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Introduction to the Volume

This volume includes research papers presented at the 11th and 12th International Postgraduate Conferences in Linguistics and Language Teaching held at Lancaster University in July 2016 and June 2017, respectively. The annual conference is organised by research students in the Department of Linguistics and English Language; it brings together postgraduate researchers from the UK, Europe and beyond to provide them with an opportunity to present their current research projects in the stimulating environment of a department that produces world-class research in various fields of applied linguistics. Topics in this volume focus on phonetics, phonology, discourse analysis, corpus linguistics and sociolinguistics.

Family language policies in five Syrian families in the UK, by Dina Abed Elkhalik, explores various language ideologies that exist in the Syrian community in the UK. The findings of the research suggest that the Syrian community face challenges related to their lack of experience in language maintenance issues and show that this community is not immune to language shift. The study concludes that the Syrian community in the UK need to take conscious measures to pass on their native language to the next generation.

In *Syllable structure and syllabification in Ammani Arabic: External evidence from the adaptation of English loanwords*, Mohammed Nour Abu Guba presents a phonological analysis of the adaptation of more than 400 well-established English loanwords in Ammani Arabic, a dialect spoken in the capital of Jordan. The paper points out that that English simplex nuclei, onsets, and codas are accounted for by classic Optimality Theory (OT) constraints whereas English complex margins are better analysed using Stratal OT, thus offering a new OT hierarchy that successfully accounts for problematic aspects of Arabic syllable structure.

Elena Afromeeva in *Pronouns in Putin's public discourse: Features and peculiarities* examines the pragmatic implementation of pronouns in the presidential public discourse within contemporary Russia, focusing on the use of pronouns in Vladimir Putin's public narrative with the aim of detecting discursive strategies used to create 'self-portrait' and 'we-portrait' in his public appeals. The paper follows a president-centred approach and addresses contextual variables that shape presidential communicative conduct, suggesting that there is a close connection between language, context, political setting and code of the target audience, all of which are interdependent and interconnected, and have a strong impact on presidential communicative conduct.

In *The perception of the vowel continuum in British and US English speakers*, Chad Hall analyzes the perception of the /æ/-/ɛ/ vowel continuum in British and United States English speakers by testing their word identification across the pan-pen continuum. The results confirm the findings of Bell-Berti et al. (1979) that speech production and perception are closely related. The steep drop in perception from 'pan' to 'pen' displayed by both speaker groups may suggest that vowel perception is categorical rather than cross the continuum equally.

Ekaterina Ignatova in *Compiling comparable multimodal corpora of tourism discourse* compares two multimodal corpora of written tourism discourse about London and Moscow aiming at studying the representation of the aforementioned cities. Through describing the constructed pilot corpora, the limitations of the project and the impact of the work are suggested.

Finally, *Sunday family lunch: An ethnographic description* by Vasiliki Saloustrou investigates the cultural patterns of communication in family discourse by providing an ethnographic description of a Sunday family meal in Greece in her own household. The researcher ponders over a range of changes over time, from intra-family changes - as children grow into adults - through to social changes affecting hierarchical relationships between the generations as well as between the genders.

We would like to thank all the staff and students at the department of Linguistics and English Language at Lancaster University who contributed to this conference; special thanks go to the manuscript reviewers who kindly donated their expertise and time to reading and commenting on the papers.

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Family Language Policies in Five Syrian Families in the UK

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Abstract

This study contributes to the field of Arabic language maintenance by focusing on how members of the Syrian communities deal with language maintenance and shift issues in forced migration context. The study particularly explores family language policies in five Syrian families in the UK in light of Spolsky (2004) influential model of language policy which incorporates the analysis of ideologies, practices, and management. Using semi-structured interviews, this study focuses on exploring the various language ideologies that exist in the Syrian community about the minority and the majority language(s), how these ideologies are enacted into language practices and the management efforts within the community? The findings of this research suggest that the Syrian community face particular challenges related to their lack of experience in language maintenance issues. Furthermore, it shows that this community, despite its attachment to the Arabic language, is not immune to language shift and needs to take conscious measures to transmit the language to the next generation.

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1. Introduction

Immigration has become one of the characteristics of the 21st century that contributes to increasing the national, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity in numerous countries and regions. The UK continues to receive immigrants from all over the world and has thus become a "home - temporary, permanent or one among many - to people from practically every country in the world" (Vertovec 2006: 6). As a result of geographical relocations, new immigrants who come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds face more or less the same challenges especially in their early stages of settlement in the host country. Unlike migrants, refugees and asylum seekers often face a different type of challenges depending on the nature of their refugee trajectory (Cassarino 2004: 254).

A key challenge faced by all immigrants who come to the UK from a language background other than English is related to the maintenance of their mother tongue (Pauwels 2005). In many cases, immigrants face the dilemma of continuing to use their language or adopting the language of the host country. The situation in which immigrants decide to keep using their language despite the assimilative power of the mainstream language is referred to as language maintenance. Mesthrie (1999: 42) defines language maintenance as 'the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially powerful or numerically stronger language'. Conversely, the situation where immigrants gradually cease to use their language in particular domains and adopt the language of the host country is called language shift (Clyne 2003). Language maintenance, according to Fishman (1971), is not concerned with language use within one generation, rather it concerns the intergenerational transmission of language. The phenomena of language maintenance and shift are, thus, concerned with the extent to which a language is continued to be used over successive generations. Conversely, language shift occurs when the language is not maintained among younger generations.

Language shift runs counter to the vast body of research providing evidence of the cognitive, academic, and social advantages of language maintenance (Bialystok, Craik, and Luk 2008). Language shift has negative consequences at family, community and society levels. The loss of intergenerational links between parents and their children can lead to alienation and hinder the fluid communication within the family, and thus weaken family ties (Kouritzin 1999). Conversely, the maintenance of language can retain a strong family cohesion, ensures a healthy development of the child (Portes & Hao 2002), and provides

cognitive and educational advantages for children (Bialystok, Craik, and Luk 2008). At the societal level, language maintenance contributes to the cultural and linguistic richness of the host country (Garcia 2009).

Despite the many benefits of language maintenance and the consequences of language shift, achieving language maintenance may be challenging under the strong influence of the external force of language domination from the mainstream language and culture (Fishman 1991). Hence, crucial to understanding the prospects of language maintenance is understanding the influence of the internal and external forces.

This study is situated within the newly emerging field of Family language policy. Family Language Policy (henceforth FLP) is a novel area of research that aims to develop an interdisciplinary perspective on the topic of language maintenance and shift in the family by investigating three components put forward by Spolsky (2004): language ideologies in the family, its language practices, and its language management, i.e. the efforts undertaken by families to regulate language use in the home. Research on FLP aims to investigate these components as they are situated within the wider language ecology in which families live in. In other words, the FLP framework offers a valuable opportunity to study 'the interactions between any given language and its environment' (Haugen 1972: 325).

By applying the framework of FLP, this article aims to explore family language ideologies, practices and management efforts in five Syrian families residing in Leeds. I particularly focus on the recent wave of immigrants who came to the UK as a result of forced migration. The recent influx of Syrian immigrants has not received much attention in the literature concerning language maintenance.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. Family Language Policy

In its early conceptualization, language policy originally described political decisions made at the level of a nation state to influence and change language practices in different domains such as the media and workplace. These decisions are characterized by top-down policies, which are carried out by powerful organizations i.e. governments, who impalement language related decisions for the nation. However, the actual use of language by people is not a simple result of top-down policies (Spolsky 2007). On the contrary, language practices emerge from the

complex interaction between linguistic and non-linguistic factors including political, social, religious, and so on (Shohamy 2006; Spolsky 2004, 2012).

Recent conceptualization of language policy, as a result, emphasizes the dynamic nature of language policies by including bottom-up forces which influence and are influenced by top-down forces (Schwartz 2010). Bottom-up forces in language policy include a number of domains (school, workplace. etc.). With regard to language maintenance, and in alignment with Fishman model of *reversing language shift*, the family was added as an independent domain in the field of language policy for its 'critical' role in natural intergenerational transmission (Spolsky 2004). The use of the word domain is of a particular importance here; as it describes the social context in which the family is situated, and thus highlights the existence interconnections between what happens in the family and the surrounding environment (Spolsky 2009). Building on Fishman's model of reversing language shift, Spolsky (2004: 45) argues that, crucial to understanding the prospects of language maintenance, is understanding how external forces can influence the family decision and beliefs regarding their language use and ultimately language maintenance.

By applying Spolsky's (2004) original language policy model to the family domain, family language policy can be studied by exploring the relationship between three main components put forward by Spolsky; Language ideologies which he defines as 'the beliefs about language and language use" language practices which refers to "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire", and language management which describes parental efforts to influence their children linguistic development "by any kind of language intervention, planning or management" (p. 5).

2.1.1. Language Ideologies

A central focus of FLP is on the crucial role of language ideologies in influencing language practices and management efforts in the family. Researchers within this field of study regard language ideologies as 'the driving force' underlying the formation of FLP (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). Language ideologies reflect 'the values and statuses' people assign to different languages in their environment (Spolsky 2004: 4). In the context of language maintenance, these values can be assigned minority and majority languages in a society, and often result in the existence of more than one ideology which, in return, coexist and interact with each other (Shohamy 2006).

I conceptualize language ideologies in this study, as defined by Irvine (1989: 255), to be 'cultural systems of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests". This definition is particularly important for the study of family language policy in immigrant families, as it offers a framework for understanding beliefs about the minority language (in this case Arabic) which are crucial to language maintenance, but also reflects how parents view bilingualism from a socio-political perspectives, and thus reflects their perception of the broader social structures which, in return, influence and shape family language practices and management (Curdt-Christiansen 2009; King et al 2008).

Family language policy, therefore, aims to explore how language ideologies and beliefs inform family language policies. Crucial to understanding how language ideologies influence language-related decisions in the family, it is important to understand how these ideologies are formed in the first place. On this discussion, Spolsky (2009) distinguishes micro-sources and macro-sources that play a role in the formation of parent's beliefs about language(s). At the micro-level, he discusses sociolinguistic and sociocultural factors. The former refers to beliefs about the appropriateness of language use in certain contexts; whereas the latter, refers to the symbolic & cultural values parents attach to their languages, and are often attached to the minority language (Curdt-Christiansen 2009), in that they can be viewed as manifestations of social experiences, culture, religious rituals, and emotions (Tannenbaum 2012). At the macro-level, Spolsky discusses socioeconomic values which can be seen as a potential tool for economic advancement (Ruiz 1984) or vice versa.

Finally, there are the socio-political factors which are believed to influence, to a great extent, language beliefs and practices in the family. The influence of socio-political forces is particularly evident in the language policy of the host country at the nation-state such as the monolingual nature of schooling (King 2000). Thus, FLP offers a unique opportunity to understand how families' perceive social structures and reflect on them, it can also help understand how the broader societal ideologies that operate at the macro-level afford or constraint language maintenance (Curdt-Christiansen 2009; King et al. 2008).

At the micro level, parent's positive beliefs and cultural values about their language are considered crucial in the transmission of language and culture (Guardado 2002,172). Smolicz's (1992) theory of core values is particularly significant in this discussion. Smolicz argues that when a language is regarded by its speakers as a 'core value' which he defines as

‘the most essential factors in forming a group’s identity and culture’; the transmission of language becomes essential for the successive generations. He further discusses the notion of core values in light of the group’s ‘ethnic tenacity’, which reflects the group’s higher or lower distance from the major group.

While this attachment to language at the micro-level seems to be a prerequisite to successful language maintenance, in many cases, a gap exists between beliefs about one’s native language and home language practices (King 2000; Schwartz 2010). Of particular interest to Family language policy research is, hence, to account for the disparity between expressed language beliefs and the actual language practices. Recent research on this relationship focuses on how language ideologies compete with mainstream ideologies and macro influences at the nation-state such as government policies (Curdt-Christiansen 2014b) immigration pressure (Canagarajah 2008) and educational policies in the host country (King 2000).

Hence, in considering the complex nature of language ideology formation, some researchers suggested a less direct link between parental expressed beliefs and actual maintenance outcomes, pointing out that other important factors need to exist in the family, namely is the notion of impact belief. The notion of impact belief proposed by what De Houwer (1999) is believed to support language maintenance within the home in resisting the influence of societal pressure. The notion of impact belief refers to the parent's belief that they can "exercise some sort of control over their children's linguistic functioning" (p.83). In other words, parents who utilize their agency to confirm or modify their children linguistic behaviours seem to be more successful in raising bilingual children (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). The strong impact beliefs as suggested by Curdt-Christiansen (2009) are linked with parent’s positive perceptions of multilingualism and their aspirations for their children’s success in multilingual development. On other hand, parents who hold weak impact beliefs, i.e. they don’t see themselves as capable or responsible for their children language development, are less likely to succeed in raising bilingual children, leading to unsuccessful FLPs and language shift (Pérez Báez 2013). Parental impact beliefs are most salient in the daily language interactions between parents and children. In other words, parents who believe their language choices at home could exert influence on their children language development are more likely to pay attention to the choices they make in socializing with their children (Lanza 2007: 52).

The role of impact belief becomes crucial to understanding language practices and management within the family which is presented in the next section.

2.1.2. Language Management and Practices

Within the framework of FLP, language practices refer to the extent to which a language is used in everyday interactions between parents and their children. These practices can be explicit, i.e. come from conscious and deliberate decisions or can be implicit or overt i.e. are not based on conscious decisions but rather manifested in de facto practices (Shohamy 2006: 50). Conversely, language management refers to explicit and observable efforts parents take to modify their children's linguistic behaviors which are primarily informed by their language ideologies and impact beliefs. The distinction between language management and language practices, however, is not straightforward. In many cases language practices can overlap with management efforts; thus contribute to the formation of a language policy in the family (Fogle & King 2013).

As Spolsky (2004) argues that language policy "exists even where it has not been made explicit or established by authority," yet it can be inferred from people's language ideologies which give rise to implicit language practices that shape and negotiate the family language policies (p. 8). He further suggests that the real language policies in communities are "more likely to be found in its practices than in the management" (2004: 222). Therefore, crucial to understanding how families implement their family language policies, implicit and covert language practices need to be considered (Shohamy 2006: 46).

In general, language practices whether implicit or explicit, although they operate at micro level i.e., in-home settings, they are influenced by wider societal factors at the macro level (Caldas 2012: 372). Therefore, King et al (2008) suggest that child language acquisition is best viewed within the framework of FLP; to broaden our understanding of how language ideologies manifest themselves into language practices, and ultimately "determining the maintenance and future status of minority languages" (King et al. 2008: 907).

In order to understand the influence of parental language practices on language maintenance, Caldas (2012) captures language practices on a continuum ranging from "the highly planned and orchestrated, to the invisible, laissez-faire practices" (as cited in Curdt-Christiansen 2013a). These practices are instantiated into interactional strategies parents adopt in their daily interactions. Lanza (2004, 2007) attempts to examine the relationship

between language choices and children bilingual development by identifying five interactional strategies parents use to socialize their children into a particular linguistic behavior, these interactional strategies negotiate a context for interaction which can be monolingual or bilingual. A monolingual context for interaction occurs, for example, when parents adopt a minimal grasp strategy which involves parental insistence on the child to repeat the utterance in the minority language. On the other hand, some interactional strategies set a bilingual context for interaction through the use of code-switching or complete laissez-faire practices (Curdt-Christiansen 2013a). These strategies are crucial for understanding how family language policies are constructed and negotiated with regard to language maintenance. It is believed that parents who explicitly negotiate the language choices of their children, i.e. by correcting or modifying their choices are more likely to succeed in raising them bilingually (Lanza 2004: 26). Overall, research on FLP suggests that language practices are crucial sites for language negotiating in the family (Dopke 1992; Curdt-Christiansen 2013a).

In general, the implementation of a successful Family language policy focuses on the creation of an 'explicit' (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) language management. Thus, the third component of FLP is language management which is concerned with the conscious decisions and explicit efforts parents take in relation to their children's language development (Spolsky 2004). Explicit management efforts require the attention to language use at home, where parents negotiate their children into a particular language context; and controlling the sociolinguistic environment by, for instance, providing children with linguistic resources in the minority language, or enrol them in weekend language school to teach them the minority language, i.e. complementary schools (Spolsky 2004: 8).

Taken together, the framework of Family language policy aims to broaden our understanding of the best means in language maintenance, as well as, ways in which it does not result in successful maintenance. Based on this literature review, I present my research questions in the following section.

2.2. Research Questions

Informed by Spolsky's model of language policy, I aim to explore the relationship between language ideologies, practices and management efforts in Five Syrian families in Leeds. I seek to answer the following questions:

1) What language ideologies do Syrian mothers hold about the minority and the majority language(s)?
2) How are these Ideologies enacted into language practices and management efforts in the family?
3) What are the key challenges affecting the implementation of a successful FLP?

3. Methodology

3.1. Qualitative Research Paradigm

The adoption of a qualitative inquiry is appropriate in response to the nature of this research which aims to gain insights into people's beliefs, practices, and behaviors in relation to Arabic language maintenance. In this study, I used semi-structured, primarily for their flexibility, in that they don't include a predetermined set of questions, but rather they allow participants to reflect more on their answers, which in return, enhance the richness of the data. The interview questions were developed based on the three components put forward in Spolsky's model of FLP. For data analysis, I adopted the three-stage procedure for qualitative data as suggested in the literature (Creswell 2007).

3.2. Participants

Five Syrian families who are residing in Leeds were selected for this study using Purposeful criterion sampling which is defined by Patton (2002) as 'strategic and purposeful selection of information-rich cases'. The selection criteria for participation were: (1) first-generation (born in the home country) mothers from Syria, (2) have one or more children who are above age 6, (3) have resided in the UK for a minimum of two years. The decision to recruit mothers only, rather than fathers, was made based on the highlighted role of mothers in establishing language policy in the home (Tannenbaum 2012). Especially in the context of language maintenance, mothers are considered to be 'guardians of the minority language' (Piller & Pavlenko 2004: 496).

To address ethical concerns, a number of issues were also taken into account. First, the study involved minority language speakers from a war-torn country, in this case, Syria. A potential risk, hence, is that the topic could bring some negative memories or pain for participants. To avoid this risk, I explained to the families that their contribution was entirely

voluntary and that they have the freedom to withdraw at any time without giving a reason. In addition, all mothers who agreed to take part in the study signed and received a copy of informed consent form which includes a description of the research objectives which were also explained by the researcher verbally. Finally, mothers were assured that their anonymity would be protected through the use of pseudonyms and removal of identifying details.

4. Data and Discussion

4.1. Language Ideologies

Based on our understanding that parental language ideologies are shaped by an integrated set of linguistic and non-linguistic factors, I discuss the beliefs my participants hold at the micro-level which includes cultural factors influencing language ideologies; and at the macro-level which includes: economic and political forces.

4.1.1. The Formation of Language Ideologies

Arabic as a core value (Smolicz 1992): All mothers in my study regarded Arabic as a core value that is related to their religion and identity. The religious status of Arabic was seen by all mothers as the most important factor in language maintenance. Mona, for example, answered my question by posing a rhetorical question to stress on the importance of Arabic for religious purposes*: 'it is the language of the Quran and Islam if they don't speak it how will they understand the Quran?*' This supports Fishman (1991) claim that Arabic religious status provides a strong incentive for language maintenance among Arab communities, as it 'maintains the boundaries between the host culture and the minority culture' (p.360). Besides the religious attachment to Arabic, some mothers regarded Arabic as a tool for cultural identification (Fishman 1991).

Example (1)

We are rooted in the language. This is our roots and one always clings and holds on to their roots and origin. One day it will return to your home country.

Another source in the formation of language ideologies at the macro-level was influenced by socioeconomic factors (Spolsky 2004). Some mothers regarded Arabic as a useful resource for their children's future (Ruiz 1984), and they acknowledged that learning another language could be an 'extra bonus' for their children.

Example (2)

I think even if you're not Arabic lots of people looking for extra language. Why not? It is an extra bonus.

With respect to the ideologies expressed at the micro-level and macro-level, it's evident that all mothers seem to hold very positive beliefs towards the transmission of Arabic to their children for cultural, social and religious purposes. However, such beliefs do not always turn into successful language maintenance outcomes (De Houwer 1999; Canagarajah 2008; King 2000). For this reason, King (2000: 169) argues that language ideologies are best viewed as ''the mediating link between language use and social organization''. In other words, parental beliefs are influenced by external forces such as the educational policies in the host country. Similarly, Shohamy (2006) views language policy as "a manipulative tool in the continuous battle between ideologies" (p.450). In this study, the formation of language ideologies in relation to the majority language was greatly influenced by the overwhelmingly monolingual language ideology in Britain. This battle of ideologies (Shohamy 2006) has been clearly articulated in Samar's discourse, who despite her expressed desire to transmit Arabic, considers English more important for her children.

Example (3)

But for them, it [English] should be their first language... Because they live here they're gonna work here... They're gonna go to universities.

This supports Curdt-Christiansen (2014b) study investigating the influence of government policies on Chinese immigrant family language decisions. She suggests that the pressure of the socio-political and educational realities in Singapore forced parents to place English and Chinese into a 'dichotomous position' resulting in adjustment of expectations regarding their children's proficiency in Chinese.

The analysis of language ideologies, hence, highlights the existence of interconnections between micro and macro levels. While beliefs about the minority language are often positive and reflect cultural values; they are, nonetheless, in constant interaction with broader societal ideologies at the macro-level (Schwartz 2010; King 2000). This suggests that the family unit, as described by King (2008) is a 'site in which language ideologies are both formed and enacted through caregiver-interactions'. The following section discusses how language

ideologies about the minority and the majority language(s) are enacted into language practices and management efforts in the families.

4.2. Language Management Efforts and Practices

The language ideologies reported in the previous section are manifested in the family's language practices and management efforts. In this section, I view language ideologies as the rationale behind language practices and management endeavours (Smith-Christmas 2014).

I first discuss language use at home as reported by mothers. Next, I discuss the explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) efforts undertaken by mothers to modify or influence their children's linguistic behavior. It is important to point out, however, that there is no clear-cut distinction between management and language practices (Fogle & King 2013). Therefore, both are viewed under the language management efforts.

4.2.1. Language Management Efforts

To my question what language(s) do you use with your children at home? Mother's responses can be divided into three categories: implicit Arabic-only Policy, Explicit Arabic-only policy and complete laissez-faire (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). An example of implicit or unplanned language practice was reported by Suha who stated that her lack of proficiency in English necessitates the use of Arabic at home: *'They have no choice but to speak with us in Arabic'*.

Lack of proficiency in the majority language can be seen as a predictor for successful language maintenance. As noted by Clyne (2003) in his study of Turkish immigrant families in Australia "In families where the parental generation has a limited knowledge of English, home use of the language in the second generation is a matter of need. Where the parents have a high competence in English, it is a matter of will." (Clyne 2003: 37). Therefore, it must also be noted that lack of proficiency in the majority language is not a determining factor in successful language maintenance; as it could backfire in the long term in response to changes in the sociocultural environment (Fillmore 1991: 338). Therefore, a distinction needs to be made between competence-related language choices and ideology-backed choices (Torras & Gafaranga 2002).

Against this effortlessly implemented Arabic-only rules, Mona imposed explicit rules for language use at home, primarily triggered by their children's linguistic development.

Example (4)

When we first arrived here it was hard for my daughters to accept the English language but then... They started to integrate into the society and then their English becomes even better than Arabic...Then we said STOP we started a new stage where we have to go back to Arabic now

Similarly, Sofy implemented an explicit rule for language use at home. Her decision was in response to her child decreasing proficiency in Arabic and increasing preference to use English when he entered kindergarten. This age is very critical to the child's linguistic development as researchers have documented cases where children language skills in the home language drop significantly leading to a passive knowledge of the heritage language (Fillmore 1991; Nesteruk 2010).

While mothers reported that they predominantly use Arabic for different purposes, Samar, on the other hand, reported a complete laissez-faire' policy (Curdt-Christiansen 2013a). She reported that she uses a mix of Arabic and English without paying much attention to her language choice. This strategy, however, is less effective in language maintenance because it neglects the language issue (King, Fogle & Logan-Terry 2008: 11). However, the use of such policy can also infer into the implicit language beliefs she holds in relation to the majority language, i.e. her perceptions of the social structures, which are enacted in her choice of the language for interaction between her and her children (Curdt-Christiansen 2013a).

Beside language use at home, some mothers also utilized different language resources outside the home to control the sociolinguistic environment of their children. Language resources outside the home were mainly utilized by mothers who reported strict language use policies inside the home, thus reflecting their strong impact belief in relation to the minority language (Curdt-Christiansen 2013a). The majority of mothers in my study reported that they send their children to complementary school mainly to learn how to read the holy Quran *'but the main thing for me was reading the Holy Quran'*. A sentiment that was echoed by other mothers. Another motivation to send children to Arabic school according to some mothers was the sense of commitment and consistency in these school offer; which is not easy to achieve in the home environment.

At the same time, mothers were aware that the complementary school is not a *'magical stick'* as Suha described it. Hence, a number of challenges were pointed out by mothers

regarding these language schools; among which is the limited learning time which is two-hour a week and the lack of institutional support for minority languages in the UK.

In an attempt to shield herself from the societal push towards language shift, Sofy decided to control the sociolinguistic environment inside the home:

Example (5)

Kids cartoons are all in Arabic. I have bought the tv shows they repeat it over and over again. That's alright. This makes them even better exposed to the language.

Clearly, Sofy's strict language policies are strongly influenced by her ideologies, as well as her strong impact belief. Nonetheless, despite her commitment to transmit the language to her children, she was faced by the pressure to balance competing demands between childrearing, on one hand, and teaching the minority language on the other. Okita (2002: 227) uses the term 'simultaneous accommodation' to capture this extraordinarily demanding tasks associated with motherhood and multilingual development.

Hence, it can be concluded that the success or failure of the ideologies-backed language management efforts is not limited to the existence of impact belief. Rather, in the face of the strong societal pressure, mothers are coerced to adjust and negotiate their family language policies, and sometimes expecting less from their children development in Arabic.

Example (6)

..but if you want the reality you have to compromise. when you speak both languages there has to be one which is better. ...Unless as a parent you have 100% percent commitment and I mean by commitment having the time and the effort …

5. Conclusion

The findings of my study confirm previous theories in the study of FLP (King , Fogle & Logan-Terry 2008; Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Spolsky 2004). With respect to language ideologies, the mothers in my study expressed various beliefs in relation to the minority and the majority language which seem to co-exist in a conflictual relationship. These language ideologies, as a result, give rise to different language practices and management efforts within the family. Mothers who were strict about their language use at home exerted more effort outside the home and held high expectations for their children bilingual development. Yet, in facing the social and political realities, as well as emotional and psychological aspects of

childrearing (Okita 2002), family language policies were adjusted and negotiated, and hence resulting in a more flexible language policy.

The findings also suggest that explicit language management is more efficient in promoting successful language maintenance outcomes (King et al 2008). In this study, mothers who reported explicit language management efforts were more confident about their children's bilingual development.

The counteractive forces to language maintenance in society, however, can overshadow parent's language management efforts. As Fishman (2000) points out, the responsibility of successful maintenance depends not only on "family-home-neighbourhood-community" (p.424) but also on institutional domains such as mainstream schools, the mass media, the language policy of the host country. A major implication for educational policies and educator is to promote language maintenance for the minority languages in mainstream schools. As Cummins (1981) suggests that schools need to communicate positive messages to students about the value of their language even in monolingual school systems (pp. 25-26).

A specific limitation of the findings, however, results from the design and the scope of this study. The focus of this paper was on parents' own narrations of how their family language policies are constructed and negotiated. It does not, however, focus on the actual outcomes and the role of children in negotiating their FLPs.

Recent research on family language policy acknowledges the role of children, not as passive recipient, but as "active and creative social agents" (Lanza 2007: 47) and as "socializing agents" themselves (Luykx 2005). Therefore, in order to develop a multifaceted perspective on this topic, children's perspectives and their role in everyday interactions can provide valuable information on the dynamic nature of FLPs.

