Marie-Luise Pitzl

6 Multilingual creativity and emerging norms in interaction: Towards a methodology for micro-diachronic analysis

1 Introduction

The theoretical discussion of norms often remains in the background in linguistic research, and it is particularly rare to find empirical studies that explore the emergence of linguistic and social norms in interaction. Along with other chapters in the present volume, this is the gap that the present chapter seeks to address. The chapter theorizes linguistic norms from the perspective of creativity, focusing on the question of how norms can be studied as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, especially in linguistically and culturally diverse, fleeting social contexts. Taking English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) interactions as a case in point, the chapter builds on recent work on Transient International Groups (TIGs) (Pitzl 2018c) and Transient Multilingual Communities (TMCs) (Mortensen 2017). It examines one long speech event among European exchange students in VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) and describes multilingual creativity and emerging norms in this transient ELF context. A central aim of the analysis is to suggest principles and tools for a micro-diachronic approach to spoken interaction in order to empirically trace and visualize initial stages of situational norm development.

2 Creativity, (linguistic) norms and English as a lingua franca (ELF)

While creativity may seem an odd or surprising choice of phenomenon for a discussion of sociolinguistic norms, this is only so at first glance. Upon closer inspection, the link between creativity and norms is in fact a very close one because creativity is in many ways the very opposite of normativity. Paradoxically, any discussion or definition of creativity has to engage with the notion of norms to some extent, since creativity involves some form of divergence from what is considered normal. From

the perspective of linguistic creativity research, we might tentatively define norms as analytic constructs concerning subsets of identifiable/observable regularities of linguistic behavior against which creative behavior can be identified. Although norms are, of course, proposed as relevant with regard to (more or less specified) contexts of language use and/or communities and groups of language users, they can be seen as analytic constructs in the sense that they are postulated (and relied upon) by researchers. Most norms concerning language use tend to be proposed on the basis of regularities observable in 3rd person data (e.g. corpora, recorded conversations), but of course the relevance or existence of a particular norm can also be argued for on the basis of elicited participant perspectives (i.e. 2nd person data such as interviews) or introspection (i.e. 1st person data, although exclusive reliance on introspection is less common today than it was several decades ago).

Regularities that can be posited as norms exist simultaneously on all levels of language use, e.g. at the level of grammar, derivational morphology, lexis or literal vs. figurative language use.[1] Yet, creativity research (as most other research in linguistics) often tends to focus on one linguistic level or phenomenon at a time. In consequence, certain (sets of) norms tend to be in the foreground in a study, while other norms remain in the background, as it is impossible to focus on *all* linguistic norms relevant to a context of language use at the same time. Depending on the level of language investigated, some norms may be considered regular and systematic (and might be referred to as *rules*), other norms may be more obscure and less systematic (and might be referred to as *conventions*).

2.1 Norm-following and norm-transcending creativity: A synchronic glimpse at potential change

Many scholars implicitly or explicitly distinguish two kinds or types of creativity. While different creativity researchers use different labels for these, I have suggested grouping these by making a distinction between norm-following and norm-developing (Pitzl 2012) or, more recently, *norm-following* and *norm-transcending* creativity (Pitzl 2018a). Both types of creativity bring about individual realizations of a normative system. While norm-following creative realizations stay within the boundaries of the system, instances of norm-transcending creativity go beyond these boundaries. Crucially, the same expression(s) – like *chin chin* or *na zdrowie* (see below) – can in fact be norm-following and norm-transcending

---

1 A more detailed discussion with references for these various approaches to creativity can be found in Pitzl (2013).

at the same time, but at different linguistic levels (see Pitzl 2012: 34–37, 2018a: 33–37). Having transcended a norm, norm-transcending creativity may prompt modifications in the normative system itself and thus have the potential to trigger linguistic change. Crucially, instances of norm-transcending creativity do not automatically lead to change; they only have the potential to do so.

Relating this distinction between norm-following and norm-transcending creativity to Taylor's (2012: 245–246) distinction between creativity and innovation, Larsen-Freeman (2016) discusses what she calls the nonteleological character of language, and of ELF in particular. In doing so, she argues convincingly that "as long as there are speakers who use ELF meaningfully through interactions with other ELF users, new properties will emerge, and in contrast to a putative endstate grammar, no endpoint will be reached" (Larsen-Freeman 2016: 140). While she points out that "both creations and innovations are norm-referenced" (Larsen-Freeman 2016: 142) and in this sense "'backward-looking'" (Larsen-Freeman 2016: 142), she elaborates that

> [t]here is no 'target' towards which ELF is evolving. It is ever labile. Any potentially system-changing innovation, then, would be in support of regularizing, expressiveness, social positioning, communicative efficiency, or motivated by other pragmatic factors. ELF speakers might accommodate to other ELF users in the moment, but these would essentially be local, contingent, and situated adaptations, often interactively co-constructed, in fulfillment of ELF's functional purpose, and therefore only potentially candidates for language change. (Larsen-Freeman 2016: 142)

