IDENTITY NEGOTIATION AMONG THE USERS OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

By Marta Bas

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis seeks to contribute to the general understanding of the identity phenomenon in ELF (English as a lingua franca) settings in Europe. The major assumption is that ELF is used alongside with other national languages on the daily basis, however, it does not pose a threat to those languages nor to the ELF users’ identities.

The focus of the present study is the phenomenon of identity, its negotiation and factors that contribute to change in ELF users’ identity. For this purpose VOICE project data were used to add more objectivity to both, findings and analysis. The data comprise of thirteen fragments selected from eight different discussions on various subjects, ranging from: current situation of the European universities, cultural difference within the EU, to informal talk about differences in some of the European cuisines.

The study presents two different types of identity: national and gender among the ELF speakers. However, more attention is paid to the former phenomenon. There are also other aspects of ELF and their influence on ELF users’ identities discussed in the paper, for instance, identity from the semiotics perspective, or the findings on Eastern European national identities.

The findings revealed that indeed, ELF enriches the linguistic repertoires of its users. What is more, it serves as an efficient communicative tool used on daily basis by those speakers. However, in terms of ELF being a threat to the national languages and identities of its users, the findings also prove to be evidence against such claims. ELF speakers not only have mastered the English to a proficient level, but they also manage to perform their identities in international settings through the means of ELF itself. Furthermore, the findings present the issue of continental and supranational-level identity in Europe.
CHAPTER 1 Introduction

The world is undergoing very rapid changes in the arena of global relations and integration of nations. Communication is no different. The acceleration of integration one witnesses nowadays are mainly caused by the fast development of technology, air travel, and the internet, to name just a few. These and many more, one may say, have greatly contributed to the world becoming a ‘global village’. The integration of states, as it may be seen in the continental Europe, is yet another example of such processes facilitating the flow of people and information across boundaries. Yet, any process that contributes to our world becoming an integrated place to live in have its consequences in various domains of our lives.

Language is one of the areas on which the globalisation, or states integration, has a tremendous impact. ‘[W]ith the current proliferation of possibilities created by electronic means and unprecedented global mobility, changes in communication have accelerated and forced changes’ (Seidlhofer 2009: 238). In other words, technological development is the leading power that changes the world, changes the way people communicate, hence changes the languages that people use in order to communicate. Therefore, there is such great emphasis on language. It is difficult to imagine an integrated world without efficient ways to exchange information, that is, without a common means of communication. Nowadays, the language that serves as an international tool for communication is English. There are debates as to whether such global variety of English called lingua franca should be accepted or not. Nevertheless, English is used on a global scale. What is more, it encompasses not only native speakers\(^1\) of English, but also, and most importantly, non-native speakers\(^2\) of English who come from different

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\(^1\) Later in the text native speakers of English will be referred to as NS (abbreviated form)

\(^2\) Non-native speakers of English will be referred to as NNS
linguistic backgrounds. And because there are more NNS of English (see Jenkins 2009 for the figures on the number of NNS of English in the world) who use it on daily basis for various purposes than NS, therefore, I will use the term ‘lingua franca’\(^3\) for all the instances where English is used in the international settings, involving both, native speakers and non-native speakers of English.

Similar situation may be observed in the continental Europe. English is one of the official languages of the European Union. It serves the purpose of the lingua franca among the Europeans in various domains of their lives. Furthermore, many studies noted the increase of English chosen as a foreign language at schools (see e.g. Seidlhofer et al. 2006) which has an impact on the spread of English even in the remotest parts of Europe. With its position among other European languages, English has become one of the most efficient tools for communication across boundaries in all types of subject areas.

However, English as a lingua franca (ELF) has recently become a focus of hot debates concerning the cultural, linguistic and traditional security of individual member states. For instance, the issue of English becoming a threat to both linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe (see Crystal 2003 for the debate on threats posed by English as a global language; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1997 for the expansion of English in continental Europe; Hülmbauer 2010 for the discussion on the importance of other linguistic resources in ELF communication). These hot debates have triggered and accelerated the research within the field of ELF both on the global scale and within the European Union. The latter already has two research projects: DYLAN\(^4\) and LINEE\(^5\). The two projects aim to describe how ELF is used by

\(^3\)[A] ‘contact language’ between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication’ (Firth 1996: 240 cited in Seidlhofer 2005: 339).


the Europeans and how this leads to changes in the language, as well as the attitudes towards ELF that functions in Europe respectively.

Standard language ideology also raises many issues. According to it, ELF should not be seen as a new, emerging variety of English, rather it is a different kind of English. What is important, ELF and its current usage ‘is being shaped at least as much by its non-native speakers as its native speakers. ELF is thus not dependent on British, American or Australian sociocultural norms, nor is it governed entirely by what native speakers of English would regard as ‘normal’ or ‘idiomatic’ language use.’ Moreover, whether we like it or not, English has already established its status all over the world as an international lingua franca. For that reason, there have been another attempts to describe the phenomenon and capture the real, naturally occurring instances of ELF interactions. One of the attempts is a computer-based ELF corpus VOICE\(^7\) (Vienna – Oxford International Corpus of English) directed by Barbara Seidlhofer, and another is ELFA\(^8\) (English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings) directed by Anna Mauranen. Both these projects aim at contributing to the description of ELF, thus eliminating the issues that standard language ideology raises against ELF. What is more, they seek the alternative for teaching English not as a standard variety, that is British or American, but rather a variety that is used globally; namely, English as a lingua franca. The researchers’ attempt to dispose of the idea of standard language being the best variety to be taught in schools because it is the ELF that is used on a global scale.

There are, of course, many more issues that ELF raises, however, one needs to take into account that this field of study is still under close

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investigation and that there are still many aspects of ELF that are waiting to be described. Furthermore, as it is the case with Europe, new approaches need to be applied, because the spread of English here is a rather different phenomenon from the spread of English in, for instance, the post-colonial territories. Hence so many projects are being undertaken in order to describe the phenomenon of ELF in the mainland Europe. Therefore the aim of this dissertation is to investigate the issue of identity in the ELF settings among the European speakers of English.

Before proceeding to the introduction of the literature in the field of ELF and identity I will first ‘sketch the architecture’ of the present study.

The subsequent chapter will present the literature on all the relevant empirical work done in the field to shed more light on the entire ELF phenomenon. I will begin with general works on ELF as a world phenomenon in different areas of study. Next, I will narrow the scope and focus on the ELF in Europe. Because I intend to analyse speakers’ identity in ELF settings I also decided to present various works dealing with particular types of identity that are reflected in the language used. Again, after a very general introduction of the works on identity I turned to the works on speakers’ identity in ELF settings. Finally, I will introduce literature on qualitative data analysis for the fundamental details concerning analysis of such data – as I intend to investigate the data from the qualitative perspective. Furthermore, as far as the data selected for the present study is concerned, I have added literature on the data collection and selection in the VOICE project. I believe the order in which particular works are introduced in the literature review section will equip the reader in the necessary knowledge of the phenomenon under investigation in this paper.

In the methodology part I will provide detailed information about the VOICE project, the corpus information, the materials, and the participants. After the introduction of the particular information about the VOICE project
and the materials that I intend to use in my study I will precede to the next chapter where I will evaluate the findings and results of my investigation into the interactions in ELF settings. Next, I will attempt to answer the questions of my study and justify my answers with examples from the data provided by VOICE. The final subsection of this chapter will present the results discussion of the present study. There I will attempt to present the findings in a more general perspective and provide possible explanations. I will finish the thesis by indicating to the necessity of further investigation into the field of English as a lingua franca in Europe. Naturally, limitations and restrictions of the present study will also be outlined in the final chapter of this thesis.

1.1 Research questions of the present study

As it was echoed in several works cited above, ELF has not been accepted as a new variety of English yet. The number of publications presented in this study, however, is already considerable. Yet there is still much to be done in order to equip readers interested in furthering the understanding of the processes international English is undergoing these days and also to accelerate the process of ELF becoming a new English variety. The English that the Europeans, ordinary people who come from different European countries, use for purposes in their daily lives is an excellent source of information. Furthermore, the interactions help to create the picture of speakers’ identity, its change, flow, enactment and the factors that have an impact on those speakers’ identity. In my present study I will focus on ELF ‘online’ interactions both: European-only groups, and mixed groups. Having researched the works on ELF, I decided to undertake a subject of identity reflected in the use of English as a Lingua Franca. To be more specific, the questions I would like to find answers to are as follows:

1. How do ELF speakers negotiate their identities?
2. Is negotiation a socially meaningful practice?
3. To what extent can ELF speakers’ identities be observed to shift according to the communication context?

The data that will be employed in the analysis comes from VOICE (Vienna – Oxford International Corpus of English) directed by Barbara Seidlhofer. I believe that my work will contribute to a general understanding of the importance of ELF in Europe as the means of communication on the international scale. I also believe that this paper will shed some light on the phenomenon of identity reflected in the interactions in ELF in Europe.
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

English as a Lingua Franca has focused much of scholars’ attention recently (see, e.g. Seidlhofer 2009 for overview of recent empirical work). The field, therefore, has quickly expanded and the works contribute to the more profound understating of the phenomenon that has clearly begun to take shape. Firstly, I will introduce the works done in the field describing the phenomenon of ELF in general and in the subsequent part I will proceed to the works on ELF in Europe. There is a logical reason for doing so, because, as the field is relatively new, many readers from outside of the field may not be familiar with recent developments. Furthermore, it is for the general understanding of the phenomenon of English as a Lingua Franca and its functioning within different cultural settings. I believe that it is necessary to introduce particular studies to further the understanding of the issues that will be discussed in this paper.

Another field that has to be introduced in this section is identity and its various forms. Linguistic identity is the focus of this study and I believe that general introduction of the most prominent works within those two fields of study (ELF and identity) is necessary. Moreover, such general introduction to the two fields serves as a good foundation to the discussion in the subsequent chapters of this paper because it equips the reader with basic concepts of ELF and identity. The latter has been heavily researched, therefore I will begin with the most introductory works to provide the reader with a general picture of the concept of identity and its various kinds. Next, I will proceed to the more specific areas of the concept of identity, namely, speakers’ identity reflected in the interactions in ELF settings.
2.2 **ELF as a world phenomenon**

To begin with, as it was mentioned above there is already a vast amount of papers dedicated to English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). One of the works that triggered the interest on communication accommodation theory and made other scholars follow the suit was Giles and Coupland (1991). The authors look at the accommodation theory from different perspectives, from the impact of it on learner’s proficiency in a foreign language (this may be either facilitated or impeded, depending on context) to the ability to affect reaction to defendants in court thus influencing the nature of the judicial verdict. The reason for this particular work to be mentioned here is that it contributes to the works done in ELF- that is, for instance, Cogo (2007) or Seidlhofer (2009).

Both the works on ELF seen from the perspective of accommodation theory fill in the gap in knowledge of the ELF phenomenon. Cogo focuses on the accommodation strategies used by non native speakers of English (NNS) when communicating with other NNS in the multicultural settings. The author also adds the strategy of code switching as the marker of a speaker’s identity in the paper. However, the works done on identity will be fully presented in the subsequent parts of this paper. Seidlhofer’s work, on the other hand, sees the ELF users as competent speakers of English who use their repertoires and ‘online co-constructions’ in order to accommodate to their interlocutors. In other words, the paper depicts the creation of general understanding among ELF users, even though ‘online idiomatizing does not correspond to the native speaker form’ (Seidlhofer 2009:195).

Jenkins’s (2000) book, is one of the pioneering works in the ELF field. It not only aims to identify and present a fundamental set of phonological features in the ELF variety necessary to achieve intelligibility in international contexts, but also advocates a new approach to teach the pronunciation for mutual understanding rather than based on imitation of native speakers of
English. Furthermore, another work by Jenkins (2007) concentrates on the teachers’ and learners’ attitudes towards ELF. The main part of the book is devoted to a study on non-native English teachers and their attitudes towards teaching ELF. By examining language ideology and attitudes towards particular accents in English, the author indicates on the effect the two phenomena have on ELF users’ identity in her study. This latter being of great importance to my study on identity in ELF settings due to valuable information on the process of data analysis being, in this respect, a guide to a proper approach in search of identity markers in speakers’ utterances.

The pragmatics of ELF is another field that has been researched heavily. Kordon (2005) investigates the establishment of rapport between the ELF users. Repetitions as the communicative strategy used by ELF speakers is investigated by Lichtkoppler (2007). The silence and its significance to meaning in ELF communication is a focus of Böhringer MA thesis (2007). Code-switching and other accommodation strategies in ELF talk are investigated by Cogo (2007) mentioned earlier in this paper. Kirkpatrick (2007) investigates the communicative behaviour of ELF speakers with the special focus on the ‘considerate and mutual support’. All the works contribute to the general understanding of the interactions in the ELF settings, indicating that pragmatics is the study of the aspects that have a decisive role on our choice of language in social encounters. It also studies the impact our language choice has on the interactants’ language.