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Syllable Structure and Syllabification in Ammani Arabic: External Evidence from the Adaptation of English Loanwords

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Abstract

Drawing on external evidence from the adaptation of English loanwords in Ammani Arabic, (henceforth AA), the dialect spoken in the capital of Jordan, this paper accounts for syllable structure and syllabification in both native and loan words in AA. The data consists of more than 400 well-established English loanwords that are used by monolinguals in AA. To analyse the syllable structure and syllabification of these words, twelve monolingual AA speakers are asked to pronounce the words using pictures. The study reveals that English simplex nuclei, onsets and codas are accounted for by classic OT constraints whereas English complex margins are better analysed using Stratal OT. It is shown that the adaptation process is phonologically-based and is geared towards unmarkedness. A number of phonological processes, such as deletion and epenthesis are mainly provoked to render the adapted form less marked. Most interestingly, results shed light on hidden aspects of AA syllable structure, which would have remained latent had they not been stimulated by the introduction of English complex syllable structure.

Keywords: Syllable structure, Loanwords, Phonology, Optimality Theory

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1. Introduction

Syllable structure and syllabification have occupied phonologists over the last fifty years (see Bosch 2011). The study of the phonological adaptation of loanwords at the syllabic level is of paramount importance to phonological theory as it will contribute to a better understanding of thorny issues in syllable structure and syllabification. This study is of particular importance as it sheds light on many phonological issues in AA such as the status of complex onsets, superheavy syllables and syllable bimoraicity and eventually enhances our understanding of AA syllable structure. Moreover, the current study establishes syllable structure in native words as no previous study has tackled this dialect before. It will show that sonority alone cannot account for syllable structure in AA, and probably other Arabic dialects. It also suggests an OT constraint hierarchy that is better able to account for syllable structure in native and loan words. Furthermore, it contributes to Arabic phonology in general as previous studies on loanword phonology in Arabic have not paid enough attention to suprasegmental aspects (cf. Davis and Ragheb 2014).

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 reviews syllable structure in native words. Section 3 describes the methodology. This is followed by an outline of syllable structure in loanwords in Section 4.1. In Section 4.2, I present a syllabification algorithm that incorporates two notions: mora sharing and semisyllables to account for CVVC syllables and complex clusters, respectively. The results will be translated into OT constraints and a constraint hierarchy will be suggested in Section 4.3 Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Background

This section establishes syllable structure in AA native words, which will provide a background to the analysis of syllable structure in loanwords.

Like many modern Arabic dialects, the minimum syllable in AA is CV. That is, an onset and a vocalic nucleus are a must. The vowel can be long or short. Two-consonant onsets are attested word-initially as a result of syncope, as in /bilaad/ > *blaad* ‘countries’ (cf. Al-Bay 2001; Abu-Abbas 2003; Btoosh 2006; Amer et al. 2011) or from glottal stop and short vowel deletion, as in /ʔas.naan/ > *snaan*.

The optimal coda in AA is simple. Complex codas are generally disallowed in AA. Codas comprising an obstruent followed by a sonorant are ruled out due to a reversal in sonority as a sonorant is more sonorous than an obstruent according to the Sonority Sequencing Principle

(henceforth SSP) (see Parker 2011). Codas made up of two sonorants, as in *ħilim* are also ruled out in AA although some of them do not violate SSP. Codas composed of a sonorant and an obstruent can form an optional complex coda (e.g. *kalb* ~ *kalib* ‘dog’ *ramz* ~ *ramiz* ‘symbol’) unless the obstruent is a guttural or a guttural is found within the same morpheme, as in /ɣulb/ > *ɣulub*. This suggests that although SSP is required for complex codas, it is not sufficient. Codas with two obstruents show great variation. The norm is to disallow the cluster; however, they are optionally allowed only if both obstruents are tautomorphemic, non-gutturals and agree in voice as in /ʔuxt/ > *ʔuxt*, ~ *ʔuxut* ‘sister’ and /ʕaks/ > *ʕaks*, ~ *ʕakis* ‘opposite’. The only complex codas that always appear without epenthesis in AA relate to true geminates as in *sitt* ‘grandmother’ and *ʔaxaff* ‘lighter’.

Examining possible and impossible complex codas in AA shows that sonority alone cannot account for coda clusters as some codas are disallowed although they abide by sonority. For example, a sonorant plus a guttural obstruent; whereas sonority plateaus are optionally allowed, as in *ʔuxt ~ ʔuxut*. Therefore, earlier accounts of coda clusters in terms of SSP (e.g. Abu-Salim 1982 for Palestinian Arabic; Abu-Abbas 2003 for Jordanian Arabic) cannot account for AA coda clusters. Also a modified version of SSP (e.g. Farwaneh’s (1995) attempt for Palestinian Arabic) that requires coda clusters not to rise in sonority so as to allow sonority plateaux cannot account for codas as it would predict that sonority plateaus should be legitimate codas. Moreover, it cannot account for sonorant-guttural obstruent codas, which are categorically absent in AA. Therefore, I suggest a constraint that I will call ‘CODA CLUSTER CONDITION’, given in (1), that incorporates the facts presented above about codas in AA.

(1) CODA CLUSTER CONDITION (henceforth CODACON): a two-consonant coda must be well-formed.

A well-formed CC coda appears only tautomorphemically if i) the first member is a sonorant and the second is an obstruent provided that no guttural sound is found within the same morpheme (e.g. *kalb)*, or ii) in the case of two obstruents, they must agree in voice and none of them is a guttural (e.g. *ʔuxt)*, or iii) the CC coda is a geminate (e.g. *sitt*).

3. Methodology

Data came from a corpus of 412 established English loanwords in AA. The corpus was compiled by the researcher from different sources chief among which were the *Dictionary of Everyday Language in Jordan*, published by the Jordan Academy of Arabic in 2006, previous studies on loanwords in Jordanian Arabic (e.g. Butros 1963 and Al-Saqqa 2001) and personal observation (see Abu Guba 2016 for more details). Using pictures on a computer screen, the researcher elicited the words from twelve monolingual native speakers of AA (six males and six females) whose ages range from 30 to 60.[1] None of the participants is known for any speech or hearing disorders. They pronounced the words three times in a frame sentence, namely *baguul/ʔiftareet* _____ *ʔimbariħ/marra θanyih* (I say/bought ____ yesterday/once again).

This was recorded using an LG voice recorder at a 48 kHz sample rate and saved in wav. format. The researcher transcribed all the words and identified syllable structure. This was verified by an American native speaker and trained phonetician and it was found that inter-transcriber reliability stood at 98%. The analysis of syllable structure adopts both classic/parallel OT and Stratal OT. I assume that the reader is familiar with Classic OT so I give a brief overview of Stratal OT only.

3.1. Stratal OT

The inability of Classic OT to account for opacity and cyclicity has called for modified versions of Classic OT. Among the many attempts to account for opacity and cyclicity, Stratal OT seems to be the most successful. This is because Stratal OT keeps the well-defined and restrictive set of OT constraints, it is explanatorily adequate and fits better with learnability (for details, see Kiparsky 2000; Bermúdez-Otero 2003).

Unlike Classic OT, Stratal OT is a serial version of OT that echoes the lexical phonology and morphology interaction where constraints apply at different strata (Kiparsky 2000, 2003; Bermúdez-Otero 2003). The main idea of this theory is that constraints apply at different levels and their ranking status may differ according to the level (e.g. stem, word, postlexical for AA) where they apply.

[1] The minimum age was thirty to ensure that the participant's dialect has already been established.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Syllable structure in loanwords

Results show that English syllable structure that has an AA counterpart is readily adapted into AA. However, AA has also adopted some complex structures, which would highlight the status of these structures in AA phonology.

4.1.1. Onsets

Results show that simplex onsets are almost always realised as is as long as the consonant is a legitimate AA phoneme. The only English simplex onset that is not mapped faithfully relates to the English phoneme /p/, which is realised as /b/. On the other hand, English onsetless syllables are augmented with a prosthetic glottal stop, as in *ʔakʃin* 'action' and *ʔiidz* 'AIDS'.

The overwhelming majority of source two-consonant onsets are mapped faithfully onto AA as in *freezar* 'freezer', *kristaal* 'crystal', *staartar* 'starter' *and twiitar* 'twitter'. On the face of it, one might assume that two-consonant onsets in AA native phonology are basic, which would explain the importation of these clusters in loanwords. However, I argue that such complex onsets are not basic in AA and the optimal onset is a simplex one.

The motivation for the above contention is threefold. First, complex onsets in native AA words are not basic as explained in Section 2. Second, there are no restrictions on these complex onsets in AA native words neither in terms of sonority nor homorganicity or voicing, which contradicts the cross-linguistically phenomenon whereby homorganic tautosyllabic consonants are not attested in onsets (Roca and Johnson 1999). That is, complex onsets such as /tl/ and /dl/ are ill-formed; nevertheless, they are frequent in AA. In terms of sonority, AA has onset consonant clusters that comply with SSP as well as those that contravene it. Third, not all source complex onsets in loanwords are retained in AA despite the fact that they comply with SSP (e.g. *fulumaaster* 'flow master' and *tarniib* 'trump'). Note also that source complex onsets are optionally preceded by a vowel and a glottal stop, e.g. *ʔavwaal ~ vwaal* 'voile'.

Deletion and epenthesis are also attested to fix some complex onsets. Deletion targets glides and liquids (e.g. *ʔambalanṣ* 'ambulance' and *karafoot* 'grapefruit') resulting in an obstruent in the onset. Vowel epenthesis into complex onsets occurs in some two-consonant onsets, as in trump' > *ṭarniib*, 'flow master' > *fulumaastar*, and in all three-consonant onsets, as in 'scrap' > *sik.raab*.

4.1.2. Nucleus

A vocalic nucleus, which could be short or long, is a must in AA. Therefore, English syllabic consonants are provided with the default epenthetic vowel /i/, as in 'double' > *da.bil* and 'single' > *sin.gil*.

Generally, English vowels are mapped faithfully unless metrical constraints are violated. That is, some vowels undergo shortening or lengthening to render the output well-formed in terms of foot-binarity, as in *kiks* 'cakes' and *raabiʃ* 'rubbish'.

Finally, English diphthongs usually undergo monophthongisation as they do not have AA counterparts, as in *sbeer* 'spare' and *ʔuzoon* 'ozone'.

4.1.3. Codas

There are no restrictions on simplex codas in AA so they are almost always mapped faithfully. Three types of two-consonant complex codas are attested in the corpus: Sonorant + obstruent, as in *band* 'band'and *balf* 'valve'; Obstruent + obstruent, as in *triks* 'tricks' and *ʃift* 'shift'; and geminates, as in *nitt* 'net' and *diʃʃ* 'dish'.

All these codas are well-formed according to AA phonotactics (except for very few cases such as *klatʃ*[2] 'clutch' and *ʔiidz* 'AIDS'). In all these CC codas, the coda consists of a sonorant /m, n, l, r, w, y/ followed by a stop /t, d, k, g/, a fricative /f, θ/, an affricate /dʒ/ or a sibilant /s, z/. All these codas are unmarked as they satisfy SSP and all of them abide by the CODACON suggested in (1).

Finally epenthesis and deletion are attested in some cases to render the syllable less marked, as in *ʔubtikus* 'optics' and *kuntak* 'contact'.

4.1.4. Medial -CCC- clusters

The majority of source -CCC- clusters are retained in loanwords. This is because they are well-formed with respect to CODACON and most of them belong to compound words, as in *kung fuu* 'ku**ng f**u' and *land.roo.var* 'la**nd r**over'. The stray consonant will be licensed as a semisyllable, as will be demonstrated in Section 4.2. A few of them undergo vowel epenthesis, as in ban.kir.yaas 'pa**ncr**eas' and fu.lis.kaab 'foo**lsc**ap'. Some undergo deletion, as in am.bi.fa.yar 'a**mpl**ifier' and ka.ra.foot 'gra**pefr**uit'.

[2] Note that the affricate is bisegmental in AA.

4.1.5. CCCC clusters

Four-consonant clusters are marked in AA and are never retained. The majority undergo vowel epenthesis, as in *koor.nif.liks* 'corn flakes' and *lan.dik.roo.zar* 'land cruiser'. However, deletion is attested in one case, namely *ban.ʃar* 'puncture' where the least salient consonants are deleted.

To summarize, AA imports the majority of complex onsets and codas while it repairs more marked structures such as four-coda clusters. The importation of such syllables calls for a modification of earlier analyses of syllabification of Arabic dialects in general, which is the topic of the next section.

4.2. Syllabification

All previous accounts of syllabification in Arabic dialects (e.g. Watson 2002) fall short of accounting for superheavy syllables and complex margins in AA. In this subsection, I propose a syllabification algorithm for loanwords as well as native words that accounts for these problematic aspects. Adopting moraic theory within a Stratal-OT framework, as laid out in Section 2.1, I assume that the maximum syllable is bimoraic. Under moraic theory (Hyman 1985; McCarthy and Prince 1986; Hayes 1989), short vowels contribute one mora while long vowels and diphthongs contribute two. Geminates contribute one mora and non-final coda consonants are assigned a mora through the parametric constraint WEIGHT-BY-POSITION. So a superheavy syllable such as CVVC and CVCC would be trimoraic according to moraic theory; however, these syllables are bimoraic in AA as evident from stress rules which do not distinguish between superheavy and heavy syllables. Therefore, mora sharing is invoked to account for CVVC syllables and semisyllables are called for to account for complex margins.

4.2.1. Syllabification algorithm

Following Watson (2002), the following syllabification algorithm is suggested to assign syllabic positions within the prosodic word, which is assumed to be the domain of syllabification in AA. (A dot designates syllable boundaries).

(2) Syllabification algorithm (after Clements 1990; Watson 2002)

I. Word-final consonant extrametricality: final consonants are extrametrical (placed between angled brackets). C > <C> /___]word.

II. Associate moraic segments to a syllable node.

III. Associate a preceding consonant to onset position.

IV. Assign a mora to a coda consonant (Weight-by-Position(WBP)).

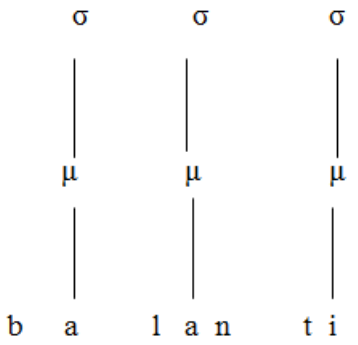
V. Adjoin moraic coda to the syllable node.

VI. Incorporate the extrametrical consonant to the final syllable.

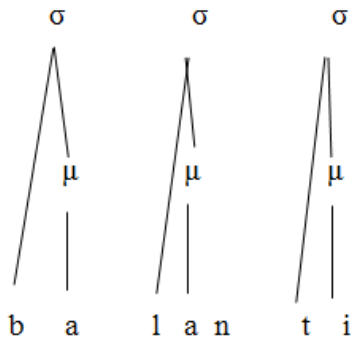
Let us illustrate this with an example below.

(3) A tree for *ba.lan.ti* 'penalty' (only the number of the relevant step is shown)

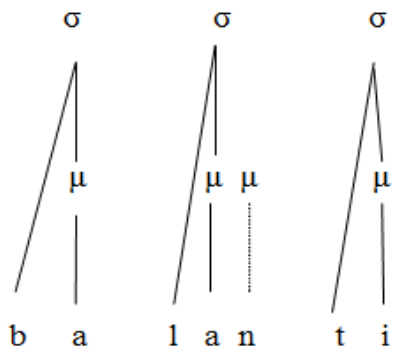
ii) Association of moraic segments to syllable node



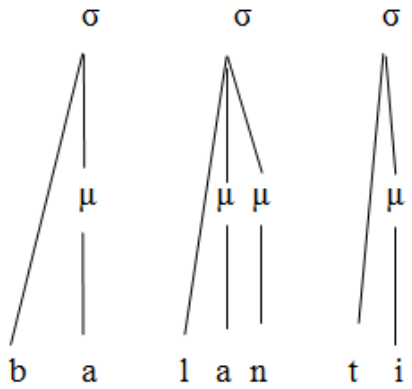
iii) Association of onset to syllable node



iv) Assignment of mora through WBP



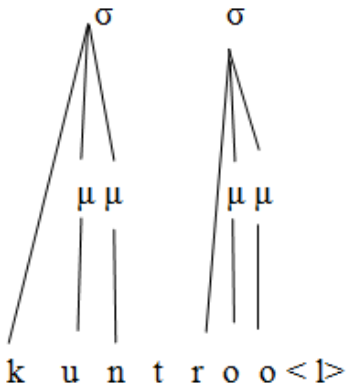
v) Adjunction of WBP mora to syllable node



The above algorithm accounts well for syllables with simplex codas and onsets. However, complex margins and superheavy syllables require an amendment to this algorithm. To account for CVCC syllables and complex onsets, I adopt Kiparsky's (2003) semisyllable analysis and assume that the stray consonant is licensed as a semisyllable, i.e. an unsyllabified mora that is directly associated to the prosodic word.[3]

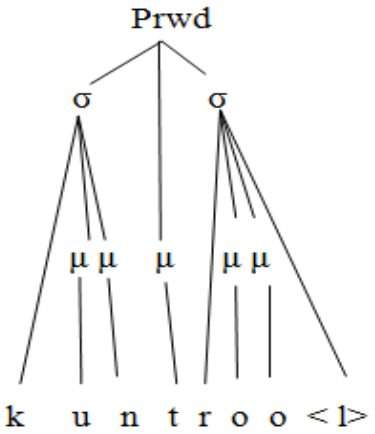
To see how the semisyllable operates in CVCC syllables, take the syllabification of *kuntrool* 'control' below. The algorithm in (2) will yield the tree in (4).

(4) A tree for *kunt.rool* 'control'



[3] The motivation for adopting a semisyllable comes from stress assignment opacity in words such as *ka'tabit* (Kiparsky 2003) where stress falls on a light penult rather than the antepenult. Kiparsky argues that stress applies at the lexical level /katab-t/ where the last consonant is licensed as a semisyllable yielding *ka'tabt* so here stress assignment is not opaque as stress falls correctly on the heavy ultimate syllable. Later at the postlexical level where semisyllables are not licensed, due to the promotion of LICENSE-μ, epenthesis is called for to repair the ill-formed coda cluster –bt yielding *ka'tabit*.

This is incomplete as it has a stray consonant --/t/. Adjoining the stray consonant to either syllable will end up with a complex margin so the stray consonant is licensed as a semisyllable affiliated directly to the prosodic word as shown below.

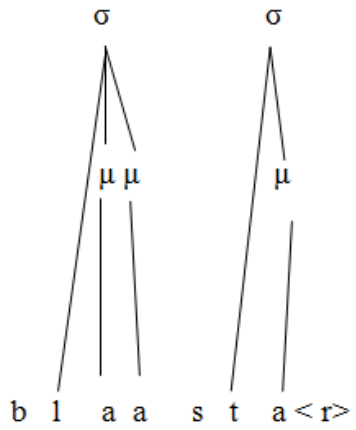


To account for CVVC syllables, a semisyllable analysis cannot be adopted. This is because CVVC syllables can occur word-internally postlexically (Watson 2007). Watson (2007: 349) argues that if LICENSE-μ, which bans semisyllables, is promoted at the postlexical level according to Kiparsky's analysis (see Section 4.3), then CVVC syllables cannot surface and so should appear with an epenthetic vowel or undergo vowel shortening. However, given that such syllables do not undergo vowel shortening or vowel epenthesis in some dialects, it follows that these syllables are licensed. To this end, she proposes a mora-sharing analysis. She argues that a mora sharing approach would account for both lexical and postlexical levels assuming that a mora is shared between the second leg of the vowel and the following consonant.

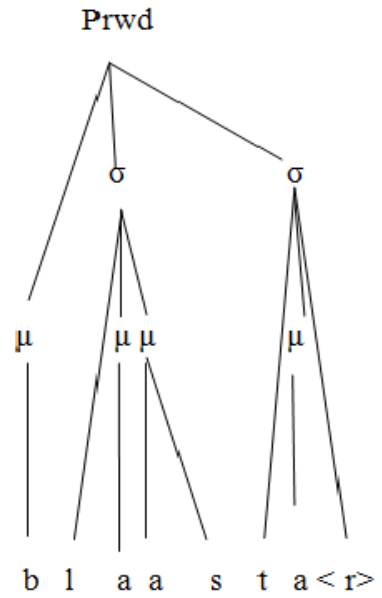
Acoustic evidence lends support to this contention. Broselow et al. (1997: 59) found statistically significant differences in length between long vowels in open syllables and long vowels closed by a coda. Also, the coda consonant following a long vowel is significantly shorter than a coda following a short vowel.

To show how mora sharing functions, take the word *blaas.tar* below. The algorithm in (2) would yield the tree in (5), which is ill-formed as it has two stray consonants.

(5) A tree for *blaas.tar* ‘plaster’



Recall that the first consonant is licenced as a semisyllable. The middle consonant will be licensed as it will share a mora with the preceding vowel. Assigning a mora through WBP will render the syllable trimoraic, which is categorically illicit in AA, so mora sharing renders the syllable bimoraic. After applying mora sharing we get the representation below.



Note that a mora sharing analysis cannot account for CVCC syllables or complex onsets. Mora sharing fits well with dialects that do not allow CVCC syllables word-internally. However, AA does have CCC clusters word-medially that satisfy CODACON such as *kalbna* ‘our dog’. Moreover, a shared mora analysis (cf. Farwaneh 1995; McCarthy 2007) cannot be maintained as it fails to account for cases such as /bayyan-t-l-ha/ > *bay.yan.'til.ha* ‘I pointed out to her’ with a stressed penult (Abu-Rakhieh 2009). This is because the stressed epenthetic vowel is inserted lexically as stress assignment is a lexical process (Kiparsky 2003). If mora

sharing was allowed between the nasal and the alveolar stop in /nt/ then the string would end up with one stray consonant, i.e. /l/, which would be analysed as a semisyllable and vowel epenthesis would not happen at the lexical level (cf. Btoosh 2006; Abu-Rakhieh 2009). Note also that mora sharing between two consonants is marked phonetically as the sonority distance between the consonants is not wide enough to allow mora sharing (Broselow 1992: 15). Note further that mora sharing cannot account for CC onsets.

To summarize, the suggested algorithm is better able to account for complex syllables by incorporating semisyllables and mora sharing. However, it differs from Kiparsky's in that it restricts the semisyllable analysis to complex margins only and it differs from Watson's in that it allows mora sharing only between a vowel and a consonant. Moreover, this analysis differs from Kiparsky's in the ranking of constraints especially LICENSE-μ., as will be demonstrated below.

In the following subsection, I translate these facts into OT constraints and suggest a constraint hierarchy for AA syllable structure at lexical and postlexical levels.

4.3. OT analysis of syllable structure

This subsection suggests a Stratal OT ranking that accounts for syllable structure in AA. As we have seen, an onset and a vocalic nucleus (to the exclusion of syllabic sonorants) are obligatory in AA. In OT terms this means that the following two constraints in (6) and (7) are undominated.

(6) ONSET: Syllables must have onsets (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004).

(7) NUC/V: The head of a syllable must be a vowel (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004).

These two constraints also dominate the faithfulness constraint in (8).

(8) DEP-IO-C: Output consonants must have input correspondents (cf. McCarthy & Prince 1995).

The tableau in (9) below illustrates this ranking. (Only relevant constraints are shown).

(9) ONSET >> DEP-IO-C

Input: action	ONSET	DEP-IO-C
a. ☞ʔak.ʃi<n>		*
b. ak.ʃi<n>	*!	

Candidate (a) wins as it satisfies ONSET at the expense of DEP-IO-C. Another option to fix this ill-formed structure is to delete the vowel in the first syllable yielding **kʃin*. However, this will render the adapted form and the source form widely dissimilar, which is avoided in loanword phonology (cf. Kenstowicz 2003, 2007). This strategy violates the faithfulness constraint MAX-IO (given in (10) below), which requires input segments to be faithfully realised in the output (McCarthy and Prince 1995). Since AA resorts to epenthesising a consonant rather than deleting the vowel, it entails that MAX-IO in (10) dominates DEP-IO.

(10) MAX-IO: Input segments must have output correspondents (no deletion).

Further evidence for ONSET comes from hiatus resolution where an epenthetic glide or a glottal stop is inserted to provide an onset for otherwise onsetless syllables, as in *ku.ka.ʔiin* 'cocaine' and *ma.yu.neez* 'mayonnaise'. There are no restrictions on simplex codas, which means that *CODA, given in (11), is low ranked in AA and is dominated by MAX-IO and DEP-IO.

(11) *CODA: A syllable must not have a coda (cf. Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004).

So far the ranking in (12) can be established.

(12) ONSET, NUC/V, MAX-IO >> DEP-IO >> *CODA.

For the analysis of complex onsets, recall that the first member is licensed as a semisyllable. Attaching semisyllables to the prosodic word violates the Strict Layering Hypothesis, which requires a prosodic constituent of level n immediately dominate a constituent of level n-1 only (Selkirk 1984). Associating them to the syllable node will violate constraints against complex margins. However, associating them to the prosodic word is the safest option as size restrictions on prosodic words are weaker (Kiparsky 2003; Watson 2007).

So a semisyllable violates the constraint LICENSE-μ in (13) meaning that LICENSE-μ is ranked below COMPLEX ONSET in (14). Also, the consonant cannot be left unparsed, which means that the constraint PARSE-C, given in (15), ranks above LICENSE-μ.

(13) LICENSE-μ: A mora must be affiliated with a syllable (Kiparsky 2003).

(14) *COMPLEX ONSET: Syllables must not have more than one segment in the onset (Prince and Smolensky 1993/2004).

(15) PARSE-C: A consonant must be parsed into a mora or a syllable (Kiparsky 2003).

The tableau in (16) exemplifies this.

(16) *COMPLEX ONSET, PARSE-C >> LICENSE-μ

Input: flash	*COMPLEX ONSET	PARSE-C	LICENSE-μ
a. ☞ f_{μ}.laa<ʃ>			*
b. f.laa<ʃ>		*	
c. flaaʃ	*!		

Note that a complex onset also appears with an optional epenthetic vowel postlexically. Inserting a vowel violates DEP-V, so DEP-V should rank below COMPLEX ONSET. (Note that vowel epenthesis induces glottal stop insertion (violating DEP-C) to provide an onset to the onsetless syllable). Given that the form appears with or without an epenthetic vowel, then LICENSE-μ and DEP-V are not ranked with respect to each other as the tableau below shows.

(17) ONSET, *COMPLEX ONSET, PARSE-C >> LICENSE-μ, DEP-V, DEP-C

Input: flash	ONSET	*COMPLEX ONSET	PARSE-C	LICENSE-μ	DEP-V	DEP-C
a. ☞f_{μ}.laa<ʃ>				*		
b. f.laa<ʃ>			*			
c. flaaʃ		*!				
d. iflaaʃ	*!				*	
e. ☞ʔiflaaʃ					*	*

Another possible way to satisfy COMPLEX ONSET without violating ONSET is epenthesising a vowel after the stray consonant, as in *fi.laa<ʃ>. This option is not attested in AA due to the high ranked No[i] constraint, given in (18), which dominates LICENSE-μ.

(18) No[i]: High short unstressed vowels in open syllables are banned (Kager 1999).

Based on the adaptation of complex onsets, the following ranking can be established.

(19) ONSET, COMPLEX ONSET, No[i], PARSE-C >> LICENSE-μ, DEP-V, DEP-C

4.3.1. CVVC syllables

As argued above in Section 4.2, these syllables are bimoraic in AA and licensed by sharing a mora between the second leg of the vowel and the following consonant. This violates a constraint that bans mora sharing between a vowel and a consonant, presented in (20).

(20) *SHAREDMORA (VC) (henceforth *NSμ(VC))
A mora cannot be linked to a vowel and a consonant (Broselow et al. 1997: 65).

In OT terms, *NSμ(VC) is dominated by WBP, which assigns moras to coda consonants, and FOOT-BINARITY, which requires feet to be bimoraic. The coda consonant will retain its mora only if the vowel is monomoraic. If the vowel is already bimoraic, mora sharing will render the foot bimoraic. Notice that mora sharing does not violate WBP (Morén 2001: 241) as the consonant here is still moraic although it does not have its independent mora. So WBP should outrank *NSμ(VC). Consider the tableau in (21) that lays out the ranking of the three constraints in question.

(21) FTBIN, WBP >> * NSμ (VC)

Input: corner	FTBIN	WBP	*NSμ(VC)
a. μμ |⋀ ☞koor.na<r>			*
b. μμμ | || koor.na<r>	*!		
c. μμ | | koor.naμ<r>		*	

The tableau shows that candidate (b) incurs a fatal violation of FTBIN as it assigns a mora to the coda consonant rendering the syllable trimoraic. To avoid this, candidate (c) does not assign a mora to the coda and is consequently ruled out by WBP.

