Lectal focusing in interaction: A new methodology for the study of superdiverse speech

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Abstract[1]

Variationist analysis is sometimes used to infer social meanings from overall rates of use of a given variant. In data from the Punjabi London community, we find that older and younger British Asian men have similar rates of use of certain ethnically-marked and class variants. We develop a new metric to assess whether it is appropriate to assume that these shared rates imply shared ethnic identity or class meanings. We use the metric to assess whether the use of such variants by sample individuals is more automated (speech accommodation) or more agentive (acts of identity). Our measure of lectal focusing in interaction (LFI) tracks the extent to which, during a single interaction, an individual shifts towards 'purer' versions of one or another style, in the present case Standard British English, Vernacular London English, and Indian English. The results show that the older British Asian men have a high degree of LFI, shifting sometimes dramatically in interactions and achieving clearly strategic, interactionally-tuned ends with their use of variants. Younger British Asian men show less LFI, suggesting a more broad group indexical meaning and indicating change over time despite retention of the same linguistic forms across generations. The exploratory LFI measure brings interactional analysis to bear on questions of language change; in particular, it has the potential to clarify the causes, rate, and direction of change in a given community.

1 Introduction

Contemporary metropolitan centres such as London are characterised by migration and ethnic mixing, with complex combinations of class and ethnic markers emerging in the speech of local people. Take, for instance, the extract in (1), from a phone conversation in which Anwar, a middle-aged middle-class British Asian Muslim businessman in Southall, West London, is chatting with his old school friend Ronni, a British Asian Sikh:

(1)   Anwar with Ronni[2]

    Anw: *(completing the business discussion)*
              tennu pata hai yaar {*P: you know, friend*}   1
    Ron: *(responds for .9)*

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[2] Transcription conventions: ... = ellipsis of intervening material. (xxx) = inaudible material. [IPA symbol] = sound pronounced by speaker. word- = interrupted material. {P: *word*} = Punjabi translation. ↑ = raised pitch. °word° = whispered voice. WORD = increased volume.

Anw: hor kiddan {*P: what else is up*} wha?s goin down man everyfiŋ cool   2

Ron: *(responds for 2.3)*

Anw: how's 'iŋs a? 'e yarḍ   3

Ron: *(responds for 2.0)*

Anw: ði ol' laḍy alrigh?   4

Anwar employs a complex mix of linguistic elements here: Punjabi language and London vernacular (glottaling, th-fronting, word-initial inter-dental fricative ellipsis) mixed in with Standard British English (*–ing*, h-retention, inter-dental fricatives) and even some Jamaican vocabulary—*yard*—pronounced with Punjabi retroflexion.

A common first step in attempting to understand the use of class or ethnic markers in such a community is to tally rates of use across demographic groups. Variationist studies of ethnic minority communities have taken this approach. Hoffman and Walker (2010: 37), for instance, examining the use of Canadian variants by second generation Italian and Chinese residents of Toronto, conclude that speakers 'use overall rates to express ethnic identity'. The social meaning of a variant is extrapolated directly from its rate of use by a given individual or group. As Eckert (2008a: 26) observes, '[t]he traditional emphasis in variation studies has been to correlate linguistic variables with macro-sociological categories, and to take the correlation to be a sufficient characterization of the variable's social significance'.

Applying this inferential procedure to our own data, we initially find the following: A quantitative examination of a single variable—retroflexion of /t/—in the interview data found that second generation British Asian men, older and younger, share the same mean rate of 15% use of retroflexion of /t/ (Sharma 2011; Sharma and Sankaran 2011). We might conclude that this variable indexes ethnicity, and that therefore second generation men in the community, regardless of age, express their ethnicity more than women.

But has this comparison of frequency really established that older and younger men share the same social index of ethnicity or class in their use of certain variables? Is a given form really signalling ethnicity (group-level) or could it also index finer meanings pertaining to scene or stance? Is it possible for variants to operate at one of these levels and not others for a given individual? The quantitative generalisation of "15% t-retroflexion" is clearly too coarse to give any reliable indication of social meanings or to indicate the 'granularity' of variation, i.e. at what level(s) meaning operates for a user of such a variant.

This problem of coarseness in quantitative aggregation leads to gaps (at best) and errors (at worst) in explanation. Sociolinguistic variation has at times been ascribed to deterministic causes and elsewhere to more agentive motivations. Discussions of ethnolinguistic traits in particular have tended to appeal to agency in their use for indexing ethnic identity (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Fought 2006; Agha 2007). Ethnolinguistic repertoires have been described as 'a fluid set of linguistic resources that members of an ethnic group may use variably as they index their ethnic identities' (Benor 2010). Speakers have been assumed to activate 'different parts of their linguistic repertoires selectively in order to highlight particular aspects of their social identities (and to downplay others) in particular settings' (Doran 2004), and to 'adopt and use these features strategically' (Hoffman and Walker 2010). By contrast, many variationist studies

of change over time have noted the deterministic nature of outcomes, with unconscious, uncontrolled, and automatic speech accommodation, along with exposure over time, as the driving mechanism (Giles 1973; Goldinger 1998; Trudgill 1986, 2004, 2008; Pickering and Garrod 2004). Auer and Hinskens (2005), who problematise a simple link between automatic speech accommodation and language change, note that an ambiguity between more mechanistic and more socially-motivated accommodation was remarked upon as early as Bloomfield (1933). Either or both mechanisms could be at work in a given scenario, with sociolinguistic variation being best conceived of as 'a set of resources that speakers deploy *both intentionally and automatically* in their day-to-day practice' (Eckert 2008a: 26, emphasis added; see also Babel 2009).

In our data, if British Asian men have ethnic and class features due to exposure and automatic accommodation within community networks, these features should be relatively randomly distributed in their conversational speech. If they have been consciously retained in order to project particular social orientations and affiliations, the features should be less randomly distributed and instead clearly linked to interactional work such as footing or narrative structure. Weighing the role of these two broad processes with appropriate evidence is clearly crucial for understandings the social dynamics of language change.

Yet macro-social quantitative comparisons of rates often fail to select among these two possibilities, that is, between the use of a variant as either an 'act of identity' (intentional) or as an unconscious Labovian indicator (automatic). Variationist sociolinguists have used segments of formal and informal speech in interviews to distinguish between markers and indicators, but the methodology still relies on overall rates and retains some of the problems of distinguishing between automatic and agentive accounts.

Fortunately, the two hypotheses make different predictions for the distribution of variants in conversation, so the contrast is testable provided we have a delicate enough metric. 'Intentional' or strategic deployment of a variant involves use based on specific social affordances, so should exhibit a non-random distribution in discourse, with systematic alignment with shifts in interactional purpose. By contrast, 'deterministic' or non-strategic use of a variant due to long-term exposure should lead to relatively random distribution of variants in discourse.

Returning to the earlier example, we can rephrase the unanswered question as this: Is the distribution of a trait such as t-retroflexion relatively random ('automatic') or non-random ('intentional') in our study, or are both behaviours present? In any of these cases, is its use similar enough across older and younger men to warrant the extrapolation of a shared 'ethnic identity' meaning based on shared overall rates?

Recent work has begun to use quantitative measures to assess the relative interactional sensitivity of variable forms. Eckert (2008a) supported a claim of specific, stylistic meanings for ae-raising and non-raising in two schools by demonstrating their predictable correspondence with shifts to excited, peer-oriented speech in girls' interactions. Damari (2010) showed that use of a larger (L1-influenced) vowel space by a bicultural individual aligned with specific oppositional stances in interaction.

The metric we develop here similarly tracks variable forms in relation to interactional meaning and purpose, measuring degrees of focussing in the style-shifts of different individuals. We examine the speech of three sample men from a British Asian community with a comparable overall mix of variants, and investigate whether this broad comparability implies genuine similarity in use. We find systematic differences in the indexical work done by class and ethnic variants for these individuals despite similar overall rates. We also glimpse wider theoretical generalisations regarding the nature of stylistic variation at different levels of social and interactional structure.

The rapprochement between qualitative and quantitative analysis presented here in the form of quantitative micro-analysis aims to steer a path between the two pitfalls of macro-structural over-determination on the one hand and a vacuous 'multiple identities' fluidism on the other. As we note in the closing discussion, it also enables close interactional analysis to inform models of language change.

