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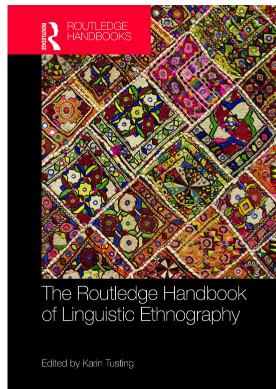

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Lingua franca scenarios

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22
Lingua franca scenarios

Janus Mortensen

Introduction and key concepts

This chapter concerns research into lingua franca scenarios, highlighting the communicative complexity of lingua franca interaction and the value of adopting an ethnographic approach in studying lingua franca settings. Historically, the term 'lingua franca' refers to a pidgin called Lingua Franca, which is commonly believed to have developed as a contact language in the Mediterranean region, where it was in use until the second half of the 19th century (Schuchardt, 1909; Cremona, 1998; Nolan, 2005; Operstein, 2018). In contemporary usage of the term, any language may function as a 'lingua franca' when it is employed as a shared means of communication between speakers who do not have a common first language (Samarin, 1987). Thus, when French, just to mention an example, is used in international diplomacy by speakers who have different first languages, it is employed as a lingua franca. English is probably the most widely used contemporary lingua franca, but it is by no means the only language that is used in this function on a regular basis and at a large scale. Other widespread lingua francas include Arabic, German, Hindi, Malay, Putonghua, Russian, Swahili, Wolof and many others (see e.g. contributions in McGroarty (2006)). Latin is an example of a highly influential historical lingua franca (Haberland, 2009), and Esperanto is an example of a language deliberately constructed with a view to facilitate communication between people of different nationalities (and speakers of different languages). This chapter is not concerned with the historical Lingua Franca or any one particular language used as a lingua franca, although English, for reasons to be explained below, features prominently. Instead, the chapter aims to offer an introduction to the more general notion of *lingua franca language scenarios* and a selection of the research areas that it can be related to.

A language scenario can be thought of as the sum of linguistic resources available in a given communicative encounter between two or more speakers by virtue of their individual language repertoires (Mortensen, 2013). In the Italian tradition of *commedia dell'arte*, a scenario forms the basic framework for the improvised performance of a play on stage (Henke, 2002). In much the same way, a language scenario can be said to provide the linguistic starting point from which communicative encounters may unfold in everyday life. Though the boundaries of the concept are necessarily fuzzy, a lingua franca scenario is qualitatively

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different from language scenarios where interlocutors may rely on a shared first language, and as the chapter illustrates, this difference has proven to be a fruitful one for scholars interested in understanding the social and linguistic processes of human interaction.

In recent years, research into the use of English as a lingua franca has become a vibrant area of study. What was barely a distinct field 15 years ago is now a dynamic area of research, with its own journal (*Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*), book series (*Developments in English as a lingua franca*, de Gruyter) and handbook (Jenkins et al., 2018). The widespread use of English in lingua franca scenarios has been examined from many disciplinary perspectives, providing new angles on everything from English language teaching (ELT) (Jenkins, 2000; Seidlhofer, 2004; Dewey, 2012), social interaction and the pragmatics of communication in lingua franca scenarios (Firth, 1996; House, 2002), to the study of language variation and change (Mauranen, 2012; Filppula et al., 2017). Because of the sheer amount of research published with reference to English, the following outline often refers to English. However, as mentioned above, the topics under discussion are, in principle, relevant for *all* lingua franca scenarios, and I encourage the reader, whenever possible, to consider how the topics raised below may be related to contexts where other languages are used as lingua francas.

Historical perspectives

The scholarly interest in lingua franca interaction has a long history in sociolinguistics and related fields, though the lingua franca aspect has not always been an explicit or focal concern. In this section, I illustrate how some of the themes which are currently being addressed in research related to lingua franca scenarios have in many cases been foreshadowed – more or less explicitly – in work within interactional sociolinguistics, applied linguistics (ELT in particular) and interactionally oriented approaches to pragmatics.