It would seem that this is an apt description not only of ELF, but of language use in many contexts, especially in situations where groups of speakers are linguistically and regio-culturally diverse, prototypically multilingual, largely unacquainted and may interact only for a relatively short amount of time. Yet, this does not mean that these groups of speakers may not develop temporary norms that become characteristic for their group. Such (new) linguistic group norms will be influenced by pre-existing norms of individual speakers, of sub-groups of speakers or of the context of situation for example (cf. Hymes' 1974 norms of interaction) and many other factors. The influence that particular pre-existing norms have in a given situation or group, however, is largely unpredictable and difficult to observe. In terms of creativity and language change, the initial phase of norm emergence is most interesting, since it confronts us with the "actuation riddle" (Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog 1968: 186), namely "the problem of explaining why and how linguistic change actually comes about" (Mortensen & Hazel 2017: 271). Yet, this phase is also most difficult to capture empirically.

2.2 Normative systems, multilingual creativity and the dynamic nature of norms

Before we turn to the investigation of norm emergence, a comment about what can be denoted by a *normative system* is necessary (see also Baird, Baker, & Kitazawa 2014). As noted above, it is quite common for (socio)linguists to regard different levels of language (such as grammar, lexis, morphology, pronunciation or idioms) as normative systems that are organized by more or less regular and more or less transparent rules and conventions. It is also quite common, however, to conceive of entire *languages and *varieties as such normative systems.[2] In this sense, metapragmatically transcending the boundaries of a *language by means of code-switching, code-mixing or translanguaging can arguably be seen as creative in many – though not in all – contexts.

Following this conceptualization, this chapter examines *multilingual creativity* as instances where interactants perceptibly transcend *language boundaries in spoken interaction. At the same time, it rejects the assumption that translanguaging practices or code-mixing are always creative. If extensive code-mixing is – or becomes – the common mode of communication for a particular group or community, then "transcending [*]language boundaries might arguably not be seen as very creative for this group" (Pitzl 2018b: 235; cf. Jenkins 2015; Cogo 2016; also see Auer's 1999 distinction between code-switching vs. language mixing and fused lects and Gafaranga & Torras' 2001 notion of the bilingual medium). Two factors are crucial to note in this respect.

The first is that there is *never only one normative linguistic system* that applies to a communicative situation, but always several ones. In consequence, the same stretch of language can be creative in a norm-following way as well as in a norm-transcending way. This point is illustrated by many instances of multilingual creativity described below. Thus, occurrences of words like *chin chin*, *proost*, *na zdrowie* and *skål* in an interaction in which speakers primarily converse in *English can be seen as instances of norm-transcending creativity at the level of *language choice, especially if they are initially metapragmatically flagged as crossing *language boundaries by speakers themselves. Yet, as instances of intra-sentential (or maybe better intra-turn or intra-utterance) code-switches, the lexical elements are smoothly integrated into *English sentence structures. They are thus norm-following on the level of syntax. I would argue that it is this simultaneously norm-following and

---

2 Following the convention established in Pitzl (2018a, 2018c), all instances that refer to individual *languages or *varieties (as well as the terms *language/s and *variety/ies themselves) are marked with an asterisk to emphasize their non-boundedness and non-homogeneity.

norm-transcending nature that actually makes these – and many other – instances of linguistic creativity intelligible and thus effective and functional.

A second aspect is that when we refer to normative systems, we do so at a certain point in time. This is obvious when historical linguists talk about large-scale diachronic developments, but it also applies to all synchronic language use in communities and groups. Norms are not norms once and for all; they get adapted and change over time (cf. discussion in Harder, this volume; see also Fabricius, this volume). These changes are usually triggered, I propose, by instances of creativity. So, when is something creative? And how long does it take for a feature of language to become normal and un-creative in a group of speakers? And how does this process – from creative to un-creative/normal – actually manifest itself in spoken interaction?
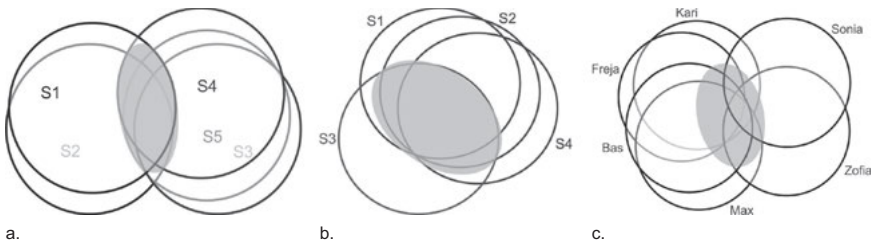
These questions map out a research undertaking that goes beyond the scope of this chapter. Yet, in order to begin to investigate these questions systematically, we need research contexts, conceptual frameworks and methodological tools that allow us to do so. My contention is that conceptual frameworks need to highlight the transient dimension of many present-day interactions, especially in multilingual contexts (Section 3), while methodologies need to provide tools that enable scholars to adopt a diachronic take on synchronic data in order to trace how initial creativity may actuate situational norm emergence (Section 4).