2   Measuring lectal focusing in interaction

In order to identify the 'granularity' of variation for individuals, we need to track the degree of shifting during interaction, ideally with a metric that can establish whether variable features are finely tuned to interactional stance or not. This sort of measure can begin to point to why features are used by a given individual, which in turn leads to a better understanding of whether a group (e.g. 'second generation men') is really homogeneous in their social use. The importance of this for understanding the dynamics of language change are clear and discussed later.

The method that we explore here is a simple metric to track lectal focusing in interaction (LFI). The LFI measure offers a simple proportional rate of fluctuation in style over the course of a segment of interaction. As a first step, a given extract is 'chunked' into moderately small units. For the most part, the units are separated either at turn-constructional unit (TCU) boundaries or at major clausal boundaries, but where clear footing shifts occur, these are selected as unit boundaries as well. As the goal of the measure is to track fluctuations in style that may be indexed to footing, this is naturally a relevant boundary. However, in the absence of frequent footing shifts, it is nevertheless useful to have relatively small units to identify fluctuations at finer levels. Units rarely consist of less than 5 words, and are preferably closer to a minimum of 10 words to ensure a sufficient number of tokens to calculate percentage rates of use per unit.

As a second step, variables to be examined are coded in each unit. For our purposes here, we group variants into recognised, enregistered lects in the community: Standard British English (BrE), Vernacular London English, and Indian English (IndE).[3] A similar metric could track individual variables at a time; indeed, one might argue that this would be a better, more data-driven approach that avoids a top-down imposition of meaning on variables and acknowledges that each variable may have a distinct indexical field (Eckert 2008b). Our particular interest is style-shifting that potentially invokes macro-social ethnic (British vs. Indian) and class (standard vs. vernacular) indexicalities in the community, and so we believe the analysis benefits from lectal groupings of variants, but we remain as conservative as possible in our choice and classification of variants.

For the most part the principle of accountability is observed in our coding decisions.[4] Primarily variables that show clear contrasts among the three lects are coded. For example, coda /l/, with IndE, Standard BrE, and Vernacular BrE variants [l], [ɫ], [w] respectively; inter-vocalic and final /t/, with variants [ʈ], [t], [ʔ] respectively; and the

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[3] See Hinrichs (2011) for an application and adaptation of this approach for diasporic Jamaican Canadian data. Hinrichs groups variants into lects as well, in his study these are Patwa and Canadian English. As in our data, extensive overlaps between lects exist for many uncoded variants in his data.

[4] Principle of accountability (Labov 1982: 30): "All occurrences of a given variant are noted, and where it has been possible to define the variable as a closed set of variants, all non-occurrences of the variant in the relevant circumstances."

GOAT diphthong, with variants [o], [əʊ], [æə] respectively.[5] The remaining uncoded text consists of variables that are either not audibly contrastive across the lects, not subject to a ternary distinction, or not reliably codable with auditory analysis.[6] In a few cases, a particularly salient articulation of an otherwise uncoded segment was coded due to its very striking contribution to a particular lect; for instance, IndE bilabial articulation of [v]. Similarly, in places the use of a word or phrase associated with a specific language or lect was coded. Both of these types of exceptional coding were included only when the variants clearly contributed to a perceptible style shift. Finally, a few variables have a binary rather than ternary contrast, such as VOT and initial /t/, which contrast along the British/Indian dimension more clearly than along the Standard/Vernacular BrE dimension. In a few cases, these have been included because of the clear participation of the variant in conveying an IndE style; the alternative variant is coded as Standard BrE.

In a final step, a simple proportion is calculated for each of the three lects per unit, dividing the number of variants coded for each lect by the total number of variants coded in a given unit. As the coding is auditory, we follow the common variationist practice of carving continuous phonetic space into discrete, contrastive variants. Hinrichs (2011) adopts a finer scalar measure for a number of vocalic variables, allowing for much more sensitive tracking of variation.

In the analysis that follows, we first examine interactional and narrative extracts from one older second generation man, and then compare these to extracts from the speech of two younger second generation men.

3   Examples from a diasporic community

In this study we focus on the Punjabi London community of Southall. As a diasporic, lower middle class, Asian-majority suburb of London, the community involves a complex layering of ethnic and class speech features. The community is particularly useful for examining change in the valuation and use of such markers as it is one of the oldest South Asian communities in the U.K., with sizeable first, second, and third generations.

In the present study we examine speech from sample older and younger second generation men. Although these older and younger individuals were all born and raised around Southall, they grew up in very different contexts. Over the course of 60 years, Southall has seen a shift from having a minority to a majority Asian population. Not unrelated to this, race relations have gone from overt and violent hostility to cooperative coexistence. The older Gen 2 group in our study grew up during the first phase, and the younger Gen 2 group during the second. Sharma (2011) and Sharma & Sankaran (2011) outline details of racial tension in the earlier historical phase and of cultural acceptance and validation in the later phase (CARF 1981; Meads 1983; Cashmore 1996; Oates 2002), along with quotes from several individuals in each age group indicating experiences of cultural antagonism and hostility for older British Asians and cultural neutrality and acceptance for younger British Asians. Figure 1 summarises these broad contrasts within second generation Southall residents.

Ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in the community by Sharma and Sankaran over a period of nine months. For the wider project, a total of 74 participants were

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[5] For Asian [ţ] and [ḑ] variants of /t/ and /d/, we use the retroflex symbol but in fact this encompasses a range of fine sub-phonemic variation ranging from genuine retroflex variants to post-alveolar variants (Alam 2007; Alam and Stuart-Smith 2011; Kirkham 2011).
[6] Style-shifting is naturally different from code-switching, in which almost every morpheme can be classified as one or the other code.

recorded twice, along with multiple self-recordings in diverse settings collected by 10 participants in the absence of either researcher. In total, approximately 120 hours of data were collected. Extracts discussed in the present work are taken from interviews as well as from self-recordings.
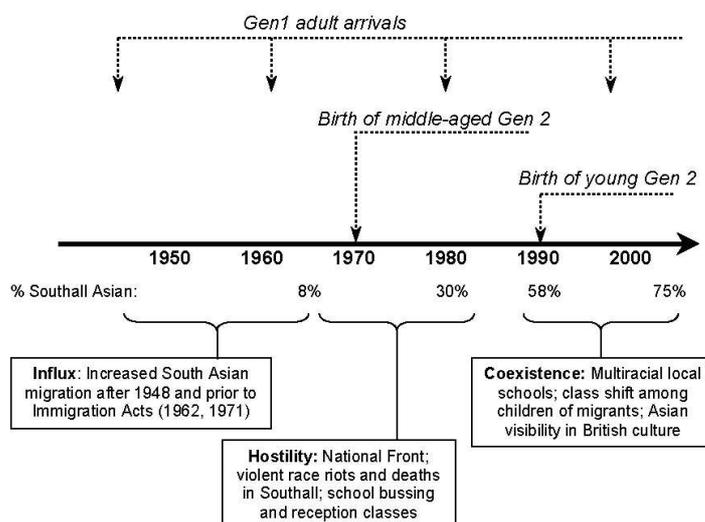

**Figure 1:** Historical community context (from Sharma 2011)

3.1 LFI in older second generation British Asian men

We start with Anwar, the older second generation man in the opening example, as a case study. To begin with, we analyse two sets of exchanges that he is involved in, all occurring during business-oriented calls. First, we repeat the extract that was seen in (1) below, but this time showing the LFI measure for each unit, with an accompanying graph of variation in this moment of interaction. To illustrate the calculation used, all IPA tokens are shown in brackets, lexical choices counted in the calculation are underlined, and a separate row shows the calculated balance of variants for each of the three lects for each row. N values are low in example (2); almost all units measured in later examples involve 10 or more tokens. Later examples do not explicitly list proportional calculations but the accompanying figure with each example indicates this proportional balance of variants for each numbered unit of speech. Numbers are only assigned to the speech units for the individual being analysed.

