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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Dear Readers,

At the turn of the year, the new Views issue is proud to present three inspiring articles on the relationship between lexicogrammatical correctness and communicative effectiveness in English as a lingua franca, code-switching in English as a lingua franca, as well as a case study of Middle English *arīven*.

The first contribution by Cornelia Hülmbauer discusses the 'deficit view' which has been associated with the use of English as a lingua franca by non-native speakers. Focusing on the relationship between lexicogrammatical

correctness and communicative effectiveness, Hülmbauer tries to point out some of the inconsistencies in their seemingly straightforward connection in an ELF context. Her qualitative analysis of naturally-occurring conversations between international students describes some of the communicative processes taking place in ELF talk and shows how lexicogrammatical constructions which are 'incorrect' from a standard English perspective may contribute to effective communication.

The second contribution by Theresa Klimpfinger deals with the issue of code-switching in English as a lingua franca and is based on eight workshop and working group discussions involving speakers from diverse European language backgrounds who share English as their only common means of communication. In a qualitative analysis of her data, Klimpfinger tries to delimit the use and role of other languages in naturally-occurring ELF talk and is able to show how ELF speakers systematically resort to code-switching for communicative purposes and to convey their multilingual identity.

Finally, Elisabeth Tacho's contribution is concerned with the way in which the verb *arrive* entered the English language and developed semantically in the course of the Middle English period. Embedding her study in the frameworks of word field theory and social dialectology, Tacho discusses how the borrowing of this verb affected the structure of the English vocabulary between the 12th and the 15th centuries. Selecting both written and speech-based texts from the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* as the basis of her analysis, Tacho accounts for both the verb's quantitative representation in her data and its distribution over different text types, thereby shedding some more light on the loan word's implementation in the English language.

We hope that you will enjoy the contributions of the new year's Views issue and would be happy to include your comments in form of reply to one of the articles in our next issue.

We wish all our readers…
<div align="center">

a happy New Year
It must be a good one
As our new issue's already here…

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THE EDITORS

'You moved, aren't?' – *The relationship between lexicogrammatical correctness and communicative effectiveness in English as a lingua franca*

Cornelia Hülmbauer, Vienna*

1. *Making the first move* – Introduction

Our world is on the move. And so are our ways of communicating. In an age of globalisation,[1] not only are technological developments driven further and further, but also our language is affected by the changing environment. English is more and more being used as a global lingua franca, with the majority of its users now being non-native speakers (NNSs). English as a lingua franca (ELF) has attracted the attention of quite a number of scholars (cf. Seidlhofer 2004: 218-220, Seidlhofer, Breiteneder & Pitzl 2006: 8-13 for overviews of recent empirical work). Apart from those investigating it, however, there are the ones who apply and therefore co-construct ELF: its speakers. In the new multilingual contexts, ELF users are becoming aware of the usefulness of a language repertoire they can adapt to their individual needs. ELF brings with it the advantage of being mainly used between speakers with an equal NNS status as opposed to NS–NNS communication with its relatively asymmetrical nature.[2] The following extract is taken from a conversation between two international students (S1: L1=Flemish, S2: L1=Danish).

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[1] For a study of ELF in connection to globalisation see Dewey (2007: 183-202).

[2] This refers to prototypical ELF interactions and does not mean that NSs are excluded entirely from ELF contexts (cf. Seidlhofer 2004: 211).

Extract 1:

> S1: i understand you and you understand me and i understand you better
>   than you understand (.) and you understand me better than erm a proper
>   englishman (.)
> S2: yeah=

The interaction illustrates an experience frequently reported by ELF speakers: they often find it easier to communicate on an international NNS level than with prominent NS participation, especially in European contexts (cf. Adolphs 2005: 128; Skapinker 2007: 9). A crucial aspect, next to phonological reasons, in this is that ELF speakers frequently use rather different linguistic forms from those common in English as a native language (ENL). The discrepancy between these forms apparently has an impact on intelligibility.

Paradoxically, it is exactly the difference in form between ELF and ENL which brings about critical attitudes towards lingua franca English. Assuming a 'deficit view', people tend to regard ELF as a bad replication of its 'original', i.e. ENL (cf. Seidlhofer 2004: 213). Extract 2 is the immediate continuation of the passage given above.

Extract 2:

> S1: =cos someone who's from england is accustomed to: (2) the high
>   standard of english?
> S2: yeah
> S1: and when he listens to us he he he understands (.) things (.) but (1) it's
>   very much a flat english (.)
> S2: yeah
> S1: if you understand
> S2: yeah i understand

Irrespective of their explicit claims about its usefulness, the speakers share the opinion that the kind of English they produce is 'flat' and thus deficient in nature. This attitude seems symptomatic. Jenkins (2007a: 123) describes this phenomenon of 'linguistic schizophrenia' as follows:

> *Accepting ELF would involve making a huge psychological shift, and while they may see at the rational level that there are good arguments in favour of appropriating English for their own purposes, at the deeper level they still have a deep-seated attachment to ENL, and search for arguments to support it.*

What is so deeply ingrained in the ELF speakers' brains and prevents them from feeling comfortable with their language repertoire are the sanctions for divergence from standard ENL forms which have been omnipresent in the traditional paradigms of second language acquisition (SLA) and English language teaching (ELT). ELF lexicogrammar is one of the fields revealing the most striking differences to ENL. As Firth (1996: 239) describes it,

> *participants [in ELF talk] typically make unidiomatic and non-collocating lexical selections, and [...] the talk throughout its duration is commonly 'marked' by dysfluencies, and by syntactic, morphological [...] anomalies and infelicities.*

However, Firth adds another crucial factor: ELF is only considered 'marked' when "such aspects are recognized by native-speaker assessments" (1996: 239). ELF speakers might feel incompetent particularly because they are used to making a comparison to ENL. It seems that, just as the context is moving, there is the urgent need for a move in our perspectives towards ELF forms. Recalling effective communication as the main purpose of ELF might also cast new light on our judgement of 'errors'. One could argue that

> *[i]f the ability to communicate in the foreign language is regarded as the primary goal, the first question we have to ask in evaluating an error is not whether it involves a general rule or a frequent word or construction but* how it affects communication *(Johannson 1973: 105, quoted in Presch 1980: 230).*

It is true, ELF contains a great deal of 'different' language. At the same time however, there are recurring claims that miscommunication is rare in ELF contexts (cf. Meierkord 1996: 225; House 1999: 74-75). This seems to indicate that there is no one-to-one correlation of *lexicogrammatical correctness* and *communicative effectiveness*. The nature of this relationship will be the main focus of the present paper. Moving around the two main concepts and investigating them in a novel constellation, namely effectiveness based on 'incorrectness', is intended to shed some light on inconsistencies in their seemingly straightforward connection.

2. ELF in a framework of correctness and existing norms – *Time to move on?*

Taking up the issue of NNS language use, one is immediately confronted with associations from the fields of SLA and ELT. The framework of a target ENL language form on the one side and deviating NNS forms on the other side has been well-established over the centuries. ELF, as a very young and unprecedented phenomenon, has been born into a linguistic world where a 'deficit view' on NNSs, i.e. a traditional concept of 'error' with particular norms against which it is measured, is prevailing (cf. Presch 1980: 228). With ELF, English has rapidly developed a particular new form, whereas the conceptual base around it has only hesitantly started to move. In order to avoid imbalance and misconception, our perspectives towards errors and norms need to catch up.

The key point in the traditional distinction between NSs and NNSs is that it takes all non-natives as permanent learners of the language. This assumption does not hold for ELF, nevertheless. What differentiates ELF from EFL (English as a foreign language) so substantially is that its users neither aim at communicating *with* nor *like* NSs of the language, or only to a very limited extent. "ELF is not the same as EFL, nor is it failed ENL" (Jenkins 2006: 155). It has been developed as an intercultural language repertoire in parallel to and independent of NS language use by autonomous speakers of the language and could thus be termed a 'third space' phenomenon (cf. ibid: 155).[3] As ELF users are not part of the primary linguacultural community within which a particular norm has developed, and as they are not aspiring to become a part of it, this norm does not need to be of special relevance to them. As Cook (1999: 194) remarks, "[p]eople cannot be expected to conform to the norm of a group to which they do not belong". Neither need NS judgements concerning ELF usage be taken into consideration (cf. Widdowson 1994: 386).

Apart from the fact that standard Englishes, the NNSs' traditional models, are neither particularly neutral nor pure language varieties (cf. Trudgill 1999: 123-126; Dewey 2007: 266), they often provide very different linguistic means from those necessary for successful ELF interactions. Some especially striking ENL features are redundant from a communicative point of view (cf. Breiteneder 2005 for the case of the third person *-s*), but serve as identity markers instead (cf. Widdowson 1994: 381). With effective intercultural communication as the main aim, such grammatical idiosyncrasies (cf.

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[3] For ELF as a 'third space' phenomenon with regard to cultural aspects see Pölzl (2005).

Trudgill 1999: 125-126), described by Crystal (2000: 45) as "features which no logician would ever have invented", appear to be superfluous if not obstructive elements in ELF. In this respect, there is no objective reason for the ELF speakers to feel guilty about their non- or only partial convergence towards standard ENL norms. Palmer (1917: 60, quoted in Bhatt 1995: 255) explains that

> *[i]t must be recongized [sic] that no language possesses an intrinsically standard form.* That each language possesses an ideal 'correct' form from which all divergences constitute 'impurities' or 'mistakes' is [...] a popular superstition *[emphasis in original]*.

The case of ELF makes it obvious: "Authenticity is not transferable" (Widdowson 1994: 386). It seems only natural that language is adapted to new contexts. Coming back to Hymes's third parameter, for a language form to *become appropriate* in ELF it has to *be appropriated actively* by the speakers with regard to their specific purposes (cf. Jenkins 2006: 149). Due to the ELF speakers' diverse linguistic backgrounds, the appropriation of language is not restricted to outer circumstances but also concerns the interlocutors' linguistic behaviour. The data analysis will illustrate that this kind of accommodation process is symptomatic of effective ELF conversations and can be considered a crucial element determining a speaker's proficiency (cf. Jenkins 2007a: 238).

For ELF, more than for probably any locally restricted language repertoire before, we once again need to recall Hymes's (1979: 15) remark that "[t]here are rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless". Not only has English been transferred to new contexts, but also the situational context and with it the constellation of speakers varies from one conversation to another. Therefore, the parameter *context* needs to be recognised as crucial in the evaluation of ELF forms.[4] As Dewey (2007: 121) puts it, "what is 'natural' in ELF seems to be even more context specific than tends to be the case in ENL varieties". This means, then, that the third Hymesian parameter "[w]hether (and to what degree) something is *appropriate* (adequate, happy successful) in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated" (Hymes 1979: 19) does not stay on an equal level with "[w]hether [...] something is

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[4] Relating to this issue, Leung (2005: 138) suggests "to re-engage with the socially dynamic uses of English and to continuously re-work the contextualized meaning of the concept of communicative competence".

formally possible" (ibid: 19), but overrules it in the case of ELF.[5] Having dismissed grammaticality from its dominant role in communicative competence, what is it then that makes an utterance 'correct', i.e. that brings about appropriateness in ELF talk?

3. *Prime movers* – Mutual intelligibility based on flexibility

ELF is chosen by its users for the purpose of intercultural communication, i.e. for talking to each other despite diverging linguistic backgrounds. The focus is clearly on understanding, with mutual intelligibility being, by definition, the most important criterion in lingua franca communication. Instead of considering NS judgements about particular linguistic forms, according to Seidlhofer (2001: 150) one should rather ask "*has this been said* and understood in English as a lingua franca?". The evaluation of a language form in ELF has to be based on its influence on the communicative success, on "*how it affects communication*" (Johansson 1973: 105, quoted in Presch 1980: 230). Indeed, Seidlhofer (2005a: 161) describes that ELF speakers show a tendency "to operate according to their own "commonsense" criteria [...] of emically perceived communicative efficiency in the current situation". This also means that they seem to develop strategies of exploiting their linguistic repertoire in a holistic way, including the resources stemming from their first (L1) and other language (LN) backgrounds. Investigating these new ways of establishing mutual intelligibility, there is the need to detect both the features which foster effective communication and those which impede it.[6] Again, the degree of convergence to a variety of standard English does not seem to play a role in this matter. On the contrary, NNSs of English frequently appear to have problems understanding NSs rather than fellow non-natives (cf. Adolphs 2005: 128). This is not only true of phonological features of the language, but also concerns the lexicogrammatical level (cf. Seidlhofer 2005b: R92). Should there be enough empirical evidence at some point in the future to make sound claims about those features which are essential to establish

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[5] The second and the fourth parameters "[w]hether [...] something is *feasible*" and "actually *performed*" (Hymes 1979: 19) are not taken into consideration as this paper deals with naturally-occurring data, which implies that these factors are fulfilled.

[6] As regards error gravity, grammar and lexis are often differentiated. Grammar as a relatively clearly structured system is easily predictable. Lexis, in contrast, is an open system with less inbuilt redundancy. From a purely linguistic point of view, this means that grammatical mistakes are less severe than lexical ones (cf. James 1998: 207). Due to social considerations, however, the main focus in error judgement is still on grammatical issues (cf. McKay 2002: 61, 69). Since grammar and lexis cannot easily be separated in actual language use, however, a clear-cut distinction of the two is not attempted in this paper.

mutual intelligibility through ELF, some lexicogrammatical core features, comparable to Jenkins's (2000) phonological Lingua Franca Core, could eventually be put together (cf. Seidlhofer 2004: 216-219). An empirical foundation of this kind is currently emerging in the shape of VOICE, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English. It will eventually provide substantial information about the communicative value of particular features as well as about their frequency. This will be important in determining whether new or unusual constructions occurring in ELF are to be treated as mistakes or innovations (cf. Bamgbose 1998: 1-3).

As regards innovative language use, James (cf. 1998: 75-76), being firmly rooted in the traditional ELT paradigm, points to new and unfamiliar combinations in NNS language as errors. In contrast, Carter (2004: 47) uses similar notions to define creativity: "novel analogies or combinations between conceptual elements which have been previously unassociated". The same phenomenon seems to be perceived in two different ways, depending on whether it manifests itself in learner or NS language.[7] As ELF users fit into neither of these categories, also their dealing with creativity needs to be evaluated independently. It might even go well beyond ENL creativity, for two reasons: ELF users approach the language in a freer way than ENL speakers since they are not influenced by standardising forces to the same extent (cf. Breiteneder 2005: 21; Dewey 2007: 150); and due to their multilingual status they have a broader range and a combinatory kind of resources at their disposal, i.e. they are 'multi-competent' (cf. Cook 2002: 10-13). More generally, Widdowson (1997: 137-138) highlights that there is much more potential within a language than is actually being used. Linguistic forms which deviate from the ENL code but which convey meaning effectively, then, cannot simply be regarded as 'errors'. They also constitute a part of English, of the "virtual language" (Widdowson 1997: 138) English. Hymes's (1979: 22) definition of grammaticality, a form being "possible within a formal system", is thus expanded signifcantly in ELF contexts. What is 'possible' is negotiated online by the speakers themselves while they are drawing on multilingual as well as virtual language resources. The greater flexibility prevailing in ELF usage might not only cause language variation, but it might have implications regarding its change (cf. Dewey 2007: 201). Tendencies which are only starting to gain momentum in ENL could already be manifested in ELF linguistic behaviour. As Dewey (2007: 147) explains,

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[7] Widdowson (1984: 141; 2003: 49) points to the fact that learner errors and poetic language frequently cannot be distinguished according to formal criteria. He argues that "the language of learning and literature are both exploitations of the virtual ressource" (Widdowson 2003: 49) English.

> *[a]ny potential changes that are inherently predisposed to occur in a particular direction are likely to be accelerated in ELF settings. This is due in part [...] to the absence in ELF settings of clearly defined sets of norms that would otherwise slow down the process.*

Being a user of a language means to be a participant in its change (cf. Brutt-Griffler 1998: 387). ELF users with their 'loose-knit networks' and their mobility might function as 'innovators' and 'early adopters' (cf. Milroy 1987: 197-204) in certain more general developments in English while they are exploiting alternative ways towards mutual intelligibility and therefore effective communication.

4. *Canny moves* – Some aspects of effective ELF communication

Basically, communication is regarded as successful whenever the speaker can assume that the listener has understood an utterance and with it its illocutionary force.[8] In other words, "a *contribution* [...] to a conversation is only complete when the hearer has accepted it" (Bremer 1996: 39). Thus, it depends on the communicative work done and the criteria for acceptance established by the speakers themselves, rather than on external models whether an interaction turns out to be successful. Lexicogrammatical rules seem to play a secondary role in interaction. As Milroy (1984: 8) remarks, "[w]hen two persons do communicate successfully, it is clear that much more is involved than the mapping of internal structures (or linguistic rules) on external sequences". Knowing neither the speaker's nor the listener's exact point of view, it is difficult for an analyst to evaluate the success of a conversation (cf. Kolde 1980: 175-176). Thus, for the present study, only relatively straightforward cases are chosen as objects of analysis.

   In any conversation and even more so in ELF talk, there is a great deal of interpretative work taking place. Meaning is 'negotiated', with the interactants jointly engaged in this process (cf. Pitzl 2005: 56-58). They do so by "addition of, deletion of and agreement on arguments" (Meierkord 2000), constantly measuring interpretations of utterances against their own expectations (cf. Bremer 1996: 39). Here, the overall goal is a feeling of shared satisfaction among the interactants (cf. Taylor & Cameron 1987:

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[8] Meierkord (cf. 1996: 205-206) mentions a more controversial approach to communication: It is sometimes argued that there is no communication breakdown as long as an interlocutor takes the turn after an utterance of the other speaker, regardless of understanding.

153).[9] Seidlhofer (2001: 148) describes a case of effective conversation as follows:

> *[T]he interactants are satisfied with their discussion: they agree on their criteria and negotiate a consensus, so in that sense we can regard this exchange as successful communication.*

As already indicated, lingua franca communication is particularly characterised by its users not "shar[ing] knowledge of, and equal access to, a common linguistic code" (Firth 1996: 239). Since different linguistic/paralinguistic repertoires as well as cultural conventions are confronted and have to be adapted to each other, the negotiation of meaning constitutes an even more crucial process in ELF communication. Despite their sometimes "quite limited resources" (Firth & Wagner 1997: 289), however, speakers of ELF achieve successful communication in the majority of cases. House (cf. 1999: 74-75) concludes that "there are surprisingly few misunderstandings / communication breakdowns" in ELF communication; a situation which is brought about by its "highly consensual interactional style".[10] Concomitant to their cooperative behaviour, the ELF users frequently 'let pass' unclear utterances waiting for the meaning to become clarified in the course of an interaction and develop strategies to 'make normal' the marked output produced by interlocutors (cf. Firth 1996: 245).