3 Transient language contact, multilingual resources and accommodation

Before I turn in more detail to the methodological aspects of micro-diachronic data analysis in Section 4, I would like to contextualize the approach in this chapter by relating it to recent work on *Transient International Groups (TIGs)* (Pitzl 2018c) and *Transient Multilingual Communities (TMCs)* (Mortensen 2017). Work on TIGs and TMCs shares a common interest in the study of multilingual contexts in which participants do not share a common first language (L1) and/or regio-cultural background, are (fairly) newly acquainted, and potentially only interact for a short amount of time. Such contexts tend to be low on a *scale of semiotic sedimentation* with regard to linguistic, but also social norms (Mortensen 2017: 274–276). What makes them interesting, but also challenging for research is that not only norms but also "the norm center will not be given", but "a matter to be explored" (Mortensen 2017: 274) and jointly developed in interaction.

Work on Transient International Groups (Pitzl 2016, 2018a, 2018c) is highly compatible with work on TMCs, but puts a stronger emphasis on the *group dimen-*

sion of multilingual encounters. Among other things, it proposes schematic visual representations of group constellations with the intention of heightening our awareness of different kinds of diversity in multilingual groups (see Figure 1a, 1b, 1c). Since TIGs can be "somewhere on a scale or cline from *highly diverse* to *bilateral*" (Pitzl 2018c: 31, italics in original) such visual representations – as schematic and approximate as they may currently be – can help scholars perceive a difference between a TIG that is more or less symmetrically bilateral (Figure 1a), asymmetrically bilateral (Figure 1b) or rather diverse (Figure 1c and below).

a.   b.   c.

Figure 1: Schematic representation of Multilingual Resource Pool of a symmetric-bilateral (a), an asymmetric-bilateral (b) and a diverse (c) TIG.[3]

These visualizations draw on the basic proposition that multilingual interactants' *Individual Multilingual Repertoires* (IMRs) will form a (shared) *Multilingual Resource Pool* (MRP) in any given situation, when these speakers interact. They are informed by a language contact perspective that sees each individual TIG – and hence many ELF or other lingua franca encounters – as sites of transient language contact (see Pitzl 2016: 296–299, 2018a: 192–199 for a more detailed discussion).

Since TIG constellations differ, speakers' IMRs overlap to a greater or lesser degree in the central area of a group's MRP in Figures 1a to 1c, i.e. the pool of multilingual resources that interactants share to begin with is smaller or larger. If the MRP of a TIG is diverse (see Figure 1c), many different *languages and distinct multilingual repertoires are in contact. Even if a lingua franca TIG is only bilateral, it involves more complex language contact than many local/regional diglossic situations typically examined in bilingualism research in which primarily

---

3 Figures 1a, 1b and 1c represent TIGs in different speech events from VOICE. Figure 1c represents the six main interactants of the diverse TIG in LEcon560 analyzed in this chapter. Figure 1a represents the bilateral business TIG of PBmtg3 (analyzed in Pitzl 2021). Figure 1b represents the asymmetric-bilateral TIG in LEcon329, LEcon547 and LEcon548 (analyzed in Pitzl 2018c). The abbreviations S1, S2, etc. indicate individual speakers.

two languages are in contact and contrastively perceived as "we code" and "they code" by speakers (Auer 1999: 311). Crucially, transient language contact in TIGs/TMCs includes not only speakers' L1s, their *Englishes (if *English is their lingua franca) and any other *languages they might know, but also all "bits and pieces" (cf. Canagarajah 2018: 36) of additional *languages that they might have picked up somewhere informally without ever having explicitly learned the *language. All these factors will have an impact on how multi-/translingual norms are negotiated in a TIG and will influence which instances of (multilingual) creativity are most successful in the sense of being taken up through processes of convergence. Transient language contact in situational MRPs thus clearly involves more than a contact of what Mauranen (2012: 29–30) calls similects.

A phenomenon that has the potential to help us relate creativity and norm development in interaction is accommodation. In ELF research, accommodation – especially *convergence* – has been emphasized as a relevant concept for many years (see Jenkins's 2000 early work on pronunciation) and has retained prominence (see e.g. Cogo & Dewey 2006; Cogo 2009; Seidlhofer 2009; Mauranen 2012: 48–52). Originating from social psychology, communication accommodation theory (CAT) (e.g. Giles, Coupland, & Coupland 1991) has been influential in sociolinguistics, as it seeks to account for "how speakers adjust their language use in interaction to both manage social distance and regulate comprehension" (Gasiorek, Giles, & Soliz 2015: 3). Accommodative processes have been investigated in a wide range of situations, studying how interactants converge, i.e. make their "communication styles [. . .] more similar", or diverge in order to make their "communication styles [. . .] more different or deviant from the communicative desires and/or norms of others" (Gasiorek, Giles, & Soliz 2015: 2).

