

Youngspeak in a Multilingual Perspective

EDITED BY

Anna-Brita Stenström
Annette Myre Jørgensen



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Youngspeak in a multilingual perspective

Introduction

Anna-Brita Stenström and Annette Myre Jørgensen

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Background

All since Labov's epoch-making study of the Black English Vernacular in New York City (1972), research on youth language has been growing steadily, albeit slowly. Examples of other early studies are Cheshire's study (1982) of the language of a group of youngsters in a Reading playground, Kotsinas' study (1994) of the language of three socially different groups of Stockholm teenagers and Eckert's study (1989) of the 'jocks' and burnouts' in a Detroit suburban school area. But it is only recently that research on youth language has begun to accelerate. The reason for this fairly recently awakened interest is aptly formulated by Eckert (1997: 52), who argues that "[a]dolescents are the linguistic movers and shakers [...] and as such a prime source of information about linguistic change.". Or as Hudson (1980: 16) put it, "it is the peer-oriented stage which lays the basis for the adult language". In other words, it is in the language of the young that linguistic innovations first appear (cf Stenström et al 2002:x), and since youth is the ideal in many parts of the western world (Zimmermann 2002: 144), most of the language innovations will sooner or later be accepted in the standard language. We agree entirely with Rodríguez (2002: 15) that the analysis of youth language has received too little attention, but we would also like to emphasize that the comparative aspect has received next to no attention to date. This, in turn, points to the need for more youth language corpora than we have access to today and corpora that are available online for researchers worldwide.

The term 'youngspeak' in the title of the book instead of, for instance, 'youthspeak' is used to denote not only the language of adolescents but also the language of pre-adolescents and post-adolescents, including 10- to 22-year-olds, 'young' being a more liberal term than 'youth', which usually denotes, albeit vaguely as "the period between childhood and adult age" (*The New Oxford Dictionary of English* 1998: 2144). By 'multilingual' we simply refer to the multitude of languages dealt

with, notably English, Greek, Lithuanian, Norwegian and peninsular and Latin-American Spanish. The majority of the articles are corpus-based, some are both corpus-based and contrastive, and others are devoted to one particular language and based on differently collected data.

Language and identity

Why is the language of the young different from the language of adults? As a preliminary, it has to be taken into account that youngspeak is composed of a great variety of youth styles, which are due to social, cultural and geographical factors, in addition to the age factor, which acts as a unifying factor (Herrero (2002: 69). The important role of the peer group for the formation of identity, manifested not only in the youngsters' general behaviour but also in their language, what they talk about and the way they interact, has been emphasized by Cheshire (1982) as well as by Eckert (1989) (cf. Stenström 2003: 94). Kerswill & Williams, among others, stress that "[a]dolescence is a period when young people increasingly distance themselves from parents and the parental generation" (1997: 164). Since they aim at independence from adults and adult authorities and at autonomy and affiliation to relevant peer groups, they create their own vernacular, which is characterized by toughness and street smartness, and sometimes by ingredients such as "verbal play, ritual insults, teasing and 'dissing'" (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou 2003: 5), all of which are a reflexion of their identity. As Quist (2005: 64) puts it, uses of language are acts of identity which signal the groups the user wants to be associated with. The teenage vernacular does not only facilitate communication in the peer group, but at the same time it keeps outside those who do not belong to the group (cf. Catalá Torres 2002: 123–135). And what is important, the teenagers' change of identity, as manifested in their adopted vernacular, often goes hand in hand with language change.

The adolescent vernacular is characterized, above all, by the use of slang, the rich use of taboo words, especially words with sexual reference, and an overuse of pragmatic markers (Herrero 2002; Stenström et al 2002). In addition, one might mention their frequent use of tags, their use of 'non-orthodox' quotation markers and intensifiers, and, with reference to Spanish teenagers, the frequent use of vocatives (cf. Casado Velarde 2002: 89; Stenström 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, Jørgensen 2008). The overuse of certain pragmatic markers is often considered to result in expressive poverty, 'poor' language, lacking adequate vocabulary (e.g. Rodríguez 2002: 23). On the other hand, without them the dialogue would not only lose spontaneity, fluency and vitality, but also the bonding effect.

Zimmermann (2002: 150) goes as far as suggesting that some of the above-mentioned features might be universal. He mentions signals to attract attention, tags, discourse markers, interjections, insults and ellipsis. Large-scale research comparing youth language corpora on a multi-lingual scale would testify to what extent this is true and how the various features are realized in the respective languages.

Youngsters whose native language is not English tend to adopt English words and expressions. With reference to Spanish adolescents' tendency to adopt anglicisms, for instance, Rodríguez (2002: 46) talks about 'la anglomanía juvenil'. This is also accentuated by Catalá Torres, who adds that such borrowings sometimes adapt to the syntax of the receiving language (2002: 133). Moreover, as a consequence of language contact, immigrant varieties are often adopted, as has been shown by Sebba (1993) and Kotsinas (1999). What the youngsters talk about obviously has an effect on their vocabulary. Topics such as romance and sex, partying and drinking, the body, hobbies, race relations and, for instance, lead to a special slang vocabulary (cf. Zimmermann 2002: 154; Rodríguez 2002; Stenström et al 2002).

It should be remembered, however, that many of the features mentioned do not occur exclusively in the teenage vernacular; much of what characterizes the language of the young is also used by adults, only to a much lesser extent.

Corpora in youth language research

Although research on youth language is currently growing, much is still lacking to complete the picture. The lack of research is mainly due to the shortage of youth language corpora, that is corpora that are reasonably large and which are accessible for research online. Not many of those are in existence yet. To our knowledge, the only ones are *The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language* (COLT), collected in London at the beginning of the 1990s (<http://torvald.aksis.uib.no/colt>; Stenström et al 2002), *Språkkontakt och Ungomdsspråk i Norden* (UNO), collected in the Nordic capitals at the end of the 1990s (<http://gandalf.aksis.uib.no/tale/UNO/>) and *Corpus Oral de Lenguaje Adolescente* (COLA), which started being collected in Madrid in 2002, and which includes subcorpora from Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile and Guatemala (www.colam.org, 2004, 2008). All three corpora, which have provided data for some of the articles in this volume, contain naturally occurring spontaneous conversations produced by teenage boys and girls with similar social backgrounds, and all three are available online in orthographic transcription, accompanied by a sound file and provided by an easily manageable search program. The smooth accessibility to these corpora has given rise to numerous studies of London English (Andersen 1998, 2001; Stenström 2006a; Stenström et al 2002; Hasund & Stenström 2005), Madrid Spanish (Jørgensen &

Martínez 2007; Stenström 2008) and Nordic youth language (Kotsinas et al 1999; Stenström et al 2000; Drange et al 2002), including comparative studies (Hasund 2003; Stenström 2005a, b, 2006 b, c; Stenström & Jørgensen 2008). More similar corpora are needed to make it possible to compare youth language varieties on a larger scale and in a multilingual perspective.

What this volume focuses on

The superordinate aim of this volume is to throw a light on various trends in the spoken language of the young today on the basis of naturally occurring spoken data. And by including corpus-based comparative studies, the aim is to reveal tendencies that the adolescent vernaculars in different countries have in common. We are not claiming, however, that all the features discussed occur exclusively in youngspeak. If and to what extent the same features occur in adult speech obviously demands additional research.

The articles in the volume, which cover a number of linguistic features, from formal features on the morphological and prosodic levels to less formal features on the pragmatic level, have been divided into three parts. Part 1 is devoted to the construction of identity in three different situations and by different means, Part 2 deals with certain linguistic expressions that are typically used by adolescents, while Part 3 begins by outlining the theoretical and methodological aspects of contrastive youth language research followed by articles comparing the use of pragmatic markers, anglicisms and slang by adolescents belonging to different nationalities. The link between the three parts, besides 'common trends' in youngspeak, is the role of the features discussed in the creation of youth identity.

Part 1. Identity construction

Aiming to stress the dynamic nature of identity construction, **Argiris Archakis** and **Dimitris Papazachariou** examine the discourse functions of prosody in conversational narratives in a corpus of young Greek females. They argue that narrators use differentiation in speed and/or intensity within direct speech quotations as a means to construct and project discourse and situated identities. These identities seem to conform to two interrelated youth leitmotifs, notably independence from adults and adult authority and engagement in peer-group activities. The prosodic differentiation proves to be an efficient conversational means for young female narrators to express autonomy from the parent group and to express loyalty to the peer group. Speech quotations in conversational narratives are suitable for

young female narrators to construct and project a variety of identities in creative and indexical ways.

With the constructionist idea that identities do not pre-exist to but are construed through human interaction as a starting-point, **Janet Spreckles** shows how youth identities are negotiated and construed in a study of German adolescent girls' spoken interaction. By applying lexical, prosodic and phonological as well as communicative strategies to a short sequence of conversation characterized as gossip, she demonstrates that gender negotiation is a constant feature in the girls' everyday interactions, and that, despite adopting such markers of masculinity as 'coolness' and 'toughness', the girls are still fully aware that they are indeed girls, apparently with an inferiority complex, which they try to defy without much success by talking about those who they consider to be inferior in some respect.

Vally Lytra and **Taşkın Baraç** examine how Turkish-speaking boys and girls in two London-based Turkish complementary schools engage in identity-negotiations during Turkish literacy teaching. The study of how the negotiations develop in traditional Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) classroom sequences shows, among other things, that the youngsters often involve in meaning negotiations with teachers either in Turkish or in Turkish with code-switching to English. Although code-switching was dispreferred, the teachers sometimes allowed it, showing a certain 'pragmatic flexibility', which gave the boys and girls a chance to show their linguistic sophistication, which reflected their understanding of both languages. Moreover, their meaning and identity negotiations within the IRF framework reflected their dynamic and multi-layered identities which, in turn, echoed their experiences from living in a foreign country.

Part 2. Particular expressions

Teenage talk abounds in fixed phrases, the communicative function of which is made clear not by considering their lexical meaning alone but also by considering the pragmatic import. **Juan Antonio Martínez** discusses some of the fixed phrases typically used by today's Madrid teenagers, as reflected in the COLAm corpus. The context, he says, is fundamental for identifying both meaning and function. One example is intensifiers realized by fixed expressions such as *que lo flipa*, *de mierda*, *con patas*, the meaning of which is determined by the context in which they occur and not by their lexical content. Martínez further argues that the teenagers 'radicalize' their linguistic as well as their non-linguistic behaviour by going to certain extremes, which results in a vernacular that is close to 'vulgar language'. In order to understand this behaviour, he says, the teenagers' cultural and economic background has to be taken into account.

The use of the expression *en plan* as a pragmatic marker has not yet been referred to by Spanish linguists, which is probably due to its recent appearance in teenage talk as a politeness device, hedge, with a mitigating function. By means of a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the Madrid teenagers' talk as represented in COLAm, Annette Myre Jørgensen shows that *en plan* is used to save the *speaker's* own face more often than the *hearer's* face. Around four fifths of the total occurrence of *en plan* are speaker-oriented, while only one fifth are hearer-oriented. The analysis also shows that it is only the girls who use *en plan* as a hedge, and that it is mainly girls from the upper classes that use it as a self-face-saving device. Boys, on the other hand, do not use *en plan* as a hedge at all; when they do use *en plan*, it is in its original adverbial function.

Part 3. Languages in contrast

As has already been pointed out, it is only recently that comparative studies of youth language varieties have begun. Klaus Zimmermann outlines the theoretical and methodological aspects of contrastive youth language research – with special reference to Spanish youth language – and describes its various characteristics in different socio-cultural situations. In addition to the empirical aim (eg arriving at comparable data of youth language), there are more theoretical aims, related to three types of comparison: the typological, the contrastive and the diatopic-contrastive approach. Special focus is given to the diatopic-contrastive research, which has not been given due attention so far. Of particular interest, Zimmermann argues, is to find out which has more impact, the structural linguistic aspect or the socio-cultural one, and whether structural similarities or identities can be traced and the role of pragmatics and life-style, if this is the case.

Although pragmatic markers play an extremely important role in youth language overall, they have received limited attention from a contrastive point of view, like youth language overall. Anna-Brita Stenström shows that Spanish discourse marker *pues nada* and English *anyway* can serve the same functions in casual conversation by using examples from the COLAm and COLT corpora. Both *pues nada* and *anyway*, like the alternatives *bueno*, *OK* and *well*, play a crucial role in a dialogue by facilitating topic transitions, topic resumptions and closings on the discourse level as well as speaker shifts on the level of interaction in addition to reflecting the speaker's intention. The functions of the markers are closely related to their position in the speaker's turn. In turn-initial position they are likely to signal a new topic or topic resumption; which is also most likely to occur in turn-medial position, where the markers can also signal closing. In turn-final position they are most likely to signal end of topic and/or lack of interest on the part

of the current speaker, generally with a turn-yielding effect, and when constituting a turn of their own, they indicate that the speaker has nothing more to say.

The use of anglicisms in different languages reflects the important position of English as a global language. **Eli-Marie Drange** treats anglicisms in informal speech, analyzing their use by comparing conversations from the Norwegian UNO/Oslo corpus and the Chilean COLAs corpus to understand the process of the integration of borrowings better. Her findings show that neither in Norwegian nor in Chilean Spanish is the use of anglicisms in adolescent informal language particularly extensive, but that the anglicisms were usually integrated in the receiving language in both cases. The most common borrowings in both conversations analysed are anglicisms related to new technological items. When used with interpersonal or textual functions, the anglicisms often maintain the original pronunciation pattern, causing an effect in the conversation. This indicates a difference between borrowings that are used to name new inventions and borrowings that fulfil other functions, where the former enter the process of integration at an earlier stage than the ones serving interpersonal or textual functions.

By applying a Psycho-Social Model to teenage slang **Jolanta Legaudaite** discusses the similarities and differences between Lithuanian and English teenage slang as manifested in COLT and COKT (*The Corpus of Kaunas Teenage Language*). She compares the properties and functions of slang in the two vernaculars by testing a number of hypotheses, e.g.: teenage slang depends on psychological development and reaches its peak in early adolescence; slang reflects gender identity, it carries masculine features of power and occurs especially in male talk; different teenage vernaculars reflect different attitudes towards dirty slang; and cultural differences affect the use and spread of slang in the teenage subculture. Her conclusion is that the similarities and differences that were found in the use of slang among the Kaunas and the London teenagers were crucial both to testing the Psycho-Social Theory and to understanding the psycho-social characteristics of teenage slang in general.

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PART 1

Identity construction

On young women's prosodic construction of identity

Evidence from Greek conversational narratives*

Argiris Archakis and Dimitris Papazachariou

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This paper is part of a wider research on the prosodic devices used in the production of stretches of direct speech embedded in Greek young women's narratives. Drawing on the broader framework of Discourse Analysis and Sociolinguistics as well as on recent developments in the theory of prosody and on the social constructionist paradigm, our paper follows the line of research that focuses on situated analysis of identities. We analyse both quantitatively and qualitatively the discourse functions of the prosodic features of speed and intensity, aiming to show the dynamic nature of identity construction in narrative context. We argue that, in the process of identity construction and projection, our young female informants attempt to signal both their independence from adult authority as well as their in-group bonds.

Keywords: conversational narratives, contextualization cues, speed, intensity, construction of identities, youth leitmotifs

1. Introduction

Age, along with other factors like social class and gender, has been considered as a possible cause of language variation. Thus, from the perspective of language variation studies, *youngspeak* could be approached as an age-specific variety including those linguistic elements that are chosen by a group of young people, like young children, young boys/girls, young men/women or even young adults, in their in-group interactions. However, in the last two decades or so, advances in discourse studies have shown that both *young* and the associated term *youngspeak*

* The authors' names are in alphabetical order. They have contributed equally in the preparation of the paper. They wish to thank Dr. St. Lambropoulou and Dr. V. Tsakona, for helpful suggestions.

are vague notions and far from easy to define. Very interestingly, Wyn and White (1997: 25, as cited in Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003: 2) point out that “young people do share in common their age, but the social, economic and cultural significance of this physical reality is far from common”. In view of this observation, young age can be approached neither as a biological factor nor as a static and stable social category, but rather as a dynamically constructed identity, sensitive to various social and cultural parameters. In this light, young people’s language could hardly be seen as a dependent linguistic reflex. Rather, the various linguistic features and discourse strategies chosen by young people seem to contribute, along with other social acts, activities and practices, to the construction of their own young identity.

Attempting, however, to focus on the common features and tendencies thus far attested in adolescent talk across speech communities in the multilingual European landscape, we will follow Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou (2003: 4), who point out that “there is a convergence on viewing young people’s language use as a reaction to general conditions of adolescence as a transitional life stage”. This reaction, upon which youth talk seems to be based, possibly pertains, to a lesser or bigger extent, to adolescent resistance to the adult power structure within both family and school (see, for example, Eckert 2000). More particularly, Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou (2003: 4) propose that language used in adolescence could be approached “as a symbolic assertion of autonomy from adults and adult authority and as an index of affiliation to (or distancing from) relevant peer groups and youth-cultural scenes”. Therefore, from this perspective, a crucial research question can be raised as to what linguistic and discursive means – and in what ways – contribute to this general tendency of young people’s identity construction.

Heavy vernacular use, bricolage practices and polyphonic discourse are among the discursive means that have been attested as chosen by adolescent groups in the process of their identity construction (see Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003: 4–6). Our paper, however, pays particular attention to the – admittedly neglected – discursal functions of prosody in the context of conversational narratives. On the basis of evidence drawn from an oral corpus of Greek young female conversational narratives, we argue that our narrators, whose age-span ranges from 18 to 22, use differentiation in speed and/or intensity within direct speech quotations as a means of constructing and projecting discourse and situated identities. Broadly speaking, these identities seem to conform to the two interrelated youth leitmotifs mentioned above, i.e. independence from adults and adult authority, and engagement in peer-group activities and youth cultural practices, which often involve a departure from mainstream norms and values (see Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003: 4).

In view of the assumption that “youth identities are socially constitutive and discursively constructed” (Georgakopoulou 2003: 83), our paper follows the line of research that focuses on the contextual analysis of identities. We draw on the social constructionist paradigm suggesting that social reality is not uniform and objective, but created by human beings. Rather than treating identities as static properties, we claim that people work up their identities via selecting specific forms of verbal behaviour. In other words, people construct their identities in indexical, creative and unpredictable ways in their moment-to-moment interactions (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998; Stenström et al. 2002).

From this point of view, style performances, i.e. conversational choices in general and prosodic choices in particular, can be seen as acts contributing to the process of identity construction. Speakers' choices on how to perform an utterance can function as cues for the way the utterance is meant to be interpreted. For example, a higher pitch register is frequently associated with ‘feminine’ values, such as ‘politeness’, ‘friendliness’ or ‘vulnerability’, as opposed to a lower pitch register, which is frequently associated with ‘confidence’, ‘protectiveness’ or ‘aggression’ (Gussenhoven 2002: 47). In a similar vein, Gumperz (1982: 131–152) discusses *contextualization cues*, which are defined as constellations of surface features of message form by which speakers signal, and listeners interpret, communicative intent. In this light, prosodic features can be treated as contextualization cues which lack semantic content but constitute a resource for the management of situated, interactional meanings (see Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 1996; Couper-Kuhlen 2001).

Interlocutors, however, do not always follow stereotypical associations between prosody and social behaviour (e.g. the above-mentioned association between higher pitch and feminine values); they often exploit those associations strategically and contrary to expectations in order to achieve specific goals. As Coulthard (1985: 97) insightfully argues, “[T]here is no necessary one-to-one relationship between a given suprasegmental choice and a meaning.”

What is important for the present discussion is that, as pointed out in the relevant literature, variation in prosody seems to be used by speakers in order to indicate stretches of reported speech in a story and play different roles therein. However, very little is known about how speakers accomplish this task (see, among others, Mayes 1990: 359; Myers 2004: 136; Clift and Holt 2007). In what follows, we will focus on the contribution of prosodic contextualization cues in the process of construction and manipulation of youth identity. Our general hypothesis is that prosodic differentiation in speed, intensity, or both, functions as a contextualization cue signalling the construction of discourse and situated identity features found particularly in direct speech quotations at the climax points of conversational narratives. It will be shown that, in this process of identity construction and

projection, our young female informants attempt to signal both their independence from adult authority as well as their in-group bonds.

2. Direct speech as a means of identity construction

Conversational narrative as a discourse genre is particularly amenable to identity work because of – among other things – the crucial role of direct quotations embedded therein. As will be shown in the ensuing analysis, narrators assign various identities to the represented interlocutors through the use of direct speech quotations – usually at the climax points of their stories.

The placing of direct quotations at the climax point of the story is interpreted by Mayes (1990: 349) as a means of avoiding negative judgments from the audience, hence as enabling narrators to make up their stories in the most effective way possible. Labov (1972) distinguishes between two types of narrative evaluation: *external* evaluation, whereby the narrator comments on the climax point overtly (e.g. by inserting a meta-narrative comment), and *internal* evaluation, whereby the narrator *shows* – rather than *tells* – the audience, what the point of the story is. Due to its grammatical characteristics (e.g. the maintenance of time, space and person deixis of the original utterances), direct speech gives the impression of an authentic reproduction of prosody and wording, i.e. a verbatim reenactment of the original utterance by the original voice (Coulmas 1986; Holt 2000). In view of the above, direct speech – appearing mostly at climax points – can be seen as an internal evaluative device contributing to the vividness and dramatization of the reporting utterances and to interpersonal involvement (Tannen 1989). As Mayes (1990: 350) aptly suggests, “what better way to **show** what the point of a story is than to dramatize it and act it out using direct quotation?” (see also Myers 2004).

It should further be noted that, despite creating expectations of faithfulness on the part of the recipients due to its grammatical features (see Short et al. 2002), direct speech does not involve the accurate (prosodic) reproduction of the original utterances. Rather, direct speech is better seen as constructed by the reporter in order to fulfil his/her current conversational and identity goals (Tannen 1989).

In what follows, we will argue that discourse and situated identities constructed within direct speech quotations at the climax points of conversational narratives are distinguished by differences in speed, intensity or both.

3. Prosodic units and prosodic features under examination

The prosodic unit relevant for the present analysis is the *intonation phrase*, and more specifically two suprasegmental features of the intonation phrase, i.e. speed and intensity.

The intonation phrase is defined as a stretch of speech pronounced under a single coherent intonation contour (Du Bois et al. 1993). The boundaries of the intonation phrase can be: (a) a pause, (b) an abrupt change of the intonation contour resetting the baseline of the intonation phrase, (c) a lengthening of the final syllable of the intonation phrase, or (d) a combination of the above parameters (Chafe 1980; Du Bois et al. 1993; Cruttenden 1996). Its pragmatic function involves the presentation of one piece of focused information and its incorporation in the shared knowledge of the recipients (Givon 1984; Du Bois et al. 1993; Chafe 1994). While the length of the intonation phrase obviously varies, it may maximally coincide with the entire length of the utterance. The intonation phrase usually consists of two to four phonological words, dividing a large utterance into two or three pieces. In example 1,¹ the direct speech utterance consists of three different intonation phrases (ips) indicated by the parentheses:

- (1) (από σας τις δύο)_{ip} (λέει) (περιμένω να παντρευτείτε)_{ip} (για να παντρευτώ κι εγώ)_{ip}
 ‘(the two of you)_{ip} (he says) (I am waiting for to get married)_{ip} (so that I can get married as well)_{ip}’

Figure 1 shows how this utterance is split into three intonation phrases as a result of abrupt changes resetting the baseline of the intonation contour.

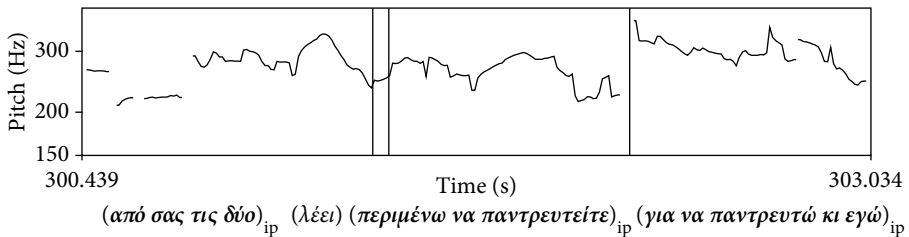


Figure 1. Utterance splitting in intonation phrases

1. The examples are presented in the Greek language and alphabet, followed by their free translation in English. For the transcription we use the following conventions: / = self-correction, :: = prolongation of a sound, **Bold letters** = instances of direct speech, Underlining = the stressed parts of utterances, {xxx} = explanatory contextual or cultural information, _{ip} = intonation phrase.

The speed and intensity of the intonation phrase usually vary. *Speed* refers to the tempo of speech production; i.e. it determines how fast somebody speaks. For the purposes of the present study, speed was calculated by dividing the time of every intonation phrase by the number of syllables uttered (see Crystal 1997). The result shows the average syllable time per intonation phrase. Time was calculated in milliseconds (msecs). *Intensity* refers to the average loudness of each intonation phrase and is measured in decibels (dBs). Measurements for both features were obtained through the use of the *Praat* software for speech analysis.

4. The data of the study

In this study we are particularly concerned with aspects of identity construction emerging in the speech of nine Greek girls (between 18 and 22 years old). Our data is drawn from spontaneous, unstructured conversations they had with five female researchers, all of whom were at the time university students of about the same age as the informants.² The researchers were either very close friends of the informants, or had spent a long period of time (approximately two months prior to the recordings) attending their school courses under the pretext of gathering material for their own university essays, a practice that allowed them to get acquainted with the informants and develop strong, intimate friendship bonds with them during school breaks and, later on, during their leisure time. Therefore, we can safely assume that, owing to the nature of those ties, the emergence of the interview schema during the recordings was avoided.

Our analysis is based on five transcribed conversations, each lasting for about one hour. In every conversation two close friends – our informants – interact in the presence of one or two researchers. Reference to informants will hereafter bear the label Nar (for Narrator), followed by a serial number.

Considering our nine female informants more systematically, we can give the following details about them as well as a code number. Two out of the nine female informants are high-school graduates, about 22 years old, with a temporary job and a more or less independent life (i.e. Nar01, Nar02), while the other seven are high-school students around the age of 18, living at their parents' place and with their economic support (i.e. Nar03, Nar04, Nar05, Nar6, Nar7, Nar8 and Nar9).

The five recorded conversations contain about 80 narratives – in line with Labov's 1972 definition, the term 'narrative' refers to any recounting involving at least two temporally ordered clauses. The stories cover topics mostly relevant to

2. Our data come from two different research projects (*K. Karatheodoris 2425* and *K. Karatheodoris B135*) funded by the Research committee of the University of Patras, Greece.

school life. 301 *direct speech intonation phrases* were isolated, and measured for speed and intensity with the *Praat software*.

In addition to the statistical tests checking possible correlations between the dependent (i.e. speed and intensity) and the independent variables in our sample, further statistical analysis was conducted on an individual basis, in order to investigate the systematic behaviour of each informant. We should emphasize that speed and intensity values are not assigned to single instances, but rather represent the average syllable value for speed and intensity per intonation phrase. Consequently, in order to obtain reliable statistical results for the systematic behaviour of individuals, only the prosodic behaviour of those informants who provided no less than four direct speech intonation phrases for every independent variable under examination (i.e. discourse and situated identities) was taken into account.

5. The analysis of the data: Differentiating identities by prosodic means

The pragmatic and sociolinguistic analysis of the present data is based on Zimmerman's (1998) distinction between *discourse identities*, which "bring into play relevant components of conversational machinery" and *situated identities*, which "deliver pertinent agendas, skills and relevant knowledge, allowing participants to accomplish various projects in an orderly and reproducible way" (Zimmerman 1998: 88). In the following sections we will elaborate on this distinction and use it in order to identify possible correlations with speed and intensity. We intend to demonstrate that differentiation in speed, intensity, or both, functions as a contextualization cue, displaying our narrators' discursive orientation to the relevance of the identities they choose (see Wooffitt and Clark, 1998: 10).

5.1 Discourse identities

Zimmerman (1998: 90, 92, 94) defines *discourse identities* as emerging from the sequential organization of talk in interaction. Participants assume discourse identities which orient them to certain activity types and their respective interactional roles within them, such as the role of current speaker, listener, story teller, story recipient, questioner, answerer. Discourse identities can thus shift turn by turn.

In the conversational narratives under examination, narrators assign voices, and thus discourse identities, to several characters represented as speaking agents.

The analysis of the direct speech instances from our corpus reveals at least the following two discourse identity representations:

- i. *Narrator's voice*, i.e. the narrator presents herself as the speaking person. We label this discourse identity representation S1. In example 2, Nar02 represents herself talking to a male friend of hers. Direct speech is marked in bold:
 - (2) Του λέω **εντάξει κόψτο** τώρα αφού θα ξαναρχίσεις σα φαντάρος.
 'I say to him **ok stop it {smoking}** now since you will start it again when you do your military service.'
- ii. *Other character's voice addressing the narrator as a represented figure*. We label this discourse identity representation S2. In example 3, Nar01 represents her father talking to her:
 - (3) Μου λέει **παιδάκι μου πού το βάζεις τόσο φαΐ**;
 'He {my father} says to me **how can you eat so much?**'

These two discourse identity representations are constructed and projected by the narrator. That is, being the author, in Goffman's (1981) terms, and thus planning the wording of both her own words and those of the other participants, the narrator-animator seems to select and indicate, through (inter alia) the prosodic cues she uses, who says what, thus assigning specific discourse identities.

5.2 Situated identities

According to Zimmerman (1998: 90, 94) *situated identities* "come into play within the precincts of particular types of situation". For example, in a medical meeting we can identify the situated identities of doctor and patient, in a family setting the situated identities of parents, kid(s) and possibly (older, younger, male, female) siblings, whereas in the school classroom we can distinguish the roles of teacher and (bad and good) students.

Zimmerman (1998: 105) moreover observes that the specific shape of the discursive activities emerges from the situated identities of participants. The two discourse identities we have already identified in our data seem to be suitable conversational loci for situated identities to be made visible in interaction. Actually, several direct speech instances represent interactions between participants with asymmetrical power positions (cf. Johnstone 2002: 112), like teacher-student, parent-child, big brother-younger sister, as well as interactions between participants with (more or less) symmetrical power positions, like intimate friends.

In this context, we distinguish situated identities based, on the one hand, on the presence of authority (as is the case when reporting a teacher's/ parent's/

brother's voice) and, on the other hand, on the absence of authority (as is the case when reporting a student's/child's/sister's voice). On the basis of the presence or absence of authority in the communicative situation being represented, both a discourse identity and a situated one can be assigned to the speakers in our data. In what follows we will focus particularly on situated identities assigned to S1 and S2.

5.2.1 *Situated identities within the discourse role of S1's recipient*

The presence or absence of authority gives rise to two different situations, illustrated as follows:

- a. *S1 addressing R(ecipient) plus-Auth(ority)*. In example (4) Nar04 is addressing, along with other classmates (note that the introductory verb is in the first person plural), her teacher (a plus-authority figure):

(4) Του λέμε, κύριε, του λέμε:: (...) κάτι γίνεται κύριε.
'We say to him, sir, we say (...) something is going on.'

- b. *S1 addressing R(ecipient) minus-Auth(ority)*. In example (5) Nar03 is talking to a minus-authority recipient, i.e. a close friend of hers:

(5) Της λέω εγώ θέλω να πάω σπίτι.
'I say to her I would like to go home.'

In order to investigate the possibility that the prosodic realization of S1's voice might be influenced by the authority status of the recipient, we conducted a statistical analysis looking for correlations between the prosodic variation found in S1's representation and the presence or absence of the recipient's authority. Only three narrators (i.e. Nar01, Nar03 and Nar04) produced a sufficient number of instances per narrator for statistical analysis. The rest of our informants reported themselves as addressing only minus-authority recipients (as is the case of Nar02, Nar07 and Nar08) or only plus-authority recipients (as is the case of Nar05, Nar06 and Nar09). The T-test was used in order to investigate whether there were significant prosodic differences in the reported voice of S1 that correlated with the authority status of her recipient. Table 1 shows that only Nar01 significantly differentiates her reported voice in terms of the syllable speed of her intonation phrases.

Table 1. T-test comparing Nar01's syllable speed in relation to the authority status of her R(ecipient)

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Significance
Syllable speed of Nar01	S1 to R plus-Auth	14	134,142	23,9096	6,3901	0,00
	S1 to R minus-Auth	18	112,166	16,9887	4,0042	

A reasonable question following the results of the statistical analysis could be raised as to why it is only Nar01 (out of three narrators) who systematically changes her reported speech according to the authority status of her recipient. It seems that the sociolinguistic information and pragmatic analysis of her narratives can provide further information in this connection. In particular, Nar01 is an independent young woman who earns her own living –in opposition to the vast majority of our narrators, who are high-school students, financially dependent on their families. Her social status presumably permits her to feel autonomous and self-confident, ready to protect herself from face-threatening acts and to claim (verbally) her own rights. Actually, this behaviour is obviously adopted by Nar01 throughout the entire conversation and is also attested by our ethnographic observations. More specifically, Nar01 represents herself as not hesitating to threaten the face (see Brown and Levinson 1987) of powerful figures like her mother or her older brother. Examples (6) and (7) (accompanied by the speed measurements in Table 1) are indicative of how she differentiates her own voice according to the power status of the recipient. In particular, in example (6), Nar01 presents a turn-taking sequence involving a quarrel between herself and her big brother (i.e. S1= her own voice, S2= her brother's voice), whereas in example (7) she presents herself with a collaborative attitude towards her equal friend:

- (6) [S1] (*Του λέω*)_{ip}
 ('I say to him')_{ip}
 (*θα δεχθώ επισκέψεις το απόγευμα.*)_{ip} <speed: 160 msecs>
 ('I'm gonna have visitors this afternoon.')_{ip}
 [S2] (*Μου λέει*)_{ip}
 ('He says to me')_{ip}
 (*ποιος θάρθει;*)_{ip}
 ('who is coming?')_{ip}

- [S1] (Να μη σ' ενδιαφέρει.)_{ip} <speed: 142 msec/syllable>
 ('It's none of your business.')
- [S2] (Ποιος θάρθει στο σπίτι μου;) _{ip}
 ('who is coming to my place?')
- [S1] (Δεν είναι σπίτι σου.) _{ip} <speed: 173 msec/syllable>
 ('It's not your place.')
- (του(h) κάνω ε(h)γώ.)_{ip}
 ('I reply to him.')
- [S2] (Καλά μη μας δαγκώσεις κιό:λας.)_{ip}
 ('Ok, don't beat us up, after all.')
- (7) [S1] (Εγώ λέω) _{ip}
 ('I go like')
- (εγώ του κάνω του Γιώργου) _{ip}
 ('I say to George')
- (ρε Γιώργο) _{ip} <speed: 118 msec/syllable>
 ('hey, George')
- (του λέω) _{ip}
 ('I say')
- (να μ/ να μ' αφήσεις στη πιάτσα) _{ip} <speed: 100 msec/syllable >
 ('please leave me at the taxi queue')
- (να πάρω ένα ταξι.) _{ip} <speed: 112 msec/syllable<>
 ('to get a taxi.')

In example (6), Nar01 is represented as not hesitating to confront the authority of her brother. In this example her voice speed (S1) is slower than her voice speed (S1) in example (7). In the latter example, Nar01 shows her collaborative attitude towards her equal male friend, asking him to give her a lift to the closest taxi queue, and not, for example, to drive her all the way home.

To sum up, the statistical results reveal that the situated identities emerging from the qualitative analysis of S1's recipient, i.e. S1 addressing recipient plus-authority and S1 addressing recipient minus-authority, correlate with changes only in the prosodic feature of *speed* and only in the case of Nar01. In other words, only Nar01's speech is statistically differentiated in terms of syllable speed according to the authority status of her recipient.

5.2.2 *Situated identities within the discourse role of S2*

- a. *S2 plus-Auth(ority) addressing S1.* In example (8), Nar03 represents her gym teacher, i.e. a plus-authority figure, addressing herself and some of her classmates. In this particular example there is no introductory verb:

(8) Κοίταξε να δεις, εδώ παιδιά δεν παίζουμε, τώρα κάνουμε γυμναστική, κάνουμε γυμναστική.
'Well kids look, we don't just play here, we are doing gymnastics.'

- b. *S2 minus-Auth(ority) addressing S1.* In example (9), Nar09 represents a minus-authority figure (a close friend) talking to her about how they are going to meet in case they both succeed in the University exams, albeit in different university towns. There is no introductory verb:

(9) Έλα ρε, θα 'ρχομαι κάθε σαββατοκύριακο να σε βλέπω όπως κι εσύ.
'Come on, I will come every weekend to meet you and you will do the same.'

Elaborating on the above mentioned situated identities within the discourse role of S2, we would expect the voices involving the presence of authority in S2 to be uttered with a different prosodic contour compared with those that do not involve the presence of authority. In other words, we assume that the discursive transition from an interactional representation of an asymmetrical alignment to an interactional representation of a more symmetrical alignment, i.e. the change in footing, in Goffman's (1981) terms, should be signalled prosodically. The T-test was used in order to investigate the possibility of significant differences in the reported S2 voices correlating with their authority status. Six out of nine narrators (i.e. Nar01, Nar03, Nar05, Nar07, Nar08 and Nar09) produced a sufficient number of intonation phrases for further statistical analysis. Table 2 shows the statistically significant results.

According to Table 2, four out of the six narrators with statistically sufficient number of relevant tokens significantly differentiate, in prosodic terms, the representation of plus-authority-S2-voices from minus-authority-S2-voices. In particular, Nar03 differentiates significantly the voice of S2 in terms of syllable *speed*, and Nar01, Nar08 and Nar09 in terms of *intensity*.

Considering in more detail the results in Table 2, a further point can be made in connection with the intensity of the reported voice of S2. If we wished to make a sophisticated guess about which of the two S2 voices (i.e. the plus-authority-S2-voice or the minus-authority-S2-voice) would sound louder, we might assume that the plus-authority-S2-voice would correlate with the greater intensity, given that, stereotypically, a loud voice is an indication of power. Nevertheless, according to Table 2, all three narrators who present a statistically significant differentiation

Table 2. T-tests comparing S2 plus Auth(ority) and S2 minus Auth(ority) on the basis of speed and intensity

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Significance
Syllable speed of Nar03	S2 plus-Auth	5	199,800	31,1640	13,937	0,00
	S2 minus-Auth	15	131,400	38,9391	10,054	
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Significance
Intensity of Nar01	S2 plus-Auth	11	63,450	3,4925	1,0530	0,00
	S2 minus-Auth	12	73,438	3,7210	1,0741	
Intensity of Nar08	S2 plus-Auth	8	58,583	3,0167	1,0665	0,01
	S2 minus-Auth	15	62,833	3,7758	0,9749	
Intensity of Nar09	S2 plus-Auth	3	57,643	0,8254	0,4766	0,03
	S2 minus-Auth	7	59,618	1,2036	0,4549	

between plus-authority-S2-voices and minus-authority-S2-voices in terms of intensity represent their authority interlocutors with lower intensity than interlocutors without authority.

In example (10) Nar08 represents a teacher talking to her and some of her classmates, informing them about a forthcoming exam. In example (11) Nar08 presents a close friend talking to her (i.e. to Nar08) in order to let her (i.e. Nar08) know that she will take good care of her (i.e. of Nar08), if they share a lodging as university students.

- (10) *S2 plus-Authority (teacher)*
 έχει προειδοποιήσει ρε παιδί μου κάποιες μέρες πριν
 'she informed us few days ago'
 (την Παρασκευή)_{ip} <intensity: 65,33 dbs>
 ('this Friday')_{ip}
 (λέει)_{ip}
 ('she says')_{ip}
 (θα γράψουμε διαγώνισμα)_{ip} <intensity: 65,35 dbs>
 ('we will write a test')_{ip}
- (11) *S2 minus-Authority (classmate)*
 και η ίδια μου λέει
 'and she personally says to me'
 (θα σου πλένω)_{ip} <intensity: 70,13 dbs>
 ('I will clean for you')_{ip}

(θα σου μαγειρεύω)_{ip} <intensity: 70,93 dbs>
 ('I will cook for you')_{ip}
 (θα σε κάνω/)_{ip} <intensity: 70,17 dbs>
 ('I will do')_{ip}
 (Μου λέει)_{ip}
 ('She says')_{ip}
 (θα σου στρώνω το κρεβάτι)_{ip} <intensity: 71,73 dbs>
 ('I will make the bed for you')_{ip}

Comparing example (10), where a plus-authority voice (teacher) is represented, with example (11), where a minus-authority voice (friend) is also represented, we can see that the intonation phrases in (10) are all louder than those in (11).

On the basis of the analysis of examples (10) and (11) we could draw the conclusion that Nar01, Nar08 and Nar09 attempt to distinguish the voices of adult authority figures from the voices of peer non-authority figures addressing them. Moreover, we assume that these narrators reproducing their plus-authority interlocutors with lower intensity than their minus-authority interlocutors attempt, at the level of the narrative construction of reality, to eliminate power from the former.

6. Concluding remarks

The data analyzed in this paper confirm the hypothesis that prosodic differentiation within direct speech quotations in conversational narratives contributes to the construction of discourse and situated identities on the basis of the presence or absence of authority traits in the represented figures. Based on the results of our analysis we are not in a position to claim that the witnessed prosodic differentiation is age-dependent, i.e. specifically used by teenagers in Greece. However, what we could claim is that the young females of our data exploit the witnessed prosodic differentiation, possibly not exclusively available to them, in order to signal both their autonomy from adult authority and their peer affiliation. In other words, drawing on available prosodic differentiation strategies, the young females construct identities that conform to youth leitmotifs.