Incorporating the already established constraints above gives us more options. To satisfy FTBIN, an attempt to syllabify the stray consonant as part of a complex onset of the following

syllable is ruled out by *COMPLEX ONSET. Unparsing the segment, as well as deleting it, is also avoided as it falls victim to PARSE-C and MAX-C, respectively. Again, inserting a vowel after the offending segment is not possible as it violates both No[i] and DEP-V, which shows that all these constraints are ranked above *NSμ(VC). So far the partial ranking in (22) has been established.

(22) *COMPLEX-ONSET, FTBIN, No[i], PARSE-C, WBP, MAX-C >> DEP-V >> *NSμ(VC) >> *CODA

4.3.2. Complex codas

Complex codas appear word-internally and word-finally. Word-final complex codas are not problematic as they are justified by the fact that the last consonant is extrametrical. (This also applies to CVVC syllables word-finally). So a word-final consonant is weightless. This is accomplished by the constraint *FINAL-C-μ, presented in (23).

(23) *FINAL-C-μ: Domain final consonants are moraless (kager 1999).

This constraint must dominate WBP, as laid out in the tableau below.

(24) *FINAL-C-μ >> WBP

Input: bank	*FINAL-C-μ	WBP
a. ☞ban_{μ}<k>		*
b. $ban_{\mu}k_{\mu}$	*!	

Word-internal complex codas in AA are of two types: those that satisfy CODACON and those that contravene it. Here we need to account for these codas at both levels: lexical and postlexical. At the lexical level the second consonant is licensed as a semisyllable as stress assignment shows. Given that the attested form of loanwords corresponds to the surface form, the postlexical level, I refer to AA native words to establish the OT ranking at both levels.

The four relevant constraints to account for CVCC syllables at both levels are DEP-V, LICENSE-μ, CODACON and *COMPLEX CODA. These constraints are ranked differently at each level to yield the optimal output as will be demonstrated below.

Given that CC codas optionally appear internally in AA, as in /kalb-hum/ > *kalbhum*, ~ *kalibhum*, it follows that a semisyllable is attested at the postlexical level. Also, the alternate form with an epenthetic vowel means that DEP-V is equally ranked with LICENSE-μ.

However, this cannot account for coda clusters that violate CODACON such as /dʒisr-hum/ > *dʒisirhum* which always surface with an epenthetic vowel. So here, it cannot be the case that LICENSE-μ is ranked above DEP-V. If LICENSE-μ was promoted postlexically, vowel epenthesis would be obligatory in AA, which cannot account for cases such as *kalbhum*. Therefore, in contrast to Kiparsky, I argue that the ranking of LICENSE-μ is not the only crucial factor. Rather it is the ranking of CODACON, DEP-V and LICENSE-μ with respect to each other that is crucial in AA. At the lexical level, DEP-V dominates both LICENSE-μ and CODACON so epenthesis is blocked and the unsyllabified consonant is licensed as a semisyllable regardless of the well-formedness of the coda.

On the other hand, at the postlexical level, CODACON ranks higher than both LICENSE-μ and DEP-V, which are not ranked with respect to each other. Thus, epenthesis is obligatory in codas violating CODACON but optional in codas satisfying CODACON. This ranking will give rise to optional CCC clusters that do not flout CODACON while it rules out CCC clusters contravening it –hence epenthesis.

This means that AA cannot be categorized as a purely VC dialect according to Kiparsky's (2003) classification. Kiparsky argues that dialects such as AA would always insert a vowel before unsyllabified consonants rendering the stray consonant in coda position. However, results here point out that AA would be better described as an intermediate dialect type between C (where no epenthesis is required) and VC dialects as it shares with C dialects licensing a semisyllable postlexically if CODACON is satisfied.

Consider the tableaux below that show the derivation of native AA words with internal CVCC syllables at the lexical and postlexical levels.

(25) DEP-V >> LICENSE-μ, CODACON

Input: xubz.na 'our bread' Lexical level	DEP-V	LICENSE-μ	CODACON
a. ☞ ('xub)z_{μ}.na		*	*
b. xu.('biz).na	*		

Stress assignment shows that candidate (b) is suboptimal and loses out to candidate (a). The tableau shows that DEP-V outranks LICENSE-μ and CODACON at the lexical level. At the postlexical level, as demonstrated in (26) below, the optimal form appears with an epenthetic vowel that is unstressed. This means that DEP-V is demoted below CODACON. Candidate (a) is already ruled out as it violates CODACON.

(26) CODACON >> DEP-V, LICENSE-μ

Input: xubz.na Postlexical level	CODACON	DEP-V	LICENSE-μ
a. 'xub.z$_{\mu}$.na	*		*
b. ☞'xu.biz.na		*	

The same rankings apply to words with well-formed coda clusters, as in /galb-na/ ‘our heart’. At the postlexical level, both 'ga.lib.na and 'gal.b$_{\mu}$.na are attested as DEP-V and LICENSE-μ are equally ranked.

The same analysis applies to loanwords. Recall that the adapted form of a loanword corresponds to the postlexical level. However, this does not mean that loanwords are not evaluated at the lexical level. Rather, they are evaluated and then the output of the lexical level is fed into the postlexical level. A form with a medial cluster such as ‘control’, which is realised as *kunt.rool* shows that the stranded consonant /t/ is licensed as a semisyllable. Tableau (27) shows the evaluation of the word ‘control’.

(27) FTBIN, PARSE-C, No[i], *COMPLEX,[4] MAX-C >> LICENSE-μ, DEP-V

Input: control	FT BIN	PARSE-C	No [i]	*COMP LEX	MAX-C	LICENSE-μ	DEP-V
a. ☞kun.t$_{\mu}$.roo<l>						*	
b. kun.t.roo<l>		*					
c. μμμ ||| kunt.roo<l>	*!						
d. kun.troo<l>				*			
e. kun.roo<l>					*		
f. kun.ti.roo<l>			*				*
g. ? ku.nit.roo<l>							*

[4] I will use the cover constraint *COMPLEX to refer to both complex onsets and codas.

The optimal output in (27a) violates LICENSE-μ to satisfy the higher ranked constraints. Candidates (b) and (c) fare worse on PARSE-C and FTBIN, respectively. Again, *COMPLEX renders candidate (d) suboptimal as it syllabifies the stray consonant as part of a complex onset. Candidate (e) is ruled out as it violates MAX-C and candidate (f) falls victim to the markedness constraint No[i]. Finally, candidate (g) is marked with a question mark as its status requires some comment. According to the established hierarchy, such a form is optimal as it only violates DEP-V, which is equally ranked with LICENSE-μ. In fact, such a pronunciation is attested among old people, especially illiterate ones, and is usually associated with uneducated people; hence avoided.

Before closing this discussion, we still need to introduce another constraint that rules out mora sharing between two consonants, presented in (28).

(28) NOSHAREDMORA-(CC) (henceforth *NSμ(CC)) (after Watson 2007)

A mora cannot be linked to two consonants.

Ranking this constraint above LICENSE-μ ensures that a stray consonant in CVCC is licensed as a semisyllable as sharing a mora between two consonants is worse than affiliating the stray consonant to the prosodic word. However, LICENSE-μ should outrank *NSμ(VC) so that mora sharing between a vowel and a consonant would be less costly than licensing the consonant as a semisyllable, as we have seen above.

Incorporating all constraints, the following two constraint rankings account for AA syllables at both lexical and postlexical levels.

(29) Constraint rankings

a) Lexical level: NUC/V, *FINAL-C-μ, FTBIN, PARSE-C, COMPLEX CODA, COMPLEX ONSET, ONSET, MAX-IO, *NSμ(CC), No [i] >> WBP >> DEP-IO, >> LICENSE-μ, *NSμ(VC), CODACON >> *CODA

b) Postlexical: NUC/V, *FINAL-C-μ, FTBIN, PARSE-C, COMPLEX CODA, COMPLEX ONSET, ONSET, MAX-IO, *NSμ(CC), No [i] >> CODACON, WBP >> LICENSE-μ, DEP-IO >> *NSμ(VC) >> *CODA

5. Conclusion

The adaptation of English loanwords into AA, which is phonologically-based and is geared towards unmarkedness, has enhanced our understanding of AA syllable structure. It has shed light on the status of complex onsets and superheavy syllables. Also, it has shown that all two-consonant codas comprising non-guttural obstruents are legitimate in AA provided that they agree in voicing and the fact that some of such codas are missing in native AA words represents accidental rather than systematic gaps in AA.

The contribution of this paper is threefold. It has demonstrated that SSP cannot account for complex codas. Instead it has proposed a new constraint, CODACON, that better accounts for coda clusters in AA and other Arabic dialects. Also it has suggested a revised syllabification algorithm that better accounts for CVVC syllables and complex margins thanks to mora sharing and semisyllables. In this regard, it has been shown that AA would be better described as an intermediate dialect type between C and VC dialects as it shares with C dialects licensing a semisyllable postlexically if CODACON is satisfied. Finally, it has offered a new OT hierarchy that successfully accounts for problematic aspects of Arabic syllable structure.

Findings are also of relevance to phonological theory in general. It has been shown that sonority alone is not enough to account for syllable structure. Rather, it would be better to incorporate markedness factors to account for complex codas as demonstrated in Section 2.
Although this paper has drawn on data from AA only, it is believed that the same analysis could account for other Arabic dialects especially Levantine dialects as they share with AA the same syllable structure. Therefore, further research that applies these constraint hierarchies and syllabification algorithms to other Arabic dialects is highly recommended.

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Appendix: Loanword corpus

English word	English Pronunciation	AA typical pronunciation
accordion	əˈkɔːdɪən	ʔa'koordyun
acetone	ˈasɪtəʊn	'ʔasitun
acid	ˈasɪd	ʔa'siid
action	ˈakʃ(ə)n	'ʔa(a)kʃin
adrenaline	əˈdren(ə)lɪn	ʔadrina'liin
advantage	ədˈvɑːntɪdʒ	ʔad'vaantidʒ
aids	eɪdz	ʔeedz
airbag	ˈeəbag	ʔer'baag
airbus	ˈe(ə)rˌbəs	'ʔer'baṣṣ
album	ˈalbəm	ʔal'buum
ambulance	ˈambjʊl(ə)ns	ʔamba'lanṣ
amplifier	ˈamplɪfʌɪə	ʔambi'fa(a)yar
antenna	anˈtenə	ʔan'teen
antifreeze	ˈantɪfriːz	ʔanti'friiz
antivirus	ˈantivʌɪrəs	ʔanti'vaayrus
archive	ˈɑːkʌɪv	ʔar'ʃiif
aspirin	ˈasp(ə)rɪn	ʔasbi'riin
axle	ˈaks(ə)l	ʔaks
baby	ˈbeɪbi	'beebi
baby	ˈbeɪbi	'bubbu
back axle	'bak aks(ə)l	ba'kaks
backfire	bakˈfʌɪə, ˈbakfʌɪə	baak'fa(a)yar
baggy	ˈbagi	'baagi
baking powder	'beɪkɪŋ paʊdə	bakim'bawdar
balance	ˈbal(ə)ns	ba'lanṣ
band	band	band

bandana	banˈdanə	ban'daane
beige	beɪ(d)ʒ	beedj
bermuda	bəˈmjuːdə	bar'mooda
between	bɪˈtwiːn	'batwane
bikini	bɪˈkiːni	bik'kiini
billionaire	bɪljəˈneə	bilju'neer
biology	bʌɪˈɒlədʒi	bu'loodʒya
block	blɒk	'blukke
body	ˈbɒdi	'badi
body	ˈbɒdi	'budi
boiler	ˈbɔɪlə	'boylar
boot	buːt	boot
boss	bɒs	buṣṣ
bouquet	bʊˈkeɪ, bəʊˈkeɪ, ˈbʊkeɪ	bo(o)'kee
boutique	buːˈtiːk	bo(o)'tiik
box	bɒks	buks
brake	breɪk	brikk
bravo	brɑːˈvəʊ, ˈbrɑːvəʊ	'braavu
bulldozer	ˈbʊldəʊzə	bal'doozar
bye	bʌɪ	baay
cafeteria	kafɪˈtɪərɪə	kaf'tiirya
caffeine	ˈkafiːn, ka'fiːn	kafa'yiin
cake	keɪk	keek
cakes (pl)	keɪks	kiks
camellia	kəˈmiːlɪə,ˈmelɪə	kaa'miilya
cancer	ˈkansə	'kaansar
cappuccino	ˌkapʊˈʧiːnəʊ	kabat'ʃiinu
caravan	ˈkarəvan, karəˈvan	kara'vaan

carbohydrate	kɑːbəˈhʌɪdreɪt	karbuhay'draat
carburettor	kɑːbjʊˈretə, bə	karbu'reetar
carnival	ˈkɑːnɪv(ə)l	karna'vaal
case	keɪs	kees
cash	kaʃ	kaaʃ
cashew	ˈkaʃuː, kəˈʃuː	'kaadʒu
cashier	kaˈʃɪə, kə	ka(a)'ʃiir
casket	ˈkɑːskɪt	kas'keet
cassette	kəˈset	'kasit
caviar	ˈkavɪɑː, ˌkavɪˈɑː	kav'jaar
centre	sentə	'santar
central locking	sentə lɒkɪŋ	'santarlukk
ceramic	sɪˈramɪk	sara'miik
chamois	ˈʃamwɑː	ʃam'waa
chance	tʃɑːns	ʃanṣ
charleston	ˈtʃɑːlstən	ʃal'listun
chat	tʃat	'ʃayyat
chat	tʃat	ʃaat
cheetah	ˈtʃiːtə	'ʃiita
chef	ʃef	ʃiff
chenille	ʃəˈniːl	'ʃanil
chimpanzee	tʃɪmpanˈziː	ʃam'baazi
chips	tʃɪps	ʃibs
cholesterol	kəˈlestərɒl	kulis'trool
christmas	ˈkrɪsməs	'kriṣmaṣ
clip	klɪp	klibb
clips (pl)	klɪps	'klibse
clutch	klʌtʃ	klatʃ

cocaine	kə(ʊ)ˈkeɪn	kuka'?iin
cobra	ˈkəʊbrə	'koobra
coffee shop	ˈkɒfi ʃɒb	kufi'ʃubb
coiffure	kwɑːˈfjʊə	kwaa'feer
coil	kɔɪl	'koyl
collage	ˈkɒlɑːʒ	kul'laadʒ
compressor	kəmˈpresə	kum'breeṣa
computer	kəmˈpjuːtə	kum'byuutar
condenser	kənˈdensə	kun'dinsar
condition	kənˈdɪʃ(ə)n	'kundiʃin
condom	ˈkɒndəm	'kundum
congress	ˈkɒŋgres	'kungris
contact	ˈkɒntakt	'kuntak
container	kənˈteɪnə	kun'teenar
control	kənˈtrəʊl	kun'trool
convoy	ˈkɒnvɔɪ	kam'boy
cooler	ˈkuːlə	'kuular
corn flakes	ˈkɔːnfleɪks	ko(o)rnif'liks
corner	ˈkɔːnə	'koornar
corridor	ˈkɒrɪdɔː	kara'door
cortisone	ˈkɔːtɪzəʊn	kurti'zoon
counter	ˈkaʊntə	'kaawntar
coupon	ˈkuːpɒn	koo'boon
cowboy	ˈkaʊbɔɪ	ka(a)'boy
crystal	ˈkrɪst(ə)l	kris'taal
custard	ˈkʌstəd	'kastar
cut-out	kʌtaʊt	ka'tawt
cyanide	ˈsʌɪənʌɪd	saya'niid

defrost	diːˈfrɒst	di(i)'frust
deluxe	dɪˈlʌks, ˈlʊks	di(i)'luks
derby	ˈdɑːbi	'deerbi
desk	desk	disk
dettol	ˈdetɒl	di(i)'tool
diesel	ˈdiːz(ə)l	'diizil
digital	ˈdɪdʒɪt(ə)l	'didʒital
dinosaur	ˈdʌɪnəsɔː	dayna'ṣoor
disco	ˈdɪskəʊ	'diisku
dish	dɪʃ	diʃʃ
distributor	dɪˈstrɪbjʊtə	disbara'toor
double	ˈdʌb(ə)l	'dubul
double	ˈdʌb(ə)l	'dabil
double kick	ˈdʌb(ə)l kɪk	dabil'kikk
drill	drɪl	drill
drum(s)	drʌm	dramm
dry clean	drʌɪ kliːn	dray'kliin
dumdum	ˈdʌmdʌm	'dumdum
duplex	ˈdjuːpleks	dub'liks
earth	ɜːθ	ʔeerθ
emulsion	ɪˈmʌlʃ(ə)n	ʔa'milʃin
eskimo	ˈeskɪməʊ	ʔas'kiimu
eskimo	ˈeskɪməʊ	'ʔaskimu
essence	ˈes(ə)ns	ʔa'ṣanṣ
etiquette	ˈetɪket	ʔiti'keet
exhaust	ɪgˈzɔːst	ʔug'zust
extra	ˈekstrə	ʔi'kistra
fabricate	ˈfabrɪkeɪt	'fabrake
facebook	ˈfeɪsbʊk	'feesbuk

fax	faks	faaks
fibre glass	ˈfʌɪbə glɑːs	fiibarig'laaṣ
fillet	ˈfɪlɪt, US fiˈlā	fii'lee
filter	ˈfiltə	'filtar
flash	flaʃ	flaaʃ
flasher	ˈflaʃə	'flaʃar
flow master	fləʊ mɑːstə	fulu'maastar
fluoride	'flʊərʌɪd, flɔː	floo'rayd
folklore	'fəʊklɔː	fulu'kloor
foolscap	ˈfuːlzkap, ˈfuːls	fulis'kaab
football	ˈfʊtbɔːl	'fuṭbul
formica	fɔːˈmʌɪkə	fur'maayka
foul	faʊl	'fawl
freezer	ˈfriːzə	'freezar
full	fʊl	full
full	fʊl	'fallal
full options	fʊl ˈɒpʃ(ə)nz	full'ʔubʃin
fuse	fjuːz	fjuuz
gallon	ˈgalən	'galan
gardenia	gɑːˈdiːnɪə	gar'diinya
gateau	ˈgatəʊ, ga'təʊ	'gaatu
gear	gɪə	giir
gel	dʒel	dʒill
gene	dʒiːn	dʒiin
gentle	ˈdʒent(ə)l	'dʒintil
georgette	dʒɔːˈdʒet	dʒur'dʒeet
geyser	'giːzə	'kiizar
gin	dʒɪn	dʒinn
glucose	'gluːkəʊs/z	klo(o)'kooz

goal	gəʊl	goon
grapefruit	'greɪpfruːt	kara'foot
hamburger	ˈhambɜːgə	ham'burgar
hand brake	'hand breɪk	handib'rikk
hand rummy	handˈrʌmi	hand
hands	han(d)z	hanz
hangar	ˈhaŋə	hangar
hard luck	'hɑːd lʌk	haard'lakk
hatchback	ˈhatʃbak	hatʃ'baak
head phone	ˈhedfəʊn	'hitfun
heater	ˈhiːtə	'hiitar
hula-hoop	ˈhuːləhuːp	hila'hubb
hummer	ˈhʌmə	'hamar
insulin	ˈɪnsjʊlɪn	ʔansu'liin
intercom	ˈɪntəkɒm	ʔantar'kamm
internet	ˈɪntənet	ʔantar'nitt
interpol	ˈɪntəpɒl	ʔantar'bool
jack	dʒak	dʒakk
jacuzzi	dʒəˈkuːzi	dja(a)'kuuzi
jeans	dʒiːnz	dʒinz
jelly	ˈdʒeli	'dʒili
jerry can	ˈdʒerɪkan	'dʒarkan
jersey	ˈdʒɜːzi	dʒur'zaaye
joker	ˈdʒəʊkə	'dʒookar
judo	ˈdʒuːdəʊ	'dʒuudu
jumbo	ˈdʒʌmbəʊ	'dʒaambu
kaki	ˈkɑːki	'kaaki
karate	kəˈrɑːti	kara'tee
kata	ˈkɑːtɑː	'kaata

ketchup	ˈketʃəp, -ʌp	kat'ʃabb
key board	ˈkiːbɔːd	ki(i)'boord
kiwi	ˈkiːwiː	'kiiwi
kong fu	kʊŋ ˈfuː	kung'fuu
land cruiser	landˈkruːzə, ˈland kruːzə	landik'roozar
land rover	landˈrəʊvə	land 'roovar
laptop	ˈlaptɒp	laab'tubb
large	lɑːdʒ	'laardʒ
laser	ˈleɪzə	'leezar
lego	ˈlegəʊ	'liigu
limousine	ˈlɪməziːn, lɪməˈziːn	limu'ziin
list	lɪst	'leesta
lobby	ˈlɒbi	'luubi
lux	lʌks	luks
madam	ˈmadəm	ma'daam
mafia	ˈmafɪə	'maafya
magic (marker)	' madʒɪk	'madʒik
mall	mɔːl	mool
manhole	'manhəʊl	'munhul
manicure	ˈmanɪkjʊə	mana'kiir
manifold	ˈmanɪfəʊld	mana'vult
marathon	ˈmarəθ(ə)n	mara'θoon
marshmallow	mɑːʃˈmaləʊ	marʃa'millu
mascara	maˈskɑːrə	mis'kaara
mask	mɑːsk	maask
massage	ˈmasɑːʒ, məˈsɑːʒ -dʒ/	ma'saadʒ
master key	ˈmɑːstə	maastar 'kii
matriculation	mətrɪkjʊˈleɪʃ(ə)n	'matrik
mauve	məʊv	muuv

maxi	ˈmaksi	maksi
mayonnaise	meɪəˈneɪz	mayu'neez
melamine	ˈmeləmiːn	mila'miin
metallic	mɪˈtalɪk	'mitalik
microscope	ˈmʌɪkrəskəʊp	maykru'skoob
microwave	ˈmʌɪkrə(ʊ)weɪv	maykru'weev
militia	mɪˈlɪʃə	mi'liiʃya
millionaire	mɪljəˈneə	milyu'neer
mini market	mɪni mɑːkɪt	mini 'maarkit
minus	ˈmʌɪnəs	'maaynus
mobile	ˈməʊbaɪl	mo(o)'bayl
monopoly	məˈnɒp(ə)li	munu'buli
montage	mɒnˈtɑːʒ, ˈmɒntɑːʒ	mun'taadʒ
moquette	mɒˈket	moo'keet
morris (trademark)	ˈmɒrɪs	'muris
motor	ˈməʊtə	maa'toor
naphthalene	ˈnafθəliːn	nifta'liin
NASA	ˈnasə	'naasa
NATO	ˈneɪtəʊ	'naatu
nectarine	ˈnektərɪːn	nikta'riin
negative	ˈnegətɪv	'nigativ
negro	ˈniːgrəʊ	'niigru
neon	ˈniːɒn	'niyun
nescafe	ˈneskafi/, neskaˈfee	niska'fee
net	net	nitt
neuter (neutral)	ˈnjuːtə	'nootar
niagara (a trademark)	nʌɪˈag(ə)rə	na'yaagra
nicotine	ˈnɪkətiːn	niku'tiin
night club	ˈnʌɪtklʌb	naaytik'labb

nougat	ˈnuːgɑː	'nooga
nurse	nɜːs	neers
off side	ɒfˈsʌɪd	ʔuff 'saayd
off white	ɒfˈwʌɪt	ʔuff 'waayt
okay	əʊˈkeɪ	'ʔukkee
optics	ˈɒptɪks	'ʔubtikus
orchid	ˈɔːkɪd	ʔur'kiida
organ	ˈɔːg(ə)n	ʔoorg
ounce	aʊns	ʔoonṣa
out	aʊt	ʔawt
overtime	ˈəʊvətʌɪm	ʔuvar'taaym
ozone	ˈəʊzəʊn	ʔo(o)'zoon
packet	ˈpakɪt	ba(a)'keet
pager	ˈpeɪdʒə	'beedʒar
pancreas	ˈpaŋkrɪəs	bankir'yaas
panda	ˈpandə	'baanda
panel	ˈpan(ə)l	ba(a)'neel
party	ˈpɑːti	bar'tiyye
pass	pɑːs	baaṣ
patron	ˈpeɪtr(ə)n	baṭ'roone
pedicure	ˈpedɪkjʊə	budi'keer
penalty	ˈpen(ə)lti	ba'lanti
pentagon	ˈpentəg(ə)n	bin'taagun
pepsi	'pepsi	'bibsi
piano	pɪˈanəʊ	'byaanu
pick up	'pɪk ʌp	'bikam
pixel	ˈpɪks(ə)l, sel	'biksil
pizza	ˈpiːtsə	'biidza
plaster	ˈplɑːstə	'blaastar

playstation	pleɪ ˈsteɪʃ(ə)n	blis'teeʃin
poker	ˈpəʊkə	'bookar
polish	ˈpɒlɪʃ	'buliʃ
polyester	ˌpɒlɪˈestə	bu'listar
polystyrene	ˌpɒlɪˈstʌɪriːn	bulis'triin
polytechnic	ˌpɒlɪˈteknɪk	buli'tiknik
porcelain	ˈpɔːs(ə)lɪn	bursa'laan
poster	ˈpəʊstə	'boostar
power steering	ˈpaʊə stɪərɪŋ, paʊə ˈstɪərɪŋ	'bawar ('stiiring)
primus	ˈprʌɪməs	'briimus
prince	prɪns	brins
printer	ˈprɪntə	'brintar
professor	prəˈfesər	brufu'soor
prostate	ˈprɒsteɪt	brus'taat
protein	ˈprəʊtiːn	bro(o)'tiin
puncture	ˈpʌŋ(k)tʃə	'banʃar
racquet	ˈrakɪt	'rikit
rally	ˈrali	'raali
range (rover)	reɪndʒ ˈrəʊvə	rindʒ (roovar)
radiator	ˈreɪdɪeɪtə	ro(o)'deetar
receiver	rɪˈsiːvə	ri(i)'siivar
regime	reɪˈʒiːm	ro(o)'dʒiim
remote (control)	rɪˈməʊt	ri(i)'moot
reverse	rɪˈvɜːs	ri(i)'virs
ribs	rɪbz	'ribs[e]
ring (spanner)	rɪŋ	ring
roll	rəʊl	rull
rolls royce	rəʊlzˈrɔɪs	ro(o)z'raayz

roof	ruːf	ruuf
roundel	ˈraʊnd(ə)l	run'deella
routine	ruːˈtiːn	ro(o)'tiin
rubbish	ˈrʌbɪʃ	'raabish
salmon	ˈsamən	'salamun
samsonite	ˈ samsənʌɪt	samsu'naayt
sandwich	ˈsan(d)wɪtʃ	'sandwiʃ
satellite	ˈsatəlʌɪt	sata'laayt
sauna	ˈsɔːnə, US ˈsou	'saawna
scallop	ˈskɒləp/ˈskaləp	ska(a)'lubb
scanner	ˈskanə	'skanar
scooter	ˈskuːtə	'skootar
scrap	skrap	sik'raab
seesaw	ˈsiːsɔː	'siisu
self	self	silf
sensor	ˈsensə	'sunsur
service	ˈsɜːvɪs	sar'fiis
seven up	ˈsev(ə)n ʌp	sivin 'ʔabb
sex	seks	siks
shampoo	ʃamˈpuː	'ʃaambu
shell	ʃel	ʃill
shift	ʃɪft	ʃift
shoot	ʃuːt	ʃuuṭ
short (circuit)	ʃɔːt	ʃurṭ
shorts	ʃɔːts	ʃurṭ
shower	ˈʃaʊə	'ʃawar
silicon	ˈsɪlɪk(ə)n	'silikun
single	ˈsɪŋg(ə)l	'singil
siphon	ˈsʌɪf(ə)n	si(i)'foon

snubbers	ˈsnʌbəz	ṣno(o)'barṣ
solid	ˈsɒlɪd	ṣuld
sonar	ˈsəʊnɑː	so(o)'naar
spade	speɪd	'sbaati
spaghetti	spəˈgeti	sba(a)'gitti
spare	speə	sbeer
spiky	ˈspʌɪki	'sbaayki
spoiler	ˈspɔɪlə	'sboylar
spray	spreɪ	ʔasbiree
stainless steel	steɪnləsˈstiːl	staallisis'tiil
starter	ˈstɑːtə	'staartar
steak	steɪk	steek
steam	stiːm	stiim
steering	ˈstɪərɪŋ	'stiiring
stereo	ˈstɪərɪəʊ, ˈsterɪəʊ	'stiiryu
stick	stɪk	ʔas'tiika
stock	stɒk	stukk
super market	ˈsuːpə mɑːkɪt, suːpə ˈmɑːkɪt	subar'maarkit
superman	ˈsuːpəman	subar'maan
surf (trademark)	sɜːf	sirf
sweater	ˈswetə	'swiitar
switch	swɪtʃ	switʃ
syringe	sɪˈrɪn(d)ʒ, ˈsɪ-/	'srindʒe
system	ˈsɪstəm	'sistim
tank	taŋk	tank
tanker	ˈtaŋkə	tank
tape	teɪp	tibb
tartan	ˈtɑːt(ə)n	tir'taan

tattoo	taˈtuː	tat'tuu
taxi	ˈtaksi	'taksi
technology	tekˈnɒlədʒi	tiknu'loodjʒa
telefax	ˈtelɪfaks	tili'faaks
tester	ˈtestə	'tistar
thermos	ˈθɜːmɒs	'teermus
thermostat	ˈθɜːməstat	θeermu'staat
thinner	ˈθɪnə	'tinar
tights	tʌɪts	taayt
toffee	ˈtɒfi	'toofe
topsider (a trademark)	ˈtɒpsʌɪdə	tub'saydar
tractor	ˈtraktə	ta'raktur
trailer	ˈtreɪlə	'treella
trampoline	ˈtrampəliːn	trambu'liin
transit	ˈtransɪt , ˈtrɑːns-, -nz	tran'ziit
tricks	trɪks	triks
trump	trʌmp	ṭar'niib
tsunami	tsuːˈnɑːmi	so(o)'naami
tube	tjuːb	tjuub
tubeless	ˈtjuːbləs	'tjuublis
tuna	ˈtjuːnə	'tuuna
tupperware	ˈtʌpəweə	ṭabar'weer
turbo	ˈtɜːbəʊ	'teerbu
twitter	ˈtwɪtə	twiitar
valium	ˈvalɪəm	'vaalyum
valve	valv	balf
van	van	vaan
vanilla	vəˈnɪlə	va(a)'neella
video	ˈvɪdɪəʊ	'viidyu

vitrine	ˈvɪtriːn	bat'riina
vodka	ˈvɒdkə	'vootka
voile	vɔɪl/ vwɑːl	vwaal
wafer	ˈweɪfə	'weevar
x large	'eks lɑːdʒ	ʔiks 'laardʒ
yen	jen	yann
yoga	ˈjəʊgə	'yooga
you tube	juː tjuːb	yu(u)'tyuub
zigzag	ˈzɪgzag	zig'zaag
zoom	zuːm	zuum

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Pronouns in Putin's Public Discourse: Features and Peculiarities

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Abstract

The paper discusses the connection between language, political setting, "code" of the target audience, and context of the presidential public appeals. The study addresses the claim that politicians strategically use language for specific purposes (Windt 1986; Ceaser et al. 1981; Hahn 1998; Wilson 1990) in order to sound persuasive and justify their leadership (Eshbaugh-Soha 2003; Kernell 1997). The study elaborates on the political setting in Russia, traditional views on politics in the country and examines the context of two addresses delivered by Putin with the aim to understand what impact they have on the usage of personal pronouns in his public narrative. The study implements intercoder reliability test to determine if it can be effective in the analysis of the linguistic devices used in the presidential public addresses. The study explores pragmatic functions of pronouns in two addresses delivered by Putin in relation to the context of the addresses, distinct culture and psychology of the target audience and general political setting in the country.