While convergence can, on the one hand, be seen as a general socio-psychological concept that influences speakers' communicative behavior, it can, on the other hand, be applied as a category in the descriptive analysis of data. In the latter case, descriptive studies can indicate specific points in an interaction where speakers can be seen to converge or diverge to their interlocutor(s) with regard to a specific linguistic phenomenon. Being closely related – but certainly not limited – to conversational phenomena like other-repetition (see e.g. Lichtkoppler 2007: 46; Seidlhofer 2011: 101; Mauranen 2012: 219), convergence has been shown to be a recurring feature in many ELF interactions. However, current research methods for describing interaction only provide episodic evidence of how speakers converge linguistically during relatively short phases of conversation (i.e. a few turns or utterances in a conversational excerpt). Also CAT scholars themselves emphasize the need for more longitudinal research and for studies that explore accommodation in multiparty interactions (Pitts & Harwood 2015: 90–91).

Since we have established that *creativity* has to do with departing from a – more or less explicit or perceptible – norm or convention, norm-transcending creativity (including code-switching as an instance of multilingual creativity) might be linked to *accommodation* by being considered a special type of *divergence*. The conceptual relationship of these two concepts – creativity and accommodation – is certainly complex and warrants further theoretical engagement that goes beyond the scope of this chapter. For the present discussion of norm development, my tentative suggestion is that local norm development in specific TIGs/TMCs is likely to involve individual instances of creativity (as a type of *divergence*) that *may* be followed by instances or phases of *convergence*. If our interest is in describing how linguistic (and possibly also social) norms are developed by multilingual speakers in interaction in transient contexts, it would seem important to investigate empirically *whether and how* instances of creativity are actually succeeded by convergence, for example through conversational phenomena like other-repetition, echoing or mirroring. To do this, it is necessary to develop analytical approaches that allow us to move beyond the analysis of single extracts of conversations.

4 A micro-diachronic approach to synchronic spoken interaction

In order to systematically explore the questions concerning multilingual creativity and norm development raised in the previous sections, this chapter relies on what I call a *micro-diachronic approach to spoken interaction* (which will be introduced in more detail below). This approach was first suggested in Pitzl (2018c), where initial premises are discussed. The analysis in this chapter builds on and expands the initial tool set in an attempt to further systematize the approach (see also Pitzl 2021). The study at hand focuses on code-switching and the use of non-*English elements in an ELF context and explores how these gradually morph from being instances of multilingual creativity to becoming more normal practices in a TIG.

In general terms, the proposed micro-diachronic approach draws on and is informed by conversation analytic, interactional sociolinguistic, discourse analytic and discursive pragmatic methods that are combined with corpus linguistic tools (such as specific searches triggered by qualitative observations or the reliance on annotation already available in corpus transcripts). What makes the approach micro-diachronic is that detailed qualitative data analysis, manual and (semi-)automatic annotation of a linguistic phenomenon in spoken interaction are combined with the close-meshed structural annotation of time segments and/or utterance sequences. This combination of *content and structural annotation*

makes it possible to supplement traditional methods of data analysis, such as the discussion of data extracts (see Section 4.3.1) or concordance lines with novel tools and visualizations. These include

a. holistic portraits and overviews
    i. of speaker participation (see Figure 2)
    ii. of the observed phenomenon/phenomena (see Figures 4 and 5)

b. micro-diachronic charts
    i. of speaker participation (see Figure 3)
    ii. of the observed phenomena (see Figures 6–8).

Especially the latter (*micro-diachronic charts*) make it possible to explore the real-time development of communication (including creativity and norms) in spoken interaction. Yet, the use of *holistic tools*, i.e. tools that look at the entire duration of a transcribed TIG interaction, rather than only at short portions, is equally important, since these quantitative overviews allow the researcher to get a sense of the investigated phenomenon/phenomena and of the interaction in their entirety. They are, for example, useful in characterizing a TIG with regard to how actively individual speakers do (or do not) verbally participate – in the interaction in general (Section 4.2) and with regard to a particular linguistic phenomenon (see Section 4.3.2). The full analytic potential of the methodology is achieved through the combination of micro-diachronic and holistic tools with established methods like the discussion of data extracts and examples. Admittedly, this is at present a rather elaborate affair, since the new methodological tools need to be introduced alongside the findings obtained through them.