(2)   Anwar to Ronni, asking after family

    hor kiddan {P: *what else is up*} wha[ʔ]s goi[n] down man every[f]i[ŋ] coo[w]   1
                      StBrE .17 (1/6); LonE .67 (4/6); IndE .17 (1/6)

    how's [ø]ings a[ʔ] [ø]e y[a]r[d]   2
                      StBrE .0 (0/6); LonE .67 (4/6); IndE .33 (2/6)

    [ð]e o[l][ø] [l]a[d] y a[w][r]igh[ʔ]   3
                      StBrE .13 (1/8); LonE .5 (4/8); IndE .37 (3/8)

you're no[ʔ] givi[n] [ø]er any trouble are y[ʊ̟]   4
                          StBrE .25 (1/4); LonE .75 (3/4); IndE .0 (0/4)

ye::ah y[ə] be[ʔ][ʌ] be[ø][eɪ][v]e y[ə]se[w]f man   5
                          StBrE .25 (2/8); LonE .75 (6/8); IndE .0 (0/8)

[k]ick you[r] <u>arse</u> in o[d̪]erwise   6
                          StBrE .0 (0/4); LonE .5 (2/4); IndE .5 (2/4)
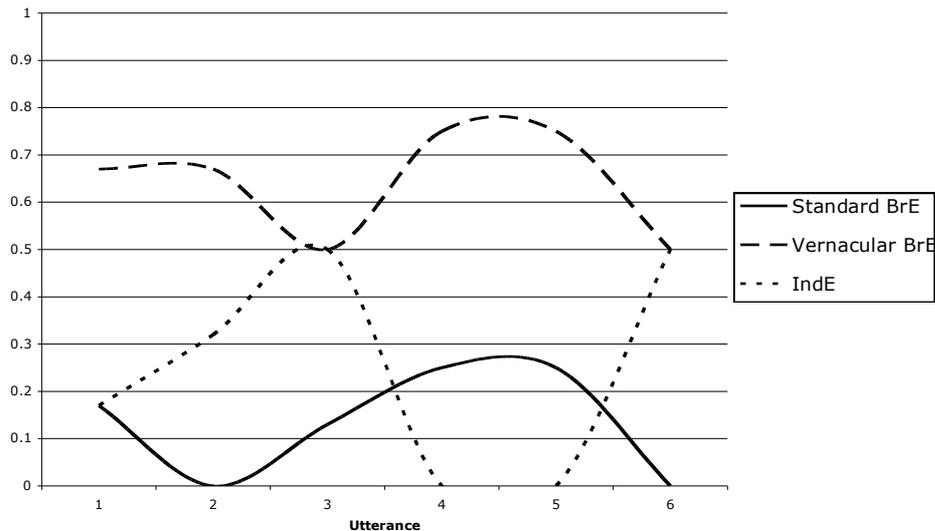
Figure 2: LFI in Anwar to Ronni, 'asking after family'

As noted earlier, this extract involves a varied mix of ethnic and class markers, with an emphasis on Vernacular BrE and IndE forms. The layered mixing is reminiscent of adolescents in Rampton's 1980s data, a time when Anwar himself was an adolescent and when he claims to have acquired this style. His use here indicates that this is not just a 'youth' style but has been durable, indeed enregistered (Anwar calls it 'Southallian') for its users (Rampton 2011).

Compare Figure 2 to the extract in (3), and the corresponding graph in Figure 3. The extract in (3) is addressed to Bilal, an upper-middle-class British Asian Muslim barrister who uses a predominantly standard/posh phonetic range.[7] Anwar is conducting exactly the same interactional work of shifting from business matters to family in this extract as he was with Ronni in (2).

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[7] An alternative use of the LFI metric could track in detail the style balance for both interlocutors. For the present, we simply note that Bilal is largely standard and Ishfaq in example (6) later is consistently vernacular, as indicated in selected phonetic details in their utterances. So in neither case do Anwar's shifts directly mimic shifts being made by his interlocutor.

(3)   Anwar to Bilal, asking after family

Anw: an[ɖ] he -s wan[t]s me [t]o:: you kn[oʊ] e:hm be recipien[ʈ] of his eh
        monies and fun[d]s [ð]a[ʔ] he ge[ʔ]s from royal[t]ies and e::h   1

Anw: an[ø] sponsorshi[p] .. u::hm and e:h we m[eɪ] nee[ɖ] e:h your
        s[ɜ ：]vices in [pʰ][r]e[pʰ]a[r]i[ŋ] some documen[ʈ][eɪ]tion fo[r] any   2

Bil: yeah i- i kʰ an knock up a pʰ ower of attorney.. (trust deed)
        document ðere's nəʊ problem øbou? tha? at all ..

Anw: ye:ah [aʊ] kay- bu- [a][ɫ] i'll [kʰ] eep you informed in wha[t]s
        happening ↑hows e[v]er[ɪ][θ]i[ŋ] e[ɫ]se how's [ð]e fa[mɫ]y   3

Bil: yep <u>alhamdulillah</u> very very good actually a::h i've go? a leɪtest
        addition i've go? go? a daughter ↑how many kids d'you have now

Anw: e::h i've go[t] eh [tʰ]wo [d][ɔ]gh[t][ɜ ：]s an[ɖ] eh one .. eh so[n̪]   4
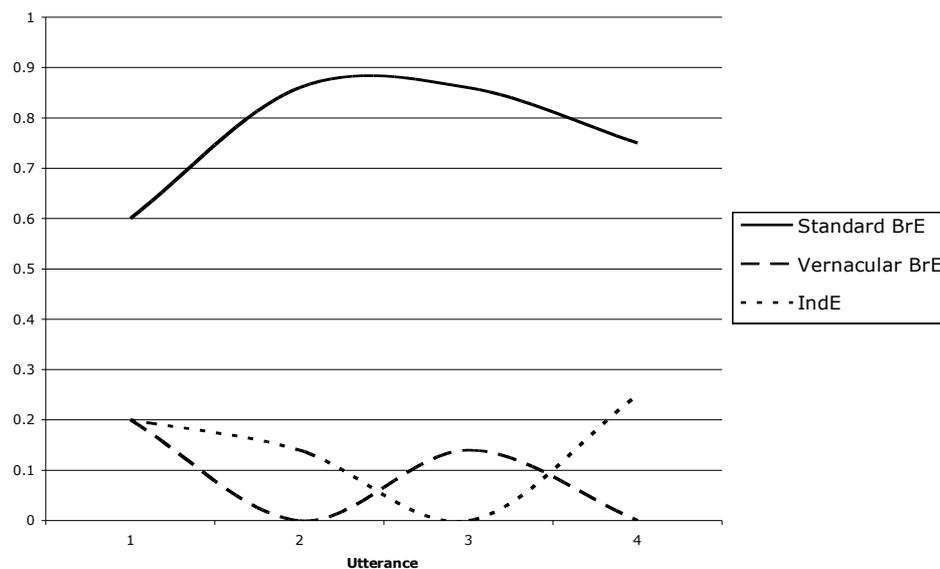
Figure 3: LFI in Anwar to Bilal, 'asking after family'

A third example, shown in (4), also involves Anwar asking after the general wellbeing of his interlocutor; in this case, it is a working class Sri Lankan maid and we see a 100% shift to Indian English variants, even syntactic, by Anwar.[8]

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[8] All names are anonymised, including the phonetic forms in (4). In fact, four variants in the original name in (4) were entirely IndE.

(4)   Anwar to Rosa, asking after health

h[æ][l][o] yes e:h .. h[æ][l][o] [r][o]sa ho[v] are you you o[k][e][e]↑ ye::s you [k]ee[p]ing [v]e[l]

The contrast among examples (2), (3), and (4) is very clear: Southallian to Ronni, Standard British English to Bilal, and Indian English to Rosa.

   This first set of examples has shown a clear interlocutor effect for Anwar, supporting the notion that at least some marker-like sensitivity exists in his use of clusters of lectal variants, such that Standard BrE corresponds to a more posh interlocutor, a 'Southallian' mix of Asian and vernacular style to a local, lower middle class British Asian interlocutor, and IndE to a local working class Asian interlocutor. We might conclude that variation in the use of class- and ethnically-marked variants among second generation men is an effect of speech accommodation, possibly somewhat automatic in nature.

