.21 | 19 | 1.05 | 157 | 8.67 | 6 | 0.33 | 1 | 0.06 | 29 | 1.60 |
| Heidelberg focus group | 106.214 | 1.77 | 4 | 2.26 | 6 | 2.65 | 13 | 7.34 | 19 | 10.73 | 1 | 0.56 | 5 | 2.82 | 4 | 2.26 | 3 | 1.69 | 17 | 9.60 | 1 | 0.56 | 0 | | 2 | 1.13 |
| Singing the Qur'an (dialogue) | 705.767 | 11.76 | 15 | 1.28 | 61 | 5.19 | 80 | 6.80 | 49 | 4.17 | 22 | 1.87 | 68 | 5.78 | 4 | 0.34 | 15 | 1.28 | 95 | 9.96 | 10 | 1.05 | 2 | 0.20 | 4 | 0.40 |
| *Sung excerpt* | 273.579 | 4.56 | 11 | 2.41 | 19 | 4.17 | 22 | 4.82 | 23 | 5.04 | 6 | 1.32 | 29 | 6.36 | 2 | 0.44 | 6 | 1.32 | 29 | 6.36 | 9 | 1.97 | 1 | 0.22 | 2 | 0.44 |
| Who's Hungry Here? | 555.537 | 9.26 | 9 | 0.97 | 32 | 3.46 | 39 | 4.21 | 35 | 3.78 | 2 | 0.22 | 73 | 7.88 | 9 | 0.97 | 15 | 1.62 | 61 | 6.62 | 22 | 2.37 | 7 | 0.76 | 5 | 0.54 |

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| File | Total time | Time/ minutes | L2 | OPM - L2 | back-channel | OPM - BC | discourse marker | OPM - DM | filler | OPM - filler | hedge | OPM - hedge | R&R (own) | OPM - own | R&R (other) | OPM - other | stance marker | OPM - stance | untimed/ interphrasal | OPM - untimed IP | untimed/ final contour | OPM - untimed FC | timed/ final contour | OPM - timed FC | timed/ interphrasal | OPM - timed IP |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Effective segment* | 137.427 | 2.29 | 6 | 2.62 | 9 | 3.93 | 18 | 7.86 | 14 | 6.11 | 2 | 0.87 | 17 | 7.42 | 5 | 2.18 | 5 | 2.18 | 15 | 6.55 | 1 | 0.44 | 1 | 0.44 | 2 | 0.87 |
| *Ineffective segment* | 419.893 | 7.00 | 3 | 0.43 | 23 | 3.26 | 21 | 3.00 | 21 | 3.00 | 0 | | 56 | 8.00 | 5 | 0.71 | 10 | 1.43 | 46 | 6.62 | 21 | 3.02 | 6 | 0.86 | 3 | 0.43 |
| Wiesbaden focus group | 1299.567 | 21.66 | 16 | 0.74 | 95 | 4.39 | 136 | 6.28 | 89 | 4.11 | 54 | 2.49 | 169 | 7.80 | 26 | 1.20 | 42 | 1.94 | 204 | 9.42 | 15 | 0.69 | 2 | 0.09 | 24 | 1.11 |
| Polish parents' group | 1176.175 | 19.60 | 3 | 0.15 | 18 | 0.91 | 78 | 3.98 | 99 | 5.05 | 37 | 1.89 | 120 | 6.12 | 8 | 0.41 | 18 | 0.92 | 254 | 12.96 | 12 | 0.61 | 9 | 0.46 | 62 | 3.16 |
| Scriptural reasoning | 405.929 | 6.77 | 0 | | 34 | 5.02 | 43 | 6.35 | 27 | 3.99 | 19 | 2.81 | 39 | 5.76 | 9 | 1.33 | 16 | 2.36 | 75 | 11.08 | 6 | 0.89 | 1 | 0.26 | 8 | 1.18 |
| British MFC - 153 | 213.066 | 3.55 | 0 | | 7 | 1.97 | 13 | 3.66 | 21 | 5.92 | 4 | 1.13 | 18 | 5.05 | 0 | | 6 | 1.69 | 34 | 9.58 | 3 | 0.85 | 0 | | 6 | 1.69 |
| British MFC - 154 | 158.576 | 2.64 | 0 | | 7 | 2.65 | 20 | 7.58 | 8 | 3.03 | 5 | 1.89 | 17 | 6.44 | 5 | 1.89 | 11 | 4.16 | 31 | 11.74 | 2 | 0.76 | 0 | | 5 | 1.89 |
| **Platform Trajectory** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Q&A (faith & love) | 1166.777 | 19.45 | 1 | 0.05 | 42 | 2.16 | 98 | 5.04 | 61 | 3.14 | 38 | 1.95 | 122 | 6.27 | 7 | 0.36 | 58 | 2.98 | 134 | 6.89 | 4 | 0.21 | 0 | | 0 | |
| Q&A ( religion and marriage) | 865.568 | 14.43 | 0 | | 13 | 0.90 | 85 | 5.89 | 90 | 6.24 | 28 | 1.94 | 85 | 5.89 | 0 | | 49 | 3.40 | 133 | 9.22 | 10 | 0.69 | | | 1 | 0.03 |