Although both holistic and micro-diachronic charts operate with numbers – and thus involve some quantification of analyzed phenomena – it is important to stress that the micro-diachronic methodology is *highly qualitative* at its core. Its aim is *not* to provide readers with frequencies in a traditional sense in order to check whether or not they are statistically significant, but to use holistic and micro-diachronic charts to contextualize and sequentialize in-depth discussions of language use in interaction.

In terms of practicalities, the analysis in this chapter is carried out using qualitative data analysis (QDA) software (MAXQDA). Micro-diachronic and holistic charts were created making use of electronic spreadsheets containing overviews, coding and annotation reports exported from the QDA software. In the following, methodology and findings are discussed conjointly rather than separately, as this seems most conducive for showing the research potential of the proposed tools, not just for the study of (multilingual) creativity, but also for the study of TIGs and TMCs, sociolinguistic norm development, creativity and accommodation more generally.

4.1 Ethnographic contextualization of the data: A casual conversation among exchange students

The interaction investigated in the following is one long speech event (LEcon560) among students that was recorded and transcribed for VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English). The conversation takes place during an informal gathering at a pub, where students from various European countries (and some local Austrian students) get to know each other at the beginning of the non-Austrians' semester abroad in Vienna. As specified in the event description (see VOICE 2013, LEcon560), although some students have met briefly before, some meet for the first time during this speech event. So although the speech event does not constitute T_0, i.e. the first meeting for all interactants (cf. Pitzl 2018c: 34–35), it was chosen because it offers a detailed glimpse at the kind of informal interactions that are bound to happen in many initial phases of study abroad experiences (cf. e.g. Kalocsai 2014).

The recording of LEcon560 lasts for almost two and a half hours (142 minutes). Of these, 125 minutes were transcribed in detail. Short gaps are indicated in the transcript (cf. Figure 3) because portions of the recording were unintelligible, primarily due to the high level of background noise in the pub and/or multiple parallel conversations.

Transcription format and transcription practices, i.e. what is/is not transcribed and how features of spoken language are rendered in mark-up, follow the standards developed for ELF interactions in the VOICE project (VOICE Project 2007; VOICE 2013; see also Pitzl 2018a: 86–89). As is common practice in VOICE, non-*English elements are indicated by means of L1 (first language), LN (other-language) or, rarely, LQ (unclear if L1 or LN) tags in the transcript. In addition, the mark-up of L1/LN/LQ tags also specifies the *language switched to (if known) and provides translations { } into *English where possible (see e.g. Breiteneder et al. 2006: 182).[4] One reason for choosing this particular speech event is that it includes an unusually high number – and thus density – of non-*English elements (i.e. L1/LN/LQ tags), as discussed below.

---

[4] As discussed elsewhere (Pitzl 2021: 100–102), the transcribed non-*English L1/LN/LQ elements in VOICE do not necessarily constitute the full extent of code-switching and multilingual practices in recorded interactions, as for example longer portions of speech in *languages other than *English are generally not transcribed in the corpus. There is no gap that is due to 'non-*English' speech in LEcon560, but use of *languages other than *English is mentioned in some contextual notes indicating untranscribed parallel conversations. *Languages mentioned in these contextual notes are *German (5 cases), *Spanish (3), and *Polish (1), *Danish (1) and *Norwegian (1).

4.2 TIG characterization and interaction profile

In contrast to the bilateral TIGs in Figures 1a and 1b, the group of students in LEcon560 can be characterized as *a diverse TIG* (see Figure 1c). As specified in the metadata provided in VOICE, the speech event involves a total of ten speakers. Of these, one is the researcher (who records the interaction) and one is a non-participant, who only joins the conversation for a few seconds. Both researcher and non-participant utter only a few words and are not active participants throughout the conversation. Upon closer inspection, the same is true for two other speakers (both L1 *German) who also say very little (with 9 and 16 utterances, respectively).
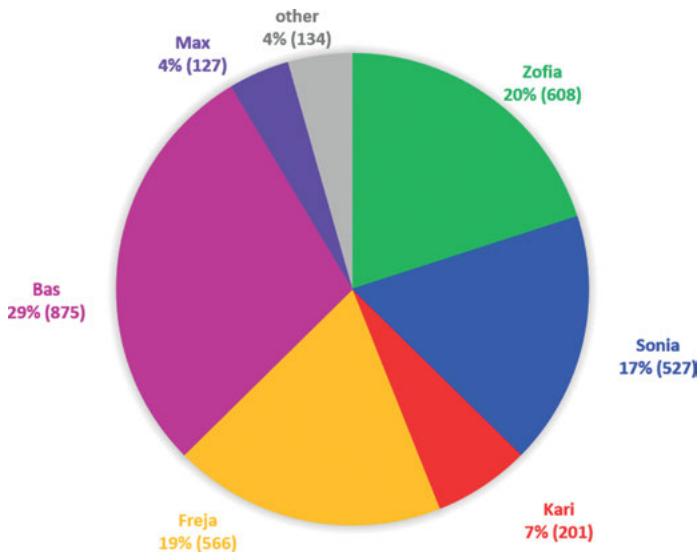
This leaves *six speakers* who are the *main participants* interacting in LEcon560. These six constitute a diverse TIG, in the sense that they come from six different countries (Poland, Spain, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands and Austria) and have six different L1 backgrounds: *Polish (VOICE ID = P683, f), *Spanish/*Catalan (P684, f), *Norwegian (P685, f), *Danish (P686, f), *Dutch (P687, m), and *German (P689, m). In spite of this diverse constellation, parts of the speakers' *English(es) repertoires will be shared, i.e. located in the central overlapping area of the situational MRP. Although knowledge of *German cannot be taken for granted by the students, there is ample evidence in the data that most speakers also share some knowledge of *German (in addition to *English). Yet, which bits of pieces of (other) *languages are – or are not – shared by (all or some) speakers is initially largely invisible, to the interactants and to the researcher. Importantly, whether visible or not, what is shared initially (i.e. at T_0) is gradually expanded by speakers through interaction (cf. Pitzl 2018c: 35).