In complementation to successful communication, "we seek to understand a process that goes unnoticed when it is successful", as Gumperz and Tannen (1979: 308, quoted in Milroy 1984: 7) put it, when we investigate aspects of miscommunication.[11] As soon as there is "a mismatch between the speaker's intention and the hearer's interpretation" (Milroy 1984: 8), the communicative success is threatened. Communicative problems are indicated by means of explicit and frequently also implicit signals. Due to the flexibility and variation in ELF production, however, it is often difficult to judge whether the speakers' particular ways of using language imply that they are in communicative trouble. Their multilingual backgrounds open up manifold possibilities of dealing with language, which may or may not bring about effective communication. What might appear like a sign for having trouble (e.g. slower rate of articulation, unfilled pauses,[12] etc.) can also be based on

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[9] The degree of consensus-orientedness also always depends on the relationship between the interactants (cf. Eggins & Slade 1997: 12-21).

[10] Consensus-orientedness is not always given in ELF (cf. e.g. Knapp 2002).

[11] For miscommunication in ELF cf. Pitzl (2005).

[12] For the roles of silent and unfilled pauses in ELF see Böhringer (2007).

the exploitation of particular L1/LN practices and conventions (cf. Faerch & Kasper 1983: 219-231).[13] In addition, diverse communication strategies (e.g. code-switching, paraphrase, borrowing, etc.) are employed by language users in general and to an even higher extent by ELF users.[14] Again, speakers cannot be judged as having communicative difficulties when they make use of such strategies in ELF talk. We should "consider [...] the possibility that, in [strategies such as] code switching, [a speaker] has avoided difficulty and preempted a problem, not solved or experienced one" (Firth & Wagner 1997: 290).

5. *Making a move towards the data* – Methodology

The examples of ELF talk in this study all represent transcriptions[15] of naturally-occurring data. The recordings on which they are based amount to about 4 hours of diverse ELF speakers' interactions. More specifically, they consist of 16 separate conversations involving 44 different speakers with 13 different L1s. The speakers are all international students in their twenties. They, thus, constitute a relatively homogenous group, at least as far as their educational and social background is concerned. The situations in which I captured the data all took place within the overall framework of the academic exchange programme ERASMUS. One group of conversations is constituted by casual talk among the students in informal settings,[16] another one by advisory service talk taking place in a small conference room during the welcome weeks at university.

Generally speaking, the conversations in the first group have an interactional character whereas the ones in the second group appear to be overall more transactional. This distinction is far from clear-cut, however. As Drew and Heritage (1992: 21) put it,

> *we do not accept that there is necessarily a hard and fast distinction to be made between the two in all instances of interactional events, nor even at all points in a single interactional event.*

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[13] For the role of the ELF speakers' L1s/LNs in code-switching see Klimpfinger (this issue).

[14] For communication strategies cf. e.g. Williams, Inscoe and Tasker (1997).

[15] The methods of data collection and transcription developed by the VOICE team especially for ELF (cf. Breiteneder, Pitzl, Klimpfinger & Majewski 2006) seem to suit my purposes best. All the extracts provided are based on the VOICE transcription conventions [2.0].

[16] This casual talk was recorded predominantly in pubs around Vienna. The only exception is an interaction which took place in a student residence in Glasgow. Neither the geographical difference nor the slight change in the type of location brings about substantial differences in the characteristics of the conversation.

Due to the relative homogeneity of the speakers involved in both recording situations, there is also a minor difference between the two groups in my data. As they are all students, there are no strict hierarchies. The only striking characteristic which differentiates the two kinds of conversations is goal-orientedness. Casual conversation or ordinary talk, represented by the first group, is defined as not being "motivated by any clear pragmatic purpose" (Eggins & Slade 1997: 19). The advisory sessions in the second group, in contrast, have information transfer as a common goal. The issue of goal-orientedness, or rather the lack of it, has to be taken into account regarding potential let-it-pass phenomena in the data.

As far as other significant features such as the distribution of power and knowledge (cf. Drew & Heritage 1992: 50) are concerned, the participants seem to be on an equal level. The Austrian students in the second group might appear slightly more powerful due to their status as 'knowledge providers'. However, the atmosphere is generally relaxed and friendly rather than business-like. It is assumed that the Austrian students would not consider themselves professionals in their counselling activity, but that they rather focus on their roles as fellow students. This is supported by the fact that the conversations do not appear to be thoroughly planned. Routine linguistic constructions, as they are described to be established by professionals in their daily business (cf. Drew & Heritage 1992: 44), occur to a very limited extent in my data. All in all, in the recordings it was possible to capture spontaneously-produced ELF data.[17]

The effectiveness of a construction cannot be detected by schematic approaches. Neither does it represent a valuable element for statistical methods. For the analysis of my data I thus started out from an emic perspective. In an attempt to describe some of the communicative processes taking place in ELF talk, selected passages are analysed qualitatively, within the context from which they emerge. It is clear that qualitative research with small sets of data cannot provide representative findings, but it can serve to illustrate the points made and to highlight potential tendencies. Sacks (1992: 298) even claims that "it may be we can come up with findings of some considerable generality by looking at very singular, particular things. By

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[17] With the students as my objects of observation I found it particularly fascinating to investigate the linguistic behaviour of speakers who employ ELF on their own accord and use it freely in informal conversations rather than being forced by business matters and restricted by special conventions. This is in contrast to the methodology established by researchers such as Mollin (cf. 2006). In an attempt to make general claims about 'Euro-English', she restricts herself to communication within EU institutions, a highly specialised register (cf. Born & Schütte 1995: 48, 324-327).

asking what it takes for those things to have come off". Such particular things could be represented by novel features, developed from the virtual language English, emerging in ELF. Cogo and Dewey (2006: 64) as well as Mollin (2006: 98) set up some key criteria for novel linguistic constructions to fulfil in order to be deemed valid ELF features. Whereas both consider it essential for them to be "systematic" and "communal"/"occur frequently", only Cogo and Dewey (2006: 64) mention another paramount characteristic: that they need to be "communicatively effective". The present paper takes this very criterion as a basis of investigations. Frequency issues can only be considered after an attempt was made to describe what kind of language usage actually brings about successful communication in ELF.

In the following analysis, ELF will be characterised as something different from ENL, not only in function but also in form – but surely not as something deficient. For this purpose, comparative methods seem to be useful. This means that the study starts out from the dichotomy of 'correctness' vs. 'incorrectness' as it is still commonly understood, i.e. target language vs. second/foreign language user. Rather than underlining the "tenacious deficit view of ELF in which variation is perceived as deviation from ENL norms and described in terms of errors" (Seidlhofer 2004: 213), an investigation of this dichotomy shall serve to undermine it. Confronted with the communicative reality of today's ELF users, the massive shortcomings of such a dichotomy are revealed. Comparison to ENL as a point of reference is not used to show what ELF lacks, but what is so typical of ELF.[18] As Mauranen (2005: 275) puts it,

> [d]ifferences from L1 speakers are not important for judging the success, let alone correctness of ELF performance – a backdrop needs to be provided in order to discern variation and innovation in ELF.

With this theoretical framework as a backdrop, it seems particularly fascinating to focus on occurrences of what would be considered 'incorrect' lexicogrammatical constructions from a standard English point of view and to investigate how they influence communication.

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[18] See also Dewey (2007: 72) who stresses having created an "analytical framework that does not depend on contrast with ENL lexis and grammar". Terming ELF features 'innovations', however, still implies a point of reference, namely the 'old' linguistic behaviour.

6. *Concepts on the move* – Investigating the relationship of correctness and effectiveness in my data

It has become obvious that ELF talk contains diverse forms of language usage, 'correct' and less 'correct' ones.[19] A language user is not more or less of an ELF speaker relative to his or her divergence from standard ENL models. This status depends on the language functions rather than on the language forms involved.[20] The 'straightforward' constellations of effective communication based on 'correct' constructions and 'incorrect' forms bringing about ineffective communication are, due to limitations of space, not discussed in the present paper.[21] Instead, the focus is on ELF talk where 'marked' or 'deviant' (according to standard English models) language does not impede the communication process but rather influences it positively. Such cases are anything but rare in ELF talk and the supposedly 'normal' cases mentioned above are not necessarily also the most frequent ones. The examples discussed in the following will serve as an illustration of the assumption that a 'deficit view' regarding 'different' language forms is not justified in the case of ELF.

6.1. *Allowance for removal?* – 'Incorrect' constructions in effective communication

The discrepancy between what is commonly considered 'correct' and what represents a part of a successful interaction becomes especially obvious in the scenarios investigated in the following. Cases where effective communication is based on 'deviant' language in ELF talk could also be termed "the correct use of errors" (Maingay 2007). This kind of 'correct use' involves sophisticated strategies created by the ELF speakers on their way to communicative success, also involving clear indications of this success.

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[19] Note Jenkins' (2006: 141) characterisation of effective ELF: "This includes both ELF variants that would be considered errors in relation to EFL and, inevitably, given the common ancestor, also variants that are native-like, but by default rather than design".

[20] EFL and ELF speakers frequently produce similar linguistic output. The difference, however, lies in the fact that EFL aims at a standard ENL variety (and culture) as a target norm, whereas ELF has mutual intelligibility among NNSs as its defined goal.

[21] See Hülmbauer (2006: 63-77) for a discussion of these cases. A further case which is also neglected in the analysis is ineffective communication stemming from lexicogrammatically correct forms. This involves a phenomenon referred to as 'unilateral idiomaticity' by Seidlhofer (2004: 220). For a discussion of idiomatic language use in ELF cf. Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2007).

*   *'Incorrect' constructions as accommodative elements*

Communicative strategies have become an indispensable part of ELF not least due to the heterogeneity of its speakers. Not only their lingua-cultural backgrounds often differ to a great extent, but also their individual levels of convergence towards the standard Englishes do. Thus, the interactants do not only have to adapt the language to the overall context while communicating, but also to each others' linguistic behaviour. As an implication of the common cooperative atmosphere in ELF, the speakers tend to converge towards the interlocutors' language use. What has been given quite negative connotations under the concept of 'foreigner talk' (cf. Ferguson 1971: 144),[22] mainly in EFL and other foreign language contexts, is better related to the framework of accommodation (cf. Giles & Coupland 1991: 60-67) in the case of ELF (cf. Jenkins 2000: 167-180; Cogo & Dewey 2006: 70-73). Convergence, here, is not only used as a means for indicating solidarity, but also for enhancing mutual intelligibility. In a modification of their linguistic behaviour, the speakers do not seem to mind crossing the, anyhow fuzzy, boundaries between established standard English grammaticality and ungrammaticality, irrespective of their awareness of more 'native-like' constructions. Extract 3 illustrates the process of accommodation, in this case concerning the lexicon. S4 (L1=Spanish) is enquiring which documents are necessary for buying a semester ticket for public transport. This is a recurring topic in the advisory talk within my data. S1, the Austrian student consultant, has come across it several times during other recorded conversations.

Extract 3:

> S4: er erm for erm: (.) for erm: (.) i buy the ticket
> S1: mhm
> S4: e:r erm with the: (.) the paper
> S1: with the blue part of the paper (1) with this sheet (1) and with this one
> S4: a:h okay (.) er and with this paper
> S1: mhm

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[22] Haegemann (2002: 135-139) uses this concept in an ELF context. Despite distancing herself from the negative connotations of 'foreigner talk', she still assumes a deficit view, describing the accommodation process as a speaker's "orientation to the coparticipant's lack of proficiency" (ibid: 135).

S4 introduces the term *paper* to refer to the payment form she has just been shown. In an attempt to confirm S4's assumption, S1 repeats the word. This can be viewed as a 'double-confirmation': not only is the message content repeated,[23] but also the exact wording. The case of S1's accommodative behaviour is further supported by the fact that she does not use the expression *paper* at any other time when dealing with a similar topic in my recordings. Rather she frequently uses *payment form* or *sheet* for referring to the particular concept. Most probably, she would not use the term *paper* in such a context on her own initiative. In the case under consideration speaker 1 chooses *paper* because speaker 4 introduces the term. Through convergence, the speakers co-create a common ELF repertoire which ensures mutual understanding and establishes the possibility for both speakers to participate actively in the interaction.[24] Thus, Jenkins (2007a: 238) seems absolutely right in claiming that

> *[i]n international communication, the ability to accommodate to interlocutors with other first languages than one's own (regardless of whether the result is an 'error' in ENL) is a far more important skill than the ability to imitate the English of a native speaker.*

* 'Incorrect' constructions as 'known-in-common' resources

A related concept is brought up by Firth (1996: 246-247). He points to a process in which the ELF speakers expand their language repertoire in the course of the ongoing interaction. As he (ibid: 247) describes it, the "participants can learn and use known (and also nonstandard) resources as they become known-in-common during the talk itself". As soon as an expression which is employed by one speaker is taken up by another, this expression can be regarded as a constituent of their shared repertoire, i.e. as 'known-in-common'. Again, it is of no relevance whether the particular construction is more or less 'marked' with regard to a standard English model. On the contrary, these novel resources are not supposed to make sense to outsiders. Rather, they are primarily created to carry a certain meaning which has been agreed on by the interactants especially for the purposes of

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[23] For the functions of repetition in ELF see Lichtkoppler (2007).

[24] Dewey (2007: 174) even claims that "this is not a question of the speaker modifying their style of speaking to converge towards the speech pattern of the listener. Rather we have a mutual convergence towards a newly emerging LF variety of English usage".

their particular conversation.[25] Consider the following extract for an illustration of this phenomenon.

Extract 4:

> S3: and so thi- (.) this uncle is the brother of my (1) grandfather
> S4: o:h (.) okay @@
> S3: so @@ er
> S4: far away uncle @@=
> S3: =yes (.) far away uncle and er but er (1) she er he is very friendly and er (.) he writes us a lot

S3 (L1=Italian) mentions an uncle who lives in the United States and the opportunity to visit him. As an explanation, she adds the fact that *this uncle is the brother of* [her] *grandfather*. She wants to express that the relation within her family is one generation up, i.e. that he is her great uncle. S4 (L1=German) takes up this information immediately. She does not only signal understanding, but also introduces the term *far away uncle* as a summarising expression referring to the explanation of the concept 'great uncle' given by S3. S4 is probably aware of the creativity involved in creating a construction like *far away uncle*. It seems that she laughs about her own unusual kind of language usage. Despite this fact, S3 repeats the construction and even confirms with *yes*. The interactants agree on *far away uncle* as a known-in-common expression carrying the meaning 'great uncle'. Mutual intelligibility is established.

Extract 5 represents a related case. The topic of the conversation is S2's affinity towards women who like cooking.

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[25] This also relates to the online "production of idiomatic coinages" in ELF discussed by Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2007: 371).

Extract 5:

> S2: the spanish woman: feed the spanish men (.) they are very good er
> S1: @
> S2: <40> woman </40> that's perfect
> S1: <40> @@ </40>
> S1: @@
> S2: i love it i love them
> S1: you love the spanish and the french woman
> S2: i love the: feed woman (1)
> S1: <@> the woman who likes machos you think? </@>
> S2: yeah (.) the woman who: likes feed men (.) <41> spanish men </41> (.)
>   <42> me </42>

When S2 is confronted with S1's assumption that he loves Spanish as well as French women, S2 feels the need for specification. Instead of giving lengthy explanations about women who enjoy cooking for their partners, he summarises this meaning in the construction *feed woman*. Being asked for clarification, S2 explains the term. Through this negotiation of meaning, a 'known-in-common' expression, similar to the one in extract 4, is established. It becomes obvious from these examples that the ELF users' repertoires neither show a general "lack of variation" nor a "lack of expressive potential resulting from the lack of word-formation strategies" as it is claimed by Meierkord (2005: 25-26). Rather, they exploit the creative potential lying in the virtual language English as well as resources based on their multilingual status. Their linguistic behaviour thus seems to go well beyond using ELF as a transactional tool (cf. House 2003: 560) towards using it as a means for expressing identity.[26]

*   *'Incorrect' constructions as common ELF features*

ELF does not only constitute a conglomerate of very individual processes and negotiations. On the contrary, it is likely that certain innovative phenomena in the use of the English language are common and frequently applied among

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[26] As all use of language constitutes an act of identity to some extent (cf. LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985: 4; Widdowson 1982: 12), it seems likely that the ELF users develop their own markers of identity (be they of a common 'European' or 'international' nature or more individual ones which are created online, depending on the community of practice they are emerging in).

the ELF speakers. An initial description and analysis of spoken ELF data has brought to light some potential lexicogrammatical patterns of ELF usage (see figure 1), which have ever since been the subject of controversy.

Figure 1: Tendencies in ELF lexicogrammar

*   no third-person singular present tense -*s* marking

*   interchangeable use of the relative pronouns *who* and *which*

*   flexible use of definite and indefinite articles

*   pluralization of mass nouns

*   use of the demonstrative *this* with both singular and plural nouns

*   extension of the uses of certain 'general' verbs

*   use of a uniform, invariable question tag

*   insertion of additional prepositions and nouns

(adapted from Seidlhofer 2005b: R92)

Whereas Cogo and Dewey (2006: 75) "confirm all but one of the hypotheses" on this list, Mollin (2006: 155) comes to the conclusion that the kind of English spoken by European NNSs is no more than "an amalgam of idiosyncratic learner Englishes" with no systematic features. The main difference between these two recent studies does not seem to lie primarily in the findings on the ELF users' linguistic behaviour, but rather in their interpretation. While for Mollin (2006: 98) only highly frequent patterns point to potential ELF features, Cogo and Dewey (2006: 64) assume that a pattern with less conclusive frequency numbers but with high efficiency in communication could still be interpreted as a potential change in progress.

It has already been mentioned that the present paper does not claim to report any representative findings. Regarding the features compiled by Seidlhofer, however, one fundamental point can be made concerning frequency: all of the features occur in my recordings. The fact that my set of data is relatively small, i.e. 4 hours of recordings, could be considered an

asset here insofar as, with all the phenomena occurring, it supports the assumption that they are relatively wide-spread.