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1. Introduction

Based on the previous research in political language and presidential rhetoric, the study examines notions of political persuasion, to be more precise, pragmatic implementation of pronouns in the presidential public discourse in contemporary Russia. We focus on the pronouns in Putin's public narrative with the aim to detect discursive strategies used to create self-portrait and we-portrait in his public appeals. Our objective was to understand if Putin's language (in particular the usage of pronouns) is adjusted to the traditional representation of a national leader accepted in the Russian "code". For this reason we have investigated personal and possessive pronouns used in different dimensions of Putin's rhetoric with the aim to detect their persuasive potential.

The study follows a president-centred approach and addresses contextual variables that shape presidential communicative conduct. Among these variables we have distinguished a general political setting, context of the addresses and a distinct code of the target audience that will be discussed further in the paper. We sought to detect patterns of pronominal usage in the addresses delivered by one political leader on two different occasions in the same political and cultural environment. Moreover, the study elaborates on a relatively recent field of research that investigates the connection between the political language (personal pronouns) and its reliance on the shared values, culture and history of the target audience. In addition, we have noticed a limited amount of studies that focus on the investigation of Putin's public eloquence, particularly in his addresses on nationhood.

2. Literature Review

The idea that presidential rhetoric reveals features of a specific community including common culture, distinct psychology and history has its roots in the propositions made by G. Philipsen (1992) in his ethnographic study of cultural communication. The scholar claimed that every ethnic group possesses a distinct "code" defined as a "historically transmitted, socially constructed system of symbols and meanings, primes and rules, pertaining to communicative conduct" (Philipsen 1992: 124). Thus, the analysis relies on the principle that suggests that "a speech code implicates a culturally distinctive psychology, sociology, and rhetoric" (Philipsen 1992: 127).

According to speech code theory, phenomenon of presidential verbal behaviour needs to be contextualized, i.e. it should be explored in the light of societal, cultural factors on the

background of historical development of the given society or in the light of a distinct national "code" (Philipsen 1992: 124).

Following Saussure's ideas of language being a direct representation of reality (Saussure 1916) which according to Halliday's theory functions within a social context (Halliday 1973 in R. Cockcroft and S. Cockcroft 2014) and is evolved for specific social purposes (Chilton 2004) and Wittgenstein's propositions that language is not static and meaning of the words is diverse depending on the context (Wittgenstein 1963), we propose that political discourse and speeches should be analyzed in the light of time and interest and be examined in the specific context (Lorenzo 1996).

Saussure's theory of vertical/pragmatic axis which postulates that a word is chosen from a range of semantic options (Saussure in R. Cockcroft & S. Cockcroft 2014) expanded by Halliday (1973) who argued that "every language user has multiple options or paradigms available within the system of grammar, phonology and lexis" leads to the conclusion that "these language choices whether in spoken or written form, are always determined by audience, context and purpose" (R. Cockcroft & S. Cockcroft 2014: 43). The present study relies on this proposition and focuses on the analysis of all three domains (audience, context and purpose) of the political communicative event (in our case presidential public appeals).

Present paper tests the assumption that political language, being a socially constructed phenomenon linked to politics and rhetorical leadership, is modified by a political leader who choses words from a range of semantic options and adjusts them to a distinct political context with the aim to persuade public, create a particular brand, and justify his presidential authority.

3. Data and Method

As noticed earlier, we narrowed the scope of data to the examination of two public appeals: an inaugural address and a Victory Day address delivered by Putin in 2012 and 2015. The selection of the addresses is justified by our intention to explore a wider spectrum of pronominal usage implemented in different contexts of the presidential public domain. The study shows how political orators benefit from the flexibility of pronominal usage to brand their leadership, administration and nation on different socio-political occasions: the first being the inauguration and the second – an important historical event that shapes public identity and perception of history (victory in the Second World War).

The study expands the traditional grammatical paradigm of pronouns and claims that the pronominal usage in political oratory should be contextualised rather than investigated in

relation to the fixed deictic properties. This idea was discussed by Watson (1987) and Sacks (1992) who argued that pronouns contribute to the identity formation and go beyond their referential roles (Watson 1987; Sacks 1992). This hypothesis additionally justifies our choice of two addresses delivered on different occasions by one political leader who appeals to the public that shares the same socio-cultural and political knowledge. Thus, our objective is to understand what role pronominal references play in the process of identity formation in the addresses delivered on different occasion.

We have structured the analysis as follows: We start with the exploration of the elements that create a unique context and influence the "code" of the audience: political setting in Russia, Putin's rhetorical image and views, context of the investigated addresses with the aim to detect their main peculiarities and potential impact on the lexical choices. The analysis proceeds with the investigation of the personal self-references, then focuses on the examination of the plural forms *we* and *our*. Conclusion and ideas for future research follow at the end.

To make our study as transparent as possible, we have implemented intercoder reliability test and coded sentences that include self-references and we-references. In addition, we examined utterances that contain a possessive form *our* to understand what features are attributed to this pronoun in Putin's narrative.

To conduct the test, we have chosen four people with similar background and interest in politics, native Russian speakers with high level of education (one Master and three PhDs) who currently live abroad. We aimed to maintain consistency in our coding and reduce external factors that may have an impact on the results of the test. As intercoder reliability test indicates the degree to which two or more independent coders agree on the coding of the content with the usage of the same coding scheme (Mouter & Noordegraaf 2012), the number of interviewers in our study (four) is considered to be sufficient to access the reliability of the coding.

To achieve reliability in content analysis of the presidential public appeals, we have followed the framework proposed by Mouter & Noordegraaf (2012) and started with the definition of the categories and subcategories that we consider to be the most relevant for the study. We relied on the previous research devoted to the functions of pronouns (Pennycook 1994; Chilton 2004; Roitman 2014; Wilson 1990; Karapetjana 2011; De Fina 1995; Malone 1997; Wales 1996; Hahn 1998; Simon & Wiese 2002; Bello 2013; Janney 1996) and distinguished the following coding criteria for the investigation of the utterances that contain self-references: **functions, image, target** and **tone.** Moreover, in each category we distinguished several subcategories.

Functions: *share of responsibilities, identification with the public/raise of solidarity, expression of an individual opinion, praise of the public, references to ideology/shape of public opinion, giving orders, other*
Self-image: *president, citizen, individual, speaker, other*
Target: *citizens, administration, international community, particular groups*
Tone: *positive, negative, neutral*

We followed the same procedure for the analysis of we-references in order to understand what functions *we* references perform in the addresses and what images Putin creates and how. The coding criteria are based on the previous research that focused on the investigation of pragmatic function of the plural form *we* (Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990; Pennycook 1994; Pyykkö 2002; Wales 1996; Quirk et al. 1985; Janney 1996). Although the coding categories remained the same, there are differences in subcategories presented below:

Functions: *share of duties, identification with the public/raise of solidarity, expression of power, praise of the public, references to ideology/shape of public opinion, acceptance of responsibility, other*
Image: *administration, citizens, international community, heirs of the past, other*
Subcategories in **target** and **tone** remained the same.

We have conducted a separate coding of the possessive form *our* in order to see what nouns Putin modified with its help and what images he sought to create. Thus, we analyzed sentences that included possessive *our* and coded them according to the following criteria: **references**, **image**, **target** and **tone.** The subcategories distinguished in each category are shown below.

References: *values, founding documents, people, general traits of character, national traits of character, country, duties, economy, government, past/history, education, other*
Images: *administration, citizens, international community, heirs of the past, other*
Subcategories in the categories **Target** and **Tone** remained unchanged.

During the next stage of our analysis we trained the coders in using the coding and gave them a sample of the body content (around 10%) to code. As the sample test proved the consistency of the coders, we gave them an executive test. At the end we assessed how much the obtained data differed from the perfect reliability using Krippendorff's alpha as a measurement coefficient. The results showed that the participants were highly consistent in their coding and the score test is above accepted reliability standards for the selected coefficient. It should be mentioned that

data loss reached 12% in the analysis of self-references, 11% in we-references and 15% in the possessive form *our*. We proceeded with the evaluation of the coding results by means of a simple manual calculation in the Excel programme that showed the prevalence of each subcategory.

3.1. Inaugural Address 2012: Setting and Peculiarities

Putin's inaugural address delivered on 7th May 2012 was described as "brief" (Williams et al. 2012: 1746). Before the inauguration for his third term, in 2008–2012 in time of Medvedev's presidency, he served as prime minister (2008–2012). Important is the context and the events that preceded the inauguration. Several days before the ceremony Russia saw massive public protests since the collapse of the Soviet Union. As the result, Putin sought to choose a right tone and direction, inspire the audience, meet its expectations, and change its critical vision of politics. Thus, Putin's intention to present a change was driven by the political exigence that existed in the society by this time (Williams et al. 2012: 1746). The need for the changes that was evident in Russia in 2012 is seen as a controlling exigence that exists in any rhetorical situation and "functions as its organizing principle" (Bitzer 1992: 7).

3.2. Victory Day Address: Setting and Peculiarities

Traditionally, the celebration of the Victory Day in Russia is marked by ritualised military parades and flyover by military aircraft, patriotic presidential speech which glorifies those who died in the War, spectacular fireworks, war-related films and programmes on TV, and the concerts where popular singers sing patriotic war songs. In short, as observed by The Independent, the 9th of May, the Victory Day, is considered to be Russia's "most important secular holiday" (The Independent 2017).

It is necessary to outline a political context of the commemoration. Recently the Russian government has formulated the so-called historical policy, a policy on the country's history that aims to unite the nation around a single version of the past. This approach "tends to glorify Russia's imperial legacy and encourages citizens to conform to an oversimplified historical account" (Kolesnikov 2017: 7). It was proposed that this policy on the contrary causes divisions in the Russian society as all citizens are reluctant to accept an official single version of the collective memory (Kolesnikov 2017).

According to the Putinist model inspired by the past (18th and 19th century history and the Soviet legacy), Russia's power "rests on a triad": renewed economic strength, armed forces, and

ideology of nationalism and patriotism (Lyne 2015: 10). In other words, Russian leadership promotes Russia's role in the world as a successor of the Soviet Union and reminds the Russians of the enemy and the two great powers of the Cold War (Kolesnikov 2017; Meister 2016).

Opinion polls conducted by the independent Levada Centre in 2016 revealed that history remains an important criterion for self-identification for the majority of the Russians. Thus, in March 2016, 45 percent of the Russians stated that they are "definitely proud" of the country's Soviet history (Levada Centre 2016). A greater number of respondents (54%) in 2016 regarded Stalin as a figure who had at least somehow positively influenced Russian history (Levada Centre 2016).

Taking Russia's historical policy into account, we propose that the Victory Day is used by the political authority as an important vehicle to construct a national identity on the basis of collective memories, glorification of history, Soviet legacy and its achievements.

3.3. Political Setting and Elections in Russia

Contemporary Russian political system can be described as "a specific type of governance" characterised by "paternalism, the state domineering over the individual, isolation from the outside world, and ambitions to be a great power" (Shevtsova 2005: 6). Russia's "cultural predisposition for authoritarian leaders" was explained by the fact that the country has been ruled by dictators, czars and Communist party politicians for so long that "it became difficult to imagine a different kind of political system" (McFaul 2001: 1). Polls in 2002 and 2003 proved the existence of the proposed "cultural predisposition" and demonstrated that no more than a third of the Russian population considered themselves democrats, while a large number of people believed that authoritarianism "was the only path for their country" (Baker & Glasser 2005: 3).

The results of the presidential elections in 2004 were as predictable as they were in 2000 with Putin being almost a certain victor. (Shevtsova 2005: 73). Moreover, he became more confident in 2004, establishing within Russia "a personal myth of himself as the strong man who had brought stability and prosperity", believing that he is "indispensable" (Shevtsova & Wood 2011: 54). Thus, Putin's "successful super-centralization of power" proved to be "the optimum formula for governing Russia" (Shevtsova & Wood 2011: 56).

In December 2008 there was another constitutional amendment which extended the presidential term from four to six years, allowing Putin to serve twelve more years as president, until 2024. Thus, Medvedev's presidency proved that "Russian remains a government of men,

not laws" (Lynch 2011: 135). In other words, Putin's regime was described as "authoritarian, oligarchic, and bureaucratic" which exists "under the guise of democratic institution" (Shevtosva & Wood 2011: 43).

As indicated by Bacon et al. (2006), Putin's approach towards politics moves Russia back "towards a more managed, less democratic system of government with authoritarian overtones" (Bacon et al. 2006: 189). In other words, state unity and threats to the state dominated the official Russian discourse under Putin. Among other motifs which shaped Russia's discourse of security were "the concept of national identity, national pride, and the national idea" (Bacon et al. 2006: 179). Another "key signifier" in the Russia's discourse was the question of morality elaborated by Putin to highlight "the threat posed to Russian society from the West from a moral perspective" (Bacon et al. 2006: 181).

3.4. Putin's Political Views and Rhetoric

Before the 2000 presidential elections Putin's image was described as "an obedient appointee", "a mere functionary rather than a notable person or a leader", who was "wary of responsibility and was afraid of his own experience", as he was possibly worried that Yeltsin could change his decision and appoint a new heir (Shevtsova 2005: 68).

Putin's image at the beginning of the presidency was vague and blurred, making him "a tabula rasa on which everyone could write what he or she wanted", as he "tried to be all things to all people", an "Everybody's man", who combined clarity of the military and "a certain amorphousness" to refer to all citizens and avoid concrete answers to the question which worried Russia (Shevtsova 2005: 71). Gradually, he managed to adjust his image to the public needs and presented himself as "a strong, effective leader" building this image on almost nothing (Shevtsova 2005: 74).

Putin managed to cultivate "a charismatic aspect of his political power" that portrayed him "as a leader of all the people" and helped him gain the highest "approval rating ranged from 68 to 87 percent throughout most his presidency" (Lynch 2011: 88). In other words, Putin's political image underwent significant changes and reflected his intentions to identify himself with the traditional representation of the superior political leader, i.e. a strong, powerful authoritative patriot who leads the people and protects them (Sakwa 2011). Consequently, Roxburgh summarized Putin's image as follows: "courteous" but "boorish", running Russia "with a strong, and tightening, grip", creating a top-down system, "the vertical of power" which "stifles initiative" and terrify his subordinates to contradict him (Roxburgh 2012: vii).

Putin referred to different epochs in Russian history with the aim to appeal to the political symbolism. He reintroduced Soviet national anthem, associated by many Russians with the Second World War and the victory. In addition, the Russian leader adopted the double-headed eagle with three crowns as Russia's state emblem in czarist era (Lynch 2011: 87). He chose a strategy that pertained to the past, referring to the Russian values such as "traditions, patriotism, collectivism, statism, and social justice", the principles of the Russia's "special path" popular in the country in the Soviet times (Shevtsova 2005: 71).

Gradually, after the 2004 presidential elections, Putin embodied "the president of hope" who appealed to both those who were afraid of the changes and to those who wanted them, creating "a schizophrenic game" which gradually led "to a split in national identity", and emergence of "the conflicting moods and incompatible trends in the society" (Shevtsova 2005: 295). After 2008, Russia's foreign policy under Putin became more nationalist, where Putin did not aim to challenge Western capitalism following "old Soviet ideological manner" (Lynch 2011: 96).

4. Results and Discussion

The following section presents the results of the empirical analysis of personal pronouns in Putin's addresses.

4.1. Self-references

Table 1 introduces the results of the reliability test and summarises our major findings on the usage of self-references in two addresses.

Table 1. ***Usage of Self-references in Putin's Addresses***

	Inaugural Address	**Victory Day Address**
Image	President (5) Individual (3)	Speaker (1)
Function	Acceptance of Responsibility (6) Expression of Opinion (2) Expression of Power (1) Elaboration on Ideology (1)	Praise of the Public (1)
Target	Citizens (7) Administration (1)	Citizens (1)
Tone	Positive (6) Negative (2)	Positive (1)

The results prove that in the inaugural address Putin referred to himself with the aim to target the citizens and present himself as a **president**.

Example (1)

Вступая в должность Президента Российской Федерации, ***понимаю*** *всю свою ответственность перед Родиной*

'Taking the office of the Russian President, **I realize** my responsibility in front of the Motherland'

In addition, he depicted himself as **an individual** to express his own opinion.

Example (2)

Я верю *в силу наших общих целей и идеалов*

'**I believe** in the power of our common aims and values'

Positive self-references were predominantly used in Putin's discourse with the aim **to stress his acceptance of responsibility** and **express an individual opinion**. Usage of self-references proves the claim that Putin aimed to present himself as a strong leader, an individual and a president who recognises his duties and distances himself from the audience.

Example (3)

Считаю *смыслом всей своей жизни и своим долгом служение Отечеству*

'**I consider** it to be the sense of my life and my debt to serve the Motherland'

On the contrary, we have noticed almost a complete absence of self-references in his Victory Day Address. Putin referred to himself only once in the **speaker** function with the aim to praise the audience.

Example (4)

Поздравляю вас с 70-летием Победы в Великой Отечественной войне!

'**(I) congratulate** you on the 70-th anniversary of the Victory in the Great Fatherland War!'

We propose that in the inaugural address Putin attempted to present himself as a president to justify his authority. In order to fulfil this task, he relied on the traditional image of the political leader that is embedded in the Russian code: an authoritative, powerful governor who enjoys his superiority. In the Victory Day Address he sought to identify himself with the public and conceal his strong presidential ego. For this reason, he referred to himself once to congratulate the Russians with the holiday and substituted self-references with we-references that will be discussed in more details in the following section.

4.2. We-references

Table 2 presents the results of the reliability test and summarises our major findings on the usage of we-references in two addresses.

Table 2. ***Usage of We-references in Putin's Addresses***

Category	Inaugural Address	Victory Day
Image	Citizens (11)	Citizens (6) Heirs of the Past (5) International Community (2)
Functions	Authority to Speak for Others (5) Share of Duties (3) Motivation of Public (3) Giving Orders (2) Appeal to Unity (2) Reference to Achievements (1) Praise of the Public (1)	Authority to Speak for Others (12) Appeal to Unity (4) Appeal to Equality (1) Praise of the Public (1) Giving Orders (1)
Target	Citizens (11)	International Community (6) Citizens (5) Particular Groups (Veterans) (2)
Tone	Positive (6) Neutral (5)	Positive (7) Negative (4) Neutral (2)

In his inaugural address V. Putin implied the plural form *we* to create an image of **a citizen**.

Example (5)

Мы вместе прошли *большой и сложный путь, поверили в себя*

'**Together we went through** a long and difficult way, we believed in ourselves'

Most frequently we-references were used to express Putin's **authority to speak for others** and **motivate the audience**.

Example (6)

Мы хотим и будем жить *в успешной России*

'**We want and we will live** in a successful Russia'

Example (7)

И мы будем работать *с верой в душе, с искренними и чистыми помыслами*

'**And we will work** with faith in our soul, with sincere and pure thoughts'

In addition, Putin **shared his presidential duties** with the audience and **gave orders**.

Example (8)

нам потребуется решать *задачи принципиально иного уровня*

'**We will have to solve** tasks of a different level'

Example (9)

историческая перспектива государства и нашей нации зависят сегодня именно ***от нас***

'historical perspective of the state and our nation depend only **on us**'

As any other politician, Putin pursued the aim to consolidate the audience appealing to unity, praising the citizens and referring to their collective achievements.

Example (10)

Мы вместе прошли *большой и сложный путь, поверили в себя*

'**Together we went through** a long and difficult way, we believed in ourselves'

In addition to the **citizens** image in his Victory Day address, Putin created **heirs of the past image**.

Example (11)

Но ***мы помним*** *и о наших союзниках по антигитлеровской коалиции*

'But **we remember** about our alliances in the anti-Hitler coalition'

Example (12)

Помним *историческую встречу союзников на Эльбе*

'**We remember** a historical meeting of the allied forces on the Elbe'

Similar to the inaugural address, Putin, being a spokesman for the nation, most frequently used his authority to speak for others. However, in contrast to the inaugural address, where Putin endeavoured to motivate the audience, his Victory Day address revealed **appeals to unity**.

Example (13)

Мы преклоняемся *перед всеми, кто насмерть стоял за каждую улицу*

'**We bent our heads** to commemorate those who bravely fought for every street'

Example (14)

Мы приветствуем *сегодня всех наших зарубежных гостей*

'**We greet** all of our foreign guests'

Furthermore, in his Victory Day narrative, Putin targeted a wider spectrum of the audience including the citizens, international community and particular groups (veterans). Thus, Putin several times appealed to the international guests.

Example (15)

Мы приветствуем *сегодня всех наших зарубежных гостей*

'**We greet** all our foreign guests'

Moreover, Putin addressed veterans and thanked them for their heroism and contribution to the Victory in the war.

Example (16)

Склоняем головы *перед светлой памятью сыновей, дочерей, отцов, матерей, дедов, мужей, жен, братьев, сестер, однополчан, родных, друзей*

'**We bend our heads** to commemorate sons, daughters, fathers, mothers, grandfathers, husbands, wives, brothers, sisters, fellow soldiers, relatives and friends'

Another peculiarity of Putin's address on nationhood is the presence of the negative tone in addition to the positive and neural delivery style. Thus, Putin reminded the audience of the tragical consequences of the war.

Example (17)

Всех, кто не вернулся с войны. Всех, кого уже ***нет с нами***

'Those who did not return from the War. Those who are **not with us**'

In other utterances, negative style assisted the president in the construction of the insiders-outsiders dichotomy with the objective to unite the Russians against an external enemy not elaborated further in the address.

Example (18)

видим, *как набирает обороты силовое блоковое мышление*

'**we see** how the block thinking is accelerating'

4.3. The Possessive Form *Our*

Table 3 presents our major findings on the usage of the possessive pronoun *our* in two addresses.

Table 3. ***Usage of 'Our' in Putin's Addresses***

Category	Inaugural Address	Victory Day
References	People (4) Aims and Duties (4) General Traits of Character (4) Values (4)	History (4) County (3) People (1)
Images	Citizens (14) Heirs of the Past (1)	Heirs of the Past (4) Citizens (3) Administration (1)
Target	Citizens (15)	Citizens (5) International Community (3)
Tone	Positive (10) Neutral (5)	Positive (7) Neutral (1)

As it can be seen, in the inaugural address, possessive form *our* equally referred to people, aims and duties, general traits of character and values.

Example (19)

Сделаю всё, чтобы оправдать доверие миллионов ***наших граждан***

'I will do everything to justify the trust of the millions of **our citizens**' (people)

Example (20)

нашей настойчивости *в обустройстве огромных российских пространств*

'**our persistence** in improving the huge Russian spaces' (general traits of character)

Example (21)

Мы добьёмся ***наших целей***

'We will achieve **our aims**' (aims and duties)

Example (22)

на ***нашу тысячелетнюю историю***

'on **our millennium history**' (values)

The usage of the possessive pronoun *our* proves that the aim of the inaugural address was to underline duties of the citizens and define their values. Peculiar is absence of the discussion

devoted to the national traits of character that were substituted with the general characteristics not attributed to a particular nation. The Victory Day address reveals another picture. Most frequently Putin referred to history, country and only once to people.

Example (23)
которые стали ***нашим общим наследием***
'that became **our common heritage**' (history)

Example (24)
героической вершиной в истории ***нашей страны***
'heroic top in the history of **our country**' (country)

Example (25)
Мы приветствуем сегодня всех ***наших зарубежных гостей***
'We greet all **our foreign guests**' (people)

We argue that Putin maintains his image of a strong politician as in both addresses, he intended to give orders, impose ideology and shape public opinion. He attempted to identify with the public appealing to general, not national traits of character, which proves the idea that there is no clear understanding of national identity in contemporary Russia, where the vision of the society balances between different periods of the country's past. Thus, present-day political discourse in Russia is based on the image of a strong politician, an authoritative leader who guides the public and sets tasks rather than elaborates on his vision of society.

As it has been pointed out earlier, Victory Day has an important role the historical policy in Russia, which has been recently introduced by the Russia government in order "to glorify Russia's imperial legacy and encourage citizens to conform to an oversimplified historical account" (Kolesnikov 2017: 7). For this reason, Putin uses this occasion to impose ideology and shape public opinion referring to country's past. Again, it can be noticed that the president does not rely on a particular vision of the society or traits of national character aiming to refer to general notions instead. Peculiar is that in the Victory Day address, he attempted to hide his strong presidential ego and underline national pride, collective memories and patriotism instead.