With six main interactants, LEcon560 is not just a speech event in a diverse TIG but also an *unmoderated, highly interactive multiparty conversation* in a leisure context. According to the metadata in VOICE, the 125 minutes transcribed contain 21,867 words. These 21,867 words correspond to 3,038 utterances in the transcript. Utterances here are not turns at talk in a conversation analytic (CA) sense (cf. Pitzl 2018a: 87). Some solely contain backchannels, laughter, single words or word fragment(s). They are thus not necessarily bids for the floor and also include all words rendered as overlapping speech. Putting the number of words and utterances in relation, an average utterance in LEcon560 contains 7.2 words. With regard to the pace and degree of interactivity of the conversation, we arrive at an average of 175 words and 24.3 utterances per minute (again, including all overlapping speech and backchanneling). It therefore seems safe to say that LEcon560 is indeed a highly interactive and fast-paced conversation.

Why is such interactivity and participation profiling relevant? Because the degree of active speaker participation and interactivity in interaction allows the researcher to get a sense of the abundance (or lack) of opportunities for produc-

tive accommodation. Since accommodation in speech production (both convergence as well as divergence) requires for interactants to adjust their language use *to each other*, a highly interactive conversation will abound in opportunities for participants to actually do so. Whether or not they make use of these opportunities is a different matter, to be answered by data analysis.[5]

Having established the degree of interactivity, we can look at how much the six core participants of the student TIG in LEcon560 actually participate. Starting with a holistic view, Figure 2 provides the number of utterances with corresponding percentages for each speaker in the speech event as a whole.

Figure 2: Number of utterances per speaker (VOICE, LEcon560; n=3,038): Holistic view.

While Bas (VOICE ID = P687; names are pseudonyms) participates most actively in terms of verbal output and contributes close to one third (29 %) of all utterances, three other speakers, i.e. Zofia (P683), Sonia (P684) and Freja (P686), also contribute between 17 % and 20 % of all utterances each. In comparison, Kari (P685) and Max (P689) speak less (7 % and 4 % of utterances). These are interesting observations with regard to the investigation of potential norm development.

---

5 Of course, I do not wish to imply that productive accommodation in interaction is the only kind of accommodation. Speakers can also accommodate receptively, as shown by e.g. Cogo and Dewey (2012: 103–106), or they can orient to "imagined" norms or stereotypes (see Kraft and Mortensen, this volume), both of which are also possible in less interactive speech events.

Although active verbal participation might not be the only indicator of speakers' potential influence on norm development, it constitutes a good point of reference, especially when put in relation to a particular linguistic phenomenon (see Figure 4 below).[6]

As is common in unmoderated multiparty conversations, we need to note that the six main speakers in the student TIG do not all interact with all others all the time. This fact cannot be inferred from the overview in Figure 2 but becomes visible to some extent when speaker contributions are displayed micro-diachronically (Figure 3).

Making use of structural coding, Figure 3 displays how many utterances each speaker contributes in each three-minute segment throughout the conversation. With regard to methodology, the kind and length of structural segmentation is the choice of the researcher. In addition to (or instead of) time segments, a conversation can be rendered micro-diachronically using for example utterance segments (see Figures 6–8; see also Pitzl 2021). The micro-diachronic view in Figure 3 illustrates that, although there are six main speakers, the transcript increasingly represents dyadic and triadic phases of interaction that are interspersed with stretches where four or more speakers interact. Dyads and triads can be seen in Figure 3, for example, when
- Bas mainly interacts with Freja in minutes 21 to 26 and minutes 57 to 62
- Freja mainly interacts with Kari in minutes 39 to 47
- Bas, Sonia and Zofia interact with each other in minutes 81 to 104 and again minutes 114 to 119
- and Bas interacts with Sonia in minutes 105 to 113

Such conversational dyads and triads are actually quite common when bigger groups (i.e. more than three or four speakers) are allowed to organize interaction and conversational topics freely (i.e. when there are no external norms imposed upon interaction by means of, for example, a meeting agenda, a chair person, a teacher or the interactive constraints of an institutional setting).