More particularly, and comparing the interactional combinations of S1 and S2 (Table 1 and Table 2), we can see that most of our narrators tend to distinguish prosodically the authority from the non-authority voices addressing them (i.e. S2) rather than vice versa. On the one hand, it is only Nar01, who differentiates prosodically her own voice (S1) according to the authority status of her recipients (see Table 1), as well as the voice of her authority or non-authority interlocutors (S2) (see Table 2).

On the other hand, the high-school students illustrated in Table 2, i.e. Nar03, Nar08, and Nar09, seem to feel more comfortable and less hesitant to mainly differentiate in a prosodically visible way the voices of authority figures (like those of their teachers and relatives, see example (8) above) from the voices of non-authority figures (like those of their classmates and close friends, see example (9) above), addressing them (S2), rather than the other way round (i.e. their own voices (S1) addressing people with or without authority).

At this point we could raise again a previous point made in connection with Table 2, i.e. that the high-school students Nar08 and Nar09 as well as the more independent Nar01 reproduce, contrary to common stereotypical expectations, their plus-authority interlocutors, i.e. their teachers and relatives, with lower intensity than those without authority. This might indicate that these narrators attempt – at the level of the narrative construction of reality – to eliminate power from authority figures. In other words, we could propose the hypothesis that Nar01, Nar08 and Nar09, acting as authors, in Goffman's terms (1981), shape the prosody of their represented dialogues so as to probably de-legitimize the represented authority figures (see also Archakis and Tzanne 2005).

Summing up the above discussion, we can maintain that all young female narrators that present statistically significant prosodic differentiation are found to distinguish their represented conversations with intimates and peer group from those with powerful adults (cf. Andersen 2001: 10). Moreover, they are found *not* to represent (male) authority figures in the stereotypically expected respectful way (see, among others, Georgakopoulou 1997; Swann 2000: 221, 227–229). In other words, prosodic differentiation proves to be an efficient conversational means in order for our young female narrators to “express autonomy from the parent group and to express loyalty to the peer group” (Andersen 2001: 8) or more generally “to signal boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and symbolic affiliations or disaffiliations” (Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003: 9; see also Kallmeyer and Keim 2003).

To conclude our discussion, our analysis has shown that speech quotations in conversational narratives are suitable discursive loci for (young female) narrators to construct and project a variety of (discourse and situated) identities in creative and indexical ways through, inter alia, various prosodic choices and combinations on the basis of their available resources and current communicative aims.

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Now he thinks he's listening to rock music

Identity construction among German teenage girls

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This paper deals with disaffiliation and membership categorization processes among German adolescent girls. Drawing on a peer-group which I conceptualize as a 'community of practice' (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992), this case study aims to show how the girls' disaffiliation and categorization of several out-groups serve to negotiate various identity aspects (gender being one of them). The paper investigates the various linguistic resources and communicative strategies the girls apply in their everyday identity negotiations. Further, I will discuss which of these resources and strategies can be seen as typical instances of (German) youngspeak. The data is taken from a larger conversation analytic and ethnographic research project on talk-in-interaction among a group of 'normal' German high school girls.

Keywords: identity research, gender studies, ethnographic conversation analysis, positioning, membership categorization, community of practice

1. Introduction

Research on youth language or youngspeak, as the language use of adolescents is conceptualized in this volume, is very often automatically research on the *identity* of young individuals. To be young implies to be in a stage of development. Although identity construction in this study is considered to be a dynamic and life-long process (cf. section 2), social scientists across different countries have emphasized that the question of identity negotiation is *the* crucial question of adolescence (cf. Oerter & Dreher 1995, Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou 2003, Deppermann 2007b). In postmodern society, the individual has the choice between a large number of very different identities. Even a rather stable concept such as gender identity has become a field of negotiation and, thus, of insecurity for the individual.

Drawing on a group of German high-school girls, I aim to show how the negotiation of their identity is omnipresent in their everyday interactions. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1999: 190) have pointed out that the “social practices that construct gender are at the same time also constructing other aspects of identity”. The analysis of an example episode of the girls’ interactions will show that the construction of their (untraditional) female gender identity is indeed subtly intertwined with the negotiation of other identity aspects.

Since the question of the self is always linked to the question of the ‘other’, the paper focuses on the disaffiliation of various out-groups the girls deal with in their interactions. I will illustrate these phenomena by drawing on socio-psychological and sociologist concepts such as positioning analysis (Davies & Harré 1990), identities-in-interaction (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998) and membership categorization (Sacks 1992). The paper focuses on the linguistic resources (lexical, prosodic, phonological aspects) and communicative strategies the girls apply in these processes. With the case study of identity constructions in German youngspeak I hope to add to the multilingual perspective of this volume.

2. An interactive concept of identities

Before moving towards the analysis of a sequence of youngspeak (section 7), the theoretical key concepts crucial for my analysis should be clarified.

Anselm Strauss (1959) points out that the researcher who studies identities also needs to study interactive processes, since the individual’s idea of self and others is formed within interaction. This has been an important insight because traditionally, identity has been conceptualized as something stabile and permanent (cf. Keupp et al. 2002: 22). Recent approaches, in contrast, emphasize the dynamic and interactive nature of identity: “social identities tend to be indeterminate, situational rather than permanent, dynamic and interactively constructed.” (Duszak 2002: 2 ff.; see also Deppermann 2007).

Due to this new perception of identities, in the past two decades concepts have been developed in the social sciences that allow us to investigate identity with empirical methods. One of these concepts which is, for example, accessible via conversation analysis is that of ‘positioning’, introduced by Davies & Harré (1990). They define positioning as “the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines” (1990: 48). During interaction, we put ourselves and others into positions from where we view and judge the world. Davies & Harré consider position as “the appropriate expression to talk about the discursive production of a diversity of selves” (1990: 47), and they prefer this term as an alternative to more

static models such as 'role' or Goffman's concept of 'frames' and 'footing' (cf. Goffman 1974). According to Hall (1996: 6), identities are positions that subjects appropriate in discourse and which bind them to meaning and social processes. Identities are regarded as symbolic resources which individuals draw on in various ways in order to position themselves in social and ideological processes.

In line with Davies, Harré and Hall, the social psychologists Antaki & Widdicombe (1998) emphasize with their concept of 'identity-in-interaction' the importance of discourse and interaction in the study of identities. Widdicombe concludes that "the important analytic question is not [...] whether someone can be described in a particular way, but to show *that* and *how* this identity is made relevant or ascribed to self or others" (1998: 191, her emphasis). This concept of identity does not investigate who the conversation partners 'are' due to their demographic characteristics (as, in the case of my study, 15-year-old German middle-class girls), but rather their locally identifiable, discursively evolving identities, which interlocutors choose from a range of possibilities and to which they accord relevance in discourse. These locally constructed – and, thus, empirically accessible – discursive identities may allow insights into larger social identities (such as group and gender identity).

The dynamic and interactive conceptualization of identities involves another factor crucial to the constitution of the self: it is the idea of the 'other'. Many researchers in linguistics and social sciences have pointed out that we negotiate identities by constantly comparing ourselves to other individuals and groups: "identities [...] are intimately linked with politics of inclusion, exclusion and more or less strategic self- and other-positionings" (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou 2003: 2; see also Auer 2007). Since the self cannot be seen without some 'alter', the identity question is not "Who am I?" but "Who am I in relation to others, who are the others in relation to myself?". Tajfel and Forgas (1981: 124) sum up this intertwining of self and other in the phrase: "We are what we are because they are not what we are." Therefore, the constitution of identity has to be seen as interdependent and intersubjective.

The representations of the self and the other are embedded in processes of social categorization. Thus, another concept employed in my analysis is 'membership categorization', introduced by the sociologist Harvey Sacks in the 1960s (cf. Sacks 1972, 1979, 1992). It answers the question of how individuals categorize themselves and others within social interaction, showing how individuals make sense of their actions and how this constant categorization allows them to better structure their social environment. Turner (1982) states that "social categorizations define a person by systematically including them within some, and excluding them from other related categories. They state at the same time what a person is and is not." (1982: 17).

3. Aspects of youngspeak and consequences for their investigation

Communicative activities such as telling stories, gossiping, arguing etc. are functionally embedded in socio-cultural practices. Bamberg (2006: 149) points out that “it is within these practices that they [the activities, J.S.] become interpretable and analyzable for what they are accomplishing; one part of these activities is that they also index who is speaking/ writing, from which position, and for what purpose”. Socio-cultural practices among adolescents are frequently characterized by the phenomenon of ‘bricolage’. This concept, which has been adapted from ethnology to the research of youth communication by the German linguists Eva Neuland (1987) and Peter Schlobinski (1989), implies that teenagers often tie together elements from various cultural and/ or social realms, thus constructing something new. For example, adolescents may comment on a person by adapting an advertisement slogan, a quote from their math teacher or by speaking in the voice of a certain person or character such as Homer Simpson. Typically, such spontaneous and creative instances of youth language occur in informal in-group communication. Androutsopoulos points out that “a high intimacy in the group, an unstructured situation, and a lively and emotional atmosphere” can be considered “as the main contextual parameters for the development of adolescent speech styles” (2005: 1496).

Whereas the members of a ‘community of practice’ (section 4) usually understand the often subtle and microscopic processes of daily social interaction in which adolescents express, claim, ascribe and negotiate identity, from an outside perspective, these are often very difficult to ‘decode’. In order to fully understand the communicative strategies and socio-cultural practices of a particular group, it is important to be equipped with a thorough ethnographic knowledge of the group under investigation. For this reason, the combination of ethnography and conversation analysis recommends itself as the most efficient research method for the purpose of my study. As many linguists in the past two decades, I have chosen an ethnographic conversation-analytical approach to youngspeak which thoroughly analyzes sequences of in-group situation.

The data my analysis is based on was gathered between 2001 and 2003 through participant observation. For approximately two years, I accompanied a group of German adolescent girls in their leisure activities.¹ In this informal setting (at home, or more often in public, i.e. shopping, at the public skating area, at the cinema etc.), I recorded their conversations and took field notes. My data, thus, consists of authentic everyday communication which was not immediately conducted

1. For a more detailed description of the study, cf. Spreckels 2006.

for research purposes. Thanks to my participant observations over a long period of time, it was possible to gain thorough knowledge of the girls' personalities, their individual communicative characteristics, their use of indexicality devices (Garfinkel 1967), etc. Furthermore, I conducted ethnographic interviews with the girls in order to gain information about aspects remaining uncertain when listening to the girls' conversation. These interviews had no influence on the girls' authentic communication, as they were conducted after participant observation and recordings. Finally, I studied different sources related to youth culture in general or to this group of girls in particular, because "youth identities cannot be understood outside their particular socio-cultural context" (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou 2003: 3). This includes emails the girls sent me, youth magazines, their personal homepages, music-related documents, etc. The analyses of the girls' conversations are enriched with this ethnographic knowledge. Altogether, the combination of the different kinds of data sets constituted a broad basis for my analysis.

4. The girls: A 'community of practice'

The group my study is based on consists of five girls living in a small city in Southern Germany. The girls consider themselves close friends. At the onset of the two-year participant observation, all five girls were 15 years old. They thus represent the age which sociologists consider the 'core phase of adolescence' (cf. Oerter & Dreher 1995). All group members attend a 'Gymnasium' (i.e., the academically most respected of three possible school types in Germany), but only one girl was a 'strong' student. With the exception of one group member, whose family is from a social background that can loosely be described as 'upper-class', all girls come from 'middle-class' families.

In line with Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992: 464), I conceptualize the group as a 'Community of Practice' (CoP), which they define as an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. CoPs are informal communities which share three dimensions:

1. mutual engagement of participants (doing things together)
2. negotiation of a joint enterprise
3. development of a shared repertoire of (re)negotiable resources (stories, styles, actions, discourses, concepts etc.) through a history of mutual engagement (cf. Wenger 1998: 72 ff.).

Originally developed in the field of education (cf. Wenger 1998), the concept of the CoP has been employed in sociocultural linguistics especially to answer questions concerning gender identity. Bucholtz (1999: 220) discusses the value of this

concept in contrast to the traditional sociocultural linguistic concept of speech community, which works with rather broad research categories such as ethnicity, social class, etc. Taking her own study of a group of female 'nerds' (Bucholtz 1999) as a starting point, she shows that the traditional perspective would treat these girls as a homogeneous group since they have the same ethnic and social background and live in the same town. Doing this, however, would neglect exactly those details which have great value for identity research: the daily negotiation of identity aspects and evolving conflicts in the social interaction of the girls. The concept of the CoP, in contrast, is a much more sensitive tool for investigating subtle aspects of social interactions.

Since the negotiation of gender identity is the focus of my study, the social-constructionist approach of the CoP is a suitable concept for my investigation. Through their regular gatherings, members of a CoP develop shared values, norms and communicative practices. These common resources are the result of an extended period of mutual interaction and are, thus, frequently indexical resources, i.e. "short-cut devices that can evoke a whole range of meanings and connotations for the participants" (Georgakopoulou 2005: 171). In the analysis of the girls' talk, it becomes obvious that a thorough knowledge of the CoP is necessary in order to fully understand the interaction: "what from a distance may look 'all the same' may display a filigrane [sic!] pattern of distinctive differences when seen under the looking-glass of the social group directly involved." (Auer 2007: 13).

5. A focus on 'normal' German high school girls

Whereas in other countries there exist quite a number of (ethnographic conversation-analytical) studies of the interaction of teenage girls (cf. Eckert 1993; Bucholtz 1999; Stenström 2003; Georgakopoulou 2007; see also Archakis & Papazachariou and Lytra & Baraç, this volume), German research on youngspeak has neglected girls for a long time, representing the category 'youth' primarily as male (cf. Schwitalla 1986; Deppermann & Schmidt 2003)². The same holds true for the field of identity research. Keupp et al. (2002) criticize that "aspects specific to female identity constructions are regularly left out in most concepts". (2002: 88, my translation). Further, they refer to the fact that identity research to date has been primarily research on *male* identity constructions without pointing to this limitation. The few German studies of girls' interactions (and their identity construction)

2. If a group is mixed, the girls are usually less prominent in the interaction. An exception is the work of Branner (2003) which focuses on a purely female youth group.

usually focus on specific groups, such as the 'Powergirls' investigated by Keim (2007). This group consists of German-Turkish girls who are special cases in that they embody two different cultures. Independently of gender, it seems that for a long time youth groups with 'deviant' or 'exotic' ways of speaking have been more interesting to youth research than 'normal' adolescents. In contrast, my study focuses intentionally on a group of 'normal' German high school girls who do not belong to a specific youth subculture, such as a music-affiliated (gothic, punk, hip hop, etc.) or sports-oriented (skating, skiing) groups. Nevertheless, the analysis will show that even for 'normal' girls music serves as an important factor for identity construction.

6. What we are *not*

During my participant observation, many of the girls' interactions involved explicit and implicit membership categorization. As I have pointed out above (section 2), opposition-building is crucial in the process of identity negotiation. Therefore, it was no surprise that in the vast majority of cases, categorizing *others* was more prominent than categorizing the *own* group. This observation corresponds closely to those of other youth researchers. The German linguist Johannes Schwi-talla (1986), for example, found that a group of adolescent boys and girls evoked various 'counter worlds' in their conversation. He observed how, through the caricature of a certain linguistic and non-linguistic behavior of others, the group arrived 'ex negativo' (1986: 256) at its own social identity. As in this study, the membership categorization of the 'alter' often involves processes of exaggeration, mocking, stylizing, parodying, etc. Deppermann & Schmidt (2003: 25) emphasize that a concrete label of the self frequently involves a limitation of choice of actions. Therefore, most adolescents (or individuals in general) avoid defining themselves explicitly but preferably define themselves rather vaguely via the disaffiliation of others: "Convening on what we are not and what we do not want to be by stereotyping others thus can be seen as a solution for the problem to reconcile the need for a common group identity [...] with the need for individual freedom and absence from obligations." (Deppermann 2007b: 274).

This observation is also true for the peer-group of girls I investigated. The girls enjoy subdividing their entire social surroundings into diverse social categories, which shows that they are very sensitive to identity-relevant aspects (i.e., looks, behavior, etc.), and that they enjoy detailed descriptions of 'category-bound'

features and activities³ of others. Only pertaining to their own group do the girls avoid concrete statements about who they are or how they want to be. The following analysis aims to show how through talking about ‘others’ and disaffiliating from them, the girls permanently express, claim, ascribe, and negotiate identity. In section 8, I will give a detailed overview of the different other-categorizations and their implications for the girls’ own identities.

7. Social categorization in German youngspeak

After describing the theoretical framework, the research method employed, the corpus and the ethnography of the group, I will draw on a concrete example of this group’s conversation which is taken from the above described data corpus. In an informal gathering, one of the girls (Kerstin) tells her friends that a boy from school, who is obviously in love with her, asks her constantly to go out with him and his friends.

“now he thinks he’s listening to rock music”⁴

Speakers: Ke = Kerstin; St = Steffi; Su = Susi

- 01 Ke un jetzt fragt er mich DAUernd ob ich ZEIT hab;
 and now he asks me all the time if I have TIME;
 02 und ob ich mit seinen FREUNden aus seiner SCHEISSklasse
 -
 and if I with his friends out of his shitty class -
 03 mit ihm WEGgehen will;
 if I want to go out with him;
 04 OOH mit den Asozialen will ich nix zu TUN haben;
 OOH I don't wanna hang out with those Asocials;
 05 (-)
 06 *die sind richtig asozia:l;*
 they are really asocia:l;
 07 ((Schluchzlaute))
 ((sobbs))
 08 St des sind so asoziale GANGschta. HIPhopper;

3. The term ‘category-bound activities’ goes back to Sacks (1992). It refers to different activities seen as ‘typical’ of a certain category and can be observed in all category members. In this paper, I use the Sacksian term more broadly in line with Jayyusi (1984: 35 ff.) who suggested the term ‘category-bound features’ to also include category-bound aspects such as appearance (clothes, hair style, etc.), attitudes, rights, etc.)

4. The sequence is transcribed according to Selting et al. (1998). For conventions, see appendix

- they are these asocial GANGstas. hiphoppers;
 09 Ke <<mit gepresster Stimme> jaa,
 <<in a pressed voice> yeaah,
 10 ich HASS den,>
 I HATE him,>
 11 jetzt denkt er er würd (-) ROCK hör=n;
 now he thinks he's listening to rock music;
 12 bloß weil er ac/DC mal (-) irgendwo gehört hat,
 just because he listened to ac/dc somewhere,
 13 Su oh NEIN;
 oh NO;
 14 Ke oo:ch,
 ((expression of a heavy burden))
 15 und dAnn kennt er noch net mal nirVANA oder meTALLi-
 ca,
 and then he doesn't even know nirvana or metallica,
 16 St <<p> des [is eigentlich schon->]
 <<p>> that [s actually really-]
 17 Su [hast du ihn ge FRAGT?]
 [did you ASK him?]
 18 Ke !JA! kEnnt er net;
 !YEAH! he dOESn't know;
 19 Su [oh NEIN;]
 [oh NO;]
 20 Ke [ich so ja] kennst du panTERA?
 [I'm like] do you know pantera?
 21 nö,
 nope,
 22 St ja okay,
 well okay,
 23 panTERA nich kennen [eh is ja nich so schlImm aber-]
 not knowing pantera [eh is not so bAd but-]
 24 Ke [ja un=dann hab ich gesagt]
 [yeah and=then I said]
 und nirVANA und meTALLica?
 and nirvana and metallica?
 25 <<t> nee hab isch AU noch net ghört,>
 <<l, in dialect> nope I don't know them either,>
 26 Su <<lachend> oh <<p> scheiße.>>
 <<laughing> oh <<p> shit.>>
 27 Ke ooh (-) GOTT ey;
 ooh (-) my GOD;

Kerstin's very negative categorization of the boys shows that she strongly dislikes them. She calls them *friends out of his shitty class* (line 2) and she says explicitly in line 4 that she does not want to hang out with those *asocials*. The term *Asoziale*, referring to a particular social category, is widely spread among German adolescents. In fact, it has probably been one of the most popular youth slang words in the past decade. The word is highly productive, so one can find it in various morpho-syntactic contexts. As a noun, the word is used among adolescents in different short forms and spellings, such as *Assis*, *Asis*, *Asos*, *Assos*. Furthermore, it occurs in different word classes. Besides as a noun, adolescents use it as an adjective in different forms (*Wow, he is really assi*, my corpus; *assig*, Deppermann 2007b, and *asslig*, as documented in Cyffca et al., 2002: 3), furthermore as an adverb (*This ice cream tastes really assi*, my corpus). Androutsopoulos (1998) observed a number of compounds where the word *asi-* or *aso-* functions as the first component: *Asirock/ Assi-Rock* (as a description of a certain music style) or *Aso-Humor* (for a bad sense of humor) (1998: 664). Further, he documents the word *asi-* or *aso-* as the second component in compounds, as in *Campingplatz-asi* (ibid.: 211). One could name many other variants and usages of this word, but I will not go into detail because in the present analysis the word is only relevant when used as a noun for social categorization.

The semantic range of the German word *Asoziale* is very difficult to grasp, because it can mean a number of things.⁵ Most often, it is a universal term used by teenagers for people who deviate from certain societal norms. Among other meanings, according to some adolescent informants, *Asoziale* are uneducated, ugly people with a neglected appearance and no feeling for appropriate behavior. In my analysis, I will approach the term with this latter meaning.

Besides the explicit negative categorization of the out-group as *asocials* or *antisocials*, there is another *implicit* categorization of this boy in the first seven lines. By telling her friends how he is being interested in her, Kerstin clearly depicts him here as her 'adorer' whose love is rejected by her. This is obviously a strategy to construct a hierarchy between the girls' in-group and the out-group consisting of the rejected boys. In the ongoing conversation, another girl comes up with further social categories. In line 8, Steffi affirms Kerstin's categorization of the boys as *antisocials* in repeating the word⁶, and she furthermore categorizes them as *gangstas* and *hip hoppers*. Being originally the music of black youths living in the United

5. Cf. Deppermann (2002). For the general problem of defining the meaning of youth slang vocabulary in lexicons see Spreckels (2008).

6. From the intonation and the context, it is not clear if she uses the word here as a noun or an adjective. Independent of the class of words, I assume that semantically she reaffirms her friend here.

States, hip hop culture has become very popular among white adolescents and has found its way to most western oriented societies. Gangsta rap is a special version of hip hop. Both '*gangsta*' and '*hip hop*' involve more than music. They imply a whole culture which involves music, fashion (large baggy pants, large golden jewellery, etc.), dance styles (break dance), art (graffiti), etc., which make hip hop fans identifiable as such. According to Rose (1997: 149) "Hip Hop is a form of culture which functions as a source for identity construction" (my translation).

With my ethnographic knowledge, I can say that these social categories go back to music styles the girls dislike. In my corpus, there are several occasions on which the girls express their dislike of other adolescents by naming them *gangstas* and *hip hoppers*. Kerstin even mentions the category *hip hoppers* on her personal web page⁷ in a section called 'antigreetz' in which she addresses people she hates.⁸ Therefore, when Steffi calls Kerstin's 'admirer' and his friends *gangstas* and *hip hoppers*, she clearly also chooses two negative categorizations of the boys.

The most important categorization of them begins in line 11. Kerstin says *now he thinks he's listening to rock music just because he listened to ac/dc somewhere*. The expression 'he thinks he's doing x' is often used within this group of girls to indicate the category of the *wannabe* (in German *Möchtegern*). As a community of practice they have developed through the group history a shared knowledge about certain out-groups and their (stereotypical) category-bound activities. Therefore, social identities need not necessarily be named explicitly but can be indexed by certain features. (cf. Auer 2007: 14). Although in this transcript, the category is just implied, in the entire corpus of the larger research project the category *wannabe* (*Möchtegern*) is more often used explicitly. The analysis has shown that *wannabe* is another highly productive word since the girls use it in various compounds, such as *wannabe-hippie*, *wannabe-film star* etc. Sometimes the girls also use *wannabe* as an adjective, as in *he's always so wannabe*.

Core aspect of the category wannabe is the distinction between 'reality and appearance'. Someone who calls another person a *wannabe*, imputes to this person lacking authenticity and lacking identity. Authenticity, however, implies "realness and self-realization which can be seen as ideals of the personality development". (Deppermann 2000: 232, my translation) Adolescents constantly work on their image and try out different identities which are often linked to certain group memberships. Identity work, however, involves the danger of being seen as 'copy cats' by others. Individuals who deny others, authenticity, usually claim this authenticity

7. Cf. Reichmayr (2005) for the potential for web logs in adolescents' identity management; this holds true for homepages.

8. For reasons of anonymity, the link is not given here.

implicitly for themselves. Since realness is so important during adolescence, it is obvious why the girls use the category wannabe so excessively.

Another look at Kerstin's personal web page shows that this is not a spontaneous categorization of the boy, because in the section called 'antigreetz' mentioned above, there is the following entry (my translation):

(Name of the boy)..... ATTENTION:STOP COPYING ME AND THINK-
ING YOU LISTEN TO HEAVY METAL AND ROCK MUSIC!!!!
(capitals in original.)

It shows that this categorization is so important to her that she perpetuated it on her homepage – interestingly in almost the same words as in the conversation above. This written evidence is an even more explicit attack on the boy's authenticity than the incident she reports to her friends, because here she requests the boy to stop copying *herself*. This is an important detail with respect to opposition-building, because usually only those people are copied who are some kind of role model in terms of personality or abilities. With this request, Kerstin implies that she (allegedly) is a role model for the boy. According to this presentation, Kerstin clearly positions herself as the 'authentic' heavy metal fan, whereas her admirer is positioned as a 'copy cat' or 'wannabe'.

In her gossip story Kerstin goes on and on to underline why this categorization is justified. In line 15 she brings up the names of further popular heavy metal and rock bands (*Nirvana* and *Metallica*) which the boy allegedly did not know. With my knowledge of German youth culture, I can say that these bands are so popular in Germany that basically every teenager has at least heard their names. This leads to the conclusion that Kerstin probably invents this scenario to feed the boy's negative image of a wannabe. As I have pointed out above (section 6), opposition-building and other-positioning often involves exaggeration, which this instance is a typical example of. Similar forms of fictionalization as can be observed in this sequence have been reported in other studies on peer-group communication as well (cf. Schlobinski et al 2003; Deppermann 2007).

In the sequence above, the emotional participation of her friends (lines 16, 19) reveals that Kerstin is very successful with the portrayal of the boy as inauthentic. Thereby spurred, she tries to top this comment by bringing up another band name the boy allegedly did not know. This time, however, she is contradicted by her friend, who concedes that '*not knowing pantera is not so bad*' (line 23), probably because it is not as well-known as the previous bands. Therefore Kerstin reinforces the 'fact' that the boy did not know *Nirvana* and *Metallica*, this time using direct speech. She reiterates her question to the boy in line 24 and his (alleged) answer which, again, results in an affirmative reaction of her friend (26).

To recite past dialogues by means of direct speech is an efficient strategy to contrast the other and the self that I observed frequently in this group of girls. As usual, the in-group's voice is reported in an unmarked way. The other's speech, however, is usually reported in a ridiculous way by employing different linguistic variants. This can be the use of a child-like or squeaky voice to depict 'silly blondes', or, as in this sequence, the employment of the regional dialect. Although the in-group members are actually dialect speakers themselves, the girls are very much aware of the stigmatizing potential of dialects in German. It is therefore clearly no coincidence that the boy's direct speech is reported with the following dialectal characteristics: the pronoun *ich* (meaning 'I') is spoken in a coronalized way as *isch*, *auch* (meaning 'either') is clipped into the shorter dialectal variant *au*, *nicht* ('not') is spoken as *net* which Kerstin used herself before (line 15), and in the participle *gehört* ('heard') there is a syncope in the first syllable. As Günthner (1997, 2007) shows in her data on standard German and variants, code-switching is a resource to symbolically express otherness, and to create a separation between 'us' and the other. Hence, together with *what* is actually said – that he does not know very popular music bands – these indicators of dialect clearly serve to depict the rejected boy as stupid and not up to date when it comes to popular youth culture. Therefore I would argue that in line 25, Kerstin implies a sixth categorization of this boy, which one could call in a colloquial manner the 'village idiot'.⁹

A close look at the sequence reveals that the phonological variation as in line 25, i.e. the change from /ch/ into /sch/ is used systematically. The same linguistic variant occurs in one of the categorizations mentioned above (line 8). The girls pronounce the English word *gangsta* (a category name for fans of a certain music style) in the dialectal, i.e. coronalized variant /gangshta/. In my entire data, this social category is always (with two exceptions) spoken in this dialectal form. As I have pointed out above, some of the girls are dialect speakers themselves. Therefore, I did observe the local dialect in their ordinary everyday speech as well – with one exception: the girls never use their dialect when pronouncing English technical music terms. It is part of their adolescent identity as 'music experts' to pronounce technical music terms correctly. The dialectal pronunciation of the social category *gangshta* is, therefore, clearly a device used to mark this category as ridiculous. A quote from Kerstin affirms this perception: "We call them [i.e. certain

9. Cf. Koththoff (2007: 446) who observes that in informal communication, adult story tellers also "attribute deeper dialect levels to certain characters, in order to assign them conservative stances."

youngsters in their town, J.S.] gangschta or wannabe-gangschta¹⁰ because our small town is totally peaceful and it is ridiculous to pretend to be dangerous and stuff. If they [ganschtas, J.S.] came into a real ghetto into the Bronx, they would be surprised.” (field note 2004, my translation)¹¹ The large research project (Spreckels 2006) showed that the girls use the category label *gangschta* only for German youngsters who try in vain to copy the original gangsta rappers from the United States and not for the authentic ones. The dialectal variant is, therefore, a witty strategy to imply this criticism because the dialect functions as an ‘inauthenticity device’ which is integrated in the category label. Again, what from a distance my look ‘all the same’ displays subtle but nevertheless important differences when seen from the in-group perspective (cf. Auer 2007: 13).

8. Using the other for oneself¹²

Having worked out the various implicit and explicit social categorizations the girls employ in gossiping about the boy, I want to line out what this reveals about the girls’ identity work. The entire interaction can be seen as a malicious gossip story. Sociologist Axel Schmidt (2004) found that together with other communicative genres such as gossip, teasing and insulting, this is a genre typical of adolescent peer groups. Stories, and especially malicious gossip stories are evaluative, they ‘carry a message’ that goes beyond the actual content of the story. This is implied in the way it is told: Kerstin scandalizes and exaggerates an actually banal past incident by telling it in a very emotional way. She does this by employing sobbing sounds (line 7) and non-lexical expressions such as *oo:ch* in line 14, which usually index severe plight. Besides explicit lexical items such as *I hate him* (line 10), the modality of her pressed voice in line 9 underlines her emotional rejection of the boy.

Except for Steffi’s objection in lines 22 and 23, Kerstin is successful in her ‘performance’, because her friends react to the story with several affirmative recipient signals (lines 13, 19, 26). Since entertainment and hyperbolism are the most

10. Interestingly, here Kerstin links the aforementioned category ‘wannabe’ with the category ‘gangschta’, thereby creating a compound. Obviously, both categories have the aspect of ‘pretension’ in common. Although the girls do not use the compound to describe the boy, they do use both categorizations (at least implicitly) to gossip about him.

11. This perception of inauthentic German or European hip hop fans is also documented in other linguistic or sociologist research on adolescents; cf. Androutsopoulos (1998: 666) and Eckert et al. (2000: 258).

12. This is a title by Deppermann (2007b) which deals with similar aspects of identity negotiation, only that his study is based on a mixed group in which boys dominate the conversation.

important factors in youth communication (cf. Deppermann & Schmidt 2001), Kerstin's gossip story is a very representative form of informal peer communication. Schmidt observes a very similar way of collaborative, expressive enjoyment of the negative evaluation of out-groups in a male peer group (Schmidt 2004: 295).

In the following, I want to show that the entire sequence can be seen as an act of identity negotiation. The analysis has revealed that the girls perform a multi-categorization of the gossip object. Since "many categorization devices are duplicatively organised such that bringing into play one social category evokes the antonym as well" (Auer 2007: 9), one can say that each negative categorization of the out-group serves the in-group in a positive way. Since the semantic range of the social category *antisocials* varies in German youngspeak (cf. section 7), one cannot say with certainty what the antonym of this category would be. Obviously, the girls use it here to express their disgust and contempt for the boy, thus, categorizing themselves as superior in some way. The same is achieved by Kerstin's depiction of herself as the 'wanted woman'; she is superior because she is in the position to reject the boy's love. The categories of *gangshta* and *hip hopper* are employed to express the girls' dislike for certain music styles and at the same time depicting themselves as music experts. This positioning is supported by the entry on Kerstin's web page. The following categorization of the boy as a *Möchtegern* (*wannabe*) functions in a similar way: it serves to portray the in-group as authentic fans of rock music and heavy metal. The rather lengthy passage about different band names again underlines the girls' expertise in the field of music. Finally, the designation 'village idiot' sharply contrasts with the well-informed girls who know what they are talking about. Since the girls interact cooperatively in the malicious gossip story, one can assume that all of the categorizations express group consensus. Table 1 shows that each categorization of the out-group fulfills other- and self-positioning at the same time.

Table 1. Explicit and implicit other- and self-positioning via membership categorization

Membership Categorization	Other-positioning	Self-positioning
<i>Asoziale</i> (explicit) (asocials)	strange youths, deviating from the norm	superior
Rejected adorer (implicit)	inferior	the 'unattainable', superior
<i>Gangshta</i> / <i>HipHopper</i> (explicit)	inauthentic, bad music taste	expression of music dislike/ experts of music
<i>Möchtegern</i> (implicit) (wannabe)	inauthentic	authentic, 'real' fans of rock and heavy metal music
'Village idiot' (implicit)	uninformed	well-informed about youth culture, up to date

9. What about gender identity?

As I have argued in the introduction of this paper, the girls' identity negotiation very often involves the aspect of their female gender identity. One may wonder what the categorization and disaffiliation processes outlined so far reveal about gender identity. The answer, as I will show, can be found in the music styles that are negotiated in the short sequence above. It is generally accepted in international youth language research that music plays a tremendously important role in terms of identity construction: "Music is a central mode of expression for adolescents, and driving force in nearly all youth cultures. Music is a special means of marking distinction from other generations and age groups, and has many different functions in young people's search for their own identity." (Mark 1996: 64) Whereas Mark highlights the inter-generational demarcation function of music, more recent research emphasizes that the intra-generational distinction function of music is becoming more and more important. In the plurality of post-modern times, young people have the choice between a large number of different music styles as a source of their identity. Punks, Poppers, Hip Hoppers, Ravers, Techno fans, Metal fans, etc. do not only listen to very different types of music, but they also stand for different ideologies and philosophies of life.

To be young usually involves being in the role of a 'learner'. At home, the parents tell young people how to behave and teach them about life. In school, teachers usually know more about the subjects than the kids do. In a sports club, the coach tells them how to improve their crawl or their backhand. Music, on the contrary, is a realm that allows teenagers to become experts. Therefore, they do not simply listen to music but intensively study band history, music styles, song lyrics and many other music-related aspects in their leisure time. Peer communication in general and the interaction of these girls in particular often results in a contest of music knowledge. Their own and other people's music preferences are constantly discussed in their everyday interactions, and the girls have established a number of social categories in their interaction that go back to music styles, *gangschtas* and *hip hoppers* being only two of them. As it has become obvious from their conversation, they themselves prefer hard music styles, such as heavy metal, rock music und punk rock. A closer look at these music styles reveals the identity potential embedded in this music affiliation.

A survey by Helsper (1997) showed that only 3.1 per cent of the German youths called themselves heavy metal fans. By contrast, 40.6 per cent rejected heavy fans. It follows that "heavy metal seems to ask for disaffiliation and rejection not only among teenagers but also among adults" (Helsper 1997: 117, my translation). Helsper speculates that "maybe the rejection of heavy metal culture goes back to its being a spot of the renaissance of evil" (1997: 17). He adds that heavy

metal culture is characterized by its 'provocative potential' and can be seen as the 'embodiment of war-like *masculinity*' (ibid., my translation and emphasis). Researchers from other countries confirm this image by stating that this type of music is "associated particularly [...] with boys [...]" (cf. Norrby & Wirdeñäs 2003: 267). The other type of music the girls favor, rock music, is seen in a similar way: "the fact that girls are less interested in rock music has perhaps to do with its being a collective male culture [...]. In our culture, rock music with its attributes such as aggression, loudness and invulnerability is still seen as a realm of masculinity". (Grether 1997: 207 ff., my translation)

To summarize: The music territory the girls are so eager to defend against *Möchtegerns* (*wannabes*) is a very unusual one for adolescents and even more so for girls. Because of its provocative potential, it is controversial among adolescents in general. Furthermore, this type of music is widely seen as the embodiment of masculinity and is produced primarily by and for men. My ethnographic knowledge of the group allows me to state that the girls are very much aware of this image of heavy metal and rock music. Very often, they emphasize their preference for this kind of 'tough' music contrasting themselves to their female classmates who listen to music *typically* preferred by girls, such as (back then) Britney Spears, boy groups, the Spice Girls, etc. Therefore, claiming these unusual music styles to be their favourites, is in my view a conscious 'act of identity' (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), i.e. a strategy to depict themselves as 'different' from other adolescents and especially from other *girls*.

Whereas the beginning of the sequence depicts a traditional gender relationship, i.e. a girl who is 'wooed' by a boy, the girls' expression of their affiliation to hard music clearly contradicts the traditional image of girls. Kerstin, a girl, is teaching a boy in a very condescending manner about a male music domain. Since the overt demonstration of expertise and knowledge is – as we know from feminist research – a typical male behavior, Kerstin thereby turns the traditional gender relationship upside down. Another indicator of gender display may be seen in the usage of expressions like *shitty class* (line 2) or *shit* (line 26). Whereas offensive swear words were traditionally seen as typical for boys' speech, these German girls – as the London teenage girls Stenström (2003) observed – do not hesitate to use them excessively. In my opinion, this is yet another strategy of displaying an untraditional female gender identity. As in many other interactions in my data, the girls hereby reinforce their image as 'cool and tough girls' who talk and behave in many ways like boys.

10. Conclusion

The ethnographic conversation-analytical approach to the data has shown that the girls employ a number of different pragmatic patterns, rhetorical practices and linguistic resources to negotiate identity and especially gender identity. According to Goffman (1977), one can speak of gender identity when individuals have developed a feeling of what and how they are with respect to their gender class. They are then able to judge themselves according to the ideals of masculinity or femininity. Goffman concludes that this source of self-identification is one of the most important sources in our society, perhaps even more important than age. My analysis has shown, however, that the achievement of a clear gender identity is far from easy. What may not be so obvious at first sight becomes very striking when analyzed from the microscopic perspective of ethnographic conversation analysis.

In this short sequence the girls are turning gender stereotypes upside down in more or less subtle ways. Whereas it is possible for the girls to adopt certain markers of masculinity for their presentation of the self, they are aware that – biologically – they *are* girls after all, and will remain in this gender class for their entire lives. The short sequence presented in this study sheds light on a phenomenon that is omnipresent in most of the girls' interactions in my corpus data: it is the conflict between the girls' own values and societal norms. Elizabeth Aries sums up this discrepancy as follows: "Adolescence is a period when individuals face strong pressures of socialization into their sex role" (1976: 17). Many social scientists have observed among girls a struggle with their female identity role. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that even in post-modern society, boys still enjoy much more freedom and rights than girls: "given social inequalities, it makes sense for girls' normal responses to involve male identification". (Carr 1998: 529).

Gender identity, however, is only one of the identity aspects negotiated in the above sequence. As a whole, this performance can be seen as an act of 'self aggrandizement', which Labov & Waletzky (1967) have found to be a central function of many personal narratives, or what Ochs & Capps (2001: 47) have called the 'looking good principle'. As it is the case in most positioning processes (cf. Deppermann & Schmidt 2003; Deppermann 2007a and 2007b), it is the girls' goal to express their own superiority, 'coolness' and 'toughness' at some other's expense. With my ethnographic knowledge of the group I can say that these girls are actually not very self-confident. To fight their own doubts and inferiority feelings, they preferably talk about others who are in a certain respect inferior – and if not, they are clearly *made* inferior, as in this gossip story.

If identity negotiation is the central topic in young people's lives, we can assume that the observed linguistic resources employed in these processes are not limited to this particular group of girls but are to a certain extent typical of

youngspeak in general. Research on age-grading has shown that one of the few features of speech that can be considered age-exclusive is the lexicon: "In Western societies, adolescence is a salient stage of life, which is marked linguistically by the use of special vocabulary items" (Cheshire 1987: 761). Therefore, it is no surprise that, for example, the derogative category label *Asoziale* has been observed in other small-scale peer groups as well. It is clearly a feature of German youngspeak. Another typical phenomenon of youth language seems to be the joy of explicit naming of social categories and the innovation of creative category labels as we have observed in this group of girls. This preference has been observed in youngspeak across different countries and cultures: "an expressive and playful use of language has been claimed as a hallmark of adolescence, with regard to some lexical innovations [...] and bricolage practices." (Androutsopoulos 2005: 1502).

Some of the other features I observed should rather be treated as "age-preferential", that is they are found among adults as well but with a higher density and more variation in youth communication. Examples are the various types of exaggeration within categorization processes which have also been observed among adult academics (Kotthoff 2007). Polyphonic discourse is another practice popular among adolescents across different cultures¹³, but again this phenomenon cannot be considered as age-exclusive, because studies such as Günther's (1997; 2007) are empirical evidence that this practice can also be found in informal talk among adults. As other studies in this volume show (cf. Archakis & Papazachariou and Lytra & Baraç) the intensive investigation of small-scale peer group interaction certainly helps us to better understand the sometimes intricate and subtle features of youngspeak across different countries.

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13. Examples are Georgakopoulou's study on Greek girls, 2003; Deppermann 2007a, on German adolescent males, and Pujolar 2001, on working-class teenagers in Barcelona, to name only a few.