5. Conclusions

The analysis of pronouns in Putin's addresses proved:

a) Close connection between language, context, political setting and code of the target audience which are interdependent and interconnected and have a strong impact on presidential communicative conduct.
b) Significant role of pronouns in presidential public appeals and their ability to expose certain peculiarities of the political environment, code of the target audience and views of the political leaders.
c) Persuasive nature of presidential public addresses which are not produced to simply inform recipients or excite their aesthetic pleasure, but to shape their perception (van Eemeren 2012). Putin, similar to other political leaders, uses public speeches to construct an ideal image of a political leader embedded in the Russian code.
d) Necessity to contextualize linguistic devices and examine them in a particular setting taking into account the context of the event on which the address is delivered, peculiarities of the code of the target audience, views of the president and an overall political environment.
e) Possibility to apply intercoder reliability test make the analysis more effective and transparent.

Overall, it can be stated that Putin's inaugural address reflected his intentions to identify with a traditional representation of a political leader, a strong, powerful authoritative patriot who leads people and protects them (Sakwa 2011). Victory Day address on the contrary revealed his intentions to be seen as a personification of history, a fellow-Russian who shares the same memories and knowledge. In other words, Putin adjusted his image to the context of his addresses.

For future analysis we propose to expand the scope of data and set the analysis in the intercultural context, i.e. to compare rhetorical devices implied in different types of addresses delivered by politicians who come from different codes and have distinct backgrounds and visions. For instance, we propose to investigate Trump's and Putin's rhetoric with the aim to determine main factors that can explain the differences in the language these politicians use in their public appeals.

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The Perception of the Vowel Continuum in British and US English Speakers

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Abstract

In this paper, the perception of the /æ/-/ɛ/ vowel continuum was analysed in British and United States English speakers by testing their word identification across the pan-pen continuum. A clear difference was found between the two speaker groups, with the U.S. speakers continuing to perceive 'pan' beyond the British speakers, presumably due to /æ/-tensing in U.S. dialects, particularly before nasal codas. It was found that the amount of /æ/-tensing across phonetic environments in a U.S. speaker's dialect as well as their exposure to British English affected how they perceived the continuum. The results prove Bell-Berti's (1979) argument that speech production and perception are closely related, and the steep drop in perception from 'pan' to 'pen' displayed by both speaker groups may prove that vowel perception is categorical, in contrast to popular opinion, though a discrimination task would have to be run before any reliable claim can be made.

Keywords: Vowels, Perception, U.S. English, British English, Sociolinguistics, Sociophonetics, Dialectology

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1. Introduction

1.1. British and United States English Short-a Pronunciation

The production of short-a by British and United States speakers is one of the key linguistic features that differentiates the dialects of these two countries. In England during the Great Vowel Shift, the short-a or TRAP vowel was fronted and raised to [æ] (Lass 2000). Then in the early twentieth century, the short-a vowel in Britain was lowered again to a fully open [a] sound (Wells 1997).

Across the United States, short-a configuration is complex. U.S. speakers follow a system of /æ/-tensing (fronting and raising) which varies depending on dialect, according to Labov et al. (2006).

The first system is the nasal system where there is a wide acoustic separation between vowels that occur before nasals and vowels that do not. Short-a is more tensed before nasals than before other consonants in this system. The nasal system is concentrated in New England, New Jersey outside the New York City area, and across the Midland, particularly the large cities of Pittsburgh, Columbus and Indianapolis.

The second is the raised /æ/ system where all short-a vowels are tensed. They then develop a second mora and glide inwards ([ɛə], [eə], [iə]). It is one of the triggering events of the Northern Cities Vowel Shift and is dominant in the Inland Northern area of the United States. Labov found that for many speakers in this area, the second mora consists of a second steady state instead of an inglide. As a result, the short-a tends to break in to two morae of equal length, with one in mid front position and the other in low front or central position.

The third system of /æ/-tensing in the U.S. is the Southern breaking system that occurs in Southern American English. This is when the vowel begins in a low front position, is then followed by a [j] and then returns to a position not far acoustically from the origin. It is most favoured by nasal codas, with /n/ showing the highest percentage of breaking.

The fourth is the short-a split system which occurs in New York City and the Mid-Atlantic. In New York City, short-a is tensed before voiceless fricatives, voiced stops and nasals whereas in the Mid-Atlantic, short-a is tensed before nasals and voiceless fricatives apart from /ʃ/. It is referred to as a split system because the variations of short-a in these areas can become distinct phonemes.

The final system is the continuous short-a system, the most common short-a configuration in the West and the Midland. It is a continuum of allophones of the short-a vowel from low

front to mid position. The most conservative phonetic environments where short-a is lowest is before voiceless velars, and the most advanced where short-a is highest is before nasal codas. From these five systems, it can be deduced that for all speakers in the United States, short-a undergoes a process of tensing before nasals in closed syllables.

What is clear to see from previous research is that short-a production is markedly different between British and United States English Speakers, with British speakers far more likely to produce a more open short-a vowel than U.S. speakers, particularly before nasal codas. This experiment will seek to find if this difference in short-a production between British and United States English speakers is reflected in their perception of the /æ/-/ɛ/ vowel continuum, specifically the pan-pen continuum.

1.2. The Relationship between Vowel Production and Perception

Before being able to make a hypothesis on how British and United States speakers will perceive the pan-pen continuum, it is first necessary to consider the relationship between a speaker's vowel production and that same speaker's perception. There are numerous studies that support the claim that an individual's production and perception are closely related. Bell-Berti et al. (1979) found that speaker differences in the production of the /i/ vowel were strongly linked to differences in their perception of /i/. This finding was taken as evidence for a shared mechanism mediating the production and perception of vowels. There are less sociolinguistic investigations on the relationship between vowel production and perception, though there is one notable study that is closely related to this current experiment in terms of its aim, the subjects investigated and the experimental methods implemented. Fridland & Kendall (2012) examined how speakers in the U.S. perceived the /e/-/ɛ/ vowel continuum. Southern speakers, who typically display /e/ centralization and /ɛ/ peripheralization due to the Southern Vowel Shift (Feagin 1986; Labov et al. 2006; Thomas 2001) sustained a longer /e/ perception along the continuum than Westerners and Northerners, whose vowel production along this continuum are not dissimilar. Results also suggested that vowel perception depends on both the speaker's own production of speech and what that speaker is exposed to in their region. For example, Southerners who actively engaged in the Southern Vowel Shift displayed a longer /e/ perception than Southerners who did not, though these non-shifters still displayed a longer /e/ perception than Northerners and Westerners, presumably due to exposure to vowel shifters in their region. It is therefore important in this experiment to consider that a speaker's

dialect may not be similar to those that live in their region, which could influence their perception of the /æ/-/ɛ/ continuum. Unfortunately however, due to time constraints, speakers were not recorded in this study and assumptions had to be made on the participant's dialect based on region of origin.

It is also worth noting that if a U.S. speaker has spent an extended period of time in the U.K., their perceptual boundaries may have shifted towards a more British perception of the /æ/-/ɛ/ continuum. As will be seen in the "Participants" section, many of the U.S. speakers in this experiment lived in the U.K. for at least eight months, and thus results may be affected. Literature supports this proposal: Clarke & Garret (2004) and Nygaard (et al. 2005) found that listener perception adapts rapidly to foreign-accented speech while Clarke & Luce (2005) discovered that listeners shift their Voice Onset Time categorization boundary for stop consonants to match a speaker's production after less than two minutes with that speaker.

Furthermore, Clopper & Pisoni (2007) and Sumner & Samuel (2009) (as well as Fridland & Kendall (2012)) have found that speaker perception depends on the production of the individual and the dialect of the speakers around them.

Based on the findings of previous research, it is hypothesized that in this experiment, speakers from the U.S. who in most cases display /æ/-tensing before nasal codas will maintain a longer 'pan' perception along the pan-pen continuum than British speakers whose production of short-a before nasal codas is more open, close to the cardinal vowel /a/. Additionally, in the case that a U.S. speaker has spent a significant amount of time in the United Kingdom, it is possible that the speaker's pan-pen perception will be affected. If the perception of the pan-pen continuum is proven to be different between British and U.S. speakers, it would support the claim of Bell-Berti et al. (1979) that a speaker's production and perception are correlated.

1.3. The Perception and Categorization of Vowels

Liberman et al. (1957) was the first to introduce the concept that speech sounds, in particular consonants, are perceived categorically. In his experiment, 14 synthetic stimuli were produced that varied along a particular acoustic continuum, being the direction and extent of the second formant (F2) transition. The first formant (F1) was kept consistent with a rising transition, a marker for voiced stops (Delattre et al. 1955). It was found that in an identification task, participants displayed clear categorical boundaries between the consonants /b/, /d/ and /g/. The shift in perception from one consonant to another along the continuum was abrupt, indicating

that the phoneme boundaries were stable and sharp. In one-step, two-step and three-step discrimination tasks, participants found it easier to discriminate stimuli that lay on either side of a phoneme boundary than stimuli within the same category. Figure 1 shows the results of Liberman's identification and discrimination experiments.

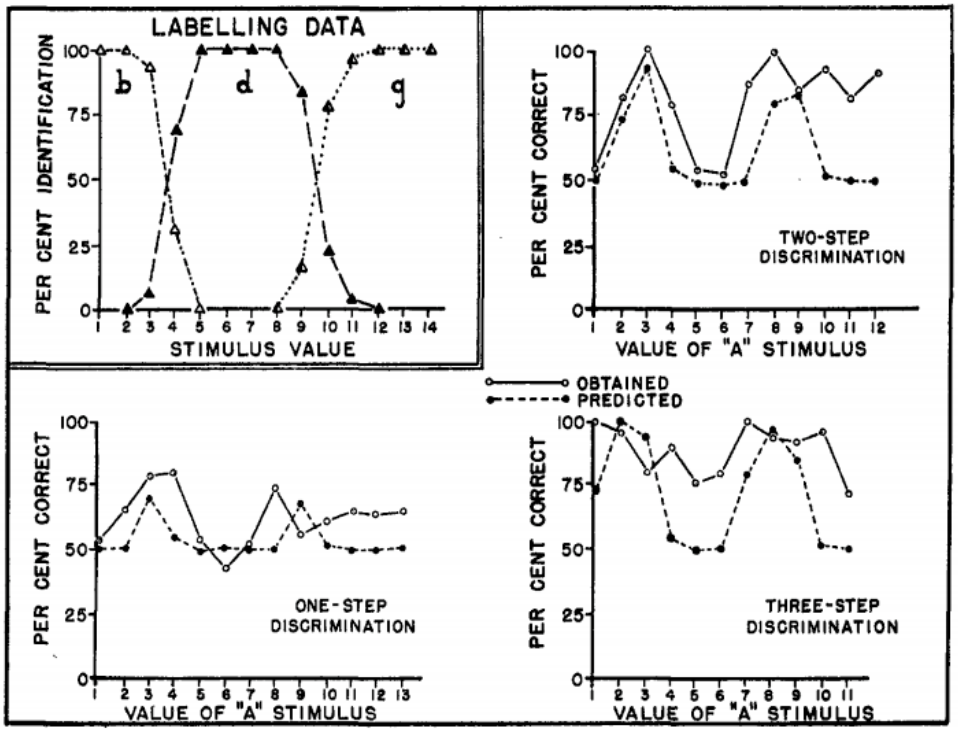

Figure 1: The results of Liberman's experiment. (Liberman et al. 1957)

Fry et al. (1962) proposed that the boundaries between vowel phonemes are less sharply defined than consonants. In his vowel phoneme identification task, speakers displayed a gradual shift in the perception of one vowel to another compared to Liberman's experiment where shifts were sudden. Moreover, speakers performed consistently above chance in the one-step, two-step and three-step discrimination tasks, meaning that participants were able to discriminate vowel stimuli even a step apart, regardless of where they lay in relation to phoneme boundaries. Figures 2 and 3 show the results of Fry's identification and discrimination experiment.

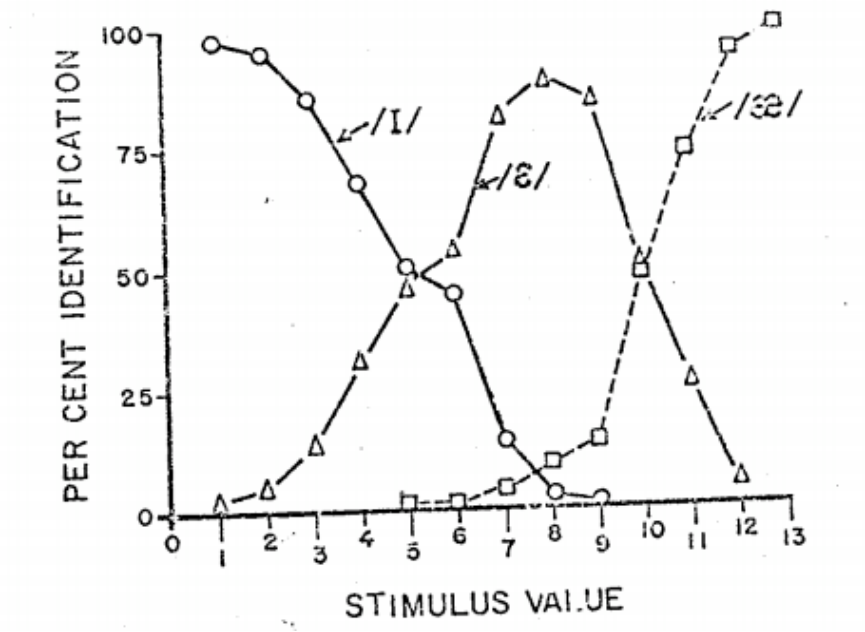

Figure 2: ***The results of Fry's identification experimen (Fry et al. 1962)***

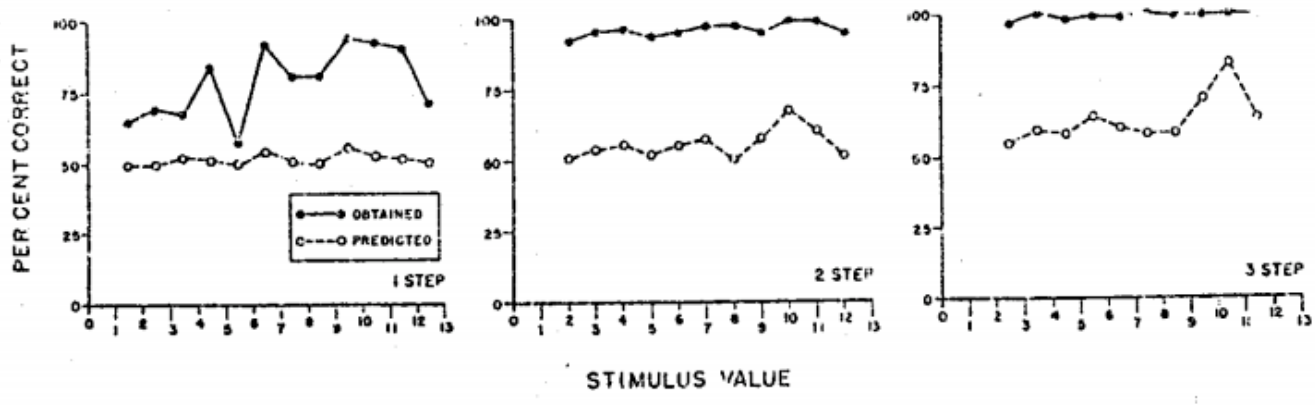

Figure 3: ***The result of Fry's discrimination experiment (Fry et al.1962)***

If previous literature is to be assumed true, participants in this study would be expected to show a more continuous, rather than categorical, perception of the /æ/-/ɛ/ vowel continuum in this experiment. However, should speakers collectively show an abrupt shift from perceiving 'pan' to 'pen', it could be argued that perhaps vowel categorization is sharper than previously believed. This experiment however cannot prove that vowels are perceived categorically since

a discrimination task would have to be run in order to provide any credible arguments on vowel perception. Due to time constraints, this was not possible.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

Fourteen participants took part in the study. Seven were native speakers of Standard Southern British English aged 21-35 (mean = 24.7 years), two of the seven British speakers were female and five were male. They were all raised in the South of England and had lived in Oxford for at least eight months. The other seven participants were native speakers of United States English aged 18-21 (mean = 20.4 years). Two of them were male and five were female. They were all raised in the U.S.; two in Massachusetts, one in Michigan, one in Maryland, one in Iowa, one who had lived for over three years in Massachusetts and Illinois, and one who moved frequently between Massachusetts, North Carolina and Pennsylvania. They had all lived in Oxford for at least eight months, apart from one speaker, participant 1, who had been living in the country for 4 days on the day of her experiment. Table 1 shows the U.S. participants, their region of origin, and assumed dialect based on region according to Labov et al. (2006).

Table 1: ***Names of the U.S. speakers, their region of origin and assumed dialect (Labov et al. 2006)***

Participant	***Region of Origin***	***Assumed Dialect***
1	*Highland and Livonia, Michigan*	*Inland Northern American English*
2	*Middleborough, Massachusetts*	*Northeastern New England English*
3	*Worcester, Massachusetts*	*Northeastern New England English*
4	*Hagerstown, Maryland*	*Western Pennsylvania English*
5	*Des Moines, Iowa*	*Midland American English*
6	*- Sherborn, Massachusetts*	*- Northeastern New*

	- Charlotte, North Carolina *- Kennett Square, Pennsylvania*	*England English* *- Southern American English* *- Mid-Atlantic American English*
7	*- Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts* *- Chicago, Illinois*	*- Southeastern New England English* *- Inland Northern American English*

2.2 Materials

Each participant took part in a word identification task, listening to 100 synthetic stimuli ranging across the pan-pen continuum (10 unique stimuli multiplied by 10 and played in random order). The stimuli were created with the IPOX Speech Synthesizer (Dirksen & Coleman 1995) which is able to generate synthetic words using a phonemic input. Initially two sound files were created; a "pan" .wav file, which would be stimulus 1, and a "pen" .wav file, which would be stimulus 10. The files were 16-bit sound files sampled at 11025Hz. The /æ/ vowel in stimulus 1 had an F1 value of 838 Hz, an F2 value of 1560 Hz, an F3 value of 2430 Hz and an F4 value of 3300 Hz. The /ɛ/ vowel in stimulus 10 had an F1 value of 620 Hz, an F2 value of 1660 Hz, an F3 value of 2430 Hz and an F4 value of 3300 Hz. Eight more stimuli were then created that moved in equal steps across the acoustic continuum from stimulus 1 to 10. This process was carried out by creating a parameter file of stimulus 1 and 10 through IPOX, duplicating the stimulus 1 parameter file eight times and then adjusting the formant values so that there were 10 parameter files moving in uniform steps from stimulus 1 to 10. These parameter files were then converted back to .wav files, giving 10 sound files ranging across the pan-pen continuum. These sounds were then embedded in to a word identification task, run on a computer using a Praat script (Boersma & Weenink 2016). The script played the ten sound files five times in random order, giving 50 stimuli, asking the listener to identify whether they heard the word "pan" or "pen", to which they would respond by pressing a button on the keyboard with their right hand. The script was then run a second time with the participant using their left hand, meaning each listener heard 100 stimuli.

Participants were required to answer with their right hand in the first block and then their left hand for the second block to reduce any bias towards a particular answer since there is evidence that language dominance in the right or left hemisphere of the brain is linked to handedness (Knecht et al. 2000).

2.3. Procedure

Before the task begun, each participant was required to fill out a questionnaire on his or her language background in order to confirm that they were native English speakers and to extract information on where they were raised in the U.K. or U.S. The participant was then sat in a soundproof room in front of a computer screen and keyboard, and was told that they would hear a block of fifty words through headphones that would sound like the word "pan" or "pen". After hearing each sound, they would have to identify which word they heard. The screen showed the word "pan" on the left hand side and "pen" on the right as shown in Figure 4, and participants were required to press the letter "Q" on the keyboard with their right index finger if they heard the word "pan" and the letter "W" with their right middle finger if they heard the word "pen".

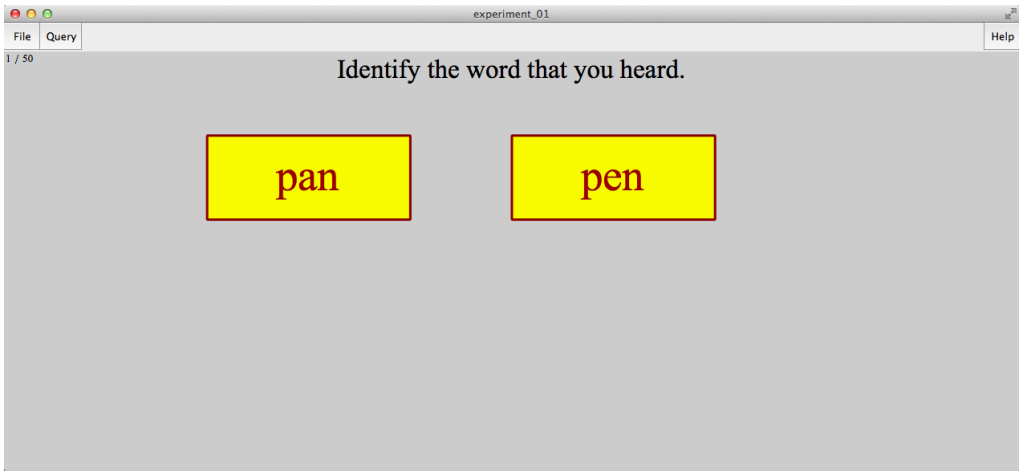

Figure 4: ***A screenshot of the first block of the identification task***

It was specified to the participant that there was no right or wrong answer to each stimulus and that they must choose their answer as quickly as possible, in order to force the participant in to acting on instinct as to which word they heard, reflecting normal communication as realistically as possible. Once the block was over, participants then re-sat the test, this time by pressing the letter "Q" with their left middle finger if they heard the word "pen" and the letter "W" with their left index finger if they heard the word "pan". Moreover, in the second block,

"pen" was on the left hand side of the screen and "pan" was on the right as shown in Figure 5. A shorter block of 25 stimuli was run before the main experiment in order for participants to familiarize themselves with the task and to test sound volume.

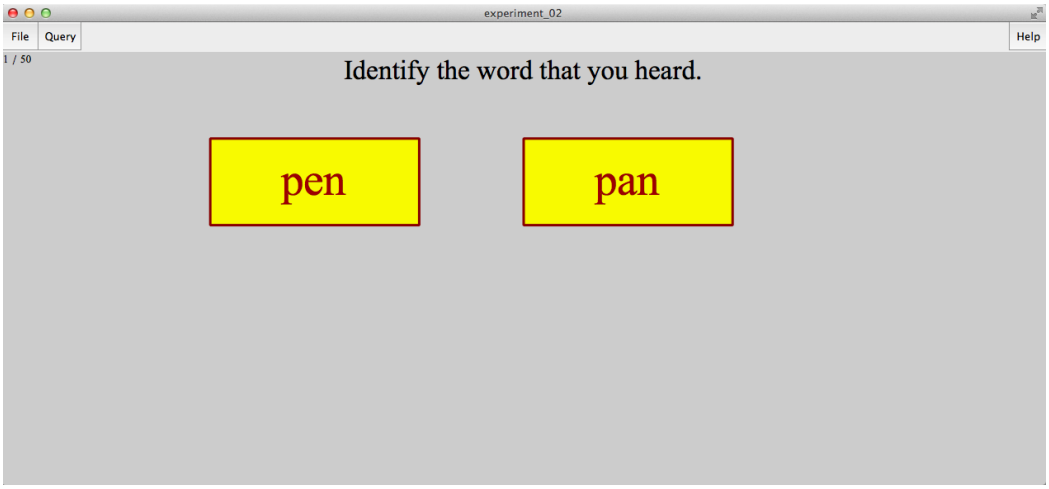

Figure 5: ***A screenshot of the second block of the identification task***

2.4. Analysis

The responses of each participant were collected to a table on Praat and saved as a comma-separated file. Responses that had reaction times above 1.5 seconds were removed due to the fact that they often yielded unusual responses and were thus deemed to not be instinctive. Since the majority of responses were below 1.5 seconds, it seemed suitable to remove these anomalies from the final results. Additionally, responses with reaction times below 0.16 seconds were removed since it is not possible to respond to visual stimuli faster than this (Kosinski 2008). Answers given below this reaction time indicate that a speaker answered too soon before cognitively processing what they heard. In total, 62 responses were omitted from the results out of 1400. The percentage of "pan" and "pen" responses were calculated for each individual and then for both speaker groups.

3. Results

Figure 6 and Table 2 show the results of the experiment for the British and United States English speaker groups. In Figure 6, across the x-axis is stimulus 1-10, and across the y-axis is the overall percentage of "pan" responses to each stimulus. The blue line represents the British English speaker group and the red line represents the United States English speaker group.

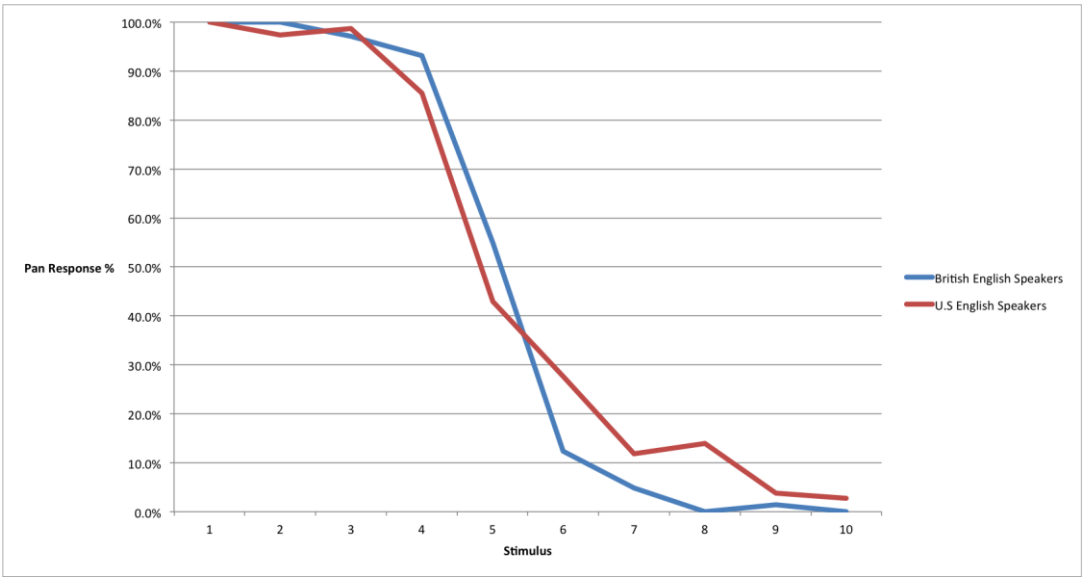

Figure 6: The percentage of "pan" responses by the British and U.S. speaker groups (Graph)

Table 2: ***The percentage of "pan" responses by the British and U.S. speaker groups***

		Stimulus									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Speaker Group	British English	100%	100%	97.1%	93.1%	54.9%	12.4%	4.9%	0%	1.4%	0%
	U.S. English	100%	97.4%	98.7%	85.5%	42.9%	27.6%	11.8%	13.9%	3.8%	2.7%

The results show that from stimulus 1-4, both the British English and United States English speaker groups performed above chance, identifying the word "pan" over 85% of the time. At stimulus 5, there was a steep drop in the perception of "pan" for both groups who performed at chance: The British speakers identified "pan" 54.9% of the time and the U.S. speakers identified "pan" 42.9% of the time. By stimulus 6, both speaker groups performed above chance, with the British speakers identifying "pan" 12.4% of the time (meaning they identified "pen" 87.6% of the time) and the U.S. speakers identifying "pan" 27.6% of the time (meaning

they identified “pen” 72.4% of the time). At stimulus 6-8, the United States English speaker group displayed a significantly higher percentage of “pan” responses than the British English speaker group (15.2% more at stimulus 6, 6.9% more at stimulus 7 and 13.9% more at stimulus 8) and at stimulus 7-8, the United States English speaker group still responded with “pan” over 10% of the time (11.8% and 13.9% respectively) while less than 5% of the British English responses were “pan” (4.9% and 0% respectively). At stimulus 9-10, only 1 out of 139 responses by all British speakers was “pan”, while 5 out of 155 U.S. speaker responses were “pan”. The main finding from these results is that both the British English and United States English speaker groups sharply dropped in their perception of “pan” at stimulus 5, but from stimulus 6 onwards, United States English speakers perceived “pan” significantly more than the British English speakers.