The domain of grammar and lexis is also one of the fields in which the research has been undertaken. Seidlhofer (2004) presents similarities and differences in lexicogrammatical forms between ELF and native speaker norms. The discussion proceeds and sheds more light on whether ELF can be described as an emerging, new variety of English. Similarly, Jenkins (2006) argues that ‘ELF is not the same as EFL, nor is it failed ENL’ (2006: 155) thus indicating that ELF is a new variety that should be approached in a novel
manner, rather than trying to apply the existing theories to what is now happening to the English from the Kachruvian Expanding Circle.

The work of Hülmbauer (2007) follows a similar suit to the two works presented above. Here, the analysis of the relationship between lexicogrammatical correctness and effectiveness in communication in ELF is a starting point to a discussion on ELF being put in the ‘framework of correctness’ revealing the lack of acceptance of ELF as a new, developing variety of English on its own – an idea clearly echoed from the works mentioned above.

Dewey (2009) presents a small-scale study where he compares the usage of articles in both ELF and ENL. The results lead to the conclusion that ‘ELF is (...) best understood as a dynamic, locally realized enactment of a global resource, best conceptualized not as a uniform set of norms or practices, but as a highly variable, creative expression of linguistic resources which warrants a distinct analytical framework’ (Dewey 2009: 62). Again the author pursues the idea that ELF should be approached from a different and new manner, because it is a dynamic and creative phenomenon which is now taking place on global scale.

Similar view is reported by Ranta (2009) about spoken grammar and spoken ELF forms. The author suggests that the performance of second language users should be viewed from the perspective of L2 normal speech (ELF viewpoint), rather than as ‘erroneous speech’ (SLA stand point). The two approaches proposed by the author are contradicted to shed light on the ELF as an emerging variety of English, creating a link and furthering the understanding of the topic brought up, for instance, in Dewey (2009) above.

2.3 ELF in Europe

Having briefly introduced some of the prominent articles and books on ELF I shall now narrow the scope and focus on ELF in Europe. This field has
also attracted a considerable amount of scholars’ attention. Berns (2009) in her work mainly concentrates on the terminology, namely, what is the meaning of the term ‘lingua franca’? How it is presented in other, prominent works in the field. After a discussion on form and function, Berns outlines four different functions that ELF in Europe serves and suggests that ‘Europe is an example par excellence of the Expanding Circle. Its history of contact with English, its uses of English, its goals for learners of English, and the range of users across social groups is unique and thus distinguishes it from exponents of either the Inner or Outer Circle. The recognition of such difference is a central tenet of the world Englishes paradigm. Thus, Expanding Circle Englishes are world Englishes – and are so in the same way that American English or Singapore English are world Englishes’ (2009: 195 – 196 – emphasis in original). In other words, not only the author claims the necessity of naming the phenomenon accurately so that it will provide assistance and appropriate approach to the new, emerging English as a lingua franca in Europe, but also suggests that ELF in Expanding Circle, Europe in particular, should not be neglected but seen as part of world Englishes.

Even though Breiteneder (2009) has focused on the grammatical features of ELF in Europe (verbal 3rd person ‘–s’ suffix), she reported similar findings to Berns (2009), highlighting the importance of the phenomenon of ELF in Europe. Breiteneder argues that after the analysis of the occurrence of the suffix it may be said that: ‘[t]he empirical analysis (...) suggests that ELF in Europe is an entirely natural language development comparable to various world Englishes, and therefore not a “learner language” but a “user language” like any other’. (2009: 257). In addition, the author also points at the synergies that are observable between World Englishes and ELF and that scholars investigating the two domains should take advantage of it.

A paper by Meierkord (2004) presents a study on students from outer and expanding circle countries studying at British universities in respect to
accommodation (noticed in speakers’ tendency to simplify and regularise their utterances). Again, the results indicate that there is more variety in simplification in the speakers’ language from the expanding circle countries, and less regularization in language use of students from the outer circle countries; thus ELF in Europe, among other Expanding Circle Englishes, is a naturally occurring and developing phenomenon.

Europe integration has led to many changes that gave raise to intense debates. For instance, the linguistic human rights in the days of English serving the purpose of an international language (Phillipson and Skutnabb – Kangas 1997). Here, the authors investigate the language policy in the European Union and whether it protects linguistic minorities. The discussion reveals ‘one of the intriguing paradoxes in language policy, namely: ‘(...) why (European) governments invest substantially in the teaching and learning of a language, in particular English, that is regarded as a threat to local cultural values’ (1997: 37). The importance of this work, in particular, is to view the situation in Europe reflecting on the status that English has gained among other European languages, thus becoming a threat to the European linguistic and cultural mosaic, according to the authors. However, the work will be contradicted with another study investigating the issue of ELF being a threat to the European languages and nationalities.

Similarly, Wright(2009) has focused on the language policies and practice in the European Union. The article emphasises that there is a mismatch between the two: policy and practice. After a brief outline of the situation in education, media, and EU institutions from the perspective of communication, the author emphasised a paradoxical situation which is taking place in the public sphere in Europe stating that ‘[t]here are (...) very important issues of communication in the EU, and at the same time a failure to address them’ (2009 : 97). Furthermore, Wright also argues that there are various reasons why language issue is so problematic in the European Union
and those reasons are closely related to the speakers’ identity rooted in their national language. The result of the dichotomy between language policies and practice is lack of acceptance of ELF as an existing variety of English – yet another work that circles around the issue of ELF being formally accepted as a variety of English.

Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006) approach the matter from a different angle and emphasise the fact that, taking the current situation in Europe into consideration, ‘[t]he current role of English in Europe is (...) characterized by the fact that the language has become a lingua franca, a language of wider communication, and has entered the continent in two directions as it were, top–down by fulfilling functions in various professional domains and, simultaneously, bottom–up by being encountered and used by speakers from all levels of society in practically all walks of life.’(Seidlhofer et al 2006:5) which is also illustrated in the discussion below. To put it differently, ELF is already present in various levels of society within the EU, however, there are various issues connected to its acceptance as a new variety. The central problems lay in the still limited research done in the field of ELF, and ELF in Europe in particular.

In conjunction with these works, House (2003) examines the issue of ELF being a threat to national languages in mainland Europe. She draws on the then recent projects undertaken at University of Hamburg that shed more light on the cultural filtering in translations, the nature of ELF interactions in multilingual encounters and the issue of English being the medium of instruction in German universities. The purpose of the article is to present the areas in which the research has resulted in discovering facts about the impact of ELF on national languages and depict any dangers that it may pose to the existing languages in the European Union. ELF is a business languages with no attachment to any specific culture. Furthermore, the author clearly states that rather than considering ELF as a threat to other national European
languages, we should try to find a ‘third way’ when conceptualising ELF. “Accepting hybridity and using English creatively for one’s own communicative purposes seems to be one such ‘third way’” (House 2003:574). Once again, there is the need to accept ELF as a variety of English in toto.

The works presented above all investigate the current processes that shape the new, emerging variety of English by highlighting the natural development of English in Europe. However, this new variety may be said to have an impact on the linguistic identity of its speakers. I will now proceed to the review of the chosen, most prominent works devoted to identity to shed some light on the complexity of the phenomenon itself. I will follow the same suit as when presenting works concerning ELF; namely, I will present some works that are the most general and narrow the scope to more relevant works to my study that is ‘identity negotiation among the users of English as a lingua franca in continental Europe’.

2.4 Various kinds of identity – general perspective.

To begin with, identity is reflected in almost any action one is involved in. It also involves various domains of our lives which are interconnected and together shape our personalities. Moreover, it is not a straightforward field for analysis, as one often has to engage different disciplines to be able to reach satisfactory conclusions. The most basic distinction of some varieties of identity are outlined in Crystal (1987). The descriptions involve, among other things, physical, national, psychological, social, contextual and even stylistic identity. This fundamental distinction between some of the kinds of identity that one may distinguish; however, even such mere and simplistic enumeration of particular kinds of identity reveals that the issue is a very complex one. Moreover, various factors have an impact on identity, to name just a few, context of interaction or one’s cultural background. Therefore, I
believe that such a fundamental distinction of the phenomenon will contribute to better understanding of the discussion in the subsequent parts of this paper.

2.4.1 Identity – different perspectives

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) in the introduction of the volume state the importance of “multilingual settings, language choice and attitudes [and that these] are inseparable from political arrangements, relations of power, language ideologies, and interlocutors’ views of their own and others’ identities.” (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004:1). Each chapter presents the notion of identity from a different perspective or by taking account of complexity of the phenomenon and other aspects such as language ideologies, contexts which have an impact on the negotiation of identity. All the authors, whose work contributes to the entire volume, take account not only of localised linguistic behaviours, attitudes and beliefs; they also locate them in wider social contexts which include class, race, ethnicity, generation, gender and sexuality. The presentation of works in the field makes the volume a significant contributor to the development and pursuing the understanding of the phenomenon of identity.

2.4.2 Ethnic and national identity

Among the most valuable studies on identity reflected in users’ language there are works dealing with construction of identity triggered by the process of globalisation (Castells 2004). In addition, the study distinguishes between territorial, ethnic, national, and, religious identity claiming that each of the identities might be a result of particular socio-historical events that had an effect on their creation. For instance, ethnic identities come to existence under conditions of contact between people or groups living in juxtapose to one another (Barth 1986). Therefore, when
researching the field one needs to approach the matter in a multiperspective manner.

As it was mentioned above, the phenomenon of identity is in constant flux, different factors having an influence on it. I decided to include Roosens book on ethnicity as different ethnic groups can be observed within the EU. His study depicts the impact of different historical and political events or settings that might have a decisive role in the process of ethnicity creation which could also serve as a fundament for my research on the multiethnic European settings. Roosens claims that this process is very often conscious and elaborate which, in turn, manifests that even ethnicity is not a stable category of identity (Roosens 1981).

Another work of importance to my present research is devoted to the phenomenon of national identity reflected in one’s language. However, as Phillipson states: ‘Salience of any one marker of identity, cultural or linguistic, national or continental will vary depending on the time and context’ (Phillipson 2003:31). To put it differently, the issue of identity is very fluid which makes it very difficult to put into frames, or simply, define. Even though both national identity and ethnicity share much in common, they should not be seen as identical. The former could be said to be an extension to the latter in the sense that it “expresses the desire for political autonomy and self-government” (Edwards 1985: 9); whereas the latter may be seen as ‘a state of “pre-nationalism” ’(Edwards 1985: 10).

2.4.3 Gender identity

Gender identity has been the focus of a number of valuable publication. My aim is to present the ones that I believe are the most salient for the discussion in the subsequent parts of this thesis. To begin with, a book edited by Cameron and Kulick (2006) is a collection of a number of excellent works on how gender identity is reflected in the language use of
speakers from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds. The articles compiled in the book depict various aspects of gender and sexuality and how these two are intertwined forming one’s identity. The authors argue, however, that: ‘[i]t cannot be assumed, (...), that either the “hetero/homo” distinction or the kind of identity associated with it in contemporary Western societies will be found, or accorded the same significance, in every society and historical period. These concepts are not simply given by the nature of sex itself, but are cultural constructs that arise in particular times, places and circumstances” (Cameron, Kulick 2006: 3)

To put it differently, gender identity is not something within the concept of simply being biologically constructed as a man or a woman itself, but it is this model that is practiced differently in various parts of the world. Gender identity is, hence, performed and to gain more understanding in the matter researchers need to gather more data from the cultural backgrounds of their subjects before actually analysing the data and coming to any conclusions. Otherwise, generalisations, or even stereotypes may be formed. To avoid one way investigation of the matter, the editors selected a wide range of articles to try to depict the holistic picture of creation of gender identity in various selected cultures/societies around the world. What is more, gender identity is something that is perpetually enacted. 'There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; ... identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results.' (Butler 1990: 25). In other words, gender is a performance: ‘it's what you do at particular times, rather than a universal who you are’ (Butler 1990: 27).

The reason for including works on gender identity in this literature review is to: first of all, further the understanding of the gender identity; second of all, to acquaint the reader with the topic, providing various aspects of life which have an impact in the process of creation of our identities as
human beings. Finally, the idea of the identity being perpetually enacted may add more understanding to my analysis of the data.