   The data we analyse next militates against this. We look at two types of within-interaction variation in Anwar's speech: dialogic and monologic.

   First, to illustrate variation at a finer level than interlocutor but still dialogic, consider the next pair of examples. These are also from Anwar and also perform the same interactional function. In this pair, Anwar's interactional purpose is to clarify the reason for his phonecall.

   In (5), from the same phonecall with Bilal, the barrister, seen in (3), Anwar aims to tell Bilal that, contrary to what they had discussed earlier, he would not need his legal services. Once the initial greeting sequence was over, this is how he broached the topic:

(5)   Anwar to Bilal, reason for calling

Anw: [əʊ] [əʊ] [əʊ]k[eɪ]y yeah [ø]at's gr[eɪ][t]   1
        .hh e:::hm [tʰ] *anonymised* [ð]e e- [ð]e reason why i [kʰ]a[ɬ]e[ɖ] y[ʊ̟] is e::h 2
        i just wanted [t]o le[t] y[ʊ̟] kn[əʊ] [ð]a[t] xxx xxx he [kʰ][eɪ]me..   3
        an[d] e::h we [d]eci[d]e[d] not [t]o [p]ursue his [kʰ][eɪ]se..   4

Bil: right

Anw: an[d] e::h he was g[əʊ]i[ŋ] back an[d̠] e::h he was <u>gonna</u> ge[ʔ] his
        work [pʰ][ɜ:]mi[ʔ] [v]isa..   5

        s[əʊ] so [ð]a[ʔ] he [cʰ]oul[d] jus[t] e::hm.. y'know do e[v]er[ɪ][θ]i[ŋ]
        eh eh abo[w]e boar[d̠] an[d̠] ehm   6

Bil: fair fair enough əʊkʰeɪ

Anw: a[n]ø bei[ŋ] [d̠]e celebri[t]y he is .. e::h [ð]e[r]e was jus[t] <u>gonna</u>
        ge[ʔ] me[d̠]ia in[t]e[r]es[t] a[n]ø i[ʔ] was just <u>gonna</u> ge[ʔ] a[ɬ]
        emba[r]rassi[ŋ] f[ə][r] [ø]im agai[n] ..   7
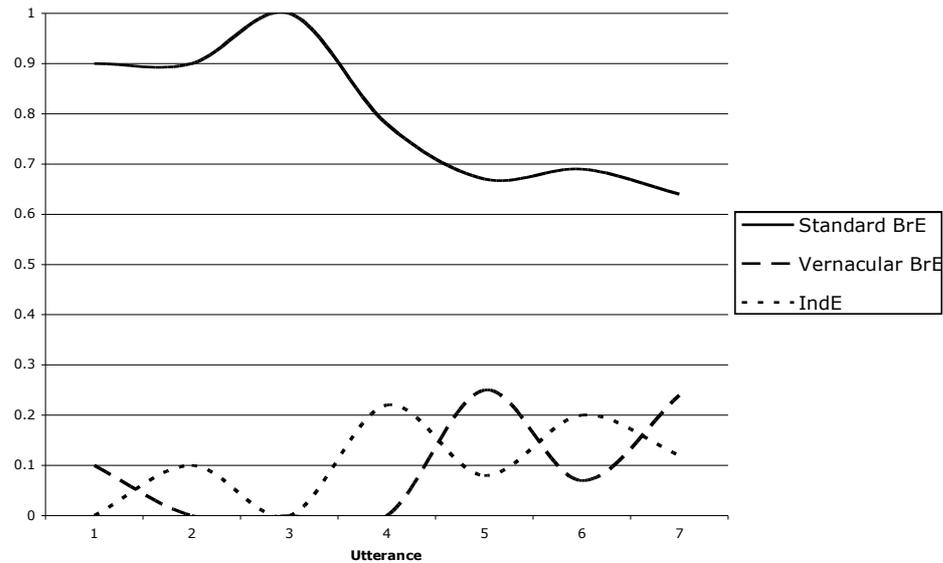
Figure 4: LFI in Anwar to Bilal, 'reason for calling'

In (5), we see Anwar maintaining his Standard British style to Bilal. The only slight shift occurs in lines 4-7, which see a mild increase in the use of London BrE and IndE variants. These correspond to a shift in footing by Anwar, just after Bilal registers the change in plans with 'right', to justifying his decision. The speech rate increases slightly and Anwar's style gestures slightly towards lects less associated with formality in the process of persuading Bilal of his reasoning.

Contrast this to the example in (6), in which Anwar similarly introduces his reason for calling to a mechanic and then attempts to persuade him. In this case, the mechanic, Ishfaq, is a working class Eastender, whose accent is as traditional Cockney as Bilal's is posh. (Indeed, Anwar told Devyani that he recorded this phone call on speakerphone to show how impossible it would be to guess from his voice that Ishfaq is in fact a British Asian Muslim).

(6)   Anwar to Ishfaq, reason for calling

     Ish: øow you doin bruv

     Anw: ye:ah i'm fine [θ]anks how [ø] you doi[n] you [o]k[eɪ]   1

     Ish: y- yɛh noʔ too bad bruv ..

     Anw: y'kn[aʊ] e::hm e::h th- [ð]is [ð]ese eh insu[r]ance [pʰ]eo[p]le they're
               [r]ea[l]y m- m[ʌ] cki[ŋ] me a[r]oun[d] righ[ʔ] .. [now-   2

     Ish: [s' whaʔ thaɪ y saɪ yin

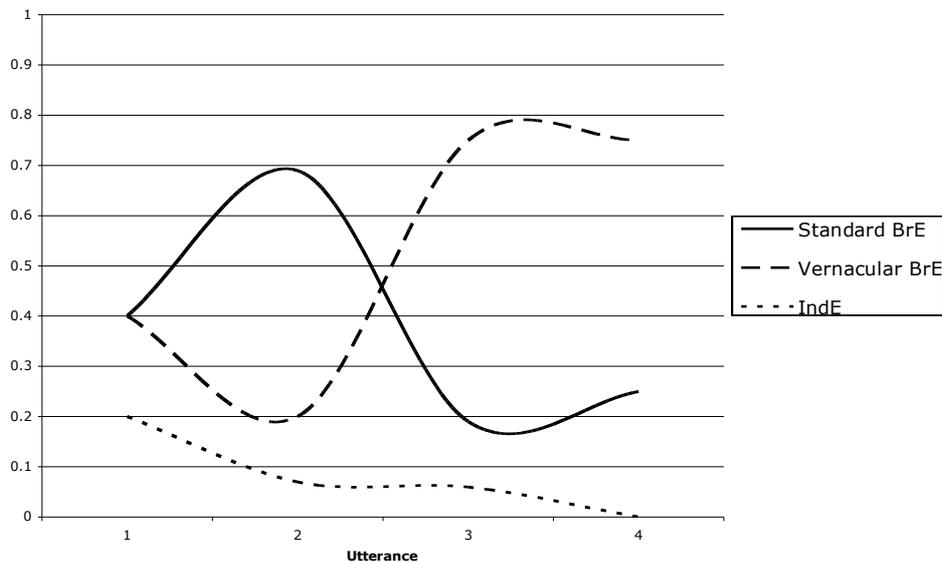   Anw: we[l] y[ʊ̯] kn[aʊ] [ø]a[ʔ] [ʌ] mean [d̪]ey [ø] jus[ø] ..
               pussyfoo[ʔ]i[n] abou[ʔ] [ð]ey are y'kn[əʊ]...   3

     Ish: hhahahahahahaha …   hehehehehehe

     Anw   y'kn[aʊ] ..   eh: ss:

s[əʊ]:: {smiley voice}... so- listen [ø]ow [ø] we <u>gonna</u> ge[ʔ] [d]is
[kʰ]ar sor[ʔ][ɪ d] [aə][ʔ] man   4

Figure 5: LFI in Anwar to Ishfaq, 'reason for calling'

When speaking to Ishfaq, the mechanic, Anwar starts fairly standard, and the first time
he announces his problem (line 2) Ishfaq's response is non-committal ('what are they
saying?'). But instead of responding to this request by providing the relevant details,
Anwar just recodes his general sense of grievance in more of the London vernacular (line
3), and this time Ishfaq bursts into a hearty laugh. Anwar's reformulation is no more
informative than the first formulation, so it must be *the way he says it* that captures Ishfaq
and engages him. Unlike the earlier pair of examples, this pair shows more than Anwar
just retuning his accent to the class position of the person he's talking to, i.e. a broad
accommodation effect. Instead, as the talk unfolds, he uses classed speech forms to shift
the footing and adjust his interactional demeanour.