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Appendix

Basic Transcription conventions according to GAT (Selting et al., 1998)

[]	overlap
(-)	short pause
(1.3)	pause in seconds
un=äh	slurring within units
:	lengthening
haha hehe	syllabic laughing
so(h)o	laughing particles while speaking
'uh'uh	reception signal (signalling negation)
acCENT	main accent
↑	pitch step up
↓	pitch step down
?	high rise
.	low fall
(such)	presumed wording
()	unintelligible passage
<<coughing> >	interpretive comments over a stretch of speech
<<f> >	forte, loud
<<p> >	piano, soft
<<cresc> >	crescendo, becoming louder
<<all> >	allegro, fast
<<len> ?	lento, slow
((smiles))	para-/ non-linguistic activities
((...))	omission of text

Multilingual practices and identity negotiations among Turkish-speaking young people in a diasporic context

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In this paper, we explore a group of Turkish-speaking young Londoners' multilingual practices and identity negotiations in a diasporic context, two Turkish complementary schools. The paper draws upon field-notes and digital recordings to investigate how the young people in question contextually select code-switching, the use of intertextual references and playful talk as linguistic resources to craft identity options for themselves and others during Turkish literacy teaching. We explore the Turkish-speaking young people's multilingual practices in the context of the traditional Initiation-Response-Feedback (henceforth IRF) sequence. We suggest that the interactional moments when young people contextually select and juxtapose these linguistic resources for work, play and social affiliation or disaffiliation can provide us with useful insights into youngspeak in diasporic institutional contexts.

Keywords: Multilingual practices, IRF sequences, identities, Turkish, complementary schools, diaspora

1. Introduction

Recent approaches to young people's language use have sought to capture the richness and complexity of youth-cultural expressions across contexts and participants (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou 2003: 3). Rather than viewing young people's talk or youngspeak –broadly defined in this volume as the talk of persons ranging from ten to twenty two years of age- as simple deviations from adult or mainstream norms, research on young people's language use has shifted its

analytical gaze to how particular language practices emerge around specific aesthetic preferences, life style choices and practices of consumption. In this context, instead of identifying global patterns of young people's language use, these approaches have highlighted the significance of zooming in particular socio-cultural contexts (*ibid.*).

This paper aims to contribute to research on youngspeak by exploring the talk-in-interaction of Turkish-speaking young Londoners, one of the least researched yet highly diverse ethno-linguistic communities in the UK. Turkish-speaking communities in Britain are comprised of four groups: Cypriot Turks, Turks from mainland Turkey, Turkish-speaking Kurds and Turkish-speaking people who have moved to Britain from other EU countries.¹ Traditionally, research on Turkish-speaking young people in Britain has concentrated on macro sociological concerns, such as their educational under achievement and under representation in higher education and the professions (Mehmet-Ali 2001) and less so on their language use inside and outside schools and classrooms (but see İssa 2006; Lytra et al 2008). In this respect, this paper also aims to contribute to the growing body of research on Turkish-speaking young people's multilingual practices and identity negotiations in Europe more generally, e.g. Hinnenkamp (2003), Kallmayer & Keim (2003) as well as the collection of papers in Jørgensen (2003) and Lytra & Jørgensen (2008).

More specifically, in this paper, we explore how a group of Turkish-speaking young Londoners aged 10–13 engage in particular multilingual practices and interactionally construct different aspects of their identities in a diasporic context. The local diasporic context consists of two London Turkish complementary schools. Complementary (also known as supplementary or heritage) schools are voluntary schools which serve specific linguistic, religious and cultural groups particularly through community language classes. To date, young people's multilingual language practices in complementary schools in contemporary Britain have been under-researched (but see Creese & Martin 2006 and Creese et al 2008; also Lytra & Martin forthcoming). The present paper aims to further contribute to the study of youngspeak by exploring young people's language use in a diasporic institutional context that has not received much attention.

To this end, we draw upon field-notes and tape recordings to explore the following multilingual practices: (1) code-switching; (2) the use of intertextual references drawing on the young people's out-of-school recreational and media

1. Given the lacunae in statistical data, it is very difficult to give a precise estimate of the different Turkish-speaking peoples currently living in the UK. Küçükcan (1999), for instance, estimates that there about 125,000 Turkish-speaking peoples in the UK, mainly living in London, while Mehmet Ali (2001) raises the figure to around 180,000–200,000.

practices and (3) playful talk based on shared cultural references and stereotypes. We view these multilingual practices as linguistic resources that the young people in question have access to and can draw upon in their interactions with their peers and teachers during Turkish literacy teaching. We define these practices as multilingual in the sense that Turkish-speaking young people have a wide and complex range of linguistic resources at their disposal, notably standard languages (English, Turkish, Quranic Arabic, French and other instructed foreign languages they learn in mainstream schools), regional and diasporic varieties (Cypriot-Turkish and other regional varieties depending on their families' histories of migration to the UK, *Londralı* <London> Turkish), regional and classed varieties of English (e.g. London English) and youth varieties (appropriated from popular culture, the mass media and digital technology, urban 'street' cultures and participation in multilingual/multicultural peer groups) (Lytra et al 2008).

We argue that the different meaning and identity negotiations in Turkish complementary school classrooms reveal how identities are constructed, enacted and transformed through discourse, co-articulate with other identities and how Turkish speaking young people may more or less strategically exploit their available multilingual resources as 'acts of identity' (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) to relate to but also distance themselves from particular identity options. We explore the young people's multilingual practices in the context of the traditional Initiation-Response-Feedback (henceforth IRF) sequence which dominated classroom talk during Turkish literacy teaching. We suggest that these interactional moments when the young people in question contextually select and juxtapose their linguistic resources to craft identity claims for themselves and others can provide us with useful insights into youngspeak in diasporic institutional contexts. These moments bring to the fore that identity negotiations are dynamic, shifting, nuanced and multi-layered and that they can reproduce but also challenge institutionally imposed discourses and identity ascriptions.

2. Theoretical framework

One robust line of research on young people's talk consists of interactions among peers as well as with other adults (e.g. parents, teachers, youth facilitators, coaches) in various settings (e.g. homes, schools youth and sports clubs etc.). These studies show how young people draw on shared practices, which are typical of this age-range for meaning making and social affiliation (e.g. Harris 2006; Lytra 2007; Rampton 2006; Masden 2008). In this paper, we focus on interactions among pupils as well as with their teachers in the context of the IRF interactional sequence. Early studies on classroom discourse focusing on the sequential organisation of

teacher-pupil talk looked at norms of turn-taking, the different contextual parameters of the classroom interaction at play as well as the different roles and corresponding rights and obligations of its key players (i.e. teachers and pupils) (e.g. Sinclair & Coulthard; 1975 Mehan 1979). Although the issue of identity was not a key concern of these studies, this work paved the way for subsequent studies which had a more explicit focus on the discursive construction of identities in the classroom through different linguistic resources, forms of knowledge and expertise that the young people and their teachers contextually selected and combined (e.g. Lin & Luk 2005; Lin 2005; Lytra 2007; also Luk 2008 for a review of relevant studies).

This more explicit shift of focus of classroom discourse to issues of identity construction has been influenced by a more fundamental shift in the social sciences more generally away from an essentialist view of identity towards conceptualising identity as a socially constructed dynamic and on-going process. In this paper, we combine insights from social constructionist and poststructuralist approaches. Social constructionists focus on the discursive construction of identities. Identity construction is understood as an interactional accomplishment that is achieved through discourse. As Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) argue, this discursive approach sees the relationship between language and identity as 'mutually constitutive' in that:

On the one hand, languages, or rather particular discourses within them, supply the terms and other linguistic means with which identities are constructed and negotiated. On the other hand, ideologies of language and identity guide ways in which individuals use linguistic resources to index their identities and to evaluate the use of linguistic resources by others (2004: 14).

We combine the social constructionist emphasis on the discursive construction of identities with the poststructuralist focus on the centrality of power in social interaction. According to the poststructuralist paradigm, languages and identities are embedded in local and global relations of power (cf. Heller 1999, 2008). In this paper, we are concerned with language and power at a local interactional level in the context of the IRF interactional sequence. At the same time, we acknowledge issues of language and power in the hierarchical relationship between languages (English and Turkish) and standard languages and language varieties (standard Turkish and other regional and diasporic varieties, including Cypriot-Turkish and *Londralı* Turkish).

3. Methodology

Our research takes an ethnographically informed case study approach. It consists of four interlocking case studies involving the following communities: Bangladeshi (Sylheti-speaking) in Birmingham, Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese-speaking) in Manchester, Turkish-speaking in London and Gujarati in Leicester. This paper draws on data from the Turkish case study.

For the Turkish case-study in particular, we collected linguistic data in a range of complementary school settings, including classrooms, break-times, assemblies and other formal school contexts (e.g. meetings between parents and members of the schools' managing committee, end-of-year and national celebrations that took place at the two schools or at different venues in London). The methods included doing participant observations in the two schools over a period of ten weeks. After four weeks, four young people from the first school, 'East London Turkish School' and one young person from the second school, 'West London Turkish School' aged 10–13 were selected for closer observation.² We selected our key participant young people in collaboration with their teachers and parents. We sought to have both boys and girls from different educational and socio-economic backgrounds with different family migration histories (e.g. young people whose families came from both Cyprus and mainland Turkey). All the young people had been born in the UK and were in the same level in Turkish class (Level 4). Although we aimed at having an equal number of young people from both schools, this was not possible. All the young people were keen to attend Turkish school and committed to improving their literacy skills in Turkish, although they engaged with the learning process in different ways (see Creese et al 2008).

We audio- and video-recorded the five key participant young people in their classrooms, assemblies and break-times over a period of six weeks. Our focus on the 10–13 age group was informed by the fact that at this age young people can be reflective about their language use and presentation of self. We also audio- and video- recorded teachers working with the young people in their classrooms. In addition, we video-recorded important school rituals and events. After the end of the ten week field-work we interviewed the young people, their parents and teachers as well as members of the schools' managing committees. Throughout the duration of the field-work we collected documentary data relating to each school's policy, planning and curriculum and still photography.

2. All names and place names are pseudonyms.

4. The context

The majority of Turkish-speaking communities are located in London, although a small number is scattered around the UK (e.g. Birmingham, Manchester and Edinburgh). Members of the Turkish-speaking communities have distinct migration histories. Cypriot Turkish migration trajectories followed those of Cypriot Greek. The first migration wave took place pre-World War II, followed by further migration waves: post World War II (1945–1974), then post 1974 and as of late post 2004. Migration from Cyprus was due to economic reasons and as a result of continual inter-communal violence on the island, especially during the 1950s and early 1960s. The post 1974 migration took place in the aftermath of the population exchange and the division of the island while the post 2004 migration was the result of Republic of Cyprus' EU ascension. Turkish mainland migration to the UK started in the mid 1970s and 1980s and was part of the wider migration wave of Turks from mainland Turkey to Western Europe (which began as early as the late 1950s early 1960s). In contrast to migration to other Western European countries, however, migration to Britain was neither organized nor regulated by the Turkish state (Küçükcan 1999). Turkish-speaking Kurds moved to the UK for political as well as economic reasons from the 1980s onwards, many seeking political asylum as a result of the on-going warfare in South East Turkey. More recently, Turkish-speaking people from other EU countries have moved to the UK too.

Turkish complementary schools were set up with the explicit aim to provide Turkish language and culture classes to mainly British-born children and young people. Besides the focus on Turkish linguistic and cultural maintenance and preparing Turkish-speaking young people for exams, Turkish complementary schools may also run classes in Turkish music and folk dancing, sports clubs (e.g. football clubs) as well as homework clubs in English, maths and science to support children in their mainstream schools. In this respect, Turkish complementary schools have a broader educational mission that goes beyond Turkish linguistic and cultural maintenance. This mission focuses on raising educational attainment among Turkish-speaking young people in both mainstream and complementary schools.

Turkish complementary schools have a relatively recent history. The oldest schools were established in the early 1980s, although the Cyprus Turkish Association was running Turkish language classes as early as 1959 (İssa 2005). Turkish complementary schools are by and large independent schools, loosely overseen by the Turkish and Cypriot Turkish Education Missions in the UK and the respective Ministries of Education in Turkey and the TRNC (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus). In 2000, an umbrella organisation called Turkish Language Education and Culture Consortium UK was established, bringing together 18 Turkish supplementary/complementary schools in the Greater London area. The

Turkish Language Education and Culture Consortium UK has also developed a curriculum for teaching Turkish to British-born children of Turkish heritage which is used by all the schools under its aegis.

Schools are mainly self-funded through annual fees and fund-raising initiatives at the community level. They may also receive some external funding (e.g. from local authorities or charitable organizations). The overwhelming majority of the schools do not own their premises but use hired space from local mainstream schools and colleges. Both the Turkish and TRNC governments appoint some of the teachers. These teachers are usually on a five year appointment and may teach at several schools and Turkish homework clubs run by mainstream schools across London. The remaining of the teaching staff is paid by each school, and occasionally some parents do volunteer teaching.

‘East London Turkish School’ is located in an East London borough with a high concentration of Cypriot Turks. This is reflected in the school’s pupil population in that the majority of the children and young people are of Cypriot-Turkish heritage although there are some children whose families originated from mainland Turkey and some children of mixed background. ‘West London Turkish School’ is located in West London. West London is not one of the main areas of concentration of Turkish-speaking peoples so the school has a very broad catchment area, including West and SW London and its environs. The majority of the children are of mainland Turkish heritage and nearly half of them are of mixed background. The pupil make-up of this school is highly unusual, as most Turkish complementary schools have a solid Cypriot-Turkish majority. Both schools were founded in the late 80s, have between 110 to 250 children and run on weekends.

5. Multilingual practices and identity negotiations

As we discussed in Section 2, we explore the Turkish-speaking young people’s multilingual practices and identity negotiations in the context of the IRF sequence. One important point can be made about pedagogic practices in Turkish complementary school classrooms which come into play in shaping the classroom interactional order, including those interactional moments when young people contextually select and juxtapose aspects of their linguistic resources for work, play and social affiliation or disaffiliation. We observed that teachers tended to favour whole-class teacher-fronted instruction relying heavily on the traditional pattern of classroom talk, the IRF sequence, where the teacher initiates, pupils respond and the teacher then provides an evaluation or feedback. Moreover, literacy teaching was saturated by substitution drills (mainly vocabulary building and grammar exercises) and the reading of texts on various topics followed by a set of reading

comprehension questions checking meaning. The texts seemed to be rather mundane and out of touch with the Turkish-speaking young people's lived experiences and sometimes had nationalist overtones, especially those texts associated with Turkish national celebrations. In the extended field-notes 1 below, we document aspects of these pedagogic practices by zooming in on the local interactional order of one particular classroom, but these observations can be extended to other classrooms too:

Field-notes 1:

It looks like in the previous session the children have read a text from their textbook called "Kırmızı Bisiklet" <Red Bicycle>. Now Artun Bey is asking them if they have any unknown words. A few children raise their hands and volunteer: *tutumlu* <thrifty>, *çiklet* <chewing gum>, *övünmek* <boast>. Artun Bey writes the unknown words on the board. Then, he asks what the meaning of the first word might be. He tries to elicit the meaning by giving the children hints and encouraging them in their guesses if they are moving in the right direction. Once the meaning has been established through this negotiation process that takes place almost exclusively in Turkish he writes the meaning of the word on the whiteboard for the children to copy. Then, he asks every one to produce a sentence using this word. In the end, he writes the best sentence on the whiteboard. I have observed this vocabulary building activity before and I notice that Artun Bey follows the same routine. Like last time, I see that Berna and a few other girls are actively participating in this activity: they raise their hands to suggest possible meanings for the words and volunteer to produce sentences using the words. The two boys seem less engaged; they are constantly exchanging notes with two girls sitting in front of them. Artun Bey, however, does not leave the less engaged in peace. He expects everyone to participate and he often calls upon the two boys to guess the meaning of the new words or produce sentences using them. After this vocabulary building activity, Artun Bey asks the children to do the reading comprehension questions based on the text they had read earlier that day. As the children are quietly writing down their answers, Artun Bey is going around checking their work and addressing any queries they may have. [VL11/06/06, "West London Turkish School"]

As field-notes 1 reveal, Artun Bey like many other teachers we observed sought to control both the form and content of classroom discourse in the context of the IRF sequence, namely what was said and the language in which it was said. In the following sections, we shift out attention away from the teachers' pedagogic practices to the young people's multilingual practices and identity work which we argue can provide us with useful insights into youngspeak in diasporic institutional contexts.

5.1 Code-switching

As we maintained in Section 5, the traditional IRF sequence was the default pattern of classroom discourse in Turkish complementary school classrooms. Teachers initiated in Turkish and Turkish-speaking young people tended to respond in Turkish and sometimes in English. In excerpt 1 we illustrate this default pattern of classroom discourse. This classroom interaction comes from the same “West London Turkish School” classroom as the field-notes 1 in Section 5, but it is typical of other classrooms we observed and recorded.

In this exchange, Artun Bey, the teacher, has finished reading a poem to the class entitled “19 Mayıs Türküsü” <The Ballad of the 19th of May>. The 19th of May is a Turkish national celebration. It is also referred to as the *19 Mayıs Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı* <19th of May Youth and Sports Day> and commemorates the beginning of the Turkish War of Independence which led to the dismantlement of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the modern Turkish state. Here Artun Bey follows a well established routine: after reading the poem, he writes a list of unknown words on the whiteboard and asks the young people to guess their meaning and produce sample sentences orally which he then writes on the whiteboard for them to copy in their notebooks.

- (1)
- 1 Artun Bey Evet “yüce” neymiş anlamı yücenin? Yıldız < what is
 2 “almighty”, what is the meaning of almighty? Yıldız>
 3 Yıldız büyük <big>
 4 Artun Bey Evet büyük, çok büyük, ulu, ûlû değil.. anlamı neymiş
 5 yücenin? Büyük, ulu. Peki, kim cümle içerisinde kullanır
 6 yüce kelimesini? < Yes, big, very big, grand ((self-corrects
 7 his pronunciation)) not master, what is the meaning of
 8 almighty? Big, grand. Ok, who’s going to use almighty in a
 9 sentence?>
 10 () ((inaudible talk))
 11 Artun Bey Genellikle o tür şeyler için kullanmayız <No, we don’t
 12 normally use it for things like that>
 13 Yıldız Allah çok yücedir <God is almighty>
 14 Artun Bey Allah çok yücedir aferin, evet <God is almighty well done yes>
 15 Melek Peygamberlerimiz çok yücedir. <Our prophets are almighty>
 16 Artun Bey Ok peygamberler çok yücedir. Başka? Bir de başka
 17 varlıklar için, mesela diyelim dağlar için ne deriz? < Ok
 18 prophets are almighty. What else? One sentence for
 19 other things, for example what do we say about mountains?>

- 20 Melek ((shouts out)) *trees*
 21 Artun Bey Yüce dağ, değil mi? Evet, köyümüzün etrafında yüce
 22 dağlar var. Yani ulu, büyük dağlar var, değil mi? < We say
 23 almighty mountains. Don't we? Yes, there are almighty
 24 mountains around our village that means grand, very big,
 25 right?>

In this classroom exchange, Yıldız and Melek actively contribute to the development of the IRF sequence led by their teacher, Artun Bey. On this and other similar occasions we observed and recorded, the Turkish-speaking young people are presenting themselves as competent Turkish language learners who have been socialised in the pedagogic practices of this particular classroom. For instance, Yıldız procures a synonym for the new vocabulary item *yüce* (line 3) and a sentence (line 13) followed by Melek who also produces a sample sentence (line 15). Moreover, they present themselves as competent producers of Turkish heritage and cultural values. In their sample sentences, they orient to aspects of the heritage culture associated with Islam (lines 13, 15). This orientation is not surprising: according to Küçükcan (1999), Islam has emerged as one of the key identity markers for many British born Turkish-speaking young people. It reflects but also reproduces the strong link between the Muslim religion and Turkish identity, although Turkish-speaking young people may vary in the degree and expression of their religious commitment (*ibid*). As far as the young people in this study were concerned, informal reports revealed that a growing number of young people (especially of mainland Turkish heritage) attended Quranic classes organised by London mosques every afternoon after mainstream school. This could explain their knowledge and ability to talk about aspects of their heritage culture associated with Islam.³

While this and many other IRF exchanges we observed come across as more or less monolingual (sprinkled with occasional insertions of English vocabulary items, e.g. Melek's contribution in line 20, in excerpt 1 above), in other exchanges participants negotiated the interaction bilingually, such as when Artun Bey asks the young people to provide a label in English. The negotiation of these "bilingual label quests" resonates with Martin et al's (2006) findings in Gujarati complementary school classrooms in Leicester (see also Martin 1999, 2003 for similar findings in a range of other classrooms in different multilingual contexts). The next excerpt comes from the same lesson. Here Artun Bey inquires about the meaning of another new vocabulary item, *zinde* <energetic/robust>.

3. We should also add that in his interview, the teacher, Artun Bey, described himself as "a very religious person" (*ben çok dindar bir insanım*). We wondered to what extent the young people were also aware of their teacher's religious affiliation and tailored their responses during Turkish literacy teaching accordingly.

(2)

- 1 Artun Bey Volkan, “zinde” ne demek? Berna. <Volkan, what
 2 does “energetic/robust” mean? Berna>
 3 Berna Dinç, diri, canlı ve sağlam <vigorous, fresh, lively and healthy>
 4 Artun Bey Evet, dinç, diri, canlı ve sağlam. Yani İngilizcede? < Yes,
 5 vigorous, fresh, lively and healthy. What is it in English? >
 6 Yavuz *strong*
 7 Artun Bey Ahh, o kadar değil, sağlıklı yani < No, not exactly, it means
 8 healthy.>
 9 () ((children repeat in chorus)) *healthy*
 10 Artun Bey ne deriz? <what do we say?>
 11 () ((children repeat in chorus)) *healthy healthy*
 12 Artun Bey Güçlü ve sağlıklı genelde sportmen insanlar öyle olur, zinde olur,
 13 değil mi? Spor, benim gibi diyor, öyle diyor, ben zinde biriyim,
 14 diyor. < Strong and healthy, generally, sportsmen are like that,
 15 they are energetic/robust, aren’t they? Sports, he says, like me.
 16 He says, I am an energetic/robust person, he says>
 17 Berna Hocam, *fit*? <Sir, fit?>
 18 Artun Bey O kalıbında demek, yani ne fazla şişman ne fazla zayıf. < That
 19 means the body is in shape, neither fat nor thin>
 20 Berna *healthy*
 ((children can be heard talking all together))

In this classroom exchange, Artun Bey and the pupils unpack the meaning of the word *zinde* bilingually. Artun Bey initiates this bilingual interaction by inquiring about the meaning of the word in question in English (lines 4–5). Yavuz self-selects and code-switches to English translating *zinde* into *strong* (line 6). This does not seem to be the word Artun Bey has in mind though. Instead, he offers another synonym of the word *zinde* in Turkish (*sağlıklı*), which pupils immediately recognize and translate in chorus in English as *healthy*. In line 17, Berna proposes *fit* as another possible English translation. In responding to Berna’s suggestion, Artun Bey explains the meaning of the English word *fit* in Turkish. It is not clear from his response whether he confirms that *fit* can be another possible English translation of the word *zinde* in Turkish though. In the next turn (line 20), Berna repeats *healthy* which seems to emerge as the agreed upon English translation.

Similar to the previous interaction we looked at, the Turkish-speaking young people are orienting to aspects of their learner identities. Here too they are presenting themselves as competent Turkish language learners who can also move seamlessly between the two standard languages Turkish and English, thereby making salient aspects of their multilingual identities too. On this and other

similar occasions we observed, the two languages seemed to be brought together to make meaningful connections between concepts in order to enrich and consolidate the young people's Turkish language learning as well as their understanding of both standard languages (Turkish and English) (cf. Martin et al 2006; Creese et al 2008). This bilingual accomplishment of the lesson and the identity options it provided for the young people in question reflected their reported language practices and choices with their siblings and peers as well as with many of their British-born parents and complementary schools teachers (Creese et al 2007). Moreover, it is particularly revealing when situated in the context of Turkish complementary schools' institutional discourses that showed a dispreference for code-switching and the use of English for literacy work (Lytra et al 2008). These bilingual exchanges highlight the importance of juxtaposing dominant institutional discourses about accepted or preferred language use with the interactional data of actual language use (Li Wei & Wu, in press).

5.2 Intertextual references

Turkish-speaking young people sought to negotiate the content of the lesson and relate it to their own personal and diasporic experiences, knowledge and peer concerns via intertextual references to their out-of-school media and recreational practices. The extended sequence below (excerpt 3) follows from the bilingual negotiation of the meaning of the word *zinde* <energetic/robust> we discussed in Section 5.1. Artun Bey is writing on the whiteboard the sample sentence using the word *zinde* that one of the pupils, Ufuk, has suggested.

(3)

- 1 Artun Bey ((he is repeating aloud what he is writing on the whiteboard))
- 2 Sağlığına iyi bakıyorsan, zinde insansındır. Sporcular zinde
- 3 insanlardır. Arkadaşınız diyor, Ufuk diyor. Başka? < If you take
- 4 good care of your health, you are an energetic/robust person.
- 5 Sports people are energetic/robust people, says your friend Ufuk.
- 6 Any other sentences?>
- 7 Melek ama bazı sporlar değil ki! <but some sports ((people)) aren't!>
- 8 Artun Bey yok, spor yapan insan gerçekten o insanlar çok zinde insanlardır.
- 9 Sağlıklıdırlar, canlıdırlar, diridirler, bizim gibi böyle uyuşuk
- 10 durmazlar. Dinç dururlar. Evet. <no, people who do sports are
- 11 very energetic and robust. They are healthy, lively, vigorous,
- 12 they are not slouchy like us. They are vigorous and lively. Yes.>
- 13 Berna Döğüş... ehmmm döğüşçüler ehmm çok zindeler. < Fight..ehmm
- 14 fighters are very energetic/robust>

- 15Melek çünkü böyle var ya, Türkiye’de şeyler... < Because there’s this,
 16 in Turkey this thing...>
 17Ayla Sporunu yapanlar... <The ones who do the sports of...>
 18Melek şöyle kavga ediyorlar... <They fight like...>
 19Artun Bey Boks mu? <Do you mean boxing?>
 20Berna No, dövüş yapıyorlar. <No, they fight>
 21Artun Bey Kavga ediyorlar. Ne kavgası? Spor mudur bu? < They
 22 fight! What kind of fight? Is that a sport?>
 23Berna Yeah çünkü ehmmm aynı şey gibi o aynı *boxing* gibi < Yeah,
 24 because ehmm it’s exactly like like boxing.>
 25Melek Hani şeyde, çizgide...adamlar böyle < Like, you know.. on the
 26 line... the men like...>
 27Artun Bey Güreş mi? Güreş <Are you talking about wrestling? Wrestling.>
 28Berna Güreş <Wrestling>
 29Melek Güreş böyle şey.. <Wrestling, it’s like..>
 30Artun Bey ((to Melek)) Ney? <like what?>
 31Melek Döğücü böyle bir tane var eden, böyle kavga ediyor boyle < The
 32 fighter is one like that, he fights like that>
 33Berna Ama şey diyorlar bazen *smack down* diyorlar. < But they call it
 34 sometimes they call it smack down>
 35Yavuz Yeah, yeah!
 36Artun Bey Evet, evet, evet, önümüze dönelim. Şimdi, başka fikri olan?..
 37 <Yes, right right let’s go back to our lesson. Now, does anybody
 38 have any other ideas ((can anybody think of any other
 39 sentences))?>

As this excerpt illustrates, when Artun Bey requests for more sentences using the new vocabulary item *zinde*, Melek takes this opportunity to challenge the teacher’s claim that all sports people are energetic and robust (line 7). When Artun Bey reiterates his claims more forcefully, Melek seems to abandon her initial claim and elaborates on a particular kind of fighting that takes place in Turkey (lines 15–16, 18). Artun Bey does not seem to understand straight away what Melek is referring to and queries whether she means boxing (line 19). At this point, Berna comes to Melek’s aid explaining that it’s a kind of fighting similar to boxing (lines 20, 23–24). As Melek makes another unsuccessful attempt to explain herself, Artun Bey asks if the girls are referring to ‘güreş’ <wrestling> (line 27). The two girls confirm this and further elaborate on the topic: Melek seems to be making a reference to wrestlers who takes part in these wrestling competitions (lines 31–32) while Berna makes a reference to another wrestling competition called ‘smack down’ (lines 33–34). Berna’s remark elicits the enthusiastic support of Yavuz (line 35),

before Artun Bey intervenes to redirect classroom talk from the periphery to the centre of the lesson (lines 36–39).

There are two points worth raising here. The first point is that Melek and Berna's intertextual references to wrestling reveal that both girls were engaged in particular out-of-school media and recreational practices and were able to draw on these experiences to make connections (albeit tangential ones) with the content of the lesson. It transpires that Melek, Berna and other Turkish-speaking young people were familiar with the Turkish national wrestling sport *güreş*, widely known as *yağlı güreş* <oil wrestling> because the wrestlers douse themselves in olive oil, and most probably had watched such wrestling competitions held annually across Turkey on Turkish satellite TV in the UK or on national TV during their holiday visits. Moreover, it transpires that at least Berna and Yavuz were familiar with another form of wrestling too: 'smack down' is a professional wrestling television programme attracting top World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE) wrestlers. Although it would not be possible to claim that watching *güreş* or 'smack down' competitions is exclusively restricted to this particular age range, notably 10–13 year olds, talking and/or doing sports in general and wrestling in particular emerged as a key recreational practice among many Turkish-speaking young people we talked with (Creese et al 2007). The fact that intertextual references to sports, including wrestling, were typical of the age-group we observed and recorded could be explained as reflecting shared recreational practices and peer concerns among young adolescents more generally.

The second point is that exchanges where Turkish-speaking young people made intertextual references to their real-life experiences and concerns triggered identity options beyond their learner/multilingual identities or religious affiliation. In particular, through intertextual references to *güreş*, Melike and Berna invoke a particular aspect of their shared Turkish cultural heritage which they most probably have access to virtually in a diasporic context (through TV viewing). At the same time, they make links between this particular aspect of their cultural heritage with 'smack down', a globalised cultural product produced in the US and aired around the world. Through these intertextual references, the Turkish-speaking young people are highlighting aspects of their youth identities associated with shared media and other recreational practices and engagement with sports. In so doing, they negotiate forms of knowledge and expertise which are not confined to Turkish literacy learning nor associated with institutionally promoted aspects of their heritage identity (e.g. Turkish national celebrations) but which appear more relevant to their own diasporic youth experiences.

5.3 Playful talk

Playful talk during Turkish literacy teaching often emerged in the periphery of the lesson in informal peer talk. It was uttered in a low voice for the ears of those sitting in close proximity only while the teacher-orchestrated IRF sequence was in full swing. Excerpt 4 below is an illustrative example of playful talk among peers. It comes from the same classroom recording as the previous excerpts we discussed.

The teacher, Artun Bey, has recited the poem entitled “19 Mayıs Türküsü” <The Ballad of the 19th of May> from the Turkish language textbook the class habitually uses. The poem pays homage to Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic and talks about the legacy of Atatürk to the Turkish youth. Artun Bey is now doing the reading comprehension questions with the whole class. He is following a well-established routine we observed on other occasions too: the pupils first produce their answers orally and then Artun Bey selects a pupil to write the answer on the whiteboard for the others to copy. In the midst of this routine, a girl momentarily initiates a shift to play in private peer talk (line 7):

(4)

- 1 Artun Bey Soru üç. İbrahim okuyor, şaire <Question 3. İbrahim is reading,
- 2 ((according)) to the poet>
- 3 İbrahim şaire göre kutsal ülkümüz nedir? < According to the poet,
- 4 what is our sacred goal?>
- 5 Artun Bey ((he repeats)) şaire göre kutsal ülkümüz nedir?
- 6 <According to the poet what is our sacred goal?>
- 7 A girl ((quietly)) para <money>
- 8 İbrahim şair nedir? <what's a poet?>
- 9 Artun Bey oku şiiri. şiiri oku anlarsın nedir? Evet Yıldız. şaire göre kutsal
- 10 ülkümüz nedir? Nerede geçiyor kutsal ülkümüz? <read the
- 11 poem read the poem and you will understand
- 12 Yes Yıldız, according to the poet what is our sacred goal? Where
- 13 does he mention as our sacred goal?>
- 14 Yıldız ((reads the poem))) kutsal ülkümüz ondan <our sacred goal>
- 15 Artun Bey acaba ondan önce ne olabilir? Demek ki kutsal ülkümüz neymiş
- 16 şaire göre? < I wonder what could be before that? So according
- 17 to the poet what is our sacred goal?>
- 18 () ((in chorus loudly)) Ata'yı sevmek. <to love the Father>
- 19 Artun Bey Ata'yı sevmek. Ata kimdir burada? < to love the Father. Who is
- 20 the Father here?>
- 21 () ((in chorus loudly)) Atatürk

As the excerpt illustrates, the quiet introduction of playful talk in line 7 occurs as Artun Bey repeatedly tries to establish the correct answer to one of the reading comprehension questions. It serves to momentarily reframe the meaning negotiation that is taking place in this IRF sequence from the serious business of decoding the poem to potentially subversive joking in informal peer talk. Due to the position of the recording device, we do not know if this subtle reframing of the activity is acknowledged or goes unnoticed by peers sitting in close proximity to the girl who initiates it and to whom the utterance seems to have been directed.

Similar to the use of intertextual references we discussed in Section 5.2, playful talk among peers potentially opens upon different possibilities for the presentation of the self. By provocatively joking that *kutsal ulkumuz* <our sacred aim> is *para* <money> the girl in question seems to be contesting an important aspect of the heritage identity the teacher (and the school more generally) is seeking to promote through the reading of this and other similar poems to commemorate Turkish national days in a diasporic context. This particular aspect of the institutionally imposed heritage identity draws upon the iconic figure of Kemal Atatürk and his central role in the emergence and development of modern Turkey. It is, therefore, not coincidental that Kemal Atatürk is referred to as *Ata* <the Father> and when prompted further the young people shout in chorus that their *kutsal ülümüz* <our sacred aim> is *Ata'yı sevmek* to love the Father (line 18).⁴ Through such shifts to play, Turkish-speaking young people seem to be momentarily distancing themselves from this particular aspect of their Turkish heritage identity and perhaps provocatively negotiating a subject position which is more attuned to their personal experiences and lived realities in a diasporic context (cf. Blackledge & Creese, 2008). On this occasion, they are positioning themselves as consumers in a society that glorifies money and mass consumption rather than the deeds of Turkey's founding father. Such playful talk resonates with Pennington's (1999) findings in Hong Kong secondary school English classes. In her study, Pennington shows how the young people oriented to what she referred to as a 'commentary frame' to develop a counter-discourse in opposition to the teacher's institutional agenda and

4. This exchange 'focusing on reproducing this particular aspect of Turkish heritage identity' chimes with our observations about the teaching of cultural content in general in Turkish complementary schools. We noticed that cultural content often had nationalist overtones. The two most salient practices we observed were the recitation of the Turkish national anthem (*İstiklal Marşı*) and the pledge of allegiance (*Andımız*) during assembly as well as the celebration of Turkish national days. Both schools organised elaborate performances for the parents and children to celebrate Turkish national days, including talks by various dignitaries, poetry recitals and folk dance performances by the pupils. In literacy work, teachers assigned poetry and prose written especially for the occasion, such as the poem Artun Bey and the young people were discussing in excerpt 4.

negotiate discourses and identity affiliations that were more aligned to their peer concerns. Indeed, the use of linguistic resources to develop oppositional discourses is a common theme in studies of young people's talk in which young people are often seen as engaging in linguistic, cultural and other practices that depart from and often challenge and subvert dominant norms, values and expectations (cf. Georgakopoulou & Androutsopoulos 2003).

The theme of challenging dominant cultural values and norms is also echoed in Excerpt 5. Unlike excerpt 4, the shift to play in excerpt 5 below occurs in the centre of the lesson during pupil-teacher talk. It comes from the same classroom recording as the previous excerpts we have discussed. Here Artun Bey is asking the pupils to produce sample sentences using the new lexical item *armağan* <gift>. In line 8, Melek self-selects and initiates a frame shift to playful talk by making a reference to *lahmacun* (also known as 'Turkish pizza' which is usually made by a thin piece of dough topped with minced meat).

- (5)
- 1 Artun Bey Evet Berna <Yes Berna>
 2 Berna Ben arkadaşşıma armağan olarak çiçek verdim < I gave flowers as
 3 a gift to my friend>
 4 Artun Bey çok güzel. Ben arkadaşşıma armağan olarak çiçek verdim. Evet,
 5 hediye olarak çiçek aldım. Başka? Fikri olan? "Armağan"...
 6 < very good. I gave flowers as a gift to my friend. Yes, I bought
 7 flowers as a present. Another sentence? Other ideas? "Gift"...>
 8 Melek Ahh hocam! Aileme, ah aileme lahmacun armağan aldım armağa
 9 <Ohhhh Sir! I bought my family my family some lahmacun as a
 10 gift gift...>
 ((Melek chuckles and the other children begin to laugh too))
 11 Artun Bey ((in a mock stern voice)) Bir daha lahmacun dersin var ya sana
 12 lahmacun yemeyi yasaklarım. < If you utter the word lahmacun
 13 again I will forbid you from eating lahmacun.>
 14 Melek O...ki! <o... which>
 15 Artun Bey ((in a mock stern voice)) Bir daha ağzından lahmacun çıkmasın
 16 <No more lahmacun should come out of your mouth!>
 ((Melek and the children are laughing at Artun Bey's mock threat))
 17 Melek Tamam <Ok>
 18 Artun Bey Tamam mi? <Ok?>
 19 Melek Tamam. Sen...<Ok. You...>
 20 Artun Bey ((he is reading aloud as he is writing on the whiteboard))
 21 An-nem bana doğ-um gün-ümde her-zaman armağan < My mum
 22 always gives me a gift for my birthday>

Melek's reference to *lahmacun* (lines 8–10) playfully reframes the IRF sequence. Although the reframing does not alter the activity greatly (it is still a response to the teacher's initiation), it does attract chuckles and laughter on the other pupils' part. Moreover, it attracts a mock threat by Artun Bey who threatens sanctions should Melek repeat the word (lines 11–13 and 15–16). By building on Melek's playful talk, Artun Bey temporarily orients to playful talk in the official classroom space too. Indeed, we observed that what we later came to refer to as the 'lahmacun' joke seemed to function as a shared joke among the young people (and teacher to some extent) in this class. In the field-notes 2 below, we report on another occurrence of this class joke:

Field-notes 2:

A volunteer mother interrupts the lesson. She distributes the pupils' new books for the week and collects the old books (this is part of a Turkish reading scheme the school has initiated). After she leaves, the class is noisy. Melek shouts out: *canım lahmacun çekti* <I have a craving for lahmacun>. The other pupils laugh. Artun Bey resumes the lesson and starts telling a Nasreddin Hoca tale. [DA13/05/06, "West London Turkish School"]

There are two points we would like to raise here: First, to our mind, what made the 'lahmacun' joke so effective in consistently generating a good laugh was that Melek tended to insert it in the most incongruent moments during Turkish literacy teaching (e.g. when the young people were practicing new vocabulary, as in excerpt 5 above). We also suggest that its effectiveness was compounded by the fact that among many Turkish-speaking young Londoners 'lahmacun' had an additional connotation associated with peasantness and backwardness based on shared stereotypes about people originating from rural Turkey. Earlier informal reports by Turkish-speaking young people in a mainstream London comprehensive school had revealed that this lexical item was used in a derogatory way to refer to people originating from rural Turkey who had not quite adapted to the ways of the urban metropolis.⁵ This connotation seemed to be generated by the fact that in Turkish cuisine 'lahmacun' is considered a quintessential Anatolian (Central Turkey) dish. Its consumers are often stereotypically depicted in the Turkish media (e.g. comedy shows, sit coms) as uncouth and caricatured for their accent, manners as well as choice in food and dress. Given their reported peer group networks with other Turkish-speaking young people in the London diaspora (through family ties, youth clubs and community based organisations) and Turkish satellite TV viewing

5. It is noteworthy that Gujarati-speaking young people used the word *freshie* or *fresh-off-the-boat* to refer to the newly-arrived young people from India who lacked a requisite linguistic proficiency in English (Creese et al 2006; Creese et al 2008). It was not clear to us whether 'lahmacun' also implied a lack of proficiency in English for newly arrived people from Turkey too.

practices, it is likely that Melek and her peers were familiar with the stereotypical portrayal of consumers of 'lahmacun' and were alluding to it via their playful talk. This could further explain its popularity and high frequency in this particular classroom. Bearing this interpretation in mind, Melek's self-reference to 'lahmacun' in excerpt 5 <I bought my family some lahmacun as a gift> (lines 8–10) and in field-notes 2 <I have a craving for lahmacun> could be seen as a caricature of people from rural Turkey drawing on their stereotypical representation in the Turkish media.⁶

Second, similar to the function of intertextual references we discussed in Section 5.2, via playful talk, pupils attempt to put forth an interactional order closer to their real-life experiences and peer concerns (cf. Lin 2005; Lin & Luk 2005; Maybin 2006; Lytra 2007). These playful interludes resemble what Goffman (1961) refers to as 'secondary adjustments' which he regards as: "the ways the individual stands apart from the role and the self taken for granted for him by the institutions and by which he 'makes out', 'gets by', 'plays the system' and so on" (reported in Woods 1976: 181). Through playful talk, Turkish-speaking young people attempt to present themselves as young sophisticated urbanites by challenging institutionally imposed norms and values associated with aspects of the heritage culture (excerpt 4) and distancing themselves from people from rural Turkey, their food and dress preferences, manners and possibly their accent (excerpt 5). At the same time, we suggest that this distancing is not complete. For instance, we observed that many of the young people recited the Turkish national anthem and the pledge of allegiance every week at the school's morning assembly and many of the young people (including Melek) and their families originally came from rural parts of Turkey.