2.4.4 Discourse in relation to identity

Another, more recent study in the field is devoted to identity in relation to discourse. Here, the issue of identity is presented from the angle of semiotics, and it is argued that it is not the matter of having an identity, but rather it is the matter of one’s practices that ‘produce’ identity. In other words, it is more of identification to a particular group, community, or society and being recognised by the group as such, not ‘a property, or a stable category of identity of individuals or groups’ (Blommaert 2005: 207). Here, the identity repertoires and resources at one’s hand will play the main role in the construction as well as depiction of one’s identity. Blommaert’s work is of great value in my research and discussion of the findings, as I will try to follow the suit and provide analysis from the discourse perspective. Furthermore, all the data consists of spoken and transcribed ELF interactions, hence it is inevitable to include the notion of discourse.

2.4.5 Identity and the process of learning foreign languages

Norton (2000) is another author that is noteworthy. Even though Norton examines identity in the light of learning second or third language, it is a rich source of data and analysis that will contribute to my work. Namely, the presentation of cases and the analysis part is an excellent empirical work that examines the phenomenon of identity and its negotiation. In certain cases the author also highlights that some of the participants reassigned their identities as a direct impact of the new environment they found themselves in. This, and many more examples of negotiation of identity presented in this work will assist me in my discussion part.
2.5 Identity reflection in ELF interactions

The phenomenon of identity has focused quite a considerable attention among researchers. Similarly, identity in ELF settings has attracted researchers working in that field. To begin with, Cogo (2007), already mentioned above, has focused on the strategies ELF speakers use when communicating with one another. Code-switching or accommodation of one’s speech are some of the strategies investigated by the author in the paper. Cogo argues that using these strategies the speakers not only ‘get their business done’ but also mark their membership to a particular national group – an argument very important to the discussion part in my dissertation. The author used real, ‘online’ utterances between the ELF speakers as the basis for the analysis of those communicative strategies.

Similarly, Klimpfinger (2007) analysed the intrinsic part of interactions where code-switching is the marker of one’s cultural identity. The author uses the VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) in order to examine and evaluate on the ‘shape’ of code-switching in the ELF interactions between speakers from different, European linguistic backgrounds. Theoretical background of code-switching presented in that paper serves as the foundation of the subsequent discussion and examination of the data ‘which includes word-fragments, single words, and clauses up to whole passages’ (Klimpfinger 2007:350).

As mentioned above, some of the scholars fear that ELF may become a serious threat to the linguistic and cultural variety in mainland Europe (see Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1997). The authors investigate the influence of English that is “connected to ongoing processes of Europeanization and globalization”. Their attempt is “to assess in what ways the success of the ‘English language industry’ impacts on the rights of speakers of other languages and cultures” (1997: 27).
However, the growing body of ELF research provides insight in the issues related to ELF imperialism, shedding more light on the attitudes towards ELF and the ongoing processes in the field of foreign language learning. Hülmbauer (2010) in her panel talk provided excellent examples of fluidity of languages. What is more, the author has based her research on DYLAN project task 4.2 that focuses on ‘the linguistic and communicative changes that affect English as a lingua franca under increasing interaction with other languages in multilingual practices’\(^9\). In other words, the author argues that ELF is not the threat to other European languages, but it is the other European languages that have an impact on and shape ELF, as the ELF speakers use various linguistic resources in order to accommodate their speech. Thus, ELF becomes an internationally comprehensible variety. What is more, these processes of plurilingual elements being employed in ELF are naturally occurring in the ELF communication, hence the traditional boundaries between languages become more fluid.

Erling and Bartlett (2006) in their article present a research study on students of Free University in Berlin. The authors focus on investigation of Europeanised English presenting: linguistic features that are observable in the utterances of those students, languages attitudes towards native, standardised forms (British and American English) expressed by the students, and finally the implications for teaching English at a university level – appropriating teaching methods to the needs of the integrating Europe. Erling and Bartlett argue that the users of ELF see themselves as ‘rightful owners of the language’ as they assert their identities through it. Having this in mind the authors’ article echoes the need for accepting ELF as a new variety for international communication. Hence, evaluating the teaching methods of English. ‘We (...) suggest that changing opinions on national (US and UK)

standards and the emergence of the ‘New Europe’ represent mutually reinforcing conditions of possibility for the deliberate adoption of a Europeanised English as a lingua franca (ELF)’ (Erling and Bartlett 2006: 11).

Naturally, apart from the works chosen and presented above, there are also works within the field of ELF but concerning other parts of the world, especially East Asia. There have been many works devoted to the phenomenon of ELF and its development in the post-colonial territories. Furthermore, these works on post-colonial Englishes have triggered scholars’ interest in the field of English as a lingua franca in various, different parts of the world.

2.6 Qualitative research

Since the foci of this project are two phenomena: ELF and identity, the research is qualitative in nature. The reason for choosing qualitative research methods is partially because of the topic – it would be very hard to explain linguistic identity and the phenomenon of ELF using quantitative methods. The other reason for choosing qualitative methods is because of the nature of the data and the further analysis of that data. Because the data used in this dissertation represents social interactions it is the social phenomenon that is under investigation, therefore, the most appropriate means through which the interpretation and analysis of the data is possible is the qualitative research methods.

A well presented qualitative research is not possible without prior examination of some works that deal with qualitative research methods and analysis first. For that reason, I have chosen the work by Miles and Huberman (1994) on qualitative data analysis. In their extensive writing the authors define data analysis, “as consisting of three concurrent flows of activity: (1) Data reduction, (2) Data display, and (3) Conclusion
drawing/verification” (p. 10). The first stage refers to the selection of data in order to narrow the scope of a study. The data display stage concerns the organization of the data so that it is easier for the writer to draw the conclusions. The final stage is the actual data analysis, looking for regularities, trends, patterns and the like. Furthermore, the first two stages are not two separate forms of analysis they are two activities that are necessary to be taken in order to analyse a given data set. The final stage is the proper analysis. This basic yet very detailed plan of selection, organization and analysis of data serves as a foundation to the analysis in this paper.

Because my work is based on qualitative data I have decided to include literary works on this kind of data analysis. Furthermore, in the subsequent parts I am intending to follow the stages outlined above in the Miles and Huberman’s (1994) book.

2.7 The VOICE project – issues concerning the compilation of the ELF corpus

The data that were chosen for the purpose of this study comes from the VOICE project directed by Barbara Seidlhofer. However, before going to introduce the general information about the project itself it is advisable to become aware of the compilation of the entire project and the issues that the project team faced throughout the entire process of compilation. For this reason, the members of the VOICE project have written a very detailed article concerning all the decisions that had to be made so that the actual VOICE corpus of ELF interaction met the high expectations.

In the article the authors discuss both the theoretical as well as practical issued faced. There is a very detailed discussion on the stages of data collection and data selection. The former outlines four main criteria for

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10 More detailed information on VOICE project and data that were taken from it is included in the section of methodology in this study.
the data collection and since all the criteria do not happen at the same time in real life, data selection was applied in order to compile the corpus of naturally occurring, interactive ELF talk. Later in the article the authors present the issues of human and computer readability, orthography norms – issues concerning the transcription conventions designed for VOICE project. The presentation of all the details involved in the process of compilation of the corpus the authors demonstrate that ‘every single, often minor, detail involves a decision that is – consciously or not – informed by particular assumption and hypotheses (Breiteneder, Pitzl, Majewski, Klimpfinger 2006: 182)
CHAPTER 3  METHODOLOGY

3.1 Empirical data description

The aim of the study is to investigate the phenomenon of identity among the speakers of English as a lingua franca in Europe. For this reason, I have employed transcribed interactions between both: the Europeans-only, and mixed groups of participants in the ELF settings. The data constitutes the heart of the present study as my entire work centres around the analysis of the data. Therefore, I intend to give: first, general, and next more detailed information about the project, corpus, materials and participants. Naturally, because the data is of qualitative nature, the analysis will also be in parallel to and appropriate to qualitative data analysis (see Miles, Huberman 1994 2nd ed. for more details on data analysis).

3.2 General information about the data used in the present study.

The paper focuses on the issue of identity reflected in one’s language in a multilingual and multicultural settings. To be more precise, the subject of my examination is how speakers of different first languages show their identities when communicating in English in international settings. The subsequent parts will provide more detailed information on the data in general, the VOICE project, the materials, the participants, and restrictions and limitations of the present study. Having introduced the main and most prominent works in the fields of ELF, ELF in Europe, and the notion of identity, as well as having defined the position of my research, I will now proceed to the description of the data that I will employ in this study.

3.2.1 Project VOICE (Vienna – Oxford International Corpus of English)

English is the most wide-spread language in the world nowadays. It is used as the means of intercultural and international communication between
speakers who do not share the same first languages. Therefore, English serves the role of lingua franca in various domains of life. However, there are hot debates and many different stand points that scholars take concerning the matter of ELF. ‘[C]urrently, there is a very considerable gap between the extent of the spread of ELF and the extent to which efforts have been made to describe it’, therefore, ‘[r]esearch needs to be undertaken that investigates the possible emergence of ELF innovations, and makes these visible as expressions of identities and evidence of the sense of ownership of the language’ (Seidlhofer 2009: 237-239). Hence, the idea of a computer corpus consisting of ‘online’, real ELF interactions which will serve as a foundation of description of the phenomenon of ELF, and will also enable other researchers to analyse it, contributing to both: further understanding and, hopefully, acceptance of ELF as a new variety of English in the future. Its authors believe that: ‘[i]t is the ultimate aim of the VOICE project to open the way for a large-scale and in-depth linguistic description of this most common contemporary use of English by providing a corpus of spoken ELF interactions which will be accessible to linguistic researchers all over the world’ (http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/what_is_voice accessed 6th July 2010).

3.2.2 Corpus information

The corpus is a collection of transcribed recordings of conversational interactions between users of ELF from educational, business, professional and leisure domains. The interactions are in English used as the common means of communication between the participants. Moreover, none of the interactions are scripted – unless the participants are reading something they have been discussing in that interaction. All are naturally occurring, spoken and face-to face ‘online’ interactions.
For the purpose of this study I have decided to use conversational interactions from educational and leisure domains. The reason for this choice has three main advantages: firstly, my study narrows down the scope of the research to two domains and therefore, there is a bigger chance that the findings will be more concise. Secondly, by selection of two domains I have a chance to investigate and juxtapose both formal and informal interactions which may bring new perceptions on ELF talk. Finally, the reason for choosing two domains is for the sake of simplicity of methods, as the analysis of the phenomenon of identity in ELF interactions is already complex, and further complication would not add to the comprehension of the two phenomena in question.

3.2.3 The materials

In the study I am planning to investigate the phenomenon of identity among European users of ELF. As it was mentioned above, I have decided to employ the data provided by the online corpus VOICE from the educational and leisure domains. The VOICE corpus consists of thirty-five different transcripts in five different domains, out of which I have selected eight transcripts from two domains. The procedure I employed when selecting the appropriate fragments was based on the subject of my analysis. All the relevant interactions were then copied to a WORD file and another selection was made. The multi-step process of selection of the materials for the present study facilitated the choice of the best and least ambiguous examples.

3.2.4 Transcription conventions

Together with the growth of the corpus, the researchers involved in the VOICE project have been working on the transcription conventions that: firstly, will be easy to remember or be self-explanatory, in other words
conventions that will be simple and enable researchers from around the world ‘to explore the very nature of ELF talk’ (Breiteneder et al. 2006: 183). And secondly, would reflect all the interactions as accurate as possible. For any project similar to VOICE it is of great importance ‘and need to reconcile three main requirements: 1) they need to capture the reality of spoken interactions as precisely as possible, 2) they need to be replicable, i.e. the scheme must be usable without further explanation by other researchers, 3) they need to make sure that the resulting transcriptions are computer-readable’ (VOICE project official website11 emphasis in original). This resulted in two types of conventions: mark-up and spelling. The former with the focus on what seems to be the feature of ELF speech, with pronunciation, coinages and onomatopoeic descriptors, to name just a few. The latter, on the other hand, is an attempt to present the rich variety of ELF talk in a standardised way. There were, of course, many revisions to the transcription conventions, however, the two presented above, are the up-to-date, final product. It is also noteworthy, that the transcripts are very precise and include many details from the context of the interactions12. The project team have put an enormous effort in producing such rich transcriptions.