Within the tradition of interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz, 2012; and see Rampton, this volume), many studies have been concerned with 'intercultural' encounters in institutional settings where English or other languages are used to facilitate interaction between speakers of different first languages. A central interest in this body of work is to explore how understanding is achieved in intercultural encounters and how and why miscommunication occurs. This interest is also widespread in contemporary research on lingua franca interaction, and many of the findings reported in the literature on interactional sociolinguistics in the latter half of the 20th century may be said to prefigure some of the work that later came to prominence in the field of ELF studies. Thus, in a study of intercultural encounters in public service centres in the British Midlands, Gumperz and Roberts (1991) found that misunderstandings may arise if speakers map their non-English-based 'rhetorical strategies' onto English. This suggests that the communicative challenges faced by speakers in lingua franca scenarios may relate more to what Hymes (1972) calls 'norms of interaction' and 'norms of interpretation' than the literal meaning of lexical items and grammatical constructions. This finding – which was also reported early on by researchers working within the framework of conversation analysis on data where Spanish was used as a lingua franca (Jordan & Fuller, 1975) – continues to be of interest in studies of lingua franca scenarios, as well as recent research within the paradigm of interactional sociolinguistics itself (see e.g. Roberts et al., 2014).

Moving on to the relationship between applied linguistics and lingua franca scenarios inevitably takes us to the literature on English used as a lingua franca (ELF). The study of ELF – variably referred to as the use of 'English as an international language', 'English as an auxiliary language' or 'English as an international auxiliary language' – has been the

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object of increasing scholarly attention since the 1970s (see e.g. Smith, 1976; Knapp, 1987). Widdowson (2018) points out that the interest can in fact be traced even further back, but it is arguably not till the beginning of the new millennium that we begin to see the (early) contours of a distinct research field. Jenkins's (2000) work on the phonology of 'English as an international language' was a seminal study which appeared in close proximity to equally influential works by Seidlhofer (2001), Mauranen (2003) and House (2003). In insisting on conceptualising 'ELF speakers as language users in their own right' rather than (deficient) learners of English (Seidlhofer, 2001, p. 137), these scholars aligned with ongoing reorientations in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) towards a more 'emic' and contextualised view of language competence (Firth & Wagner, 1997), and introduced new ways of thinking about English and ELT. What had formerly been treated as 'errors' of English language learners were now re-conceptualised as potential 'innovations' of language users whose language use should be measured against standards of communicative effectiveness, rather than 'native speaker' norms of correctness (Seidlhofer, 2004).

Another early strand of research on English used as a lingua franca has been concerned with the pragmatic strategies that speakers in ELF scenarios employ to facilitate effective communication. Starting with Firth's (1996) study of recorded telephone conversations between Danish export managers and their international clients, conversational analytic approaches have played an important role in this connection (see also Firth, 1990; Wagner & Firth, 1997). Firth argues that the interlocutors in his data perform extensive interactional work to make their talk appear 'normal', despite the fact that their use of English deviates from what might be expected from a 'standard' perspective. One of the central strategies the participants use to achieve a sense of interactional 'normality' is what Firth refers to as the 'let-it-pass procedure': faced with problems of understanding related to pronunciation, speakers simply let the "unknown or unclear action, word or utterance 'pass' on the (common-sense) assumption that it will either become clear or redundant as talk progresses" (Firth, 1996, p. 243). In other words, rather than focussing on linguistic form and formal 'errors' in their interlocutors' speech, speakers will adopt a flexible interactional stance and focus on the message that is being conveyed.

The let-it-pass procedure has been found to be widespread in lingua franca interaction (see e.g. Cogo & Dewey, 2012; Deterding, 2013), and this has led to the suggestion that this interactional strategy might be seen as a characteristic or typical feature of ELF interaction (see e.g. Jenkins et al., 2011, p. 293; Murray, 2012, p. 321). However, as Firth points out, while the 'procedure would appear to be a commonly-deployed resource in lingua franca interactions, [it] is by no means unique to such interactions' (Firth, 1996, p. 243). Following Garfinkel (1967, pp. 21–22; 1972, p. 314), the let-it-pass procedure may be seen as one of several 'ad hoc-ing' procedures that people generally use to make sense of the world around them. Nevertheless, while there may be nothing specifically *unique* about the communicative strategies that speakers adopt when they use English as a lingua franca, the work of Firth and others clearly illustrates that lingua franca interaction may be a particularly useful data type to explore in the study of human interaction, because participants in lingua franca encounters tend to display pragmatic strategies in more salient ways than in other contexts, making them easier for the analyst to observe (see also e.g. Kirkpatrick, 2007; Björkman, 2011b).