A final example from Anwar's recordings shows an instance of within-interaction
variation in the use of these traits but in a more monologic mode, namely within a
narrative.

(7)   Anwar to Devyani, museum visit narrative

and um so- this is- is- that is a brilliant splitting hairs na- don't don't forget this country is a very notorious
country... let's not forget that these people are premeditated… they are premeditated.. conspirers they.. have
divided our country and they have ruled in our country they have done the disgraceful acts. they have- they
have massacred they have made each other, they have orchestrated.. each others- they have orchestrated
massacres i'm not talking about now but i am talking about the ideology is still within their mindset.. you
know.. india. the greatest biggest massacre that happened. muslims killing sikhs, sikhs killing muslims you
know.. you know it was a turmoil an- who orchestrated it you ask anybody now who orchestrated it the british
orchestrated it.. and the british people are doing the same… you see they are dividing and ruling.. even here,
look within us, they are dividing the business community with the residents you see it's a divide and rule policy.
it is in their- their core and you're not gonna get away from that and we have to stand up beyond that this is
why i'm always tolerant.. you know some- we were invited to the::.. er:: royal albert museum.. and they said
look you know you community leaders you are you know we want you to- invite you to the british heritage and
i went to the- i went there and i said.. aw that's beautiful that's lovely. aw look at that.. the elgin marbles are
there::. oh look at that mosque. the member of the mosque it- the m- member you know the member where
the- where the where the minister sits.. you know.. you- they-v- you have raped the mosque.. you have taken it
out. you put it here. this shouldn't be here it should be in a mosque in turkey now elgin marbles. they should
be in gr- in in er in greece. you know they shouldn't be here so i came out and they said oh yes si::r si::r how

did you enjoy your trip aw fantastic it's wonderful and what do you think i said you really want to know what i think it w- a warehouse of stolen goods.. you know and that created uproar i said that was a warehouse of stolen goods and i'm ashamed to be british.. after i went into the v and a victoria and albert museum this's what i feel

an[d̪] um soʊ- [ð]is -is- -is [d̪]a[t̪] is a briliant spl-spli[t̪]ing hairs na-   1

da   [ʔ] da   [ʔ] forget [ð]is [kʰ]ountry is a very f- no[tʰ]orious country.. let's not

forget…   2

[d̪]a[ʔ] [d̪]ese   [p]eop[ɬ]e are preme[d̪]i[tʰ][eɪ]te[d̪]… [ð][e] are preme[d̪]i[tʰ][eɪ]te[d̪]..

conspirers.   3

[d̪][eɪ].. have [d̪]ivi[d̪]ed our country and [ð][e] have ruled in our country.   4

[d̪][eɪ] have [d̪]one [d̪]e disgr[eɪ]ceful acts. [d̪]e have- [d̪]e have massacre[d̪].   5

[ð][e] have m[eɪ]d each o[d̪]er, [ð][e] have orchestr[e] [t̪]e[d̪].. each o[d̪]ers- [ð][eɪ]

have orchestr[e][t̪]ed massacres.   6

I'm no[ʔ] [t̪]alki[n] abou[t̪].. n[æʊ] bu[t̪] I am [t̪]alki[n] about [ð]e i[d̪]eology is sti[l]

wi[d̪]in [d̪]eir mind se[t̪].. you kn[oʊ]..   7

in[d̪]ia. [d̪]e gr[e][t̪]es[t̪] bi[gg]es[t̪] massacre [d̪]a[t̪] happene[d̪]. muslims ki[l]ing sikhs,

sikhs ki[ɬ]ing muslims you kn[o]..   8

y[ʊ̝] kn[ɑʊ] i[ʔ] was a [tʰ]urmoi[ɬ].   9

an- who orchestr[eɪ][t̪]e[d̪] i[t̪]   10

you ask anybo[d̪]y now who orchestr[e][t̪]e[d̪] i[t̪]   11

[d̪]e bri[t̪]ish orchestr[e][t̪]e[d̪] i[t̪]..an [d̪]e bri[t̪]ish [pʰ]eople are doing [d̪]e s[eɪ]m… 12

you see [d̪][eɪ] are [d̪]ivi[d̪]ing and ruling..   13

even here, look wi[d̪]in us, [d̪] [e] are [d̪]ivi[d̪]ing [d̪]e business communi[t̪]y wi[d̪]

[d̪]e resi[d̪]ents.   14

you see, it's a [d̪]ivi[d̪]e and rule policy. i[t̪] is in [d̪]eir their- [ð]eir core.   15

and you're no[ʔ] gonna ge [d̪] aw[e] from [ð]a[t̪] and we [ø]ave to stan[d̪] up

beyond [d̪]at,   16

[d̪]is is why i'm a[ɬ]w[e]s [tʰ]oleran[t̪]..   17

you kn[o] some- we were in[w]ited [t̪]o [d̪]e::..er:: royal alber[t̪] museum.. and [ð][eɪ] said

                                                                                             18

look you kno y[ʊ̝] communi[t̪]y lea[d̪]ers you are you kn[oʊ] we want you [t̪]o-

invite you to [d̪]e b[r]itish he[r]itage   19

and i went [t̪]o [d̪]e- i went [ð]ere and i said..   20

aʊ [ð]a[ø]s beautifu[ɬ] [ð]a[ø]s [l]ove[ɬ]y. [aʊ] [ɬ]ook a[ʔ] [ð]a[ʔ]..   21

[ð]e e[ɬ]gin marbles are [ð]ere::. [oʊ] [ɬ]ook at [ð]a[ʔ] mosque. [ð]e membe[ɹ] of [ð]e

mosque it-   22

[d̪]e m- me[mb]e[r] you know the member where [d̪]e- where [d̪]e where [d̪]e

minis[t]er si[t]s.. you kn[o]..   23

you- they'v- you have [r][e]ped [d̪]e mosque.. you have [tʰ] [eɪ]ken i[t̪] ou[t̪], you

pu[t̪] i[t̪] here.   24

[d̪]is shouldn be here, it should be in a mosque in [tʰ]urkey.   25

now elgin marbles, [d̪][e] should be in gr- in in er in g[r]eece. you kn[o]   26

[d̪][eɪ] shoul [d̪] n[ʔ] be here   27

so i [kʰ][eɪ]me ou[t̪] and [d̪][eɪ] said   28

[əʊ]h yes si::r si::r how [d̪]id y[ʊ̝] enjoy your t[r]ip?   29

aʊ:: fan[t]astic it's [v]on[d̪]erful.   30

and what do you [θ]ink? i said   31

you ri[ɬ]y want to kn[oʊ] wha[t̪] i [θ]ink   32

it w- a warehouse of s[t][əʊ][ɬ]en goods..   33

you kn[oʊ] and [d̪]at created up[ɹ]oar.   34

i said [d̪]a[t̪] was a warehouse of s[t][oʊ][ɬ]en goo[d̪]s and i'm ash[eɪ]med to be