As mentioned above, the data, which the VOICE corpus consists of, are the spoken interactions that were transcribed by the researchers involved in the corpus project. All the fragments of the interactions that will be used in the discussion in my study will have the original labels so that it is easier to refer to them online. Furthermore, at the end of each fragment I supplied information about the name of the transcript header and the numbers of the original lines from the transcript. As to the transcription convention that are used in the transcripts, I do not intend to change or adopt different than were

11 http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/page/transcription_general_information (last accessed 15th September 2010)
12 For more detailed discussion on the process of compilation of the VOICE project see Breiteneder et al. 2006
used by the researchers transcribing the data. However, all the different colours that are originally used in the transcripts available online will be reduced to black colour in the fragments selected in this study. The list of conventions will be transferred from the VOICE website and will be included in the APPENDIX A. No voice clips are used in my research, I only use the transcribed data that is available for public use on the website. As part of the material description I also included a table with information about the participants and the discussion topics of each of the transcriptions. APPENDIX B includes the table.

3.2.5 The participants

The speakers come from various linguistic backgrounds which are enlisted below. The participants are all proficient users of English as a lingua franca ‘ELF users are not learners of the language but language users in their own right, irrespective of whether or not they perceive themselves as learners or not (e.g. Seidlhofer 2001a, 2001b). The information provided on the website of the corpus illustrates the range of ELF speakers who took part in the recordings and thus became a part of the project itself. The speakers’ number is approximately 1250. It should be mentioned that the data gathered in the corpus focuses on the European ELF speakers, however, there are also some non-European ELF speakers.

After the process of selection of the materials the number of speakers decreased to around eighty from one thousand two hundred and fifty, out of which seventy three were the participants of the interactions. There were around twenty five different nationalities both European and Asian. However, European nationalities are the majority with the Austrians, the Italians, the Germans and the French as the top four most common nationalities among all participants from the data selected for the purpose of this study. There are
few nationalities from Eastern Europe, namely the Slovak, the Russians, the Polish, the Latvians, the Ukrainian, and the Estonians, and two from Southern-East Europe: such as the Romanians and the Albanians and nationalities from Southern Europe: the Maltese. Asian nationalities: Indian. Other nationalities: Venezuelan. Most of the recordings took place either in Austria, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, or in Malta.
CHAPTER 4  RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this part of the paper I am going to present the analysis of the data that has been selected. The focus of my work is the study of identity in the international and intercultural settings. For this reason, as said before, I have used the data from a computer-based corpus of English as a lingua franca - VOICE. Before proceeding to the results and discussion I will recall the questions of this thesis first. These are:

1. How do ELF speakers negotiate their identities?
2. Is negotiation a socially meaningful practice?
3. To what extent can ELF speakers’ identities be observed to shift according to the communication context?

4.1 Establishment of ELF speakers’ identity.

Following Blommaert’s thought that identity is ‘who and what you are’ (2005: 203), I would like to argue that people not only identify themselves with one particular group, but also by doing so, want to be recognised as members of that particular group for belonging to it defines them. However, one should not forget about the role of semiotics that makes the system work vice versa. Namely, by providing information about ourselves, our identity is established and we are systematically placed in a particular group, society or nation. This basic, yet complicated concept of identity seen from semiotics perspective will be examined below.

4.1.1 Self presentation to a new group of people.

As argued by Blommaert and other scholars, identity is not a stable category, but a fluid and dependant on various factors phenomenon. Extract 1 is a fragment taken from a seminar discussion on Austrian culture and cultural differences in general that took place in one of the universities in
Vienna. A teacher guides the discussion. There are twenty identified participants who are not acquainted with one another. The fact that most of the participants do not know one another is a perfect opportunity for me to either validate or reject the standpoint specified above. All the transcription conventions are kept as in the original version of the VOICE transcription and are included in the APPENDIX B. However, all the personal information, such as name, surname and names of places or organizations are not included in the transcription to preserve anonymity.

Extract 1

1. S6: my name is [S6] [S6/last] (1) and (. ) yeah the last name [S6/last] (. )
2. doesn't sound very european (. )
3. S1: <soft>hm </soft>
4. S6: so erm (. ) i have to explain that my father is from indonesia (1)
5. and that's why i speak german (. ) and (. ) indonesian (1) and erm (1) so
6. (. ) the word <pvc> intercultural </pvc> (1) erm (. ) differences <@> is
7. </@> (. ) already something that is (. ) in our family (. ) <9> for </9> a
8. very long time and (. )
9. S1: <9> @ </9>
10. S6: i’m very was very interested to get to know the (. ) different (. ) er
11.cultural differences in asia and (. ) erm(. ) i had this er kind of seminar
12.in (. )germany about (. ) <pvc> intercultural </pvc> differences and (. )
13.yeah i’m very interested to (1) get to know some (. ) something about
14.the differences in here because (. ) yeah normally people say ah this is
15.the (. ) yah austria germany (. ) switzerland so (. ) this is (. ) yah (. ) (erm)
16.(. ) not very not many differences but (1) yah if you go there you realize
17.@ they're <2> very </2>
18.S1: <2>so </2> you live in germany now
19.S6: yeah normal- <L1ger> ja {yes} </L1ger> i live in germany study
20.medicine (1) twenty-four years old (1) and this is my (. ) yah (. )
21.hopefully last year (. )
22.S1: <soft> @ </soft> (. )
   (EDsed31 lines 76 – 83)
The Extract 1 was taken from the seminar transcription entitled EDsed31. S6 introduces himself providing basic personal information about himself and his present situation to the other people who take part in that seminar discussion. Most of the time S6 uses English to communicate the information but at times he code switches to German, thus the role of ELF in such situations is underestimated. However, S6 does not limit himself to using English, but also code switches to his mother tongue indicating or even emphasising the fact that he is the German – the European even though his surname is not of European origin, what is explained by S6 at the very start of the interaction. What is significant here is the moments S6 chooses to use German instead of English. In line nineteen the speaker switches to German in order to answer a question of his place of residence. This, again, may be interpreted as an emphasis of the speaker’s identity.

The next extract comes from a different seminar discussion with a header EDsed 251. This is a similar situation to the one above. The discussion is about the academic mobility in Europe. All the participants are of European origin and most of them are not well acquainted with one another. This seminar discussion is clearly led by S1 who also gives a speech about the history of academic mobility in Europe.

Extract 2

1. S15: my name is [S15] [S15/last] (. ) i come from turkey? er my e:r (. )
2. university is here for <LNger> hochschule {university} </LNger> (. )
3. er i’ m e:r also [org3] student? er my university in in turkey [name1]
4. university i come from [name1] university? (1) e:r my department is e:r
economics (. ) e:r and my second er this year is my second year erm (. )
5. e:r here (. ) er not here in (. ) my university in turkey? <un> xx </un>
6. only person <soft><un> xx xxxx </un></soft> (. )
7. S1: where is it located your university in turkey? (. )
8. S15: e:r in turkey [place21]
9. S1 in [place21]
Similarly to the previous extract, the above fragment of an interaction captures the moment of S15 introducing himself. From the very beginning S15 clearly marks his identity. One may argue that this example is yet another simple statement that reveals only the place of origin of that person. However, what is interesting is the usage of the possessive pronoun ‘my’ by that speaker. By doing this, S15 explicitly demonstrates a type of bond with Turkish society, geographical place – a particular city in Turkey, or even educational organisation – the university back in Turkey. Thus, there is a clear marker of his national identity that ‘others’ him from the rest of participants not belonging to ‘his’ group. It may be argued that not knowing the international group in which S15 found himself triggered the necessity of defining himself as ‘belonging to Turkish society’. Nevertheless, being able to use English he successfully functions in the international group he found himself in.

4.1.2 Enactment of gender identity

In the following part of analysis I intend to illustrate both: how gender identity is established, and the manner in which people conform to particular characteristics ascribed to men and women. Following Wodak’s (1997) thought: gender identity is perpetually enacted by all of us. In other words, being a member of one or the other gender group requires from us to conform to the expectations towards behaviour, role, or even the manner of speaking. Even though the roles of both genders have undergone some changes in the last one hundred years or so and women in the majority of modern societies are now less dependent on men than in the past, there are still some expectations that one has to fulfil in order to be considered either a man or a woman. I am not considering any extreme cases here. My aim is to approach
the issue of identity from a different angle here, not the one that a person determines which group, or gender he or she belongs to, but rather the semiotic approach that one is often ‘placed’ in a group by others on the basis of, for instance, the appearance, the accent, or the profession, to name just a few.

Below is a conversation fragment from the transcript EDint330. The conversation is between four participants, three from Malta and one, the researcher from Serbia. The aim of the interview is to gain more information about the attitudes towards English and Maltese among the natives from Malta. The researcher interviews Maltese participants on the subject of the languages that the speakers use in various formal and informal situations.

**Extract 1**
1. S3: for example my daughter <4> we</4>
2. S1: <4>choose</4> </4> maltese =
3. S2: = -ese yeah?
4. S1: mhm?
5. S3: my daughter we brought her up e:r bilingual. (.)
6. S1: y:es
7. S3: cos first for example (.).hh me and my wife used to speak to her in
8. english. (.)
9. S1: yes? (.)
10. S3: but then when she started school?
11. S1: uhu
12. S3: cos all the maltese and you need it for university
13. S1: yes
14. S3: e::r we swap (1) my wife was only speaking to her english
15. S1: yes
16. S3: and i used to <5> speak to </5> her in maltese (.)
17. S1: <5>uhu </5>
18. S1: but why did you speak e::r english first (.) <6> to her </6>
19. S3: <6>e::rm </6> (3) hh i would say it's coincidence well i mean i i’m-
20. my
21. wife used to speak to her m- more in english because at the end of the day
22. SHE is with her not m- n- not <un> xxxx (.). xxx </un>
As said before, gender roles are ascribed to men and women. There is no need to enumerate the roles or even name them here, as I lack the space to do so. However, the fragment above illustrates that the participants are aware of them, because they attempt to fulfil the roles. This is most clearly stated by the male participant whose wife is referred to as ‘SHE’ in line 22. As a mother, the speaker’s wife spends more time at home with the child. This is the role of a mother. The role of the father here was to teach the child Maltese, the language of the older generations in Malta. The gender roles, on the other hand, may be the triggering factor of negotiation of one’s identity. Being either a man, or a woman, and fulfilling gender roles defines us and thus contributes to the establishment of gender identity.

Enactment of gender identity involves fulfilling the behavioural patterns ascribed to men and women. A very good example of enactment of gender identity is presented in the subsequent conversational fragment. It is taken from the transcript Edcon496. There are three participants and one researcher. Two of the participants are males and one female. The researcher is female and does not contribute to the conversation anyhow but sits aside. Having read the entire interaction it became obvious that the S4 – the researcher does not participate in the interaction.

Extract 2

1. S1: <5>i love that look @</5>
2. S1: <6>she </6>(1) <@> no </@> @@@@<7>@@@@</7>
3. @@@ <loud> @ </loud> @@@@ @ @1> @@</1>
4. S3: <7>@@@ @</7>
There is an idea proposed by the scholars within the field of gender identity, that gender is perpetually enacted and both sexes articulate the desire to be an attractive partner for the opposite sex (see for instance Butler 1990, Wodak 1997). Before analyzing the fragment it is worth mentioning that speakers 1, 2, and 3 are the participants and speaker 4 is the researcher. The situation of a man wanting to attract a woman’s attention is captured in the above fragment. Clearly, the S1 fits the above criteria and by using various expressions that describe the features of the female’s appearance, he is attempting to seduce the woman. It is a deliberate enactment and an attempt to establish ‘male’ identity within the present context together with the desire to be seen as an attractive male representative. English, here, is used as the tool for the S1 to be noticed and understood. The adjectives ‘gorgeous’ and
‘beautiful eyes’ in lines 10 and 13 respectively, create the means through which S1 would like to get S4’s attention. Even though the entire situation is not serious, there is still gender enactment in it.

4.1.3 The semiotics part in the process of establishment of speakers’ identities

Now, I would like to focus on the social categorization, namely, the way that people are grouped not by themselves, but by other people around them. ‘[I]n order for an identity to be established, it has to be recognised by others. That means that a lot of what happens in the field of identity is done by others, not by oneself.’ (Blommaert 2005: 205). This is rather opposite viewpoint from the one taken in the establishment of identity subtheme. I am proceeding to the examination of a fragment and depict the process of categorization of people into groups.

The extract was taken from transcript EDcon521. All the participants are European students from various universities. The discussion is mainly about business, universities and their relation. The participants are to prepare a presentation from the topic, however, at some point of the conversation they move away from the topic of the conversation and begin to discuss different models of universities in the European countries.