The micro-diachronic chart also illustrates the limitations of even detailed transcription of such highly interactive unstructured multiparty contexts. During the dyads and triads represented in the transcript, other speakers are likely to also have interacted with other participants (or with other people in the pub, for example when getting up to buy a drink at the bar). Although VOICE transcripts

---

6 The 134 (4 %) utterances allocated to "other" include utterances by the four other speakers as well as all utterances attributed to groups of speakers (SS) or unidentified male or female speakers (SX-f, SX-m). For the six main speakers, uncertain utterances (e.g. P683-X) have been counted for the respective speaker (e.g. P683, Bas).

Figure 3: Number of utterances per speaker (VOICE, LEcon560; n=3,038): Micro-diachronic view (3-minute segments).[7]

7 Each * symbol in a track indicates a gap in the transcript.

indicate quite frequently that such *parallel conversations* took place, for corpus building it has usually been feasible to transcribe only one of these conversational strands. In future data collection and transcription to be conducted specifically for the investigation of TIGs/TMCs, it would be desirable to attempt to record and transcribe these parallel conversational strands – although this opens up a range of questions as to how such parallel strands are to be most suitably represented in transcripts.

More importantly, with regard to the issue of describing initial stages of norm development, the dyads and triads in Figure 3 indicate that in unmoderated multiparty conversations, new norms might first emerge in sub-groups (e.g. dyads or triads) and only gradually travel to the group as a whole: If one (or more) instance(s) of norm-transcending creativity occurs in a dyad or triad and is subsequently followed by instances or phases of convergence in this dyad or triad (for instance, through other-repetition, echoing or mirroring linguistic structures or linguistic behavior), this will not yet create an emerging norm for the entire TIG. In order for this to happen, the new pattern will need to be passed on, recycled and expanded in interaction with other speakers (i.e. speakers who were not part of the first original dyad or triad). This, in turn, will involve further instances of creativity and convergence (see Section 4.3.3).

4.3 Exploring the phenomenon: Multilingual creativity

Having provided some ethnographic, holistic and micro-diachronic information on speaker participation and degree of interactivity, we now turn to the phenomenon at hand: multilingual creativity and the potential of norm emergence concerning non-*English use. Section 4.3.1 discusses a short data extract in which some students teach each other to toast in different *languages. Having made use of this established method of data presentation, the subsequent sections introduce new tools. Section 4.3.2 offers an overview of the non-*English elements in the entire interaction. Section 4.3.3. offers a micro-diachronic view of the phenomenon, discussing how this approach helps us trace how initially creative code-switches may gradually become established trans- or multilingual practices in a TIG.

4.3.1 Introducing multilingual cheers: The conversational view

In the minute preceding the exchange in Extract 1, Bas (m, L1 *Dutch) returns to the table, just having bought drinks at the bar, and is asked by Sonia (f, L1s *Spanish/*Catalan) whether he remembered to bring *nachos* (utterances 574,

577). Bas admits that he forgot, which triggers laughter from the group (utterances 580–582). When everyone seems to have their drink in front of them, Sonia says *chin chin* (utterance 584). Although *chin chin* – as well as *nachos* – defy a traditional categorization of "belonging" to just one particular *language (both could be seen as *Spanish or as loanwords that have become part of the *English lexicon), Sonia's use of *chin chin* appears to be an instance of multilingual creativity since she explicitly frames *chin chin* as Spanish (utterance 586), which triggers the following sequence:

Extract 1: Multilingual cheers (VOICE, LEcon560; speaker IDs replaced by pseudonyms)

584	Sonia:	<L1spa> **chin chin** </L1spa> (.)
585	Zofia:	cheers (.) {parallel conversation between Bas and Freja starts}
586	Sonia:	in spanish it's <L1spa> **chin chin** {cheers} </L1spa> (.)
587	Zofia:	er in polish <L1pol> **na zdrowie** {cheers} </L1pol> (.)
588	Sonia:	<LNpol> **na zdrowie** {cheers} </LNpol> (.)
589	Zofia:	<L1pol> **na zdrowie** {cheers} </L1pol> (.)
590	Sonia:	<LNpol> **na zdrowie** {cheers} </LNpol> =
		{parallel conversation between Freja and Bas ends and parallel conversation between Zofia and Sonia starts; they continue to talk about saying cheers in different languages}
591	Freja:	= how do you say e:r cheers in e:r holland (1) dutch (.)
592	Bas:	er all (.) all ALL sorts of ways actually <1> but </1>
593	Freja:	<1> all </1> right =
594	Bas:	= most people say <L1dut> **proost** {cheers} </L1dut> (.)
595	Freja:	right (.)
596	Bas:	like in danish it's <LNger> **prost?** {cheers} </LNger> (.) yeah in (.) i- <LNger> **pr- prost** {cheers} </LNger> is in: er is in denmark? (.)
597	Freja:	o:h no (.) that's <L1dan> **skål** {cheers} </L1dan> (.)
598	Bas:	a:h <LNdan> **skål** {cheers} </LNdan> yah
599	Sonia-x:	<LNdan> **skål?** {cheers} </LNdan> (.)
600	Bas:	yah (2) {Franz joins the group}
601	Franz:	<L1ger> ist hier noch frei? {is this seat still available} </L1ger> {parallel conversation between Zofia and Sonia ends} (1)