7. Concluding remarks

In this paper, we explored a group of Turkish-speaking young people's multilingual practices and identity negotiations in a diasporic context, two London Turkish complementary schools. Drawing on field-notes and digital recordings we investigated how the young people in question contextually selected code-switching, the use of intertextual references drawing on shared out-of-school recreational and media practices and playful talk based on shared cultural references and stereotypes as linguistic resources to craft identity options for themselves and others during Turkish literacy teaching. By focusing on the IRF sequence which dominated

6. Potentially, this caricature of people from rural Turkey could be extended to include the teacher too: Artun Bey was originally from rural Eastern Turkey. This was reflected in his accent as well as in his manners and dress. We can not be certain whether he was the indirect target of this recurring joke. The fact that Artun Bey tended to play along with the joke seems to suggest that he did not take it personally (e.g. excerpt 5).

classroom talk during Turkish literacy teaching, we probed into interactional moments when the young people in question contextually selected and juxtaposed the aforementioned linguistic resources for work, play and social affiliation or disaffiliation. We suggested that these interactional moments could provide us with a useful lens into youngspeak in a diasporic institutional context.

More specifically, we showed how the young people drew upon their multilingual capital, including their competence in standard languages (Turkish and English) as well as their knowledge of regional and diasporic varieties (e.g. excerpt 5) to negotiate meaning and identity options with their peers and teacher. Taking our cue from Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou's (2003: 3) call for investigating young people's talk in its local socio-cultural context, we situated the Turkish-speaking young people's multilingual practices in particular language and other preferences, life-style choices and commodities. For instance, we showed how moving between codes in flexible ways during Turkish literacy teaching reflected the young people's reported everyday language practices with their siblings, Turkish-speaking peers and many British born parents and complementary school teachers (e.g. excerpt 2). We also demonstrated how intertextual references reflected shared out-of-school recreational practices, such as an active engagement with sports and sports viewing (e.g. excerpt 3). By the same token, we discussed the young people's playful talk in the context of undermining dominant heritage discourses (e.g. excerpt 4) and the politics of inclusion and exclusion as these were played out in Turkish media and among the Turkish-speaking youth diaspora in London (e.g. excerpt 5).

Moreover, we discussed how the Turkish-speaking young people used their linguistic resources to craft identity claims for themselves and others. In particular, moving between languages during Turkish literacy work provided them with the interactional space to show case their linguistic sophistication (cf. Kanno 2003; Creese et al 2006; Creese et al 2008; Wu 2006). Rather than compartmentalising the two languages, juxtaposing them in the context of the IRF sequence during Turkish literacy work not only served to create new learning opportunities for enhancing Turkish literacy learning but also enriched Turkish-speaking young people's understanding of both languages. As a result, by engaging in code-switching to unpack the meaning of new Turkish vocabulary items, Turkish-speaking young people brought together aspects of their learner and multilingual identities.

We also showed how by initiating intertextual references and playful talk Turkish-speaking young people put forth different identity options. They highlighted, for instance, aspects of their youth identities associated with watching *yağlı güreş* and 'smack down' wrestling competitions on TV (e.g. excerpt 3). Or, they presented themselves as competent and perhaps provocative jokers (e.g. excerpts 5 and 6). Through these multilingual practices, we suggested that they foregrounded

forms of knowledge and expertise that appeared to be more relevant to their own diasporic experiences and youth concerns. At the same time, these multilingual practices provided them with the interactional space to both conform with and contest institutionally imposed discourses and identity ascriptions. For instance, we discussed how references to Islam during Turkish literacy teaching reproduced what appeared to be emerging as a key identity marker among many Turkish-speaking young Londoners (e.g. excerpt 1). We also saw how Turkish-speaking young people exploited playful talk to resist particular aspects of the Turkish heritage identity that drew upon the centrality of Kemal Atatürk and his deeds in shaping modern Turkey (e.g. excerpt 4) or how via their joking routines they reproduced shared stereotypes regarding peasantry and backwardness in order to set themselves apart from people originating from rural Turkey (e.g. excerpt 5). These identity negotiations suggested a relationship of ambivalence with aspects of the heritage identity, what Johnstone (1999) has referred to as a 'partly ours partly theirs' status, thereby allowing the young people to carve out a different, 'third space' (Gutierrez et al 1999) for themselves that went beyond institutionally imposed discourses and identity ascriptions. At the same time, they showed that identity negotiations were dynamic, locally situated and multi-layered. One important insight these identity negotiations have to offer to the study of youngspeakers is the need for a detailed contextualization of young people's interactions drawing on, for instance, their recreational and media practices, life-styles choices, family and peer connections with the local diaspora as well as their personal and/or virtual ties with the country of origin. This also involves paying close attention to the young people's situated use of their multilingual and other resources.

Transcription conventions:

Plain font	Turkish
<i>Italic font</i>	English
<plain font enclosed>	translation into English

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PART 2

Particular expressions

Lexical innovations in Madrid's teenage talk

Some intensifiers

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One of the most characteristic features of teenage talk is its vocabulary, understood as a tool that unifies the group, while excluding the outsiders. When studying teenage talk, we observe that it abounds in fixed phrases of different structures and with different functions. These elements should be considered not only in the lexicological field, but also in the field of pragmatics in order for the communicative function of the phraseological units to be identified. This paper discusses these aspects by considering some of the fixed phrases used by today's Madrid teenagers, as reflected in COLAm (*Corpus de Lenguaje Adolescente de Madrid*). The contexts in which the fixed phrases occur will prove to be fundamental for understanding their meaning and function.

Keywords: youth language, degree words, fixed expressions

1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that social communication is structured as different sub-codes that can vary widely depending on the character of the individuals that form each communicating group. The nature of these groups depends on various factors, which could be, for instance, having the same profession, belonging to the same social class or locality, even belonging to a group that is fixed by the age of its members (Labov 1966; López Morales 1993). These variables have been dealt with within different approaches to linguistic research, ranging from dialectal to professional, and from a particular social class to a particular age group, as for instance, teenagers.

The differences in language use have been studied from three main perspectives: phonetic, morpho-syntactic, and lexical. However, it is worth noticing that not all these perspectives have the same effect when defining the features of each group. In fact, while in dialectal studies the spotlight usually falls on the phonetic

features, in the study of the language of different professional groups, there is a tendency to focus on lexical characteristics.

The classification of different social groups' environments is largely based on the fact that they share a space characterized by the fusion of one common code that could be cultural, professional, geographical, etc. These cultural codes, among which we might point out the linguistic one, are important in giving the group a feeling of companionship. For an individual, the integration into one of these groups means adapting to the symbolic universe that characterizes the group (Zimmerman 2002: 139). In this context, I would like to underline that what has been pointed out for the pragmatic markers can also be applied to the lexicon of youth language: "[...] su creatividad léxica se hace patente y asegura la pertenencia al grupo mediante palabras jergales, tabúes, interjecciones y otras palabras [...]" (Jørgensen and Martínez, 2007: 6)¹.

2. Teenage talk

Briz' definition (2003: 142) of youth language:²

We understand that teenage language is the social interaction between the young, a submodality, a subgroup that is marked socially and culturally, that in accordance with these marks and those of the specific situation, presents several verbal and non verbal characteristics (a fact that does not deny that these marks could be present in other situations, and, therefore, in other varieties of youngtalk). That is to say, what has been called youngtalk is inserted into the oral tradition, in the conversational discourse (which does not mean that it can not appear in other oral or discourse manifestations, or even in a written text) is, thus, marked by the communicative immediateness and refers specifically to the colloquial modality.

It is often claimed that teenage talk is characterized by an informal code, whose fundamental features are a particular jargon sustained by generational differences.

1. ' [...] It is by jargon, taboos, interjections and other words that it [teenage talk] is showing its lexical creativity and making the youngsters feel they belong to the group' (my translation).

2. Por lenguaje de los jóvenes entendemos la interacción coloquial de o entre los jóvenes, una submodalidad, un subregistro marcado social y culturalmente, que presenta en correlación con dichas marcas y las propias de la situación una serie de características verbales y no verbales (hecho que no niega que puedan estar presentes en otras situaciones de comunicación y, por tanto, en otras modalidades empleadas por los jóvenes). Es decir, eso que se ha llamado lenguaje juvenil se inscribe dentro de la tradición oral, del discurso conversacional (lo que no niega que pueda aparecer en otras manifestaciones discursivas orales e incluso que esta oralidad se refleje en textos escritos), está marcado, así pues, por la inmediatez comunicativa y se refiere más en concreto a la modalidad coloquial.

This has been characterized by many authors (Aguirre et. al. 2001) as one of several indicators of a kind of youth rebellion, of claims and demands of the teenagers that until now have appeared in oral communication and that are complemented by other expressive manifestations: behaviour, dressing, etc. (Rodríguez, 2002: 21). As observed by Rodríguez (2002), and by Herrero (2002) and Zimmermann (2002), the innovation of teenage talk is not immune to certain challenges to the academic norms (Jørgensen and Martínez 2007). This fact has encouraged many authors to interpret teenage attitudes as the conscious creation of a generation whose goal is reinforcing a distance to the adult world.

However, my research involving teenagers aged 13 to 19 does not show that the variations in their speech are merely a question of a conscious attitude towards language. In my opinion it seems rather a radicalization of certain tendencies that are imposed on the adolescents by commercial trademarks, colloquial, or, even adult, vulgar language, all of which adds to the lack of maturity that is only natural for this age group (Rodríguez, 2002: 23). This does not mean that it is not a matter of a generalization of the jargon, even though the speech has been created at the individual level, which serves as an element of team spirit, and in a way melts together the group that uses a common language.

It is also worth noticing that the use of these generation 'codes' has a local or group character, more or less defined, whose linguistic norms strengthen the sense of group belonging. For this reason, the studies carried out within the COLA project (see Section 3) in some of the capitals of the Spanish-speaking world constitute an important step forward towards the analysis and the comprehension of the phenomenon called 'teenage talk' (Jørgensen 2004).

3. The COLAm corpus project

As Zimmermann (2002: 45) claims, one of the peculiarities of the studies of Spanish teenage talk carried out today is that there is no data registering the concrete situation, and on the other hand that the results of these studies are deduced from isolated interviews combined with adult speech. As a consequence, important data characterizing the youngsters' interaction is lost. If teenage talk is to be considered as one of the manifestations of age-related culture, then it is a condition *sine qua non* to count on a wide corpus containing teenage talk exactly as it is produced in the teenagers' natural environment, and in a situation where adults are not present.³ Herrero (2002: 69) is right when she claims that:

3. For this approach see e.g. the research on English teenage talk accounted for in Stenström et al. (2002).

It is obvious that the linguistic manifestations of the teenagers, when they talk to each other, are produced basically in an oral form in informal and spontaneous conversations that do not have either a specific or a determined purpose, but function above all to strengthen social contact and existing interpersonal relations. (My translation)⁴

The COLAm corpus, which is used in the present study, is part of the Cola-project (*Corpus Oral del Language Adolescente*; www.colam.org) led by Annette M. Jørgensen and constitutes an important step forward with regard to the study of Spanish teenage talk, as it is based on oral data collected from informal conversations among teenagers. The COLA-corpus has been collected in Madrid, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Havana and The City of Guatemala, all capitals in the Spanish-speaking world. At the moment, this corpus consists of more than 400,000 transcribed words spoken by teenagers in Madrid, and a smaller number of words (100,000) representing the Spanish spoken by teenagers from Chile. The teenage talk collected in Buenos Aires and Guatemala is now being transcribed. The dimensions of the COLAm corpus -400,000 words- which I have used for my analysis, should be representative enough to reflect the young speakers tendencies in Madrid.

The recordings of the conversations are done by 'recruits', i.e. students who have volunteered to do the recordings, after obtaining permission from their parents. By means of a mini-recorder, they record their conversations with friends, class mates, etc. during three or four days. In order to obtain basic information about the informants, the recruit makes a written description of the persons who participate in the conversation including data about: their age and gender and the relationship with the recruit. In addition to this, the recruit has to add information about his or her parents' work, the locality they live in, etc. in order to provide a clear picture of the social context where the talk is produced. This information is for future studies, especially those of a contrastive character that will consider the relationship between the teenagers' speech and their social class belonging.

4. Degree words (and intensifiers) in the standard language

From a grammatical point of view, degree words are those elements whose function is to modify the quantity, quality or intensity of the element they accompany.

4. Es obvio que las manifestaciones lingüísticas de los jóvenes, cuando hablan entre ellos, se producen, fundamentalmente, de forma oral en conversaciones informales y espontáneas que no tienen una finalidad específica ni determinada, sino que sirven, sobre todo, para reforzar el contacto social y las relaciones interpersonales existentes.

Therefore, *a priori*, the elements that belong to full lexical categories are degree words. Such degree words are basically certain adjectives and adverbs whose function is to intensify what the core to which they relate states. However, this effect on the core expression is not only carried out by one-word elements such as *mucho* ('much'), *poco* ('little'), *bastante* ('enough'), *demasiado* ('too much'), etc, but also by a set of uniform multiword elements, whose syntactic and semantic function as degree words is similar to that of the one-word elements.

4.1 One-word degree words and intensifiers

As mentioned, the adjectival degree of intensity can be obtained by various means. The most common means in Spanish is morphological, and consists of superlative suffixation, as for instance *incomodísimo* ('very unpleasant'), *gordísimo* ('very fat'). Moreover, variation in degree can be achieved by placing certain adjective modifiers before the adjective, such as *casi blanco* ('almost white'), *muy interesante* ('very interesting'), *poco atractivo*, ('little attractive') *menos malo* ('less bad'), *más absurdo* ('more absurd'), and so on.

However, as mentioned above, degree is not only related to adjectives, but also to nouns and adverbs. The intensification of the latter group, adverbs, is carried out by means of gradable adverbs: *muy* ('very'), *bastante* ('enough'), etc. Some of the nouns, on the other hand, are carriers of a content that can be quantified, and these may adopt intensifiers whose meanings are identical or similar to those used with adjectives, such as *menos leche* ('less milk'), *poco jamón* ('little ham').

4.1.1 One-word degree words and intensifiers in teenage talk from Madrid

One of the characteristics of the teenagers is that they tend to maximize and exaggerate. (Briz 2003: 146), so they rely heavily on intensifiers. That is why, as a native speaker, I have found several fixed expressions from the COLAm teenage talk interesting, like *mazo*, *de mierda*, *que flipa*, *con patas*, etc. The greater part of them belong exclusively to teenage language, while others like *de mierda* can appear in adult colloquial speech, though rarely (Briz 2003: 141).

Apart from the degree words that exist in standard Spanish, we are going to look more closely at *mazo* ('a lot, very good') and *mogollón* ('a lot'). Basically, these words act similarly to the most common standard degree words (*muy/mucho*). This is illustrated in example (1), where two friends are talking about their strength and muscles:

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| (1) MABPE2G01 Paco: | eso es músculo Mari (that it a muscle Mari) |
| MABPE2J02 Luisa: | es mazo suavequito (it is very soft) |

4.1.1.1 The degree word *mazo* ('a lot, very good')

In the Madrid teenagers' talk, *mazo* constitutes an invariable particle that is able to carry out different syntactic functions. One is to act as a degree adverb. Another is that elements of different categories may be influenced by it. One of the many functions of *mazo* in teenage talk is to serve as an element in fixed phrases, as observed in the following examples:

1. As a modifier of a verbal nucleus, as when *mazo* intensifies the verb *pasar* in example (2):

(2) MAORE2J02 María: *en plan* torta diciendome borderías porque se pasa **mazo** ('very roughly talking shit because we are having a good time...')

(3) MASHE3G03 Alfonso: Julio pasa un segundo que me duele **mazo** a la pierna ('Julio come here a second because my leg hurts a lot')

2. As an adjective modifier:

(4) MAORE2J02 Carmen: sé por qué porque llegan las notas mañana y está **mazo** cabreado y / ('I know why because we get the results tomorrow and he is very upset and...')

3. As a modifier of an adverb:

(5) MAESB2J01 Clara: la checa ('the Tcheckish girl') pues escribe **mazo** bien el español no ('well she writes very good Spanish doesn't she')

4. As a noun quantifier:

(6) MALCB2JO2 Paco: tercero a mí es que me falta **mazo** base ('third for me because I have very little base')

MALCB2GO2 Ramón: yo sin ir a clase ya te digo porque ('I without going to class can tell you why')

In addition, *mazo* can also mark the degree of prepositional constructions in which the word *muy* presents strong restrictions in the Standard language⁵, as can be observed in the following utterances:

- (7) MABPE2G02 José: ya si que me gusta el ketchup con leche pero este no me gusta ('now I like ketchup with milk but I don't like this')
- MABPE2G02 Alfonso: está **mazo de rico** tío no habéis probado ('it's very good you haven't tried it')

4.1.1.2 The degree word *mogollón* ('a lot')

Another polyvalent element, frequently used in teenage talk is *mogollón*. This word presents strong functional similarities with *mazo*, even though there are certain differences in use. In the same way as *mazo*, *mogollón* functions as a degree word; thus constituting an invariable particle in teenage talk with different syntactic functions⁶. Put in a different way, this means that it acts/functions like a degree adverb, influencing elements of different categories:

1. As an adverbial modifier of the verbal core. This function is carried out either as an isolated element, as in example (8):

- (8) MAESB2J01 Carmen: - Lucía </navn> es peor porque <navn> Lucía </navn> estudia **mogollón** y luego catea con lo cual tampoco es muy objetivo <p ('Lucia is worse because she studies a lot and then she fails and that isn't very good')

5. However, such constructions are used, even though very little, in some areas in the East of Andalucía. We are talking about a very limited number of polyvalent particles (adj./adv.) capable of marking the grade of prepositional syntagmas whose nucleus is an adjective or an adverb: *el niño come fenómeno de bien* ('the boy eats very well'); *la casa es fenómeno de cara* (the house is very expensive').

6. One of the many functions of *mazo* in teenage talk is to serve as an element in fixed phrases, as observed in the following example:

MASHE3G02 - Aléjate no ya no te perdono ah que eso me da **mazo** cosa a mí coño. ('go away because I don't forgive you, it makes me very mad')

In this example the fixed phrase *dar [algo] cosa* is influenced by the presence existence of *mazo*.

or as a noun, together with the indefinite article *un* ('a/an') as in example (9), where *un mogollón* ('really, indeed') defines the degree of the desire expressed by *me apetece* ('I feel like'):

- (9) MAESB2J01 Angela: ...haces en Noruega p ('...you do in Norway')
 MAESB2J01 que guay me apetece un **mogollón** = es que ya pensaba que
 se me había ido el plan ('cool I really feel like, I thought I had
 no chance')

or the degree of the pain expressed by *me duele* ('hurt') in example (10):

- (10) MALCB2J03 Lidia: ay Díos mío <p ('O my God')
 MALCB2J02 Carla: ay tía me duele un **mogollón** los brazos <p ('Oh my
 arms hurt a lot')

2. As an adverbial modifier of an adjective:

- (11) MAESB2J01 Daniela: es que tengo que ahorrar para la feria porque es
 un **mogollón** de caro ('I have to save money to go to the fair because it's very expensive')

3. As a noun quantifier:

One of the most characteristic functions of *mogollón* is as an adjective, that is, as a modifier of a prepositional phrase with a noun as head. This function can be carried out in the two ways already described; either as an isolated element as in (12) and (13):

- (12) MAESB2J02 Luisa: mejor que si quieres luego grabar ahí si que hay
mogollón de peña a la que grabarle ('better if
 you later will tape there because over there is
 really a lot of people')
- (13) MAESB2J01 Maca: tu padre tieneee como mi padre tiene **mogol-
 lón** de puntos porque viaja mazo en avión. ('like
 my father he has a lot of points because he trav-
 els a lot by plane')

or as an element turned into a noun by the indefinite article *un*, as in (14):

- (14) MAESB2J02/A:/Carmen: voy a hacer un **mogollón** de copias y revelar ('I
 am going to make a lot of copies and develop')

One of the differences between *mazo* and *mogollón* is that *mogollón* does not have the possibility to modify an adverb directly, as was illustrated in example (5) by *mazo bien*.

4.1.2 Degree words and intensifiers as multiword structures: fixed phrases

Idioms are, on the whole, multiword structures characterized by the fixed elements they are composed of. The way in which the phrases are fixed is not homogeneous: some are completely fixed (*corriente y moliente* 'ordinary'), and others are characterized by being easily able to adapt to the syntactic course. This property, the fixed structure, is complemented by another property: the idiomaticity, that affects many of these units. Idiomaticity is a quality that is affecting the meaning, and is produced when the unitary global meaning of a fixed phrase does not coincide with the sum of the meanings of its components. The meaning of the phrase *dar gato por liebre*, for instance, (literally 'give cat instead of hare') is 'to cheat, giving somebody less than the real value of a thing'.

In the group of idiomatic expressions, in the same way as when referring to more or less fixed phrases, there is variation, which does not only depend on the degree of the metaphoric content of an expression, but on the number of forming elements that have to be taken in their literal meaning.

As a result of the formal and functional complexity of the fixed phrases in a language, recent studies in Spanish have established different sub-groups of the functional approach (Corpas 1996). On the one hand we find phrases that constitute utterances by themselves, a sequence of words that is a unit of meaning, and are therefore called fixed utterances (*enunciados fraseológicos*). On the other hand we find lexical units, referred to as phrases, that is clusters of words, smaller than a sentence, forming a meaning (*locuciones*).

Among the first ones, we find well known and traditional structures such as sayings or proverbs, in addition to formulaic expressions (Corpas Pastor 1996: 271), in which two groups are distinguished: the discursive formulas of the type: *hasta luego* ('see you later') or *a eso voy* ('that is what I mean') and the psycho-social formulas *Dios se lo pague* ('God bless you') *no es para tanto* ('it's not so bad as it seems') or *pelillos a la mar* ('this is not important').

The second group, 'idioms' (*locuciones*) was defined in Spanish by Casares (1992 [1950]: 170) as "stable combination of two or more terms, that functions as a sentence element and whose unitary known meaning isn't necessarily justified as the sum of the normal meaning of the components". As long as the multiword formations constitute a sentence element, different subtypes have been established according to the lexical category they belong to, as follows:

- Noun phrases: *vacas flacas*, *mosquita muerta*, *alma de cántaro*, *cuesta de enero*, *patas de gallo*, *el qué dirán*, *cada quisque*
- Adjective phrases: *limpio de polvo y paja*, *de pelo en pecho*, *mondo y lirondo*, *de andar por casa*, *de padre y muy señor mío*
- Adverbial phrases: *a brazo partido*, *con la boca abierta*, *a todas luces*, *por lo pronto*, *de Pascua a Ramos*, *a la chita callando...*

- Verbal phrases: *chuparse el dedo, meter en cintura, remover cielo y tierra, oler a cuerno quemado, no tener vuelta de hoja...*
- Prepositional phrases: *a pesar de, con arreglo a, en pos de, en torno a...*
- Conjunctive phrases: *a fin de que, tan pronto como, siempre y cuando, según y conforme*
- Exclamatory phrases: *¡ancha es Castilla!, ¡ahí es nada!*

Ruiz Gurillo (2001: 169) emphasizes that the wide field of study [represented by phraseology], generally approached as a folkloric circumstance that surrounds language, has been understood as the most sparkling and characteristic feature of an area⁷. I would go even further and claim that phraseology is one of the most perceptive indicators of the linguistic register (either technical, dialectal or generational) we are facing. If what is the most significant in a specific professional language is the vocabulary and the specific phraseology (in the same way as in a jargon), then this means that, in teenage talk, it is also the vocabulary and the phraseology that the teenagers use that are the most significant features of that specific register (Herrero 2002: 66). This is why, in the following, I will analyse some of the expressions used by the Madrid teenagers represented in the COLAm corpus.

4.2.2 *Some multiword intensifiers in the Madrid teenage talk*

Most linguists agree that fixed phrases in general carry pragmatic values that their possible monolexical substitutes do not. In relation to what was commented on above, these specific values are interpreted according to the particular idiosyncrasy of the society they spring out from. In this way, fixed phrases may have several functions: to weaken, tone down or to intensify what has been said, to show agreement, to wish luck, to unite something to what have been said, etc.

In the present study I will concentrate on the expressions in teenage talk that intensify what has been said. This intensification is established by different strategies, such as the use of adjective or adjective phrases modifying a noun or a verb, or even the creation of expressions that imply that the meaning is intensified when used metaphorically. On the other hand, as will be seen below, certain idioms and fixed expressions have to emphasize the veracity of what has been said as their function.

7. “La fraseología es un rico recurso léxico que forma parte de cualquier lengua [...] ese amplio campo de estudio ha sido abordado habitualmente como una circunstancia folklórica que rodea a la lengua, como lo más chispeante e idiosincrásico de un pueblo”. (Phraseology is a rich lexical resource that is part of any language [...] this broad field of study has usually been approached as a matter of linguistic folklore, which belongs to the wittiest and the most characteristic features of a particular area.)

5. Phrases in teenage talk with an intensifying tendency

Let's now look at three fixed expressions that in my opinion could belong to teenage language, though they are not mentioned in any Spanish dictionaries as teenage talk. What they have in common is a lack of a predetermined meaning and the function as intensifiers.

5.1 Con patas

Example (15) illustrates the use of *con patas* as an intensifier:

- (15) MABPE2G01 Mario: yo se que si me metieron mano ('yes I know they touched me')
 MABPE2G01 Roni: eres una putilla **con patas**, eh ('you are some of a whore hah')

In this fragment of teenage talk from Madrid, the adjective phrase *con patas*, reminds us, in a way, of the adjective *andante* ('stralling'), or even *viviente* ('alive'), when used about persons, something that gives the head of the Noun Phrase a touch of activity instead of passivity. The linguistic innovation follows the rules of teenage talk, which is close to vulgar speech (e.g. *patas* 'animal legs' instead of *piernas* 'human legs', and *de mierda* 'shit', as seen below). In example (15) the phrase *con patas* is intensifying the meaning of the noun *putilla* ('whore'), when assigning it an active behaviour in the given context.

5.2 De mierda

Sometimes the intensifier has more general connotations that are actualized by the context, as seen in example (16):

- (16) MABPE2G01 Angel: tú eres una borracha {ajquerosa|asquerosa} **de mierda** (you are some piece of a booz-er')
 MABPE2G01 Carlos: yo sé que si me metieron mano] ('I know they touched me')

The expression *de mierda* does not only intensify the nominalized adjective *borracha* ('boozier'), but it rather adds a touch of strong distaste, in the same sense as *asquerosa* ('disgusting'). It is worth noticing that the adjective *asquerosa*, like *de mierda*, should not be taken in their literal meaning, which seems to agree with what other authors have said about the poverty of teenage talk, namely that it accommodates its meaning to the actual context (cf. e.g. Catalá, 2002: 123).

5.3 Que [lo] flipa

Finally, let's consider a case of relative intensifying and exclusive constriction in teenage talk. The verb *flipar* (an anglicism derived from the English intransitive verb *flip* meaning 'loose control' has acquired the meaning of 'asombrarse' or 'sorprenderse' ('be surprised') among the teenagers, usually in a positive context (Bua, 2006: 45), as in *Manolo está flipando porque ha sacado un sobresaliente* ('Manolo is surprised because he has received a pass with distinction'), while he only expected to pass the exam. It seems as if we are facing one of the multifaceted elements of the language that lacks a proper meaning, and that can be used in any context as long as the speaker attributes to it a suitable meaning in the context. As an illustration, consider example (17):

- (17) MABPE2G01 Carlitos: tú eres una borracha {ajquerosa|asquerosa}
de mierda ('you are some hell of a boozer')
MABPE2G02 Ángel: **estáis flipando** ('you are going crazy')

At last, I would like to emphasize the fact that informal spoken language, in any of its registers, as opposed to written language, is more able to go beyond the grammatical rules. Sometimes this is due to the on-the-spot, unplanned character of the speaking situation, other times because of its ability to adapt its meaning (sometimes strictly pragmatic) to the actual context. Teenage talk, in this sense, is no exception, and it might even be suggested that the possibility of a break-down of the conventional language can be strengthened by the rebellious attitude of many teenagers towards the established canon (Vigara Tauste 2002: 196; Zimmermann 2002).

6. Conclusions

As has been demonstrated in this paper, one of the characteristics of the informal colloquial speech of the Madrid teenagers studied is the use of particular intensifiers, sometimes realized by single words like *mazo* and *mogollón* and sometimes by constructions that belong to the field of idioms and fixed expressions. Sometimes the teenagers use multiword expressions like *que lo flipa*, *de mierda*, *con patas*. These last elements should not be interpreted literally, since their meaning is determined by the context in which they are uttered. When new terms are created, the grammatical rules they are governed by are sometimes broken, as in the case of *flipar*. Therefore, it might be concluded that the teenagers are radicalizing their linguistic behaviour as well as their non-linguistic behaviour, starting from the elements they can reach. That is, in order to understand this behaviour we have

to bear in mind the youngsters' cultural and economic possibilities. The way in which they choose to generalize a certain behaviour or fashion will have to be 'downwards'; towards the lowest language level (vulgar speech), because this is the way the group will find what is available to the majority. It seems as if teenage talk aims to carry the vulgar, colloquial language of adults to an extreme in order to break the norms.

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En plan used as a hedge in Spanish teenage language

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This paper discusses the use of the Spanish expression *en plan* as a pragmatic marker, more specifically as a hedge in Madrid boys' and girls' spontaneous conversation, when used as a politeness device to save both the speaker's and the hearer's face. This function is the most frequent one in the material studied in this paper, which emerges from *Corpus Oral de Lenguaje Adolescente de Madrid* (COLAm). The differences between boys and girls' uses are also analysed, as well as the distribution among social classes.

Keywords: Corpus linguistics, informal speech, hedge, politeness

1. Introduction

This paper discusses the use of the expression *en plan* as a pragmatic marker, more specifically as a hedge in Spanish boys' and girls' spontaneous conversation. The reason for choosing *en plan* is that its use as a pragmatic marker has been overlooked in the literature, with the exception of Nord (2006), Stenström (forthcoming) and Martínez & Jørgensen (2007). I am particularly interested in *en plan* used as a hedge and the extent to which it affects the hearer's and/or the speaker's face and whether the usage has anything to do with gender differences. One aspect worth considering is whether the grammaticalization of *en plan* as a pragmatic marker will ultimately lead to its adoption in the standard language. The way it is used in teenage language is therefore highly motivated. And as Stenström points out:

Both *like* and *en plan* are the result of grammaticalization, but while the development of *like* from a preposition/conjunction to a pragmatic marker has been well documented (cf eg Andersen 2001), the development of *en plan* has not, and its existence as a pragmatic marker has, so far, been largely overlooked. (2006: 10)

Following Coates (1996), I understand a 'hedge' as a linguistic device "used not just to modify the force of the propositional content of an utterance, but also to take account of the feelings of the addressee" (1996: 156). Consequently, as a hedge, *en plan* is used as a politeness device with a mitigating function, by saving the hearer's as well as the speaker's face¹, a function of *en plan* that is the most frequent one in the material studied in this paper, which emerges from *Corpus Oral de Lenguaje Adolescente de Madrid* (COLAm) (<http://www.COLAm.org>), described in Section 1.1.

The absence of studies of Spanish *en plan* provides an opportunity to study an aspect that lacks theoretical precedents, while at the same time constituting a challenge to break new ground. Stenström (2007: 1) comments on the lack of research on *en plan* as follows:

The use of the pragmatic marker *en plan* [...] is likely to be a very recent phenomenon, since it has not yet been documented by Spanish linguists; nor is it mentioned in current Spanish dictionaries, such as Sanmartín Saez's *Diccionario de argot* (2003) or on the Internet. The only study of *en plan* so far, that I am aware of, is a recent MA thesis written by Magni Nord.

The fact that the pragmatic marker *en plan* has been neglected both in grammars and the linguistic literature is not surprising. It is apparently a typical teenage phenomenon, and so far there has been a lack of spoken material to study. Now, the COLAm-corpus can provide information about the different uses of *en plan* in youthtalk, which mere human intuition would not be able to do. Stenström, who compared the use of *en plan* with English *like* in London teenage talk, comments on the interactional function of *en plan* as follows:

So to the question whether the use of *like* and *en plan* reflect a bad habit. Well, to some extent. Especially when overused. But they are both very handy for the speakers involved in the conversation, since they work both on the pragmatic strategic level, both as an organizer of the turn and a planning device and on the interactional level, keeping contact with and making the listener more involved. (forthcoming, 10)

Nord's (2006) study of Madrid teenagers' use of *en plan* identifies its different functions as reformulator, ordenator, etc., as explained in Section 2. My purpose here, by contrast, is to study the use of *en plan* only as a hedge with its polite and impolite implications.

1. *En plan* [...] como *marcador metadiscursivo conversacional*. Cuando sirve como un marcador de esta naturaleza, en algunas ocasiones desempeña las funciones de *atenuante* e *intensificador*. (Nord 2006: 16) (*En plan* [...] as a conversational metadiscursive marker. In this function it sometimes serves as a mitigator and intensifier.)

The reason for considering *en plan* teenage specific is its popularity among teenagers, in addition to the fact that it is not mentioned in Spanish grammars and seldom appears in the dictionaries. It should be remembered, however, that many of the features attributed to teenage talk do not occur exclusively in the teenage vernacular; much of what characterizes the language of the young is also used by adults, only to a much lesser extent. This is the case with *en plan*, which is also used in adult talk, but less frequently and used in a different way. As Rodríguez (2002, 23) and Briz (2002: 125) both put it, it is not so much the lexical creation of new terms that is teenage specific, as the way and frequency in which some expressions are used: it is in this sense that *en plan* is adopted as a hedge among the young, and this special use is, in my opinion, teenage specific.

This article has three principal parts. In the first part, I present the reasons, aim and methods for analysing *en plan* when used as a hedge. This is followed by a theoretical presentation of what different linguists consider to be a hedge. Part two contains an analysis of the different findings, and a quantitative analysis of the gender distribution of *en plan*, and the paper ends with the conclusions in part three.

1.1 The COLA-corpus

The Madrid part of the COLA-corpus (described in detail in Martínez' chapter in this book), COLAm, currently consists of 360.000 words, and is large enough to reflect the teenagers' speech habits. One of the advantages of the corpus is that it presents the speakers' voices along with the transcribed speech, which offers the researcher the opportunity to capture the speakers' different moods and expressions of emotions that enable the interpretation of the utterances and also account for other aspects, important when it comes to the study of hedges.

1.2 Hedging

A hedge is a mitigating device used to lessen the impact of an utterance by softening its strength/intensity or straightforwardness. The motivation for the use of hedges is given as mitigation of what may otherwise seem too forceful and lack of politeness or respect vis à vis the hearer. Observations have been made about its two basic functions: the social and the linguistic. Briz (2003: 19) defines hedging as follows:

a linguistic strategic operation of minimizing what is said and the point of view, and as such, related to the argumentative activity and agreement negotiation, which is the ultimate goal of every conversation. Lessen the importance, diminish, temper, minimize elocutionary strength, repair, hide the the real intention are more concrete values related to use of the hedge; the linguistic form that expresses

this activity is only in certain situations an instrument or expression of a social function, the face, even sometimes the polite face-saving one. (Briz, 2002: 19). (My translation)²

This definition makes clear, on the one hand, that hedging is not always a linguistic reflection of politeness and, on the other, that hedging is a consequence of a search for agreement in the interaction. Hedges are related to argumentative activities: reduction of the benefit of the speaker, his/her contributions and possible disagreements. Briz (2001: 148–150) distinguishes two kinds of hedges: a semantic-pragmatic and a strictly pragmatic one. Here I will concentrate on the semantic-pragmatic aspect of *en plan* as a hedge or mitigation factor within a politeness strategy (cf Briz 2006: 10) as well as a metadiscursive marker in expressions that tend to replace constructions with *como* ('like'), which is frequently used by the teenagers³. This use of *en plan* constitutes a strategy of linguistic distance as well as a social approach. (cf Briz 2006: 10; Albelda 2006: 2)

I agree with Hernández Flores (2004) that the face-saving function can be oriented towards the speaker as well as towards the hearer. She argues that "[t]he aim of politeness could be not only to save the other's face, as can be concluded from Brown & Levinsons theory, but to save one's own face as well." (2004: 99). Judging by my observations in COLAm, the strategy that involves saving one's own face is especially active among the young people.

By hedging the speaker distances him/herself linguistically from what s/he says in order to save his/her own face, avoiding being impolite towards the hearer. In other words, this politeness behaviour benefits both speaker and hearer, since it has a face-saving effect on both participants in the interaction. The self face-saving aspect is especially important in youthtalk because of the speaker's insecurity and concern about the other's opinion⁴ (Rodríguez 2002: 23). Teenagers are probably particularly sensitive to being proved wrong due to their wellknown insecurity. Being imprecise or mitigating one's commitment to the truth-value of a proposition or a claim makes it possible for the teenager to say, if proved wrong, that the claim was only tentative or an approximation. As Markkanen & Schröder say (2007: 1):

2. [...] es una operación lingüística estratégica de minimización de lo dicho y del punto de vista, así pues, vinculada a la actividad argumentativa y de negociación del acuerdo, que es el fin último de toda conversación. Quitar relieve, mitigar, suavizar, restar fuerza elocutiva, reparar, esconder la verdadera intención son valores más concretos unidos al empleo del atenuante, la forma lingüística de expresión de dicha actividad, sólo en ocasiones instrumento o manifestación de una función social, la imagen, y en concreto a veces de la imagen cortés.

3. Stubbs' view of modality allows even the inclusion of linguistic items and structures like logical and pragmatic connectors, past tense when used hypothetically, and passivization, which allows the deletion of the agent and therefore the avoidance of commitment. (Stubbs 1986: 4).

4. www.lommelegen.no/art/art892.asp -

This explanation is supported by Hübler's (1983) view that the reason for using hedges is to make sentences more acceptable to the hearer and thus increase their chances of ratification, which in turn is made necessary by the inherent negatability of sentences. According to Hübler, the function of hedges is to reduce the risk of negation.

Thus, we could propose that, in teenage talk, while showing deference to the addressee, the teenager also tries to protect him/herself from potential anger, contempt or other humiliation on the part of the addressee. Both desires are present in all communicative situations, but it seems, by the examples where *en plan* is used, that this feeling is present among adolescents in particular. House and Kasper (1981: 157) claim that "both these functions - one defensive and ego-oriented, the other protective or alter-oriented are fulfilled by politeness". In some situations the teenager's desire to protect him/herself from the potential denial of the hearer's claims may be greater than the desire to show deference to the hearer. The more convinced a speaker is about his/her own position vis-a-vis the hearer, the less need there is for hedging for the purpose of self-protection. This is a plausible explanation of the use of *en plan* by the teenagers recorded in COLAM, who are probably uncertain and care about the listener's reaction to what they say.⁵ (Rodríguez 2002: 23)

1.3 Why study *en plan* in teenage talk?

The language of Spanish-speaking teenagers has been studied from several points of view. According to Rodríguez (2002: 14), teenagers form a new social group that constitutes an ideal for the rest of society, and Zimmermann (2002: 34) emphasizes that new words enter standard Spanish through the teenagers' language, and that adults use teenage expressions to appear younger. The knowledge of how the young ones talk today can make us able to anticipate how our language will change in the future, since the young ones act as a 'filter'.

In spite of what has been mentioned above, teenagers do not have too many of their own unique pragmatic markers; *en plan* would be one of these. Nevertheless, their frequent use of taboo words and other words more or less as pragmatic markers can be considered teenage-specific (Jørgensen & Martínez 2007: 2). Their style is notorious for the constant repetition of certain pragmatic markers, and as a consequence, the high frequency of pragmatic markers overall. (Stenström & Jørgensen 2008). Rodríguez (2002: 23) suggests that the difference in age results in different power relations, which lead to different lexical choices, sometimes only in terms of frequency. In addition, the communicative situation of the young is special; their insecurity and changing communicative competence lead to the

5. <http://www.bgsu.edu/offices/mc/news/2006/news20407.html>
<http://web1.msue.msu.edu/cyf/youth/earlyad.html>

frequent use of 'bad' words, taboo words, and pragmatic markers including *en plan*⁶. (Stenström 2006: 1; Nord 2006: 4)

As mentioned above, with the exception of Stenström's and Nord's studies, no attention has been paid to *en plan* as a pragmatic marker. According to Zorraquino & Portolés (1999: 4191), for instance, the most frequent pragmatic markers are *bueno, bien, eh, este, ya* and *sí*, but there is no mention of *en plan*⁷. What is of particular interest is to verify whether *en plan* has undergone a functional change in the Madrid youngsters' informal conversation and, in a larger perspective, which I will not go into here, whether the grammaticalization process has caused it to become a pragmatic marker in the standard language⁸.