Extract 1

1. S2: <3>that's </3><4> a bit </4> difficult to understand because it's
2. back and forth but you (.)
3. SX-f: <4><soft>yah </soft></4>
4. S2: you'll see it (.) somehow (.)
5. <un> xxx </un> page one (.) and it's (.) there (.) continued on page
6. three (.) (there you go) (.) then it's back <5> to page </5> two (1)
7. S9: <5>right </5>
8. S2: <6>e:r </6> and then it's page four (1)
9. S9: <6>okay </6>

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10. SX-f: <soft>so it's one three two four?</soft> (.)
11. S9: one three two four (.)
12. S2: yah @@ <soft> (basically) </soft>
13. S9: this is very logical @
14. SX-f: @@
15. S2: it isn't <7> @@ sorry </7>
16. S4: <7>he's norwegian </7> you're not logical @
17. S2: <soft><un>xx </un> @@ </soft> (3)
18. S9: so see you:<un> x </un> (too) tomorrow
19. S3: yeah (2) thank you

(EDcon521 lines 1574 – 1588)

All the participants, except for SX-f as this speakers was not identified, who take part in the conversation are Europeans. The above fragment is a discussion about the notes for the presentation that the participant were working on during the recording session. Because the notes are not written in the sequential order, S2 (Norwegian male participant) has some problems understanding it. When S2 admits that he has such problems, S4 (Swedish female participant) quickly responds that S2 is not supposed to be bright- this is the stereotype that functions among the Scandinavian countries according to which the Norwegians (here S2) are said not to be very intelligent. One may argue that this is a stereotype, a generalization concerning the Norwegians; however, it is the process of categorization based on some assumptions that is the origin of stereotyping. What is more, the functioning of the stereotype among the Scandinavians resulted in additional meaning ascribed to the Norwegians, namely ‘not very intelligent’. This is the establishment of that speaker’s identity which originates from generalisations that others have established. It is the semiotics approach, the idea that the identity can also be created and in a sense ascribed to particular people, or groups, even nations as seen in this case.
4.2 Negotiation of speakers’ identity

The concept of negotiation of identity is mentioned in, for instance, Norton or Pavlenko. Both the scholars examine different situation where the phenomenon of negotiation of identity can be observed shedding more light on the process itself, as well as the factors that have either a direct or indirect impact on it. In the subsequent section I am attempting to analyse the phenomenon of negotiation of speakers’ identity.

Extract 1 is taken from a transcript entitled EDint328. It is an interview with a Maltese couple on the use and role of English in Malta. The fragment below depicts an interaction between a researcher (S1) and a Maltese woman (S2).

**Extract 1**

1. S2: <1> so i am a <L1mlt> mara {woman} </L1mlt> (. ) i am a woman
2. <L1mlt> mara {woman} </L1mlt> because yeah </1>
 (...)
3. S2: <4> no no no </4> what i'm coming to is this (. )
4. S1: mhm
5. S2: because i w- i was writing on maltese (. ) and now i mean (. ) j- just
6. to write <L1mlt> xx {name of a city} </L1mlt> in maltese (. ) i find it
7. MORE difficult
8. S1: mhm
9. S2: it was better for me to write two weeks (1) you know?
10.S1: yes yes yes <5> just </5> write in english
11.S2: <5> so </5>
12.S2: i don't know whether i write t- t- i o- i o- i ought to write words in
13. maltese because i- in english i find it more easy for me to <6> write in
14. english </6> you know =
15.S1: <6> yes yes yes </6>
16.S4: = then write in english
17.S2: no <7> i- i wrote </7> in maltese now because i- i want everything
18.in maltese (. )
19.S1: <7> it's easier </7>
20.S2: <reading_aloud><L1mlt> xxxxx xxxxxxx xx</L1mlt></reading_aloud> (2) yes when i am reading a book and that
22.t- there is some many words that i don't understand
(EDint328 lines 2-3 and 312-324)

The extract above is a cluster of two fragments, one that is very short and
comes from the very beginning of the recording EDint328, and the other
fragment comes from the same recording but from the middle of the
interaction. What is interesting here is that I have juxtaposed the two
fragments to emphasise an interesting and significant identity negotiation.
Although at first it may seem that the Maltese woman (S2) identifies herself
as the Maltese, she later admits that it is English that she uses the most and it
is more difficult for her to write in Maltese. In addition to that, at the very
beginning of the interaction S2 code switches to Maltese and says that she is
a woman. However, later she recognises that she does not know Maltese that
well (lines 21 and 22 reflect the lack of knowledge of the Maltese
vocabulary). English, on the other hand, is the language she uses to function
on daily basis. What is interesting in the fragment above is how speaker S2
recognises the fact that it is English that defines her at the moment and how
she wants ‘everything in Maltese’ (lines 17-18).

Different identity repertoires and resources that are available at hand
play an important role, and this can be observed in the above example. Other
factors also have an impact on the negotiation of the identity such as the
culture, for instance. Living in a bilingual country where both languages
function side by side, demands from the Maltese people to adapt to the
situation. It results in the ‘split’ in identity or bi-identity by which I mean –
the performance of different identities in particular contexts.

The subsequent fragments are from the interview session EDint330. S1
is the interviewer and S3 is a native Maltese. The discussion is about the
usage of English and Maltese in Malta.
Extract 2

1. S3: she is maltese <8> but </8> she always (.)
2. S1: <8>yes </8>
3. S3: er speaks in english <9><un> xxx </un></9> you know (.)
4. S1: <9>yes </9>
5. S3: and so so we said (.) so we get it like that but when she when we
6. when she said growing up THEN (.)
7. S1: <soft>uhu </soft>
8. S3: my <10> mother doesn't </10> speak (1)
9. S1: <10>oh thank you </10> {S1 gets a drink}
10. S3: doesn't speak english (.)
11. S2: so<1>rry </1>
12. S3: <1>my </1> mother
13. S1: uhu
14. S3: and e<2>ven </2> (.)
15. S1: <2>i see </2>
16. S3: even e::r my wife's (.).father s<3>o::</3> that's way that's was one
17. of the reasons that i used to speak to her in malt ese (.)
18. S1: <3>thank you.</3>
19. S3: so that like i that she can click
20. S1: y:<4>es yes yes </4>
21. S3: <4>with her </4> with her <pvc> grands {grandparents} </pvc> (.)
22. S1: and your <5> wife </5> er preferred to speak (.)
23. S3: <5>-father </5>
24. S1: English <6> with her </6>
25. S3: <6>yeah yeah yeah </6> it helped her a lot at the end of the day
26. because er schooling (.). <pvc> schoolingwise </pvc> it's it's it's it's
27. (...)
28. S3: english (.). straight away (.). i mean if if you send them to a private
29. school but er play school (.). they only speak to them in eng<9>lish (.)
30. no maltese </9>
31. S1: <9> yes yes yes yes </9> yes hh and which school is: she attending
32. S3: no no no no.\<1> no she is </1> graduated and she is <2>
33. work</2>ing with <un> xx </un> commissions
34. S1: <1> not any more yeah </1>
35. S1: <2> yes </2>
36. S3: but which school was that
37. S3: she: was e:r (.). er private school in [place1]'s over here =
37. S1: = aha =  
38. S3: = [org1]  
39. S1: ah okay i see  
40. S3: right so that they're always over their demands (.) they're always er  
41. they always speak english no er no maltese =  
42. S1: = it's true they prefer english (.)  
43. S3: yes (.)  
44. S1: okay i see  
45. S3: but she studied maltese just the same (.) but the rest of the  
46. less<3>ons they </3> were all english (.)  
47. S1: <3> equally </3>  
48. S3: no no they are they are all english

(EDint330 lines 102 – 147)

The two fragments are taken from the series of interviews that were a part of a project whose purpose was to analyse and shed light on the attitudes towards English in Malta. I do not have access to the results that the author of the project arrived at. However, the reason I have chosen and presented them here is that they reflect a trend of bringing up children as bilinguals in Malta. It may not be something unusual, however, it may be a significant factor influencing the negotiation of identity. S3 brought up his daughter as a bilingual with strong emphasis on English. English is perceived as prestige but also a must if a child is to be successful in his/her future life. Maltese, on the other hand, is a ‘secondary language’ which S3 decided to teach his child “so that she can click” (line 29) with her relatives who do not know English (usually they were the elderly people). Nevertheless, the very same fact of bilingualism in Malta may be the clash-triggering factor. On the one hand, there is a strong position of English and those who mastered it are in a privileged position with more future job opportunities. On the other hand, Maltese is the language that is a bridge between older and younger generations of the Maltese.

Similar findings are reported in Norton (2000) where one of the participant sees English as the key factor influencing the position she holds.
In acquiring English the participant from Norton’s study sees an opportunity for her to gain access to a better job position, thus, become more respected by other people from the new environment. However, her personal relations are maintained in the use of her national language.

Nonetheless, Maltese is the language of the older generations and it is obligatory for the younger generations of the Maltese people in order to be able to function at school. Speaking English only could mean the loss of contact with relatives – an argument against English expressed by S3 in lines nineteen to twenty one. Speaking Maltese only, the Maltese risk being categorised as uneducated, hence having less job opportunities, which is a simple cause-effect relationship. Fortunately, the Maltese seem to have learnt how to manage such clash and seem to successfully function in the present situation. What is interesting, they even see some advantages in it, claiming that having those two languages is actually very convenient. It improves the linguistic opportunities as English expressions fulfil the gaps in Maltese and vice versa.

Younger generation, on the other hand, is not so strongly attached to the Maltese language. They rather perceive it as a must for school and exams, or additional skill that may create future opportunities. This may be argued to be a shift in identity observed which is directly linked to the political as well as cultural context. Nevertheless, both older and younger generations seem to have adapted to the situation and manage to take advantage of it.

4.3 English as a lingua franca – a threat to the European national languages and identities?

In this section of my study I intend to examine the issue of ELF as a threat not only to the national languages within the continental Europe, but also ELF users’ national identity. For the purpose of this investigation I employ interactions between the European users of ELF in a multilingual and
multicultural encounters. The data comes from VOICE project (2001) transcript LEcon566.

Scholars within the field of sociolinguistics and linguistics fear that ELF may pose a threat to the existing languages, not only within Europe but also in other parts of the world. On the other hand, scholars investigating the phenomenon of ELF claim that the fears are groundless (see Hülmbauer 2010, House 2003). House (2003) claims that ELF is used mostly because of its functional role and she echoes after de Swaan that: “[i]f one wants to communicate beyond one’s own local circle, one will have to (and often want to) learn a language which links one with wider circles of communication, with a language with a high ‘communication value’ (Q-value)” (2001:33ff cited in House 2003:560). Furthermore, in terms of identity the author argues that ELF cannot be used for ‘identity marking’ because of the fact that ELF ‘is not a national language’. ELF has been detached from the culture and tradition of the English spoken in the UK or the USA as the non-native speakers outnumber the native speakers. ELF users make the advantage of knowing ELF which functions alongside with the L1s of those ELF speakers. The main purpose of ELF is purely international communication. It is no longer associated with the linguistic imperialism by its users. On the contrary, having English as a lingua franca in their repertoires enhances the opportunities for a successful communication in international encounters. The native languages, then, are the markers of their identity. What is more, ELF strengthens the bond between speakers and their cultures and L1s. ELF users are aware of their national identity, moreover they also use other language repertoires to enhance the communication. Similar finding are reported by Cogo and Jenkins (in press) where the authors report the findings on awareness of ELF communication and the perception of ELF among young people from Europe. The authors state clearly that: ‘our student participants perceived languages as relevant and essential in their functioning as European
citizens’ (Cogo and Jenkins in press). Consider extracts 1 and 2 below. In the extracts below S1 is a German, male participant and S2 is an Italian female participant. Generally, the conversation is about traditional cuisines.