b[r]i[t]ish.. after i [v]en[ø] into [d̪]e v an[d̪] [eɪ], victo[ɹ]ia and a[ɬ]ber[t̪] museum   35
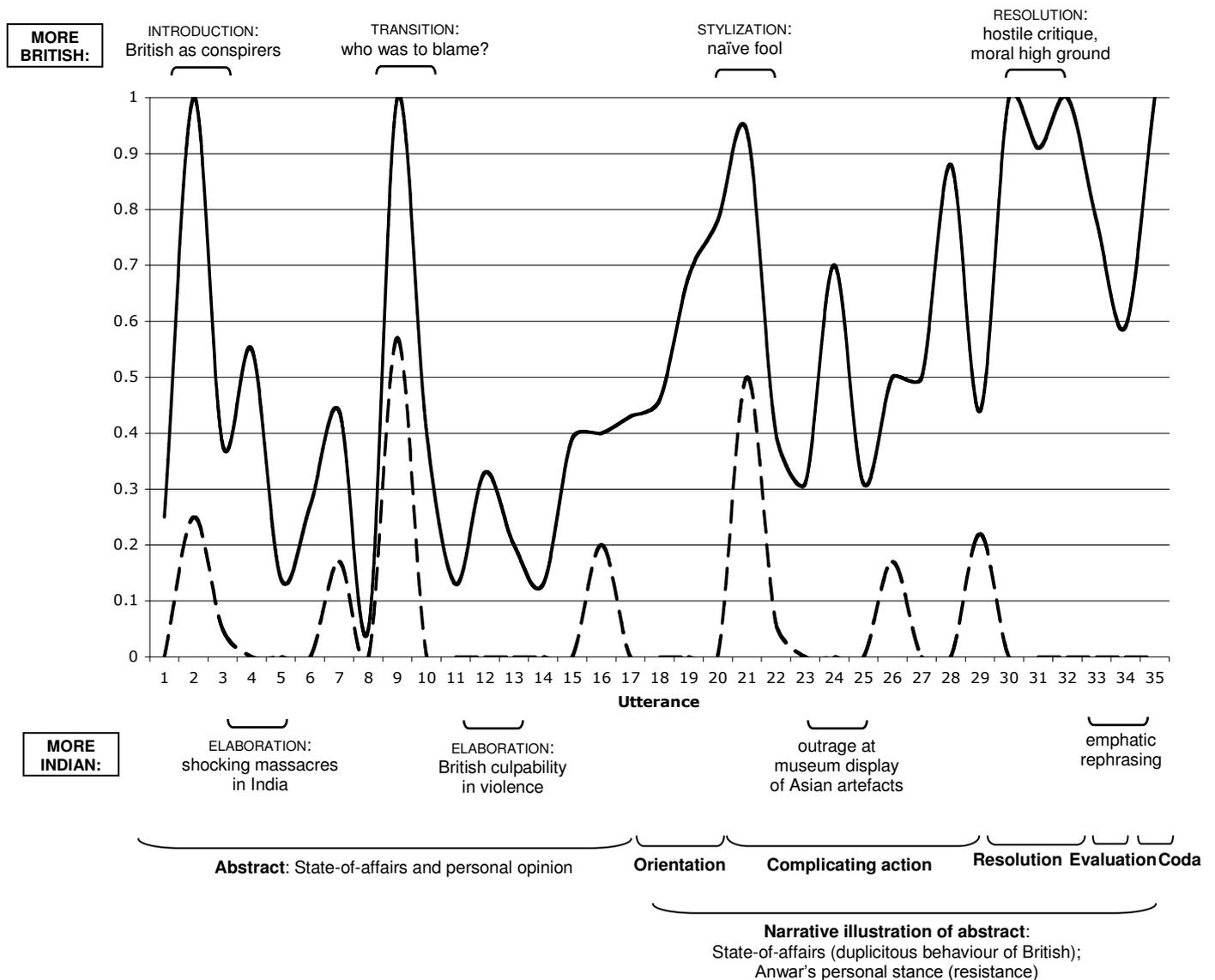
Figure 6: LFI in Anwar to Devyani, 'museum visit narrative'

In Figure 6 (and Figures 7 and 8 later), the solid line traces the total use of (Standard and Vernacular) BrE variants. The higher this line, the more a BrE lect is employed, and the lower it is, the more an IndE lect is used. As secondary information, these figures also include a broken line, which indicates what proportion of the BrE total is composed of Vernacular BrE variants.

In Anwar's narrative, we see dramatic fluctuations in his overall use of BrE/IndE forms (broadly speaking, ethnically-marked forms) and in his use of Standard/Vernacular BrE forms (broadly speaking, class-marked forms). Figure 6 sketches some of the indexical associations apparent in his usage. Of particular interest is his reliance on IndE lectal focusing to convey affective stances of personal and political outrage and cultural insult, the social role of a polite outsider, and discourse moves such as the response segments of rhetorical question-response structures. Many of these could be interpreted as uni-directional, such that he identifies with the values conveyed by the lectal voice. He

adopts Standard BrE lectal focusing for narrative framing moves and for a moral high ground evaluation of the narrative. Most remarkably, he employs Vernacular BrE stylisation to cast the voice of a gullible, provincial fool awed by the museum's riches. One might argue that this voice is in fact closest to his own British demographic—a British man raised in a working and lower middle class neighbourhood of London in the 1970s—and yet this is the voice to which he ascribes the most apparently vari-directional stance.

Of course, Anwar is hearably the same person across all these extracts, drawing on a single pool of linguistic features: Punjabi, IndE, vernacular London English, Standard BrE, with Creole available too. Even so, it is clear (a) that he turns some of these linguistic elements up and others down as he moves from one conversation to the next, (b) that he turns elements up and down even within conversations, relative to footing shifts and narrative structure, and (c) he is very reflexive about these interactional sensitivities, referring to 'Southallian' in the interaction with Ronni, describing speech like the barrister's as 'polished', and saying that the mechanic's a Cockney, a 'thoroughbred east-ender… of Pakistani origin'.

Anwar's LFI across and within conversations, pulled together in Table 1, leads us to an important observation regarding the indexical potential of ethnic and class variants. These variants do not appear to have any default indexical values in discourse for Anwar, at least not values that transcend context. The primary determinant of Anwar's choice of default style is interlocutor. It is the interlocutor (and perhaps scene) that makes certain variants more relevant and certain discourse functions more appropriate; these variants are then played up or down as the interaction unfolds. We do not see stance associations that persist across interactions, such as "Standard BrE = negative politeness", "IndE = mockery", or "Vernacular BrE = assertiveness" (cf. Ochs 1992). These stance values are so heavily constrained that we can even see entirely inverse indexical uses in different contexts. In his interaction with Devyani, the foreign academic, Anwar uses Cockney as an explicitly mocking and vari-directional voice. In his interaction with Ishfaq, the mechanic, he uses the same features for solidarity functions.

Table 1: Broad summary of functions, topics and moves produced through LFI in the speech of Anwar (older second generation man)

Interlocutor	Standard and vernacular IndE	Standard BrE	Cockney	Multiethnic vernacular
Sri Lankan maid	*default, greeting, emphasis*			
Indian academic	*solidarity, greeting, humour, emphasis, annoyance, nostalgia*	moral high ground, voice of Muslims	naïve fool	
British Asian posh lawyer		*default, solidarity, greeting, emphasis*	available (downshifting formality)	(not used)
British Asian Cockney mechanic		(not used)	*default, solidarity, , emphasis, annoyance*	
British Asian Sikh school friend		(not used)	available (shared experience)	*solidarity, , emphasis, nostalgia*

This sketch of Anwar's LFI reveals a linguascape[9] of variation that incorporates two standard varieties and several vernaculars. His movement across this range suggests habitual reinscription of specific social and ethnopolitical commitments. Variants are clearly not randomly distributed in Anwar's speech; examples (6) and (7) in particular showed fine interactional and narrative focusing of multiple lects, precluding an account of his mix of features based purely on automatic acquisition due to frequency in input.

We have focused here on close analysis of one individual, but our data suggest that some degree of such LFI arises for many older men in this community. Sharma (2011) provides detailed data on contextual variation by another older man that closely mirrors Anwar's range. We now turn to examining the type and degree of LFI in the speech of younger men.

3.2   LFI in younger second generation British Asian men

Recall that younger men from Southall were found to bear an overall resemblance to older men in the community, having some use of Asian traits alongside a majority of BrE variants. Applying the LFI measure to the speech of younger men can help clarify whether these men parallel Anwar's complex lectal and indexical range.