Yet another crucial issue regarding frequency of use is the speakers' attitude towards ELF. Mollin (2006: 199) reports that "[t]here is only very little evidence that they are beginning to accept the type of English spoken in Europe as their standard" to substantiate her claims about ELF as learner language. This line of argumentation, however, implies a shifted order of events. Only after substantial findings about the efficiency and naturalness of common innovative features and public acknowledgement of these findings would people be more likely to accept them and dare make use of them in an unbiased way (cf. Kachru 1992: 56; Jenkins 2007a: 248-249). Again, it seems of paramount importance to consider potential ELF features not only with regard to frequency but also to communicative success.

As indicated above, all of the phenomena mentioned by Seidlhofer (see Figure 1) are present in my data. I decided to focus on one of them for the purpose of this study, namely invariable tags.[27] In my recordings it is the feature which is most prominently characterised by a higher number of occurrences in innovative forms than in standard ENL forms. Interestingly, there is no case of *isn't it* as an all-purpose tag (as it is mentioned among other potential tags by Seidlhofer 2005b: R92) in my data. There rather seems to be a preference towards *or?* and *no?*. To the ELF users, these expressions probably appear to be stronger and more unambiguous appeals for reassurance. This can also be linked to the conventions in the various L1s and LNs given. A typical example concerning the use of *or?* as a tag can be observed in the following passage. The interactants (S1: L1=Norwegian, S2: L1=German) discuss the communication taking place between S1 and her Austrian landlady.

Extract 6:

> S2: you can also speak in english to her (.) or?
> S1: no (.) she was like (.) <imitating> do you speak
>   english? </imitating> (1) and she was like (1) <imitating> a:h no (.) no
>   just a little bit </imitating> (.) she was really really bad (1) so yeah (.)
>   but i did my best understanding her german
> S2: @@

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[27] For illustrations of each of the phenomena see Hülmbauer (2006: 71-108).

S2 utters the assumption that S1 can communicate through English with the woman. As she does not seem to be sure about the validity of this statement, she adds *or?*, which can be identified as an appeal for affirmation by its rising intonation. Indeed, S1 immediately negates the assumption, also providing further details about the situation. Despite the non-standard form of the tag question, S2's appeal appears to be straightforward to her interlocutor and prompts the desired reaction. The tag fulfils its pragmatic function.

Overall, there are twenty-five marked (*or*? [17 occurrences/produced by 7 different speakers], *no?* [6/4], *yes?* [1/1] and *aren't?* [1/1]) and three unmarked (*isn't it?* [2/2]*, aren't there?* [1/1]) usages of tags produced by different ELF speakers in my data. Based on the recordings, it could be argued, thus, that there is a tendency in ELF to create and use non-standard tags rather than *isn't it?*.[28] It seems promising to investigate this feature in future corpus analyses.[29]

What needs to be taken into consideration is that innovative language use in general and simplification processes in particular do not only take place in ELF. "None of the features [...] is of course exclusive to ELF" (Dewey 2007: 178). As regards all-purpose, non-concord tags, *isn't it?* and *innit*? have become quite common in diverse ENL varieties (cf. Krug 1998: 171; Jenkins 2006: 143) as well as in the New Englishes (cf. Kortmann & Schneider 2006). All-purpose *eh?* in Canadian English (cf. Fee & McAlpine 1997: 177) seems comparable to the *or?* and *no?* tags in my data. No matter if *or?/no?* or *isn't it?*, against the backdrop of other English repertoires, the tendency towards universal tags is a normal development, which might even point to language change being in progress. As Krug (1998: 147-8) explains, "it seems not unlikely that standard English, too, will develop a simpler system of tags".

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[28] Mollin (cf. 2006: 136-138) reports that there could be a loss of tags altogether in ELF as they do not feature in her data. I do not share this view. In a comparison to NS language use, the 28 occurrences of tags in my data (approx. 50.000 words) are less than a quarter of the occurrences in British English (spoken part of the *British National Corpus*: 119 tags/50.000 words) but still more than those in American English (*Longman Spoken American Corpus*: 23 tags/50.000 words) (for the numbers cf. Tottie & Hoffmann 2006: 287). Whereas question tags serve three main purposes in ENL, namely 'informational', 'confirmatory' and 'attitudinal' (Tottie & Hoffmann 2006: 300), the ELF speakers in my data seem to use them almost exclusively in the confirmatory function. As the negotiation of meaning, which frequently involves tags, is an essential process in ELF, it can be expected that ELF speakers do feel the need to use and do in fact use tags.

[29] According to initial observations by the VOICE team (personal communication) the ELF speakers might also use *huh?* as an all-purpose tag.

This, again, sustains the approach of regarding the lexicogrammatical features in ELF as 'innovations' rather than 'errors'.[30]

One special tag usage in my data seems especially interesting to investigate in the light of a gradual movement towards universal or all-purpose tags. In the following extract S1 (L1=German) enquires whether S2 (L1=Spanish) has moved to another flat. In an attempt to ask for reassurance she employs the construction *aren't?*.

Extract 7:

> S1: <6> AH </6> you moved (.) aren't?=
> S2: =yeah (.) i moved and now i'm living near (.) the university

In contrast to the standard concord tag *didn't you?*, the production of *aren't?* might seem rather random at first glance. Indeed, S1 herself displays insecurity about the form by stopping mid-sentence and not finishing with 'you'. As regards the main criterion in ELF talk, namely mutual intelligibility, the 'deviant' form does not cause any communicative troubles. According to Krug (1998: 164), non-standard tags like *innit*? express:

> *'Don't bother about the structure of what I have said. You know what I mean and now it's your turn: please tell me at least whether you are still with me or, what would be more welcome, whether you agree or not, and if you feel like it, give your opinion on this issue.'*

This kind of message appears to be successfully conveyed in the case of extract 7. S2 reacts immediately and seems very eager to confirm the interlocutor's assumption.

In reconsideration, the construction *aren't?* could be interpreted as a hybrid form on an intermediate stage between a concord and an all-purpose tag. On the one hand, it contains elements which would be necessary to establish a standard form. Above all, by using the verb in the second person singular it refers back to the subject *you*. Concord in person and number is given. Moreover, it represents a negative construction with the rising intonation of a question. On the other hand, as a form of 'to be', it can be differentiated from the all-purpose tag *isn't it?* by only one constituent, namely second person. The intermediate situation given in the case of *aren't?*

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[30] Dewey (2007: 221) points to the fact that some linguistic items are predestined to undergo change. Considering the wide-spread nature of the phenomenon, the simplification of tags seems to belong to this category.

seems comparable to the gradual development towards tag simplification currently taking place in some English varieties as reported by Krug (cf. 1998: 157-171). Whether the phenomenon in my data is only an exceptional case or whether it is common in ELF can only be revealed with reference to more data. What has become obvious, however, is the fact that there is no need for tags to be 'correct' in standard English terms to be effective in an ELF interaction. Be it universal tags like *or?* or 'marked' forms like *aren't?*, they still contain sufficient semantic and intonational elements to make their message clear. From this point of view, one could even consider these phenomena as exploiting redundancy.

6.2. *Moving and mingling* – 'Incorrect constructions' in a multilingual context

The communicative processes taking place in ELF cannot be viewed in isolation. The preceding examples have revealed that the forms emerging in ELF are not unlike those in other English varieties. Apart from parallel developments in various Englishes, it is the immediate environment of ELF, namely its multilingual context, which is a crucial factor of influence. As Jenkins (2007a: 18) highlights,

> *an international lingua franca cannot divorce itself from the world's linguistic situation, and [...] ELF researchers (and speakers) should never lose sight of the importance of all languages as well as all varieties of English.*

ELF, by implication, is a phenomenon arising from and within a multilingual framework. The diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds of the ELF users and their effects on their linguistic behaviour have to be taken into consideration in ELF research. Indeed, such aspects are currently the main focus of a Vienna-based research team forming part of the European Union's sixth framework programme project DYLAN (Language dynamics and management of diversity). Here, the main aim is to "investigate the linguistic and communicative changes that affect English as a lingua franca under increasing interaction with other languages in multilingual practices" (DYLAN website). The data analysed for the present study reveal some potential tendencies which call for further investigations in the future.

*   *Multilingual influence as 'sense-maker'*

It has already been pointed out that creativity plays a role in ELF language usage. Manifestations of this are frequently related to cross-linguistic

influence. With their shared NNS/multilingual status, the ELF speakers frequently have a similar approach to the language. Thus, it might rather be an advantage for mutual intelligibility that the language is applied in a less normative way than it would be as a native tongue. As Firth and Wagner (1997: 290) put it, speakers in ELF "rely upon the nonnative status as a resource for sense-making".[31] A special case of beneficial cross-linguistic influence and common NNS status is represented by extract 8. The interactants (S1: L1=Spanish, S2: L1=German) are discussing Spanish history.

Extract 8:

> S2: =yeah because we have had a <pvc> dictature </pvc>
>   for (.) forty years and (.) you know how the dicta- dictators
>   transformed reality and (.) the <un> xxx </un>
> S1: okay (.) it's it's a: <pvc> relict </pvc> from the (.) er from
>   the past?
> S2: yeah

S2 introduces the expression *dictature* for referring to the concept 'dictatorship'. The coinage might have come about because of its close resemblance to the respective term in his mother tongue, namely *dictadura*. The construction *dictature* is produced as a coinage due to influences of L1 morphological structures, but is nevertheless formed in accordance with the English morphological rules. As the term is not part of the standard English varieties' lexicon, it could be regarded as being based on resources from the virtual language English. Comparing the three languages involved in this speaker constellation, Spanish and German as L1s and English as the common language, it becomes obvious that the two mother tongue forms, *dictadura* and *Diktatur,* are more similar to each other than to the English form. It could thus be argued that the use of the coinage *dictature* may even bring about faster understanding on S1's part than *dictatorship* would do. The passage shows how parallel structures of the individual L1s can be exploited to create novel mutually intelligible expressions.

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[31] This seems related to the 'interlanguage speech intelligibility benefit' described by Bent and Bradlow (2003).

*   *Multilingual influence as a 'true friend'*

ELF users as multilingual individuals activate the various linguistic repertoires at their disposal simultaneously while interacting. This involves weighing terms in various language repertoires against each other and 'transferring' them based on 'perceived similarity' (cf. Ringbom 2006: 36). The fact that similarity is perceived in form does not necessarily mean, however, that there is correspondence in meaning. Words with such a relationship are known as 'false friends' (cf. Odlin 1989: 77-79) in SLA. The activation of a 'false friend', mainly from the L1, is considered "notorious" (ibid.: 78) and an error without exception in traditional EFL. In ELF, with "the nonnative status as a resource" (Firth & Wagner 1997: 290), this linguistic behaviour is not conceived as negative as long as it does not cause communicative trouble. It is possible that the speakers share the same perspective towards a 'false friend', i.e. that it carries the same meaning in their mental lexicons. Consider the following example. The interactants (S1: L1=German, S2: L1=Italian, S4: L1=Greek) are looking for a particular location.

Extract 9:

> S1: <2> so it's some</2>where here (1) you have to look at the streets
> S2: quite far from here?
> S1: no (.) it's not THAT far (2) e:rm=
> S4: =here on my card (1) sixteenth
> S1: sixth (1) er district
> S2: sixth?
> S1: mhm

In employing the term *card* for the concept 'map', S4 uses a 'false friend'. Here, however, this usage could be influenced by both the speaker's L1 Greek as well as her chosen LN German, as both Greek *chartis* and German *Karte* resemble the expression *card* and carry the meaning 'map'. With two languages in S4's repertoire – one being her mother tongue and one a foreign language she is eager to improve during her stay in Austria – involving similar terms, the selection of *card* could be seen as a reinforced option for the speaker. It becomes obvious that it does not always have to be the interactant's L1 only which exerts cross-linguistic influence, but that any language aspect in the multilingual repertoire can have such an effect. In extract 9, neither of the interlocutors experience communicative trouble.

Apart from the actual map serving as a strong contextual cue, this might also be due to the constellation of the speakers, all of whom appear to have the same perspective towards the word *map*. S4 can activate Greek *chartis* and German *Karte*, which S1 can also connect to, whereas S2 has Italian *carta* in her repertoire.[32] From this point of view, *card* does not seem a semantically inappropriate word in this particular interaction any more. ELF users as multilingual individuals are 'multi-competent' (cf. Cook 2002: 10). Cook (ibid.: 18) describes that the language systems in the minds of multilinguals cannot be separated, but constitute an "integration continuum". The notion of transfer, thus, needs to be reconsidered.

'False friends' can become 'true' ones in ELF talk.[33] This implies that the categories of 'negative transfer', i.e. interference, and 'positive transfer', i.e. "the facilitating influence of cognate vocabulary" (Odlin 1989: 26), need to be shifted. Here, 'perceived' similarity can be the basis of the development of actual similarity.

*   *Multilingual influence as 'emergent co-occurrence'*

As early as 1982, Ferguson recognised that the 'false friends' phenomenon does not always apply in a European multilingual context. He reported the appearance of special linguistic features in ELF which he calls "continental" (Ferguson 1982: x). The fact that most European languages, and thus the ELF users' L1s, are related to some extent contributes to the appearance of those features. They are "at variance with the English of England but shared by other speakers" (ibid: x).[34] This might not only concern a shift in the meaning of words, but can also affect the relations between them. Extract 10 contains such a case of an 'unusual' co-occurrence of words which seems to be triggered by cross-linguistic influence.[35] The interactants (S1: L1=German, S2: L1=Spanish) are discussing S2's being ill.

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[32] This seems related to intercomprehension research (cf. Klein & Rutke 2004), which is based on similarities in language families. As my example refers to parallels across language families, it would be interesting whether intercomprehension is also relevant in this case.

[33] For similar cases see Hülmbauer (2006: 104-105).

[34] Interestingly, the only features which Mollin (2006: 155) concedes potential of 'nativization' in ELF, namely the use of *eventual* in the sense of 'possible' and *possibility* in the sense of 'opportunity', belong to this category.

[35] Note also the use of *or?* as a tag.

Extract 10:

> S2: it seems to be that it seems to be that i'm not ill but (.) this is a very
>   good question (1) you mean which kind of illness illness
>   (1) physical or psychical illness illness
> S1: ILLNESS
> S2: illness
> S1: illness erm (.) i don't know (1) are you are you suffering from both or?

In the course of the interaction, S2 feels the need to distinguish between physical and mental types of illness. Instead of the term *mental*, which appears frequently with *physical* and would be its most obvious antonym in ENL,[36] nevertheless, he uses *psychical*. This is most probably due to the fact that the Spanish equivalent of English *mental* is represented by the term *psìquico*. From his point of view, thus, the combination of *physical* and *psychical* as a contrasting pair might seem to be the most straightforward one. Taking a look at the further development of the interaction, it becomes obvious that this novel co-occurrence does not cause any confusion on S1's part; it might even appear natural to her as well. Again, the speakers' multilingual status plays a crucial role. As German also contains a similar pair of antonyms, namely *psychisch-physisch*, S1 can easily relate to her interlocutor's usage. What seems to be confusing is S2's pronunciation of the word *illness*. As soon as this point is clarified, S1 explicitly refers to the dichotomy established by S2. This becomes particularly obvious through the word *both*. The communicative smoothness is surely fostered by the fact that the concept under consideration is referred to by very similar terms in the interactants' L1s. The example thus illustrates that not only could less frequent items become more frequently used in ELF contexts, but that there could be new combinations between them as well. Dewey (2007: 152) remarks that "[t]here are a number of [...] candidates for the category of *emergent collocation*" in ELF talk. Similarly, it could be argued that the co-occurrence of words is changing in ELF with formerly infrequent combinations becoming 'emergent co-occurrences'.

The examples discussed in this section are all based on favourable speaker constellations as regards parallels in L1s. They only represent a first step in investigating ways of concerted exploitation of the multilingual resources available to the ELF users. Modiano (2001: 68), for example, predicts a

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[36] See e.g. *physical* in the *Oxford Dictionary of English* which gives as the first example of usage "*a range of physical and mental challenges*" (Soanes & Stevenson 2005: 1328).

process he refers to as 'discoursal nativization' in which innovative constructions are first "only fully understood by people who have knowledge of the language from which the expression originates". One might add that there could also be constructions which match several L1 or LN items at the same time. With these constructions more and more being used, they could eventually become generally accepted among the ELF users. This might even motivate English NSs to use particular expressions in the 'continental' instead of the 'original' way one day, when they are communicating in an ELF context. All these aspects call for close observation in the framework of ELF research. As Seidlhofer (2007: 148) puts it, "the most crucial concern for [...] English in Europe in the 21st century will be to understand how English functions in relation to other languages".

To sum up, the potential patterns emerging in ELF all seem effective in communication despite, or even because of, their 'marked' character. What appeared to be randomly produced 'errors' at first glance turned out to "exemplify syntactic patterns and semantic properties more consistently than some of the standard ENL forms they were replacing" (Dewey 2007: 9).

7. *Moving the clocks ahead* – Implications for the future of ELF

As illustrated in the analysis, potential tendencies and novel features occurring in ELF turn out to be systematic and valuable means of communication rather than 'errors' as soon as they are reconsidered in their special ELF context. In the processes taking place neither do simplification strategies mean "less sophisticated" (Dewey 2007: 215) language use, nor can creative acts be considered 'too daring' only because of the ELF users' non-native status. Rather, they appear as perfectly straightforward developments in ELF emerging from novel constellations of factors such as the common NNS status and flexibility in language use, the global dimensions of communication and mobility or the multilingual environment and diverse speaker constellations.

It has become obvious that the relationship between established notions of correctness and effectiveness is not as straightforward in ELF contexts as it used to be in its original frameworks. As "a phenomenon without precedent, [ELF] does not fit neatly into pre-existing categories on the tired old dichotomy of native/nonnative Englishes" (Jenkins 2007b: 414). The study at hand represents an initial attempt of pointing to conceptual inconsistencies which arise when ELF is evaluated according to traditional SLA and ELT categories. This implies that, with the move of English to global multilingual

contexts, not only are models like Kachru's three concentric circles outdated (cf. Yano 2001: 121-122; Singh *et al.* 1998: 47-48), but also locally defined concepts such as 'variety' and 'community' need to be reconsidered in the light of the global dimensions of the use of English (cf. Seidlhofer in press; Ranta 2006: 96; House 2003: 572). In the current communicative situations it often seems more appropriate to refer to 'flexible language repertoires' and 'communities of practice' (cf. Wenger 2004).