1.4 Issues to be clarified before the analysis

The teenagers' frequent use of pragmatic markers leads to difficulties in the analysis. It is often a challenge, if not impossible, to identify the exact function of *en plan* in different contexts. Consider, for instance, utterances (1) to (4), where the first *en plan* in example (4) has a clear adverbial function, and the last one, both a clear pragmatic marker function and a noun function, underlined by the use of the demonstrative pronoun *ese* in (4):

6. "La rapidez del lenguaje de estos jóvenes, el frecuente cambio de turnos, la vacilación cuando hablan, la repetición seguida de las palabras, su inseguridad al hablar y, por consiguiente, su necesidad de proteger su imagen y de rellenar vacíos en el hilo discursivo, son todos rasgos que conducen a un elevado empleo de los marcadores metadiscursivos conversacionales, entre ellos *en plan*." (Rodríguez 2002: 23)

The rapidity of these youngsters' speech, the frequent changes of turns, the hesitation when talking, the repetition of words, their insecurity, and as a consequence, their need to save their own face and fill in empty slots in their pragmatic are all features that lead to a frequent use of metadiscursive pragmatic markers, among them *en plan*. (My translation)

7. There is a survey of *en plan*'s distribution in the different registers of the Spanish language in Nord (2006: 7).

8. "A continuación, se nota que *en plan* ha sufrido un cambio de función en la conversación coloquial de estos jóvenes. Pasa de haber tenido la función de adverbio a ser usado por los interlocutores de nuestro material de análisis, como una "palabra sin sentido", o un marcador de discurso." (Nord 2006: 1)

In the following we can see that *en plan* has undergone a functional change in the teenagers' informal conversations. It has gone from having an adverbial function to being used by our informers as a word without meaning or a pragmatic marker. (My translation)

- (1) es como, no, pero en plaann, *en plan* todos, *en plan* así, y tal y Ana, ji ji ji
(MAOR03J01)
It's like, no, but like, like all, like that, and so on and Ana hi hi hi ⁹
- (2) pues yo cuando me pongo muy nerviosaa en serio cuando me peleo con
mamá o cuando *en plan* me saca de mis casillas y me pongo *en plan* que
nos empezamos a pelear *en plan* .. que nos peleamos. (MAORE2J01)
when I when I get very nervous, seriously, when I fight with Mummy or
when like she drives me crazy and I get like we start to fight now, like, we
fight
- (3) está ahí *en plan* tipooo, como *en plan* concurso con Bea, que está too
cabreada (MAESB2J01)
she is there like like, as she were like in a competition with Bea, who is all
pissed off
- (4) ya pero tampoco había *en plan* amor tía, y él tampoco estaba en ese *plan*
¿sabes? ¡y ya está! (MAORE3J04)
ok but it wasn't like love either, and he wasn't like that either you know?
And that's it!

Like other pragmatic markers, *en plan* is multifunctional, and can often have more than one function at the same time. The adverbial function may for instance combine with the pragmatic marker functions, such as hedge or intensifier, as in (5):

- (5) se pone *en plan* de coña: “como lo amo”, así, *en plan* de coña
(MAORE2J03)
he goes on like joking: “How I love him” like, like that joking

In cases of ambiguity I will concentrate on the pragmatic marker's function as a hedge. An aspect worth considering before generalizing, but which has not yet been looked into, is obviously that the frequent or excessive use of a particular pragmatic marker might be due to personal style, in this case perhaps by only a few out of the twelve speakers who were found to use *en plan*.

In spite of the fact that hedging might be infrequent overall in youngtalk, considering teenagers' tendency to look at life in black and white and to exaggerate and intensify things (Briz 2003: 146), *en plan* is, in fact, used with this hedging function (cf. Schiffrin 1987 and Stenström 1994 for English and García Vizcaíno 2005 for Spanish), and is therefore interesting to take a closer look at.

9. The examples are presented in Spanish with an English translation. However, the translation provided is not always faithful to the Spanish original, there may not always be an exact equivalent in English and the nearest equivalent may not reflect exactly the same meaning. So, I have sometimes had to choose a literal translation, often stilted, even awkward.

2. *En plan* as a hedge

According to Nord (2006: 16), who also based her findings on a shorter version of the COLAm corpus, the functions of *en plan*, in addition to the adverbial functions, are: explicative reformulator, information structurer (commentator), conversational metadiscursive marker, and quotative marker. My contribution is the additional analysis of *en plan* as a hedge. This paper can of course only suggest a tentative answer to the question: What functions does *en plan* have in the Madrid teenagers' language, in addition the ones Nord has mentioned? By analyzing the frequency of *en plan* and the context in which it appears in COLAm, I hope to arrive at a conclusion about its function as a hedge.

Stenström & Jørgensen (2008) show that *en plan* often functions as a hedge by mitigating the threat to one's own face while at the same time helping the speaker to go on speaking. By modifying the strength of an utterance and reducing the speaker's commitment to what has been said, one of its important functions is to save the speaker's face. In an article entitled "¿Una cuestión de cortesía? Estudio contrastivo del lenguaje fático en la conversación juvenil" (Stenström & Jørgensen 2008), *en plan* is dealt with as a 'mitigator of face threat', and it is compared with its equivalent *like* in English. Stenström (2006) points out that the use of *en plan* in Spanish is considerably less frequent than *like* in English, but that, in spite of that, their functions are very similar. In Spanish *en plan* is used in a similar way as *como*, both when it comes to the adverbial and pragmatic marker functions.

2.1 Distribution of *en plan* among boys and girls and social class

There were 275 occurrences of *en plan* in the 350,000 word COLAm corpus, which means that there were 0.78 occurrences of *en plan* per thousand words. Only 16 of the 275 occurrences, were used as hedges, so the percentage of *en plan* as a hedge is low, compared to the other functions studied by Nord (2006). Figure 1 illustrates the number of cases *en plan* is used as a hedge, compared to the other functions:

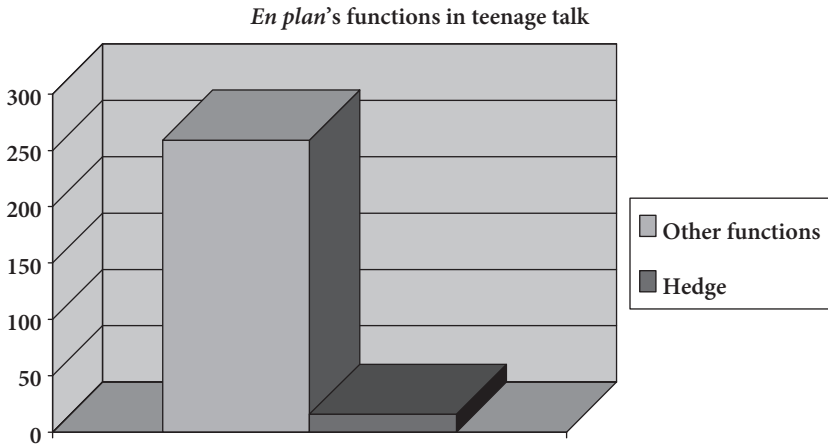


Figure 1. The functions of *en plan* in the Madrid teenagers' talk

We operate with three social classes for the Madrid teenagers: high, middle and low class.

The distribution of *en plan* among these social classes in Madrid is exposed in Figure 2, which shows the distributions of *en plan* with respect to social class in the COLA-corpus:

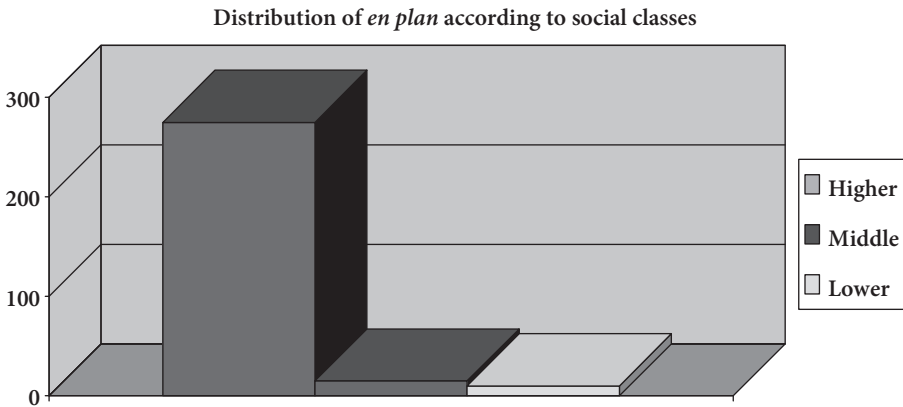


Figure 2. The distribution of *en plan* according to social classes

Another interesting finding is that *en plan* is mostly used by the girls (259) and only rarely used by the boys (16) from Madrid. Figure 3 illustrates the distribution of the total occurrences of *en plan* among the boys and girls in the COLAm-corpus:

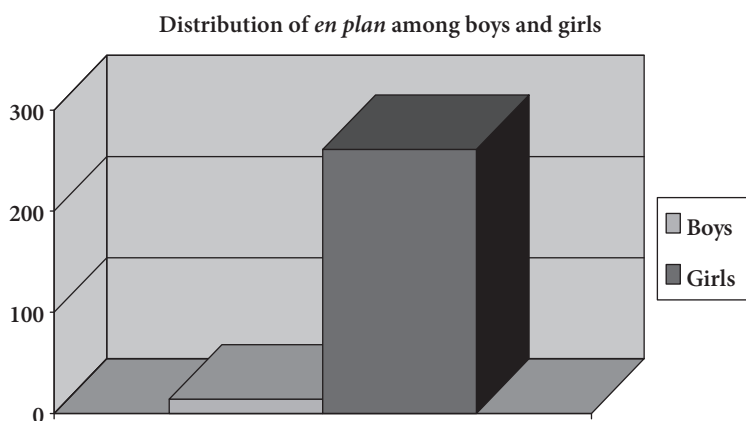


Figure 3. The distribution of *en plan* among boys and girls in the COLAm-corpus

The obvious conclusion to draw from this minor quantitative analysis of the occurrences of *en plan* in the COLAm-corpus is that it is used as a hedge mainly among the girls (Fig. 1), from the upper class (Fig 2). Another conclusion to be drawn (Fig. 3) is that there are remarkable differences between the way boys and girls use the hedge *en plan* in the COLAm-corpus.

The results of this analysis, which has shown that the girls use *en plan* as a hedge for politeness reasons, while the boys do not use *en plan* as a hedge at all, only as an adverb (cf. Section 2.1), agree to some extent with Holmes' (1995) findings. Although Holmes did not make a quantitative analysis, she demonstrated that men and women use hedges in distinct ways, and that women use them in strategies of positive politeness, and that female talk is considered to be more cooperative, hearer-oriented and has more hedges than male talk. As to Spanish in general, García Moutón (2000: 74) says:

The use of certain idioms that have an impact on some aspects of the expressivity of the language could be related to a feminine use of the language. Banalized formulaic expressions, that more than show linguistic insecurity, form real strategies of *captatio benevolentiae* in certain contexts (My translation).¹⁰

In contrast, Stenström (2003), who analysed four teenage conversations produced by London teenagers in COLT (The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language), found that: "[t]here was no clear indication in this material that hedging is typical of female behaviour". (2003: 112).

10. se podría relacionar con el empleo femenino de la lengua el uso de ciertos giros que vienen a incidir en los mismos aspectos de expresividad. Formulas banalizadoras que, más que traslucir inseguridad lingüística, constituyen en ciertos contextos verdaderas estrategias de *captatio benevolentiae*.

2.2 *En plan* used as a hedge in the Madrid teenagers' talk

The examples of *en plan* as a hedge are only found in utterances made by girls, while the boys use *en plan* with an adverbial function (cf. Nord 2006: 17)

- (6) Javier: conciencia tranquila
clear conscience
Jorge: ya ves
as you see
Javier: si es que está tan allá la piedra ahí en el monte
if the stone is so far away in the mountains
Jorge: *en plan* lagarto ahí
like a lizard there
Javier: poner un poco de espalda
lean your back a little bit on it
Javier: yo estoy por hoy que es sábado ya dejarlo pa (MAESB2G01)
I am finished for today it is Saturday and I'll leave it for
- (7) Juan: que estabas grabando no Oscar no lo sabía se lo he dicho luego
y y y y
ibamos *en plan* ahí sí el de historia es un marica no se qué
we were recording and Oscar didn't know about it I have told
him and and and we went there like there if the history guy is gay
and stuff
Manuel: o sea
well
Juan: o sea espero que no (MALCE2G01)
well I hope not

By using *en plan* it is possible to save one's own face and distance oneself from what is being said, as for instance, when talking about private, intimate matters that can be embarrassing, like the ones mentioned by Marta in example (8):

- (8) Marta: luego nos vamos acercando un pocooo y tal, él me coge la man-
ita y y y y
nada, y, *en plan* acabé, así, con la cabeza en su hombro *en plan*
asííí

after that we get a little bit closer and so on, and he takes my hand
and and and well, and
like, I ended up with my head on his shoulder like, like this

Mónica: *en plan* así, que sale

like this, this is going well

Marta: hija, es que huele a Tomyyy, ¡como huele a Tomy! ¡tronca! y y y
y y y y naday, bueno, y y y me empieza a hacer cosquillitas en la
mano, o sea, *en plan* haciendo así
oh, he smells Tommy ¡he's got such a strong Tommy smell! all
right! and and and well, and and and he starts tickling my hand
well like this, like

Mónica: sí

yes

Marta: como con la mano así haciéndome caricias en la mano, y yo,
por favor, es que me encanta que me hagan caricias en la mano,
y yo *en plan* con la baba *en plan* por favor un babero, y y y
(MAORE2J01)

like in my hand, caressing my hand and I please, because like I
love to be caressed in my hand and I was like dribbling please
give me a bib, and and

In example (9) *en plan* mitigates the impact on the feeling of getting a hug and going out with a boyfriend. This mitigation is oriented towards the speaker herself:

(9) Marta: bueno, ¿y entonces?
well, and then what?

Mónica: y queee y nada, y ya, *en plan* típico abrazo, es que lo necesitaba,
es que era de necesidad, y salimos y *en plan* en la calle, o sea, es
que nunca nos vemos en la calle, o sea, así *en plan* pocas veces,
casi nunca y y y y nada y entonces eeheh
and then, well and then like the typical hug, because I needed it,
it was a real need and we went out like in the street, well, we
never see each other in the street, well, like this like few times,
almost never and and and well, and then uh uh uh

Marta: y ¿qué pasó?
and what happened?

Mónica: ah sí = queeee, ¿qué hacemos? no sé qué, y entonces
oh yes that, what do we do? and stuff, I don't know, and then

Marta: bueno, pasó la película y y y ¡te enrollas como las persianas, hija!
well, the film ended and and and hey, you never stop talking nonsense!

Mónica: o sea, no, no, no, o sea, de repente me entró así una vez, o sea, no, *en plan* así un besito, ná (MAORE3J02)
well, no, no, well, suddenly he got closer to me like this, one time, well no, like a this little kiss, nothing

In example (10) *en plan* has a downtoning effect on Marta's own dissatisfaction with a person whom she has relied on and told everything, and who disappoints her all the same. The use of *en plan* is a way to save her own face, mitigating the effects of her own private 'lost battle'. Marta's frequent use of the coordinating conjunction *y* ('and') and other conjunctions might be an indicator of the same feeling of uncertainty while she expresses something humiliating and face threatening:

(10) Marta: tía, pues, dí no sé qué
hey, well then say something!

Mónica: que me ayudó y eso porque me llamó al móvil, uuuhhh
that he helped me and all that because he called me on the mobile uh uh

Marta: no pero tronca es queee, o sea, es muy fuerte, o sea *en plan* que tienes confianza con tu amiga, le cuentas todo y de repente llega, y y conoce a tu novio, y y y le cuenta todo lo que le has dicho tú a ella ¡de él!
no but hey this is very strong, well, this is very strong, well like you trust your friend you tell her everything and suddenly she comes and knows your boyfriend and tells him everything you have told her, about him!
de todo, de todo, con detalles (MAESBJ02)
everything, everything with all the details

In (11) Mónica's hopes/longing for a relation might motivate the use of the hedge *en plan*, which allows her to avoid revealing feelings that might be embarrassing:

(11) Mónica: y y y y y ¿qué más? y bueno, en plan estuvimos toda la película, más sin líarnos ni nada, y yo toda la película: "éntrame ya", deseándolo, que no, coño, pero estábamos así (pausa)
and and and what else? well, like we stayed for the whole film without touching each other or anything and I the whole film: get closer now, wishing it, no shit, but we were like this (pause)

y y y y y nada y y y y nada no me no me entraba
and and and then well, and and well, he didn't enter

Marta: ¡mira, mira delante!
look look ahead!

Mónica: y no me entraba (MAORE3J02)
and he didn't enter

As Lourdes talks about her own love relations (12), she tones down the intensity of her utterance, thus saving her own face, distancing herself from what is being said by *en plan*:

(12) Inés: que cuando dije si me he comido alguien es porque ha sido
solo por rollo,
que ha sido algo como salvaje, que no te has liado con el, nadie,
vio nada
más, y eso es lo que ha pasado
that when I said, if I had eaten somebody it's because it was
dreadfully boring that it has been something wild, that you
haven't started anything with him, with anybody, he
didn't see anything that's what has happened

Lourdes: ya pero tampoco había *en plan* amor tía, y él tampoco estaba
en ese plan ¿sabes? ¡y ya está!
well hey both there wasn't like love there, and he wasn't like that
either you know? and that's it!

Inés: que da igual, tía, que es una gilipollez y sí, paso de eso, tía
¿sabes?
hey it is okay, it is a stupidity and yes, I'll forget that, you
know?

Lourdes: ay ay ¡tú eres la que me jodes, tía! (MAORE3J04)
oh oh oh you are the one that bothers me!!

In (13) the embarrassing feeling of being the only person who likes somebody is toned down by the speaker, who saves her own face by using *en plan*:

(13) Mónica: era rubio Carlos ¿no?
Carlos was fair haired, wasn't he?

Marta: no, Carlos no, es castaño
no, not Carlos, he is auburn

Mónica: ah, ¡bueno!
oh, well!

- Marta: Carlos es *en plan* que a nadie le gusta y a mí me encanta, pues eso, estaba guapísimo, o sea, estaba impresionante... y y y, nada, eeehhh estaba Manuel (MAORE2J02)
 Carlos is like nobody likes him and I like him very much, well he was beautiful, he really was impressive... and and and eh eh Manuel was there

The use of *en plan* in (14) is oriented towards the two speakers themselves, when explaining personal details. Both Mónica and Marta tone down the intensity of the emotion, saving their own faces:

- (14) Mónica: no tampoco fué así se supone que quedamos como amigos per-ooo ja, ja, ja, claro amigos! luego fue *en plan* dos besos, fue como hasta luego <risa/> fue como múa, múa ¡adiós! ja, ja, ja no it wasn't like that either we supposedly left like friends but ha ha ha well friends! after that it was like two kisses, it was like hi <laughter/> it was like mua mua good-bye ha ha ha

- Marta: sí igual que yo con Jaime cuando, cuando estuvimos *en plaan* no, pero ya quedamos como amigos y eso, siempre acababamos como, no amigos, o sea, como algo más
 yes it was like me with Jaime when when we were like no, left like friends and all that, and we always end up like friends, well, like something more

- Mónica: si comooo ya..., como amigo, con derecho a roce, o sea (MAORE2J04)
 yes like yeah..., like a friend with the right to touch, right

In (15) the politeness strategy of using *en plan* in Monica's utterance is saving her own face, rather than Miryam's. The excitement she feels when going out with the boy she likes, and who wants to go out with her, is diminished by *en plan*:

- (15) Mónica: voy a conseguir su teléfono y tal, porque, claro, le dijo pídeselo, pídeselo a ella, yo no te lo doy ¿sabes? estoy dispuesto a conseguir su teléfono no sé qué, yo voy a hablar con ella porque me encanta no sé qué, tal,
 I'm going to get her telephone and all that, because, of course, she told him *ask her for it* because I am not going to give it to you, you know? I'm willing to get her number and stuff because I'm going to talk to her because I like her a lot and all that

- Miryam: me encanta
 I love it

Marta: sí
yes

Mónica: entonces *en plan* que yo *en plan* super emocionada toda la semana *en plan* le veo en la disco, no sé qué, tal, el domingo a la una y media y de repente justamente hoy domingo, ju%, el único puto día que no voy a la disco el único porque mi madre *en plan nos vamos a las doce y media* y yo no no no a la una y media, mamá, y la otra y no no que os vaís a comer a casa de tu padre y yo no quiero comer en casa de mi padre, que yo no quiero ver a mi padre que no me da la gana (MAORE3J02)
then like I was like super excited the whole weeeek like I am going to see him at the disco and stuff, then on sunday half past one just today Sunday, ju%¹¹ the fucking only day I don't go to the disco because my mother like *we are leaving at half past twelve* and I no no no let's leave at half past one Mummy, and she goes no no and no you are going to have lunch at your father's and I don't want to eat at my father's, I don't want to see my father I really don't feel like seeing him.

In example (16) Mónica would probably loose face by showing that she is very eager to go out with the boy she likes. Instead of bluntly expressing the excitement of going out with the boy, she mitigates the excitement by *en plan*:

- (16) Mónica: entonces nada, nos vamos fuera, por ahí ¿sabes? nos fuimos como hace un frío que te cagas/ a la diez de la mañana estaba super bien con él allí tal y *en plan* todo el tiempo él diciéndole a Juancho *en plan* y tengo posibilidades con ella y no sé qué y bueno como
well then, we gout out there, you know? we went and since it is so fucking cold at ten o'clock in the morning I just had a lovely time with him and all that and like all the time telling Juancho *dou you think I have any chances with her* and so on and well like
- Marta: cómo, ah pero qué ¿ella y tú?
how? but like she and you?
- Mónica: dice Juancho no, para nada
Juancho says no, not at all
- Marta: ah! pero y tiene novio, ¿no? entonces dice Juancho
ah! but then she's got a boyfriend hasn't she? then Juancho says

11. % = Unfinished word

Mónica: entonces nada, se puso a sonreír aquel tío, y yo, *en plan*, yo *en plan* simpático ¿sabes? que me cae fenomenal
 well then that guy started smiling, and I, like, I was like nice, you know, because I really like him. (MAORE2J02)

In example (17) we have the same situation as in (16). Instead of bluntly expressing the excitement of going out with the boy, she mitigates the excitement by *en plan*:

(17) Mónica nada se puso a sonreír aquel tío y yo *en plan* yo *en plan* emocionadísima no ah porque el tío está pero buenísimo pero buenísimo super simpático sabes que me cae fenomenal entonces nada que
 well that guy started smiling and I like I like very excited no ah because the guy is fabulous, really fabulous and nice you know that I really like him well and then

Marta: estás congelada /
 you're freezing /

Mónica sí (MAORE2J03)
 yes

In the examples (5) to (17) presented above, *en plan* is used as a hedge, saving the speaker's face. Nevertheless, there are some examples where the speaker also cares for the other's face, as in (18), where Matilde, in order to describe how the shirt ought to fit, reduces the impact of more negative words like *grande* ('big') or *a presión* ('under pressure') by *en plan*. By doing so she would save Miryam's face.

(18) Miryam: sí, es que tengo muchas camisas que me han pasado mis tíos, entonces
 I've got many shirts that my uncles have given to me, and then

Matilde: pero u% ponte una que te sienta bien, no la típica que te quede *en plan* a presión o la típica que te quede *en plan* grande
 but u% put on one that fits you, not one that typically that is like you've got to force it on or on that is sort of like very big (MAORE2J05)

In example (19), Julia saves the face of a third person by letting *en plan* precede the serious allegations *anoréxica* ('anorectic') and *famélica* ('emaciated'), which might be face threatening:

- (19) Julia: la conoces así que da igual y y y y y entonces pero es anoréxica
en plan que está famélica
 do you know her oh it's all the same and and and and then
 but is she anorectic like she is all starving
- Juana: si si si que es anoréxica que está en tratamiento que toma pastil-
 las y y y (MAORE3J03)
 yes yes yes she is anorectic she has got a treatment and is taking
 pills and and and

In (20), the criticism is softened by *en plan* before the onomatopoeic exemplification of the negative modifier *gangoso* ('floppy'):

- (20) María: ¡hija, otro!
 hey, another one!
- Miryam: total, que al final sí, total, que al final eeehh este eeehh El Tore-
 ro les convenció porque estaban sobando a Julia, y, entonces,
 no se querían levantar, y al final Pablo no vino, era Carlos que
 era el que hacía hoy ayer una fiesta de disfraces, y es gangoso, y
 es gilipollas, no para de hablar, está hablando solo, siempre es
en plan giig tiii me ga zi mappa je, je, je, ¡es horrible!
 well then at last, yes, at last well eeehh the El Torero convinced
 them because they were all over Julia, and then, they didn't want
 to get up and finally Carlos did not come it was Carlos who was
 throwing this carnaval party today he is floppy and he is stupid
 always doing like *giig tiii me ga zi mappa* he, he, he, he is dis-
 gusting!
- María: ¡ez horrible! (MAORE3J02)
 he iz disgusting!

In all the examples above we have seen *en plan* used as a hedge. The self-oriented face saving use of *en plan* is by far the most frequent one among the Madrid teenagers. Out of 16 findings of *en plan* as a hedge, 14 are speaker-oriented, and only two are hearer-oriented.

3. Conclusion

Youngspeak is characterized, above all, by an overuse of pragmatic markers, besides by the use of slang and the rich use of taboo words (Herrero 2002; Rodríguez 2002; Stenström et al. 2002), and *en plan* is a case in point. Little has been said

about the various functions of *en plan* so far, let alone about its use as a hedge, which was observed in the Madrid teenagers' talk represented in COLAm.

In this paper I have answered the initially made question: How does *en plan* function as a hedge in the Madrid teenagers' language? In this role, *en plan* has a mitigating function, saving the hearer's as well as the speaker's face. The hedging function of *en plan* is not very common, however, only 16 out of 275 instances. Of these cases, as many as 14 are speaker-oriented, while only two are hearer-oriented, which is not so surprising, considering that teenagers are generally uncertain, avoiding blunt utterances. The fact that the hedging function of *en plan* is rare might be due the teenagers' tendency to look at life in 'black and white', and to exaggerate and intensify, rather than the opposite, but also to the fact that this use of *en plan* is apparently a new phenomenon, while as a pragmatic markers it is more often used as a planning device (cf Stenström 2006).

I have shown that the hedge *en plan* may be used as a face-saving device, and that when it is, it is more often used to save the speaker's own face than the hearer's. I have also shown that this use is both gender and social-class related and mainly used by girls from the upper class in the COLAm corpus, while boys do not use *en plan* as a hedge at all. When the boys use *en plan*, it is in its adverbial function.

As was said in the introduction of this volume, "[a]dolescents are the linguistic movers and shakers [...] and as such a prime source of information about linguistic change"¹². My assumption is that the teenagers' particular use of *en plan* today may serve to predict its use in future standard Spanish, where it may ultimately replace the use of *como* in its function as a hedge (Briz 2001: 149; Manjón Cabeza Cruz 1987: 176).

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12. This is also expressed by Briz (2002, 126): [...] the young's language is a field where social conditions of some linguistic changes may be observed, how certain social rules operate on the semantic fields, and in general, where certain colloquialization and standardization processes can be studied.

[...] el lenguaje de los jóvenes es un campo para observar algunos condicionamientos sociales de los cambios lingüísticos, cómo operan ciertas reglas sociales sobre los campos semánticos y, en general, para estudiar ciertos procesos de coloquialización y estandarización. (My translation)

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PART 3

Languages in contrast

A theoretical outline for comparative research on youth language

With an outline of diatopic-contrast research within the Hispanic world

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This paper will outline the theoretical and methodological aspects of comparative research on youth language (with a special focus on the pluricentric Spanish language) in order to arrive at a reliable description of the characteristics and the contextual conditions of the emergence of youth language in different socio-cultural situations as well as their underlying aims, conditions and possible parameters of investigation in accordance with the (pragmatic) identity functions of youth language. Three types of comparison will be established – reflecting the typological, the contrastive and the diatopic-contrastive approach. A particular focus is on diatopic-contrastive research, since comparison of regional varieties of youth language within one language has not played a major role in the debate about youth language so far.

Keywords: theory, methodology, comparison, context, identity

1. Preliminary remarks

Initially, research on language characteristics related to youth was an area of linguistics that consisted mainly in collecting lexical curiosities - without, however, considering lexicographic quality criteria. Then, research on youth language varieties, too, experienced a sociolinguistic approach, pointing to the social difference between young people and adults and including a gender approach, which revealed differences as regards use and strategies in male and, recently, female youth talk or *youngspeak*. This was followed by the discovery of ethnic differences in multiethnic constellations. Many of these studies showed that the characteristics observed are functionally bound to what might be called *identity*. Both, youth and

youth language are considered to be *social constructions* (Zimmermann 2002a, 2003c)¹. Additionally, it turned out that there was not such a thing as a common and unified youth identity, but instead different forms of *constructed identities* of young people. It was found that special linguistic characteristics were the means and symbols of these special youth identities (cf. Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou 2003). Identities were *performed* (that is created and affirmed by ritual activities) in linguistic interaction. These 'acts of identity' (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) or identity creating and performing acts (or identificational acts) are often subsidiary to other practical speech acts or activity goals in discourse. It was mainly the identity function – essential to youth language varieties (styles) and underlying the socio-genesis of this kind of variety – that made this area of study a concern of pragmatics.

Now that various descriptions are available,² and although these reveal differing theoretical orientations, differing conceptions of youth language and varying depths of analysis, we can state that the existence of linguistic features, culminating in varieties qua the clustering of linguistic characteristics through which young people can be distinguished or even distinguish themselves – in terms of language and identity – from other age groups and within this age group, is in fact a global, albeit not a universal phenomenon. A distinction must be made between *universals* in linguistics, that is, phenomena that occur in all languages, for each specific language represents a specimen of the human language faculty, and *global* phenomena in languages, which emerge in a certain language, a certain society, and at a specific historic time, expanding from there to other languages due to either the same social conditions or a contact situation, or by imitation. While universal phenomena are essential, global phenomena depend on historic conditions and can disappear. So the emergence of youngspeak results from the extended phase of adolescence in modern industrial society, having some antecedents in student language as early as the Middle Ages.

1. To say that they are constructions does not mean that they are illusions. As performed and conceived social constructions, they are part of the real social world in the sense that people behave and act as if they were real. In neurophysiological (or radical) constructivist theory, all concepts are constructions (cf. Zimmermann 2004). The construction of what is referred to as youth differs not only from one epoch to another but also from one culture to another. That is, in one society the *social construct* of youth may range from the age of ten to the age of twenty; in others, it ranges up to thirty years of age; and yet in others, it might end at only fourteen (e.g. in tribal civilizations in Amazonia, where women get married and conceive at this age (cf. Zimmermann 2002a)).

2. London English: Stenström et al. (2002), a comparative study of French, Spanish, Brazilian Portuguese and German: Zimmermann (1993, 2003a).

According to present observations, this phenomenon seems to arise particularly in highly differentiated societies or those influenced by them, representing the socio-genetic acts of identity of an ostensibly biological, in the essential, however, *social* grouping that comes along with the development of societies in which the (biological) phase of adolescence as a sociocultural phase of life expands more and more. In this phase, new cultural phenomena, linguistic expressions as well as specific forms of speech activity, both verbal and non-verbal, are created. These can only be 'discovered' and described appropriately if we adopt a pragmatic approach, since they can only be understood by considering their pragmatic functions, such as identity construction or the playful transformation of language 'just for fun' in everyday situations.

When it comes to comparing the characteristics of youth language varieties, the theoretical basic assumption must rely on in the following observations: The first emergence of youngspeak (with its characteristics in form, meaning and function) happens locally in a specific (sub-)cultural situation or setting where young people are together in groups and create a more or less distinct youth identity and culture with its corresponding symbols and practices. This locally created desire and consciousness of youth alterity and its symbolic forms might spread to other groups of young people in the same region, to other regions, other social groups (children, adults, formal situations), other nations or other languages. Within this spreading one can observe the spreading of the desire to be different from children and adults and the creation of locally specific symbols and procedures and the adoption of yet created one of other regions and languages. So some characteristics might expand and others might stay in more restricted areas. Therefore, my hypothesis is that youth language characteristics are a *glocal* phenomenon (Zimmermann 2003b)³, created locally by different individuals and groups of young people with different social, cultural and linguistic (including dialectal and sociolectal) backgrounds using their own language or language varieties. Youth language characteristics might also be the outcome of the local adoption (and transformation) of transferences (loans) from other regions or languages. Bearing this in mind, we can argue that they form part of a global sociocultural process with similar (not identical) linguistic identity constructions, originating in similar sociohistoric conditions. They are multifaceted in spite of the similar strategies observed up to now in youth language research, for example in the Spanish-speaking

3. *Glocalization* is a portmanteau of globalization and localization (cf. Robertson 1995). By definition, the term 'glocal' refers to the individual, group, division, unit, organisation, and community which is willing and able to "think globally and act locally." (Definition taken from Wikipedia).

world.⁴ Thus, this process might also be considered as a *polygenetic* process, intertwined by the imitation of youth identity attitudes in other societies and/or by linguistic loans (note that the mass media play an important role in the world of cultural globalization).

The fact that language, and hence youth language varieties, always becomes manifest only in a particular language/ *langue* - and never in the Saussurean sense of *langage* - accounts for the establishment of *comparison* as a valid method within the field of linguistics. The attempt to go beyond the legitimate and, in some ways, limited establishment of the specific features of a particular language or the variety of a particular language can also be applied to the research on youth language. In order to corroborate the hypotheses that result from the investigations into particular languages, the method of comparison enables a diversification of the empirical basis. In addition, this method can enable a differentiation between general and specific characteristics (bearing in mind the possible borrowings due to language contact that are present in youth language, too).

My paper deals with the comparison between the national varieties (Mexico, Spain, Cuba, Peru, Venezuela, etc.) of a certain language (Spanish). In order to avoid misunderstanding, I will make some terminological clarifications. This is necessary because I have realized that, (not only) in the English-speaking linguistic community, there are different terms and different meanings for similar aspects of language. This is a result of different scientific construction and diffusion in academic 'schools'. Here, I will use the term *variety* in the Coseriuian sense (this includes *diatopic* varieties (varieties related to space or dialects), *diastratic* varieties (varieties related to social class and groups or sociolects) and *diaphasic* varieties (varieties related to situations, styles or registers)). In Zimmermann (1991), I argue that youth language variety is a diaphasic variety, that is, a style or register, and not a diastratic variety (sociolect), because young people use both standard and youth variety in accordance with speech domains. So I agree with the term *teenage talk* given to the variety studied by Stenström et al. in 2002, or later: *youngsspeak*.

2. Dimensions of comparison and presentation format

When undertaking a comparison of such varieties of youth language as mentioned above, there are several steps and aims that have to be distinguished. Logically, before the comparison, it is necessary to make an individual description of every youth language to be compared, following the same set of guidelines and relying

4. This is the result of the comparison of the European and Mexican Spanish youngsspeak done by Zimmermann/Müller-Schlomka (2000) and Zimmermann (2002b).

on the same theoretical basis. The theoretical experiences with contrastive dictionaries in the Spanish speaking world may serve as a model.⁵ Even if there are given studies at hand, comparison of data based on different theoretical orientations is a rather precarious venture.⁶

2.1 Collecting markers of youth language varieties

Beginning the collection of youth language data for comparative aims one is confronted with the pre-theoretic problem of the existence of the object of study or not.

(a) In comparative studies, it might be the case that the researcher is neither a native speaker of the language nor a member of the age group to be investigated. Then, it will be necessary to make a previous general survey among the population in order to find out whether the members of the community have made some observations that can be categorized under *youngspeak* or even a locally determined type of variety or jargon. The certainty about the existence or non-existence of a youth culture and observed practices can be useful for establishing the research hypothesis. If there is not sufficient data of the existence of a youth culture, a further step of investigation must be undertaken to eventually discover a hidden form or an incipient form that, because it is not highly developed, the community is not aware of. The survey must also include an analysis of socio-cultural factors and circumstances that favour or, respectively, inhibit their genesis.

(b) In the case of sufficient certainty about the existence of youth language or even several youth varieties, a collection of all possible markers and features has to be undertaken. Here, a sample of the features already detected in specialized studies can serve as a guideline, taking account of the possibility that one or more or all these features might not occur in the given case, as they might be replaced by other, locally created features. The first 'method' is aimed at an economical procedure; the second, the crucial point, is to look for language specific inventions. At this stage, it is important to be aware that the constitutional processes of youth language are often parasitic on yet existing constitutional processes, getting altered slightly or revealing a different function in a different context. Recent research on youth language has shown that a general, anti-normative attitude of youngsters can be observed in their (linguistic) behaviour. This might serve as a general

5. The Spanish speaking world consists of 21 countries with internal dialect variation and dialectal zones that transgress national boundaries. The items which differ from one country to another are mostly found in the non-standard varieties and technolects. Items found in two or more countries may have the same signifiers but different meanings, different connotations, belonging to different styles, etc. (cf. Zimmermann 2003a).

6. As shown by Zimmermann (2000, 2003b).

guideline but has to be dealt with carefully, because it might turn out that this is only a specific attitude of certain social groups or an attitude that represents the last fifty years.

The following list of features and dimensions that have been described in existing studies⁷ is not to be considered as a final list of features⁸ but as a first guideline. Research must concentrate also on finding the procedures used in the language communities not studied up to now.

1. *Markers operating at the phonetic/phonological and prosodic level*

There are not many cases described in this domain. But Thai youth speech does operate at this level (Watananguhn 2003).

2. *Markers operating with deviation at the orthographic level:*

Examples are testified in Spanish, German, French and English.⁹

3. *Markers mainly operating at the lexical-semantic level*

Present research has shown that totally new creations are rarely found in youth language. Nevertheless, this most striking but rare phenomenon of neologism must be looked for. There is a frequent use of existing linguistic material and creation procedures operating on it. Borrowing from foreign languages and from non-standard varieties such as slang (inter-variety borrowing) is an often used strategy. Other frequently applied procedures are metaphor and metonymy¹⁰ and onomatopoeic words. Special attention must be paid to the naming of youth culture concepts, that is, the creation of new concepts.

7. Some of these features have been listed and formally compared between German, French, Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese by Zimmermann (2003b: 71 and 2004). Others are treated in Stenström et al. (2002) for teenage English in London; others can be found in the different contributions to the book edited by Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou (2003). See also Freimane (2003) for Latish, Fomina (2003) for Russian, Watanabe (2003) for Japanese, Zhu (2003) for Chinese, all compared with German, and Neuland et al. (2007) in general.

8. However, it is clear by now that most of these *creation methods* (for example, the use of word formation rules, metaphor, metonymy, apheresis, apocope, borrowing and so on) are not exclusive to youth language. Most procedures existed *before* being used by young people and are well established in the creative procedures in the respective language. What is special about youngspeak is not the procedure as such but the context and the result of its application.

9. Cf. Sebba (2003). For the Japanese youth language switching of writing systems for reinforcement of emotions, alienation through norm deviation has been reported; cf. Neuland/ Lie/ Watanabe/ Jianhua (2007: 223).

10. These procedures count as some of the central features of innovation in youth language varieties. Their impact as triggers in language change has been demonstrated in the comparison of peninsular and Mexican Spanish; cf. Zimmermann & Müller-Schlomka (2000: 49).

4. *Markers operating at the morpho-syntactical level:*

- Word-formation procedures realized by derivation (new suffixes,¹¹ or prefixes or even infixes, attributing new meanings to known derivational morphemes), composition, apocope, apheresis, and meaningless syllable aggregation.
- The invention of new phraseological constructions (in type and in token). This type of innovation has shaped up as one of the most productive procedures in some languages (e.g. German, Spanish).¹²
- Syllable reversal (French *verlan* and Spanish *vesre*)
- Deviation of regular syntactic structures (for example, the omission of complements after transitive verbs; e.g. in French)

5. *Markers operating at the discourse level:*

Anti-politeness¹³ (like teasing,¹⁴ ritual non-intentional insults, dysphemistic jargon, etc.); greetings, addressing and allocution, nicknames, tags, opening and ending of conversation, interjections, turn-initiating words, special dialogue structures, etc.

6. *Markers operating at the intertextual level:*

Examples are *bricolage* and polyphonic discourse (playful use of other texts, citing and altering).

7. *Use and adoption of alloglottic contact varieties by young natives:*

This contact behaviour, the use of minority (immigrant) languages or language varieties, also called 'crossing', has been observed in young Germans using Turkish¹⁵ and young English people using Jamaican English. Probably this kind of behaviour might not be regarded as a marker of youth identity but as a result of a special contact situation and of solidarity construction with the members of a multicultural peer group.

8. *Markers operating in the domain of gesture and kinesics*

It has been observed that young people are creating special non-verbal signs as gesture, mimics, and distance of interlocutors, too. These may be considered as an instance of *multimodality*, but due to their direct relatedness to speech, supporting, underlying, substituting and complementing verbal acts I conceive them as a category apart.

11. For example: Spanish *-ota*, *-ata*, *-eta*.

12. In the youth language variety of Havana, those phraseological verbal expressions are the most productive procedures (Remmert 2004: 71).

13. I.e., impolite forms to strengthen in-group membership and solidarity. For this term see Zimmermann (2005).

14. Cf. Lytra (2003).

15. Cf. Auer & Dirim (2003).

9. *Multimodal inventions*

Youth identity (or the construction of a particular youth group) is not restricted to language. That is why one also has to observe what is going on concerning the creation of emblematic markers in hair style, clothing and so on.

2.2 Classification of markers

2.2.1 *Dimensions of comparison*

There are at least three dimensions of comparison.

- (i) A typological comparison covering all languages. There are two aims of this type of comparison:
 - a. Finding out whether and to what extent the strategies and features of youth language depend on the typological characteristics of the basic language (including the vernacular speech forms of this language).
 - b. Finding out whether social factors inhibit or foment the genesis of youth language characteristics.
 - c. Possibly undertaking a typology of youth language varieties. Surely, the experience gained in language typology tells us that, in fact, languages cannot be classified regarding all their features simultaneously but only relying on selected features. This is also valid for the classification of youth language varieties, which will be easier, considering the fact that the number of the features relevant for youth language typology is more reduced than in the entire natural language. To my knowledge, there has not been such a comparison yet.
- (ii) Contrastive (or cross-linguistic) analysis of two youth language varieties in different languages.