Critical issues and debates

Much of the work that has been conducted within the field of ELF studies since Jenkins's (2000) influential early work has explicitly or implicitly been positioned in opposition to

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traditional approaches to ELT. As discussed earlier, scholars have argued that speakers who use English as a lingua franca should be considered proficient language users rather than deficient language learners. This line of argument has led to the suggestion that pedagogical principles in ELT should be reconsidered, moving towards a less rigid perception of 'standard' language norms (Dewey, 2012), with communicative effectiveness and mutual intelligibility rather than approximation to 'native speaker' norms as objectives (Seidlhofer, 2011; see also House, 2002; Bayyurt & Akcan, 2015). Unsurprisingly, this has led to criticism from more traditionally oriented scholars and practitioners involved in the teaching of English as a foreign language (EFL). Some argue that there is, in fact, no great difference between an ELF approach and more traditional approaches since 'EFL leads to ELF' (Swan, 2012, p. 388), while others argue that an ELF approach to language teaching is practically untenable in the classroom (Maley, 2010).

A crucial point of contention in the debate about ELF and language teaching is whether ELF can be seen as a 'variety' or 'norm' that can be turned into a model of teaching. While suggestions for how to teach 'the pronunciation of English as a lingua franca' do exist (Walker, 2010), and while book chapters have been written about the (lexico)grammar of/in English as a lingua franca (Cogo & Dewey, 2012, pp. 47–80; Björkman, 2013; Ranta, 2018), the consensus which has emerged over the course of the past decade seems to be that ELF can in fact *not* be described as a 'variety' of English, and hence cannot be thought of as a traditional model of language teaching either. This situation means that the notion of 'ELF' leaves many practitioners at an impasse. If 'ELF' is not a variety, but rather a label for a virtually infinite number of past, present and future language scenarios characterised by a high degree of linguistic and communicative variability, then this clearly poses a distinct challenge for language teachers. As Wright and Zheng point out, "we can recognise that communication is dialogic creativity, but […] how do we teach this behaviour in the classroom?" (2018, p. 515). The point here is that teaching language-as-use – which would follow naturally from adopting a lingua franca perspective – is different from teaching language-as-system, which is the focus in many traditional approaches to language teaching. In this sense, questions arising from lingua franca studies can be said to highlight more general challenges involved in language teaching, much like the account of the let-it-pass procedure in ELF interaction can be seen as a way to describe more generally occurring phenomena in human interaction.

The argument that users of English as a lingua franca should be seen as efficient language users rather than deficient learners has been backed up by research showing that interaction in lingua franca scenarios is often communicatively 'successful' and characterised by a relatively low frequency of (overt) problematic misunderstandings (see e.g. Meierkord, 1996; Mauranen, 2006). Indeed, with inspiration from Firth's account of the let-it-pass procedure and related work on the interactional practices of speakers in ELF scenarios, early scholarship found that ELF interactions are 'often … consensus-oriented, cooperative and mutually supportive' (Seidlhofer, 2001, p. 143; see also House, 2012). However, research has also shown that not all lingua franca encounters are equally harmonious, and not all ELF interactants are equally supportive and benign (see e.g. House, 1999; Jenks, 2012, 2018; Kappa, 2016).

The crucial point here is that language use and interactional styles more broadly are influenced by a range of contextual variables (just as styles are also context-creating themselves, cf. Mortensen & Coupland, 2018, and see Jaspers and van Hoof, this volume). The fact that ELF encounters take place in lingua franca language scenarios only amounts to one out of several such variables (Mortensen, 2013). So, when ELF encounters have often been found to be characterised by mutual support and consensus-seeking behaviour, this is more likely to be an effect of the type of encounters and settings that have been studied, such as business

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encounters and classroom settings, rather than the fact that they constitute lingua franca scenarios (which Seidlhofer also notes early on, cf. Seidlhofer, 2001, p. 143). This underlines the value of ethnographic approaches to lingua franca scenario research, providing a perspective on interactional data which attempts to take account of such multiple variables and factors (see Mortensen, 2013 for a discussion of the usefulness of Hymes's (1972) SPEAKING mnemonic in this connection). Once again, we may note that by studying lingua franca scenarios, researchers may come to identify certain processes which are of general interest to the study of language and social life, quite simply because they are amplified in such scenarios, compared to L1 language scenarios.