As regards future guidelines for ELF users based on description of the language, it appears that both prescription as one and an 'anything goes' principle as the other extreme are undesirable options. Highlighting specific ELF strategies and features, by taking into account virtual as well as multilingual resources, should rather serve to raise awareness regarding ways of how to best establish effective communication between lingua franca users of a language (cf. Seidlhofer 2007: 147). As Ranta (2006: 96) remarks, we should "re-allocate the time spent on 'cramming' [ENL] features and shift our focus on features which do require honing from the point of view of intelligibility".

It is hoped that the preliminary findings in the field of ELF research can soon be checked and substantiated by large-scale corpus data. This could eventually trigger a move in perspectives and initiate the "huge psychological shift" (Jenkins 2007a: 123) it takes for both active users and passive observers of ELF to accept it not only as a functional tool for NNS interactions, but as an elaborate linguistic repertoire for the multilingual individuals of the 21st century who move and communicate across nation, culture and language borders.

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'Mind you, sometimes you have to mix' – The role of code-switching in English as a lingua franca

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1. Introduction

Although they might not be experts on linguistics or English as a lingua franca (ELF), it sometimes seems that ELF speakers hit the nail on the head when commenting on their use of English. *Mind you, sometimes you have to mix* – a rather bold statement an ELF speaker makes so accurately. However, it is a true one and it is the aim of this paper to show just that.

Much has been written about the mixing and switching of languages in different fields of research and from different viewpoints. Most obviously this concerns the study of bilingualism, but also the field of language learning or the study of culture and identity. As different as these approaches to code-switching may be, what they have in common is that they each look at the involvement, influence and/or relation of two or more languages. Considering this, it seems a little ironic that code-switching in ELF has not received more attention up to this point, as ELF – "an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages" (Seidlhofer 2001: 146) – per definition, involves (at least) two languages: one's first language as well as English.

In the past few years, research into ELF has grown considerably, involving a number of case studies conducted on several linguistic levels of description. So far these have concentrated on various lexicogrammatical and pragmatic aspects of ELF, such as the relation of lexicogrammatical correctness and communicative effectiveness (Hülmbauer, this issue), the role of pauses in business interactions (Böhringer 2007), the role of repetition (Lichtkoppler 2007), phatic communion (Kordon 2006), the redundancy of the 'third-person-*s*' (Breiteneder 2005), and types of miscommunication in

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business contexts (Pitzl 2005), to mention but a few. So far, however, little has been said about the use and role of other languages in ELF. Exceptions in this respect are Meierkord (2002), who discusses verbal manifestations of culture in ELF interactions, and Pölzl (2003 and 2005), who explores the role of code-switching as a means of expressing cultural membership. More recently, Pölzl and Seidlhofer (2006) show how ELF users integrate their first language communicative norms into ELF conversations, and Cogo and Dewey (2006) report on code-switching as a pragmatic strategy in ELF interactions.

Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006: 21) stress that "[a]t this stage […] there is an urgent need for significantly more qualitative studies to be conducted, the data from which can then be incorporated into emerging larger corpora of ELF". It is thus the aim of this paper to contribute to the description of ELF by shedding some light on the use of other languages in ELF talk. The basis is a qualitative analysis[1] of eight workshop and working group discussions of speakers from a variety of European language backgrounds, all of whom use English successfully as their only common means of communication. The objective was to investigate the role of code-switching in naturally occurring ELF talk. After a brief overview of different approaches to code-switching, I will illustrate its functions in ELF talk with examples from my data. By comparing my findings with the VOICE corpus – the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English –, I will check in how far it really holds true that 'you sometimes have to mix' in ELF.

2. Approaching code-switching

Most of the research concerning code-switching refers to bilingual speech communities with two or more languages in more or less regular contact.[2] ELF contexts, however, are not permanent communities but ad hoc groupings of speakers. The speakers' levels of proficiency in English may vary, but since equal competence in both languages is not a prerequisite for bilingualism[3], I assume ELF speakers to be bilingual, if not multilingual, in

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[1] This study is based on my M.A. thesis (see Klimpfinger 2005).

[2] Such studies are referred to e.g. in Hoffmann (1991: 109f., 176) and Myers-Scotton (1993: 45-51).

[3] Concerning the definition of bilingualism, some researchers have formulated a narrow definition, regarding the native-like control of two or more languages as a prerequisite (cf. Haugen 1956: 9f, 75-78 and Weinreich 1970 [1953]: 75). Later and more recent views have moved away from the notion 'two monolinguals in one' towards a broad definition along a continuum governed by the concept 'more than one' (cf. Mackey 1968: 554ff.). For a discussion of different levels of proficiency see also Hoffmann (1991: 176).

English, their respective first language (L1), and other languages (LN). Since more than two languages are present in ELF contact situations, code-switching involving all of these languages (English, different L1s, as well as different LNs) is possible. By looking at the instances of code-switching in my data and the various theoretical explanations for code-switching concerning the study of bilingualism, the field of language learning, and the study of culture and identity, the following four functions have crystallised as useful and will be discussed in detail in section 5:

- specifying an addressee
- appealing for assistance
- introducing another idea
- signalling culture

Code-switching looks back on a long tradition of research, with studies going back to the early 50ies of the last century (cf. e.g. Haugen 1956 and Weinreich 1970 [1953]).[4] Since then the phenomenon has undergone a conceptual shift from being stigmatised as "part of the performance of the *imperfect* bilingual" (Myers-Scotton 1993: 47, emphasis added) who is not able to keep the two languages apart (cf. Haugen 1956: 11) to today's perception of code-switching as the creative manifestation of bilingual speech behaviour, which is similar to shifts in styles and varieties among monolinguals (cf. e.g. Hoffmann 1991). Generally, a distinction is made between 'code-switching', 'code-mixing', and 'borrowing', referring to the integration of items in one language into sentences, utterances, or interactions in another language. However, as this analysis does not focus on the conceptual differences between the three, the term 'code-switching' will be used to cover all such instances of other-language use in the ELF context, be it a single word or a longer stretch of talk.[5]

But why do people switch codes at all? Gumperz (1982: 75-81), who focuses on studies at the micro-level, stresses code-switching as discourse strategy and comes up with a list of six functions code-switching serves: quotation marking, addressee specification, interjections, reiterations, message qualification, and personalization vs. objectivization. Appel and Muysken (1995) suggest six similar, partly overlapping functions of code-

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[4] For a detailed account of the phenomenon of code-switching in older periods of the English language see Schendl (e.g. 2002 and 2004).

[5] For more information on the differences of code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing, as well as other related phenomena see e.g. Gumperz (1982), Hoffmann (1991), Appel and Muysken (1995) and Romaine (2001).

switching:[6] the referential, the directive/integrative, the expressive, the phatic, the metalinguistic, and the poetic function. When analysing my data, these functions – especially the 'directive/integrative function' (Appel & Muysken 1995) or 'addressee specification' (Gumperz 1982: 75f.) and the 'referential function' (Appel & Muysken 1995) – proved to be useful. They do not only account for the majority of the switches I identified, but also emphasise the users of ELF as bilingual speakers. As will be shown in the analysis, ELF speakers use code-switching to direct their speech to a specific addressee to invite her/him to participate in the conversation, in short for *specifying an addressee*. They also resort to code-switching to imply that the language switched into is more appropriate to discuss a particular subject, this way *introducing another idea* by code-switching. However, I deemed it important to also include other perspectives of code-switching in my analysis in order to be able to explain code-switching in ELF adequately.

One such field of research where language switching plays a vital role is that of communication strategies. Communication strategies – the "mutual attempt of two interlocutors to agree on a meaning in situations where requisite meaning structures do not seem to be shared" (Tarone 1984: 65)[7] – have traditionally been linked to the L2 learning context exclusively. More recent research also includes native speakers and extends its investigation beyond L2 usage (cf. Bialystok 1990: 4). Even the prominent ties to language problems have been abandoned in favour of the idea that a communication strategy enhances the effectiveness of communication "in the absence of problematicity" (Bialystok 1990: 4). In the light of these findings, Hübner (2003: 25f.) – by looking at communication strategies in casual ELF conversations between international students of German – proposes that some of the ELF speakers

> *might even regard the use of a communication strategy [...] not as a solution to a problem but rather as an [...] alternative way to reach a certain communicative goal and thus successfully convey one's thought.*

Two such strategies that involve the use of another language are the 'language switch' – ranging from single words up to whole utterances – and the 'appeal to authority' – ranging from indirect, implicit ones (indicated e.g. by rising intonation) to direct, explicit ones (indicated e.g. by asking for the missing

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[6] Appel and Muysken's (1995) functions are based on Jacobson's (1960) six functions of language, i.e. the referential, emotive, conative, phatic, metalingual, and the poetic one.

[7] For a detailed discussion of the definition of communication strategies see the first part of Færch and Kasper (1983) and for a summary of definitions see Hübner (2003: 12-16).

term/phrase or if a used form is correct, by repeating the non-understood phrase, and/or by meta-linguistic comments) (cf. Færch & Kasper 1983). Considering these strategies, one will find certain similarities to e.g. the referential function or the functions of metalinguistic comments and message qualification mentioned above. As will be exemplified with extracts from my data, ELF speakers use code-switching as a communication strategy when *appealing for assistance*.

Another field of research that deserves attention when analysing code-switching in ELF is the relationship between language and culture; relationship in the sense that language constitutes an integral part of culture and consequently one's identity. In the context of ELF research

> *[i]t has long been recognized – in principle if not in practice – that when learning and speaking English as a lingua franca, its users are not required to adopt the culture(s) associated with English as a native language. They have to know the code sufficiently [...] to manage successful and effective communication across cultures (Pölzl & Seidlhofer 2006: 153).*

This implies that ELF speakers use English as a language of communication, displaying expertise in a code that is not their L1, whereas their language of identification, the language they are bound to by loyalty or birth, is another one, usually their L1 (cf. Hüllen 1992). In ELF talk a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds along with their norms are involved and speakers are usually not always familiar with their interlocutors' L1s. As standard linguistic rules for ELF do not exist and interlocutors may show different levels of proficiency in English, speakers are engaged, at least at the subconscious level, in a process of negotiation of norms and signs and may have to deal with unexpected situations. Hence "it might seem reasonable to argue that this process implies the construction of a new inter-culture" (Meierkord 2002: 120) – an inter-culture that is created together with the other ELF speakers in every ELF situation anew, parallel to each one's individual primary culture, and always allowing speakers, consciously or unconsciously, to blend in their L1 or another LN to emphasise their membership of different groups.[8]

As examples of my data suggest, *signalling culture* in ELF may be performed in two ways: Speakers may switch to another language to implicitly give a linguistic emblem of this culture, or they may switch to explicitly refer to concepts associated with a specific culture. The first type of switches is called 'emblematic switches' and refers to tags, exclamations,

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[8] For a detailed description of the role of attitudes and identity in ELF see Jenkins (2007).

pause fillers, or function words (e.g. conjunctions or affirmatives) in one language that are inserted in an utterance of another language. Since there is no need for syntactic adjustment to the rest of the utterance, they are usually fitted in easily. In most cases they happen unintentionally and pass almost unnoticed as they do not carry much significance with regard to message content. In contrast to that, the second type of switches, i.e. references to cultural concepts, stresses the named elements as a signal of cultural identity and group membership – be it a city or an expression used for greeting. As has been indicated, in both cases speakers may choose to switch into their L1 or into any other language available to them. Switches into one's L1 may display the respective speakers' linguistic and cultural background and the wish to affirm their unique status in the ELF group. Switches into one's LN, on the other hand, may indicate a special bond to another language or culture e.g. of one's work environment. Using code-switching in such a way of personalising the language of communication can be compared to the expressive function and the personalization function, which explain code-switching as a means of expressing one's bilingual identity (cf. Appel & Muysken 1995, Gumperz 1982; see above).

So far, a number of categories and explanations for code-switching coming from a variety of different perspectives have been proposed, the four functions, specifying an addressee, appealing for assistance, introducing another idea, and signalling culture, having emerged as the most suitable ones when analysing my data. As has already been indicated above, they interact and partly overlap. Other categories, however, do not seem to be suitable for the present analysis at all. Similarly, some instances of code-switching that I identified in my data can be assigned to one of the four categories relatively easily, while others seem to fit more than one scheme. By illustrating the four functions with examples of my data in section 5, it is the purpose of this analysis to show a spectrum of the wide scope of code-switching in ELF. But beforehand I will give a short quantitative overview by looking at instances of code-switching in the VOICE corpus.

3. Code-switching in ELF: the VOICE corpus

VOICE, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English, is the first general corpus of spoken ELF and, at the moment, comprises 117 fully transcribed speech events equalling about 90 hours of recording. The elements uttered in a language other than English are marked by tags, differentiating between a speaker's first language (L1), a language that is neither English nor the speaker's first language (LN), and a language where it

is unknown whether this is the speaker's first language or another one s/he knows (LQ). This way it is relatively easy to search for foreign language elements in the corpus already at this stage.

Conducting my research I resorted to those 52 speech events of VOICE that have been checked and converted into xml. By using Xaira,[9] an xml-based analysing software tool, 1542 instances of code-switching could be identified, 845 into speakers' L1s, 678 into speakers' LNs, as well as 19 instances where it is not clear whether it is a speaker's L1 or LN. The following table breaks down these numbers and gives the languages being switched into.

Table 1: The 1542 instances of code-switching in the VOICE Corpus according to languages switched into

language switched into	number of instances	language switched into	number of instances
German	1057	Bulgarian	6
French	127	Czech	6
Maltese	86	Romanian	5
Korean	61	Portuguese	3
Italian	49	Japanese	3
Arabic	37	Polish	2
Spanish	38	Finish	2
unknown[10]	17	Chinese	1
Dutch	12	Turkish	1
Lithuanian	11	Hungarian	1
Moldavian	8	Danish	1
Serbian	8		

This table shows the great variety of languages ELF speakers in VOICE switch into. At the same time it has to be pointed out that working with a corpus must always also include the careful evaluation of the output one is presented with. As can be seen in Table 1, a clear majority of switches in VOICE are into German. This, however, does not mean that German is the language ELF speakers prefer to switch into. Rather, we are faced with an inevitable over-representation of German speakers in the corpus, something

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[9] XAIRA (XML Aware Indexing and Retrieval Architecture) is the new version of a text searching software that was originally developed at the Oxford University Computing Services to be used with the British National Corpus in 1994. It is a general purpose tool for searching large XML corpora and is best used with TEI-conformant documents (cf. http://www.oucs.ox.ac.uk/rts/xaira/).

[10] Due to the researchers' own limited language knowledge, it is sometimes impossible to determine a language with certainty.

that can hardly be prevented, given the fact that the VOICE project is located in Vienna and has limited financial resources. In order to be able to infer any generalisations from the numbers presented in the table, it would therefore be necessary to look more closely at the distribution of speaker's first languages and also types of speech events in the VOICE corpus. At the same time such first results show the potential and also the need for further research into this area.

In this respect, Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006: 21) stress the importance of qualitative studies before generalisations can be made and point out that at the current stage

> *it is advisable to be tentative and circumspect and to proceed by way of clearly situated qualitative studies with a strong ethnographic element. As more qualitative, hypothesis-forming findings begin to emerge, it will become possible to introduce more controlled, quantitative procedures.*

The remainder of the paper at hand constitutes one such qualitative analysis and considers the phenomenon of code-switching in ELF in eight speech events in greater detail. The total number of code-switches occurring in these eight speech events is 104, of which 50 are into speakers' L1s. 34 of these are into French, 6 into Czech, 5 into German, 4 into Italian, and one into Spanish. The other 54 switches are into speakers' LNs and involve 32 switches into French, 17 into German, 3 into Dutch, one into Polish, and one into Spanish. Interestingly, and in contrast to the results of VOICE, slightly more switches are into speakers' LNs, which might be interpreted in terms of the setting of the selected data.[11]

4. The data

Before going into detail with the analysis of my data, the following section will provide the reader with a description of my data and also background information about methodological issues I encountered in the course of my empirical research.

When setting out to search for ELF data, I did so also with the aim of contributing to VOICE. Following the principles of VOICE (cf. Breiteneder, Pitzl, Majewski and Klimpfinger 2006: 164f.), I wanted to get hold of ELF conversations that are spoken and unplanned, i.e. without scripted preparations. Furthermore, the data should also be interactive and naturally

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[11] Interesting in this respect would also be further investigations into the role of the presence of English native speakers.

occurring, i.e. I was looking for interactions that would have "happened anyway, whether or not a researcher was around to record it" (Cameron 2001: 20). The data I was thus able to collect consists of 12 hours of recorded conversations – six workshop discussions and two working group discussions which were recorded at a conference in Vienna in July 2004.[12] The two working group discussions – each of them lasting about two hours – are fully transcribed, whereas in the case of the workshop discussions the transcriptions are restricted to those parts where instances of code-switching could be detected.

Representing their respective universities or agencies, the 50 participants were members of an institutional academic inter-university network with the aim of implementing the Bologna process by promoting academic excellence, integration and co-operation between member universities throughout Europe. The two-day conference constituted their first meeting with the aim of exchanging ideas, problems and experiences as regards the Bologna process at their universities as well as the development of a working programme within the network. The first day of the conference was dedicated to the presentation and discussion of the status-quo reports of the respective universities; the second day focused on interactions of smaller groups in two working group discussions.

As already indicated, the speakers were academics representing different European institutions and universities. In this sense, they acted out their professional roles as members of the network. Given the specialised content of the interactions, the data is transactional in nature, i.e. participants were goal-oriented as regards the agenda and primarily exchanging information. Since it was the first meeting of this kind, not all participants had known each other in person. The number of participants varied: a main group of about 30 people was present all the time, presented their reports and actively took part in the working group discussions on the second day, whereas another 20 people joined the conference as an audience only for the first day. The primary cultures and first languages represented in my data are Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch (B), Estonian, Finnish, French (B), French (CH), French (F), German (A), German (D), Greek, Italian, Latvian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Slovenian, Slovak, Spanish, and Swedish. As can be seen, the participants came from diverse linguacultural backgrounds and had to use ELF as their common language of communication. All of the speakers hold a university degree and the majority of them was involved in teaching and/or

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[12] The two working group discussions were incorporated into the VOICE corpus, whereas the six workshop discussions were not, as they turned out not to sufficiently fulfil the criterion of interactivity.

research. They all had received formal instruction in English and, due to the circumstances of being in an international committee, used it on a regular basis for communication with their international colleagues.