For certain practical purposes, for example, translation or didactic objectives in language teaching, a contrastive analysis can be carried out between two selected youth language varieties. This type of comparison might also serve as a first step for the typological comparison mentioned above. It seems that the first attempt to compare youth languages in this dimension has been made by Zimmermann (1993), comparing French, German and Spanish. The majority of existing studies are of this type.¹⁶

16. Other studies have been undertaken by Zimmermann (2003, 2004) for German, Spanish, French and Portuguese; Zhu (2003) for Chinese and German; Watanabe (2003) for Japanese and German; Fomina (2003) for Russian and German; Freimane (2003) for German and Latvian, Stenström (2005a, b and in print) for English and Spanish, and Neuland/ Lie/ Watanabe/ Jianhua (2007) for Chinese, Japanese and Korean. This last mentioned study is theoretically based on the list of patterns elaborated by Zimmermann (2003b).

- (iii) Comparison within what is called *one* language: diatopic-contrastive comparison¹⁷
- (iv) A further way of comparative research on youth language might be to look for the differences between regional forms within one 'historical language' (like Spanish, German, English, etc.), that is, to offer a dialectological, pluricentric vision. In the following, I will explain this type of comparison in more detail, referring to the case of pluricentric languages (Clyne 1992), especially focusing on Spanish.¹⁸

Languages, and even diatopic varieties of languages, are different on the surface, various phenomena not being isolated but recurrent in several instances. For the comparison of languages or language phenomena, an abstraction and generally structured description of the features has to be made. For example, there may be a set of long established suffixes used by young people to produce new words (analyzed in context, observing e.g. the restriction of word classes or semantic restrictions). Or, there is the invention of completely new suffixes not known before in other domains of the language. This might be a structural difference: reusing and preferring vs. new invention. It might be also that more than one language makes use of both procedures and that one language uses them more frequently than the other. These findings can be applied in a typological and cross-linguistic comparison. However, it is only the diatopic approach that compares the concrete outcomes of the procedures, too, for example, their lexical results.

4. Diatopic-contrastive comparison of youth language within the Hispanic World¹⁹

4.1 Methods of dialectology in research on youth language varieties

In the following, I am going to confine myself to the theoretical and methodological aspects and perspectives of a contrastive research into youth language within

17. Language is meant as 'historical language' in the sense of Coseriu, that is, as a complex system of varieties historically developed and differentiated but construed cognitively by their members as *one* language like e.g. German, English, Dutch, Spanish, French etc.

18. The first attempt to undertake such a comparison of the lexicon and of word-formation processes was Zimmermann/ Müller-Schlomka (2000) with a semasiological and Zimmermann (2002b) with an onomasiological approach, comparing Mexican and Peninsular youth language. These studies had the aim to explore the theoretical and methodological conditions and possibilities of such comparisons.

19. Some of the following considerations are also included in Remmert & Zimmermann (2007).

the Spanish-speaking world²⁰, which comprises twenty-one countries with approximately four hundred twenty million speakers, and in which the population of under-25-year-olds often constitutes up to 40 per cent. The aim is to explore the design of such a project, investigating adolescent speech in the Hispanic World.

The objective of a dialectal-contrastive approach aligns with the objectives of Dialectology or Area Linguistics (Geolinguistics). This sub-field of linguistics, too, comprehends a comparative approach, since its documentation of variation on maps – for example, in the form of language atlases – implies the implicitly or explicitly comparative view on the results. In this respect, our present objective suggests the necessity of borrowing methods from the field of Dialectology. Thus, one step can be to arrange a hypothetical-ideal register of the total of all the units that are (a) possible as such, or (b) considered as relevant for youth language, which would then be retrieved in the different areas. These units' existence/ non-existence and their specific variation would be organized in such a way that they appear as entries in cartographic overviews (or in a similarly applicable form), being documented in the same way as in a language atlas, in which, however, each map would cover only one unit. The aim is *not* to realize an area-wide coverage of the individual countries (geographically speaking), but to conduct a comparative study of the capitals and, at most, of the major urban centres, with no elaborate cartography being necessary. It is merely the concept of survey maps which should be adopted.

The term 'dialectal variation' holds a wide range of social, political and cultural aspects of regional differentiation. Hence, it does not only concern a variation within the scope of signifiers (*signifiants*) in the narrow sense, but also a variation of diverging cultural, semantic and historical contents (*signifiés*), that is, cognitive concepts that are constructed in different ways, having emerged and being applied in the respective lived-in world of youngsters. This fact confronts us with a phenomenon that has been discussed within the linguistic theory of relativity and that we take for granted in diatopic variation and, actually, in varieties of youth language, too. Within the particular dialectal and sociolectal varieties of 'one' language, different world visions (in the Humboldtian sense²¹) have developed – evidently, they are not as strikingly diverse as in highly different cultures. In addition to the culturally specific semantics, we have to consider the culturally specific pragmatics of adolescent communication, since we are also interested in the contextual conditions that have an impact on the emergence and 'viabilization' as well as on the functions of youth language varieties.

20. I suppose that this type of outline can be applied to other pluricentric languages after due adaptations to the specific situations.

21. Cf. Trabant (2000).

4.2 Hypotheses

I shall draw upon several hypotheses, which can be derived from the comparisons that have been undertaken up to the present.

1. The genesis of youth language varieties, which serve as styles of symbolisation of a special youth identity or different subculture youth identity, is associated with the socio-historical development of different societies in the second half of the twentieth century.
2. Although the development of youth language varieties is nowadays a global phenomenon insofar as it can be found in many languages and modern, or developed, societies,²² it cannot be considered as universal, for it does not exist in all ethnic groups.
3. Due to expansion and colonialism, the Spanish language is, by quantity, one of the world's major languages, being the mother tongue in more than twenty countries. The category 'the Spanish language' must not belie the fact that, within this particular language, there is multifaceted variation. Thanks to the formation of a kind of *español culto* (as the Panhispanic *High Variety*) within a diglossia with the local vernacular and *Low Varieties*, intercommunication between educated speakers of the countries in question is possible without greater problems. Still, there are very different national standard varieties as well as regional and local non-standard varieties.
4. Within the Spanish-speaking world, we have been able to observe an ongoing trend towards a pluricentric view of the Spanish language (concerning the standard varieties). Drawing upon the constructivist approach to linguistic variation, linguistics has actually been aware of this situation of an, in each case, *local* differentiation, due to the fact that linguistic innovations arise from language use – be it the use of language in everyday situations, an interpersonal-oral use, a conceptual-reflexive use, a technical-inventive use or an administrative-regulative use of language. Thus, all these language innovations in youth language are created in a certain situation, that is, in a certain regional, national or social environment or group, from which they spread (or not). The expansion depends on the communicative-interactive removal of borders or the transgression of the communicative networks via mass communication, for example. Innovations that emerge in lower social language strata are isolated and remain within a rather narrow region, where they are used until the borders become either blurred or are crossed by an individual. Social barriers, too, represent such communicative borders, even though these can be due to an intentional rejection because of a social stigma. Stigma, in

22. See the bibliographical indications in footnote 16.

this context, is not supposed to be understood as absolute but as group specific. In the past, there were more interaction borders among the lower social classes. Concerning the Spanish language, this is why the dialectal variation is higher among the varieties of the so-called *español popular* than among those of the *español culto*.

5. Although youth language varieties cannot be summarized merely by those that emerge from lower social classes, in normative terms every characteristic of a youth language variety can be classified as anti-normative – at any rate until it has managed to be part of the colloquial standard language. Thus, youth language varieties form part of the broad field of non-standard varieties.
6. Adolescents – and in this case, youngsters from lower social classes, in particular – rely on restricted local interaction networks; that is, youngsters in Spain are not in constant communication relations with youngsters in Chile, Mexico or Argentina, which would lead to an exchange of locally emerged innovations that have their provenience in a youth language. This is the reason why the youth language varieties within the Hispanic world turn out to be *glocal* phenomena - global as a phenomenon, but of a very local specification and working (Zimmermann 2003b: 180). Present migration processes might change this situation; obviously, between Mexican and Chicano-American youth language varieties, some loans have already taken place. Something similar might occur between young Ecuadorian migrants and young Spanish people in Spain. Mass media as well as pop music and pop culture are further areas of diffusion.

4.3 Relevance

Given its global context, the relevance of the research on youth language varieties and the associated desideratum for an advancement of the present state of knowledge is going to gain significance that is not yet conceivable in the long run. This is due to the fact that, although youth language, as a modern subcategory of non-standard varieties, seems to manifest itself as a new form of variety²³ incipient throughout the world in the 20th and 21st century, it reveals local specifics. Therefore, the results are also going to be relevant to the *linguistic theory of relativity*, which has been controversial for decades.

23. It is right that there are student jargons testified already in the Middle Age. But this type of jargon referred to school and university givens only. This type of jargon still exists today in co-existence and intertwining with the new youngspeak that is part of a new youth culture, which especially concerns the non-school world and is used by non-students.

The comparisons of youth language varieties in *pluricentric* languages are also of historical interest because, as it seems, they are (re-)created in their local and contextual imbedding. The general interest is to find out how youth language varieties (especially Hispanic varieties) develop, taking into account the different (pre) conditions. This raises not only the question about *uniformity and divergence* but, drawing upon this dichotomy, it is also the relation between *youth language and language change* that ought to be considered. Based on the theoretical assumption that the accelerated changes that mark youth language trigger a language change (Zimmermann 2003c: 27ff.), it turns out that the non-standard variety, having been largely disregarded so far, has to be considered as a valid segment of research on language change. Thus, the genesis of a youth language variety has to be tested for its relevance for the respective diasystem and the consequences for the general development of the particular language itself. It is necessary to find out whether and to what extent the local and contextual change of inland varieties that results from a youth language variety affects the development of a pluricentric conception of languages through a differentiation of the varieties in the long term. For instance, in the extreme case, the varieties of Spanish in Europe and those in American countries might drift apart to such an extent that the existing standardized and maintained similarities would diminish on the level of the non-standard varieties, which would result in considerable divergence. This once occurred with the forms of the (Vulgar) Latin and within the area of Hispanic Linguistics.

The discussion about the drifting apart of languages and language varieties has been an issue since Rufino José Cuervo (1844–1911). Having been underestimated for a long time, research on youth language can (now) make an important contribution to the long-term documentation of these development trends and render them describable. With reference to the Spanish language area, this would mean that, in the first instance, the youth language varieties in the major urban centres (Madrid, Buenos Aires, La Havana, Mexico City, amongst others) would have to be captured and correlated.

A planned research project on the youth language varieties in the Spanish language area is going to make a step in this direction. It will draw upon a pilot study, currently in progress, by Natascha Remmert (University of Bremen), which compares the youth language varieties in Madrid and Havana. On the basis of the analysis and comparison of these two varieties of style (which – in spite of being spoken on two different continents – belong to one particular language), potential similarities and divergences concerning the creation procedures will be detected and analyzed in order to elicit possible supranational, prototypical tendencies.²⁴

24. In Norway, Annette M. Jørgensen and Anna-Brita Stenström are working on a similar project. Initiated in 2002, the aim of the “COLA Corpus (Corpus Oral del Lenguaje Adoles-

The comparison of youth language varieties within one particular language obtains its relevance yet from a further circumstance. Given the fact that the basic lexical, morphological, syntactic, phraseological, phonetic-phonological structure of the Spanish language is congruent also in its variations, one can say that the linguistic operations undertaken by young people take place on the same structural basis and, therefore, lead to similar results. This will evidently be obvious in the case of typological comparison between different languages.

There are two hypotheses resulting from this observation. Hypothesis A: the structure of a language restricts and governs the 'products' of youth language. Hypothesis B: youth language varieties are individual, and their determination is locally, socially as well as culturally specific. Similarities observed between varieties within one group or region are the product of social viabilizations and not of structural determinations. It might be possible that there are (sub-) areas of youth language that apply to hypothesis A, and others that apply to hypothesis B.

The mainly exploratory nature of the investigations made so far has to be overcome. It is necessary to give way to investigations that rely on representative, empirically valid data as their principal groundwork. For that purpose, a definition of the term *youth language* is required. Drawing upon integrative criteria for ascertaining and contrasting youth language features, this definition has to be theoretically well-founded as well as consistent within the comparative investigation in order to arrive at a reliable description of the characteristics and creation procedures of youth language in its entirety as the basis for a comparison.

4.4 Questions on the diatopic comparison of youth language varieties

Starting from the desideratum for the development of a common theoretical basis for an integrative method viewed against the sociolinguistic and pragmatic background, the prior objectives of a dialectal-contrastive study of youth language varieties in the major urban centres within the Hispanic world shall be: (a) the exploration of the existence of similarities and differences in the creation procedures of varieties and (b), most importantly, the examination of the potential functions that

cente) project is to build a corpus of informal Spanish youngspeak, focusing on Madrid and other capitals of Spanish-speaking countries, and to stimulate research on youth language. Since the COLA Corpus follows the same pattern as the COLT Corpus and the UNO Corpus, it is aimed to conduct cross-linguistic studies between Spanish, English and Norwegian. At this point, more than 50 informants of different age, gender and social background have participated in the COLA Project, and about 76 hours of conversations with their friends and acquaintances have been recorded (in Madrid (Colam), Buenos Aires (Colaba) and Santiago Chile (Colas)). The corpus will later be expanded by adding material from other places. For more details see: <http://www.corpus.bham.ac.uk/PCLC/cl-pap-COLA.doc> (December 2007)

youth language fulfils within the differently shaped structure of these societies (which would require an analysis of the linguistic resources and discourse strategies in the particular speech act). The aspects that have to be taken into account are

- the status that the adults of the respective culture area grant to the category *Youth*
- the influence of the media and the press (such as TV, radio and fanzines)
- the use of new means of communication (such as the internet, chat rooms, mobile phones, text messages)
- the role played by music (especially the music coming from parts of the English language area)
- the significance of *Street Art* (graffiti art, in particular)

4.5 Methods

The methods applied have to be corpus-oriented, without being restricted to corpus orientation, however. When building the corpus, the variables for the investigations of the different towns have to be the same or similar. Thus, a combination of different methods (triangulation) is required:

- Participation and observation
- Recording of natural conversations as well as semi-natural conversations (stimulated by the researcher) plus their transcription as well as the approach via Conversation Analysis
- Controlled interviews (guideline-based interviews)
- Questionnaires
- ‘Social’ places for the elicitation of data: mainly focusing on leisure, that is, places where young people meet [without adults, parents etc.] and talk about topics relevant to young people (cf. Zimmermann 2005)
- Preferably equal representation according to age, sex, educational level as well as group-specific context

5. Outlook

The outlined types of comparison will firstly result in a sample of comparable and compared data of youth language procedures and tokens (at all levels of language description) and their contextual frames and socio-cultural functions, profiting from search categories borrowed from other youth languages. Beyond this empirical aim, there are further, more theoretical aims, all related to the three outlined types of comparison.

The typological and cross-linguistic comparisons have different aims. In this context, another format of category to be compared has to be designed, possibly being of a more abstract type. The findings can be related (a) to the typological characteristics of each language and (b) to the socio-cultural conditions of the genesis of youth language varieties. The aim is to find out whether it is the structural linguistic aspect or the socio-cultural one that has more impact in terms of used procedures. The answer will be interesting for a further question, namely whether youth language procedures have structural similarities or even identities and whether these similarities reside in the pragmatic function and are highly historically determined (by modern and post-modern lifestyle). Obviously, the research results may also provide an important background for research on changes in youth language and in adult and standard language by the influence of youth language.²⁵

Concerning the diatopic dimension of comparison within 'the same' language, we can anticipate further aims. First, the local procedures are to be detected as based on the supposed same typological structures. On a larger scale, this type of comparison will be able to detect and describe possible diverging trends within the language concerned (in combination with other current glottopolitical orientations, such as pluricentrism). This is important not only for the knowledge about youth language as such but also for proving the hypothesis that language items are created locally. This is one cause of language divergence in the long run, if these local creations are not diffused because of the hedging of social and regional varieties caused by the lack of communication between the regional or social groups or by the non-diffusion due to normative language attitudes, which again results in the separation of speech domains. Altogether, the fact that non-standard varieties are exclusive to certain speech domains, the lacking penetrability of these varieties as well as the standard variety resulting from this circumstance are the outcome of a historically constructed language conception which applies the concept of standardization onto language, creating socially approved or 'good' and 'bad' varieties (*bon usage*).

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25. For more details see: Zimmermann 2003c.

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Pragmatic markers in contrast

Spanish *pues nada* and English *anyway*

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The use of Spanish *pues nada* as a pragmatic marker, which has so far been overlooked in the linguistic literature, has aroused an interest among the general public, as reflected in an interesting correspondence on the Internet. This discussion has been used as a starting-point for the present article, which compares the various pragmatic functions of *pues nada* in teenage conversation with the functions of *anyway*, which seems to be its nearest correspondence in English. The study shows that both items, besides creating and maintaining coherence, serve as organizers and monitors on the discourse level as well as indicators of speaker attitudes and intentions on the interactional/interpersonal level. Sometimes they are just uttered to show that there is nothing more to say. Other markers with similar functions, notably Spanish *bueno* and English *OK* and *well*, will also be considered.

Keywords: spoken interaction, pragmatics, teenagers, comparison

1. Introduction

Pragmatic markers play an important role in casual conversation in general and in teenage conversation in particular, as reflected in their frequency of occurrence. The use of pragmatic markers in teenage conversation is documented by Kotsinas (1994), Androutsopoulos (1998), Andersen (2001), Stenström et al (2002), and Jørgensen & Martínez (2007), but from a contrastive point of view, pragmatic markers have received fairly limited attention. Some notable exceptions based on adult language are Fraser & Malamud-Makowski's article (2002) on English and Spanish contrastive discourse markers, Marsá's doctoral dissertation (1998) on discourse markers in English and Spanish, Takahara's article (1998) on the use of *anyway* and its corresponding markers in Japanese, González' monograph (2004) on pragmatic markers in English and Catalán, Stenström's articles on *pues* and *o sea*

and *pues* 2006a, 2006b), Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg's anthology (2006) *Pragmatic Markers in Contrast*, and Murillo Ornat's doctoral dissertation (2007) on English and Spanish discourse markers of reformulation. Contrastive research on the use of pragmatic markers in youth language has only just begun. It is reported in Hasund's doctoral dissertation (2003), and Stenström (forthcoming) comparing English and Spanish teenagers' use of pragmatic markers more generally.

What does contrastive analysis add to our knowledge of (a) pragmatic markers and (b) of youngspeak? By studying pragmatic markers in a contrastive perspective we learn what is language specific and what two or more languages have in common. Likewise, contrastive analysis of teenage language shows what different teenage varieties have in common or how they differ. It also gives a hint of how and why similar usages appear.

1.1 Aim

The aim of the present paper is to compare the use of Spanish pragmatic marker *pues nada* in the Madrid teenagers' talk in COLAm (see Martínez this volume) with what I take to be its nearest correspondence in London teenagers' talk in COLT (see Section 1.2), *anyway*. The immediate reason for studying *pues nada* as a pragmatic device in colloquial speech is that this usage seems to have been entirely overlooked in the Spanish linguistic literature. But judging by a discussion on the Internet (reproduced in Section 2.1), it has aroused a number of queries about its use, which makes it all the more interesting. Some attention will also be paid to alternative expressions, ie Spanish *bueno* and English *OK* and *well*, which are sometimes used for the same pragmatic functions as *pues nada* and *anyway*. Judging by a comparison with the relatively low occurrence of *pues nada* in the peninsular Spanish face-to-face conversations recorded in CREA (*Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*), the use of *pues nada* as manifested in COLAm is very much an adolescent phenomenon.

In line with Carter & McCarthy (2006: 208), I regard pragmatic markers, "which encode speakers' intentions and interpersonal meanings", as including discourse markers, "which indicate the speaker's intentions with regard to organizing, structuring and monitoring the discourse".

Whether the use of *pues nada* and *anyway* as pragmatic markers is typical of youth language is debatable and requires further research, but it may very well be so, considering teenagers' dependence on pragmatic markers in general and the fact that their use of language often deviates from that of adults.

1.2 The data

The paper is based on COLAm (cf <http://www.colam.org>; Jørgensen 2004) and *The Bergens Corpus of London Teenage Language*, COLT (cf. <http://helmer.aksis.uib.no/colt>; Stenström et al 2002). The corpora are highly comparable in that both consist of spontaneous conversations produced by teenage girls and boys with similar family and school backgrounds. The difference in size, with COLT consisting of roughly 450,000 words and COLAm of 290,000 words at the time of writing this article, has been taken care of by normalization. The only serious drawback might be the fact that, while COLT was collected in 1993, the collection of COLAm started ten years later and is still ongoing to match the size of COLT. Whether the difference in year of collection has an effect on the comparison of the teenagers' use of pragmatic markers represented by *pues nada* and *anyway* is an open question.

2. Background

Pues nada and *anyway* have not received equal attention. While *anyway* has been adequately described both in grammars and dictionaries as well as in the linguistic literature, *pues nada* has received very little attention. This is perhaps not so surprising, considering, for instance, that *anyway* occurs both in speech and writing and functions on the grammatical as well as the pragmatic level, while *pues nada* is a purely spoken phenomenon with no grammatical function. But this does not explain why the various pragmatic functions of *pues nada* in casual conversation have been largely overlooked.

2.1 Pues nada

Antonio Briz mentions *pues nada* in his book *El español coloquial en la conversación* (2001), but only as one of a number of items referred to as 'conectores pragmáticos' ('pragmatic connectors') with no discussion in more detail about its various pragmatic functions in conversation. And no attention seems to have been paid to the pragmatic functions of this marker in current dictionaries, not even the recent online *Diccionario de partículas discursivas del español* (<http://www.texto-digital.com/P/DDPD>).

From the non-linguist's point of view, on the other hand, what *pues nada* does in conversation is obviously an intriguing question. A Google search showed that it has been discussed fairly thoroughly on the website *WordReference.com Language Forums*. The discussion goes along the lines quoted below (slightly abridged).

The person who brings up the question of the meaning/function of *pues nada* is an American, who has been living in Spain for some time.

CUCHUFLETE (Aug 2004: American)

I first heard this expression when I was living in Santander, and barely spoke a word of Spanish. I've absorbed it by osmosis, and use it without thinking. But how on earth would one translate it? Socorrro! ('Heeeelp!')

SARA (Aug 2004: Spanish)

"Pues nada" or "bueno pues nada" is one of those fillers like *so, well..* I bet you have heard a lot of times something like this: "Pues nada Jose, hasta otra!" or "bueno pues nada, muchas gracias por todo". I think "ok" could be a good translation: "ok. Jose, see you!", "ok. thank you very much for everything!". With that expression you consider the talk to be finished.

MAGG (Sep 2004: Spanish)

Could I also say: 'ok, then, see you later'?

HAZEL (Aug 2004: Spanish)

Yes, Magg you can say that, I think. I would only like to add that "pues nada" indicates that a conversation/ a part of the conversation has finished, but I don't know if there are more ways of expressing that in English.

ESANCE (Aug 2004: Spanish)

También se utiliza en tono sarcástico: Pues nada, si no quieres venir, no hablemos más.

(It is also used to mark sarcasm: PUES NADA, if you don't want to come, let's not talk more about it')

PINKPANTER (Oct 2004: European)

“pues nada” se usa mucho también cuando algo te desilusiona o entristece. “Así que vas sin despedirte, pues nada, que te lo pases bien ¿eh?” (“pues nada” is also much used when something makes you disappointed or sad: “So you’re leaving without saying goodbye, PUES NADA, good luck then”)

Hijo a la madre (‘Son to his mother’)

– Mama saque un suspenso en tres asignaturas. (‘Mummy I failed in three subjects’)

– “Pues nada hijo, ya sabes a estudiar más” (‘PUES NADA son, you just have to study more’)

“No me lo puedo creer, está lloviendo. Pues nada, dos horas en la peluquería tiradas, con la ocupadísima que estoy” (‘I can’t believe it, it’s raining. PUES NADA, two hours at the hair-dressers, and I am so busy’)

TORMENTA Oct 2004: Argentinian)

Suggests the following translation of *pues nada* in the above example: I can’t believe it, it’s raining. **Oh well**, two hours.....

And adds another example:

Pues nada, nos vemos luego.

Alright then, I’ll see you later.

FUZZYBLOB (Jan 2006: American)

No es que pueda significar “anyway” también, como cuando terminas una parte de la conversación y te falta un modo rápido de cambiar el tema? (‘Can’t it also signify “anyway”, as when you finish one part of the conversation and you need a quick way of changing the topic?’)

BASENJIGIRL (Nov 2006: American)

Sí también, quiere decir “anyway...”! Mi compañera de piso, una madrileña, dice frecuentemente pues nada en esta manera. (‘Yes it also signifies “anyway”. My flat-mate, a girl from Madrid, often uses *pues nada* in this way’)

These extracts show that the contributors are well aware of the use of *pues nada* in casual conversation, and that both the native Spanish and the non-native (English) speakers have a fair idea of what it is used for. Suggestions are as a verbal filler in line with *so* and *well* (SARA), as a signal that the speaker considers the talk or part

of a conversation to be finished (HAZEL), as an indication of sarcasm (ESANCE), or that something makes you sad or disillusioned (PINKPANTER). It is also suggested that *pues nada* has more than one English correspondence, such as *OK, OK then, alright then, well, and anyway*. The observation that it is typically used corresponding to *anyway* in Madrid girls' speech (BASENJIGIRL) is in agreement with the findings in the Madrid teenagers' language in COLA.

Searches on the Internet also show that *pues nada* is often used as a convenient way to introduce a blog, roughly equivalent to *by the way*, which indicates that it is used to catch the reader's as well as the blog respondents' attention, serving as a link between writer and reader.

2.2 Anyway

As regards *anyway*, current English dictionaries agree that two of its main functions in conversation are to change the topic or return to the main topic (cf *Collins Cobuild Dictionary* 1987: 55, *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* 1987: 36 and *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998: 74). The latter two dictionaries add a third function, which is to show that the speaker wants to end the conversation.

Judging by two English grammar books published 20 years apart, the view of *anyway* has changed as time goes by. Quirk et al (1985) describe it as an informal concessive linking conjunct, ie as a grammatical item but without discussing its pragmatic functions in the discourse, while Carter & McCarthy (2006) discuss it both as a grammatical item and a pragmatic item. From a grammatical point of view, it is seen both as a concessive linking adjunct, which is integrated in the clause (2006: 578), as in (1):

- (1) I didn't really need it, but I bought it *anyway*

where it indicates that the speaker "is prepared to accept part of an argument or proposition [...] which in some way contrasts with what has already been stated." (2006: 259), and as a concessive linking conjunct, with a superordinate role vis à vis the clause (cf Quirk et al 1985: 631). The two main uses of *anyway* are said to be with the meaning "in spite of other circumstances mentioned" and as discourse marker "to indicate boundaries in the discourse" (2006: 48). From a pragmatic point of view, Carter & McCarthy focus on the role as a discourse marker, where *anyway* differs from adjuncts/conjuncts by serving as a discourse organizer, signaling, for instance, closure and pre-closure, topic changes, topic resumptions and asides (cf 2006: 460), depending on its position in the utterance (speaker turn).

In the literature, the role of *anyway* as a pragmatic marker has been dealt with by, for instance, Altenberg (1986) and Takahara (1998), and González (2004).

According to Altenberg (1986), it has two major uses in spoken language: concessive and transitional. In its concessive use, *anyway* indicates an addition to what has been said. Its scope can be the entire clause (unrestricted) or a particular clause element (restricted). Transitional *anyway*, which is always clause-initial, signals a change of topic after dismissing an 'intrusion' (1986: 36), after which the previous topic is usually resumed.

Takahara (1998: 344), who compares the pragmatic functions of *anyway* with its Japanese corresponding markers, concludes that its main pragmatic function is to signal topic change rather than topic resumption and, with reference to Owen (1985), that what conditions its use is structuring the conversational activities rather than the topic.

Gonzalez (2004: 196–206) discusses the use of *anyway* in narratives in terms of 'conclusion', 'resumption' and 'segment frame'. The most frequent pragmatic functions, she says, are to sum up and conclude, and to resume a topic after a digression. *Anyway* also indicates that something is highly relevant, and it is used as a 'rounding off linguistic tool'. As a discourse marker, it serves as a boundary marker: "as a *lefthand discourse bracket*, *anyway* has a structural and cognitive text-delimiting role; [...]. as a *righthand bracket*, it has a summing-up evidencing role." (2004: 206).

3. *Pues nada* and *anyway* in COLAm and COLT

3.1 Position & function

One important characteristic of Spanish discourse markers, pointed out by Martín Zorraquino (1988: 41), is their versatility or distributional mobility in an utterance (ie turn), which in turn is related to their function in the discourse. She mentions three positions: initial, medial (or intermedial) and final (see also Briz & Hidalgo 1988: 128). The same goes for English discourse markers. As is argued by Carter & McCarthy (2006: 49), when occurring in turn-initial or turn-medial position, *anyway*, for instance, "is used to move to a new phase of a narrative or argument, or to resume a conversation after an interruption or diversion, or to signal a move towards closing the talk, and in turn-final position it signals closure" (cf González 2004: 196–206). As I will show in the following, *pues nada* is used for exactly the same functions. In other words, both *anyway* and *pues nada* serve as discourse markers used to organize, structure and monitor the discourse. At the same time, however, they tend to reflect speaker intentions and interpersonal meanings (cf Carter & McCarthy 2006: 208).

Table 1. Position

Marker	Total	initial	medial	final	alone	% DM	per 1000 words
<i>pues nada</i>	52	15	17	8	12	100	.18
<i>anyway</i>	328	51	35	8		.71	.20

COLAm 290000 words (at the time of writing)
COLT 431528 words

Both markers occur in turn-initial, turn-medial and turn-final position. In addition, *pues nada* is found to make up a turn of its own.

As Table 1 shows, the spread of *pues nada* in the various positions is fairly even. *Anyway*, on the other hand, is most often found turn-initially, followed by turn-medial position, while final position is rare and position alone does not occur at all in COLT. Notice also that while *pues nada* serves only as a pragmatic/discourse marker, nearly one fourth of the occurrences of *anyway* are integrated in the sentence and have a grammatical function.

Turn-initial position

In turn-initial position, both markers typically indicate a topic shift or topic resumption. In (2) from COLT, a group of girls are chatting about boys, and one of them, Anita, is curious to know what has happened to the ring that she thinks a boy called Diego has given to Carla, who plays innocent and is supported by Belén. The chat is momentarily interrupted when Ana suddenly discovers that Anita has started recording the conversation (*tía estás grabando*). But the actual topic (Diego's ring) is soon resumed by means of *pues nada*. (The word *tía* that occurs in the example is a vocative meaning 'girl'.)

- (2) Anita: con el anillo de Diego qué has hecho
 'what have you done with Diego's ring'
 Belén: qué
 'what'
 Anita: con el anillo de Diego
 'with Diego's ring'
 Carla: qué anillo
 'what ring'
 Belén: tía no ha hecho nada
 'she hasn't done anything'
 Ana: tía estás grabando
 'TÍA are you recording'

- Anita: [si no se va a oír se va a molestar en rebobinar y en]
 'if it can't be heard will she bother to rewind and'
 Inéz: [chiss]
 Anita: escucharlo
 'listen to it'
 Inéz: tiene capacidad
 'it has got capacity'
 Belén: **pues nada** está en mi casa MALCE2
 'PUES NADA it's at home'

Turn-initial *anyway* in example (3) illustrates a topic shift:

Mary and Anne are talking about a boy called Wesley, when Mary suddenly remembers that she forgot to bring a tape. Here *anyway* facilitates the transition from one topic to the next by acting as a topic-shifting marker (at the same time as a linking conjunct).

- (3) Mary: he sits there painting you know ... it's not Warren it is Wesley alright
 Anne: his name is Wesley
 Mary: **anyway** I forgot to bring a tape in for you 33607a

Turn-medial position

In turn-medial position, too, the markers tend to signal either a topic shift or topic resumption, but they can also signal a pre-closing. In (4) Ariadna has just received a phone call, and when the call is finished, she repeats part of what the caller, a boy called Luis, had said.

- (4) Ariadna: sí dígame ... eh eeeh ... no ... o sea quién eres
 hola qué tal... venga... hasta luego
 'hello... eh eeeh... no... well how are y hello how are you
 'bye'
 Isabel: quién era
 'who was it'
 Ariadna: Luis y yo no sé por qué digo quién era si sé
 perfectamente que es Luis dice hoola soy Luis ja
 ja ja quién es... soy Luis ah hola Luis je je...
 bueno **pues nada** ya llamo al móvil – **puses nada** – un besito
 eh MAORE2
 'Luis and I don't know why I ask who it is if I know
 perfectly that it is Luis he says hello I'm Luis ha ha ...
 who is it... I'm Luis ah hello Luis ha ha PUES NADA
 I'm using my mobile PUES NADA a little kiss eh'

The first *pues nada* can be seen as signalling a slight topic shift: Luis changes from greeting and saying his name to announcing that he is using a mobile phone, while the second *pues nada* signals closure, i.e. end of call.

Example (5) is from the very beginning of a recording. It is somewhat unclear who Bea is referring to by saying *I just gotta tell her a secret*, but it seems to be Jo, who apparently guesses what the secret is (*gotta see Mr X*). There is a sudden shift of topic, signalled by *anyway*, when Bea interrupts the talk about meeting Mr X by telling how old she is and asking about Jo's age. There is also a third girl involved, but who does not interfere.

- (5) Bea: hold on a minute, I'll just pause a minute I just gotta tell
her a secret
Jo: gotta see erm Mr X
Bea: yeah at two fifteen innit that means at two fifteen two
fifteen is {mimicking} a quarter past two. **anyway** I,
thirteen by the way and Jo's how old are you Jo
fourteen
Jo: yeah
Bea: Jo's fourteen. see and she didn't do anything by her
birthday that stupid cow 40604

Turn-final position

In turn-final position, both *pues nada* and *anyway* signal that the current speaker has nothing more to say. At the same time, of course, the markers serve as turn-yielders, giving the hearer(s) a chance to continue the conversation. Example (6) is a bit special, considering that it represents indirect speech. Reina tells Pilar about a situation when she got really fed up, which she announced by simply saying *bueno pues nada*, and just left.

- (6) Reina: peroooo realmente es que no me apetecía quedarme
y he dicho bueno **pues nada**
'... buuuuut really I didn't like to stay and said well PUES
NADA'
Pilar: me encanta porque haga lo que haga siempre la
culpa del otro por favor
'I just love it whatever you do, the others will always be blamed
for what you did'
Reina: es que no era culpa mía MAESB2
'it wasn't my fault'

Example (7) is from COLT. Doug, Steve and Phil are chatting – or rather talking a lot of nonsense. Phil shows that he has nothing to add, or maybe does not know what to say, by finishing his utterance with an unfinished sentence ended by *but anyway*.

- (7) Doug: you kind of you had a you had a conversation with yourself
 Steve: no I was in the conversation you fat lump of lard
 Phil: well that's why it says, oh right I get it. I don't really **but anyway**
 Doug: right everyone else is a friend apart from me
 Steve: everybody go to the bog and have a tinkle and I'll record it 41102a

Alone

A marker that makes up the entire turn is an unmistakeable signal that the speaker has got nothing more to say, and/or does not want to pursue a certain topic:

- (8) Lina: José por aquí José por allá José por allí
 'José here José there José over there'
 Alma: cállate a tí cuando te gusta una persona cuando le ves sientes algo aquí no en el pecho
 'shut up when you like a person when you see him you feel something don't you in your heart'
 Lina: [sí]
 'yes'
 Alma: pues yo sí pues con el sabes no puedo estar un día sin estar con el pero yo siento esa cosa y si no hay chispa no hay chispa tía y si no hay chispa no hay nada sabes lo que te quiero decir
 'I do because you know I can't do without him one day I feel this thing and if there is no passion there is nothing do you see what I mean'
 Lina: tíaaaa entonces
 'TIAAAA then'
 Alma: **pues nada**
 Lina: porque estás todo el rato con José
 'cos you are together with José all the time'
 Alma: porque tía porque le quiero mucho
 'because I like him a lot' MALCE2

Here *pues nada* signals that Alma has made her point and that there is nothing to add, although Lina does not seem to want to drop the topic.

As Table 1 showed, there was not a single instance of *anyway* alone in the London teenagers' conversations. Clearly, this does not mean that *anyway* in this position does not occur in teenage conversation, which might have been shown, given a larger corpus.

3.2 Anyway but not *pues nada*

In addition to the discourse functions illustrated above, *Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary* (1987: 55) mentions the following, basically pragmatic, functions (also quoted in González 2004: 197; see also *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* 1998: 74). The illustrating examples below are from COLT:

- To indicate that a statement explains or supports a previous point or makes that point seem less important

(9) Claire: where would you actually go?

Mary: probably I'd just go up to the pub but I can't be bothered this, it's, no

Claire: I don't want you walking down to the pub in this, in the dark cold night

Mary: alright I'll ring up and see, I'm not going to go **anyway**. 42701

- To suggest that a statement is true or relevant in spite of other things that have been said

(10) Cassie: oh maybe the battery's running down, I mean can I hear it actually cos the batteries are running down

Lucy: well it's loud where you are but

Cassie: oh just give it to me **anyway**.... right all say something.33905

- To correct or modify an opinion or statement, for example to limit it to what you definitely know to be true (*All of them? I ask. Some anyway.*)

(11) Charles: James I've got a formula I've got a formula for twenty one, and it works well I think so [**anyway**]

James: [nv }

belch { /nv}} Bloody hell which bit

am I doing wrong how many regions did you get

Charles: erm 41803

- To indicate that you are asking what the real situation is or what the real reason for something is:

- (12) Tom: who's gonna listen to them **anyway**
 Rich: some students at the university of Bergen
 Tom: shit 41707

None of these functions can be performed by *pues nada*, which, as mentioned in section 2.2, unlike *anyway* cannot be integrated in the clause structure and serve as an adjunct.

4. Collocations

Both *anyway* and *pues nada* may be accompanied by another marker, often with a reinforcing effect, while *anyway* sometimes occurs with a conjunction,

4.1 Anyway

In COLT, the only word that collocates with *anyway* with some frequency is *but* (cf. 5.2 for *well anyway*). One example is (13), where 16-year old Claire is telling Sally about an evening out when she managed to out-manoeuvre a girl called Lottie and get a nice cap by kissing the boy who owned it (the example is shortened):

- (13) Claire: I got off with someone for his hat he had this
 wicked in Geneva had this amazing Boss hat and I
 snogged him for it..
 Sally: was Lottie there?
 Claire: yeah and erm she was snogging someone else {
 laughing } at the time { / } I think actually no that
 was the night she was really pissed off because erm
 people were paying more attention to me than they
 were to her there was this really good looking bloke and he was
 like we we'd given each other
 eyes over the bar in this pub and Lottie goes well if
 you don't hurry up with him I'm gonna go and have
 him if you don't hurry up you know and just like
 marched over [I said Charlotte give me a break]
 Sally: [have you ever had { unclear }]?]

- Claire: erm no no I haven't ever **but anyway** she had, he had this nice cap so I said to him you know can I have it and he said no it's sentimental [and I said well I'll do anything]
- Sally: [{ unclear }]
- Claire: for it and he said well we= er basically it just got down to well if you kiss me I'll give it to you and then and then he decided that if I kissed him... 42704

Claire begins her narration about how she managed to get the hat, when Sally interrupts her by asking about Lottie, and a long digression follows, after which Claire resumes her story by means of *but anyway*. Although *anyway* alone would have been a perfect resumption marker, the adversative conjunction *but* has a smoothening effect on the transition but also makes it more obvious that the main story is back to where it was interrupted.

In (14) *but anyway* occurs in turn-final position:

- (14) Una: you know that I go on about Jenny
 Cass: yeah
 Una: but I like, I like Jenny really
 Cass: yeah I know I like Jenny I mean, but I never really say anything bad about [Jenny]
 Una: [{ unclear }] say anything about you... like it's only if I... {laughing } got nothing else to say really { / }
 Cass: yeah.
 Una: { unclear } about me don't you when I'm not there yeah?
 Cass: no I don't, I don't
 Una: well she might
 Cass: well she might erm no she's never I don't think I don't think she ever has said anything, she might have said it once but not that I can... recall mys= oh doesn't that look lovely with all them petals falling off the tree... yeah stand underneath it
but anyway
 Una: have you seen our cherry tree in the garden {unclear }? 33903

The question is whether *but anyway* signals 'enough about Jenny', or whether it is something Cass says because she does not really know what to say and finds

the silence awkward. In any case, the result is a change of topic, from ‘Jenny’ to ‘the cherry tree’.

4.2 Pues nada

In COLAm, *pues nada* typically collocates with *bueno*, which is slightly surprising, considering that *bueno* is often used for the same functions as *pues nada* (cf. section 5.1). On the other hand, it might be argued, in line with González’ (2004: 206) description of the righthand and lefthand bracketing effects of *anyway* (cf. section 2.2), either that the whole expression, *bueno pues nada*, serves as a righthand bracket summing-up what was said in the utterance or that *bueno* alone serves that function, while *pues nada* is the lefthand bracket, pointing to what follows, whether it be a topic shift or a topic closing.

In (15) Jaime has been listening to his own recorded talk and is apparently far from satisfied with what he hears:

- (15) queridos amigos noruegos lo siento pero no es que me gusta
hablar solo estoy hablando solo aquí con el micrófono
como un imbecile pero tengo que decir esto que he estado
escuchando lo que he grabado hoy y vamos parezco tonto
del culo en serio soy una persona simpática y otra cosa mi voz no es esa yo
no reconozco mi voz vaya voz de memo
que tengo ahí **bueno pues nada** que quede claro ah mira
voy a presentaros a mi hermano a ver si me manda a tomar
por el culo... MAESB2
‘dear Norwegian friends I’m sorry but I don’t like to talk by myself I
am only talking with the microphone like an imbecile I have to this
that I have been listening to what I have recorded today and really I
sound idiotic seriously I am a nice person and another thing this is not
my voice I don’t recognize my voice here I have a ridiculous voice BUENO
PUES NADA I hope this is clear ah look I’ll introduce you
to my brother let’s see if he asks me to go to hell...’