In fact, a careful examination of several self-recorded interactions and interview interactions turned up no instances of lectal focusing to match Anwar's. We provide two

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[9] We use this term following Appadurai's (1996) five 'scapes' for understanding cultural flows and exchanges of ideas and information in the new global economy, 'a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing center-periphery models' (p. 32). The components or contents of these 'scapes', e.g. ethnoscapes resulting from migration, are not static or universal arrangements, but rather are fluidly rendered according to the spectator. Appadurai suggests that 'the individual actor is the last locus of this perspectival set of landscapes, for these landscapes are eventually navigated by agents who both experience and constitute larger formations, in part from their own sense of what these landscapes offer' (p. 33). This formulation of cultural structure suits our examination of diasporic individuals, who orient to multiple, rather than bipolar, norms simultaneously in their range of variation.

extracts here from interview interactions that highlight two broad differences in younger men's speech as compared to Anwar's. The extracts come from two individuals: Anand is a 23-year-old lower middle-class law student who lives in Southall. Sameer is a 22-year-old working-class Southall resident attending a sports education programme at a local college. Both were born and raised in the Southall area.

(8)   Anand to Lavanya, Bhangra team narrative

we're sor[ʔ] of.. we star[ʔ]e[ɖ] off as ama[ʧ]eurs bu[ʔ] m[eɪ][ɖ]e ou[ʔ] as if we were professiona[w]s↑ [t]o ge[ʔ] on [t]o the-.. (xxx) [tʰ]o ge[ʔ] we were like °yea yea° we've go[ʔ] a gig.   1

i remember our f[ɜː]rs[t] reh[ɜː]rsa[w], there we[r] only fou[r] of us↑ and [d̪]ere w[əː]s one dholi {P: *drummer*}   2

and we're like oh [d̪]e o[d̪]er eigh[ʔ] g[ɔɪ]s are [ɖ]oi[ŋ] a gig in birmingham s[ə] [ð][eɪ] [kʰ]ould[ɜn] m[eɪ]ke i[ʔ],   3

bu[ɾ] it's for (xxx) we[ɫ] [ɖ]o the rehearsa[w] anyw[eɪ], us four wi[w] [ɖ]o i[ʔ].   4

we [ɖ]id a [tʰ]wo minu[ʔ]e rou[tʰ]ine really minor one with a few good in[ɖ]ividua[ɫ] m[ ]ves↑ bu[ʔ] no[ʔ] like a rou[tʰ]ine where we're a[w] ming[l]i[ŋ] tha[ʔ] much   5

and [ð][eɪ]re like yea you're wi[kʰ]ed you[r] am[eɪ]zi[ŋ] le[ʔ]s ge[ʔ] you in [d̪]e ac[t̪]. so [ð]e res[t] of you are gonna to be [d̪]ere nex[t] mon[tʰ]?   6

yep [aʊ][kʰ][eɪ] {*smiley voice*} n[əʊ] rou[t]ine no[θ]i[ŋ] and we had a mon[θ] [t]o g[əʊ] [tʰ]i[ɫ] um we [pʰ]erformed in [d̪]e xxxxx[θ] [pʰ]xxxx   7

like [ɔ] crap, we be[ʔ][ɜː] [ɖ][ ] some[tʰ]i[ŋ] now. alrigh[ʔ] guys guys le[ʔ]s star[ʔ] rehearsing. hhehe le[ʔ]s [kʰ]ome up wi[d̪] a rou[tʰ]ine. we've [əʊ]nly go[ʔ] a mon[θ]. 8

and we [d̪]i[d̪] i[ʔ]. we prac[t]ised EVERY d[eɪ] for an hou[r] or [tʰ][ ]... and I [θ]ink [d̪]e week before [d̪]e gig we prac[t]iced [θ]ree hours heh everyd[eɪ] un[t̪]i[ɫ] we go[ɾ] i[ʔ] righ[ʔ]   9

and like {*laugh*} [d̪]is is i[ʔ]. we're rea[ɖ]y nowhhh and we [pʰ]u[w]ed i[ʔ] off, di[ø] a fif[t̪]een minu[ʔ]e rou[tʰ]ine. eheh   10
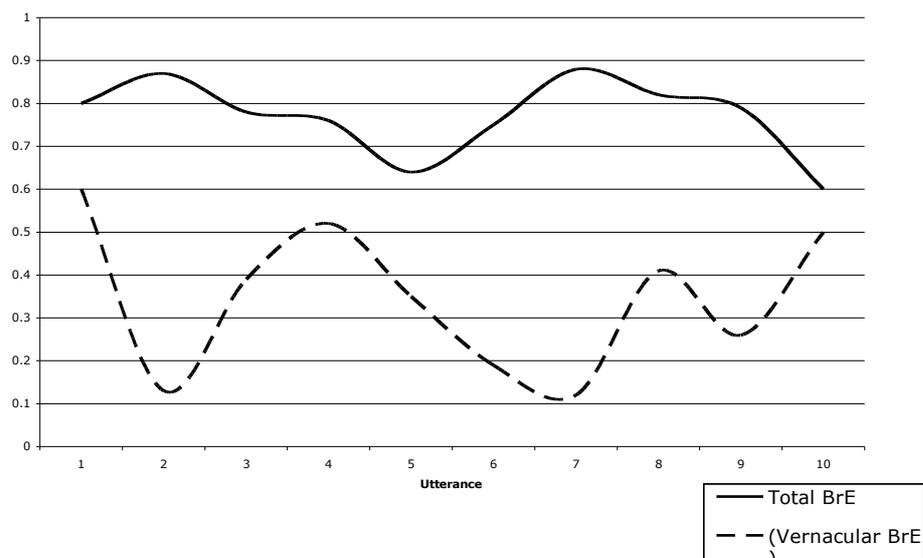
Figure 7: LFI in Anand to Devyani, 'bhangra team narrative'

In Anand's narrative in (8) we see an absence of significant lectal focusing along the BrE/IndE dimension. The solid line in Figure 7 shows that Anand's use of Asian features is rarely as low as 0% and rarely over 25%. Certain variants are consistently Asian and not others, and these variants show relatively little linkage with narrative moves, unlike Anwar's at times spectacular shifting. Instead, Anand often uses typical monolingual devices for interactional work, such as shifts in pitch and intensity (Gardner-Chloros, Charles, and Cheshire 2000). In contrast to Anwar's use of Asian variants, which is very alert to ethnopolitical valuation or 'acts of identity', Anand's speech favours an analysis based more on automaticity or a 'fused lect' model (Auer 1999). Anand even volunteers a comment on his 'unintentional' speech patterns when discussing his own speech.

(9)   Anand (younger second generation man):

       when i'm with my um my punjabi peers… every now and then a word or two
       in punjabi will come in, but we intend that to happen. it's intentional. and then
       there's other times when it happens unintentionally with um my english
       friends… i'll speak an english word but it'll come out with an indian accent.

In contrast to the stable presence of occasional ethnically-marked variants, Figure 7 shows some evidence of lectal focusing of Standard and Vernacular BrE variants, that is, class-marked variants. Anand is a lower middle-class individual, and appears to exploit a class-marked range to structure his narrative, appearing to use more Standard BrE style in the orienting and evaluation phases of the narrative, possibly the less 'personalised' and more 'objectivised' segments (Gumperz 1982).

    Compare these patterns to those of the other younger man, Sameer, who is working class. The extract in (10) is not a narrative but a response with high engagement on the topic of inter-ethnic relations, similar to the theme of Anwar's response in (7).