After the collection of my data, I was faced with the process of transcription, which, a time- and labour-intensive task in itself, already constitutes the first stage of analysis and interpretation when analysing spoken language data (cf. Cameron 2001: 43). As researchers working with spoken data know very well, transcribing spoken language is a challenging task, even more so in the case of ELF, where it takes an additional effort not to transcribe what you think you hear, but to represent what you really do hear (cf. Breiteneder, Pitzl, Majewski and Klimpfinger 2006: 172).[13] In this respect it is important to keep in mind that the actual process of transcribing is affected by the subjective perception of the person doing the transcription. This may result in utterances being unintelligible to one researcher which would be easily understandable to another one.[14] This also holds true for the identification of code-switches. The VOICE Transcription Conventions [2.1], according to which the data were transcribed, state that "[u]tterances in a participant's first language (L1) are put between tags indicating the speaker's L1" and that "[u]tterances in languages which are neither English nor the speaker's first language are marked LN with the language indicated" (VOICE Transcription Conventions [2.1]). This sounds rather straightforward, but nonetheless involves tricky instances where it is not clear whether a word uttered by an ELF speaker constitutes a switch or not. I experienced this dilemma especially with terms denoting special cultural concepts, names of persons, or places. Although the transcriber is sometimes forced to make decisions which are "perhaps not a 100 per cent accurate reflection of the reality contained in the data" (McEnery & Wilson 1997: 63), in some circumstances leading to a certain idealisation, such classifications are important for the statistical purposes of corpus analysis. Indeed, it is more desirable to attempt to deal with code-switching in ELF in such a way than to ignore what turned out to be an intrinsic and repeatedly occurring ELF element.

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[13] For a detailed description of the challenges involved when dealing with the representation of spoken ELF see Breiteneder, Pitzl, Majewski and Klimpfinger (2006: 171-183).

[14] This is exactly what my colleagues and I, working on the compilation of the VOICE corpus, have repeatedly experienced.

5. Analysing code-switching in ELF

When English is in regular contact with other languages, code-switching turns out to be a well-known phenomenon that has been described throughout the world (cf. Meierkord 2002). ELF situations, however, differ in so far as stable speech communities with regular language contact cannot be taken for granted. In addition, participants in ELF conversations come from a variety of language backgrounds and influences from all the different first languages can be expected to occur on different levels. Using English as their only common means of communication, speakers do not, by definition, share equal knowledge of each others' first languages. This is why it would seem unlikely that code-switching takes place in ELF interactions, and, indeed, its occurrence has so far not been reported as frequent.[15] However, a number of instances of code-switching, 104 to be precise, both into speakers' L1s but also LNs, can be found in my own data. This functional analysis at hand is based on a larger study; due to limits of space, only a selective portion of the broad area of code-switching will be presented with the aim of showing its diverse nature in ELF and its rich potential for further research. The four functions discussed here are thus not meant to be exhaustive.

* Specifying an addressee

One of the functions of code-switching in ELF can be identified as *specifying an addressee*. Code-switching is performed to direct one's speech to one specific addressee in contrast to the whole group, as can be seen in the follow example.

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[15] Meierkord (2002) explicitly mentions that she does not find her data to contain code-switches, with the exception of certain tags. Pölzl (2003 and 2005; cf. also Pölzl & Seidlhofer 2006), Hübner (2003), and Cogo and Dewey (2006), all of them investigating casual conversations, identify a number of code-switches in their data.

Extract 1:[16]

> S2 [French (B), f]: if you are interested er i let it <un> xx </un> and er via email
> send er er to you and=
> S3 [French (CH), f]: =<to S2> also the french version. </to S2>=
> S2: =<to S3> **<L1fr> oui oui oui oui oui** {yes} **</L1fr>** </to S3> <1> @@@@
> <@> of course <@> @@ @@@@ </1>
> SS: <1> @@@@@@@@@@@@ </1>

S2 has just finished her presentation on joint master programmes and suggests
sending the paper via e-mail to those who are interested, when S3, also
French, requests that also the French version of the paper should be made
available. Recognising S3 as a fellow native speaker of French, S2 switches
into their shared L1 to turn to S3 and answer the request with a repeated *oui*
'yes'. The immediacy of the answer is indicated by '=', the sign for
immediate other-continuation (cf. the VOICE Transcription Conventions
[2.1]). S2's switch is further encouraged by the actual mentioning of the term
french in S3's request. Following the switch, S2 starts to laugh, which is
joined in by her fellow participants. S2's laughter may indicate an apology for
having initiated a short dialogue with S3 in French, whereas the laughter on
the part of the co-participants seems to express acceptance concerning the
switch. This indicates that a switch, in this case also combined with laughter,
also serves the purpose of evoking social approval and decreasing social
distance (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993: 147), which is intensified by speakers
using the addressees' first names and/or titles, as exemplified in the following
extract.

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[16] All extracts of my data follow the VOICE Transcription Conventions [2.1] (see www.univie.ac.at/voice),
with the exception of the introduction of the speakers' first languages and gender in square brackets at
first appearance. Additionally, the instances of code-switching are written in bold letters for better
identification. L1 refers to a speaker's first language, LN refers to a language that is neither English nor
the speaker's first language, and LQ refers to a language where it is unknown whether this is the
speaker's first language or another one s/he knows. In curly brackets the translation of the switch, as far
as this can be provided, is given.

Extract 2:

> S1 [German (A), m]: er i will now (.) not start with the university of vienna because this would be (.) most impolite (1) h (.) e:rm (.) we will i we will do it last. (.) er but (.) maybe we could start with the **<LNfr> universite libre de bruxelles (.) ou bien (1) er monsieur le recteur ou bien [S32]** {free university of brussels either the rector or [32]} **</LNfr>** er again (2) very (1) much focused on (.) what (.) you would see as the three (1) the three major challenges er er in the (.) in the development of the process.[17]

S1, the chair of the conference, introduces the status-quo reports of the universities. To ask the two representatives of Brussels that are present to start with their report, S1 directly addresses the two French speakers by switching into their L1. Not only does he switch into the addressees' L1, which is his LN, S1 also uses the title, name, and the university name of his addressees to emphasise his friendly request, which, according to Myers-Scotton (1993: 147f.), shows the speaker's respect to the addressee. Besides creating mutual liking by accommodating to the addressee, this switch can also be interpreted in terms of the phatic function as creating atmosphere (cf. Appel & Muysken 1995).

* Appealing for assistance

Another type of switch that is distinguished rather easily is *appealing for assistance*. Appeals can be a risk-running enterprise in ELF interactions, as there is no guarantee that speakers of the same L1 or LN are present to assist. My data contains two such instances, one into the speaker's L1 and one into the speaker's LN. The following example features S2, a French speaker from Belgium, who turns to her Dutch-speaking colleague from Belgium for assistance.

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[17] Concerning the spelling of non-English words in the transcripts, the VOICE Spelling Conventions do not permit umlauts, diacritic or any non-roman characters (cf. VOICE Transcription Conventions [2.1]).

Extract 3:

> S2 [French (B), f]: er it start with er er e:rm (2) definition of what is er a joint er
> program. (2) er it could be (.) one (1) er study program (.) in com- er delivered in
> COmmon in the different er (.) institution or one program (.) conceived together and
> located in one's side. or or two programs interconnected (2) or (.) er <to S7> **<L1fr>**
> **consecutifs?** {consecutive} **</L1fr>** </to S7>
> S7 [Dutch, f]: <un> xx </un> consecutive
> S2: and consecutive. er (.) or one program with (.) a system of module (.) taken in
> another university.

When elaborating on the definition of a joint programme, S2 seems to lack the right word, an assumption which is indicated by the pauses and hesitation shortly before her switch. It appears that to her the fastest and in this situation also most effective way to achieve her intended communicative goal is to ask for the word. It might thus be argued that sometimes a switched appeal is employed strategically as an alternative way in order to enhance faster understanding (cf. Hübner 2003: 25f.). S2 therefore turns to S7, a fellow Belgian – even though a native speaker of Dutch – whom S2 knows to speak French and who sits next to her. This way an appeal can always be interpreted as specifying an addressee as well. With rising intonation she indicates the request, which S7 answers. Knowing that a number of French native speakers are present, one of her colleagues from Belgium even sitting next to her, S2 can switch into French without risking misunderstanding. What is characteristic of switched appeals in my data is that speakers, after having been helped with the missing word, repeat the word or phrase as if showing listenership (cf. Lichtkoppler 2007: 57f.) and indicating their acknowledgement of the help as well as recognition of the word.

* Introducing another idea

The following instances of code-switching can be said to be employed by a speaker in order to *introduce another idea*, this way implying that another language than English would be more appropriate to express the respective subject (cf. Appel & Muysken 1995). English is used as the speakers' language of communication in this situation but the speakers usually discuss these topics – even more so as it is the first such meeting – in another language, in most cases in their L1. This is why the speakers feel a strong correlation between the respective subject under discussion and this language (referred to as 'topic language' in the following), which may lead to code-switching (cf. Hoffmann 1991: 102ff. and Romaine 2001: 142f.). Since the

speakers in my data act as representatives of institutions, universities, or countries, they frequently refer to their background with pronouns (e.g. *I, we, us*), proper nouns (e.g. *French, Belgian*), or noun phrases (e.g. *the paper, my university*). These expressions help the listeners to identify the speaker as a representative, but also reinforce the link between topic and topic language, this way influencing, if not triggering the switch. In contrast to the instances of code-switching we have looked at so far, the following ones all involve a translation, a paraphrase, or an attempt to do so.

Extract 4:

> S23 [French (B), m]: and the last challenge is of course what do we do <un> xxx xxx </un> maybe more belgian and french which is **<L1fr> le troisieme cycle** {the third cycle} **</L1fr>** third cycle. er which were kind of sometimes very specific and sometime even mandatory to practise some <4> very</4> specific protectors. legally er er (1)
> S1 [German (A), m]: <4> mhm</4>
> S23: profession (.) er or also some program where money maker for university that be <un> xx </un> er (.) in the business school for example.
> S1: mhm
> S23: so what do we do with that? we have a (.) special characteristic. most of them have been killed. most of them have been told we have either to move to the doctorate formation or to master. we have kept some of them as (.) er (.) <u>we call them</u> **<L1fr> master complementaire** {additional master} **</L1fr>**
> SX-1: mhm
> S23: er additional master. there are a limited number and (.) er some of them are for er cooperation with third world countries.

S23, a French speaker from Belgium, talks about the challenges of implementing joint programmes. He stresses his position as a representative by frequently using the pronoun *we*, but also by directly mentioning his cultural/linguistic background: *belgian* and *french*. This might function as an even stronger trigger for the subsequent switches into his L1 (which is at the same time the topic language), but also allows for a classification of the switch as a signal of S23's culture. In both cases it does not seem as if S23 switches due to linguistic needs, as some might want to argue: there are hardly any hesitation signs, nor unusually many filler words preceding the switch. Additionally, both switches are immediately followed by a translation: *third cycle* and *additional master*. Rather it seems that the speaker wants to stress the character of the switch as a momentary borrowing in contrast to mere linguistic needs. This is intensified by the phrase preceding the second switch: *we call them* (underlined), which is what Cogo and Dewey (2006: 68) call a "key clue" that "provides a frame" for the listeners to pay attention to

what follows, interpret it appropriately, and "place it into context" (Cogo & Dewey 2006: 69). In my data three instances of such key clues can be found, as illustrated in the next example.

Extract 5:

> S4 [Portuguese, f]: er there are some some er papers er for the european community e:r with some sort of er rules and (legislation) for hh for e:rm groups (2)
> S1 [Swedish, m]: mhm (.)
> S4: bottom-<1>up </1> created e:r (.)
> S1: <1> mhm </1>
> S4: groups (.) <u>we call that</u> er **<LNde> vereine** {associations} **</LNde>** (2) maybe er someone from from <2> the group could (.) look </2> at this <3> e:r </3> er legislation.
> S1: <2> mhm mhm (.) wh- what </2>
> S1: <3> mhm </3>

Similar to the preceding example, we find a key clue (*we call that*) preceding a switch into the speaker's topic language. What is interesting in this case, however, is the fact that S4, a Portuguese speaker living and working in Austria, switches into German, which indicates that a topic language does not necessarily have to be the speaker's L1, but can also involve another language the speaker e.g. is obliged to use in her/his work environment, hence making this LN the preferred language to switch into. Speaking on behalf of her Austrian team and about a topic she usually deals with in German, S4 feels a strong link between the topic and her LN German. This illustrates that the interplay of languages in ELF is not bound to a speaker's first language and primary culture only; ELF speakers are part of a variety of cultures and thus have a number of languages at their disposal to switch into. This time the speaker provides the listeners with a paraphrase preceding the actual switch (*groups bottom-up created groups*), this way emphasising that the German word seems more appropriate in this context. For similar reasons, the same speaker performs a further switch a little later, when talking about the potential collaboration of different universities.

Extract 6:

> S4 [Portuguese, f]: again e:r again er also give another <@> case where we could offer the expertise that most probably does not exist elsewhere. </@>
> SS: <5> mhm yes </5>
> S4: <5> yeah. for example. </5> **<LNde> papyrologie** {papyrology} **</LNde>** we have <6> very </6>
> S1 [Swedish, m]: <6> what </6> what is that?
> S4: **<LNde> papy- </LNde>** @@ the <7> science studying </7> papyrus.
> S1: <7> mhm (.) of papers? </7>
> S3 [German (A), m]: of an- of ancient history. <1> the old e:r of <pvc> egypts {egyptians} </pvc> </1>
> S4: <1> <pvc> egypts {egyptians} </pvc> </1>
> SX: <2> yeah yeah </2>
> S1: <2> oh papyrus papyrus <@> i see. ha ha </@> </2> <3> of cou- </3>
> S4: <3> yah? </3>

Again we find the pronoun *we*, stressing S4's position as representative and creating the link to the German language she switches into shortly afterwards. The fact that the switched and the English words originate from the same foreign word, the English form *papyrology* being similar to the German one and even similar to the Swedish word for paper *papper*, would allow the assumption that the switch does not lead to communicative problems.[18] However, S1, the Swedish chairperson, does not understand what S4 means and requests clarification. This leads S4 to first attempt to repeat the term and then paraphrase it with *the science studying papyrus* (underlined), not without laughingly indicating an excuse for her switch. Although S1 has obviously understood the concept of the word when asking *of papers?*, the other speakers continue to explain its meaning with related concepts like *ancient history* and *the old egypts* until S1 signals understanding with *oh papyrus papyrus i see*. This sequence is also particularly interesting in the light of interactional work: it shows how ELF speakers cooperatively and successfully work together to negotiate meaning and non-understanding and achieve mutual understanding by collaborative overlaps and the joint construction of turns (cf. Seidlhofer 2001, 2002, Pitzl 2005).

Sometimes a switch initiates a sequence of switches and different functions of code-switching interact, as illustrated in the following example,

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[18] This assumption is confirmed by Hülmbauer (this issue), who reports on instances in her data where such similar language forms and concepts in different L1s lead to what is commonly referred to as 'erroneous' language use, which, however, positively influences and even enhances mutual understanding in ELF.

where S6, a French speaker from Belgium, switches into her L1 for a longer stretch of talk.

Extract 7:

> S6 [French, f]: […] you know each university will be obliged to select (.) the number of master (.) joint masters e:r it will er do. and i think that (.) er unica has a role to play then. (.) yeah (.) that we have to to think about the conditions i- i- in **<L1fr> tres difficile pour moi parler en anglais xxx en francais** {very difficult for me in english xxx in french} **</L1fr>**
> (gap 00:02:50){non-e; S6 continues in French; S1 gives verbal feedback in French}
> S6: **<L1fr> on peut essayer (d'arriver) er une s- so- sol- solution commune et originale** {we could try to find a common and original solution} **</L1fr>** <1> @@ </1>
> S1 [Swedish, m]: <1> @ </1>
> S5 [German (A), m]: **<LNfr> xx comite xx grand effet xxx** {committee xx great effect} **</LNfr>** (2)
> S1: er er (.) **<LNfr> grand merci (.) er [S6]** {thank you very much} **</LNfr>** er (.) thank you very much for for being with us <2> @@@ </2>
> SS: <2> @@@ </2>
> S6: and have a good session
> S1: and **<LNfr> bon voyage** {have a nice trip} **</LNfr>** e:r (6) {S6 leaves the room (6)} i think we we e:r e:r (.) i think we have been talking just around that sort of of of problem. what i understood from what [S6] said is that (.) this sort of er development of of e:r criteria (.) no? for er (.) er joint programs (.) LABELLED in er in er by unica and having some e:r s:- some sort of of assets and some sort of (.) hh of special conditions (.) fulfilled […]

It seems that S6 feels a high pressure and tension when performing in English – indicated by a number of pauses, hesitation signs, filler words, and repetitions – which might also be intensified by the fact that she knows she has to leave in a couple of minutes to get a plane. She reaches a point where she feels unable to continue in English and switches into French, her L1. The high personal need for the language switch is also expressed by the first words S6 utters in French to explain her switch *tres difficile pour moi parler en anglais xxx en francais* which can be interpreted in terms of appealing for assistance, but also seems to fulfil what Appel and Muysken (1995) term the 'metalinguistic function'.

S6 switches, although she cannot assume that her co-participants will understand her. Only three other speakers present at this workshop understand French with certainty: S10, another French native speaker, S1, the Swedish chairperson who later translates what S6 has said, and S5, the German speaker who addresses her in French. Thus, by switching S6 potentially excludes the other eleven speakers and risks her message to be left misunderstood or not

understood at all. As a precautionary measure in this respect S1 acts as translator: *what i understood from what [S6] said* (underlined). After S6's passage in French, S5, the Austrian German speaker who sits next to her, directs an affirmative response in French to S6. This way he accepts and conforms to S6's language choice. S1 also remains with the French language when thanking S6 for her report with *grand merci*. As if making sure that the other speakers are not excluded, he repeats this switch immediately in English (underlined), which can be identified as a reiteration in the other code for clarification or emphasis (cf. Gumperz 1982: 75-81). A third time in this sequence code-switching can be observed to fulfil the function of specifying an addressee, when S1 bids S6 farewell with *bon voyage*. Although only S6 is addressed, the other speakers are not excluded (on the linguistic level), as the phrase *bon voyage* is one of the expressions borrowed into English from French (cf. Romaine 2001: 55).[19] This passage also nicely illustrates how participants in ELF interactions cooperatively work together to achieve understanding (cf. Seidlhofer 2002).