The efforts that have been put into legitimising users of English as a lingua franca, and the emphasis that researchers have often placed on the successful nature of ELF encounters, may obscure some of the problems involved in the widespread use of English as a purported 'global' language. While a lingua franca might (from a somewhat naïve position) be perceived as a 'neutral' medium of interaction, several researchers have pointed out that English is anything but neutral (Phillipson, 1992; Grin, 2018; Ricento, 2018). According to the view represented by these authors, the contemporary dominance of English in transnational domains such as business, science and higher education can be seen as the result of historical processes characterised by social and linguistic hegemony 'inseparable from issues of power' (Grin, 2018, p. 264). Reconceptualising the widespread use of English as 'English as a lingua franca' does not, in their view, change the fact that the current dominance of English as a 'global' lingua franca perpetuates deep-seated social and linguistic inequalities and global power asymmetries. In fact, the notion of 'English as a lingua franca' may actively contribute to the problem by naturalising rather than problematising the status of English as 'the' global language.

In a similar vein, it may be argued that the idea that speakers who use a lingua franca habitually and professionally should be seen as successful language users, rather than deficient language learners, runs the risk of simplifying often very complex relationships between language and identity. Research that focusses on language attitudes and ideology in lingua franca contexts has found that speakers may exhibit mixed attitudes towards their use of a lingua franca, which shows the value and importance of considering speakers' emic perspectives in understanding these settings. In a small-scale interview-based study of students at an international BA programme in Denmark, Mortensen and Fabricius (2014) found that the students interviewed valued communicative effectiveness higher than a particular English accent. This would apparently lend support to the idea that these speakers should not be evaluated – and did not evaluate themselves – against a 'native' speaker yardstick. However, the same students were also found to take up stances that indicated an affiliation with standard language ideologies that favoured 'native' ways of speaking English. Similar findings have been reported in a number of other contexts (Wang, 2013; Karakaş, 2015; McKenzie & Gilmore, 2017; Baird & Baird, 2018), suggesting that the habitual and successful practice of using a language as a lingua franca does not necessarily mean that speakers relinquish all orientation to perceived standard language norms (cf. Smit, 2010, p. 58). It also suggests that the practice of using a lingua franca may, for some speakers, involve problems related to self-expression, even if they do not see themselves as language learners (Harder, 1980). As Preisler (2014) has shown, this may lead to problems in handling professional identity and authority, for instance in the context of higher education where English is increasingly being used as a medium of instruction outside English-speaking countries. Issues related to the relationship between language and (professional) identity may also arise in the eye of the beholder. In a large-scale questionnaire-based study of students' evaluation of lecturers in English-medium classes at a Danish University, Jensen et al. (2013) found that there was a statistical 'effect of

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perceived English skills on perceived general lecturing competence and vice versa' (2013, p. 101), suggesting that language attitudes might – fairly or not – play a role in the evaluation of professional competence.

Current research areas

In a world characterised by widespread transnational mobility of people, goods and ideas, lingua franca scenarios are ubiquitous, and can, in principle, be studied in any conceivable context. In practice, however, research into the use of English (and other languages) as a lingua franca has overwhelmingly focussed on educational settings and workplaces, though there are obviously exceptions (see e.g. Lindstedt, 2010; Pietikäinen, 2014). In the following, I will review some main areas of these research strands, with an emphasis on studies that incorporate ethnographic elements (for a broader review of research into ELF, see Jenkins et al., 2011).

The increased use of English as lingua franca at universities and educational institutions in Europe and beyond has attracted considerable attention for more than a decade now (Haberland et al., 2008; Preisler et al., 2011; Björkman, 2011a; Haberland et al., 2013; Dimova et al., 2015). Smit (2010) and Kalocsai (2013) have conducted particularly interesting studies of educational settings where English is used as a lingua franca. What makes these studies specifically valuable is that they adopt a longitudinal perspective on the use of English as a lingua franca in 'communities of practice' (Lave & Wenger, 1991), combining ethnographic data of various kinds with a close analysis of naturally occurring interaction. Smit focusses on classroom discourse at an English-medium two-year hotel management programme in Vienna, while Kalocsai focusses on the community of Erasmus (study-abroad) students in the Hungarian university town of Szeged. By following the students over an extended period of time, interviewing them and recording their interaction, the authors are able to document how shared linguistic, interactional and social practices develop in the two groups, and how a sense of community is established over time.