**Extract 1**

1. S2: <fast>but the <7> one we BOUGHT </7></fast> (is a really nice)
2. <un> x </un>
3. (3)
4. S1: <7>yeah this is </7>
5. S1: like German CHEFS . are supposed like the GOOD GERman chef</5>
6. even the <1>
7. ones </1>
8. S2: <@><1>yeah </1> tell me about the good German chefs </@>
9. S1: THEY have to train for certain time in FRANce as part of (.) what Constitutes good (1) <2> German chef </2>
10. S2: <2>ah that's too </2><fast> bad that they don't train in Italy </2><fast> mean what's the purpose </2><@> (.) of training in FRANCE
11. S1: beCAUS:E (.) the French cuisine and the German or northern French and German is actually (.) more or less the SAME except the French is more sophisticated? maybe?
13. S1: where(as) itALian is a different STOry. (.)
14. S2: comple:tel:y. @ @ @
15. S1: know what i mean.
16. S2: @ @
17. S1: is not SAYing that (2) <8> Germans always </8> ado:re (.)
18. S2: <8><whispering>(it's all) <un> xx </un></whispering></8>
19. S1: Italy and Italian culture and all of THAT ? (.) <slow> but it's quite different. (1)
20. S2: no come on (.)
21. S1: you have canederli. and stuff like that <3> but that's (an) </3>
22. (imports) like the north yeah? hh but is that even <4> (if it's) </4>
23. S2: <3>ye:ah </3>
24. S2: <4>no north</4>ern Italian and southern: (.) Austrian and German (.) is the same. (1) <5> well it's not the same very </5> similar. (.)
25. S1: <5>no? (.) no </5>

(LEcon566 lines 35 – 54)
Extract 2

1. S1: it's quite (.) (a typical) (2) but the French version would be
2. this.<LNfre> xx xx </LNfre><7> surreal </7>
3. S2: <7><LNger>kartoffelgratin {potatoes au gratin} </LNger></7> but
4. this is more <8><un> xx </un></8>
5. S1: <8>gratin </8> is different to <L1ger> auflauf {casserole}
6. </L1ger> actually <L1ger> auflauf {casserole} </L1ger> is more
7. <pvc> liquidy</pvc> (.) yeah
8. S2: <LNger>fischauflauf mit spinat xx x nur {fish casserole with
9. spinach xx x only} </LNger> four hundred nineteen <LNger> kalorien
10.(1) kaloRIEN {calories} </LNger> (2) (sure) (2) hh @@
11.S1: actually that's not <L1ger> auflauf {casserole} </L1ger> because it
12.isn't <pvc> liquidy? </pvc> (.) i think that's where they (.) make the
13.distinction

(LEcon566 lines 99 -103)

Both the extracts come from the same conversation between a German (S1) and an Italian (S2). In the former extract it is easy to observe that speakers refer to their cultural background and traditions, comparing their culture to other European cultures. The two participants clearly distinguish themselves from other cultures, even though the cultures share some common characteristics, such as the similar cuisine (see lines 10-12 extract 1). The major topic of the interaction is the cuisine in particular countries in Europe-namely, the two participants’ countries and one that is neither S1 nor S2 country.

Extract 2, on the other hand, is an example of code-switching and hybridity of languages par excellence. Even though the majority of the conversation is in English, the participants switch to either German, French or Italian. It is interesting how the participants, especially S2, switches to German in order to accommodate her speech to S1 who is a German (see Cogo 2009 for a in-depth presentation and analysis of code-switching and accommodation strategies). What is interesting in this fragment also, is the naturalness of switching from one language to another. The entire fragment
depicts the phenomenon presented in, for example in Hülmbauer 2010, namely the fluidity of the natural boundaries between languages. Not only would the interaction be impoverished if the speakers did not use other language repertoires, but also it may be claimed that the mere fact of participants using their L1, or other language resources may serve as evidence against the accusation of ELF being a threat to other languages. Furthermore, the usage of other linguistic repertoires in international encounters where the majority of communication is in ELF serves, as yet, another claim that it is the mere business-like feature of English as a lingua franca that the participants take as the most important advantage of it. No cultural implications or any linguistic imperialism is associated with the spread of English to different domains of life among the European Union member states. Finally the fluidity of ELF is a result of speakers ability to create new, lexical (in this example) forms that come from the speakers’ other linguistic repertoires. Lines 6 and 12 in extract 2 represent the creativity of S1.

Extract 3 has been taken from the same interaction that the previous two extracts. The fragment of the interaction depicts a very important issue that may have an impact on the German participant identity in this conversation. Furthermore, because the S1 is aware of the historical events that shaped and now influence the national identity of the Germans, he is cautious not to conform to the existing stereotype of a typical German. Consider extract 3 below.

**Extract 3**

1. S1: say your boyfriend FORCed you to go to another party
2. S2: @ @ <8> @ </8>
3. S1: <8>yeah?</8>
4. S2: <imitating>my boyfriend is a GERman </imitating> (2) e:rm
5. S1: <soft><un>xx </un> in german </soft>
6. S2: no? but i was thinking (.) like erm:<smacks lips> (2) erm
7. <whispering> the word doesn't come </whispering> (2) <loud>
8. dictatorial /loud/ that's what i  
9. was thinking /@/ @ @ (2) {S1 and S2 kiss}  
10. S1: but i'm not {S1 and S2 kiss}  
11. S2: you are  
12. S1: it is not very GERman to be dictatorial is it? (1)  
13. S2: no?  
14. S1: well hitler was. (.) but that's why now men can't be dictatorial any  
15. MORE . (.) because otherwise. (they're) <un> xx </un> (like) to hitler  
(L Econ566 lines 407 – 417)  

At the beginning of the fragment S1 jokes about being possessive and persuasive towards his girlfriend (S2). However, as the interaction continues, S2 refers to the stereotype of a German in line 4. Furthermore, S2 calls S1a ‘dictatorial’ to which S1 disagrees and next in line 12 he reassures that S2 does not believe in the stereotype. At the end of the fragment S1 indicates at the origin of that German stereotype – Hitler. S1, also demonstrates that he does not want to be seen in the negative light just because of that historical figure. Moreover, by admitting that he is not dictatorial in line 10, S1 attempts to reconstruct the picture of a German in the eyes of S2.

4.4 Issues relating to ELF speakers’ national identity

In this part of the dissertation I am going to present an analysis about speakers’ national identity in relation to European identity. For the purpose of this analysis I am going to employ interactions between European participants only. I will argue that speakers’ national identity is more common than the European identity. Furthermore, it may be argued that because of the historical events there have been many changes that affected the manner in which people perceive themselves; hence, the strong feeling of belonging to a particular nation is especially present in the mainland Europe where historical events and political matters have been influencing the way people perceive their and others nationality.
For the purpose of below discussion I have selected two fragments of the same transcript entitled EDcon521. The discussion is about problems with the excessive number of immigrants in the participants’ countries that resulted in, in some cases, adverse perception and attitude towards the immigrants in their countries overall.

**Extract 1**

1. S3: you can you have to have political reasons to stay here so now (.)
2. erm (.). hh <slow> our secretary </slow> erm e:r (.). she: (.). evicted (1)
3. like (.). a couple of thousand people and it was like a big fuss and she
4. was called <un> x </un> (hitler) (1) @ @ @ hh big problem but now
5. we are solving that problem of the integration really well and it's er one
6. of the main topics of our e:r our also our elections right now hh e:r like
7. entrepreneurship (.). and (immi)gration (.). that's e:r
8. S4: sweden has the exact same prob<8>lem </8> we: let (.)
9. S3: <8><soft>yah </soft></8>
10. S4: SO many people (1) e:r in a couple of <9> years </9> ago (1)
11. S3: <9><soft>mhm </soft></9>
12. S4: and they're now (.). they're not integrated <un> xxx </un> (1) i
13. mean if (1) you let (.). two thousand people in from the same country
14. because they're in trouble
15. SX-f: <un>xxxx </un>
16. S4: they (.). they wanna be together (.). <fast> because they feel </fast>
17. sa- (.). safe together (.). (with) (1) what they know (.). and then they
18. create a suburb in stockholm =

(EDcon521 lines 1136 – 1143)

(...) 

1. S12: actually we have problems with russians?<to S5><@> sorry
2. </@></to S5>
3. SS: @@ @
4. S5: <3>it's okay </3>
5. S4: <3>but e:r </3> yeah but e:r <4> it's </4> really <5> a big </5> big
6. problem

(EDcon521 lines 1239 – 1242)
As the discussion shifts from the situation of universities across Europe to a new topic – problems with immigrants, the participants contribute to it by sharing information about their countries. It is easy to notice that all the participants feel they have similar experience in their home countries. In additions to that, the commonality of the problem creates the sense of the participants being ‘integrated in the problem’, however, their national identity is still the ‘othering’ factor that divides the participants according to their nationality. In other words, even though there are many similarities between the participants, they are still perceived from the perspective of their nationality by others in the group. This ‘social categorisation is called othering’ (Blommaert 2005:205).

Another argument of the categorisation is the usage of the personal pronouns. Whenever a participant is referring to the inhabitants of his or her country, that participants uses ‘we’. On other occasions, when immigrants are concerned, for instance, there is a change in the personal pronoun to ‘they’ – meaning ‘other people’, or ‘not the people from my country who share the same customs, with common tradition, language and with characteristic features ascribed to them by the culture’.

Having focused on the three main questions this study aims to find answers to, I came across several examples reflecting a strong bond, or even affection towards three participants’ homelands. In case of one participant, she explicitly demonstrates her patriotism saying: ‘because I’m: really big (.) hh erm (.) I have really (.) I have really big patriotism (.)’ (Edcon521, line 1232). The two remaining participants when talking about their country use very emotionally marked language, for instance ‘such beautiful country Slovakia is’, or:

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13 The word othering refers to the process of social categorisation (for more exhaustive information see Blommaert 2005; chapter 8; or Holliday 2005)
What is significant here, those were the participants from the former Soviet Union countries. In order not to generalise this fact, I have also tried to find some contradictory examples, or examples from participants that are from Western European countries. However, my search did not return any such strong cases that would contradict the three examples here. Could this be the result of European integration in the Western part of Europe? Claiming such statement would be What is more, I have found some examples of participants from Western European countries to differentiate and divide the Europe into West and East.

My assumption, as to the first case, is that it may be the impact of the Soviet Union and the short period of time since the countries from East of Europe have gained independence. This would, to some extent, be a rational explanation to that situation. The strong bond with the country is again the result of the political situation that has resulted in freeing the Eastern European countries from the reign of the communism.

As far as the case of division of Europe into East and West, my assumption is that, even though Europe is said to be an integrated place, with common currency, parliament, institutions, there are still divisions in people’s eyes. There are many differences between the two parts of Europe that result in such division. On the other hand, had the situation been different in the past century, Eastern European countries would not be much different from the rest of Europe, impoverishing the European economical and cultural mosaic.
Nevertheless, these two assumptions cannot be accepted or cannot be said to constitute a strong case until there is more data and research done in the two areas. Furthermore, it may as well be only a coincidence of the cases to appear together in one set of data. However, I believe that even such cases should be mentioned as they may be a relevant starting point for further research.

4.5 Further discussion and interpretation

In the previous sections I presented and discussed a number of interactions between ELF speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The purpose of my study was to investigate speakers’ identity in ELF interactions. The findings suggest as has been observed in identity research in other contexts (see, for example, Pavlenko Blackledge 2004) that the phenomenon of identity is a multilayered and cannot be analysed from only one perspective. Hence, the idea to analyse particular situations to have a broader perspective on identity in multi-linguistic contexts. The findings also suggest that, not only the speakers mastered English to a level that enables them to successfully communicate with other participants, but also they performed their identities so that they constituted an integrated part of the international group in which they found themselves. In this final section, I revisit the findings in order to add further layer of interpretation to my earlier discussion.

The establishment of speaker’s identity does not have to begin at the start of a speaker’s life. Being confronted by new people is an excellent situation for a speaker to establish his or her identity anew. The findings from the discussion of the data clearly illustrate that establishment can happen at any context under certain condition. Namely, there have to be a group of people not acquainted to a speaker who in attempt to define himself/ herself provides personal information in order to be perceived and categorised to an
existing group, here nationality. Establishment of gender identity is somewhat different because it is about conforming to the existing roles. The following paragraph discuss the establishment of gender identity in more detail. Nonetheless, speakers usually establish their identity in a conscious manner in order to be considered a part of the international group. Once they establish their identity and their place within it they maintain their position by means of English – a tool that enabled them to be part of that group.

Therefore, such an important role of language in the globalised world. On the one hand, it ties a person to his/her cultural and national origins. On the other hand, being bilingual and using English as the means of communication on a global, or more importantly here, continental scale does not have to mean being tied to the British or American culture. This is the phenomenon of ELF whose role is to be an international language for both: its native speakers, and non-native speakers. And this perspective on ELF and its role arises hot debates among scholars who claim that the expansion of English could result in both linguistic and cultural impoverishment. ‘It seems in applied linguistics that scholars are happy to recognize the spread of English in terms of its functions but not so willing to accept the consequence that widespread diffusion will inexorably involve a change in language forms’. (Cogo and Dewey 2006:61). The results of my study as well as other scholars (see Hülmbauer 201014) may serve as evidence against the above claim. Furthermore, ELF enables communication on a global scale, and the fact that speakers have other linguistic resources adds more creativity to the ELF phenomenon.

Gender identity and its establishment limits the participants to their choice – one can only be either a man or a woman. Thus the repertoires are limited to one particular group, excluding the extreme or in-between cases.

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14 Hülmbauer, C. ‘Trespassing recommended- a DYLAn perspective on plurilingual borderland in and through ELF’ Panel talk. Sociolinguistic Symposium 18, University of Southampton, 1- 4 September 2010
Nonetheless, the most significant finding is that by fulfilling the gender roles ascribed to men and women by the mere fact of belonging to one or the other sex, influences both, the establishment of speaker’s identity and the negotiation of that identity influenced by different contexts.