It is crucial to examine the results of the individual U.S. participants to investigate if particular speakers influenced the U.S. group results considerably from stimulus 6 onwards. Additionally, one should analyze the variation within the British English speaker group to ensure that the overall pattern seen in the British group is consistent amongst the individual speakers. Table 3 and Figure 7 shows the results of the individual U.S. speakers. There appears to be one U.S. speaker who consistently identified “pan” well above the group average across stimulus 6, 7 and 8. Participant 1 identified “pan” 50% of the time at stimulus 6 (22.4% above the average), 44.4% of the time at stimulus 7 (32.6% above the average), and 20% of the time at stimulus 8 (6.2% above the average).

Table 3*: The percentage of “pan” responses by the individual U.S. speakers*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	100%	100%	100%	100%	42.9%	50%	44.4%	20%	20%	0%
2	100%	90%	100%	70%	11.1%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	100%	100%	100%	100%	57.1%	44.4%	11.1%	0%	0%	0%
4	100%	90%	100%	90%	50%	30%	0%	30%	0%	0%
5	100%	100%	100%	80%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%
6	100%	100%	100%	70%	60%	20%	20%	20%	10%	20%
7	100%	100%	90%	87.5%	33.3%	22.2%	10%	20%	0%	0%

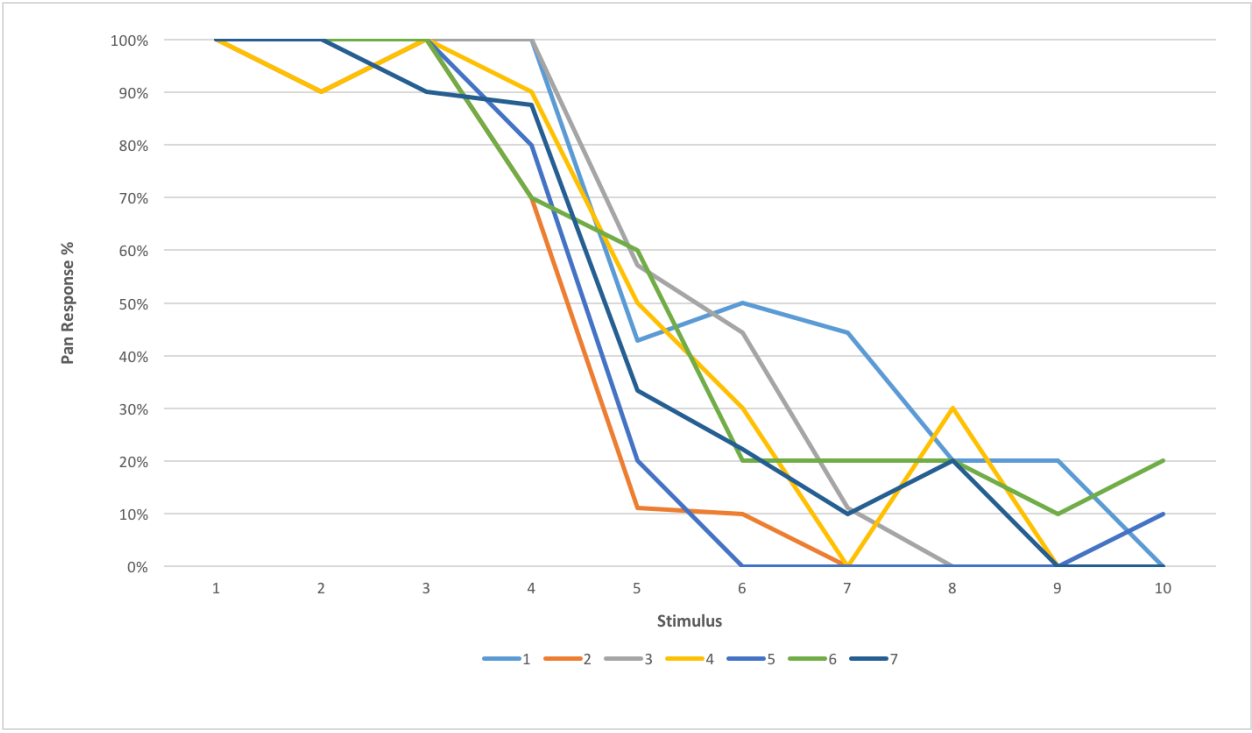

Figure 7: ***The percentage of "pan" responses by the individual U.S. speakers (Graph)***

However, removing participant 1's results does not dramatically alter the results for stimulus 6 (24.2%), 7 (7.5%) and 8 (13.0%): The U.S. English speaker group still displays a markedly higher percentage of "pan" responses than the British speaker group. Each U.S. speaker identified "pan" above the group average at some point from stimulus 6-10, apart from participant 2 who always identified "pan" below the average from stimulus 6 onwards. This indicates that beyond stimulus 5, almost the entire U.S. speaker group perceived "pan" more than the British English group whose "pan" perception never increased beyond 5%. From stimulus 7-10, only three of the seven British speakers perceived "pan" at any time with four "pan" responses in total whereas six of the seven U.S. speakers perceived "pan" with 25 "pan" responses in total. Thus it is clear that the United States English speaker group perceived "pan" significantly more than the British English speaker group in the second half of the pan-pen continuum. Table 4 and Figure 8 show the results of the individual British English speakers.

Table 4: ***The percentage of "pan" responses by the individual British speakers***

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	100%	100%	100%	89%	63%	20%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	100%	100%	90%	90%	30%	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%
3	100%	100%	100%	100%	90%	50%	0%	0%	0%	0%
4	100%	100%	100%	100%	63%	11%	0%	0%	0%	0%
5	100%	100%	100%	90%	44%	0%	10%	0%	10%	0%
6	100%	100%	90%	89%	80%	0%	10%	0%	0%	0%
7	100%	100%	100%	100%	40%	20%	11%	0%	0%	0%

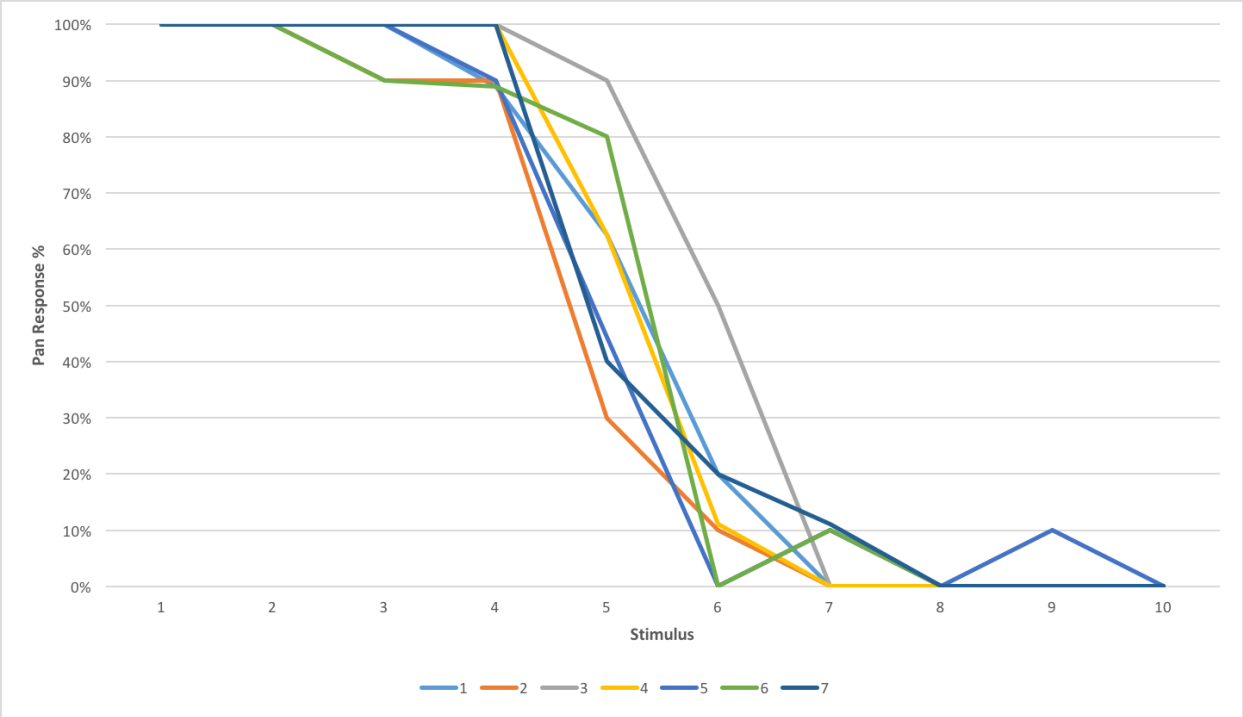

Figure 8: ***The percentage of "pan" responses by the Individual Speakers (Graph)***

The table and graph confirm that there was not much inter-group variation within the British Group. Apart from speaker 3 whose drop in "pan" perception starts at stimulus 6, every other speaker's "pan" perception drops at stimulus 5, indicating that the pattern shown in Figure 6 for the British speakers is uniform across six out of seven British speakers. Furthermore, beyond stimulus 6, the perception of "pan" across the listeners was minimal, unlike the U.S. English group.

4. Discussion

The results show that both the British and U.S. speaker group's drop in "pan" perception occurred at the same stimulus. This was an unanticipated result since it was expected that the /æ/-tensing before nasal codas by United States English speakers would cause them to perceive "pan" for longer across the pan-pen continuum than the British English speakers. However, it is worth noting that the U.S. participant who had the highest percentage of "pan" responses at stimulus 6 and 7 (50% and 44.4% respectively) was participant 1 who had only lived in England for four days at the time of the experiment, compared to the other participants who had been living in England for at least eight months. It is possible that extensive exposure to British English speakers may have caused the other six speakers to adjust their perceptual boundary between /æ/ and /ɛ/, having a more British perception of the pan-pen continuum than the U.S. speaker who had only lived in England for a limited time. It is also possible that the U.S. speakers dropped in their "pan" perception earlier than expected due to an unconscious assumption that they were listening to British speech. Since the experiment was run by a British phonetician in England, U.S. participants may have assumed that the synthetic speech they were listening to was British, and adjusted their perceptual vowel boundaries accordingly. Niedzielski (1999) found that altering the national identity of a speaker as indicated on an answer sheet changed the perception of vowel categories. Though the national identity of the synthetic speech was never specified, the environment and location of the experiment, as well as the presence of open British /æ/ in the stimuli may have led to a subconscious assumption that the participant was listening to British speech.

Although the U.S. English speakers display a sharp drop in "pan" perception earlier than expected, the drop was not as great as the British English speakers, and the U.S. speakers continued to perceive "pan" significantly more than the British speakers to the end of the continuum. This is likely due to two reasons: The first is that although the U.S. speakers may

have shifted their perceptual boundaries, it is not a firmly established, fully shifted boundary and at times, the U.S. speakers were still susceptible to hearing “pan” past stimulus 6. The second reason is that in some U.S. dialects, /æ/ before nasal consonants is often tensed beyond /ɛ/, towards the higher /e/ and even /ɪ/ (Labov et al. 2006). It is therefore unsurprising to observe the U.S. speakers continuing to hear “pan” at the end of the /æ/-/ɛ/ continuum.

The individual variation of the U.S. participants can also be explained with relation to the assumed dialect of each speaker. Speakers of dialects that tense /æ/ in more phonetic environments displayed “pan” perception the most across the pan-pen continuum: The U.S. speakers who perceived “pan” consistently at 10% or above from stimulus 1-8 were participant 1, 6 and 7. According to Labov et al. (2006), participant 1 came from an area where Inland Northern American English is spoken, a dialect with the raised /æ/ system where all short-a vowels are tensed. Participant 7 also spent time in an area where Inland Northern American English is spoken; Chicago, Illinois, and it appears to have affected her perception of the /æ/-/ɛ/ continuum, causing it to be markedly different to the other speakers who lived in Massachusetts, perceiving “pan” much later in the continuum than them. Participant 6 spent four years in Charlotte, North Carolina where the Southern American English dialect is prominent, and most /æ/ vowels are tensed due to the Southern Breaking system. She also spent three years in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, where Mid-Atlantic American English is spoken. This dialect has a short-a split system where /æ/ is tensed before nasals and all voiceless fricatives apart from /ʃ/. The other four speakers originated from areas with dialects that have the nasal system where short-a is only tensed before nasals: Participant 2 and participant 3 were raised in an area where Northeastern New England English is spoken, participant 4 originated from a region where Western Pennsylvania English is spoken and participant 5 came from an area where Midland American English dominates. These three dialects have the nasal system which has the least occurrences of /æ/-tensing. It is therefore likely that the more accustomed a listener was to /æ/-tensing across phonetic environments, the more they perceived “pan” along the continuum.

The final point to discuss is whether any claim can be made that the vowel continuum was perceived categorically. Compared to Fry’s et al. (1962) vowel identification results, the graph from this experiment shows a steeper and more sudden shift in the perception of one vowel to another. In his experiment (see Figure 2) there were 8 synthetic stimuli between the /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ vowel, and the decrease in /ɪ/ perception was far more gradual and continuous, decreasing from 100% to 95%, then 80% to 70%, 50% to 48%, then 15% to just above 0% by stimulus 8.

The results of the current experiment are to the contrary, with a sharp drop in "pan" perception, especially for the British English speaker group, falling from 93.1% at stimulus 4 to 12.4% at stimulus 6. There are a couple of possible reasons why the results of these two studies differ: Firstly, in Fry's experiment, participants were asked to identify phonemes, not words. Sachs & Klatt (1969) found that the Phoneme Boundary Effect was observed across the /ɑ/ - /æ/ continuum only in word context by U.S. speakers ("bottle" /bɑdəl/ vs battle /bædəl/), meaning that subjects were able to discriminate stimuli in the middle of the continuum easier than on the edges. In contrast, isolated vowel stimulus pairs were differentiated equally well over the entire continuum. Their results indicated that the perceptual boundaries between vowels are more defined in word context than in isolation. Secondly, Fry's results may contradict the findings of this experiment because the quality of speech synthesis has improved since 1962. The machine that Fry used, "Alexander" was a formant-type analogue speech synthesizer with four formant generators, of which only two were used in his experiment (Fry et al. 1962). The IPOX speech synthesizer used in this study generates six formant frequencies (including nasal zero frequency), five source parameters, three formant bandwidths and six parallel branch amplitudes (Dirksen & Cole 1995), all of which assist in making the speech sound more authentic.

Regardless if these elements factor in to the difference between the present study and Fry's paper, the results of this experiment suggest that perhaps vowel perception isn't as continuous as previously believed, motivated further by the fact that the patterns we see are consistent across most of the individual speakers, though a discrimination task would have to be run before any reliable claim can be made.

5. Conclusion

This study has found that the difference in short-a production between British and United States English speakers, especially before nasals, leads to a contrast in the perception of the pan-pen continuum between these two speaker groups, but not in the expected manner: The U.S. speaker group did not collectively drop in their perception of "pan" later than the British English speaker group, however after the initial fall in "pan" perception, the U.S. speakers still perceived "pan" beyond the phoneme boundary, significantly more so than the British English speakers, with speakers exposed to /æ/-tensing most frequently across phonetic environments more likely to perceive "pan" a larger percentage of the time further along the continuum. The

results confirm the findings of Bell-Berti et al. (1979) that speech production and perception are closely related. It is also suggested in this study that extensive exposure to the British English dialect by the majority of the U.S. speakers, and perhaps the subconscious assumption that the synthetic speech was British, caused the U.S. speakers to shift their perceptual boundary towards /æ/, though the greater percentage of "pan" perception by the U.S. speakers at the later stages of the continuum suggest that these phoneme boundaries had not fully shifted nor were they as sharply defined as the British speakers' perceptual boundary. It would thus be interesting to test U.S. speakers who have not been as exposed to British speakers to determine if lack of exposure to British English does lead to having the expected higher phoneme boundary, closer to /ɛ/. In turn it would be fascinating to investigate the pan-pen perception of British English speakers who have been living in the U.S. for a considerable period of time, especially in areas with the raised /æ/ system such as the Northern cities (including Rochester New York, Cleveland Ohio, Detroit Michigan, Chicago Illinois and Madison Wisconsin), to see if extensive exposure to the United States English dialect would induce a shift in their phoneme boundary between /æ/ and /ɛ/ to a higher position, offering more of an insight in to the effect of dialect exposure to speech perception. In addition, with less strict of a time constraint, it would have been useful to record the speakers' speech instead of assuming the speaker's dialect based on region of origin. By recording the speakers, considerations could have been made on how the dialect of their region as well as their own speech contributed to their perception of the /æ/-/ɛ/ continuum.

A necessary addition to add to this study is a discrimination task to explore the possibility that vowels are perceived categorically, contrary to popular opinion (Fry et al. 1962). If it is found that speakers do find it easier to discriminate the vowels towards the middle of the continuum than the periphery in word context, the next step would be to test the discrimination of these synthetic vowels outside of word context. Though previous literature suggests that isolated vowels would be discriminated equally across the continuum and not categorically (Fry et al. 1962; Sachs & Klatt 1969), an experiment run with better quality speech synthesis could yield contrasting results, and the argument that vowels are perceived continuously may yet be proved wrong.

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Compiling Comparable Multimodal Corpora of Tourism Discourse

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Abstract

This paper describes work in progress on the design of two comparable multimodal corpora of written tourism discourse about London and Moscow. Multimodality is defined for the purposes of the current project as a combination of several discourse modes, including verbal and visual. The paper aims to contribute methodologically by providing a detailed description of the process and challenges of the multimodal corpora compilation. The building of the corpora is an essential precondition for using a multimodal corpus approach allowing to analyse a range of texts, to consider not only language but also images and layout, to search the data for patterns, to identify multimodal features of each set of texts and to compare these features across the two corpora. After introducing the project and its research questions, the paper highlights the principles of data selection. Then the planned structure of the corpora and data sources are described. The paper goes on by describing the constructed pilot corpora, as well as some technical moments of corpora building, arising problems and possible solutions. To conclude, I highlight the limitations of the article and its implications.

Keywords: tourism discourse, multimodality, corpus linguistics

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1. Introduction

Due to cheap airline fares and instant online booking services travelling is becoming more and more popular. The tourism industry is steadily growing and plays an important part in the economy of many countries (World Travel & Tourism Council 2017). Together with the advancement in technology and industry growth, the number of tourism-related websites and texts aimed at attracting tourists is increasing. Various scholars have studied the influence of such texts on travellers' behaviour (e.g. Dann 1996) and the image of a travel destination (e.g. Ip 2008; Pagano 2014; Stoian 2015). In addition, as the role of multimodality in tourism discourse is constantly developing and a variety of expressive solutions are used to promote destinations (Francesconi 2014), the interest to multimodal research of tourist texts is growing (e.g. Francesconi 2011, 2014; Manca 2016). However, there still remains a paucity of systematic multimodal analysis comparing the representation of various cities, that is, how cities are presented to the audience, in tourist texts. Therefore, the project seeks to obtain data which will help to address this research gap.

I have selected two cities for my research, London and Moscow. Both are capital cities and popular travel destinations attracting large numbers of international tourists. London has been placed as the third most visited city in the world whereas Moscow is ranked 46th in the 2017 City Destinations Ranking (Geerts, Popova, Bremner & Nelson 2017). Differences in the cultural and historical background make these destinations interesting for comparison. It should be underlined that this research project looks at original texts aimed not only at local tourists but at a wider international audience and, consequently, written in English. The research questions I have defined for the project are:

1. What are the similarities and differences of tourism texts about London and Moscow in terms of linguistic features?
2. What are the similarities and differences of tourism texts about London and Moscow in terms of visual features?
3. What are the similarities and differences of tourism texts about London and Moscow in terms of multimodality?

In line with Bednarek & Caple (2017), I define discourse as suggested by Brown & Yule (1983: xiii), namely, "language in use", but consider it as a multimodal notion. *Multimodality* can be defined for the purpose of the project as a combination of various discourse modes, or means for meaning-making, for example, language, images and layout, in a text (Van

Leeuwen 2015). It should also be noted that in this paper I do not draw any distinction between the notions *tourism discourse*, *travel discourse* and *travel-related discourse* and use these terms interchangeably.

One of the conspicuous features of present-day tourism discourse is a high impact of digital media. According to Dann (2007), the development of the internet has generated a number of new genres including customer-to-customer, or so-called C2C, communication, for instance, travelogues and online consumer reviews. It also led to the migration of traditional printed texts to the Internet, which allows to cut printing costs and what is more important to widen the audience. The boost of digital media has led to the increase in the role of multimodality in tourism discourse.

Therefore, multimodality is a distinct feature of modern travel-related texts. A range of modes is used to attract the attention of potential tourists and trigger positive emotions (Francesconi 2014) thus promoting various destinations.

There are various approaches to multimodal research, for instance, systemic functional multimodal discourse analysis, social semiotics, conversation analysis. Following Jewitt, Bessemer & O'Halloran (2016), I have chosen to use a corpus approach to multimodal analysis as it allows to search data for patterns, to identify multimodal features of each set of texts and to compare these features across the two corpora. The data for such an analysis consists of multimodal corpora, in other words, extensive computer-readable collections of multimodal documents (Bateman, Delin & Henschel 2004).

In the field of corpus approach, there are two main options for collecting data, either using an available ready-made corpus or creating your own. To my knowledge, there are no available multimodal corpora of tourism discourse about London and Moscow, therefore I have to build them in compliance with the guidelines set by the research question. In this paper, I discuss the design of the corpora. I will start by reviewing the existing literature on corpora of tourism discourse, including multimodal ones. Then, I will provide a description of the planned comparable multimodal corpora of tourism discourse about Moscow and London, namely, data, corpora structure and data sources. After that, I will move on to the pilot corpora that have been compiled and discuss some technical moments of corpora building, arising problems and possible solutions. Finally, I draw a conclusion about the limitations of the project and the impact of the work.

2. Literature review

Corpus linguistics and corpus-assisted approaches are frequently applied to study tourism discourse (e.g. Jaworska 2013, 2016, 2017; Manca 2008a, 2008b, 2013, 2018; Pierini 2009). However, most researchers account only for the size and topic of their corpora and sometimes sources of their texts. Only a few papers provide a detailed account of the corpus design. For instance, Jaworska (2013) describes the size and the structure of the corpora as well as the search terms and the sources of the data collected to analyse linguistic patterns used in English and German to represent local and international tourist attractions on popular British and German websites. Durán-Muñoz (2010) provides a detailed description of two comparable German and Spanish corpora of online promotional texts on adventure tourism, in particular, the selection criteria (e.g. complete and original texts, a reliable authorship), the size (both in words and files), the structure, the topics, the period of collection and the target audience. She also describes the corpora annotation scheme and gives an example of the corpora metadata record containing such information about the texts as, for instance, source, author, language. Moreover, she lists criteria adopted for the comparability of the corpora, namely, similar size, same domain, typology of texts and specialised level, same time period and limited geographical area. Whereas, Manca (2016) in her analysis of promotional discourse of official tourist websites of Great Britain, Italy and Australia applies different criteria for corpus comparability, namely, same communicative function, similar composition pattern and similar text type. In her recent work on analysing the keyness of adjectives in adventure tourism English promotional texts, Durán-Muñoz (2019/forthcoming) provides the protocol of semi-automatic compilation of corpora using the WebBootCat corpus building tool. However, all the abovementioned papers describe monomodal corpora containing only verbal texts. Moreover, most works using corpus approaches to analyse multimodal tourism discourse apply corpus techniques only to identify patterns in the writing mode while using qualitative approaches to study a relatively small sample of the visual mode (e.g. Cheng 2016; Francesconi 2014; Manca 2016). While Hiippala (2015) in his study of Helsinki tourist brochures provides a thorough description of the design of a multimodal corpus including writing, images and layout using Bateman's (2008) multi-layered Genre and Multimodality (GeM) scheme the focus of his research is the combination and interaction of modes in documents and not the linguistic and visual features of the representation of the city. Therefore, there is a clear lack of papers providing a detailed description of the process and

challenges of building multimodal corpora of tourism discourse containing verbal and visual modes and enabling a corpus analysis of linguistic and visual features. This paper aims to address the gap.

The described corpora of multimodal tourism discourse about London and Moscow are intended to enable the analysis of how the tourist destinations are presented to the audience both through verbal texts and images.

3. Corpora

In this part, I describe the data, data sources and the structure of the two multimodal corpora of travel-related texts about Moscow and London that I need to compile in order to conduct a multimodal corpus analysis and identify salient features of tourism texts about these two cities and see if there are any similarities and differences in the verbal and visual representation of the destinations.

3.1. Data

The section below looks at what data is required for the project. As we can see from the formulation of the question, in order to address it, I need to compare and contrast multimodal tourism texts about the two cities. As already mentioned, multimodality is an important aspect of modern travel-related texts. Consequently, the data appropriate for answering the research question should include more than one mode. Some researchers identify only more general modes in texts, for instance, textual and visual, others draw a more subtle distinction, recognizing writing, colour, image, font, layout for printed texts (Kress 2010) and hyperlinks for web pages (Lemke 2002). Moreover, geosemiotic mode, where discourses are viewed in space and time (Aboelezz 2014; Scollon & Scollon 2003), and socio-cultural context (Gillen 2011) can also be analysed within the framework of multimodal analysis.

As already mentioned, many previous works on multimodal analysis of tourism discourse use monomodal textual corpora to identify patterns in the writing mode while using qualitative approaches to study a relatively small sample of the visual mode (e.g. Cheng 2016; Francesconi 2014; Manca 2016). Hiippala (2015) in his study of Helsinki tourist brochures conducts a corpus analysis of writing, images and layout using Bateman's (2008) multi-layered Genre and Multimodality (GeM) scheme, however, the focus of his research is the combination and interaction of modes in documents and not the representation of the city. As

the major aim of my research is to see how the tourist destinations are presented to the audience through writing, images and a combination of these modes, my approach is closer to that of Bednarek & Caple (2017), who study how the news is "sold" to public with the help of writing and visual resources utilizing "corpus-assisted multimodal discourse analysis". Therefore, I am interested in the following modes: verbal texts, images and either the static layout for offline texts or the hypertextual structure for online texts. Metadata, which is background information about the text, for instance, the genre, the source and the date of collection (McEnery & Hardie 2012), is also required for the purpose of comparison in order to be able to identify where the text comes from and what its genre-specific features are.

Next, as the focus of my research question is a comparison of texts about the two cities, I need two multimodal corpora, a London corpus and a Moscow corpus. These corpora should be specialised, meaning they contain only texts belonging to a certain domain (Koester 2010), namely, tourism-related texts.

To be suitable for comparison, the corpora should be comparable, in other words, the sampling frame should be the same in terms of text genres and their proportions (McEnery & Hardie 2012), size of the texts and the time period (Kenning 2010).

Regarding the size of the corpora, as they are aimed at examining specific peculiarities of tourism discourse and not rare linguistic features of the English language in general, the size of the corpora can be secondary, provided they comply with the aforementioned criteria (Koester 2010).

As for the genre of texts, the main focus of the current project is discourse aimed at a wider audience. Therefore, a variety of tourism texts can be collected including so-called business-to-consumer (B2C) genres, in other words, traditional genres written by tourist industry participants for prospective travelers, such as travel magazines, travel guides, city overviews, descriptions of accommodation, restaurants and sights, as well as new C2C genres, for instance, online consumer reviews of sights, places to eat and stay, and travelogues. The main challenge here is to ensure that the structure of both corpora is the same and therefore comparable.

3.2. Corpora structure

In the section that follows I describe the planned structure of the two corpora. It should be noted that there is a difference in the modes that constitute online and offline texts, namely, that offline texts have static layouts, in other words, their page elements are organized in a certain way (Bateman 2008), whereas online texts usually also have a hypertextual structure, or links connecting various elements of the site (Lemke 2002). Therefore, a decision has been made that each corpus will consist of two subcorpora: a subcorpus of online tourism discourse and a subcorpus of offline tourism discourse. Furthermore, each subcorpus will have three parts corresponding to the modes analyzed, namely, writing, images and a hypertextual structure for online discourse and writing, images and static layout for offline discourse. Figure 1 displays the planned structure of the two multimodal corpora.