* Signalling culture

As has been mentioned earlier, when switching into a language other than English (usually into their language of identification), speakers always also blend in their cultural background and communicate their bi-/multilingual identity by *signalling culture*. One way of doing this is by what has been introduced as emblematic switches or, in Gumperz' terms (1982: 75-81), as interjections: a tag, an exclamation, or a parenthetical in one language is inserted in an utterance of another language.

Extract 8:

> S7 [Portuguese, m]: well e:r i i i could er mention for instance (.) migrations (.) <6> ethni</6><7>cal: </7> <8> mi- </8> minorities
> S1 [Norwegian, f]: <6> hm </6>
> S3 [French (CH), f]: <7> **<L1fr> oui** {yes} **</L1fr>** </7>
> S1: <8> hm </8>
> S3: yeah

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[19] The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (7th edition) explains *bon voyage* as an exclamation (from French) "said to sb who is leaving on a journey, to wish them a good journey".

In contrast to the examples we have been looking at so far, S3's switch here seems to be on its own without any significant purpose. There is no other French speaker she directly addresses, in fact she is the only French speaker participating in this workshop. The switch as such does not carry much content. It does not need any prior announcement or translation. It stands in line with the other affirmatives following S7's suggestion, is easily fitted in, and passes unnoticed. However inconspicuous the switch appears and little attention it gets, it nevertheless serves the central function of expressing S3's multilingual identity. Irrespective of the affirmative function S3's *oui* fulfils, it is here the language switched into that serves as an emblem of her cultural identity and not so much the content of what is being said.

Another way of signalling culture via code-switching involves references to homelands, backgrounds, or special expressions associated with a specific culture, by which a speaker creates an even stronger cultural association for the interlocutors.[20] The following example illustrates this.

Extract 9:

> S4 [Italian, f]: i i when i send er a students er in norway (.) i accept how you are (.) teaching <3>eco</3>nomics <4> for </4> example
> S1 [Norwegian, f]: <3> hm </3>
> S1: <4> hm </4>
> S1: hm
> S4: and e:r (.) even if the program is not (.) similar (.) <ono> brrrrrr </ono> it it it is nor<5>mal (.) in </5> in **<L1it> roma** {rome} **</L1it>** we have three (.)
> S1: <5> hm hm </5>
> S4: different public universities (.) and the program are not the same (.) <6> in </6> the same city. <7> so </7> i can ex- expect that (.)
> S1: <6> hm </6>
> S1: <7> hm </7>
> S4: <@> you're (.) teaching (.) something (.) equal to me (.) </@> but i accept the <8> qua</8>lity (.)
> S1: <8> hm </8>
> S4: the way (.) <9> the </9> the education profile (.)

S4, the Italian speaker, elaborates on the similarities and differences between the educational profiles of different universities and, as an example, presents the situation at her home university in Italy. By switching into Italian for *roma* she signals her Italian background in two ways: by her language choice

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[20] Referring back to what I said in section 4, the difficulties when dealing with switches of place names have to be kept in mind.

as well as the reference to her hometown. Furthermore, she affirms her unique status in the ELF group. Compared to the preceding example, the switched term carries more information as regards content. Due to the universal character of a city name, however, it does not raise difficulties and a translation seems dispensable.

Signalling a speaker's multilingual identity can also be performed by a switch into one's LN, this way indicating a special bond to another language or culture; this can, for example, be influenced by the work environment. Sometimes, however, a switch into a speaker's LN containing a city name is not so straightforward, as is the case with S1's switch into Polish in the following example.

Extract 10:

> S1 [Swedish, m]: i- in a joint program having been to paris or to to **<LNpl>**
> **warszawa** {warsaw} **</LNpl>** or wherever he is worth more
> SX-m: mhm
> S1: than a person <6> being </6> at home. this is a <7> person </7> that has wider
> outlooks. <1> er? </1> so i i think e:r (.)
> SX-m: <6> mhm </6>
> SX-m: <7> yah </7>
> SX-m: <1> mhm </1>
> S1: i- i- a a joint er program is i- in i- itself a a a a plus (.) value.

S1 elaborates on the advantages of a joint master programme and exemplifies his views with an anecdote and mentions the two cities Paris and Warsaw, for the latter switching into Polish: *warszawa*. Neither does he address anybody in specific nor does he refer to anything S7, the only Polish native speaker present, might have said. S1 looks around while speaking and, in order to give a realistic picture of the situation he describes, mentions those city names he associates with people sitting next to him. Switching into Polish might indicate the wish to reduce social distance, S1's acknowledgement of his interlocutor's cultural background, and function as a signal of his own knowledge of S7's culture.

6. Conclusion and outlook

Considering the examples of code-switching in ELF conversations, the following observations can be made: code-switching as occurring in my data involves word-fragments (e.g. extract 6), single words (e.g. extracts 1 or 3), and short phrases (e.g. extract 2 or 4), but also longer passages (e.g. extract 7). Switches do not only occur in isolation; in a number of instances they are part

of a sequence of switches, as can be seen in extract 7. Additionally, the preference for certain types is eye-catching: the vast majority involves single words or short idiomatic phrases, preferably nouns, adjectives, and function words. This can be due to the fact that words with high frequency in L1 are easier to access than the corresponding L2 forms or that they are less important for the understanding of the conversation. This confirms Meierkord's findings that "speakers may at times insert words at positions where they do not harm understanding" (2002: 124).

In most cases the switches are self-explanatory and understood by the other participants at least from context. Since function words and similar linguistic forms do not carry much significance as regards message content, they pass almost unnoticed. Switches for city or country names do not raise difficulties either, as such terms are usually similar in different languages (cf. Pol. *Warszawa* and Engl. *Warsaw* in extract 10 or Ital. *Roma* and Engl. *Rome* in extract 9) and often used in their 'original' form. For all the other switches either translations are provided by the speakers themselves or by others (as can be seen e.g. in extracts 4 and 7), or the phrases have a certain universal character so that general knowledge of a language helps to get the meaning (as can be seen e.g. in extracts 9 and 10).

Considering the examples of code-switching in ELF conversations that can be found in my data, the complexity of the phenomenon becomes obvious. As my analysis has shown, code-switching in ELF interactions serves a number of different functions, most notably it is employed for *specifying an addressee*, *appealing for assistance*, *introducing another idea*, and *signalling culture*. ELF speakers switch to another language to direct what they say to one or more specific addressees, they switch to get assistance of another speaker, or because they feel another language is more appropriate to express a certain idea. Furthermore, ELF speakers switch languages to communicate their bi-/multilingual identity and show group membership. A classification of all the instances of code-switching, however, is not as straightforward as it might seem at first glance, since a code-switch does not always serve only one of the four functions introduced: specifying an addressee might sometimes include an emblematic switch (as in extract 1), whereas appealing for assistance might at the same time include the specification of an addressee (as in extract 3). As has been illustrated with examples from my data, in many cases a switch can have different functions at the same time; indeed, it seems that overlapping and interacting functions are the norm rather than the exception.

In ELF conversations speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds interact, and, "[a]s speakers are mostly not familiar with each others' mother

tongues, they need to cope with the unexpected" (Meierkord 2002: 119). From the selection of examples of my data, it appears that ELF speakers generally seem to master these unexpected situations quite well. They self-confidently resort to code-switching, display their skills actively, successfully collaborate to achieve shared understanding, and show acceptance towards code-switches performed by interlocutors, which confirms once again the cooperative and supportive character of ELF interactions (cf. Seidlhofer 2002).

As the speaker constellations vary from one ELF interaction to another, the amount of code-switching as well as the languages switched into will vary and "the resulting hybrid will necessarily be of a dynamic nature" (Meierkord 2002: 125, cf. also Pölzl & Seidlhofer 2006). Although a clear-cut classification of code-switching in ELF is not possible (for reasons I presented above), my data shows how ELF speakers resort to more than two languages in a most creative way to fulfil different discourse functions, to apply certain communication strategies, and to communicate their multilingual identity. It is hoped that this analysis of VOICE data serves to demonstrate that code-switching is an intrinsic element of ELF talk, its frequent and systematic use supporting the claim of "making [ELF] a feasible, acceptable and respected alternative to ENL in appropriate contexts of use" (Seidlhofer 2001: 150). Aspects of code-switching in ELF as presented in this analysis might serve as a starting point for further research into this area of ELF.

When using English for communication purposes only, speakers obviously feel the need to "keep their voice" (Pölzl 2003: 21) and do not hesitate to communicate this: an ELF speaker in the VOICE corpus self-confidently states that "mind you, sometimes you have to mix". Given these insights into code-switching in ELF talk, speakers indeed should be able to keep "their very own social persona in the medium of the English language" (House 2002: 262) or, in the words of a fellow researcher and an ELF speaker herself, by code-switching give the language "a flavour of their own".

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The restructuring of the Middle English lexicon within the scope of textual variation – A case study of **arīven**

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> Words are the leaves of the tree of language, of which, if some fall away, a new succession takes their place.
> (John French, quoted in Trench 1936: 94)

1. Introduction

"And notwithstanding our great companie (for we were more then a thousand persons) a Camell laden with Calicoes was taken from us, foure of our men hurt, and one of them mortally wounded". This passage from the travel account *A True and Strange Discourse of the Travailes of Two English Pilgrimes* by Henry Timberlake (1974 [1603]: 4-5), an English seafaring merchant on his way to Jerusalem, demonstrates that travelling was considered a dangerous and even life-threatening enterprise in Medieval and Renaissance times. The moment of leave-taking was a significant one – on the one hand it could mean the beginning of an adventurous trip but on the other hand it could also be the starting point for hardship and privation, not withstanding the risk of dying during one's journey. All the happier must have been the moments of returning back home from a journey. Based on the assumption that such an important event as the arrival from a journey must surely have found its way into literary and non-literary texts of the Middle Ages, the present study is devoted to a very small segment of the English lexicon, i.e. the verb *arrive*, whose borrowing itself provides evidence of medieval travelling and mobility, such as the arrival of Norman troops at the coast of South-England. According to the *OED* and the *MED*, the verb *arrive* came from OF *arriver* and was introduced in the first half of the 13th century

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in the sense of 'to land, to come ashore or to reach shore'. Following the sociolinguistic claims that languages never develop in a social vacuum and that language change is socially embedded (cf. Barber 2000; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003; Romaine 1982), I assume that the considerably high mobility among kings and knights, monks and pilgrims, traders and merchants, apprentices, refugees and spies (cf. MacDonald 2006; Ohler 1989; Verdon 2003) may have had its impact on the English language. Since history only comes to life through language and since linguistic processes such as borrowing can be seen as conditioned by socio-historical aspects, like the intensity and length of language contact and the cultural or political dominance of one group of speakers (cf. e.g. Barber 2000; Baugh & Cable 2002; Field 2002; Schendl 1995), the investigation of the development of the verb *arrive* may deepen our understanding of both medieval language use as well as day-to-day life.

However, the present study does not claim to be complete or to provide universally applicable answers but can be regarded as an intermediate stage of research. It is partly based on the findings of the quantitative study of *arrive* in my MA thesis[1] and will prepare the ground for a more comprehensive study on the development of *arrive* in Middle and Early Modern English in my PhD thesis, where contextualized examples of the respective loan word will illustrate its use in different genres and where differences in use due to social factors (such as social status and mobility, gender and regional variation) will be accounted for.

The quantitative study of ME *arīven* in my MA thesis was based on the material included in the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (*HC*) and focused on the verb's prominent meaning in Middle English times only, i.e. 'to come ashore', taking all known spelling variations of the ME verb *arīven*[2] into account. The results of this previous study on the distribution of *arīven* showed that the text samples provided in the *HC* do not include enough homogenous material in order to be able to support some of the assumptions based on the evidence drawn from dictionaries, such as the electronic versions of the *OED* or the *MED*. Thus, a valid generalisation on the basis of the data retrieved from the *HC* is not possible but requires a more comprehensive study of individual and full Middle English texts.

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[1] *Lexical restructuring by borrowing in Middle English* (Tacho 2002) written at the English Department of the University of Vienna under the supervision of Professor Dieter Kastovsky.

[2] All tokens showing the following spelling variations are included in the study: *ariue, ariued, ariuede, aryue, aryued, arryue, arryuen, arryueth* and *arrive*.

In the current paper I will aim, firstly, to describe the way in which the verb *arrive* entered the English language and to investigate how the process of its borrowing affected the structure of the English vocabulary from the 12th to the end of the 15th century and, secondly, to discover the way in which the language implemented such trends in terms of genre and text types.

The Middle English verb *arīven*, which was originally used to denote the process of 'reaching the shore', came to be used in varying frequencies and in various different text types throughout the Middle English period. The present article reports some of the findings concerning the distribution and frequency of ME *arīven* in written and speech-based text types between 1100 and 1500 and addresses the question whether the verb *arīven* can be regarded as a social marker in late medieval times. The theoretical frameworks applied in the study are word field theory (cf. e.g. Coseriu 1973; Coseriu & Geckeler 1981) and social dialectology, i.e. variation theory[3] (cf. e.g. Chambers 1995; Labov 1972; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003; Romaine 1982).

2. Medieval Britain

Native speakers of Old English used to have at least two different native lexemes to express the concept of 'to come to a place' or 'to reach shore', i.e. the verbs *cuman to* and *lēndan*. Although the Anglo-Saxons had made contact with the Normans across the Channel even before 1066, Norman French did not significantly influence the English language until long after the Norman Conquest, by the early 13th century. The following centuries, however, saw a wide range of social and lexical change. The decades and even centuries after the Conquest were characterized by Norman settlement and the takeover of political key positions in the country since the "great magnates of pre-Conquest England, earls and king's thegns, bishops and abbots" (Williams 1995: 2), had been swept away by the upheavals following the battle of Hastings. More and more members of the Norman clergy and aristocracy replaced their Anglo-Saxon predecessors, introducing their native tongue as the prestigious language of the ruling and upper social ranks in England. However, the Norman Conquest cannot be considered as a mass integration of Normans. The army with which William of Normandy defeated the Anglo-Saxons is assumed not to have exceeded 7.000 men. Accordingly, the estimates of the "total of the French-born population of England vary between 2 and 10 per cent" (Burnley 1992: 423). Considering the rather small number of members of the Norman ruling class, the lasting success of the Norman

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[3] For a brief outline of the theoretical framework used in this paper see Chapter 3 below.

Conquest and its subsequent impact on all fields of English life, i.e. lifestyle, language and literature, politics, church policy and economy, is highly remarkable (cf. Berndt 1969; McLynn 1999; Poole 1993).

From a lexical point of view, the Middle English period is characterized by "a high rate of addition and loss of individual lexemes" (Fischer 1997: 467), which can be regarded as the result of a highly complex contact situation at the end of the 12th century (cf. e.g. Barber 2000; Baugh & Cable 2002; Berndt 1969; Kastovsky 2006; Machan 2000). The English of the early Middle Ages basically was devoid of a nationwide standard language but comprised a number of local dialects. At the same time, Celtic languages were spoken in Scotland, Wales and Cornwall and both the Scandinavian as well as the Norman invaders had brought their own vernaculars to Britain. In addition, Latin was still used as the language of the church and of the learned in both written and spoken form. Thus, the linguistic situation of Medieval Britain encouraged bilingualism and prepared the ground for processes such as lexical borrowing (cf. Crespo 2000; Field 2002; Kastovsky 2006; Schendl 1996).

Baugh and Cable (2002) distinguish between two different phases of French words entering the English language. During the first two hundred years after the Conquest, the amount of French or Anglo-Norman borrowings did not exceed 1000 in number. Many of these loan words, appearing in English before 1250, were such as the lower ranks of England's population would become familiar with when getting into contact with the French-speaking nobility, e.g. terms of address and words related to religion and the church. After 1250 and especially during the 14th century, the situation changed remarkably. Historical linguists observe an enormous increase of French and Anglo-Norman words entering the English lexicon when French was gradually declining as the language of the upper class and members of the nobility and upper ranks started to adopt English as their first language (cf. e.g. Barber 2000; Baugh & Cable 2002).

3. Theoretical background and previous studies

On the whole it can be said that there are not too many historical semasiological studies on the mechanisms of lexical borrowing and its impact on the structure of a lexical field. Presently, I will focus on three lexemes denoting the concept of 'to come ashore', i.e. *arīven, lēnden* and *comen to* in Middle English. The relation between these individual lexemes will be looked at from a semasiological and an onomasiological perspective.[4]

Concerning the comprehensive framework of word field theory, Coseriu and Geckeler (1981) present an analysis of semantic relationships and lexical fields. From a structural point of view, a lexical field can be regarded as a lexical paradigm, which results from the division of a lexical content continuum into different lexemes. The lexical relations between these lexemes can be classified as e.g. hyponymy, antonymy and complementarity (cf. Coseriu 1973; Coseriu and Geckeler 1981; Geckeler 1971; Kastovsky 2006; Lipka 2002). The concept of word field theory turned out to be very useful for my purposes because it serves as a starting point in my research. It helps to establish the concept and outline of the lexical field in question, i.e. 'to come to shore', and to examine the relation between the lexical items included.

Furthermore, this paper aims to   combine both a structural and a sociolinguistic approach. Sociolinguistic studies have become more and more popular since the early 1960's and researchers in the tradition of Labov (1972) have focused their studies on the development of linguistic variants such as a single phoneme, morpheme or lexical item and their variation in time. Sociolinguistics serves as a kind of umbrella term and employs different methods and approaches. It basically focuses on the study of six major correlates, i.e. class, gender and age, region, neighbourhood and ethnicity, contributing to language change and language innovation. Since this approach aims to account for linguistic innovation in terms of social factors, it is often called correlational sociolinguistics. The study of language change with regard to regional and urban varieties earned the approach the term social or urban dialectology. Also, as it focuses on linguistic variation it is labelled variationist theory.

Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003) study the mechanisms of linguistic change in the light of socio-linguistic and social factors, such as social status and mobility, gender or regional variation. Following and

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[4] I will give a more detailed description and explanation of both the semasiological and the onomasiological approach and my method of data collection in Chapter 4 below.

adapting Labov's (1972) variationist approach to language change, they also point out the importance of speech-based text types such as private letters or theatre plays and trial records for a detailed study of historical socio-linguistic phenomena. Their studies mainly investigate the frequency and distribution of grammatical and syntactic changes but hardly ever make reference to individual words and their diachronic development within the socio-linguistic framework.

Furthermore, many linguists (cf. e.g. Labov 1972; Trudgill 1978; Cheshire 1982; etc.) have included quantitative paradigms in their research in order to be able to support their historical and diachronic studies of language change with relevant data drawn from computer corpora or dictionaries and individual texts. Although linguists have recently developed a number of methods for dealing with quantitative data, the field of lexicology has been neglected so far.

Andreas Fischer (1997, 2003) slightly modified the wave model of "lexical diffusion", developed by Chen and Wang (1975) in the 1970's to account for phonological changes, in order to be able to apply it to the study of the English lexicon. The model of "lexical diffusion" includes the paradigm of time as a substantial means for the investigation of the two dimensions of time and the lexicon, the former gradually affecting the latter. This lexical diffusion model only needs a few modifications before it can be applied to the description of lexical change. Fischer replaced the lexical dimension by a semantic one, i.e. the *signifié*, leaving the temporal dimension unchanged. The *signifié*, i.e. a particular concept, is represented by one single *signifiant*, i.e. a lexeme. In lexical change the *signifié* remains constant, whereas a new *signfiant* competes against and eventually replaces the old one. According to Chen (1972: 494), lexical change is therefore characterized by the gradual extension of a new lexeme, i.e. a linguistic innovation, over the *signifié*, i.e. the semantic domain as a function of time. However, as for the successful use of the lexical diffusion model, the collection of data is a rather tricky task and will be discussed in section 4 below.

Recent studies have shown an increasing interest in the analysis of *text types* and *genres* as criteria in language change (cf. Romaine 1982). The concepts of *genre* and *text type*, however, are not at all uniform. Whereas Douglas Biber (1988: 206) distinguishes between *genre* and *text type* according to external and internal criteria, the *HC* does not provide a clear-cut distinction between these two terms. According to Biber (1988: 206), the concept of *genre* is determined by external criteria, such as textual origin, purpose and audience (cf. Taavitsainen 1997), whereas the term *text type* defines particular classes of texts which share similar internal linguistic

forms. The compilers of the *HC* treat *genres* as structural components which help to classify different texts according to external criteria. These external parameters are comparable to those used by Biber and include information on a text's origin and function as well as its readership. They classify "travelogues" and "biography", "letters" and "religious treatises" as different *text types*. In the present study I will adopt the *HC* classification of text types and modify it where necessary.[5]

Both Kohnen (1997) and Taavitsainen (1997) refer to the high rate of variability of linguistic features of single texts within particular text types.[6] Genres and text types differ in their conventions, levels of formality and type of setting, as well as in coherence, quantity and style. This variation of linguistic characteristics and the evolutionary character of text types makes the comparison of text types throughout time extremely difficult. Travel writing, for example, became extremely popular around 1400 with the translation of French or Latinate texts and was subject to some decisive changes. Early travelogues, such as *Mandeville's Travels*, were produced in large quantities, since they enjoyed great popularity among members of the upper class as well as among pilgrims and merchants. These early texts also include a lot more fictional sequences and emotive language than travel reports of later periods, when more and more factual information is given.[7] Furthermore, one can assume travelogues to show a more frequent use of the term *arīven* in connection with voyages and business trips than any other text type. This difference in subject matter may presumably result in different frequencies of the lexeme examined and, therefore, lead to a certain inconsistency in the outcome of a quantitative study. In the present study, however, I will examine travelogues along with other text types in order to find out whether a separate evaluation of travelogues will be necessary.

The verb *arīven* was dealt with by Schendl in one of his earlier works (1985 [1987]: 357-399). He discusses the model of valency and implicit case and shows its applicability to questions of semantic change in a diachronic

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[5] For a discussion of text type affiliation and the distinction between written and speech-based sources see Chapter 6.1.

[6] Generally, language innovation tends to occur in spoken language first (cf. Labov 1972; Romaine 1982). The first attestations and recordings of new forms do normally not correspond with their introduction in speech. Language historians speak of a temporal gap, which makes it difficult to investigate linguistic changes of the past. One solution to this problem, therefore, is to focus on the study of texts that reflect spoken language more closely than others.

[7] The close relation of certain prose texts to fiction can be observed in biographies or travelogues, "in which fictive and historical elements can blend" (cf. Taavitsainen 2005: 190).

study of the development of a selection of Middle English verbs, among them *arīven, lenden* and *londen*. Based on Fillmore's (1968) case grammar theory, Schendl argues that the diachronic development of these three lexemes can be seen as an interrelated process, which finally results in the loss of the locative case in *arīven* and *lenden*. He further explains that the semantic change in *arīven* and *lenden* is firmly related to syntactic changes as well as changes in the valency of the verb. Schendl also devotes part of his paper to the regional development of the verb *arīven* and observes a gradual spread of the loan word from Middle English texts in the Southwest to the North. His discussion of the variations in meaning of these verbs is closely connected with the results of my frequency study and the implementation of *arīven* in Middle English text types, which I will discuss later on.

The following case study intends to be a contribution to word field analysis, combining both a structural and a socio-linguistic approach towards lexical change. Furthermore, the findings of my frequency study of the distribution of *arīven* in different Middle English text types will shed more light on the implementation of this Anglo-Norman loan word.

4. The data: material and method

4.1. The database used

A few words are in order regarding the data analysis. For the first part of my study, I collected my data from both the online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) and the electronic version of the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*). Furthermore, I looked up individual entries in the *Anglo Norman Dictionary* (*AND*), accessible via the Anglo-Norman On-line Hub, and in the electronic version of the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (*DMF*). Another useful dictionary is Hindley's *Old French-English Dictionary*.

In addition, I used the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* to access individual texts and investigate the frequency of *arrive* in selected text types for the second part of my study. This corpus has been compiled by the Humanities Text Initiative at the University of Michigan, using reliable collections of Middle English electronic texts. At present, the corpus consists of 146 titles, comprising a total of 18.402.897 words, and even more texts will be available online soon. The enormous advantage of the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* over other computer-readable corpora, such as the *HC*, is that texts can be searched either individually or collectively with a full array of search mechanisms. Moreover, some of my previous studies, using the Middle English and Early

Modern English parts of the *HC* (c. 1150-1710), have shown that the *HC* is by far not sufficient for investigating the development of individual lexical items. Despite the fact that the *HC* includes a wide range of genres and text types from the Old English to the Early Modern English periods, it can be regarded as one of the smaller corpora available nowadays. Moreover, it provides only sample texts instead of full texts, which might be helpful in morphological or syntactic studies, but this turns out to be the main obstacle in lexical studies since the individual attestations of a certain item might be too low to attain a significant level. While the *HC* can serve to present a rough outline of lexical developments, it is too small to launch a more detailed study of lexical change. Therefore, I used individual texts available at the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* for the current frequency study and I will include all the texts available in this corpus in my PhD thesis later on.

4.2. Method of data collection

In the following, I will give a brief outline of how the material used in chapters 4 and 5 was put together. The present case study is based on the assumption that certain *signifiés*, i.e. concepts or notions, remain constant over time. These notions may be represented by a number of words, also referred to as *signifiants*, either at the same time or in succession. The semasiological perspective, applied in the current study, takes its starting point in the word as a form and describes the different concepts and meanings inherent in the word. In contrast, the onomasiological approach starts out with a notion or concept and describes how a particular concept may be expressed by different lexemes. Since it is necessary to combine the onomasiological with the semasiological approach in order to attain a well-founded account of the lexical development of *arīven*, I will employ both approaches in this study.

The data for the semasiological and onomasiological study of *arīven* and *lēnden* is drawn from the *OED* and the *MED* as well as from various other dictionaries, already mentioned above. The first step was to find out the original meaning of *arīven* and to check the list of Old English verbs comprising the same meaning as the loan word. For this purpose, the *Thesaurus of Old English* (Roberts *et al.* 1995) provides a useful guideline, as it starts out from an onomasiological perspective, thus, listing all the appropriate Old English lexemes that represent the same concept as *arīven*. I limited my word field to *lēnden* and *arīven* in the first part of my analysis and added *comen to land* in the second part. This was due to the fact that in the course of my study it became clear that *arīven* and *lēnden* were not the only

frequently used lexemes in my examined texts, but that some writers might have preferred the construction *comen to land*.

The second task was to investigate the possible meaning variation of the verbs with the help of the entries listed in the electronic versions of the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the *Middle English Dictionary* in order to present their development in the English lexicon and to prepare the ground for the quantitative approach.

The examples for my frequency study were collected from twenty different works[8], accessed online via the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*. I examined both written and speech-based texts, including works in prose and verse in my study. The sub-periodization was adopted from the *HC*, which divides Middle English into four periods – M1 (1150-1250), M2 (1250-1350), M3 (1350-1420) and M4 (1420-1500).

For the present quantitative study, selected texts from the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*[9] were searched for all possible variants of tokens of *arīven* carrying the meaning of 'to come ashore'. All possible spelling variations[10] of the lexeme were backed up with information from the *OED* and the *MED* and are included in the study. Finally, the data was compiled and organised according to the sub-periods given in the *HC* and classified according to text types, such as biography, history, travelogues, fiction and letters.

5. Analysis – How *arīven* entered the English lexicon

5.1. A brief etymology of *arīven*

As has been mentioned before, the verb *arrive* came from OF *arriver* and was introduced in the first half of the 13th century in the sense of 'to land, to come ashore or to reach shore', deriving its form and meaning from the Late Latin form *adripare*. The Late Latin word form had originally been developed from the combination of the preposition *ad*, meaning 'to' and the noun *ripa* for 'shore'. There is some evidence, according to the *OED*, that the OF verb

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[8] A detailed list of references concerning the texts used in this frequency study is provided in the appendix.

[9] The *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* provides different search types which enable the user to find either single words and phrases or to look for combinations of up to three terms with the help of Boolean connector terms, i.e. and, or, not. The corpus lists all possible variants of endings of a word if an asterisk is added to the word stem, such as *aryv**.

[10] The spellings of *arīven* are listed in footnote 2.

ariver comprised more than the relatively narrow meaning of 'to come to shore'. The *OED* claims that the meaning of *ariver* had already been extended to the more general notion of 'to come to a place after a journey' before it was adopted by the English language. At the time when ME *arīven* established itself in the English lexicon, however, its predominant inherent meaning was 'to come to shore'. Following the *OED*'s argument, the question arises why *arīven* was not taken over with both its narrow and its more general meaning.

In his not fully unprejudiced essay *Arrivals and departures: the adoption of French terminology into Middle English* Rothwell (1998) expresses serious doubts about the *OED*'s accuracy on the etymology and origin of the nouns *arrival* and *departure*. He argues that *arrival* was borrowed from Anglo Norman instead of Old French and corroborates his claim with evidence taken from the *Anglo Norman Dictionary* and a selection of other dictionaries on the etymology of the French language.[11] In the following I aim to find out whether Rothwell's hypothesis concerning the Anglo Norman origin of the noun *arrival* does also apply to the verb *arīven*.[12]

On a closer inspection of the entries taken from the *AND* and the *DMF* compared with those found in the *MED* and the *OED*, one can draw the following conclusion. The *AND* as well as the *MED* only list instances of *arīven* in its restricted meaning of 'to come ashore' for the early Middle English period while the *DMF* includes entries with both the narrow and the extended meaning of *ariver* from the 11th century onwards. Since Middle English *arīven* is only attested in its narrow meaning until the end of the 14th century in various different Middle English texts, one can safely assume that the verb was borrowed from Anglo Norman and not from Old French. This confirms Rothwell's hypothesis as well as what Schendl (1985 [1987]) already observed in his paper published in the *Folia Linguistica Historica*, where he states the discrepancy between the *OED*'s etymology and the actual evidence drawn from Middle English texts.

However, *arīven* did not enter the Middle English vocabulary without reason but its borrowing was rather conditioned by the prevailing linguistic situation in Old and early Middle English. Since the speakers of English in medieval Britain were not short of native words expressing the concept of 'travelling and coming ashore', the prestige of the Anglo-Norman language as well as some language internal shifts within the English lexicon might be

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[11] For a detailed bibliography of the dictionaries and reference books see Rothwell 1998.

[12] I am particularly thankful to Donka Minkova for pointing out the existence and possible relevance of this article for my studies to me at SHEL 5, at Athens, Georgia in October 2007.

considered to be responsible for the borrowing of *arīven* into the English language.

5.2. The story of *lēnden*

As already mentioned above, the Anglo-Saxons had three different lexemes incorporating the same meaning as the Anglo Norman verb *arīven*. One of these Old English words was *lēndan*. The following account of *lēndan* will shed some light on the development and the beginning variation in meaning of the respective native lexeme used by speakers of English to express the notion of 'coming to land'. As Figure 1 below shows, the word *lēnden* originally meant 'to come ashore' and also included the notion of 'to come to a place' in the late Old English period. However, *lēnden* together with all its varieties of meanings did not survive the Middle English period but died out at the beginning of the 16th century.

Figure 1: Semasiological diagram of *lēnden*[13]

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[13] The data used in Figures 1&2 is taken from the *OED* and the *MED*.

The following conventions are used in Figures 1&2:

- words are listed from top to bottom in the order of their first attestation.
- broken lines indicate that the words in question are already found in Old English.
- solid lines indicate the length of usage of words with their first and last attestation in written sources given, according to the *OED*.

OE *lēndan* can be classified as a denominative verb, which means that its infinitive **landjan* was originally derived from the noun *land* by adding the suffix *–jan*. Subsequently, the non-syllabic /j/ affected the preceding back vowel /a/ and caused its mutation to /e/ according to the rule of i-umlaut[14] in Old English. Thus, the verb developed into OE *lēndan*. In early Middle English times, the Old English personal endings of verbs were unified. The OE *lēndan* therefore resulted in the Middle English form *lēnden* which was gradually losing its specifying feature 'to come to land' and started to be used in various other contexts, like 'to come to a place' but also 'to tarry, to dwell'. We can observe the use of *lēnden* in its more general meaning in Middle English texts from the early 13th century onwards. The two main meanings of *lēnden* co-existed for a while before the verb was lost all together in the first half of the 16th century.

By the time when the specifying features of *lēnden* had finally been marginalized and the more general meaning had become firmly established around 1390 in Middle English texts, an additional meaning developed out of the combination of *lēnden* and the preposition *of*, denoting the opposite of the word's traditional meaning, i.e. the procedure of going away or departing. The development of such a converse meaning relation within one word is defined as "auto-converse change" by Andreas Blank[15] (1999: 13-14) and is not a very frequent one. It is a rather special case of contiguity and Blank acknowledges that one could also define it as a special form of metonymy. Similar instances can be observed in the examples *to lend* and *to borrow*. The auto-converse contrast between the concepts of 'coming to a place' and 'leaving a place' within *lēnden* turned up at approximately the same time as the verb's meaning extension had been fully developed. The fact that another and converse meaning developed within one word can be seen as a sign of rivalry between the verb's different meanings and, additionally, might have indicated the verb's impending loss.

However, according to the evidence drawn from various dictionaries, the phrase *lēnden of* did not succeed in spreading and attaining overall acceptance and finally disappeared around 1430. The reasons why *lēnden* lost its specifying features and extended its meaning are not entirely clear but might have to do with the above discussed variety of meanings within one single form at the end of the 14th century. In addition, the OE word *lænan*, meaning

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14 For a detailed discussion of the process of i-umlaut in Old English see Lass (1994: 59-71).

15 Blank (1999) provides a comprehensive discussion of a typology of semantic change, which serves as a basis for a more detailed description of polysemy. He distinguishes between eleven types of semantic change ranging from metonymy to ellipsis and antonymy.

'to lend' developed a past form in Middle English, which resembled the spelling and pronunciation of *lēnden*. In the end, there were too many meanings in one form, which resulted in a homonymic clash and the loss of certain meanings, such as 'to come ashore'.

On closer analysis, the fact that the first attestation of *lēnden* in its extended meaning coincides with the first use of *arīven* 'to come ashore' in Layamon's *Brut*, dated back to 1225, is extremely interesting. Thus, by the time the native lexeme *lēnden* started to extend its meaning, the new and foreign word *arīven* cropped up, gradually taking over the position and function of *lēnden*. By that time a considerable number of speakers of English might have felt the need for a more accurate and precise term denoting the process of 'reaching the shore' than their native lexeme with its variety of meanings. Therefore, a plausible explanation for the borrowing of the Anglo Norman loan word can be seen in a perceived gap in the lexicon caused by the gradual widening of meaning within *lēnden*, which subsequently might have launched the borrowing process of *arīven* into the Middle English lexicon. Once established in the Middle English lexicon, the newly borrowed *arīven* started to influence the way the native lexeme *lēnden* further developed. During the first half of the 13th century *arīven* came to be used more often than its native competitor *lēnden* in approximately the same contexts, thereby slowly but surely pushing *lēnden* towards its more general concept of 'reaching a place'. This reminds one of of the concepts of the push chain and the drag chain which are generally applied to phonological changes (e.g. the Great Vowel Shift). It is, however, also interesting to apply this framework to describe the relationship of *arīven* and its native rivals: the increasing use of *arīven* seems to have encouraged and speeded up the widening of meaning of *lēnden*.

5.3. The story of *arīven*

At this point, the reader may ask himself why there was such a great need for a specific term expressing the concept of 'to come to land' at all and why it had to be an Anglo-Norman word. The main reason for the concept 'to come ashore' being so firmly established in the English language may have been the influence of the island position of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom and its preferred means of transport at that time. Moreover, since the Normans represented the ruling class of England after 1066, their language became the language of prestige at court and among the nobility. Thus, the motivation to take over an Anglo-Norman word of high prestige in order to add a precise term for the

concept of 'to come to land' to the English lexicon might have been considerably stronger than the option of a native word formation at that time.