As far as the participants’ national or European identity is concerned, the findings of my discussion are not exactly the ones I expected. Even though it is said that Europe is an integrated place, with common institutions, or the common currency, the Europeans are still aware of their national identity. They somehow stay within their national identity boundaries, and yet, are capable of adapting and negotiating their identities in such a manner that they can function in international settings. The results from the analysis of the notions of speakers identities may serve as a good example. This can be noticed especially in the groups where there are European participants only. What is more, because of the ‘othering’ factor, they feel that being of different nationality than most, or even the rest of the participants brings sometimes the negative stereotypes to arise: as Blommaert argues, ‘we tend to produce stereotypes about our country of origin abroad’ (2005: 206). The reason for doing so is to manipulate people to think of us the way we want them to think. In most cases there are the negative stereotypes – the ones created by other people, as it may be noticed in the example given in the semiotics part of the analysis (see 4.1.3 The semiotics part in the process of establishment of speakers’ identities). Nonetheless, there is a clear distinction in speakers’ identities. One notices not the European identity per se, but rather a mosaic of national identities. ‘European identity by the relocation of power from the national to both supranational and regional level’ (Wright 2010). In other words, the scholar argues that the European identity is affected by other factors, such as power and history of relations between the

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15 The quotation is from Language and Politics Panel during 18 Sociolinguistic Symposium at University of Southampton 1-4 September 2010.
nations, and that this results in national identity being stronger than the European identity. However, this fact does not change the relations between the participants, who are able to successfully adapt to the international character of the meetings.

The setting of all the meetings is also very important. The context of all the interaction happen to be in various European cities. This may be the factor influencing the European identity from not being performed, and instead the observed national identity. However, the fact that all the interactions took place in mainland Europe, and that the results show a trend for strong national identity among the participants, may in fact serve as evidence supporting validity of the findings in this study as well as Wright’s claim of the phenomenon of identity of supranational level being stronger than the European identity. Therefore, there is the need for further investigation of the area, and in particular, European identity in non-European settings, which is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this study.

In addition, the study comprises of empirical data, that is why the analysis may only bring some obvious trends that have been formed or are being formed. Again, even a minute change in, for example, cultural context may begin the domino effect that might result in great changes in various domains of life; thus, affecting individuals’ identities. Therefore, analysing such unstable phenomenon brings a risk of either over-generalisation or under-generalisation.

To summarize, I expected rather different and more obvious answers that this study was to present. However, to my amazement, I have discovered that even though at first some factors may not seem relevant in the analysis, they, in fact, indeed have a tremendous effect on the establishment or the negotiation of speakers’ identities. For instance, through the process of analysis I have realised that behind speakers’ behaviour which I discussed above, there is a net of connections which leads to particular factors
influencing and affecting the establishment, negotiation and change in those speakers’ identities. What is more, the discussion resulted in an assumption that some constituents of context, be it conversational or political, likewise the generalisations and establishment of identity are the variable factors of participants’ identities.
CHAPTER 5 Conclusion

The aim of the present study is to shed more light on the phenomenon of identity in mainland Europe observable in interactions among both: the Europeans and non-Europeans who use English as the means of communication in international encounters. Many scholars in the field of ELF argued that: ‘[w]hen a language travels from one domain to another it of course encounters new contexts, new peoples and new languages. Through language contact it is natural and inevitable that language change occurs. This is a necessary condition of human languages – without this inherent capacity for flexibility and variability they would not travel nearly so well since they would not be as adept at meeting the needs of the new speakers who use them’. (Cogo, Dewey :61). In other words, English is the language that is flexible and adopts to new situations, therefore it is a lingua franca par excellence on a global scale. Europe is no different.

In conjunction with this, the phenomenon of speakers’ identity, which was analysed in this study, seems not to be affected severely. The experiences from the past have a direct impact on the process of national identity shape. Many of the participants revealed in their interactions a strong bond with their countries, though it were the participants from former Soviet Union countries that seemed to have the strongest feeling of belonging to their nations. The explanation may be obvious, those countries have gained independence fairly recently. What is more, for the period of approximately fifty years those countries were ‘cut off’ from the outside world, hence the political situation forced changes in the perception of one’s culture and language. However, after the analysis of the interactions, all the participants do function in international encounters successfully using ELF. This may serve as evidence for ELF not being a threat to the participants’ linguistic and
cultural resources, but rather ELF being an intrinsic part of those participants’ lives.

5.1 Limitations of the overall study

Like any other project my study is not free from limiting conditions. The most significant limitation is lack of complete context of the interactions. All the data for the present study are transcriptions of interactions between ELF speakers in international settings which have been collected and transcribed by other researchers than myself. Therefore it is an additional difficulty for me to analyse data with little information about the context. Naturally, the VOICE project researchers have provided general information about the interactions, participants and context, to name just a few. Nevertheless, special care was taken when analysing all the fragments to avoid both over-generalizations or under-generalizations.

In conjunction with this, because the data consists of real, ‘online’ spoken interactions, and all the participants are fully aware of being recorded, there is a risk that it affected the behaviour and enactment of roles, or even identities of the speakers. Nonetheless, the process of selection of the material for this study comprised of few steps, each one eliminated ambiguous, or unclear fragments of interactions. Furthermore, even if the participants enacted their identities under the influence of the recording, it could serve as evidence of the fact that identity, in fact, may be enacted.

Another restriction of the present study is connected with the range of materials, that is, the domain from which the data was chosen. Because the scope of this study is already very vast I decided to analyse data that come from only two sets of context- the education and the leisure. The phenomenon of identity is not a stable category, therefore, there are many factors that have an impact on its establishment, negotiation and change. Hence, such limitation of the data influences the results of the analysis.
contributing to the over generalizations. For instance, the outcomes may vary if one analysed data from different contexts. Nevertheless, even the analysis of two sets of data, as in this study, may depict some already formed trends within a field of study, here the identity in ELF settings. As a researcher in this project I am aware of the restrictions and limiting conditions.

The main reason for which I have decided to use the VOICE as my database is the richness of contexts of interactions and, naturally, the number of interactants from all over the world. I would not be able to gather such culturally and internationally mixed groups of interactants in different, usually European, places. I am therefore grateful for the VOICE project team for making such contribution to my dissertation. However, despite the fact that VOICE data is an excellent source of information on various interactional phenomena, I would not recommend it for PhD students as the source of data for their projects because: first of all, there is not ‘hands on’ the data collection and, as it is mentioned above, much of the context information is simply unavailable for the researcher. Secondly, even though the VOICE project is excellent for small scale research, it would not be so for studies, such as PhD theses that investigate a matter in much broader contexts. Finally, students who decide to pursue their education to PhD level want to deepen their knowledge in a particular area, hence they need to have a focused and already directed manner of obtaining data in that area. I do not question the validity of VOICE data, as it is easy to observe that all the interactions are naturally occurring. My position here is that unlike M.A., PhD thesis requires more focused data, rather than one that comes from different contexts and have different participants each time.

Despite these limitations I believe that my study has reported the key trends in identity among the Europeans users of ELF. I also believe that the analysis of the findings juxtapose the opposite views on ELF and its role in the integrated world. Not only English as a lingua franca facilitates the
communication in the multilingual and multicultural settings, but also, in terms of speakers’ identity, ELF functions along with the national identity enabling the participants to be who they are and, at the same time, communicate it in the international encounters.

5.2 Implications for language policy in Europe

As it is argued in my study, there is a need for acceptance of ELF as a variety of English. Furthermore, ELF should be considered as the fluid and detached form of English with no national or cultural aspects ascribed to it. Hence, there is the need on the European language policy for accepting ELF as the within-European lingua franca that serves the purpose of international communication in different domains of social life of the Europeans. Furthermore, as Cogo and Jenkins suggest it – monolingualism of the native speakers of English results in the lack of ‘intercultural pragmatic skills that non-native English speakers tend to acquire as part of their English and other language learning’ (in press). Hence the need to promote teaching foreign languages in not only the member states with no English as the native language, but also and with emphasis on those states as well.

Another issue with ELF not being accepted by the EU language policy is the lack of understanding that ELF is a fluid and flexible “nobody’s native language” (Cogo, Jenkins in press). ELF is already omnipresent in daily lives of millions of Europeans, thus its acceptance in the European language policy is the final and necessary step that has to be taken.

5.3 Suggestions for further research

It is inevitable for the researchers to continue their work in the fields of both ELF and identity. However, as the former field is a relatively new area of inquiry it requires more scholars’ attention.
As mentioned several times above, there is a strong need to accept ELF in the European language policy as the de facto lingua franca in continental Europe. Therefore, there is constant need of research to be done in the field to accelerate the processes of both understanding the phenomenon of English as a lingua franca and contribute to the people’s attitudes about it. The recent work by Cogo and Jenkins (in press), for instance, reports on findings about the European young ELF users’ attitudes towards ELF. There is still much of the ambivalence among the ELF users, and even though they appreciate the communicative efficiency they gain thanks to ELF, they somehow seem to be tied to the standard variety of English. The answer lies in the teaching methods and teaching materials that are based on the standard varieties of English (usually British or American).

Therefore, teaching ELF would be the next step to take in order to allow the learners to choose which variety they want to learn – the traditional way that has British or American manner of speaking as the model, or ELF that places successful communication as the most significant aim of the learning a second or foreign language. Of course teaching ELF will meet many objections, however, ELF is already being used by the speakers of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds on daily basis, and the fact that there is still no alternative for ELF teaching is merely a matter of time as people become more aware and open to the opportunities that ELF brings to them. Furthermore, more data need to be collected to contribute to the general theory of the ELF and its usage. This, as mentioned above, would also contribute to the attitudes that people have towards ELF and other varieties. The scepticism about ELF will diminish if the body of works on ELF grows.

In conjunction with this, ELF should not be seen as the threat for national languages as it exists alongside with them – the findings in my study
and other scholars\textsuperscript{16} suggest that not only are the ELF users equipped with an efficient tool for international communication, but also they enhance their linguistic repertoires by having their national languages at hand when communicating with other ELF users, thus creating well functioning community of practice. There are of course other opportunities and advantages that ELF opens not only on the micro-level (referring to individual ELF users), but also to the macro-level (referring to the member states of the European Union). However, more data is required to pursue the change in the European language policy as well as attitudes towards ELF among the Europeans.

\textsuperscript{16} see, for instance, Cogo and Jenkins (in press); House (2003), Hülmbauer (2010)
APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

[2.1]

Mark-up conventions

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1. SPEAKER IDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1 : S2</td>
<td>Speakers are generally numbered in the order they first speak. The speaker ID is given at the beginning of each turn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Utterances assigned to more than one speaker (e.g. an audience), spoken either in unison or staggered, are marked with a collective speaker ID SS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SX</td>
<td>Utterances that cannot be assigned to a particular speaker are marked SX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SX-f: SX-m:</td>
<td>Utterances that cannot be assigned to a particular speaker, but where the gender can be identified, are marked SX-f or SX-m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SX-1: SX-2:</td>
<td>If it is likely but not certain that a particular speaker produced the utterance in question, this is marked SX-1, SX-2, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. INTONATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1: that's what my next er slide? does</td>
<td>Words spoken with rising intonation are followed by a question mark &quot;?&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S7: that's point two. absolutely yes.</td>
<td>Words spoken with falling intonation are followed by a full stop &quot;.&quot;.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. EMPHASIS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S7: er internationalization is a very IMPORTANT issue</td>
<td>If a speaker gives a syllable, word or phrase particular prominence, this is written in capital letters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3: toMORrow we have to work on the presentation already</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. PAUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SX-f: because they all give me different (.d) different (.d) points of view</td>
<td>Every brief pause in speech (up to a good half second) is marked with a full stop in parentheses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1: aha (2) so finally arrival on monday evening is still valid</td>
<td>Longer pauses are timed to the nearest second and marked with the number of seconds in parentheses, e.g. (1) = 1 second, (3) = 3 seconds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. OVERLAPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1: it is your best &lt;1&gt; case &lt;/1&gt; scénario (.d) S2: &lt;1&gt; yeah &lt;/1&gt; S1: okay</td>
<td>Whenever two or more utterances happen at the same time, the overlaps are marked with numbered tags: &lt;1&gt; &lt;/1&gt;, &lt;2&gt; &lt;/2&gt;,... Everything that is simultaneous gets the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example:</td>
<td>number. All overlaps are marked in blue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S9: it it is (.) to identify some&lt;1&gt;thing &lt;/1&gt; where (.)</td>
<td>All overlaps are approximate and words may be split up if appropriate. In this case, the tag is placed within the split-up word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3: &lt;1&gt; mhm &lt;/1&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. OTHER-CONTINUATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>Whenever a speaker continues, completes or supports another speaker's turn immediately (i.e. without a pause), this is marked by &quot;=&quot;.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1: what up till (.) till twelve? S2: yes=</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1: =really, so it's it's quite a lot of time.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. LENGTHENING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>Lengthened sounds are marked with a colon &quot;:&quot;.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1: you can run faster but they have much more technique with the ball</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>Exceptionally long sounds (i.e. approximating 2 seconds or more) are marked with a double colon &quot;::&quot;.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S5: personally that's my opinion the: er::m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. REPETITION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>All repetitions of words and phrases (including self-interruptions and false starts) are transcribed.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S11: er i'd like to go t- t- to to this type of course</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. WORD FRAGMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>With word fragments, a hyphen marks where a part of the word is missing.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S6: with a minimum of (..) of participa-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1: mhm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6: -pation from french universities to say we have er (..) a joint doctorate or a joi- joint master</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. LAUGHTER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>All laughter and laughter-like sounds are transcribed with the @ symbol, approximating syllable number (e.g. ha ha ha = @@@). Utterances spoken laughingly are put between &lt;@&gt; &lt;/@&gt; tags.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1: in denmark well who knows. @@ S2: &lt;@&gt; yeah &lt;/@&gt; @@ that's right</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 © VOICE