Here I take it that *bueno* terminates what has been said up to this point, meaning something like ‘enough of this’ (righthand bracketing), while *pues nada* points forward to what is being said next (lefthand bracketing).

In (16) *bueno* appears to mean roughly ‘that settles it’, while *pues nada* signals ‘enough of this – let’s move on’.

- (16) Lina: apagamos la tele o da igual la tele
'let's turn off the television or perhaps the television doesn't matter'
Sara: no pasa nada o sea toda nuestra conversación sobre las profesoras sobre a quien odias y a quien admiras
'it's not important or maybe the entire conversation about the teachers about who we hate and who we admire'
Lina: ah ja ja
'ah ha ha'
Sara: se ha ido al garete
'has gone to pot'
Pepe: **bueno pues nada**
Jaim: que da igual em... sabes MAORE2
'it doesn't matter em...'

5. Alternatives

As I will try to show in the following, the functions discussed in this paper can be performed by other markers than *pues nada* and anyway.

5.1 Bueno

Bueno is often used for the same purposes in the discourse as *pues nada*. Serrano (2002: 156–157) comments on the discourse function of *bueno* in turn-initial position, where it serves as a cohesive device, adding to the coherence of the conversation. In this position it signals that the speaker intends to take the turn in order to introduce a completely new topic or change a sub-topic or simply emphasizes the speaker's intention to have a say in the conversation. According to Briz (2001: 213; cf Briz & Hidalgo 1988: 141), *bueno* is used to mark a shift of topic or the resumption of a previous topic besides serving as a reformulator in colloquial conversation, explaining, modulating or correcting what has been said (1998: 214). And in Casado Velarde's (1988: 64) classification of discourse markers *bueno* is referred to as a closing marker ('cierre discursivo').

Bueno in turn-initial position is illustrated in (17), where Marta, Silvia y Isabel are discussing the upcoming exam in physics:

- (17) Marta: eso ya lo ha puesto lo puso en la primera examen
'this he put already in the first exam'

- Silvia: sí también puso la la bola que caía eh
 'yes he also put the ball that fell didn't he'
 Isabel: bueno a ver ja ja MAESB2
 'well let's see ha ha'

The topic-resuming function is illustrated in (18). Maria, Ina and two boys are walking in the street discussing where to go. The discussion is temporarily interrupted when they start singing and opening soda tins:

- (18) Ina: no así cerquita o sea como Majadahonda o así por
 aquí
 'no, it's near, well like Majadahonda or something, close by'
 María: sí
 'it is'
 Ina: eh
 María: por Majadahonda sí pero en Majadahonda no va a
 haber nada
 'near Majadahonda yeah, but in Majadahonda there is nothing'
 Ina: joe pero eso Majadahonda sí que estoy por aquí
 sabes que no estoy ahí a todo a tomar por culo
 porque estoy por aquí
 'shit I think Majadahonda yes I'll be around you know, not that
 I am fucking around, I am close'
 María: sí 'yes'
 <<cantaos>> <<ruido de latas>>
 Ina: **bueno** entonces qué mañana dónde vamos MAMTE2
 'BUENO where are we going tomorrow then'

Ina resumes the topic that had been interrupted by *bueno* and the deliberation goes on.

Bueno as a pre-closing marker is illustrated in (19):

- (19) Marta: pídele perdón tía
 'ask him to forgive you'
 Silvia: he dicho qué dices si me voy andando eh **bueno**
 adiós
 'I said what do you say yes I'll be walking eh BUENO good
 bye'
 Marta: pídele perdón
 'ask him to forgive you' MAORE2

Bueno is obviously intended as a closing marker, but since Marta insists that Silvia should apologize before leaving, it is demoted to a preclosing signal.

Like *pues nada*, *bueno* is used to signal end of topic or end of conversation, as in (20), where Isabel is explaining to Ramón and Julio why she is recording their conversation.

- (20) Isabel: yyy entonces estoy grabando ahora
 ‘aaand in that case I’m recording now’
 Ramón: ya pero para qué
 ‘OK but why’
 Isabel: sí para porque hacer una movida dee lenguaje
 coloquial y eso
 ‘well because they are making a fuss about colloquial language
 and everything’
 Julio: mi madre
 ‘wow’
 Ramón: **bueno** hasta luego MAESB2
 ‘BUENO see you later’

I fully agree with Briz that, since the markers are multifunctional, what decides their function at a particular moment is not only the actual context but not least the prosodic characteristics (cf. 2001: 222), which can easily be distinguished in both COLT and COLAm by going to the Internet version with immediate access to the oral as well as the orthographic material.

Another marker that is sometimes met with in this function is *venga*, which is a grammaticalized version of the third person singular present tense subjunctive form of the verb *venir* (‘come’) (cf Serrano 2002: 160). Finally, Serrano also argues that *bueno* is sometimes used to emphasize that the speaker’s opinion diverges slightly from what has been said, which is reflected in the intonation (cf 2002: 157), an action that does not seem to be reflected in the examples of *pues nada* in COLA.

5.2 Okay & well

As emerged from the letters to the *WordReference.com Language Forums* website mentioned in Section 2, some contributors suggested that not only *anyway* but also *okay* and *well* can serve the same functions in conversation as *pues nada*. This view is indirectly supported by Carter & McCarthy (2006), who – though with no reference to *pues nada* – discuss *okay* and *well* in terms of discourse markers “which indicate the speaker’s intentions with regard to organising, structuring and monitoring the discourse” (2006: 208). *Okay*, they say, serves to close a sequence, as in ‘Okay it was nice talking to you...’, or signal a change of topic, as in ‘Okay now

let's move on to...’ (2006: 116–117). Quirk et al (1985: 633) point to the discourse-initiating function of *okay*, which it shares with markers such as *well* and *right*, “that have a well-established conjunctive role in mid-discourse use”. Stenström (1994: 164–165), finally, points to the pre-closing and closing role of *okay* in telephone calls.

The pre-closing function in face-to-face conversation is illustrated in example (21) from COLT:

- (21) Caro: come to my form room and we'll record some
 people
 Bess: alright
 Caro: **okay** I'll see you later okay, oi er erm don't bother
 meeting me cos [I'm going to]
 Kate: [I'm eeting you]
 Bess: yeah
 Caro: okay 40809

Caro's *okay*, followed by *I'll see you later* signals that, as far as she is concerned, the matter is settled, and she is ready to leave.

Two major uses of *well* are suggested by Svartvik (1980: 173–174), notably: ‘qualifier’, which serves as a link between two discoursal contexts, “typically initial and linked to turn-taking “ (1980: 173), and ‘frame’, which occurs between discourse units, “normally embedded in the discourse” (1980: 174). As a frame, *well* like *okay* (and *anyway*) can be used to signal a shift of topic as well as closure. Quirk et al (1985: 444) mention *well* only as an ‘initiator’, for instance!OH! WELL! of course he'll be working with overseas STUDENTS!, and examples where *well* serves as a response initiator (1985: 444), which would correspond to Spanish *pues* rather than *pues nada*, while Carter & McCarthy say that *well* can be used to announce the closing of a topic or a speech event, such as ‘Well that's all for now’, or to mark a topic shift such as ‘Well the weather's turned up today anyway’ (2000: 153, 212).

Example (22) is an illustration from COLT, where *well* acts as a topic resumer. Four girls are chatting about boys and talking about what to do: should they or should they not go to the ‘Pulsar thing’?.

- (22) Thea: what time is it? what what what time is Pulsar
 thing?
 Mary: I dunno

Talk about boys follows: Who fancies whom? Who phoned whom? And Thea continues:

- Thea: and then he asked me then and erm but he didn't
 know whether to ask me not well he knew he
 knew more or less I'd say yes anyway cos I'd mo=
 I'd already said yes but not to his face so but he didn't know
 whether to because Henry fancied me
- Mary: when you ask someone out I'm scared in case they
 might say no
- Thea: I know
- Mary: I'm so excited
- Thea: {nv} laugh {/nv} what about erm Wakey and
 Johnny and **well now** are we gonna go to Pulsar
 or not? 33701

Notice that *well* is accompanied by *now*, which is very often the case when it signals topic resumption. But *well* can also cooccur with *anyway* (cf. *bueno pues nada*)

- (23) Julie: I was looking for the twenty five pounds
- Louise: I said it weren't it weren't our patch yes it was!
 yes it was! yes it was! I said it it wasn't
 {unclear }
- Julie: so haven't we got a phone call yet?
- Mary: not from [{unclear }]
- Julie: [well anyway] it doesn't matter cos you won't get twenty five pounds anyway cos you said I could have it
- Mary: until we got the first order 32802

This is the only occurrence of the combination *well anyway* in COLT. The function of *well anyway* seems to differ from that of *bueno pues nada* in examples (15) and (16), however; *well* appears to be just a convenient word to use when taking the turn, with no concluding or summing-up effect, while *anyway* alone serves as a concluding device.

6. Conclusion

What I hope to have shown in this paper, using examples from the two corpora of teenage talk COLAm and COLT, is that the Spanish marker *pues nada* and English *anyway* can serve the same functions in casual conversation. Both play a crucial role by facilitating topic transitions, topic resumptions and closings on the dis-

course level as well as speaker shifts on the level of interaction in addition to reflecting the speaker's intention from a pragmatic point of view.

The functions of the markers are closely related to their position in the speaker's turn. In turn-initial position they are likely to signal a new topic or topic resumption, which is also most likely to occur in turn-medial position, where the markers can also signal closing. In turn-final position they are most likely to signal end of topic and/or lack of interest on the part of the current speaker, generally with a turn-yielding effect, and when constituting a turn of their own, they indicate that the speaker has nothing more to say.

As regards frequency in the two corpora, *anyway* is slightly more frequent than *pues nada*, which probably has to do with the fact that *anyway* is far more strongly established in English conversation than *pues nada* is in Spanish conversation. Another difference is that, while *pues nada* tends to collocate with another marker, notably *bueno*, *anyway* tends to collocate with a connector, the adversative *but*. The study also indicates that certain collocations can be used for similar functions, and that a couple of other markers, namely *bueno* and *OK* or *well*, can sometimes be used for the same functions as *pues nada* and *anyway*.

It seems that the use of *pues nada* has, so far, been a more intriguing question for non-linguists than for linguists, judging by the fact that there has been the discussion on the Internet about *pues nada* and what it is used for but no discussion at all in the linguistic literature. The corresponding functions of *anyway*, on the other hand, have been discussed in grammars as well as dictionaries and the literature.

An interesting usage that seems to be unique to *pues nada*, which is not manifested in the corpora investigated for obvious reasons, but worth mentioning in this connection, is that of serving as an introductory marker to letters and blogs on the Internet, though, in this case, the nearest English correspondence would hardly be *anyway*. What this shows is that *pues nada* (like *anyway*) is an extremely versatile and useful item, not only in speech, which is worth far more consideration than it has been given to date.

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Anglicisms in the informal speech of Norwegian and Chilean adolescents

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This article analyses the use of anglicisms in two conversations from two corpora of informal adolescent language, the UNO-corpus from Oslo, Norway, and de COLAs corpus from Santiago, Chile. The speakers are boys at the age of 14 with a middle/lower middle class background. The study shows that the use of anglicisms in both conversations is limited, but that the topic of the conversations influences the number of anglicisms. It also shows that anglicisms in the process of integration do integrate both phonetically and morphologically, while those that are not integrated tend to maintain their foreign pronunciation. The analysis is based on the functional theory suggested by Halliday (1978). In the selected conversations, most of the anglicisms are nouns used to name new items that lack a name in the borrowing language, what Halliday calls the *ideational* function, used to define the external world. Anglicisms are also used with an *interpersonal* function, expressing feelings towards the other participants in the conversation and finally to fulfil the *textual* function, creating variation in the text.

Key words: Anglicisms, adolescent language, informal language, functions of language

1. Introduction

The use of anglicisms in different languages reflects the important position of English as a global language (Crystal 2003). Many studies have focused on the borrowing of words and expressions from English in different languages, both in Scandinavian languages such as Swedish and Norwegian, and in other languages such as Spanish (Chrystal 1988; Lorenzo 1996; Graedler 1998; Rodríguez 1999; Sharp 2001). These studies have mainly analysed written language and borrowings that have been integrated into the standard language, and they have not treated anglicisms in informal speech as shown in example (1) below:

- (1) Kirsten: *han var skikkelig seriøs skikkelig serious guy*
he was really serious, really *serious guy*
(File: osvgje1a2)

The expression *serious guy* is not an integrated anglicism in Norwegian, but one that is used occasionally to give more emphasis to the Norwegian expression. The motivation for using English to emphasize an expression deviates from what has been considered the traditional motivation for borrowings; the need for words to name new phenomena or inventions, as in example (2):

- (2) Fernanda: *por qué no te cambias de nic*
why don't you change your *nic*[name]
(File: scfab8-03)

This use of borrowings is normally accepted in standard language, while the kind of occasional borrowings illustrated in example (1) above are frequently classified as unnecessary borrowings. Adolescents tend to challenge the rules of the standard language and present their own creative use of language, and their language is often associated with an indiscriminate use of these so-called unnecessary anglicisms. The creative language practice among adolescents contributes to language change and the creation of new words:

Adolescents are the linguistic movers and shakers, at least in western industrialized societies, and as such, a prime source of information about linguistic change and the role of language in social practice. (Eckert 1997: 52).

It is important to stress that what is usually associated with adolescent language is the informality. In formal situations, adolescents tend to use a more standard variety of their language, which is closer to the language used by adults.

To get an idea of what is typical of adolescent language, it is necessary to study their informal language, preferably without the presence of strangers. This will give important information about language development, and a study of anglicisms in adolescent informal language will give an idea of how language will develop when it comes to the use of borrowings in general and anglicisms in particular. The aim of this article is to study and compare how anglicisms are used in the informal speech of Norwegian and Chilean adolescents, both how these words are integrated and why they are used. The analysis is based on the functional theory suggested by Halliday (1978), who presents three main functions of language: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual.

Anglicisms in this context are words or expressions of English origin, or which seem to be of English origin, used in Norwegian or in Chilean Spanish. Some of the analysed anglicisms maintain their original meaning, some have changed their

meaning on their way from one language to another, and finally, some anglicisms are created in the receiving language without an English origin, but with an English pattern of pronunciation or spelling.

2. The integration of borrowings

Considering borrowing as a process, as Haugen (1950) does, the kind of anglicism used in example (1) shows the first stage in this process where new borrowings appear first occasionally in informal speech. The next step in the borrowing process is, according to Gómez Capuz (2000: 11), when the speakers have to decide whether they will accept the borrowed word or not. When a borrowing is accepted, it enters the process of integration into the borrowing language, a process that includes phonological, morphological and semantic integration. To be able to understand this process, it is important to focus on borrowings in their first stages, and not only on the results of the process of integration, as Haugen (1950) also pointed out in his article.

The process of integration of borrowings depends on different factors, and not all the borrowings that appear occasionally, such as the one in example (1), become integrated. Graedler (1998: 68), who studied anglicisms in Norwegian, states that language users have two options when they use lexical items from one language in another language: they can preserve the foreign features, as in example (1) above, or they can adapt these features and integrate them into the language structures of the receiving language, as shown in example (3):

- (3) Carlos: *íbamos a chatear allá*
 we used to go to *chat* there
 (File: *sceab8-01*)

In example (3) above, the verb *to chat* is integrated into the verbal system of the Spanish language, adopting the pattern for regular verbs ending in *-ar*. Some features become integrated at an early stage of the borrowing process, while other features need more time to become integrated. Though, as stated by Gómez Capuz (2000: 33), a borrowing may be at different stages at the same time; the word can be integrated morphologically at an early stage and still maintain its original and foreign pronunciation as in example (4), where the anglicism has a definite article and is integrated into the Spanish morphological system, but is pronounced in English:

- (4) Carlos: *me metí en el messenger* /'mesendʒə/
 I entered *messenger*
 (File: *sceab8-01*)

Since the integration process starts when a borrowed word is used for the first time, it is necessary to study the use of anglicisms in informal language to be able to understand the process of borrowing and the functions of these words. It is also important to analyse the phonological integration, which is only possible with access to oral language.

3. Data

The study is based on two corpora of informal adolescent language, the UNO-corpus from Oslo, Norway, and the COLAs corpus from Santiago, Chile. Both corpora were collected following the model used for collecting the British National Corpus (BNC), where the speakers recorded their own speech using a portable tape recorder (Crowdy 1995). The UNO-corpus was recorded as part of a project called *Språkkontakt och ungdomsspråk i Norden*¹ and it consists of informal conversations recorded by Oslo adolescents aged 13 to 18 years. The COLAs corpus, recorded in Santiago, Chile, is part of *Corpus Oral de Lenguaje Adolescente*². This corpus collection is organized by the Department of Foreign Languages at the University of Bergen, Norway, and consists of informal conversations recorded by adolescents between 13 and 19 years old from different Spanish speaking capitals. The UNO-corpus contains about 200 000 words, while the COLAs corpus will ultimately contain about the same number of words (see further Martínez this volume).

To be able to analyse the use of anglicisms in both corpora more in detail, I have chosen one conversation from each corpus. The two selected conversations are similar. From the Norwegian corpus I have chosen a conversation called *øsungula1*, and from the Chilean corpus a conversation called *sceab8-01*. The sociolinguistic features in both conversations are the same; the informants are boys at the age of 14, and they belong to similar social groups: middle/lower middle class.

In *øsungula1*, which was recorded in 1997, the two informants are talking at the place of one of the informants. The informants are talking about different things: a party they went to and some new technological items, such as mobile phones and videotapes. In *sceab8-01* the three informants are talking while they are walking in the street and in a park where they usually meet. This conversation was recorded in 2003, and here the informants are mainly talking about different things related to information technology. In both conversations, there are other persons that pass by and participate with a few interventions.

1. Language contact and youth language in the Nordic countries: <http://www.uib.no/uno>.

2. Oral Corpus of Adolescent Language: <http://www.colam.org>.

Even though the analysis in the present article only represents a small part of the corpora, the selected conversations reflect and illustrate the use of anglicisms in the entire corpora, both when it comes to the distribution of anglicisms and the type of anglicisms used. In the first part of this article, I will compare the anglicisms used in the selected conversations, and in the second part, I will analyse the functions of these anglicisms.

4. Analysis and findings

4.1 Comparison of anglicisms in Norwegian and Chilean Spanish

The use of anglicisms in both corpora is not very extensive. A comparison of the anglicisms in the two conversations selected for this analysis shows a total number of 24 anglicisms in the Norwegian conversation and 32 in the Chilean conversation. Some of the anglicisms are repeated, so the total number of types is eleven in both conversations, as shown in Table 1 below. The average number of anglicisms in the Norwegian conversation is about five per 1000 words, while the average number of anglicisms in the Chilean conversation is about eight per 1000 words. Since this study concentrates on anglicisms in the first stages of the borrowing process, it does not include already well established anglicisms. This means that anglicisms such as *film* 'film' or *kjeks* 'cake', words that have been used in Norwegian for more than 30 years and are completely integrated in the language, are not included in this analysis.

A more detailed analysis of the anglicisms used in this conversation shows that many of the words used are related to new technological items, as we see in Table 1.

As mentioned in Section 3, one of the topics treated in both conversations is the use of new technological items, which explains why many of the anglicisms refer to technology. But the anglicisms are not the same in the two conversations, and the reason for this is probably that the recruits are talking about two different technological spheres: the Norwegian boys are talking about mobile phones and videotapes, and the Chilean boys about information technology. Table 1 shows that the topic of the conversation influences both the kind and the number of anglicisms that occur in a conversation. Since technology is main topic in the Chilean conversation, this conversation contains a larger number of anglicisms related to technology than the Norwegian conversation, where technology is one of many topics dealt with.

The most frequent anglicism in the Chilean conversation, and in the Chilean corpus as a whole, is *cachay*, which is the second person singular form of the verb *cachar*. This verb comes from the English verb *to catch*, and means 'did you catch the meaning'. As will be shown in Section 4.3.2, *cachay* can have different functions in a conversation.

Table 1. Anglicisms in the conversations

Anglicisms in the Chilean corpus				Anglicisms in the Norwegian corpus			
English word	Anglicism	Types	Total	English word	Anglicism	Types	Total
to catch	catfai	1	15	cool	kul	1	5
Messenger	mesendʒ	1	6	video	vídeo	1	5
to chat	tfatear	1	2	DJ	didzei	1	2
easy	isi	1	2	to brief	brife	1	2
Internet	interne	1	1	so	sou	1	3
Window	uindou	1	1	tough	tøff	1	2
show	fou	1	1	power	pauer	1	1
mail	meil	1	1	PC	pece	1	1
Hotmail	hotmeil	1	1	yes	yes	1	1
XP	equis pe	1	1	photo thing	fotogreia	1	1
MTV	em ti vi	1	1	so fuck	so fuck	1	1
TOTAL		11	32	TOTAL		11	24

The most frequent word in the Norwegian conversation is *kul*, which comes from the English word *cool*. In *Anglisismeordboka*, a dictionary of anglicisms in Norwegian, Graedler (1997: 104) states that the word *kul* meaning ‘nice’ and ‘funny’ is probably also influenced by the Swedish word *kul*, which means ‘funny’, but it is impossible to distinguish between the two origins. In this study *kul* (‘cool’) is classified as an anglicism, which is what Graedler finally does in her dictionary. The frequency of *cachay* and *kul* indicates that both words have passed the first stages in the borrowing process, and are in the process of being accepted by speakers in general. It is worth noting that neither *cachay* nor *kul* are traditional borrowings, since both anglicisms are used for communicative reasons and not to give name to a new invention, a point that will be discussed more in detail in Section 4.3.

4.2 The process of integration

Most of the anglicisms in both conversations are nouns, but there are also examples of verbs and adjectives. The main difference between English nouns and nouns in Norwegian and Spanish is the lack of grammatical gender in English. Therefore, when an English noun is used in Norwegian or Spanish, the speaker normally gives the word a gender, but sometimes it also is left without a gender. The moment an English word is given a gender, the word is starting to be integrated morphologically in the receiving language. In the Chilean corpus, almost

all the nouns are treated as masculine words receiving the corresponding article, as in example (5) where Messenger has received the masculine definite article *el*:

- (5) Carlos: *me metí en el messenger*
 I entered *Messenger*
 (File: *sceab8-01*)

This preference for one particular gender is not that clear in the Norwegian corpus, which is also pointed out by Graedler (1998: 154) in her study: "Gender vacillation is particularly common in connection with borrowed words (...)"

Verbs are generally integrated into the verbal structure both in Spanish and in Norwegian, as shown in examples (6) and (7):

- (6) Carlos: *íbamos a chatear allá*
 we used to go *to chat* there
 (File: *sceab8-01*)
- (7) Ali: *ikke å brife med mobilen og sånt*
 not *to boast* with the mobile phone and so on
 (File: *øsungula1*)

Example (7) indicates that the English verb *brief* ('instruct') has undergone a change of meaning to 'boast' on its way from English to Norwegian.

Examples (8) and (9) show that adjectives, too, are integrated into the grammatical structures of the receiving language:

- (8) Ahmad: *det var litt kult på festen da.*
 it was pretty *cool* to be at the party
 (File: *øsungula1*)
- (9) Ali: *jeg var frekk jeg var f% tøff på festen. greit*
 I was rude I was *r% tough* at the party. okey
 (File: *øsungula1*)

Example (9) suggests a new meaning of *tough* in Norwegian; here it is used more in the sense of 'cool', which is also suggested by Graedler (1997: 445).

Since the present study is based on an oral corpus, it is possible to analyse the pronunciation of the anglicisms. In both languages, words that are not integrated at all, as for instance *easy* in example (10) and *so* in example (11), maintain their foreign pronunciation:

- (10) Carlos: *easy easy ah ah así*
easy easy ah ah like that
 (File: *sceab8-01*)

- (11) Ali: *nei so jeg prøver i hvert fall ikke å leke kjekkas med andre sine*
 no so I don't try to play cool with the belongings of others
 (File: *øsungu1a1*)

Words in the process of integration normally adapt to the Norwegian and Spanish pronunciation patterns, especially words whose pronunciation is close to the pronunciation pattern in the receiving languages, as in examples (12) and (13):

- (12) Ali: *ikke å brife med mobilen og sånt*
 not to boast with the mobile phone and so on
 (File: *øsungu1a1*)
- (13) Alex: *y [correo electrónico] y luego show completo*
 and [e-mail address] and then the whole show
 (File: *sceab8-01*)

To sum up the first part of this analysis, the number of anglicisms in the selected conversations is quite small, which also reflects the total number of anglicisms in the entire corpora. The borrowed words in both conversations belong to the same word classes: nouns, verbs and adjectives. Finally, the process of integration in both languages is similar in that the anglicisms usually start being integrated phonologically and morphologically at an early stage.

4.3 The functions of the anglicisms

The most common motivation for borrowing is the need for words to name new phenomena or inventions, but this is not the only motivation for borrowing. In this part of the analysis, I will apply the functional theory of Halliday (1978) to discover other motivations for borrowing. As mentioned in the introduction, Halliday distinguishes between three main functions of language: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual function. He defines the ideational function as the function of language that expresses “the speaker’s experience of the external world” (1978: 45), while the interpersonal function expresses “relations among participants in the situation” (1978: 46), and the textual function of language refers to the role of the language in the text (Halliday 1978: 189). A borrowed expression can then be used to simplify, to clarify or, on the contrary, to make the meaning more diffuse.

4.3.1 The ideational function

The most common type of borrowings is represented by words that designate new inventions or habits. This coincides with the fact that the most frequent type of borrowed words in the selected conversations, as well as in the corpora as a whole, are nouns. The speaker is introduced to a new object, but lacks a word to name this

object in his or her own language. The foreign word that is used to name the new object has an ideational function in the language, since it is used to define the external world.

With regard to the anglicisms in the two conversations studied here, in both conversations the participants are discussing new technology. The Norwegian boys are talking about mobile phones, in Norwegian called *mobil*. This word is not considered a borrowing from English, however, but it is impossible to know if the word *mobil* would have been used in Norwegian if *mobile phone* had not been used in English. In the Chilean corpus, on the other hand, the word used for *mobile phone* is *celular*, which is most likely influenced by the American word *cell phone*:

- (14) Alicia: *ir a cargar mi celular ya*
 go to recharge my *cell phone* now
 (File: scccm4-05)

In the conversation from Chile, the boys are discussing the use of computer programs such as *Messenger* and *Windows*, and many anglicisms are related to this topic, as reflected in Table 1. Sometimes the speakers create new words in their own language to substitute for the foreign words, and in the conversations analysed here, the Chilean boys also use Spanish words for items that are related to new technology, such as *contraseña* for 'password' and *correo electrónico* for 'e-mail'. During the integration process, the speakers have to decide whether they prefer the borrowing or the new word, or whether both words should become part of the receiving language. As mentioned in the introduction, this kind of borrowings are accepted in the standard language, and adults talking about the same items would probably use the same anglicisms as the adolescents. Even though this is the most common use of anglicisms also in the conversations analysed here, these conversations also contain anglicisms used with other functions, which I will analyse in the next section. In the conversations referred to here, the Norwegian conversation contains a larger number of this kind of anglicisms than the Chilean conversation.

4.3.2 *The interpersonal function*

The interpersonal function of language is related to how the speaker expresses his or her relation to the other participants in the conversation. In his study of anglicisms in Spanish, Rodríguez (1996: 111) stresses the fact that "borrowings (...) are apt to develop an "expressive" meaning", like "irony, contempt, snobbery or affectation". Among adolescents it is important to maintain a phatic communion with the other participants in the conversations, which is often reinforced by means of expressive words such as vocatives and taboo words (Stenström and Jørgensen 2008), but also by means of anglicisms, as shown in this section.

In example (15) Carlos is talking about a chat he had with a girl in the chat program 'Messenger' on the Internet. While Carlos and his girlfriend were chatting, they were imagining having sexual intercourse, and in example (15) Carlos is telling his friends about what he and the girl wrote to each other:

- (15) Carlos: *y l% le dije estai gimiendo como*
 and I told her you are moaning like
estás gritando como una yegua chica
 you are crying like a filly
easy easy ah ah así
easy easy ah ah like that
 (File: *sceab8-01*)

The utterance *easy easy* is an abbreviation of the English expression *take it easy*. In her study of anglicisms in Swedish, Sharp (2001: 190) mentions the use of what she calls *unmixed utterances*: "isolated utterances entirely in the transferred language, untouched by the morphosyntactic frame set by the matrix". She also says that this kind of utterances appears almost formulaic and reflects constructions practised over and over again at school (Sharp 2001: 191). Although the anglicism in example (15) consists of only one word, the origin of the word is clearly an example of this kind of constructions. In this particular context the expression draws the attention to the situation the informants are imagining, giving more prestige to the expression. Using words from another language and maintaining the original pattern of pronunciation also strengthens the idea of playing a role.

In example (16) from the Norwegian conversation, Ali wants to call somebody with his friend's mobile phone, and he answers his own question with an English expression, because he knows that the answer to the question would be 'no'. In this example the anglicism serves to emphasize Ali's message:

- (16) Ali: *ringer jeg ut, yes*
 I make the call, *yes*
 Ahmad: *nei*
 no
 (File: *øsungu1a1*)

Another common way to emphasize the message is by using swearwords, as in example (17):

- (17) Ali: *so fuck Petter jeg driter i han jeg vel*
so fuck Petter i don't give a damn
 (File: *øsungu1a1*)

As the Norwegian expression is not strong enough, the English expression is used to reinforce the message, and by maintaining the original pattern of pronunciation, the effect is even greater.

As mentioned in Section 4.1, the most frequent anglicism in the Chilean conversation, and in the entire Chilean corpus, is the verb *cachar*, which usually occurs in the form *cachay*, meaning ‘do you catch’. This verb is completely integrated in the Spanish verbal structure, which means that it also appears conjugated in other persons and tenses. The form *cachay* is used to maintain the attention from the other participants in the conversation, but it serves other functions at the same time. Example (18) shows the most common function of this expression, which is to assure that the other participants in the conversation have understood what the speaker, Carlos, is saying. At the same time, *cachay* is used to organize the story Carlos is telling, which is more related to the textual function of language:

- (18) Carlos: *porque era algo mental po' cachay*
 because it was something mental *you see*
 estai escribiendo y como te imaginai la huevada
 you are writing and like imagining the stuff
 que estai pasando
 you are doing
 Juan: *oooohhh*
 Carlos: *cachay o no/*
 do you understand or not/
 (File: sceab8-01)

Another use of *cachay* is found in example (19), where Juan uses it to catch the listeners' attention and take the turn from Carlos and Alex:

- (19) Carlos: *siempre agarrábamos las mismas minas conversando*
 we always found the same girls talking
 Alex: *sí*
 yes
 Juan: *cachay que a mí una vez se me cayo el [xxx]*
 see that once my [xxx] went down
 (File: sceab8-01)

The examples from the Norwegian and the Chilean conversations show that the interpersonal function of anglicisms is important in informal adolescent language, notably to express prestige, to reinforce the message, to catch and maintain hearer attention, and so on, all of which are important for establishing and maintaining phatic communion among the adolescents. The frequency of *cachay* also indicates

that this anglicism is establishing itself in the informal adolescent language and spreading into the informal Chilean language in general.

4.3.3 *The textual function*

The textual function of language is related to the text itself. Anglicisms can be used to create variation in the text by means of synonyms, or to give more clarity to the text. For instance, when the speaker considers that the English word covers the meaning better than a word in the speaker's own language, he or she will prefer to use an anglicism.

In example (20) from the Chilean corpus, Alex uses the anglicism *show* to refer to a 'set' instead of listing all the elements included, but since the boys know each other well and share the same knowledge, they have no difficulty understanding what is referred to, namely to get access to a certain web service. Instead of repeating every action involved Alex simply uses the expression the whole 'show':

- (20) Alex: *tu contraseña es [contraseña] [xxx] pa'l lado*
 your password is [password] [xxx] to the side
 y [correo electrónico] y luegooo show completo
 and [e-mail address] and then the whole *show*
 (*File: sceab8-01*)

In adolescent language different kinds of verbal games are common (Kotsinas 1994). Many of these games are created by the text itself, like making rhymes on words, as in example (21), from the Norwegian conversation:

- (21) Ali: *nettopp. Hva er det du peser for da,*
 exactly. What are you hasseling for,
 Ahmad: *peser hva for noe. = hva betyr pese forresten,*
 hasseling what. = what does pese mean by the way,
 Ali: *det er du det du er <<peselyder>>*
 that's what you are <<panting>>
 Ahmad: *jeg veit det er data ikke sant, PC data. = smart hue*
 I know it is computing right, PC computing.=
 smart head
 (*File: øsungu1a1*)

Ahmad is playing with the abbreviation for Personal Computer /pe se/ and the word *pese*, which means 'hassle' or 'pant' in Norwegian. In this example the pronunciation of the abbreviation follows the Norwegian pattern of pronunciation in order to produce the double meaning.

According to Kotsinas (1994: 23) such verbal games will often have a sexual undertone, as in example (22) from another conversation in the Chilean corpus:

- (22) Miguel: *igual te hago un espadazo*
 still I'll hit you with the sword
 José: *igual te hacemos highlander*
 still we'll make you *highlander*
 Miguel: *igual te muestro la espada*
 still I'll show you the sword
 Juan: *igual te clavo la cruz*
 still I'll strike you with the cross
 Lucas: *igual te pego un sablazo*
 still I'll hit you with the sabre
 (File: scawm4-03)

José is making reference to a movie and a television series called *Highlander* about a Scottish swordsman. The word *highlander* is used as a synonym to 'sword', because of the strong link between the Highlander and his sword in the movie and the series. The game the speakers are playing in this example is to find different expressions related to the sword and how this is inserted in the body; *sword* is used as a metaphor for 'penis'. The textual function of *Highlander* and its synonyms is to make the meaning vague and unclear.

5. Conclusion

In this article, I have described the use of anglicisms in two conversations from two different corpora of informal adolescent language, one from Norway and one from Chile. Since new borrowings usually appear first in informal speech, a study of anglicisms in informal speech, and adolescent informal speech in particular, is necessary to understand how borrowings are used and integrated in the receiving languages.

The comparison between the conversations from the Norwegian corpus and the Chilean corpus shows that the number of anglicisms is roughly the same in Norwegian and Chilean Spanish, and that neither in Norwegian nor in Chilean Spanish is the use of anglicisms in adolescent informal language very extensive. The analysis shows that most borrowings are nouns, but that some verbs and adjectives occur. These anglicisms normally enter the process of integration both phonologically and morphologically at an early stage both in Norwegian and in Spanish. The only words that maintain the original pattern of pronunciation are words that are not integrated at all. Considering the meaning of the anglicisms,

some of the words change their meaning on their way from the borrowing language to the receiving language, while others maintain the original meaning.

The analysis of the functions of the anglicisms shows that the most common borrowings in both conversations analysed here are anglicisms related to new technological items, that is anglicisms with an ideational function used to name new phenomena or inventions. The analysis also shows that these borrowings co-exist with new words created in the receiving languages, or old words that get a new meaning. This means that, in the integration process, it is up to the language users to decide whether to use the borrowings or the words in their own language, as shown in examples (23) and (24):

- (23) Carlos: *íbamos a chatear allá*
we used to go to *chat* there
(File: *sceab8-01*)
- (24) Carlos: *no sé pues para conversar con las minas*
I don't know, to *speak/chat* with the girls
(File: *sceab8-01*)

Here both *conversar*, which means to 'talk', and *chatear* from to 'chat' are used to describe how Carlos communicates through Internet. At this point Carlos uses both, but we do not know if he will do the same in the future when *chatear* would be completely integrated into Spanish. As stated earlier, this kind of anglicisms is normally accepted in the standard language, and is not used only by adolescents.

However, even though the main motivation for borrowing is the need for words to name new inventions, the analysis shows that the traditional use of borrowings does not explain all the anglicisms in the conversations studied here. In this article I have classified the anglicisms that are used for other reasons according to the interpersonal or textual functions established by Halliday (1978). The anglicisms with interpersonal function are used to establish or maintain phatic communion among the participants in the conversation, a typical use in adolescent language. The anglicisms used with a textual function, on the other hand, are mainly used in verbal games and to produce a double meaning, often with sexual undertones. Both types of anglicisms frequently maintain their original pronunciation pattern, thereby strengthening their effect in the conversation. This indicates a difference between borrowings that are used to name new inventions and borrowings that fulfil other functions, where the former enter the process of integration at an earlier stage than the ones serving interpersonal or textual functions.

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Similarities and differences between slang in Kaunas and London Teenagers' speech

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This paper compares the use of slang by the teenagers represented in *The Corpus of Kaunas Teenage Language* and *The Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language*. The comparison shows that teenage slang is a psycho-social phenomenon representing three major categories, which exhibit gender-based differences; that psycho-social factors influence the creation and function of gender- and age-specific slang; that the prevalence of boys' slang contributes to the masculine characteristics of slang; and that the psycho-social factors that stimulate the teenagers' emotions affect the use of slang, giving rise to offensive and humorous slang. Both groups identify themselves and their groups by using slang, but while the 10–13 year-olds are the most active users of slang in Kaunas, the distribution among the London age groups is more even.

Keywords: psycho-social, name-calling, age-specific, gender-specific, offensive

1. Introduction

The aim of the present paper is to analyze the similarities and differences between Lithuanian and English teenage slang from the perspective of Psycho-Social Theory (cf. Jay 1996, 1999). The properties and functions of slang in Lithuanian and English teenage language will be compared by testing the following hypotheses: teenage slang depends on psychological development and reaches its peak in early adolescence, expressing the teenagers' emotional states; slang reflects gender identity: it carries masculine features of power and occurs especially in male talk; different teenage vernaculars reflect different attitudes towards dirty slang; and cultural differences affect the use and spread of slang in the teenage subculture.

According to Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (1998: 64) "Slang items are often cultivated in the context of close-knit peer groups." In addition, words associated with

teenagers have a high likelihood of being labelled slang, often described as innovative, creative, playful and metaphorical (cf. Eble 1996; Kotsinas 1996; Allen 1998).

The material which forms the basis for this study is taken from the *Corpus of Kaunas Teenage Language* (COKT) and the *Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language* (COLT). The COKT material was collected by ten teenage student recruits (boys and girls), willing to take part in my research. The corpus comprises 120,200 words of questionnaire-based conversations.

COLT, which consists of 413,346 words, was collected by a research team from the English department at the University of Bergen in 1993. COKT and COLT are comparable in a number of respects: both corpora represent the teenage vernacular and contain slang; both corpora represent the age categories early adolescence, middle adolescence and late adolescence; both corpora contain an almost equal distribution of male and female speakers; both corpora constitute a combination of dyadic, triadic and multi-party conversations, which take place in and out of school; and both corpora contain conversations from different school boroughs.

2. The Psycho-Social (PS) theory of slang

Allen (1990, 1998), Andersson & Trudgill (1990), Crystal (1995), Eble (1996), Stenström (2000) and Stenström et al (2002) all provide important characteristics of slang, which definitely characterise slang as a psycho-social phenomenon. However, no theory has been proposed for the understanding of the use of slang from a psycho-social perspective.

Jay (1996) developed a psycholinguistic approach to the study of swearwords, which I have found to be applicable to the study of slang as well. Later, in 1999, he presented the Neuro-Psycho-Social (NPS) Theory to explain why people curse. The theory combines three aspects of human behaviour: neurological, psychological and socio-cultural. Though the three systems in the NPS Theory are interdependent, one system may predominate over another. It introduces the following statements:

1. A speaker acquires linguistic competence and performance through psychological development within a socio-cultural language context.
2. An individual's knowledge of cursing depends on personal experience, psychological make-up, and culture.
3. There is a reason why a person swears in one context but not in another.
4. Cursing is purposeful and rule-governed.

Jay (1999) points out that slang is critical to the NPS Theory because, like swearwords, it is motivated by social inequity and underlines social and cultural factors. Therefore, the theory addresses slang only from the prespective of offensive

semantics, where slang is employed to oppose authority and develop personal identity. It is common in name calling, insulting and sexual terminology. Following Jay, "identity is developed through the use of slang, especially for teenagers, who closely identify with the words they use and the music they listen to" (1999: 175).

Since teenagers' use of slang is related to personal experience and psychological and cultural factors, the Psycho-Social Theory will be applied in the analysis of the Kaunas and the London teenage slang.

2.1 The Psycho-Social (PS) model of slang usage

As I see it, the Psycho-Social Theory includes two interdependent systems which operate on teenagers' motives for using slang: psychological and socio-cultural. Accordingly, a psychological level develops within the teenager, and the socio-cultural system accounts for the context in which it develops and the socio-cultural factors that affect the usage of slang in the peer group. Figure 1 demonstrates a two-dimensional model of slang usage (see Figure 1).