18

(10)   Sameer to Devyani, on foreigners

(Dev: do you think that if someone moves here they should have an English test?)
<u>nah</u> no[ʔ] r[i]lly. [ð][eɪ] should jus[ø] ge[ʔ] [ʧ]rained fo[r] i[ʔ] ..   1

be[kʰ][ɜː]se [ð][e] should a[w][e]s give someone <u>ø</u> oppor[ʧ]uni[ʔ]y.   2

but [d]ey shoul[d][   ][ʔ] just give i[t] to ANYone [t]o [kʰ] ome [ɖ]own like how many
FOREIGN [pʰ]eo[pʰ][l]e are here n[æʊ] as we[w].   3

[d]a[ʔ]s ano[v]er [f]ing [d]at's ch[e]nged i[ʔ] as we[w] because [ø]ey're pu[ʔ]i[n] a[l]
the fo[r]eign [pʰ]eo[p][l]e here n[æʊ] <u>yea::</u>   4

and i[ʔ]'s l[æɪ][ʔ].. n[æʊ] everyone's ge[ʔ]i[n] a bi[ʔ] wary i [f]ink n[æʊ] th- everyone's
l[æɪ][ʔ] (xxx) wh[æɪ] <u>innit,</u> [d][e]'re [t]a[kʰ]i[n] over all of the jobs.   5

eh [d]en [d][e] see l[æ][ʔ] [oː] [d]is p[o]lish guy go[ʔ] a[tʰ]acked or [d]at li[θ][eɪ]nian
<u>geez[ʌ]</u> go[ʔ] a[tʰ]acked.   6

obviously [d][e]y're <u>gonna</u> ge[ʔ] a[tʰ]acked if you're sh[æ]vi[n] [ø]em in [a] indian
a[r][ia]. [<u>ð]ere's</u> never been <u>no gore</u> {*P: whites*} livi[n] [ø]ere.   7

n[æə] if [ð]ere's one wa[w]ki[n] [ø]own [ð]e stree[ʔ].. an [<u>ð]ere's</u> four y[æ]ngsters
walki[n] [pʰ]as[t]..   8

[d][eɪ] [ø] <u>gonna</u> <u>wanna</u>.. [tʰ][e]ke [h]is ph[o]ne and ↑every[θ]i[ŋ]. [ð]a[ø]s wha[ø]
[d][eɪ] [ø] <u>gonna</u> <u>wanna</u> do.   9

s[oʊ] i[ø]s l[æɪ][ʔ] if [d][eɪ] [ø]ave[   ][ʔ] seen [ð]a[ʔ] f[eɪ]ce before and.. [d]e y[æ]ngsters
are i[ɖ]io[ʔ]s.. [d][eɪ][w] g[o] and [ɖ]o i[ʔ]. tha[ʔ]s wha[ʔ] i[ʔ] is. yea yea   10
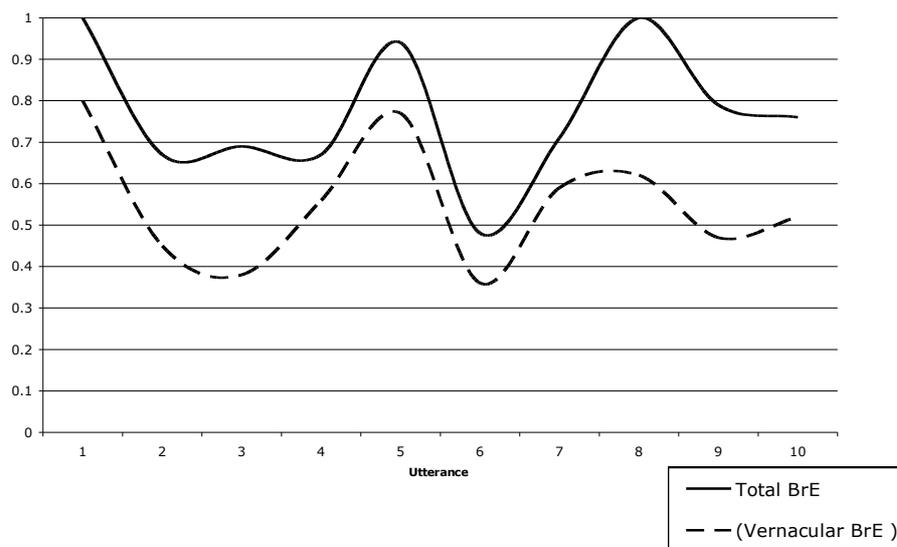
Figure 8: LFI in Sameer to Devyani, 'foreigners'

In (10), as in Anand's narrative, we see little significant fluctuation in the use of ethnic variants, as compared to Anwar's earlier usage. The range of use is sustained—at around 0%-30%—but fairly stable. (Interestingly, the one significant dip towards Asian style in line 6 occurs at a peak of affective intensity.) Like Anand, Sameer employs monolingual devices to achieve the stance shifts for which Anwar also used lectal shifts.

Notably, however, Sameer contrasts with Anand in his overall higher rates for Vernacular BrE and a general absence of fluctuation between Standard and Vernacular BrE. Sameer essentially uses a majority of vernacular variants consistently, with a similarly consistent minority element of Asian markers.[10] The difference between Anand's and Sameer's class-based LFI patterns may correspond to their different class backgrounds.

Two generalisations can be made regarding younger British Asian men in the community. First, in terms of inter-generational comparison, although younger men share a similar mix and rate of use of ethnic and class variants with older British Asian men, their use appears less 'agentive' and more 'automatic'. Second, in terms of intra-generational comparison, although both younger men share a relatively invariant use of ethnic markers, the LFI metric allows us to see the subtle but durable presence of class differences in their variation.

4. Conclusions

The LFI metric has helped unravel some of the tangle of features observable in British Asian speech. Beneath a 'superdiverse' surface, with a similar overall mix and frequency of features shared across all the men studied, generational differences came clearly into focus through the LFI analysis.

Deep and familiar class structures became evident in the speech of all the British Asian men examined, but their encoding takes different forms. Older second generation

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[10] It is important to note that Sameer described this interview speech as his 'formal' style and claimed that Devyani would not be able to understand his speech with friends. He should not therefore be assumed to have a more 'restricted' vernacular code (Bernstein 1971) or repertoire range than his lower middle-class counterparts.

British Asian men show particularly sensitive alignment of Standard and Vernacular BrE lects with interactional moves. These shifts are not simply a matter of accommodating to the dialect of the interlocutor, but a process of fine-grained, interactionally-tuned focusing. Anwar's productive sensitivity to macrosocial ideologies of British class positioning embodies what Bourdieu (1985: 728) describes as a 'practical mastery of the social structure' and Goffman (1951: 297) as a 'sense of one's place'. The younger men exploit classed variants slightly less flamboyantly than Anwar; even here, the lower middle class Anand showed more fluctuation in his use of vernacular forms than the working class Sameer, a contrast that also subtly sustains established class positions.

Ethnic variants also show different patterns of variation across generations. Older second generation British Asian men again show the greatest deployment of such variants for interactional work, sometimes evidencing a complex ethnopolitical agenda of navigating and illustrating participation across a range of distinct social scenes, and sometimes simply exploiting ethnic variants for contrasts in stance. Ethnic traits are thus used to index meanings far beyond 'ethnicity' (as evidenced in Anwar's dramatic range of use within different Asian interlocutors). For these older men, interlocutor or speech setting was found to be a primary factor in style choices, affecting which interactional and discourse meanings are more salient or active. The younger men show a noticeable presence of ethnic traits in their speech, but with a relatively invariant distribution.

A number of theoretical insights can be drawn from these observations. Most importantly, differences in the degree of LFI among men of different ages points to changes in the indexical uses of variants despite maintenance of the forms (although class meanings are found to have a particularly durable presence). In other words, there are *different* reasons for presence of similar rates of use of traits at different stages in the community: more agentive 'acts of identity' among older men, and more broad group marking, possibly below the level of consciousness, among younger men. This in turn implies potentially different types of ethnic identity at different stages. The older men engage in ethnic inflection in moment-to-moment interaction, maintaining a sense of the distinctiveness of different social realms; the younger men suggest a less politicised and local identity. Returning to the community history outlined in Figure 1, we might conclude that historical conditions have allowed the younger men to develop a single, 'fused' 'Brasian' identity (Harris 2006) rather than continuing the practice of differentiating participation in potentially opposed ethnic spheres.

In terms of language change, this suggests that substantial use by the older Gen 2 men led to exposure and acquisition of the *form* among younger Gen 2 men, but accompanied by loss of many of the sociopolitical commitments and indexicalities.

More generally, the LFI analysis brings together close qualitative analysis of interaction with generalisations about the dynamics of language change. First, in terms of *causes* of change, we see that pure inferential extrapolation of meanings from quantitative variationist patterns can risk ascribing the wrong meaning to variants ('masculine', 'Asian'), which leads to inaccurate description of the motivation of a change. Second, in terms of *rate* of change, the LFI analysis can help explain the longer retention of exogenous traits by one ethnic group as opposed to another by identifying the social work such forms do (or don't do). Finally, in terms of *direction* of change, a study of LFI can help explain the adoption of traits by one ethnic group and the avoidance of the same traits by another, once again by tracking the presence or absence of particular indexical meanings among users.

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