11. UNCERTAIN TRANSCRIPTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>Word fragments, words or phrases which cannot be reliably identified are put in parentheses ( ).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S3: i've a lot of very (generous) friends Example: SX-4: they will do whatever they want because they are a compan(ies)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. PRONUNCIATION VARIATIONS & COINAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>Striking variations on the levels of phonology, morphology and lexis as well as 'invented' words are marked &lt;pvc&gt; &lt;/pvc&gt;.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S4: i also: () er played (.). tennis er &lt;pvc&gt; bices &lt;/pvc&gt; er we rent? went?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>What you hear is represented in spelling according to general principles of English orthography. Uncertain transcription is put in parentheses ( ).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S9: how you were Controlling such a thing and how you &lt;pvc&gt; (avrivate) &lt;/pvc&gt; (it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example:</th>
<th>If a corresponding existing word can be identified, this existing word is added between curly brackets { }.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S6: what we try to explain here is the foreign direct investment growth (2) in a certain industry (..) and a certain &lt;pvc&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 13. ONOMATOPOEIC NOISES

Example: S1: it may be quite HARMLESS and at the end of the day you (.) <ono> dsj dsj dsj </ono> (.) somebody

When speakers produce noises in order to imitate something instead of using words, these onomatopoeic noises are rendered in IPA symbols between <ono> </ono> tags.

### 14. NON-ENGLISH SPEECH

Example: S5: <L1de> bei firmen </L1de> or wherever

Example: S7: er this is <LNde> die seite? (welche) </LNde> is

Example: S4: it depends in in in <LQit> roma </LQit>

Example: S2: erm we want to go t- to <LNvi> xx xxx </LNvi> island first of all

Example: S4: and now we do the boat trip (1) <L1xx> xxxx </L1xx> S3: mhm

Utterances in a participant's first language (L1) are put between tags indicating the speaker's L1.

Utterances in languages which are neither English nor the speaker's first language are marked LN with the language indicated.

Non-English utterances where it cannot be ascertained whether the language is the speaker's first language or a foreign language are marked LQ with the language indicated.

Utterances in languages which one cannot recognize are marked L1xx, LNxx or LQxx.

### 15. SPELLING OUT

Example: S3: <L1fr> oui un grand carre {yes like a big square} </L1fr> (.) i <fast> think it would </fast> be better if we put the tables a <soft> different way </soft>

If possible, translations into English are provided between curly brackets { } immediately after the non-English speech.

### 16. SPEAKING MODES

Example: S2: because as i explained before is that we have in the <fast> universities of cyprus we have <fast> a specific e:rm procedure

Utterances which are spoken in a particular mode (fast, soft, whispered, read, etc.) and are notably different from the speaker's normal speaking style are marked accordingly.

The list of speaking modes is an open one.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>17. BREATH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1: so it's always <strong>hh (.)</strong> going around (2) yeah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noticeable breathing in or out is represented by two or three <strong>h's</strong> (hh = relatively short; hhh= relatively long).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>18. SPEAKER NOISES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;coughs&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;clears throat&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;sniffs&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;sneezes&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;snorts&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;applauds&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;smacks lips&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;yawns&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;whistles&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;swallows&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1: yeah <strong>&lt;1&gt;</strong> what <em>/1</em> i think in in doctor levels S7: <strong>&lt;1&gt;</strong> &lt;clears throat&gt; *<em>&lt;/1&gt;</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These noises are transcribed as part of the running text and put between pointed brackets <code>&lt; &gt;</code>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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| Example: SX-m: but you NEVER KNOW when it's popping up you never know S3: **<coughs (6)>** |
| If it is deemed important to indicate the length of the noise (e.g. if a coughing fit disrupts the interaction), this is done by adding the number of seconds in parentheses after the descriptor. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>19. NON-VERBAL FEEDBACK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>&lt;nods&gt;</strong> <strong>&lt;shakes head&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong> S3: but i think if you structure corporate governance appropriately you can have everything (1) S7: <strong>&lt;soft&gt;</strong> mhm <em>/soft</em> <strong>&lt;nods (2)&gt;</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If it is deemed important to indicate the length of the non-verbal feedback, this is done by adding the number of seconds in parentheses.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>20. ANONYMIZATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A guiding principle of VOICE is sensitivity to the appropriate extent of anonymization. As a general rule, names of people, companies, organizations, institutions, locations, etc. are replaced by aliases and these aliases are put into square brackets [ ]. The aliases are numbered consecutively, starting with 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S9: that's one of the things (. ) that i (1) just wanted to clear out. (2) [S13]?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whenever speakers who are involved in the interaction are addressed or referred to, their names are replaced by their respective speaker IDs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| 68 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S6: so: (1) ei:ther MYself or mister [S2/last] or even boss (.) should be there every year.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A speaker's first name is represented by the plain speaker ID in square brackets [S1], etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S8: so my name is [S8] [S8/last] from vienna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A speaker's last name is marked [S1/last], etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2: that division is headed by (1) [first name3] [last name3] (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names of people who are not part of the ongoing interaction are substituted by [first name1], etc. or [last name1], etc. or a combination of both.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5: erm she is currently head of marketing (and) with the [org2] (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Companies and other organizations need to be anonymized as well. Their names are replaced by [org1], etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1: i: i really don't wanna have a: a joint degree e:r with the university of [place12] (.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Names of places, cities, countries, etc. are anonymized when this is deemed relevant in order to protect the speakers' identities and their environment. They are replaced by [place1], etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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| Example: |
| S8: he get the <L1cs> diplom {diploma} </L1cs> of [namel] university (.) and french university can give him also the <L1cs> diplom {diploma} </L1cs> |
| Other names or descriptors may be anonymized by [namel], etc., as in e.g. Charles University. |
| Example: |
| S3: erm i- in the [thingl] is very well explained. so <2> i can </2> pa- <3> er pass you this </3> th- the definitions. S4: <2> aha </2> S4: <3> okay </@> okay </@> </3> |
| Products or other objects may be anonymized by [thingl], etc. |

21. CONTEXTUAL EVENTS

{mobile rings} |
{S1 enters room} |
{S2 points at S5} |
{S4 starts writing on blackboard} |
{S4 stops writing on blackboard} |
{S2 gets up and walks to blackboard (1)} |
{S3 pours coffee (3)} |
{SS reading quietly (30)} |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contextual information is added between curly brackets { } only if it is relevant to the understanding of the interaction or to the interaction as such. If it is deemed important to indicate the length of the event, this can be done by adding the number of seconds in parentheses.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Example:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3: one dollar you get (.) (at) one euro you get one dollar twenty-seven. (.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pause in the conversation occurs because of the contextual event.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4: right. {S5 gets up to pour some drinks}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22. PARALLEL CONVERSATIONS

| Example: S1: four billion <spel> u s</spel> dollars. (.) S4: quite impressive (.) S1: er <to S2> not quite isn't it</to S2> (. ) i understand some other countries we handle | To indicate that a speaker is addressing not the whole group but one speaker in particular, the stretch of speech is marked with (e.g.) <to S1> </to S1>, choosing the speaker ID of the addressee. |
| --- | --- | --- |

| Example: S1: i've i've found the people very stressed SS: @@@ S1: that's (.) i don't know how many of you study here but it's VERY important to push the close the door button in that elevator. this is something i've never <3> seen in sweden </3> {parallel conversation between S1 and S3 starts} or anywhere else <4> but it's very important to push this button </4> SS: <3> @@@@@@ </3> SS: <4> @@@@@@@@ </4> S7: <5> i never even saw this button in another el- elevator </5> {parallel conversation between S1 and S3 ends} @@@ | Wherever two or more conversational threads emerge which are too difficult to transcribe, as a general rule only the main thread of conversation is transcribed. The threads which are not transcribed are treated like a contextual event and indicated between curly brackets { }. |
| --- | --- | --- |

23. UNINTELLIGIBLE SPEECH

| Example: S4: we <un> xxx </un> for the <7> supreme (.) three <7> possibilities S1: <7> next yeah </7> | Unintelligible speech is represented by x's approximating syllable number and placed between <un> </un> tags. |
| --- | --- | --- |

| Example: S7: obviously the the PROCESS will <un> x <ipa> 0eiq </ipa> </un> (. ) w- w- will (. ) will take (. ) at least de- decade | If it is possible to make out some of the sounds uttered, a phonetic transcription of the x's is added between <ipa> </ipa> tags. |
| --- | --- | --- |

24. TRANSCRIPTION BORDERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;beg CD1_4_00:35&gt;</th>
<th>The beginning of the transcript is noted by indicating the CD number, the track number and the exact position of the respective track in minutes and seconds.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| <end CD1_21_01:27> | The end of the transcript is noted in the same way. |
A gap in the transcription is indicated in parentheses, including its length in hh:mm:ss. Curly brackets { } are used in order to specify the reasons for or the circumstances of the gap.

An interruption in the recording is indicated in the same way, but abbreviated as "nrec" (i.e. non-recorded). The length you indicate will normally be a guess.

In addition to the regular mark-up, transcribers supplement the transcripts with Transcriber’s Notes in which they provide additional contextual information and observations about other features of the interaction not accounted for in the transcript.

## APPENDIX B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transcription code</th>
<th>Subject of discussions</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>Age of participants</th>
<th>Mother tongue of the participants</th>
<th>Number of unidentified speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDcon250</td>
<td>Discussion on various topics</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Between 17-34</td>
<td>2 Austrian, 2 Slovak, 1 Turkish</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDcon496</td>
<td>Presentation for a class next day and various other discussions</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17-34</td>
<td>1 Venezuelan, 1 Dutch-English (US)*, 1 Indian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDcon521</td>
<td>Seminar about the situation of universities in EU</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17-24</td>
<td>3 French, 1 Norwegian, 2 German (Austrian and German), 1 Dutch, 1 Swedish, 1 Russian, 1 Portuguese, 1 Polish, 1 Latvian, 1 Estonian, 1 Slovak, 1 Albanian</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDint328</td>
<td>Interviews with the Maltese on language attitudes in Malta</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17-50+</td>
<td>1 Serbian, 1 Maltese, 1 Maltese, English (MT)(^{17})</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDint330</td>
<td>Interviews with the Maltese on language attitudes in Malta</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17-34</td>
<td>1 Serbian, 1 Maltese, 2 Maltese, English (MT)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDsed251</td>
<td>Seminar discussion about academic</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17-34</td>
<td>10 Austrians, 1 Austrian, English (US), 6 Slovak, 1 Albanian</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{17}\) MT refers to the English spoken in Malta
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EDsed31</td>
<td>Discussion on Austrian culture and intercultural differences</td>
<td>1 Ukrainian, Russian, 1 Russian, 1 French, 1 Turkish</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEcon566</td>
<td>Informal talk – differences and similarities between some national cuisines in Europe.</td>
<td>1 German, 1 Italian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


Klimpfinger, T. (2007). Mind you sometimes you have to mix’—The Role of Code-Switching in English as a Lingua Franca. Vienna English Working Papers 16 (2), (pp. 36-61).


Wright, S. (2010). *Language, the nation and the state*. Panel talk. 18 Sociolinguistic Symposium, University of Southampton (1-4 September 2010).