However, *arīven* did not remain fixed and stable in meaning as Figure 2 illustrates. The first occurrence of *arīven* in 1225 was only the starting point of further developments. For more than one hundred years, the loan word *arīven* maintained its specific meaning of 'to come to shore'. In the course of the second half of the 14th century, things changed and *arīven* began to lose some of its specific features. The meaning gradually extended towards the more general concept of 'to come to a place after a journey' in Middle English, just as it had already happened to the verb in Old French as early as the 11th century. The *OED* claims that Middle English *arīven* had already acquired its full and current meaning, having lost all its specification completely, by around 1550.

Figure 2: Semasiological diagram of *arīven*[16]
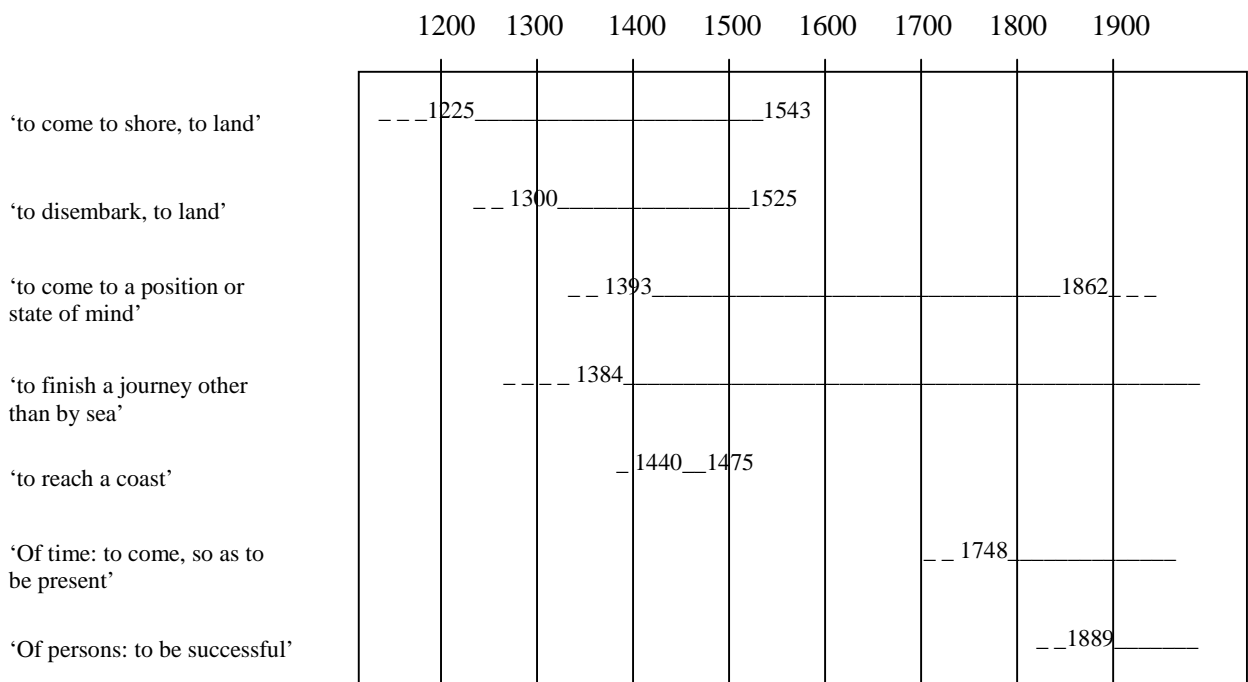
In the following section, I have listed some examples of *arīven* in diverse ME texts in order to provide the reader with an impression of how the word was used over time. The first example is taken from *King Horn* and shows *arīven*'s earliest and narrowest meaning.

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16 For a detailed explanation of the graph see footnote 13.

(1) He fond bi þe stronde, ariued on his londe, Schipenes fifteen, Wiþ sarazins kene. (*HC*, M2, *King Horn*, 35-38)

The following three examples show the word's usage in both meanings during the 14th and 15th centuries. Finally, the fifth example shows *arrive* in its current meaning.

(2) Eneas With gret navie aryveth at Cartage. (*MED*, 1393, GOWER, *Confessio Amantis* III, 4.8)

(3) all that contre on the left hond unto Egypt & arryuen at the cytee of Damyete. (*HC*, M3, *Mandeville's Travels*, 36)

(4) I was very glad to heer by your first letter that you wer so saffly arriued at your wished port. (*HC*, M4, Katherine Paston, KPASTON 65)

(5) He shall in good time arriue to his designed journey's end. (*OED*, 1661, BARROW, *Sermon*, i. I. 2)

When both *lēnden* and *arīven* had acquired their wider meaning of 'to come to a place' by the end of the 14th century, the English language again lacked a specific term for the concept 'to come ashore'. This is why a new lexeme appeared in the English lexicon, namely the English word formation *landen* or *londen*, which was the result of a so-called functional pull. The new verb *landen* was formed out of the noun *land* and the Middle English suffix *–en*. The newly coined word was exclusively bound to the narrow meaning of 'to come from water to land' and did not differentiate its meaning until the beginning of the 20th century, when the Modern English verb *to land* gained the additional meanings of 'to come from air to land', 'to land somebody in a situation', and 'to land in bed', as listed in the *OED*.

## 5.4. The frequency of *arīven* in Middle English texts

The above account of the processes involved in the borrowing of the Anglo Norman loan word *arīven* presents the situation as it can be established on the basis of data collected from various dictionaries and reference works. However, it is still not entirely clear by whom and in which text types *arīven* was predominantly used. The quantitative study of the loan word's distribution in different genres can serve as the key to establish a full account of the verb's development in the English language.

The frequencies of *arīven* are rather low in my study, so that I have to be careful not to overestimate the significance of my results. However, it does seem to be the case that some features are pointing in the same direction. Thus, the loan word *arīven* shows a steep S-curve and hence a fast rate of

diffusion during the time span from 1350 to 1450, as illustrated in Figure 3. According to Chen and Wang (1975), any change may start slowly, then virtually "take off", spread rapidly in a relatively short time-span and, finally, slow down again and gradually come to an end. The progression of the change can be diagrammed as an S-curve, which may be typical of many cases of lexical diffusion and can be observed for *arīven* in Figure 3 below.

The results of my quantitative study can be read in a twofold way. On the one hand, *arīven*'s development coincides with the extra-linguistic fact that an increasing number of texts, treating a variety of subject matters, has been passed down from the Late Middle English period onwards, which is partly due to the introduction of printing in the late 14th century. On the other hand, it might also have to do with the meaning extension of *arīven* and the variable use of both its meanings at that time.

Figure 3: Frequency study of *arīven*
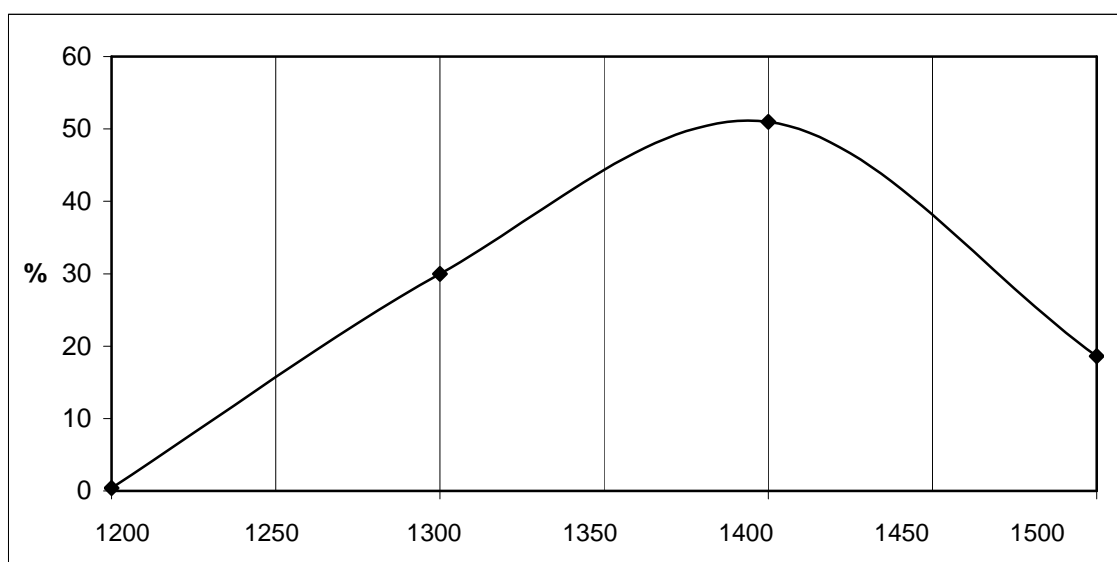
The relatively high number of instances of *arīven* in the period from 1350 to 1450 may also mirror the increase in the production of a particular type of text. In her paper given at the International Conference of English Historical Linguistics in Bergamo in August 2006, Bridget Drinka referred to this respective time span as the 'age of translation' because of the fact that the 14th and early 15th centuries saw a great deal of translations, especially of French and Latinate literate sources. These translations might be one of the key factors contributing to the distribution and spread of Middle English *arīven*. In the following, a detailed text type analysis will be carried out in order to shed more light on the development of the loan word in translations of the mid- and late Middle English period.

6. Textual variation and the degree of orality

6.1. Text types in comparison

Since the sub-period 1350-1450 displays the highest frequency of *arīven*, this particular segment of the Middle English period seems to be of particular interest with regard to the loan word's distribution in different text types. The fact that translations from French and Latin were extremely popular at that time makes translated versions of written and speech-based works the centre of attention of the following analysis. By doing so, I hope to be able to find out more about the nature of this 'peak season' of *arīven*.

I followed the classification of the *HC* regarding the relationship of texts to spoken language, thus, using the two parameters 'written' and 'speech-based'. The written category includes texts with so-called 'literate' patterns. These patterns are, for example, the use of elaborate style and complex linguistic structures. In contrast, speech-based text types reflect interactive situations and features of spoken language in the written medium.

However, it should be mentioned that some spoken genres, such as sermons, have been shown to resort to literate strategies, while some written text types, such as private letters, have been found to be closer to spoken language. Early fiction represents a special case in point regarding its degree of orality, since it contains more oral features than fictitious works of later periods. In fiction, dialogues are very important and are likely to comprise non-standard speech as well as "emotionally loaded language" (Taavitsainen 2005: 197). Furthermore, early fiction was written for a very broad audience and displayed a colloquial style of English. I counted romances, travelogues, histories, biographies and documents as written text types, whereas fiction, drama and letters are classified as speech-based in my study. For my text type analysis, I used the same texts as in the frequency study of *arīven* (cf. 5.4).

Table 1: Absolute frequencies of *arīven* in different text types[17]

	1150-1250	1250-1350	1350-1420	1420-1500
History	1	57	105	1
Biography		7		
Romance		18		43
Travelogue			10	
Documents				1
Fiction			25	
Letters				6

As Table 1 above shows, the verb *arīven* is attested most frequently in histories and chronicles. The relatively low frequency of the loan in biographies may be conditioned by the restriction of this text type to early Middle English. The revival of the text type 'romance' during the last few decades of the 15th century is partly due to the extreme popularity of Arthurian romances and chivalrous literature, such as Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* or *Gawain*, in late medieval Britain. As regards speech-based text types, such as fiction and private correspondence, it can be noted that *arīven* does not occur in these text types until the second half of the Middle English period.

6.2. Translations – a closer analysis

The second part of my text type analysis focuses on the distribution of the loan word *arīven* in comparison with its native competitors *landen* and *comen to land*. In the course of my study, the native construction *comen to land* turned out to be a very frequent alternative to *arīven*. I started my frequency study with the second sub-period since the first sub-period M1 (1150-1250) renders Layamon's *Brut* as the only text including instances of the loan word.

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[17] As the present analysis can be regarded as a preliminary pilot study, frequencies are not weighted but will be in the large-scale corpus study of my PhD project.

The examples for the second sub-period of Middle English were collected from two works, the *Metrical chronicle of Robert of Gloucester* and the romance *King Horn*. Both texts can be classified as written text types, since histories and chronicles as well as romances show rather complex linguistic structures and a highly stable set of lexical features. Those texts which include more speech-based or informal features, such as the *Ancrene Wisse,* did not contain a single instance of *arīven*.

As Table 2 illustrates, *arīven* is the most frequently used verb denoting the concept of 'to come ashore' in both the chronicle and the romance. Interestingly, the verb *lēnden* is outnumbered by the construction *comen to land*, which seems to be a common construction in later periods, too.

Table 2: Absolute frequencies of *arīven, lēnden, comen to land*

M2 (1250-1350)	History	Romance
arīven	56	18
lēnden		3
comen to land	34	11

I examined the chronicles *The Story of England by Robert Mannyng of Brunne*, Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle* and the travelogue *Mandeville's Travels* as examples of written text types of the sub-period M3 (1350-1420). Furthermore, I chose John Gower's fictitious work *Confessio Amantis* as representing a speech-based text type. As far as the distribution of *arīven* and its relationship to its competing native verbs is concerned, one can note that the loan word mostly prevails over *lēnden* and *comen to land*.

Table 3: Absolute frequencies of *arīven, lēnden, comen to land*

M3 (1350-1420)	History	Travelogue	Fiction
arīven	96	10	17
lēnden	15	4	
comen to land	21	12	7

For the last sub-period of Middle English, I selected *Capgrave's Chronicle* and Thomas Malory's romance *Le Morte D'Arthur* as representatives of the written genre, while speech-based text types are illustrated by the collection of letters of the Paston and the Stonor families. Table 4 illustrates that *Capgrave's Chronicle* shows only very little influence from Latin or French, while Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* displays a considerable number of instances of the Anglo Norman loan. The writers of the private correspondence of both the Paston and the Stonor family, however, seem to have preferred the native construction *comen to land*. It will be interesting to find out whether social and regional variation plays a role in their linguistic behaviour. Since especially the members of the Paston family can be regarded as 'social up-movers' (cf. Castor 2004; Drinka 2006), their choice of words might reflect their social as well as their regional descent.

Table 4: Absolute frequencies of *arīven, lēnden, comen to land*

M4 (1420-1500)	History	Romance	Letters
arīven	1	29	6
lēnden	1	13	2
comen to land		24	55

All in all, the sources used for the analysis of the written category are based on French and Latinate texts and are often referred to as simply plain renderings of the French original. The authors or translators of these works might well have had a "'gentle' audience chiefly in mind" (Bennett 1986: 170), as was the case with Malory. Moreover, the speech-based sources are also based on French originals and seem to reflect the language of well-educated English people of higher social status at least to a certain extent. John Gower, for example, certainly spent at least some time at the London court and was acquainted with the highly formal language of law as well as with the everyday English of his time. Based on Bennett's (1986: 415) description of Gower's language in his fiction works as "never rarefied, often homely", I assume that the use of the Anglo Norman loan *arīven* may well reflect the language of the upper ranks in Medieval Britain and *arīven* might therefore be regarded as a social marker in speech-based texts.

On account of all the results of the frequency studies, *arīven* tends to outnumber the native lexemes *lēnden / landen* as well as the native

construction *to come to land* in nearly all the written text types examined. Surprisingly the only exception can be found in the travelogue *Mandeville's Travels*, where one might have expected a far higher frequency of attestations of *arīven*, not only because of its context of travelling but also because of the fact that this work is regarded as one of the most faithfully translated versions of French texts by many literary experts and linguists (see e.g. Bennett 1986; Örsi 2005). However, Bennett (1986: 359) suggests that, due to a number of inaccuracies concerning the use of French idioms, the translator of *Mandeville's Travels* might not have been extremely familiar with the French language. In addition, the travelogue, as a separate text type, might have been aimed at a different audience than the other texts chosen, i.e. a wider audience of middle class traders and craftsmen. The question whether the concept of audience design or the author's lack of knowledge of French can be regarded as a valid explanation for this extra-ordinary finding will be addressed in my future research work.

6. Conclusion

Summing up one can conclude that the borrowing of *arīven* involved a considerable number of changes concerning the meaning of both the Anglo-Norman loan word and its rivalling native lexeme *lēnden*. The borrowing process of *arīven* was conditioned by semantic as well as extra-linguistic factors. Firstly, the growing ambiguity of the Old English verb *lēnden* added its share to the subsequent developments. In the course of the first half of the 13th century, *lēnden* came to be used not only in its original meaning 'to come ashore' but also in the broadened sense of 'to come to a place', thereby losing its specific features. Furthermore, we can assume that the homonymic clash between *lēnden* and the identical past form of the verb *lænen* might have resulted in an ambiguity of the meanings of the verbs involved. Secondly, the French language was still considered to be the language of prestige spoken by the upper ranks of society in Britain at the beginning of the 13th century and the cultural dominance of France was noticeable all over Europe. The option of a new and precise word denoting the concept 'to come ashore' more clearly than the available native lexemes might have made things even easier for the loan word *arīven*.

From all the findings outlined above one can deduce the following cautious assumptions: the verb *arīven* was borrowed from Anglo-Norman because many speakers of English might not have been able to distinguish the two meanings of the native lexeme *lēnden* anymore. Although, the verb *lēnden* retained both its meanings for quite a long time, the loan word *arīven*

was favoured by a considerable number of those texts examined in the study. Subsequently, *arīven* might have contributed to the ousting of the Middle English verb *lēnden* by pushing the native lexeme towards its meaning extension. The fact that *arīven* was borrowed was due to the combination of a functional pull as well as a push mechanism and led to the re-structuring of the English lexicon by semantic differentiation, word formation and finally by lexical loss. While I used a different approach, my study confirms Schendl's findings (1985 [1987]).

As far as the distribution of *arīven* in different text types is concerned, it turned out that the highest number of instances of the loan word can be found in translations from French and Latinate sources of the 14th and early 15th centuries. What is particularly noticeable is that the loan word seems to have been extremely popular among translators of written texts, such as chronicles, histories and romances during the 13th and 14th centuries, whereas instances of *arīven* in more speech-based text types, such as fiction, cannot be found until the mid-14th century. Furthermore, the subject matters of the texts included in my study vary considerably. The results of the quantitative analysis, thus, equally mirror differences in context as well as in origin or source and genre. However, based on the frequency study above, a gradual spread of *arīven* from written to more speech-based text types can be noted in the late Middle English and Early Modern English sources examined. Further research on its distribution in other text types in Middle and Early Modern English as well as the regional and social variation of its use, which will be carried out in the course of my doctoral thesis, is highly desirable, thus contributing to an even more comprehensive and detailed picture of the effects of loan words on the English lexicon.

Appendix - Texts

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