| File | Total time | Time/ minutes | L2 | OPM - L2 | back-channel | OPM - BC | discourse marker | OPM - DM | filler | OPM - filler | hedge | OPM - hedge | R&R (own) | OPM - own | R&R (other) | OPM - other | stance marker | OPM - stance | untimed/ interphrasal | OPM - untimed IP | untimed/ final contour | OPM - untimed FC | timed/ final contour | OPM - timed FC | timed/ interphrasal | OPM - timed IP |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **TOTAL** | **17179.031** | **286.32** | **278** | **0.97** | **974** | **3.40** | **1370** | **4.78** | **1232** | **4.30** | **478** | **1.67** | **1612** | **5.63** | **254** | **0.89** | **507** | **1.77** | **2592** | **9.05** | **226** | **0.79** | **111** | **0.39** | **491** | **1.71** |
| **SUBTOTAL** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Professional trajectory** | **9258.521** | **154.31** | **165** | **1.07** | **541** | **3.51** | **650** | **4.21** | **623** | **4.04** | **241** | **1.56** | **812** | **5.26** | **139** | **0.90** | **255** | **1.65** | **1342** | **8.70** | **127** | **0.82** | **88** | **0.57** | **334** | **2.16** |
| Personal trajectory (without MFC) | 5516.523 | 91.94 | 113 | 1.15 | 364 | 3.96 | 504 | 5.48 | 429 | 4.66 | 162 | 1.76 | 558 | 6.07 | 103 | 1.12 | 128 | 1.39 | 918 | 9.98 | 78 | 0.85 | | | 145 | 1.57 |
| British MFC | 371.642 | 6.19 | 0 | | 14 | 2.26 | 33 | 5.33 | 29 | 4.68 | 9 | 1.45 | 35 | 5.65 | 5 | 0.81 | 17 | 2.75 | 65 | 10.50 | 5 | 0.81 | 0 | | 11 | 1.78 |
| **Personal trajectory (total)** | **5888.165** | **98.14** | **113** | **1.15** | **378** | **3.85** | **537** | **5.47** | **458** | **4.67** | **171** | **1.74** | **593** | **6.04** | **108** | **1.10** | **145** | **1.44** | **983** | **10.01** | **83** | **0.86** | **23** | **0.23** | **156** | **1.59** |
| **Platform trajectory** | **2032.345** | **33.87** | **1** | **0.03** | **55** | **1.62** | **183** | **5.40** | **151** | **4.46** | **66** | **1.95** | **207** | **6.11** | **7** | **0.21** | **107** | **3.16** | **267** | **7.88** | **14** | **0.41** | **0** | | **1** | **0.03** |

| Color Key | average | slightly above average | above average | slightly below average | below average |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|

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# Appendix 6—Interview Questions

- What linguistic or paralinguistic features or behaviors used by *other participants* do you think further dialogue, achieve communicative effectiveness? For example: politeness, gestures, pauses, ways of listening.
- Are there linguistic behaviors you think hinder dialogue, block communicative goals?
- What linguistic features and behaviors do you think *you* use when participating in an interreligious dialogue? For example: pauses, gestures.
- Do you think you change your linguistic behavior when you are in an interreligious dialogue as opposed to a "normal" conversation?
- Do you think the language you use makes a difference? For example, your first language or a second language?
- Why do you participate in interreligious dialogues?
- Are you familiar with Ricœur's concept of "linguistic hospitality" or the idea of "hermeneutical hospitality?" If so, do you think it applies to the conversations within (this group)? To other interreligious dialogues you may participate in?

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