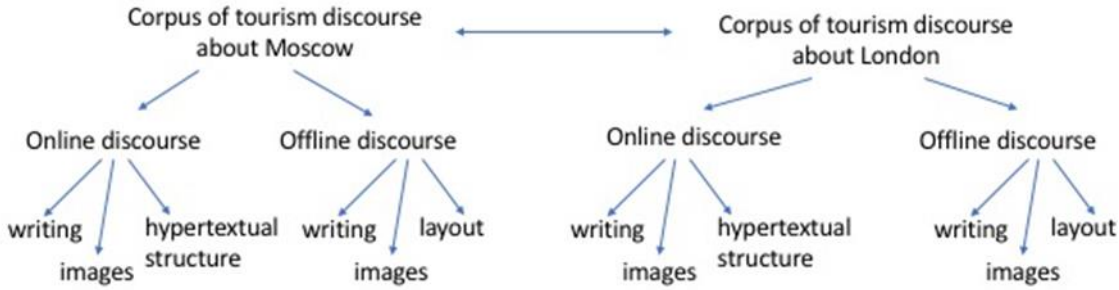

Figure 1. ***Planned structure of multimodal corpora of tourism discourse about Moscow and London***

3.3. Data sources

In this section, I describe the planned sources of texts for the corpora. Firstly, the inclusion of both online and offline texts means that various sources of data collection are to be used. The online texts will be collected from travel-related websites. For instance, *www.booking.com* can serve as a good source of customer reviews about hotels and apartments. Descriptions and reviews of tourist sights, restaurants and accommodation can be found on such popular tourist portals as *www.tripadvisor.com*, whereas official websites of travel destinations provide texts written by tourist industry participants for travellers.

As for offline texts, some of them, such as travel guides or travel magazines can be found in libraries. While field trips to London and Moscow might be required in order to obtain the data unavailable in libraries, for example, posters and tourist information brochures.

4. Pilot project

4.1. TripAdvisor corpora

The current section provides an overview of the pilot corpora that are being compiled at the moment. The data for the pilot project consists of two comparable corpora of multimodal texts about Moscow and London collected from a popular tourist website *www.tripadvisor.com* (hereinafter referred to as TripAdvisor).

I have selected the website for the pilot study as it is one of the most popular tourist portals and a travel community attracting users at all stages of their trip. At the pre-trip stage, when they are only planning their journey, they can read reviews of accommodation, sights and restaurants, compare rankings and prices and make their choice. During the trip, the website can be consulted for itinerary, timetables and directions, whereas at the post-trip stage, travellers share their experience, give recommendations and post favourable or negative reviews and photographs. The portal has become a powerful player in the industry claiming to attract more than 400 million unique visitors each month on average (TripAdvisor 2017). Nowadays it also offers online booking of hotels, flight tickets, guided tours and other tourist services, which means that consumers can research and book their trips on one website. The TripAdvisor mobile app makes the content easily accessible even when on the move. The portal contains information provided both by travellers and by tourist industry participants, for instance, hotels and restaurants management, who represent themselves on the site in order to be able to reach potential travellers.

All the texts included in the corpora belong to the same time period (between 2017 and 2018) and are originally written in English (no translations included). The structure of the two pilot corpora is identical and balanced in the sense that the texts from both corpora are on similar topics corresponding to the sections of the website (namely, places to stay, places to eat and things to do) and the same proportion of texts from each section of the website is represented. Both corpora consist of three parts each representing a different mode, namely, hypertextual structure, writing and images. Figure 2 shows the sources of data for each of the three models.

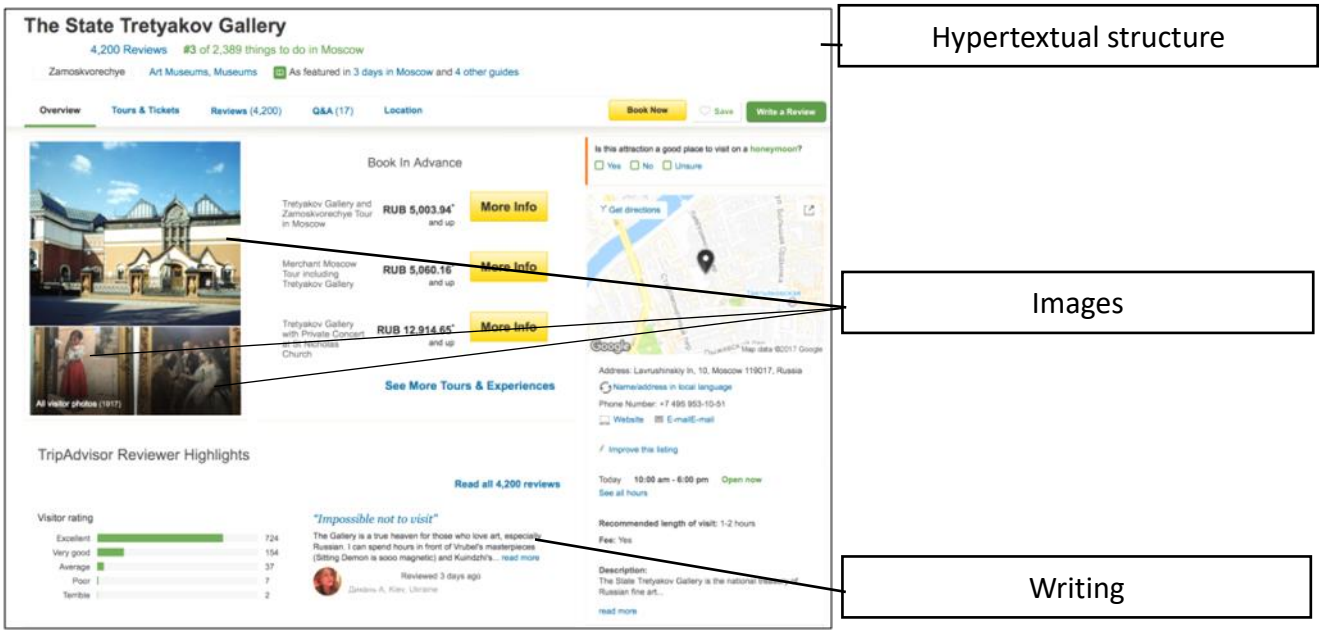

Figure 2. ***Sources of data for different discourse modes***

As can be seen from Figure 2, the data for the hypertextual structure part of the corpora contain whole webpages. Each webpage was saved as a webarchive file. Unlike screenshots, webarchive files store not only the visible part of the page but the whole of it making the page scrollable and links clickable. The hypertextual structure part of each corpus contains a total of 44 webarchive files:

- A city overview – one file
- Rankings of top 10 places to stay, such as hotels, apartments and other lodgings (hereinafter all top items are determined in accordance with the traveller ranking) – one file
- Pages featuring each of the top 10 places to stay containing 10 most recent traveller reviews on the date of collection – 20 files (one page contained only five reviews, so in order to capture 10 reviews I had to save two pages for each place)
- Rankings of top 10 places to eat, namely, restaurants or cafes – one file
- Pages featuring each of the top 10 places to eat containing 10 most recent traveller reviews on the date of collection – 10 files (one page contained 10 reviews, so only one page per place was included)
- Rankings of top 10 things to do, such as landmarks, sights – one file

- Pages featuring each of the top 10 things to do containing 10 most recent traveller reviews on the date of collection – 10 files (one page contained 10 reviews, so only one page per place was included).

The writing part of each corpus contains a total of 331 plain text files with written texts from the abovementioned pages:

- A city overview – one file
- Descriptions of top 10 places to stay – 10 files
- 10 most recent reviews on the date of collection of the 10 top hotels – 100 files altogether;
- Descriptions of top 10 places to eat – 10 files
- 10 most recent reviews on the date of collection of the 10 top places to eat – 100 files altogether.
- Descriptions of top 10 things to do – 10 files
- 10 most recent reviews on the date of collection of the 10 top things to do – 100 files altogether.

Due to the fact that the texts comprising the corpora are different in size, the corpora are also slightly unequal. The London writing part contains 26,973 words whereas the Moscow writing part contains 24,722 words.

The image parts of the corpora include all photos from the pages listed above. The number of photos on each page is different and ranges from 21 to 73. Such visual objects as maps, advertisements and icons, also contained by the pages, are not included in the image data set. Although all these elements contribute to the multimodal representation of the destinations, in case of TripAdvisor they are similar for all destinations and, therefore, are not an area of interest in the current study. Due to the fact that not all images for dining places have been saved in separate files and counted, it is impossible to give the exact figures. However, according to the preliminary count, the London corpus will contain above 1,200 images and the image part of the Moscow corpus will be roughly 10% larger. Table 1 gives an overview of the pilot corpora size.

Table 1. ***Size of London and Moscow pilot corpora***

	London	Moscow
Hypertextual structure	44 webarchive files	44 webarchive files
Writing	26,973 words	24,722 words
Images	approx. 1,200 images	approx. 1300 images

4.2. Technical moments of corpora building

In this section, I write about some technical moments of corpora building which are rarely discussed in research papers on corpus-based analysis of tourism discourse. The building of multimodal corpora is still at the very early stages of development, so there is considerable variation in how researchers address it (e.g. Bednarek & Caple 2017; Francesconi 2014; Hiippala 2015). However, some of the ideas might be useful for future research.

For the pilot corpora, each corpus item is stored in a separate file, so that various sections of the corpora can be compared, for instance, only hotel consumer reviews. As texts from the website are considered as online data, verbal, visual and hypertextual modes are captured for each text. Therefore, the verbal data is stored as plain text files (.txt), which is a format required by some corpus software, for instance, AntConc (Tang 2013). Then, images are saved in JPEG files (.jpg), so that they can later be tagged and analysed. As regards the hypertextual structure, which is required to analyse the context of the usage of texts and images, I store web pages as webarchive files (.webarchive). Unlike screenshots, webarchive files store not only the visible part of the page but the whole of it including the hypertextual structure and hyperlinks, thus making the page scrollable and links clickable. Finally, two Excel databases, one for the London corpus and the other for the Moscow corpus, contain lists of all files with metadata.

F44 f_x

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1	**Item**	**file type**	**file name**	**retrieved from**	**date of retrieval**	**comments**
129	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington	webarchive-1	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington 050517-1.webarchive	https://www.tripadvisor.com/Hotel_Review-g186338-d1139866-Reviews-Hotel_Indigo_London_Paddington-London_England.html	05/05/2017	reviews 1-5, Sponsored
130	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington	webarchive-2	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington 050517-2.webarchive	https://www.tripadvisor.com/Hotel_Review-g186338-d1139866-Reviews-or5-Hotel_Indigo_London_Paddington-London_England.html#REVIEWS	05/05/2017	reviews 6-10
131	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington	review	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington 050517-1.txt	https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g186338-d1139866-r480982497-Hotel_Indigo_London_Paddington-London_England.html#CHECK_RATES_CONT	05/05/2017	hotel response
132	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington	review	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington 050517-2.txt	https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g186338-d1139866-r479960538-Hotel_Indigo_London_Paddington-London_England.html#CHECK_RATES_CONT	05/05/2017	hotel response
133	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington	review	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington 050517-3.txt	https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g186338-d1139866-r479520496-Hotel_Indigo_London_Paddington-London_England.html#CHECK_RATES_CONT	05/05/2017	hotel response
134	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington	review	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington 050517-4.txt	https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g186338-d1139866-r478441465-Hotel_Indigo_London_Paddington-London_England.html#CHECK_RATES_CONT	05/05/2017	hotel response
135	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington	review	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington 050517-5.txt	https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g186338-d1139866-r477814562-Hotel_Indigo_London_Paddington-London_England.html#CHECK_RATES_CONT	05/05/2017	hotel response
136	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington	review	Hotel Indigo London-Paddington 050517-6.txt	https://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g186338-d1139866-r477715650-Hotel_Indigo_London_Paddington-London_England.html#CHECK_RATES_CONT	05/05/2017	hotel response

Figure 3. ***Screenshot of London corpus Excel database***

Figure 3 presents a screenshot of the London corpus Excel database, which includes item description (here it is the name of a hotel), file type, file name, source and date of retrieval. As you can see, the file name also contains the name of the place and date of retrieval, whereas the file extension tells us about the file type. Although Reppen (2010) warns against having long file names and suggests that by using not more than eight characters in a name one can avoid problems with software for analysis and data backup, I prefer names that do not require deciphering and can be easily understood by other researchers. Moreover, I have not encountered any issues while processing the corpora with the AntConc and LancsBox software and while backing up the data onto the AirPort Time Capsule device.

In the comments section, I add such information as what type of search results sorting has been applied on the website, whether the search results were sponsored, meaning a place appears on top of search results because it has been paid for, and whether the management of a place posted a response to the consumer review. This metadata provides some useful context for a more detailed analysis and interpretation of the findings.

As regards corpus analysis, the main aim of the study is the comparison of the representation of two tourist destinations in texts in terms of three aspects, namely, language, images and their combination. Therefore, Baker's (Baker 2010; Baker & Levon 2015) approach for corpus-based analysis and comparison of media representation is applicable to the verbal mode of my corpora. The following techniques can be applied for analysis. Firstly,

keywords comparison, which means analysing how often all the words appear in one corpus compared to the other in order to identify the most noticeable ways of representing the two cities. Secondly, concordance analysis, that is studying lines of texts from the corpus showing the keywords in context (McEnery & Hardie 2012), which allows to "explain why certain words occurred as keywords, what their most common uses were and whether there were similarities or differences" (Baker 2010: 317) between the corpora. The third technique, collocation analysis, explores which words co-occur more often and therefore are more associated with the search terms, in this study, London and Moscow. And finally, concordance analysis of these collocations looks at how they were used in context.

The described framework of verbal text analysis requires only part-of-speech annotation allowing to conduct such advanced searches as, for instance, adjectives most commonly co-occurring with London.

As for the visual mode, I would like to apply a corresponding methodology for analysing and comparing corpora containing images in terms of tags and their frequency. I plan to tag the images with words describing the represented objects (a place, people or thing, including abstract things, represented in the picture) and analyse which of the tags are more frequent in the London corpus compared to the Moscow corpus and vice versa. This technique is aimed at exploring the patterns, as well as similarities and differences in the visual representation of the two cities. Looking at how these images are used in context, namely, which texts they accompany, might be the second stage of the analysis aimed at the interpretation of these patterns.

4.3 Problems and possible solutions

This section describes some problems that I experienced while compiling the pilot corpora. First of all, online data is constantly changing. The standard approach is to include the source and the date of access into metadata in order to provide the information about when and where the data has been retrieved from. However, this does not solve the problem as new reviews and images are added to the website, hotels and restaurants ratings are influenced by these reviews and, therefore, the pages might look completely different in just a few months. For instance, 10 of the 24 images on the London overview page of TripAdvisor have changed in November 2017 compared to April 2017. Moreover, the website might be redesigned. My approach here was building both corpora simultaneously and parallel. I started with the top

sights of both cities, then accommodation and places to eat. It was also useful capturing webarchives of the main pages first, which then allowed saving embedded texts and images in separate files.

Another issue was the different size of the writing and image parts of the corpora. As for writing parts, in spite of the equal number of text documents in both corpora, the length of the verbal texts comprising the corpora was different and, as a result, the London pilot corpus was almost 5% larger than the Moscow pilot corpus. Actually, this is a common problem for corpora based on document count and not on word count. Due to the fact that the original reviews were very short and some interesting features could appear at the end or at the beginning of the texts, I have made a decision at the start of the project not to take sample parts from the texts but to use relative frequencies. In this respect, relative frequencies per 10,000, showing how many times a search term occurs in a corpus per 10,000 words, can be used to compare the results despite the difference in the corpora size (McEnery & Hardie 2012). As regards image parts, according to rough estimates, the size of the Moscow corpus is 10% larger than of the London corpus. Here relative frequencies of images can also be applied to compare the two corpora.

The next issue was spelling irregularities and mistakes, for example, "*wil*" instead of *will*, and "*mist"* instead of *must.* As such irregularities were not the primary concern of the study, they were manually detected in the data and standardized, in other words, corrected to ensure that all the occurrences of a search term are included in the search results. However, this approach is time-consuming and not suitable for a larger corpus. Therefore, in the main project, I plan to use a software tool for finding spelling variants of a search term, such as VariAnt.

Another question is what reference corpus to use for analysis. One of the corpus techniques I plan to use in my research of the writing mode is keywords analysis, which allows identifying words that occur more frequently in a corpus in question than in another, usually larger, reference corpus (McEnery & Hardie 2012). Due to the comparative nature of the project, first of all, I will be looking at the keywords of the Moscow corpus in comparison with the London corpus and vice versa in order to identify the differences. However, it might also be interesting to compare the compiled corpora to a larger corpus. According to Scott (2010), the choice of a reference corpus influences the results of the keyword analysis. Whereas, Culpeper (2009) notes that content, size and date are the three main aspects that should be taken into account when selecting a reference corpus. However, regarding the size,

Xiao and McEnery (2005) compared the results of a keyword analysis based on the one-million-word Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English (FLOB) and on the 100-million-word British National Corpus (BNC) and concluded that the results were very similar and, consequently, the size of a reference corpus is not the most important factor in keywords analysis.

Some of the previous studies use a reference corpus of general British English, for instance, BNC (Cesiri 2017) or FLOB (Cesiri 2017; Kang & Yu 2011) for verbal texts. On the one hand, such comparison might provide some interesting findings, for instance, the difference in the usage of modals in tourism discourse and general English. On the other hand, using a corpus of general English as a reference for keywords analysis means that most of the keywords in the compiled corpora will relate to tourism and the results of such analysis are quite predictable. However, the focus of the current study is not on the keywords characteristic of the tourism domain in general but on those used to represent city destinations. In this respect, conducting an additional comparison with a specialised reference corpus of tourism discourse might provide valuable insights into how the texts about the two cities are different from texts about other destinations. According to preliminary search, the one-million-word Tourism English Corpus (Jiansheng 2012) containing a variety of texts from brochures, guides, forum posts, journal articles, ordinances and travelogues might be interesting for comparison if available. As regards a reference corpus of images, the problem is that, to my knowledge, there is no available multimodal corpus of tourism discourse containing images and including a comparable variety of text genres. Building a larger reference corpus myself is a very challenging task going far beyond the scope of this project. Therefore, this question still remains open and requires further consideration.

5. Conclusion

To summarise, in this work I discussed the design of the two multimodal corpora of tourism discourse about such travel destinations as Moscow and London aimed at studying the representation of the cities. Firstly, I briefly introduced the research project which the corpora are intended for. In the overview of the existing works on specialized corpora of tourism discourse, I demonstrated that there is a lack of papers on the process and challenges of compiling multimodal corpora of tourism discourse. Next, the paper provided a description of the data to be included in the corpora, the planned structure including such modes as writing,

images and static layout/ hypertextual structure and possible sources of data. I have also shared my experience of working on the pilot multimodal corpora of tourism discourse about Moscow and London sourced from the TripAdvisor website. In this respect, a detailed description of the data, corpora structure and size has been provided. Moreover, such technical moments of corpora building have been considered as metadata storage, file organization, file formats and naming. Finally, the problems I encountered while compiling the pilot corpora have been highlighted. Satisfactory solutions have been found for some of the issues, namely the changing online data can be captured by saving webarchive files. As regards the difference in the size of the corpora, relative frequencies allow conducting a comparison of unequal datasets. Whereas, spelling irregularities can be detected and corrected either manually or with the VariAnt software depending on the corpus size. The question of selecting a reference corpus requires further consideration.

It should be underlined, that the described corpora design and solutions are only one of the many possible approaches to multimodal corpora building. Another limitation is that compiling the corpora is only the first step in the analysis of the representation of the cities in multimodal tourism texts and the methodology and results of such analysis are beyond the scope of the present article and are to be addressed in a separate paper. However, it is hoped that this work will contribute to the challenging process of developing multimodal corpora of tourism discourse and will help other researchers to produce their own ideas.

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Sunday Family Lunch: An Ethnographic Description

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Abstract

The focus of this ethnographic description is on a Sunday family meal in Greece in my own household. Through participant observation, I attempt to investigate the cultural patterns of communication in family discourse, taking into account the *social situation*, defining this as the "full physical arena in which persons present are in sight and sound of one another" (Goffman 1981: 136). Taking as a point of departure the assumptions of the ethnographic tradition in sociolinguistics formulated by Gumperz and Hymes in the early 60s, I describe the setting, the participants, the sequence, the norms of interaction, the instrumentalities and every other aspect that constructs the communicative event on hand, using an emic or a worm's eye view. This allows me to ponder over a range of changes over time, from intra-family changes as children grow into adults through to social changes affecting hierarchical relationships between the generations and between the genders.

Keywords: communicative event, family meal, ethnography

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1. Introduction

"Man is by nature a social animal" (Aristotle, Politics, 1: 1253a)

We are involved in a vast number of everyday social situations. Among them, however, Sunday family meals are highly important in my community. At least for my own family, getting together with the children and grandparents for Sunday lunch is a weekly occurrence, a natural and integral part and parcel of weekly family routine. Routine events are not without interest though, given that these situations constitute the backbone of our everyday lives.

This leads us to the most important reason for my focusing on family meals: mealtime is thought to be an "opportunity space" –"a temporal, spatial and social moment which provides for the possibility of joint activity among family members" (Ochs, Smith & Taylor 1989: 238). At this point I shall make clear that I particularly focus on Sunday family lunch, given that Sunday is the only day nobody works and all are assembled around the table. This assembling is geared to satisfy our human instinct for sociability, a union with others, besides its material end of eating food for survival. Eating brings people together, and as a ritualized social event, Sunday meals maintain the group's coherence.

This intergenerationally social conversational event cannot but be considered as a sociocultural construct, if one assumes the variation in norms governing meals in different sociocultural contexts (Blum-Kulka 1997). When meal is construed as a shared social event, it can be a rich site for observing not only how culture is being constructed, negotiated, and even reinvented through talk in the realm of family, unfolding cultural meanings that are usually "seen but unnoticed" (Garfinkel 1984: 9), but also how mealtime serves for "socialization *through* language as well for socialization to *use* language" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 17). Several scholars have focused on mealtime interaction in an attempt to examine how parents socialize children to embrace family values, beliefs, and identities (Kendall 2007a: 8). This moves us to an understanding of how discourse at lunch (micro-level of situated interaction) is 'dialogically' connected with discourse at larger social and cultural settings (macro-level institutions) (cf. Goffman's "loose-coupling" 1983:11 as quoted in Zimmerman 1998: 88). It also offers glimpses over the "mutual infiltration" (Habermas 1989) between the private and the public sphere.

There is, finally, a methodological reason for the choice of Sunday family lunch as the event studied. This situated activity constitutes a well-known practice for me, as it has been a viable institution for my family for years. As a participant, I can therefore provide an in-depth

description, delving into even the slightest details of the event, which are taken for granted, using myself as a source of inside information.

In what follows, I first review past work on family discourse at mealtime, particularly Blum-Kulka's (1997) *Dinner Talk* and Tannen, Kendall and Gordon's (2007) *Family Talk.* I then describe in detail the communicative event of a Sunday family lunch, focusing on the setting, the participants, the structure, the goals, as well as on the norms, which regulate the participants' actions. Finally, I ponder over a range of changes over time, from intra-family changes as children grow into adults through to social changes affecting hierarchical relationships between the generations and between the genders, evident in the interactional patterns identified.

2. Literature review

A substantial amount of research on family discourse has focused on mealtime interactions (e.g., Blum-Kulka 1997; Erickson 1982; Ochs & Taylor 1995; Ochs et al. 1992; Pontecorvo & Fasulo 1999; Paugh 2005; Tannen, Kendall & Gordon 2007). In this section, I will focus on two seminal studies, namely Blum-Kulka's (1997) *Dinner Talk* and Tannen, Kendall and Gordon's (2007) *Family Talk,* on which the present study draws.

In *Dinner Talk,* Blum-Kulka examines dinner table conversations in native and non-native Israeli and American families, which, as an intergenerationally shared speech event, provide rich insights into culturally preferred interactional styles. The author introduces two analytical concepts to study the mealtime conversations in her dataset: *pragmatic socialization*, or "the ways in which children are socialized to use language in context in socially and culturally appropriate ways" (1997: 3), and *sociability*, which she correlates with "the overall organizational principles of dinner talk and the relations between social roles and discourse roles" (1997: 31). The author perceives of family dinners as a crucial site for both sociability and socialization. Combining ethnographic methods of participant observation with micro-discourse analytic methods, supplemented by interviews with the families about their attitudes and beliefs with regard to pragmatic socialization, Blum-Kulka attempts to identify the commonalities between the groups, as well as their cultural differences in the ways they negotiate issues of power and involvement through various acts at dinnertime.

Sociability is displayed through topical actions (e.g., topic initiations, elaborations, shifts etc.), developing thematic frames, and telling stories. While children are active topic

contributors in all three cultural contexts, it is adults who perform the most topical actions and dominate the talk agenda, which indexes the power imbalance between them and the adults. However, this might also be due to their lacking the conversational skills needed for topical action (1997: 58-61). Moreover, native and American Israeli mothers are more active in topic and story initiation, while it is fathers at Jewish American dinner tables who talk more (1997: 60). This could be linked to the more 'public' framing of this event in the American setting (1997: 92). Cultural differences emerge in the comparison of the groups' narrative practices as well. Children are the main tellers and story initiators in the Jewish American families, while in the Israeli families it is adults who dominate the narrative space (1997: 137). Furthermore, native Israelis show a preference for multi-voiced, polyphonic narratives about both shared and unshared experiences, which relates to a high-involvement, interactive style. They also prefer narrating (recent or distant) past events. In contrast, Jewish Americans tell more 'today stories' (1997: 109), and display tale-ownership rights to stories through monologic accounts of both unshared and shared events (1997: 125), which is linked to the high value Americans place on individualism.

Pragmatic *socialization* is demonstrated mainly through politeness strategies and metapragmatic comments. Considering politeness markings, Israeli and American parents choose to mark their directives for politeness in different ways. The former tend to prefer solidarity politeness markers, which index their stance towards interdependence and the high value placed on family cohesion. In contrast, American Israelis and Jewish Americans tend to prefer conventional politeness markers, which signals their stance toward autonomy and independence (1997: 158-159). Interestingly, the performance of unmitigated direct forms is frequent, but it does not have to be considered impolite. It is instead justified by the informality of the event and the need for efficiency (1997: 154). As the author has aptly put it, "family discourse is polite but it enacts its politeness in culturally and context- and role-sensitive ways" (1997: 146). In terms of metapragmatic discourse, all the families share as set of conversational norms. However, the Jewish American families display a heightened meta-awareness paid to norms of discourse management (e.g., turn-taking), an awareness probably related to American individualism, while the Israeli families are mostly preoccupied by matters of language for historic reasons (1997: 219).

In their *Family Talk*, Tannen, Kendall and Gordon (2007) examine family discourse in four dual-career, white, middle-class American families, based on face-to-face interactions that occur in a wide range of contexts (2007: 3). Together, the chapters identify the ways in which

family members use language to navigate the tension between power and solidarity in the family domain; to constitute family, gendered and professional identities at home and work; and to socialize children into the family's beliefs and values, in an attempt to construct a shared family identity (Kendall 2007a: 4). Examining excerpts from two of the families, Tannen aptly demonstrates that power entails solidarity in the family domain, and that "speakers' utterances are complex interplays of both power maneuvers and connection maneuvers" (2007: 45). She therefore suggests that to gain a deeper understanding of the dynamics of family interaction, one should consider both dimensions, that is, the struggles for power and the struggles for connection.

The construction of gendered and parental identities in discourse constitutes one of the main focuses of the book. Analyzing excerpts from one family, Cynthia Gordon examined how the mother painted a portrait of herself as a parent by performing particular acts (e.g., soliciting/providing details about her daughter's life or assessing her daughter's behavior) (2007a: 96). These acts as well as the stances and alignments she takes up towards her co-interactants construct her as a mother, for they are both gendered and parental in this sociocultural context. In a similar vein, Marinova, examining one of the four families, shows how the father constructs himself as a concerned and responsible parent by evoking the caretaking frame, and by performing a series of acts (e.g., giving warnings, giving advice and asking for information) regarding his twenty-year-old daughter's lack of action as her study-abroad semester approaches (2007: 119).