The psychological level controls the linguistic and semantic analysis of slang words and expressions. Consequently, a teenager acquires linguistic competence and exhibits linguistic performance through the psychological system. This is the process of psychological development within a socio-cultural language context. From a psychological perspective, the teenager acquires his/her particular language and identity through a 'collection' of behaviours and habits, which are influenced by language acquisition and cognitive development, personality factors, gender and age. These factors shape how teenagers acquire language, how they develop individual identity and group identity through language use and how they embody slang in the teenage culture. The identity of a teenager is realised through the use of teenage vernacular, which is the result of cognitive change. Obviously, the

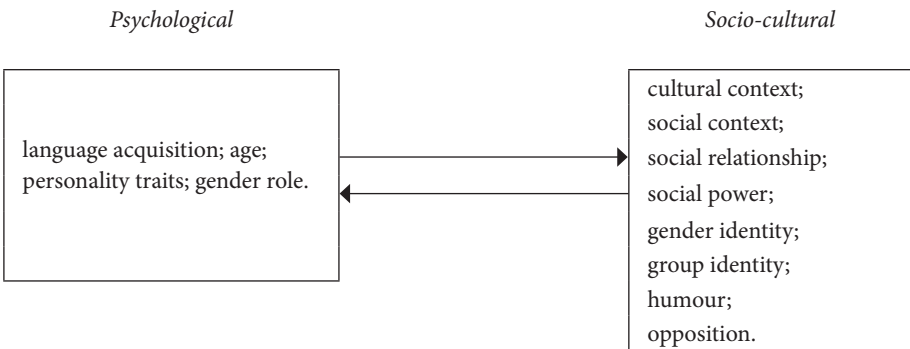


Figure 1. The PS model of slang usage among teenagers (p.4)

language behaviour processes are likely to occur whenever teenagers experience the patterns of social life, the need for external support, which has implications for language use. The teenage lexicon has been used to draw conclusions about their awareness of several categories of thought: in-group versus non-group members, perception of gender differences, sense of humour, and knowledge of sex.

Paul Lerman (1967) points out that the age at which teenagers become the most ardent users of teenage vernacular is approximately between ten and thirteen, and he further claims that the period between sixteen and nineteen is the time for expanding one's knowledge of the vocabulary. Likewise, Chambers (1995: 188) holds that slang is age-graded in that specific slang vocabulary occurs predominantly at a particular time of adolescence: early, middle or late. Age-specific slang is the result of age-graded changes marked by physical, intellectual, psychological and social differences among the teenagers, which make them in a sense language-dependent. In addition, factors such as continued identification with street life and the desire to get over as 'a tough guy' attribute to the frequency of slang usage. Moreover, while the parents of many teenagers tend to be critical of boys' use of slang, the same parents may be much more opposed to teenage girls' use of slang. Thus, gender may affect the access to slang vocabulary. Nevertheless, many girls use slang outside the earshot of critical parents and other adults, including slang related to sex, drugs, and other 'taboo' topics.

The socio-cultural system accounts for the context in which a teenager develops and the social variables that stimulate the use of slang, which include social context, social relationship, group identity, social power, gender identity, humour and opposition. Culture is related to language, and linguistic and cultural competence can in no easy way be separated: becoming linguistically competent assumes becoming culturally competent and vice versa. Thus, teenage culture is related to teenage vernacular, which are both connected with context. The cultural context enters through psychological and social contexts. On the psychological level such factors as values, attitudes and abilities develop in teenagers as a result of their biological characteristics and socialisation process, which may include contact with other cultures. The cultural influence may be revealed through personality traits, attitudes and beliefs expressed by anger or humour. The social side of culture enters into communication through the social identities of the teenagers, such as group role, gender identity, class factors, social power, social relationship, etc. and also through the character of the discourse.

The PS Theory does not only explain the process of using slang, but it also accounts for why teenagers use slang in one context but not in another. It also predicts the conditions under which teenagers are likely to use slang. For example, they use sexual slang words to reveal sexual experiences to each other, but they hardly use these words in the presence of adults.

Most slang is acquired in context (cf. Eble 1996; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998). That is, no teenager goes to a dictionary to look up expressions like *diskanas* ('disco'), *tranzas* ('hitch –hike'), *nebaldielinti* ('not understand'), *slag off*, *mutt*, or *muck about*. Teenagers feel uncomfortable even asking a friend what a term means. This comment is typical of many: 'to ask what a word means is to be seen as an outsider'. The peer pressure 'to be cool' often prevents them from asking even a close friend.

Generally, a new slang word is learned by figuring out its meanings from the context in which it is used. Context in its various senses provides the literal and figurative frame of reference that allows the teenager to decipher slang expressions. Although reliance on contextual meaning leaves room for misinterpretation of slang words and phrases, errors in hearing, understanding, using or pronouncing slang provide the basis for the creation of new slang expressions or the assignment of new definitions to old terms.

2.2 Psycho-social characteristics of slang

Taking into consideration the basic features of slang that were introduced in the sections above, I would like to propose the following psycho-social characteristics of slang:

1. Slang is a category within the language which maintains an exceptional status in the scope of nonstandard language. Slang words are novel, which makes them different from other lexical items. They are emotive and connotative.
2. Slang is characterised by a special function – group identification. The use of slang ensures secrecy when performing forbidden acts or particular activities. It indicates a special closeness between group members and is used to establish in-group communication and heighten internal solidarity between group members. This is achieved through shared experience and a common outlook.
3. Slang is employed in opposition to authority, non-group members and even friends, and is directed toward social superiors. It is widely used in a teenage community which has little power in society and, whose members have to hide what they know or do.

2.3 A model of slang

Considering that slang is affected not only by linguistic but also by social and psychological variables, it is best handled within a psycho-social model. My definition of teenage slang is the following:

It is funky vocabulary characterised by its special group identification, used for social and psychological purposes to oppose, tease or hide secrets from the adult society by playing with standard linguistic forms or inventing new linguistic forms.

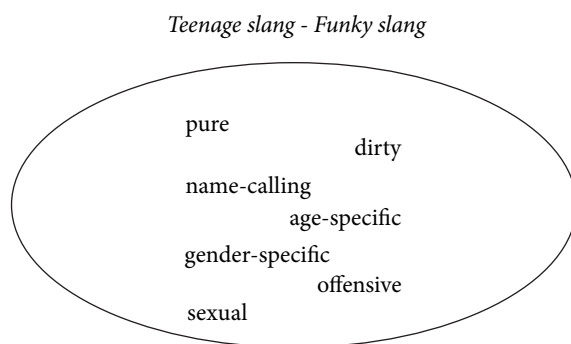


Figure 2. A psycho-social model of funky slang

Funky vocabulary appears to be short-lived, changeable, creative, innovative and humorous. I propose a psycho-social model of teenage (funky) slang (see Figure 2).

2.4 Definitions

Pure: neither offensive, sexual or name-calling, nor dirty; associates with teenagers' activities and is used in a conscious and irresistible desire to create a distance from parents and authoritative figures by hiding the word meaning. It consists mainly of new expressions or standard words in new senses, eg Lithuanian 'inject into vein', *ant adatos sėdėti* ('sit on the needles'), 'have a drink' *kablį kabinti* ('catch a hook'), *spliff* ('cannabis cigarette', 'desire for drinking'), etc.

Dirty: related to sex, excretion and the animal world and used to express connotative meaning. Teenagers use dirty words to show power and self-esteem, they give prestige to the user and make him/her accepted as a 'typical guy', e.g. Lithuanian 'rack the brain' *pisti protą* ('fuck the mind'), 'excretion' *šūdas* ('shit') and English *suck*, *cack*, *piss*, etc.

Name-calling: indicates what appears to be characteristic of a particular person, for instance a teacher, words such as Lithuanian *samtis* ('ladle')- 'she is without teeth', *tankistė* ('tank-woman')- 'she acts like a guy' and English *pig*, *cow*, *mental*, etc.

Age-specific: dominates in one age group of teenagers (early, middle or late), e.g. Lithuanian early adolescence 'TV set' *dėžė* ('box'), middle adolescence 'music' *muzonas*, late adolescence 'shop' *striomas* and English *chair* (early) *bogs* (middle), *damn* (late), etc.

Gender-specific: prevails either in the male or the female lexicon, such as Lithuanian boys' *fūlė* ('football'), *aliulis* ('beer'); girls' *ore* ('in the air') and English *cuss* (boys'), *fuck off* (boys'), *lush* (girls'), etc.

Offensive: used to express emotions through anger or to strengthen group identity, exclude outsiders and shock the adults. Terms belonging to this category often refer to 'a fool or a stupid person', such as Lithuanian *daunas*, *psichas*, ('psychic'), *lopas* ('patch') and English *ass*, *dickhead* and *dope*.

Sexual: allows teenagers to talk about their sexual experiences without fear of losing status and respect, by using opaque expressions directly or figuratively, such as Lithuanian *skyles platinti* ('widen holes') instead of *to have sex with* and English *cop off*, *get the bump with* and *score*.

Humorous: used inside or outside the group to maintain in-group solidarity and acceptance by showing superiority or a put down, by depreciating or esteeming words to laugh at and to laugh with. Can be understood only in the context in which the teenagers use it.

3. On the shaping of Lithuanian and English slang

The aim of this section is to show how slang is formed and how the speaker finds the right words, which will give precisely the intended meaning.

According to Andersson & Trudgill (1990: 82–84), slang terms are acquired in three principal ways: *inventing new expressions*, *changing old expressions*, *borrowing*. First, new expressions or words are invented, like Eng *dum-dum* (idiot); Lith *kablį pagauti* ('catch a hook' = 'drink alcohol'). Second, old standard language words and expressions appear in new uses, new and shortened forms, for example, Eng *juice* (to bribe), Lith *dusinti* ('choke' = 'drink') Third, expressions from one language are taken to the other language. Two types of borrowings are distinguished: direct loan, like Eng *nark* (police informer(from such as *Romany nak* 'nose' and loan translations, such as *horse* (heroin(- *horse* (German), *cheval* (French), *arkliukas* (Lithuanian).

Two main sources in shaping slang words can be specified: word formation and semantic shift. Word formation is the most proficient derivation process. Eble (1996: 26) points out three major types: *compounding*, *affixation*, *shortening*. *Compounding* is the process in which "two words are put together to make a new lexical item" (Francis 1963 in Clark 1977: 225). Slang words are most likely to be modified by the following patterns (Pikčilingis 1975: 138–139; Eble 1996: 26–32):

1. Noun+Noun (N+N): Eng *curry-face*, *snotface* ('unpleasant person'); Lith *subindešris* ('arse + sausage' = 'untasty sausage');
2. Adjective+Noun (Adj+N): Eng *dickhead* ('stupid'), Lith *pagrindinė vinis* ('root nail' = 'important person'),

3. Verb+Noun (V+N): Eng *have a shag*, *get the hump with* ('have sex with'); Lith *atšoko fantazija* ('fantasy jumped aside' = 'become tired');
4. Verb+Particle (V+P): Eng *blown out* (drunk), *rip off* 'steal'.

Due to the fact that Lithuanian is synthetic and not analytic like English, there are no slang words compounded according to the pattern V+P in the Lithuanian language.

Affixation by prefixes and suffixes is the simplest way to form slang (Anderson & Trudgill 1990: 81). Flexner (1967), Pikčilingis (1975), Jakaitienė (1980), Simpson (1993), and Eble (1996) recognise suffixation as the most productive and characteristic type of word formation in the teenagers' lexicon. The London teenagers prefer the usage of the suffix *-er*, eg, *snogger* for 'a good kisser'. In the Lithuanian teenage language, numerous slang words are coined with the suffixes *-as*, *-onas*, *-uvas*, as in *žvengas* for 'curse laugh'.

Shortening eliminates sounds from words without an immediate change in meaning (Eble 1996: 35). Shortened words are easier to memorise and, therefore, are more frequently used (Eschholz & Rosa 1970 in Clark 1977: 253). Two types of shortening should be considered: clipping and word reduction. The majority of teenage slang words are formed according to the principle of clipping, such as English *rents* from 'parents', Lith *moka* from 'mokytoja' ('teacher'). The process of word reduction when words are reduced to letters is a way of forming slang initialisms and acronyms. Acronyms for instance English *FOC* /fuk/ (fun on campus) and Lithuanian *ŽAS*; initialisms are English *PQ* (polyster queen) (someone out of date) (Eble 1996: 37) and Lithuanian *KTI* (*kur tėvai įkiš*) (where parents will push) = ('about studies at colleges and universities').

Semantic shift is another process which characterises the formation of slang. It appears when a word along its old meaning acquires a new one (Warren 1992: 64). According to Pikčilingis, adolescents are fond of encoding their language metaphorically, eg, *kašė* ('basket' = 'basketball'), *parišti* ('tie' = 'finish').

There is one more source, typical of teenage language that helps to create new slang words: borrowing + allusions. In this process the creators of slang go beyond their circles of peers to acquire vocabulary (cf. Eble 1996: 74). Programme names, the names of famous personalities, songs and key advertising phrases are borrowed. *Robin Hood*, for instance, stands for 'general physical education', while Lithuanian teenagers call the teacher who is tall and stout *King Kongas* from the film 'King Kong'.

The above discussion indicates that the forms of slang words in general are the result of ordinary word-formation processes that affect the standard vocabulary. From the point of view of semantic change, slang provides alternative words for the referents already named in the language.

4. COKT and COLT contrasted: correspondences

The frequent use of slang in teenage conversations can be explained from the perspective of social networks. The present study of COKT and COLT reveals that both the Kaunas and the London teenagers identify themselves and their groups by using slang. Thus, when they follow or reject certain actions and choices, they do so by using slang, exhibiting subjective or collective feelings of identity.

It is reasonable to claim that, in particular, the use of slang in COKT demonstrates high-density and extreme closeness of the teenagers' networks. The teenagers from the Kalniečiai school borough outnumber those from the other school boroughs in the use of pure and dirty slang, which presumably spreads from the teenage groups *forsai*, *brikai* and *skustagalviai* who live in this district. Since these groups usually hang out with their peers and every member of the same peer group knows each other, they enforce the spread of slang. By and large, teenage network ties are multiplex; often teenagers go to the same school, live in the same borough, spend free time together, and are close friends. Therefore, it might be assumed that the Lithuanian and the English teenagers have a similar potential to acquire and use slang. They both represent the teenage subculture, which aims to establish group identity. However, the statistics point to certain differences between the two groups in the use of slang, as demonstrated in Table 1.

The table demonstrates that the Kaunas and the London teenage vernaculars have most of the slang categories in common. The only exceptions are subcategories 4, 6 and 7 under 'name-calling' slang with no examples from COLT. In this connection, it should be mentioned that the name-calling slang under subcategories 4, 6 and 7 is mainly intended for teachers. By exploiting their linguistic behaviour, the Kaunas teenagers express solidarity with the social group (schoolmates) to which they feel affiliated and who they want to cooperate with, while creating social distance to outsiders. Since teenagers invent offensive and negative characteristics about those whom they want to keep at a distance, social distance (Geertz 1960; Bell 1984; Brown & Levinson 1978; Leech 1983; Wolfson 1988; Holmes 1992) is one of the factors involved in creating name-calling slang aiming at teachers. However, it should be noted that name-calling slang, no matter who it is aimed at, an outsider or a friend, creates social distance even within a teenage group.

Table 1. Slang categories in COKT and COLT exemplified

Slang	COKT	Category	COLT	Slang
<i>tūsas</i> ('party'), <i>šulė</i> ('school'), <i>tranzas</i> ('hitch hike')	+	<i>Pure</i>	+	<i>rave</i> ('lively party'), <i>gig</i> ('pop concert'), <i>telly</i> ('TV set')
<i>amfa</i> ('amphetamine'), <i>veža</i> (‘drives’ = ‘effects’), <i>aliulis</i> (‘beer’)	+	1. <i>general</i> 2. <i>special</i>	+	<i>spliff</i> ('cannabis cigarette'), <i>super Zippo Afgan blue</i> (‘heroin’)
<i>traukti</i> ('pull' = 'make love'), <i>padaryti bobą</i> ('do a woman' = 'make love'), <i>pisti protą</i> ('fuck the mind' = 'rack the brains'), <i>užpisti</i> ('bore to death')	+	<i>Dirty</i>	+	<i>cop off</i> , <i>have a shag</i> , <i>get the</i> <i>hump with</i> ('have sex'), <i>pissed</i> (‘drunk’), <i>dick</i> ('penis')
<i>Kiaulė</i> ('Pig'), <i>Karvė</i> ('Cow'), <i>Gaidys</i> , <i>Agrastas</i> ('homosexual')	+	1. <i>sexual</i> 2. <i>name-calling</i>	+	<i>Ass</i> , <i>Bitch</i> , <i>Dick</i> , <i>Bastard</i> , <i>Wanker</i> , <i>Cow</i>
<i>šudą malti</i> ('grin shit' = 'talk nonsense')	+	3. <i>related to excretion</i>	+	<i>crap</i> , <i>shit</i> , <i>cack</i> , <i>piss</i>
<i>Meška</i> ('Bear'), <i>Arklys</i> ('Horse'), <i>Kengūra</i> ('Kengeroo')	+	<i>Name-calling</i>	+	<i>Cow</i> , <i>Pig</i> , <i>Bitch</i>
<i>Daunas</i> , <i>Psichas</i> ('Psychic'), <i>Klyšė</i> ('Bandy-legged')	+	1. <i>animal names</i> 2. <i>imaginative mental body weakness</i>	+	<i>Mad</i> , <i>Psychic</i> , <i>Idiot</i> , <i>Mental</i>
<i>Papas</i> ('Tits'), <i>Mižnė</i> ('who piss in'), <i>Šudas</i> ('Shit')	+	3. <i>body parts, products</i>	+	<i>Ass</i> , <i>Shit</i>
<i>Binga</i> ('surname – Bingelienė'), <i>Grobla</i> ('surname – Groblienė')	+	4. <i>clipped forms of surnames</i>	–	
<i>Mėlynas</i> ('Blue' = 'homosexual'), <i>Valkata</i> ('Tramp') <i>Gaidys</i> (‘Cock’ = ‘homosexual’)	+	5. <i>social deviation</i>	+	<i>Blue</i> , <i>Homo</i> ('homosexual'), <i>Tramp</i>
<i>Kėdė</i> ('Chair'), <i>Kibiras</i> ('Buck- et'), <i>Kirvis</i> ('Axe')	+	6. <i>names denoting objects</i>	–	
<i>Pasaku Fėja</i> ('Fairy'), <i>Barzdonas</i> (‘with a beard’)	+	7. <i>physical peculiarities, appearance</i>	–	

4.1 Gender – based differences

The present analyses of slang in COKT and Stenström et al's (2002) analysis of slang in COLT have demonstrated the same tendencies towards gender-based differences and support my hypotheses: firstly, that boys dominate in the use of slang (see Table 2) and secondly, that teenage slang exhibits masculine features.

Following Petersen & Taylor (1980) and Blyth, Simons & Zakin (1985), I claim that innate biological differences can explain sex-differentiated rates of slang acquisition as well as differences in psychological orientation. Psychological differences account for gender differences in orientation to others. Girls are more concerned with making connections, as they focus on interdependency (Gilligan 1982; Boe 1987), while boys are more concerned with autonomy; they seek independence and focus on hierarchical relations. Boys' preference for autonomy in the teenage' subculture links up with dirty and name-calling slang which secures control of the conversation, while girls' focus on interdependency chooses a relatively passive way towards the use of slang.

Gender differences in the use of slang can also be explained by the fact that boys and girls are socialised into different cultures (cf. Maltz & Borker 1982; Tannen 1987), which makes boys' interactions more competitive and girls' more co-operative. These factors contribute to the dominance of slang in boys' speech. The dominance of boys' slang both in COKT and in COLT may also be explained by its contribution to power and self esteem. In the teenage subculture, boys usually control the conversation. Their speech 'elaborated' with slang lets them predominate in interaction and allows them to express self-esteem. Girls, on the other hand, are less dominating but linguistically more polite than boys, which is reflected in a less frequent use of slang (see Table 2).

Table 2. COKT and COLT slang in relation to gender

Corpus	Slang			
	Boys		Girls	
	N	per 1000	N	per 1000
COKT	1 686	54.0	1 174	36.1
COLT	2 490	11.5	1 399	7.0

$\lambda = 17.9983$

d. f. = 1

Significant at $p < 0.001$

Table 3. Gender-specific slang distribution in COKT and COLT

Corpus	Boys' slang		Girls' slang	
	N	per 1000	N	per 1000
COKT	507	27	207	10.8
COLT	430	4.1	239	2.0

$\lambda = 7.1669$

d. f. = 1

Significant at $p < 0.001$

The distribution of the gender-specific slang in COKT and COLT is displayed in Table 3.

The chi-square value testifies to the statistical significance of the difference between boys' and girls' slang in COKT and COLT.

4.2 Psycho-social categories of slang related to gender and age

Observations focusing on the psycho-social factors of gender and age in COKT and COLT are presented in Table 4.

Four categories of teenage slang are identified as boys' slang in COKT, while name-calling belongs to girls' slang in COLT. The table shows that pure-special and dirty slang are typical of boys' speech and not registered as girls' slang either in COKT or in COLT. In view of this, I agree that teenage slang reflects gender identity and carries masculine features to do with power and aggression. The fact that dirty slang is typically masculine is also observed by Edelsky (1976), who regards American adult masculine expressions as 'aggressive'.

Table 4 also shows that middle adolescent slang reveals all slang categories in COKT and in COLT. As regards early adolescent slang, only pure-special slang is not registered in COLT. Nevertheless, it seems clear that in the age period of early and middle adolescence teenagers are more group-oriented than at any other time; the need for conformity and the desire for popularity heighten the feeling for group membership. These two factors, conformity and popularity contribute immensely to the use of early and middle adolescence slang.

The results indicate that age-specific slang in late adolescence is mainly realised by pure-general slang. Taking this into account, it should be pointed out that, in late adolescence, the teenagers' self-awareness increases, and a spirit of greater independence results in less group-orientation, while slang loses its social function, i.e. to bring the teenagers together and to oppose the outsiders. Consequently, the absence of dirty slang in the category of late adolescence, both in COKT and COLT, leads to the conclusion that late adolescence involves the acquisition of new

Table 4. Psycho-social categories of slang in relation to gender and age

Psycho-social categories of slang related to age and gender	Slang Categories	COKT	COLT
Gender-specific			
<i>Boys' slang</i>			
	Dirty	+	+
	Name-calling	+	-
	Pure-general	+	+
	Pure-special (pertaining to drugs and alcohol)	+	+
<i>Girls' slang</i>			
	Dirty	-	-
	Name-calling	+	+
	Pure-general	+	+
	Pure-special (pertaining to drugs and alcohol)	-	-
<i>Age-specific</i>			
<i>Early adolescent</i>			
	Dirty	+	+
	Name-calling	+	+
	Pure-general	+	+
	Pure-special (pertaining to drugs and alcohol)	+	-
<i>Middle adolescent</i>			
	Dirty	+	+
	Name-calling	+	+
	Pure-general	+	+
	Pure-special (pertaining to drugs and alcohol)	+	+
<i>Late adolescent</i>			
	Dirty	-	-
	Name-calling	-	-
	Pure-general	+	+
	Pure-special (pertaining to drugs and alcohol)	-	-

ways of using language due to the specific changes in cognitive development when the understanding of self occurs. Any mention of cognitive development research brings to mind the name of Piaget, according to whom mental abilities develop in an age-related sequence of stages (cf. Piaget 1950, 1972, 1975). Thus, late adolescence involves methods for dealing with complex information and for constructing

Table 5. Age-specific slang in COKT and COLT

Age-specific slang	COKT		COLT	
	N	per 1000	N	per 1000
Early adolescent slang	89	2.8	143	0.7
Middle adolescent slang	316	9.9	466	2.2
Late adolescent slang	139	4.3	47	0.3
Total	544	17.0	656	3.2

$\lambda = 77.0647$

d.f. = 2

Significant at $p < 0.001$

linkages and explanatory assumptions, which according to Richards (1978) can be explained by the fact that “children’s concepts tend to become broader, deeper and more accurate with age” (1978: 110). With age, the teenager comes to realise that the group mentality very often inhibits his individuality, and for this reason peer pressure wanes and self-direction increases. Thus, the knowledge of slang increases with age, which results in the teenagers’ selection of their slang vocabulary. This explains why slang more often occurs in early and middle adolescence.

A statistical comparison of age-specific slang is displayed in Table 5. The table shows that age-specific slang towers in the group of middle-adolescents, which seems to suggest that it is the teenagers in middle adolescence who are the best in creating slang and that slang might spread from this group to early adolescents.

4.3 Psycho-social categories of slang in relation to sexuality, offensiveness and humour

The Kaunas and the London teenage slang can be claimed to incorporate the same psycho-social categories of slang related to sexuality, offensiveness and humour (see Table 6).

The categories of slang viewed above are related to teenagers’ emotions, which are not fixed as they change with experience and are modified due to learning. It should be emphasised that circumstances provoking emotions are influenced by culture or subculture. One culture may react to aggressiveness with dismay, while another encourages it. Some cultures treat adolescence as a period of carefree sexual promiscuity with little deep emotions, and other societies view sexual behaviour as a serious business. Since both COKT and COLT represent the teenage subculture, the circumstances that stimulate emotions, which result in actions and

Table 6. Psycho-social categories of slang based on sexuality, offensiveness and humour

Psycho-social categories of slang: sexual, offensive, humorous	COKT	COLT
Sexual slang		
1. Words about conventional sex	+	+
2. Words about sex appeal	+	+
3. Words about unconventional sex	+	+
4. Words about non – sexual events		+
Offensive slang		
1. Social	+	+
2. Aggressive	+	+
Humorous slang		
1. Maintenance of in-group solidarity	+	+
2. Superiority or a put down	+	+
3. Acceptance	+	+

language, are equivalent. Furthermore, during adolescence emotions of love, humour and hate oppose each other but can be aroused by the same stimulus. The use of slang in different contexts may display different psychosocial aspects related to sexuality, offensiveness and humour. The categories of slang displayed in Table 6 characterise both the Kaunas and the London teenage conversations. Examples (1) to (9) from COKT and COLT illustrate the use of sexual, offensive and humorous slang.

4.4 Sexual slang

Conventional sex

- (1) M64: Kaip, kaip visi...
[Like all...]
- M65: **Dulkinam** mergas, geriam, einam dubasintis. Ką aš žinau...Ateik pas mus į tusofkę, pamatysi.]
'We *pollinate* ('make love') girls, drink, use drugs. I don't know...Come to our party and you will see.'

Sex appeal

- (2) |w9–3 [<<screaming>>Shut] up</>! Right, they're having a row, now Vicki storms in and they're all rowing. Vicki's trying to protect Jane cos Jane's such a little bitch of a shit hole she can't defend herself. She got curly hair right, and **rubbery lips**... but she's alright. She's got a jean jacket on, a flowery shirt, a pair of

jeans and pair of them boots, black boots, they look alright.
And
she's got a crappy Just Seventeen choker around her neck, it is
so shit!] B135801

Unconventional sex

- (3) F93: Ne, aš dabar Cicino klausausi.
'Now I prefer Cicinas singing'
F94: Ar tu girdėjai, kad Cicinas **pyderas**?
'Have you heard that Cicinas is *homo*?'

Non-sexual events

- (4) |w1-1 [no, yeah] you knew originally.
|w1-6 **Fuck off!** I forgot.
|w1-1 It's not my f=, so is that, is that my fault? B132503

The sexual slang in COKT and COLT refers mainly to the *conventional sex*, such as Lithuanian *traukti* ('pull' = 'make love'), *pisti* ('fuck'), *skyles platinti* ('widen holes' = 'make love'); English *fuck*, *dick*, *snog*, *screw*. Teenagers use such slang words to express their feelings and need for intimacy, which means need for close personal relationship with another person and a need for intense physical closeness. Since the need for intimacy starts very early in the teenager's life, the most active group in the use of sexual slang is early adolescence. The occurrence of sexual slang in relation to age group and gender is shown in Table 7 and Table 8:

Table 7. The distribution of sexual slang in relation to age group

Age group	Sexual slang in COKT		Sexual slang in COLT	
	N	per 1000	N	per 1000
Early adolescence	54	5.1	134	1.5
Middle adolescence	98	3.4	219	1.0
Late adolescence	19	0.7	47	1.4
Total	171	9.2	400	3.9

$\lambda = 0.3179$

d. f. = 2

For the significance at the 0.5 level, $\lambda > 5.99$

Not significant at $p < 1$

Table 8. The distribution of sexual slang in relation to gender

Corpus	Sexual slang			
	Boys		Girls	
	N	per 1000	N	per 1000
COKT	136	4.4	35	1.1
COLT	249	1.1	159	0.8

$\lambda = 19.8545$

d. f. = 1

Significant at $p < 0.001$

The distribution of sexual slang in relation to age group shows that the early adolescents are the most active group. This is particularly noticeable in COKT, where there is an obvious decrease in usage from early to late adolescence. In COLT there is very little difference between the early and late adolescents. However, the chi-square test (chi-square = 0.3179, $p < 1$) shows that the overall difference between COKT and COLT in the use of sexual slang in different age groups is not statistically significant. The difference between the girls and the boys is statistically significant, as is shown in Table 8.

4.5 Offensive slang

Social

- (5) M82: **Debili**, visi **debili**...
‘*Psychic*, all are *psychic*.’
- M84: Kas, kas klyfa?
‘Who, the supervisor?’
- M83: **Ožka**...
‘*Goat*...’
- M84: **Piderastė** jinai...
‘She is *homo*...’

Aggressive

- (6) |10–1 <<mimicking>>Now to=, for some fucking dirty swear! Woooooh!
You **fucking bitch**! You **Irish bastard**! Aden and Mandy have it
in bed! Wo oh!</> Bed squeaking! Ah ha, ah ha, ah ha, ah ah!
Fucking slag! Dirty whore! **Piss off** you **Irish slag**. B135905

Table 9. Offensive slang and gender

Corpus	Offensive slang			
	Boys		Girls	
	N	per 1000	N	per 1000
COKT	160	5.1	65	2.0
COLT	1048	4.8	689	3.4

$\lambda = 9.7781$

d. f. = 1

Significant at $p < 0.01$

The offensive slang in the teenage vernacular belongs to the categories ‘dirty’ and ‘name-calling’. From the psycho-social point of view it reflects a ‘social’ (5) and ‘aggressive’ (6) attitude and is exploited by the teenagers to mock or oppose the outsiders or in-group members, which contributes to group conformity and popularity. In other words, offensive slang both in COKT and COLT strengthens group identity (‘social’) and exhibits the teenagers’ negative emotions (‘aggressive’).

Table 9 shows the distribution of offensive slang between boys and girls in COKT and COLT. The boys in both corpora tend to use more slang words than the girls. This can be explained by the fact that offensive slang underlines the category ‘dirty’ mainly used by boys and is one of the means which is used to exhibit power through negative emotions.

Humorous

Maintenance of in-group solidarity

(7) M17: Jis **kiaulė**, **raudona kiaulė**...(laughs)
[He is a *pig*, *red pig*]

F18: Jis **raudonšiknius**, man jis nepatinka!
[He is *red ass*, I don’t like him!]

M19: **Debilas** karočė... (laughs)
[Psychic in short...]

Superiority or a put down

(8) |w2-1 <<laughing>>Didn’t really</>. No I never. I done it with erm...
erm... erm... done it with Mick. <<laughing>>But I couldn’t feel
it, I just
|w2-2 <nv>laugh</nv>
|w2-1 you finished yet</>?
|w2-2 That’s right, he’s really small isn’t [he?]

- |w2-1 [Yeah.] Bob. **Dick**.
|w2-2 <<mimicking Yorkshire accent>>Well I think Mick's quite a **prick** because he's so **thick** ain't he really</>?
|w2-1 Oh shut up! You're so cruel.
|w2-2 <nv>laugh</nv>... The things you've been [saying about him.]
|w2-1 [<nv>laugh</nv>]... I have the right to say these things, okay?
[You know.] B132601

Acceptance

- (9) M4: ji tikra **papūga!** (laughs)
[She is like a real *parrot!*]
M5: Vaikšto galvą iškėlusi, **papūga!** (laughs)
[Walks with her head up, *parrot!*]
M6: **Papūga**, kaip ji plaukus nešioja! (laughs)
[*Parrot*, the way she does her hair!]

The use of humorous slang, which is offensive and masks aggression by way of laughing at and laughing with, is motivated by a speaker's desire to indicate group identity (7), mark superiority or a put down (8) and show acceptance (9). This results from the teenagers' emotional growth when humour inclines toward sarcasm. The examples illustrated above confirm that humorous slang masks aggression as it most often operates as dirty and name-calling slang directed towards individuals. This phenomenon can not be understood without examining the context in which it is produced because it is a subject of psychological, social and contextual effect.

5. COKT and COLT contrasted: differences

The statistics show that the Kaunas teenagers use twice as much slang as the London teenagers (see Table 10):

Table 10. Distribution of slang in COKT and COLT

Corpus	Frequency		Percentage
	N	per 1000	
COKT	2 860	23.8	2.4
COLT	4 000	11.5	1.1

This difference as shown in Table 10, may be influenced by two factors: *low and high density networks* and *cultural difference*.

Low-density and *high-density networks*, influence the spread of slang and the peer groups' ability to use it intensively. This means that only "a closely knit group will have the capacity to enforce linguistic norm" (Coates 1993: 88) and that teenage networks affect the peer group in the sense of 'spending time together'.

The cultural difference is realised through psychological and social context. The psychological level combines factors such as values, beliefs, attitudes and abilities and the way they develop in teenagers as the result of the interaction between their biological characteristics and socialisation process, which may include contact with one or several cultures. The social side of culture enters into communication through sex roles, class factors, age grading, etc. and also through the social character of the interaction, which is built on the purpose and function of the activity in which the teenagers are engaged.

Though Lithuania and England both represent Western cultures, there are certain differences between them which seem to influence the occurrence of slang in the teenagers' vernacular. Recent studies in the area of cross-cultural comparisons have highlighted the essence of individualism and collectivism as the most important dimensions of cultural variation. Societies with a collectivistic orientation stress a tightly knit social framework with the rights and needs of the group as dominant (Feldman & Rosenthal 1991). Thus, the Lithuanian collectivism, which is the result of fifty-years' stay in the campus of the Soviet Union, still affects Lithuanian thinking. The Kaunas teenagers spend much of their time in tightly knit groups, which form close social networks. By contrast, individualistic societies like the Western societies, emphasise individual achievements and the rights of the individual (Feather 1986; Gardner 1989). This may to some extent minimise the London peer groups' effect on the individual and the importance of social networks.

The western emphasis on individualism is seen particularly in the class society, which is characteristic of England. Consequently, as regards the social side of culture that influences the difference in the use of slang between the Kaunas and the London teenagers, the class factor is very important. Due to the absence of social classes in Lithuania and the cultural difference between the two countries, the teenagers' social network ties are different. Regardless of their family status, the Kaunas teenagers move through different social networks and in and out of school environments and their slang spreads quickly.

The higher frequency of slang that characterises the Kaunas teenagers can be explained by a socialisation process which results in the formation of slang based on Russian and American and British English, such as *tusas* ('party' – Russian *tu-sofka*), *paticharinti* ('steal' – Russian *ticho* 'in silence'), *prikolas* ('very good – Russian

prikolnij), *fakas* ('something bad' – English *fuck*), *brikai* ('the name of a teenage gang' – English *bricks*), *forsai* ('the name of a teenage gang' – English *force*).

In addition, the high frequency of slang in the Kaunas teenagers' vernacular is affected by the collectivistic dimension which leads to close peer group relations and high-density networks. The London teenagers, who represent an individualistic society, are members of low-density networks outside the school environment because of the existing cultural differences between the social classes in England, which results in the capacity to expand social networks and prevents the spread of slang.

The slang in Kalniečiai, which is twice as frequent as the slang in the other school boroughs in Kaunas, probably spreads from the Kalniečiai teenage groups to other districts in Kaunas by the high-density networks in and out of the school environment. Interestingly, the London school boroughs Tower Hamlets and Hertfordshire with the highest frequency of slang in COLT do not demonstrate high frequencies in comparison with Kalniečiai, the booming centre of the Kaunas teenage slang. The Tower Hamlets teenagers use relatively more slang than the teenagers from other school boroughs, followed by Hertfordshire and Hackney. According to Stenström et al (2002), the rich use of slang words in Tower Hamlets is partly due to the long ritual insult sequences which were recorded in this borough but mainly to the low social status of the inhabitants. This fact also explains why dirty slang is more common in Tower Hamlets than in any other boroughs in London.

Slang in relation to age group

As remarked by Chambers (1995), adolescence is an age characterised by a spirit of rebellion to establish and maintain identity vis-à-vis the socially accepted norms, which can be expressed by means of a distinctive lexical choice of slang. According to Coates (1993), with reference to Britain, "social networks are most close-knit around the age of 16" (1993: 94). However, the results in COKT show that the early adolescents (age 10–13) are the most active users of slang, whereas in COLT, the late adolescents (age 17–19) take priority. This is displayed in Table 11.

Contrary to the results in COKT, the results in COLT showed that the late adolescents use relatively more slang totally speaking than the other age groups, followed by middle adolescents and, very closely, the early adolescents (see Stenström et al 2002). The distribution of slang categories in COKT and COLT in relation to age groups is displayed in Table 12.

Table 11. Distribution of slang in COKT and COLT with regard to age

Age group	Slang			
	COKT		COLT	
	N	per 1000	N	per 1000
10-13	606	57.0	952	10.6
14-16	1 457	51.0	2 407	10.7
17-19	797	32.6	413	12.0
Total	2 860	140.6	3 772	33.3

$\lambda = 312.7711$
d. f. = 2
Significant at $p < 0.001$

Table 12. Slang categories in relation to age group

Age group	Slang							
	Pure		Dirty		Offensive		Sexual	
	COKT	COLT	COKT	COLT	COKT	COLT	COKT	COLT
10-13	52.9	6.8	4.1	3.8	5.8	5.4	1.6	1.5
14-16	48.4	7.0	2.6	3.7	3.9	4.8	0.8	1.0
17-19	31.3	8.9	1.2	3.2	2.0	5.3	0.4	1.4

Table 13. Distribution of pure and dirty slang

Corpus	Pure		Dirty	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
COKT	2 713	94.9	147	5.1
COLT	2 504	66.5	1 273	33.7

$\lambda = 778.9541$
d. f. = 1
Significant at $p < 0.001$

The above results provide some explanations as regards the acquisition of slang in adolescence. In accordance with the results in COKT, early adolescents use slang as their identity marker as a symbolic expression of group identity. The differences found in COLT, which demonstrate late adolescents as the most active group in the use of slang may be explained from the perspective of social networks in

London boarding schools. The late adolescents in COLT are all boarding school students with very close networks who spend much more time with their school friends than with other teenagers and their family (cf. Stenström et al 2002). In contrast to early adolescence, an integration of self occurs in late adolescence due to the changes in cognitive thinking (cf. Offer, Ostrov and Howard 1981), which allow teenagers to rely on internal support rather than on peer group opinion.

Dirty slang

The study of dirty slang in COKT and COLT, which comprises name-calling, offensive, sexual and humorous slang, shows that the London teenagers are the most frequent users. See Table 13. Among the Kaunas teenagers, dirty slang is mainly used by boys. In the London material the difference in the use of dirty slang between the boys and the girls is less marked. In COLT, dirty slang is almost equally often used among early, middle and late adolescents though it is most common among the 10–13 year old boys and among the 17–19 year old girls. Interestingly, in COKT there is a potential decrease in the use of slang down the age groups. The early adolescents both in Kaunas and in London use dirty slang more frequently than other teenagers. However, there is a big contrast as regards the use of dirty slang between the Kaunas and the London teenagers, which may be explained by the fact that, when the level of misconduct increases, misconduct and delinquency occur more often among English youths, who are likely to 'act out' their distress (cf. Cameron 1985). However, the Lithuanian teenagers are more likely to turn it inward. Following this reasoning, I have identified two influences on dirty slang use: family environment and adolescent values. Presumably, Lithuanian families are more authoritarian, power-assertive and punitive than English families.

6. Conclusions

The application of a psycho-social model to teenage slang in COKT has convinced me that the use of teenage slang is best understood as a psycho-social phenomenon, and that such a model can probably be applied no matter what language or culture is studied.

The analysis of the Kaunas teenage slang and the empirical data add support to the hypothesis that the use of slang reaches its peak in early adolescence. The expression of social identity and ingroupness drive teenagers to use slang, which is much influenced by the rapid anatomical and physiological changes that occur during early adolescence, and which cause an increase in sexual and aggressive drives and also feelings of inadequacy. However, the findings in COLT demonstrate

the opposite and identify late adolescents as the most active group as regards the use of slang. This is probably due to the fact that these adolescents are boarding school students with very close networks, since they spend much more time with their friends than with their families.

Since adolescence is a period of biological growth, self-discovery and social adaptation, the years between ten and sixteen are rich in emotional growth. The analyses of slang in COKT and COLT proved that teenagers express their emotions through sexual, offensive and humorous slang. This supports the hypothesis that teenagers associate slang with emotional states. Whereas adolescents respond with mixed emotions, the results showed that the Kaunas and the London teenagers most often express their emotions by means of offensive slang.

There is one question that is of the interest for the Psycho-Social Theory of slang: does gender identity affect the use of slang? The analysis of slang in COKT and COLT has proved that boys use more slang than girls. The boys' predominance is obvious in all slang categories, although the difference between boys and girls is very slight in the use of name-calling slang.

The distribution of dirty slang points to a great difference of its use among the Kaunas and the London teenagers. The Kaunas teenagers use dirty slang far less frequently, and it is mainly adopted by boys. In COLT there seems to be less difference between boys and girls in their use of dirty slang. In COKT there is a decrease in the use of dirty slang down the age groups, which can be explained by the fact that the teenagers are most group-oriented in early adolescence and seek popularity.

A comparison of the distribution of slang in COKT and COLT shows that the Kaunas teenagers use twice as much slang as the London teenagers. This may be due to several factors, for instance teenage density networks, which influence the spread of slang as well as cultural differences, which enter through psychological and social contexts.

The similarities and differences that were found in the use of slang among the Kaunas and the London teenagers are crucial both to testing the Psycho-Social Theory and to understanding the psycho-social characteristics of teenage slang in general.

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