Other studies focussing on the use of English in higher education and university internationalisation have focussed on issues of language ideology and policy (see e.g. Björkman, 2014; Hultgren et al., 2014; Mortensen, 2014), indicating that the introduction of a (new) academic lingua franca is something that has implications far beyond specific interactional encounters. It is, in fact, part of a development that 'pushes' the established sociolinguistic order, creating ripples at many different levels (Mortensen, forthcoming). Another aspect which is also 'in the mix' but only occasionally given central attention is that English is not the only possible lingua franca involved in university internationalisation, not even in contexts where English is the nominal lingua franca (see Borghetti & Beaven, 2017; Smit, 2018). For examples of the role of Swedish in the Swedish context, see e.g. Söderlundh (2012) and Salö (2015); for the role of Japanese as a lingua franca in Japan, see Ikeda and Bysouth (2013); for a detailed study of language choice (English vs German) in a Danish exam context, see Nevile and Wagner (2011), and see Van der Walt (2013) for a broader view of the potential of – and challenges involved in – multilingual higher education with examples from a range of geographical and national settings, including South Africa.

Turning to studies of workplaces where English is used as a lingua franca, the work of Cogo (2012, 2016) and Lønsmann (2011, 2014) may serve as examples (though there are many more, see e.g. Ehrenreich, 2010). In their studies, Cogo and Lønsmann both focus on the complex sociolinguistic reality of workplaces that, in the face of increased linguistic diversity, brought about as a consequence of increased internationalisation, have adopted implicit or explicit language policies, nominating English as the corporate language. However, what they both find – echoing findings from university settings – is that the 'reality on the

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ground' is much more complex. English may be the nominal lingua franca in many (though far from all) contexts, but it inevitably enters into a close interplay with other languages present in the setting. What this suggests, very clearly, is that the study of ELF is really the study of multilingual settings. This point has increasingly come to the fore in the study of ELF, leading scholars to reconsider the relationship between English and other languages in ELF interaction (Jenkins, 2015), turning interest more towards aspects of the entirety of linguistic resources available in a lingua franca scenario and less towards English per se.

Main research methods and approaches to analysis

Depending on research interests, lingua franca scenarios can be approached from a number of different perspectives and by means of a range of methods. In ELF studies, corpus linguistic methods have been useful in illustrating how English, as a language system, is increasingly being 'shaped by non-native speakers' (Mauranen, 2012; see also Mauranen, 2016 for an overview of corpus approaches in ELF studies). However, as the outline of research areas above has illustrated, several other methods have also been employed in the study of lingua franca scenarios. Many researchers have been engaged in the analysis of social interaction, focussing on data from a range of different settings. Conversation analysis has played a central part in this endeavour (cf. the work of Firth discussed above, but also work by Kaur, Pietikäinen and others, e.g. Kaur, 2012; Pietikäinen, 2014), but researchers have also employed more general discourse-analytical approaches. In some of the earlier work within the literature, studies of interaction relied on quasi-experimental data like role plays (Bae, 2002; Lesznyák, 2004), but this practice largely seems to have gone out of fashion.

As illustrated by the work of Kalocsai, Smit and Lønsmann discussed above (and many others), several researchers have taken an ethnographic approach to the study of lingua franca contexts (without necessarily discussing them under this label), using ethnographic interviews and participant observation, often combined with a close analysis of audio or video recordings of naturally occurring interaction. Kraft's (2017) study of multilingual construction sites in Norway is a good example of a setting where English is not the dominant lingua franca. Drawing on ethnographic field notes, audio and video recordings, interviews, documents and more, Kraft is able to show how transient Polish workers who master Norwegian are seen as particularly valuable workers because they can fill a role as 'language brokers' in the construction site, mediating between the Norwegian-speaking management and the Polish-speaking employees (see also Lønsmann & Kraft, 2018).

Implications for practice

Perhaps the most prominent implication for practice emerging from the study of lingua franca scenarios concerns language teaching. As discussed above in Section 4, the realisation that learners of English are first and foremost likely to be using the language in lingua franca scenarios raises many questions: How does one teach 'English as a lingua franca'? *Can* a language actually be taught as a lingua franca? Should notions of 'standard language norms' be completely disbanded, or do they still have a role to play? And so on. ELF researchers have been discussing these questions for some time and have produced a number of answers (see e.g. Kohn, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2011; Bayyurt & Akcan, 2015; Grazzi, 2018), but perhaps the most valuable insight to take from the research field at present would be the questions themselves, and the opportunities they provide for reflection on established and received practices of language teaching – and language learning.