In his study, Kendall focused on the construction of professional and parental identities in two of the four dual-income families. Notably, he showed that both women constructed themselves as primary caregivers and workers, while positioning their husbands as primary breadwinners and secondary caregivers (2007b: 153). These positions are indexicalized with a contemporary discourse of role sharing in the family that "preserves the role sharing of feminist discourses and the asymmetry of traditional discourses" (2007b: 154). In a similar fashion, Johnston demonstrates how both parents, in the family that she studied, portray the mother as the primary decision maker or gatekeeper with respect to food and nutrition, the child's daily routine, and choice of daycare (2007: 179), while they construct the father as the primary decision maker in the financial domain (2007: 189).

The last theme that emerged in the book is about the use of language to socialize children into family values and beliefs. With respect to this, Gordon examined how situated family interaction socializes children into political beliefs and in turn (re)constructs a family political

identity (2007b: 237). Finally, Tovares showed how "by intertextual repetition of television texts in family settings, family members educate their children, express their thoughts and feelings, and discuss their differences in attitudes and values" (2007: 306).

The setting and cultural context of the present study are distinctive, and quite different from Tannen, Kendall and Gordon's (2007) data. Moreover, there are some similarities and some differences from Blum-Kulka's setting. These will be hopefully made loud and clear in the description of the communicative event at hand.

3. Methodology

This empirical study was written during the Easter holidays, after I returned home from London. For data collection, I have relied on participant observation (Hymes 1978: 4), introspection, and on delayed note-taking. The present study is, thus, an ethnographic one with an 'emic' perspective, based entirely on qualitative research methods, on immersion in the local community, and on words as opposed to frequency scores (Miles & Huberman 1984: 15 as cited in Hammersley 1992). My being an integral part of the family, "an actor experiencing the situation" (Cameron et al. 1992: 9), means that my study depicts an 'insider's view', thus justifying the use of introspection. This ensures that all other 'observed' participants behave as if they were not being observed, which helps overcome the 'observer's paradox' (Labov 1972: 209). Moreover, it gives me access to all areas of life within the household, and helps to "explore the subtle interconnections of meanings in ways that the outsider could attain only with great difficulty" (Saville-Troike 1989: 90). However, even ethnographic work is not immune to "reactivity" (Hammersley 1992: 164), and questions about the bias of the researcher are raised, in case s/he plays "the double roles of a cultural insider -a participant as observer-, and of an outside researcher participating -an observer as participant." (Blum-Kulka 1997: 19). The development of "objectivity and relativity is thus essential" (Saville-Troike 1989: 126). This implies that I need to partly detach myself from the situation, so as to unravel the family dynamic. I have thus one goal: to "make the familiar strange" (Rampton 2007: 591).

Ethical issues that may have arisen involve issues of collecting the data in an overt and transparent way, ensuring the protection of my participants' privacy as well as the reliability of my study. I attempted to overcome these by seeking permission from the participants to write about the communicative event on hand after it had occurred, as well as by informing them about my findings. At this point, I shall mention that the participants' retrospective commentary

did help me elucidate the illocutionary force of some speech acts. If I had asked for permission prior to the event, it may have affected the findings, as the participants may have consciously changed their behavior. They all consented to be included in this empirical work, and indeed they gave me permission for using some biographic information.

What follows is a detailed description of the communicative event of the Sunday family lunch, drawing upon the analytical frameworks of Levinson (1992), and of Hymes (1974), which helped me divide the main description of the event into sections.

4. Description

4.1. The Term "Communicative Event"

As Hymes (1974: 56) suggested, it is necessary in sociolinguistic description "to deal with activities which are in some recognizable way bounded or integral". He thus proposed the term 'speech event' to refer to situations which are governed by norms (Blum-Kulka 1997: 15-16), such as family meals; these indeed are "situated activities" or "circuits of interdependent actions" in Goffman's terms (1961: 96).

The term 'communicative event', however, is more accurate, on the grounds that speech is merely one out of many means of semiosis, as the process of meaning-making at lunchtime entails a variety of oral *and* visual signs cueing the participants' intentions (cf. Gumperz's "contextualization cues", 1999: 461).

It could alternatively be explained as what Levinson calls 'activity type': "culturally recognized units of interaction that are identifiable by constraints on a) goals/purposes, b) roles activated in the activity, c) sequential structure/stages, and to some extent on participants and setting" (Levinson 1992: 69).

This definition of the activity type reveals a significant feature of the communicative events: they are culturally recognized clusters of features of socio-linguistic life. This does have cognitive implications, besides the aforementioned cultural associations. It implies that activity types are cognitive templates/schemata we use to organize and interpret the data we produce and encounter in our everyday interactions. In fact, we very often have strong expectations about the setting, the participants, the structure, the goals, as well as about the norms governing family meals in a specific context. What could be inferred from this, is that they have an element of replicability. As Saville-Troike claims (1989: 142), "they should be events which recur in similar form and with some frequency, so that regular patterns will be more easily discernible."

What follows is an attempt to unveil these regularities, and the components of the spatiotemporally bounded communicative event of a Sunday Family Lunch in Syros (Greece).

4.2. The Setting

Our routine-based Sunday family lunches take place in our house in Syros, and more specifically in the dining room. The latter is connected to the kitchen as well as to the living room. One could imagine a spacious room with windows looking out at the sea, heavy curtains and carpets, wooden antique furniture, paintings and family photos; a living room, a dining room in the middle and a kitchen on the other side –all united through the open-plan design. The living room consists of big cushioned sofas, and a large bookcase, while the kitchen features wooden cupboards. A big sideboard, where my mother places the formal cutlery and crockery used in formal meals with guests, separates the kitchen from the dining room. The latter, as the locus of the ritual social event on hand, has a six-chaired wooden table, over which a religious icon of the Last Supper is suspended. The time is two o'clock in the afternoon. The reason why we have our lunch at this time, is because we have to wait for my father to return home from his Sunday coffee. These are the concrete physical circumstances (the *setting*) in which the *scene* of the meal takes place (Hymes 1974: 55). This physical landscape and the objects within it interact with the participants and their actions. As Kendon (1977: 180) has pointed out, "Activity is always located. A person doing something always does it somewhere and [their] doing always entails a relationship to the space which has in it objects or people with which the doing is concerned".

4.3. The Participants

The participants in this scene are the five members of my family; my mother, my father, my grandmother, my grandfather, and me. My grandparents live next-door, which explains their participation in all Sunday lunches. One could thus assume that the event studied is an intergenerationally shared activity, within which one may discern a conflicting convergence of old-fashioned and more modern styles of behavior; a junction of different habituses, which are contingent on the particular historical circumstances, within which they are acquired (Blommaert 2005: 222). This merger of socio-cultural conceptions will become salient in the following sections.

In terms of the biographic features or the transportable identities (Zimmerman 1998: 90) of the participants, they are all white, middle-class, and of Greek origin -born and bred in Syros. My mother is fifty-three years old, and she has been working as an accountant in the private sector. She is an excellent cook, and truly enjoys preparing meals for her friends and family. Without a doubt, she is the dominant figure in my family. As for my father, he is sixty-five years old, and he enjoys gardening and swimming; in the past, he owned a bookshop in the city center. Both of them used to be primary breadwinners in the family, while my mother was my primary caregiver as well. This relates to a hybrid discourse of role sharing in the family, since "[my parents used to] share the caregiving role, as in a feminist arrangement, [while my mother] maintained the position of primary caregiver as in a traditional arrangement" (Kendall 2007b: 143).

My grandmother, -a seventy-seven-year-old woman-, is a typical Greek grandmother; she is occupied with the household chores, and she loves cooking for the whole family. When I was a child, she was engaged in my rearing, since both of my parents used to work outside the home. My grandfather is eighty-five years old, but he is still an active member of the local cultural club.

I am twenty-three years old. Before I came to London to pursue my postgraduate work, I studied Philology and Linguistics in Greece. I am currently living in London, and thus I go to my hometown only at Christmas, Easter, and during the summer holidays. However, I am still considered a central member of the dense family network, given the transnational links forged and maintained through opportunities offered by the new digital social media.

4.4. The Ends

As it has already become clear, Sunday family lunches are not just coordinated task activities (Goffman 1981: 142), which generate no extended conversation but only remarks associated to the task of having lunch. In stark contrast to task activities, talk is the unmarked state in Sunday family lunches, silence the marked one. It is a 'social time' when participants talk about whatever is on their mind, aiming at building a rapport rather than achieving the instrumental goal of having lunch (Blum-Kulka 1997: 36).

What is remarkable, is that apart from this major goal, subordinate ones are also served through Sunday family meals; first, we inform others about our "breaking news", in Georgakopoulou's (2006; 2007) terms, through narratives (cf. 'today stories' and 'recent past'

stories in Blum-Kulka 1997); second, my father tells jokes, and my grandfather often sings to entertain the audience. Last, but not least, my socialization into the social and cultural norms (such as table manners or conversational norms) used to be a salient goal of my parents and grandparents in my childhood (cf. Blum-Kulka 1997). This is no longer relevant, but it is worth-mentioning, given that it underscores the non-static, ever-changing, and contingent on the particular historical moment texture of the event's ends (Hymes 1974: 55-56).

4.5. The Sequence

The event begins half an hour before the agreed time, when my father returns from the café, and I stop studying to go to the dining room. For my mother, who is responsible for cooking the food, however, the event starts at around eleven o'clock. We do not usually wear formal outfits, although we are not supposed to be dressed in our pajamas. This is because our Sunday family meals are placed "on a continuum between mundane informal encounters and formal public events" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 8). My grandparents always arrive on time, as they are hungry earlier. It is interesting that the event is "ritually bracketed" (Goffman 1981: 130), given that a ritual opening is marked by greetings to each other, two kisses, and by smiles. Moreover, my father asks the others "how was your day?" This is a way of setting the tone, gauging the moods of people, as well as knowing what seems appropriate to discuss. This ritualistic question sets off particular kinds of expectations. It serves as an interactional ritual (in Goffman's terms) that contributes to the maintenance of social relationships in the family, while indexing reciprocal interest and affect in the family context (Blum-Kulka 1997: 119-120). Moreover, it probes the participants to conform to a particular conversational demand, that is to say, to provide an expected narrative.

Following this, my father is the one who sets the table -without following the table setting etiquette-, while my grandmother helps my mother serve the food. The latter is the one who has control over the portions, which are all quite big, notwithstanding my never eating a lot. She also takes into account the participants' preferences; as a result, she respects my father's preference for more traditional Mediterranean dishes. Both my mother and my grandmother once encouraged me to help share out the dishes, socializing me through language to conform to society's norms of expecting women to be involved in the household chores. They no longer need to do so, as it has become part of my habitus; an ingrained disposition I acquired through participating in the Sunday family lunches for years (Thompson 1991: 12). My grandfather,

however, who has been raised in a traditional patriarchal society, where men never get occupied with the household activities, blows a whistle at our pet bird, admires the view of the sea, and starts eating before we are all at the table; this attracts my mother's attention and she responds by giving my grandfather disapproving looks and rebukes, which my grandfather never takes seriously though.

When the food is served and everyone is seated, my grandparents make the sign of the cross and urge us to do the same; my parents sometimes conform to this directive, while I tend to ignore it. At this point, I have to mention that all the dishes are served at once; the salad, the appetizers (such as olives, cheese, and meatballs), and the bread -all on big share plates- come together with the main dish, and we thus simultaneously have bits of everything, accompanied with local wine in small glasses. Even as a child, I was encouraged to take a sip of wine, although I normally had to drink water. We then clink our glasses together, and my grandfather says "(Stin) ijà mas" (Cheers), which we all have to echo.

According to Tannen (1990: 85), "talk is the glue that holds relationships together", and this is truly applicable to our Sunday family lunch ritual. The first comments are usually about the food. If sometimes nobody comments on it, my mother asks "Do you like the food?" Indeed, she attaches great importance to her husband's evaluations, establishing thus a social order where the husband is given higher priority. As for my evaluations, positioning herself as a mother and not as a wife eager to succumb to her husband's opinion, she believes that her food is nutritious; hence, she expects me to finish my portion, and she advises me persistently to eat vegetables. Since I was a child, my mother has been the primary decision maker (gatekeeper) with respect to nutrition in the family. She also positions herself as a nutritional expert towards me and her husband (Johnston 2007: 179). In doing so, she shows that she cares about us, while simultaneously monitoring and controlling our diets. One could therefore assume that my parents occupy the top of the family hierarchy, while I am placed at the bottom of it, as I am expected *but* not obliged to submit to my mother's authority. This implies that I have the prerogative to negotiate and even disagree with my parents' directives, which is indexicalized with a person-oriented family model (Bernstein 2003 [1971]: 119). It is worth-mentioning that even as a child I used to have some freedom of action, therefore not being forced to comply with my parents' directives.

The aforementioned hierarchy is not omnipresent or omnipotent, and thus everyone "is accorded the right to talk as well as to listen" (Goffman 1981: 14, note 8). This structural egalitarianism explains the reason why all members are entitled to initiate potential topics of

discussion. Although I used to be an active topic contributor in the past, my levels of contribution were lower than those of my parents (cf. Blum-Kulka 1997). Notably, my mother has always been more active topic contributor than my father. This shows that she is the dominant figure in both instrumental terms, as well as in keeping the conversation going (cf. Blum-Kulka 1997: 107).

My parents are the ones who often start talking about the weekly news. Although talk is not scheduled, it seems that there is a "we-agenda", a cluster of particular topics which are repeatedly raised across all Sunday lunches. Among these topics of "imposed relevance" (Schutz 1970: 114), national politics is the first to be thoroughly explored, given the prolonged financial crisis linked to our politicians' corruption. With the exception of my grandmother, who is not interested in politics, all other participants discuss this topic. My parents and grandfather would be classed as center-right politically. On the other hand, I am more left wing. Not surprisingly, political discussions at lunch often feature the ideological clash between us. However, my parents used to socialize me into the political beliefs of the family in the past (cf. Gordon 2007b).

When this topic ends, I usually take the floor to share news about my life in London as well as my future plans. All family members are interested in this, especially my grandmother who has been preoccupied with my safety ever since I left for college. She then raises issues concerning relatives, the weather, and my grandfather's health. My grandfather never follows his doctor's advice when it comes to maintaining a balanced diet. Later, my grandfather remembers the famine that raged through Greece in wartime (1940), and he starts reciting stories dating back to the early 20th century. These stories are usually co-authored by my grandmother, while my parents and I listen to them carefully. Needless to say, when I was a child, more topics were child-focused, in the sense that they were addressed to me, or concerned my daily life at home and school (cf. Blum-Kulka 1997:68). What is more, the practice of telling stories *about* my doings during the day to my father and grandfather was prominent in the discourse of my mother and grandmother in the past. Albeit being present, I was not famed as a co-author, but as a recipient of my 'own' stories. Interestingly, my mother still asserts 'authorship' for my stories, which she often narrates to guests, talking about me in the third person (cf. Blum-Kulka 1997:89).

In terms of the "key", that is the "tone, manner or spirit" of speech acts (Hymes 1974: 57), it shifts depending on the topic; as a result, it is formal when politics is addressed, and informal when personal experiences are shared.

My mother usually finishes first and she gets up to serve sweets to everyone. My father and I clear the dishes off the table and put them in the sink to be washed later by my mother. After we finish our desserts, my grandfather makes the sign of the cross again, and whispers the words "ðòksa to θeò" (Thank goodness), which indicate that the meal is over. My grandparents then leave uttering "ɟà" (Goodbye), which ritually closes the event at around four o'clock, and my parents and I go upstairs to our rooms to have our siesta.

4.6. The Norms of Interaction

As it has become clear, our Sunday family lunches are social events governed by constitutive 'rules', which are repeatedly followed almost by everyone, and they thus "congeal over time to produce the appearance of a natural sort of being" (Butler 1990: 33 cited in Cameron 1995: 15).

Initially, our Sunday lunches serve communicative purposes, and constitute a motive for the family to meet and discuss specific topics. The frame of talk is thus an interactional one, within which people enhance their solidarity, notwithstanding the mentality clash and distance. This means that not all potential topics are acceptable; taboo topics, such as sex and atheism, which may generate quarrels among participants of different generations are avoided in order for a cooperative tone to be maintained. As my grandmother claims, the family meal is a "sacred" moment, which all should respect. For this reason, we should not be devoted only to food, but we are expected to display a social behavior; the latter also implies that we are not allowed to watch television or use our phone and/or computer. Being occupied by such devices at mealtime is seen as inconsiderate and threatening to our co-interactants' positive face (Brown & Levinson 1987); so is the use of obscene words, especially in the presence of elderly people and children.

Politeness norms expand to involve good table manners, such as eating quietly and slowly. Moreover, speaking with our mouths open, eating from shared dishes or drinking from shared glasses is frowned upon. Needless to say, no one is allowed to smoke, to eat using his/her hands, to lean on others while eating, or grab a shared dish while others are using it. Last, but not least, we are not allowed to start eating before everyone is at the table, nor can we leave the table before everyone has finished eating. If someone behaves in any of the aforementioned disrespectful manners, s/he is admonished.

However, interruptions in conversation are not met with disapproval although they are considered as breaks of conventional turn-taking norms (Sacks 1974: 721), and threats to the

hearer's negative face (Brown & Levinson 1987: 67). Interruptions are common in spontaneous conversation and, instead of threatening the interlocutor's face, they could be seen as generating a "we-voice" in the case of co-authored story-telling; as a way to intermingle with the 'other' speaker's voice and corroborate their sayings (Tannen 1990: 190). In parallel, mitigated directness in the performance of directive speech acts, such as requests ("*Mummy*, pass me the salt"), is more frequent than conventional indirectness ("*Could* you give me the bottle of wine?") in the discourse of women, while unmitigated directness is preferred by both male participants. In the discourse of the former, direct speech acts are mitigated by the use of positive politeness strategies, particularly in-group identity markers, which redress face by following the discourse of solidarity. Among them, emotionally-colored terms of address are the most frequent. These emphasize involvement and indicate an affective stance (Brown and Levinson 1987: 70; Blum-Kulka 1997: 152). In terms of the men's preference with respect to the performance of directives, they too express a preference for directness, without mitigating the act though. This should not be considered impolite, however, since it could be justified by the informal character of the event, the need for efficiency in mealtime, as well as by the intimate relationship between the participants. As Blum-Kulka (1997: 150) has argued, "Unmodified directness is neutral or unmarked in regard to politeness" in the domain of family. It is also worth to note that immediate compliance with the participants' requests is favored over rejection. This is especially the case with children's requests, owing to "the general tendency to accommodate young children" (Blum-Kulka 1997: 164).

This preference for involvement can also account for the widespread use of other-repairs, in case the speaker makes a mistake, although it is conventionally deemed as dispreferred and face-threatening (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977: 379). What is more, the conventional politeness markers "thank you" and "please" are hardly ever uttered by the participants in the event at hand, without it being considered impolite though. However, when I was a child, my parents encouraged me to say "please" and "thank you" when addressing our guests at mealtime. This might show that they correlate the use of these politeness markers with discourse in more formal contexts than that of the family lunch.

Another important point is that people speak in a remarkably loud tone throughout the communicative event. This is a typical feature of speech in my community indicating an eagerness to speak, although it could be perceived as domineering in other sociocultural contexts. What is more, nonverbal pointing to food or wine with the fingers is often used in the place of explicit directives (such as, "give me a napkin"). Such deictis are thought to be rude,

however, and they attract gazes of disapproval. In terms of the language of women, this does not appear to include any of the linguistic features that have been correlated with a powerless style (e.g., hedges, tag questions).

Finally, there is a fixed sitting arrangement, revealing the roles participants occupy. Specifically, my father sits at the head of the table, while my mother sits on his right, something that points to their close relationship. Moreover, this seat gives her access to the kitchen, which is indicative of her role as the cook. I sit next to my father on the left, opposite to my mother, which helps me to have a direct view of her. This is convenient because I speak with her the most. As for my grandparents, they sit next to each other; my grandmother sits next to her daughter, with whom she is more allied, while my grandfather sits next to me, which again indicates a sense of allegiance. As a matter of fact, we enjoy playing cards together.

4.7. The Instrumentalities and Genres

Regarding the forms and styles of speech (Hymes 1974: 58-60), the channel of communication is exclusively oral. Gesticulation, including gazes, postures, and pointing with the fingers, is also indicative of attitudes and moods, such as pleasure, excitement or anger. As it has already been mentioned, the register of the event is informal, as designated by the situation and the domain of family. This means that code-switching between the Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and the local dialect is a common practice. To become more specific, my grandparents almost exclusively use the dialect, which I do not speak, but instead use SMG with some slang phrases -but only the slang which all participants can understand. My parents, however, switch between the SMG and the local dialect, tailoring their style of speech to each particular audience (Bell 1991 as cited in Bell 1997: 242).

Although informality is prevailing, some topics do require a more formal register. According to Holmes (2013: 25), people may select a particular code as "it makes it easier to discuss a particular topic", regardless of where or to whom they are speaking. "At home, people often discuss work or school for instance, using the language associated with these domains, rather than the language of the family domain" (Holmes 2013: 25). As a matter of fact, we talk about the national politics, or about my academic life, which are both tied to the use of SMG in a less casual register.

To conclude, there are also some common *genres* (Hymes 1974: 62) of talk, which are repeated on a weekly basis during our meals; among them, announcements of future plans,

jokes, and co-authored narratives of past events, or co-constructed 'small stories' of recent past events (Bamberg 2006a, 2006b; Georgakopoulou 2006, 2007) -serving the subordinate end of amusing the audience- are the most dominant. Self-talk in the form of response cries, such as "Oops! Eek!" occurs when the speaker attempts to save face after misbehaving or misspeaking, "providing evidence to everyone who can hear that their observable plight is not something that should be taken to define them" (Goffman 1981: 136).

5. Discussion

In the previous section, I described the "full physical arena in which persons present are in sight and sound of one another" (Goffman 1981: 136). Family meals in my community, as intergenerationally shared activities, provide rich insights into a range of changes as children grow, as well as into social changes with respect to asymmetrical relationships between genders and between age groups, evident in the interactional patterns identified.

There are interesting things to say here about a range of changes regarding the event's goals and conversational norms as children grow up. To begin with, socializing children into the family's values and beliefs, as well as into the conversational norms that govern family interaction, is no longer relevant as children turn into adults. Since they no longer lack in conversational skills and are aware of the pragmatic norms that govern family interaction, they are active topic contributors and story initiators, and they often dominate the talk agenda. This does not mean, however, that there is no power imbalance between parents and children, as the latter grow. My parents still encourage me to consider their opinions and advice, since I am not considered mature and experienced enough to deal with serious problems. Moreover, they construct themselves as concerned parents and try to control or monitor my actions by giving advice, issuing warnings, asking for information regarding my plans, expressing concern, providing reasons, and by assessing my behavior (cf. Marinova 2007). However, I do construct the identity of the concerned child and try to monitor their actions by performing the same actions, which I was not licensed to do in the past as a young child. These acts should be considered as both power maneuvers and connection maneuvers, since, by performing them, we do not only seek to determine the others' actions, but we also aim at achieving a result that would be beneficial for everyone (Tannen 2007). What is more, my mother still positions herself as a nutritional expert towards me (e.g. by encouraging me to eat vegetables) and tries to control my diet. Interestingly, I too construct myself as an expert with respect to diet and nutrition, by

advising my parents to eat healthily, and by commenting on the food. Again, power is intertwined with connection and care. Needless to say, as a young adult, I can freely express my opinion with respect to politics, and openly disagree with the other family members. Finally, I am licensed to criticize my parents' and grandparents' behavior, when they violate politeness norms (e.g. when they talk too loudly around the table, when my father and grandfather start eating before everyone is at the table, or when they eat from shared dishes, and when my grandfather repeatedly interrupts the others without listening to their opinion).

Family has been often described as society in miniature. In this sense, family mealtime interactions can provide glimpses over a range of social changes affecting hierarchical relations between genders and between generations. Observing the Sunday family lunch under discussion, one would portray my grandmother as a 'traditional' mother, who used to stay home full-time and devote herself exclusively to her children and husband. In her own family, her husband was the only breadwinner, while she was exclusively engaged in housework and childcare. This division of labor is evident in the event on hand, in which my grandmother always helps my mother cook or serve the food, while my grandfather is not expected to provide any help. In contrast, my mother constructs herself both as a caregiver and as an independent breadwinner, therefore aligning with the feminist discourse of role sharing at home. This egalitarian role sharing is apparent in the Sunday family lunch at hand, in which my father, albeit not being responsible for cooking, sets and clears off the table, and he sometimes washes the dishes. However, my mother has always been the primary housemaker and caregiver, as is shown in the event on hand. She therefore orients to a contemporary discourse of role sharing in the family, since both parents engage in caregiving and housework, while it is the mother who is regarded the main parent and housemaker (Kendall 2007b: 143). These discrepant images of 'mother' and 'woman' are indeed reflected in the way the two women talk during the event on hand. As I have mentioned, my mother dominates the talk agenda in the event on hand, and usually initiates a variety of topics, including politics, business etc. In contrast, my grandmother does not perform many topical actions, nor does she participate in conversations about abstract subjects, such as education or politics. She is even regarded as not having an opinion on such issues. Interestingly, my grandfather often interrupts her while talking, and grabs the floor (cf. 'dominating interruptions', Tannen 1994). In light of the above, one can easily surmise that my grandfather occupies the top of his family's hierarchy, while my grandmother is placed at the bottom of it, as was the case in the majority of the 'traditional', patriarchal families of the past. The semi-egalitarian role sharing between my mother and father,

however, reflects a social change, inspired by the 'second wave of feminism', which gained momentum in the 70s. This form of feminism focused on "integrating women into the public sphere without delay, […] assuming all the privilege and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men" (Thornham 2000: 30). Nevertheless, as I have argued, this "truly equal partnership" remains a desideratum in my family, since it is the mother who is the main parent and housemaker, while working full-time. One could therefore place my parents' family somewhere between the 'traditional' and 'feminist' discourses, while my grandparents' family would occupy the 'traditional' edge of the continuum.

6. Conclusions

"Approaching familiar questions from an unfamiliar angle" (McNeil 1990: 132), as my goal were, enhanced my understanding of the family dynamic, as it made me observe the common sense practices. As it has become clear, what seems natural is configured socially. So, what I have described so far is indicative of the particular socio-cultural context in which our Sunday family lunches take place, and my aim is not to generalize, given that the groups are heavily contextualized. Instead, the readers are welcome to wonder whether or not the present patterns are familiar to their society.

What I should also make clear, is that my description could not even be seen as demonstrative of the whole community's Sunday lunchtime habits. As far as I know from personal experience, many families follow a less traditional way of life, choosing to have their Sunday lunches in front of the television or computer. They do not even invite the grandparents to join them, nor do they indulge in long conversations, thus putting only slight emphasis on family bonding. Alienation seems to have replaced socialization. However, it is not always a matter of conscious choice, but it can be due to external factors, such as busy schedules.

In fact, this is the reason why our everyday meals are less organized. My mother is always at work at lunchtime, and as a result my father and I are eating together with my grandparents. Our dinners, on the other hand, include only the nuclear family members, and are held with the television on. There is still some latent organization, as we all have to be present at the dining room at ten o'clock, take our fixed seats, and discuss the day's activities -especially my mother's work. The presence of guests again necessitates a distinct organization of meals.

This intra- as well as intergroup diversity in family mealtime practices shows that even the most ordinary and widespread communicative events, as family meals are, do not follow general

and predicted patterns, given that participants and circumstances are always different and unique. The setting and cultural context are distinctive, since mealtime interactions in Greece constitute an under-researched area within ethnographic research, to the best of my knowledge. What is more, the study is unique in the fact that I am a member of the community under discussion, thus being able to observe how the family changed over time, as well as how social changes have affected the asymmetrical relations between genders and between generations in the realm of this family. And it is at this point that my empirical study might be considered as making an original contribution. It is quite different from Tannen, Kendall and Gordon's (2007) study of family talk in America; and there are some similarities and some differences from Blum-Kulka's (1997) cross-cultural study. However, the same broad themes emerged in all three studies: the tension between power and connection in the family domain; the construction of parental and gendered identities within the realm of the family; and the socialization of children into the family's beliefs and values.

Space and time prevented any detailed analysis of linguistic data that would help validate my observations, and allow a glimpse over the potentially highly revealing micro-interactional aspects (Harris & Rampton 2009). This constitutes a limitation of the present study. My intention is to further my ethnographic study of family meals in this particular 'Community of Practice' (Eckert & McConnell Ginet 1992: 464), by collecting first-order data to supplement my first-hand knowledge about the community's socio-cultural and interactional norms (Hymes 1978: 4).

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