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Language policy and planning is another area where research into lingua franca scenarios and the sociolinguistic processes they are characterised by may play an important role. In universities as well as multinational companies, there is a widespread belief that the use of English as a lingua franca is an obvious way to ensure successful internationalisation. While the research on the use of English in lingua franca scenarios may to some extent support this idea (because the research has illustrated that speakers are often successful in achieving their communicative goals), the available research also shows that it is not as simple as that (see e.g. Lønsmann & Mortensen, 2018). Lingua franca scenarios are – by definition – characterised by linguistic and cultural diversity, and introducing English (or any other language) as the dominating lingua franca does not in any substantial way address the challenges that may arise from this complexity in terms of links between language and successful communication, language and power and language and identity. Linguistic ethnographies of lingua franca scenarios can provide us with accounts which locate interactional data clearly within such social complexities and can help us move towards understanding them better.

Future directions

In pointing to future directions, I will limit myself to two areas that I see as particularly promising for research into lingua franca scenarios. Smit (2010) notes that

> when a group of mutual strangers use English as their lingua franca they bring diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds with them. So, communication can only rely in part on shared language norms and expectations; a major role in the meaning-making process is arguably played by discursively developing situation-specific and -intrinsic conventions and patterns.
>
> *(Smit, 2010, p. 8)*

In making this point, Smit identifies a property which is fundamental to virtually all lingua franca scenarios. Because participants in lingua franca encounters come from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds – different 'linguacultures' (Risager, 2006, 2012) – they cannot from the outset expect to be able to rely on shared linguistic and social norms. These norms largely have to be developed *in situ*. This basic condition may involve significant challenges for participants, who will have to invest relatively more 'work' in achieving common ground. For precisely this reason, lingua franca scenarios offer particularly rich opportunities to study the *emergence* of social and linguistic norms. In this connection, several researchers who have been interested in the study of ELF have come to consider the transient nature of lingua franca scenarios particularly salient (Hazel, 2017; Mortensen, 2017; Pitzl, 2018). All social configurations are in some sense characterised by transience, but in lingua franca scenarios, the transient nature of social arrangements is often enhanced. This means that the study of lingua franca scenarios (as examples of transient social configurations) may be a way for us to get a methodological handle on how to observe social and linguistic norms 'in the making', in an interplay between local dynamics and wider contextual constraints. In order to benefit fully from this potential, it seems obvious that more longitudinal linguistic ethnographies of lingua franca 'communities', along the lines of the work of Smit (2010) and Kalocsai (2013) discussed above, are needed.

The second area in need of further research is closely related to the first one. As this chapter has illustrated, the amount of research on scenarios where *English* is used as a lingua franca is disproportionally high compared to the study of scenarios where *other* languages are used as lingua francas. This is clearly not because other languages are not used in this

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capacity (as I mentioned at the beginning of the chapter) but reflects the current ideological dominance of English in many settings, including academia. Detailed, longitudinal linguistic ethnographic studies of scenarios where languages other than English are used as the dominant lingua franca would open new important perspectives on our understanding of the processes involved in lingua franca communication and bring much-needed linguistic diversity to a field of research which is currently dominated by a possibly understandable, but nevertheless quite unsatisfactory, focus on English.

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Further reading

Dervin, F. (Ed.) (2010). Lingua francas: la véhicularité linguistique pour vivre, travailler et étudier (Logiques Sociales). Paris: L'Harmattan. (This edited volume, which features chapters in English as well as French, widens the perspective on the study of lingua franca scenarios by introducing the reader to a number of different languages used as lingua francas [including Esperanto, Romanian and Swedish] in a range of social settings and geographical contexts [including Tunisia, France and Malaysia].)

Kalocsai, K. (2013). Communities of Practice and English as a Lingua Franca, A Study of Students in a Central European Context (Developments in English as a Lingua Franca 4). De Gruyter Mouton, Berlin. (This monograph is an example of a longitudinal study of an emergent community of practice in which the use of English as a lingua franca is a central resource not only for communication, but also for individual and collective identity creation. The study combines ethnographic data with detailed analyses of social interaction grounded in the tradition of conversation analysis.)

Lønsmann, D., Spencer, H., & Haberland, H. (Eds.) (2017). *Transience*. Special issue of *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 27(3). doi:10.1111/jola.12168. (The articles in this special issue use interactional and ethnographic data from a variety of contexts [including higher education, multinational companies and theatre rehearsals] to investigate the emergence of social and linguistic norms in settings characterised by transience. The contributions highlight the importance of paying attention to aspects of temporality and linguacultural diversity in the study of lingua franca scenarios.)

Related topics

Interactional sociolinguistics; Discourse analysis; Sociolinguistic ethnographies of globalisation; Micro-analysis of spoken interaction; Mixing methods? Linguistic ethnography and language variation; Academic writing.

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