At the beginning of Extract 1, Zofia (f, L1 *Polish) reciprocates Sonia's toast by saying *cheers* (utterance 585). She thus converges on the level of content, which demonstrates that she has understood the meaning of Sonia's *chin chin*. At the same time, Zofia does not converge in terms of lexical choice, but replies with what we might say is the more conventional or typical *English toast, namely *cheers*. Although the use of *cheers* is a perfectly appropriate response, it prompts Sonia to repeat her toast and frame it explicitly as non-*English and thus flag it as multilingual: *in spanish it's chin chin* (utterance 586). At this point, Zofia converges on the level of *language choice – or maybe better, on the level of the translanguaging or

multilingual mode adopted – in the sense that she also moves away from *English *cheers*. Yet, she simultaneously also diverges from Sonia's use of *Spanish* and supplies her own L1, using an almost identical syntactic structure as Sonia before her: *in polish na zdrowie* (utterance 587). This is followed by three instances of next-turn verbatim other-repetition, an interactive conversational strategy that "could be seen as ultimate convergence" (Seidlhofer 2011: 101). Both speakers thereby reinforce and/or practice *na zdrowie*, with Sonia showing interest in learning a phrase from Zofia's L1, a practice that is – or rather becomes – fairly prominent in this student group. Through the instances of next-turn verbatim repetition, I would argue *na zdrowie* gradually becomes less foreign to Sonia, less divergent in the conversation and thus a more normal part of language use in this TIG – or rather, at this point, for Sonia and Zofia.

As can be seen, the exchange between Zofia and Sonia happens in a dyadic fashion and a parallel conversation between Bas (m, L1 *Dutch) and Freja (f, L1 *Danish) ensues. Bas and Freja continue the topic of multilingual cheers, mirroring the multilingual creativity of Zofia and Sonia by introducing their own L1 elements for saying cheers. In doing so, they might not only be mirroring Zofia and Sonia, but might also converge towards a more wide-spread sociopragmatic routine of multilingual cheers in TIGs/TMCs – but we cannot be sure of this. In Freja and Bas's conversational dyad (utterances 591–598), Freja explicitly asks Bas for information on how to say *cheers* in his L1 Dutch, which Bas supplies and Freja confirms with *right* (utterance 595). Instead of simply asking about "Danish", Bas then voices a guess (presumably partly based on his L1 *Dutch and his knowledge of *German), which ends up sounding like the *German word for toasting *prost* (utterance 596). Freja then provides the appropriate *Danish form *skål*. Like in Zofia and Sonia's dyad, this is met with immediate verbatim other-repetition from Bas and one other speaker (presumably Sonia, hence "Sonia-x" in the transcript, listening in and joining Freja and Bas's conversation again).

It is obvious that a lot is going on in this short sequence of less than 20 utterances. Not only is there a high density of non-*English elements (in speakers' L1s as well as LNs), of code-switching as multilingual creativity and of subsequent convergence, which happens especially – but not exclusively – in the form of next-turn verbatim other-repetition. There are many instances when speakers explicitly refer to their own or others' *languages or countries (*spanish*, *polish*, *holland*, *dutch*, *danish*, *denmark*). These instances of explicit reference (Pitzl 2018c) provide key clues for the speakers (cf. Cogo and Dewey 2006: 68–69) and flag these non-*English elements (cf. Hynninen et al. 2017) as multilingual. The fact that the group of interactants is a diverse TIG (rather than bilateral) is reflected in the number of *languages that are indexed through the switches as well as through the instances

of explicit reference in this short episode: Four speakers switch to four different *languages (five, if you count the accidental *German *prost*).

All four interactants in Extract 1 are clearly involved in expanding their individual multilingual repertoires (IMRs), even if learning to say *cheers* in different languages is admittedly a rather mundane affair, not unique to this group of multilingual speakers. But even if fairly banal, through this conversational activity the speakers expand the shared multilingual resource pool (MRP) and the potential for shared multilingual practices of the group – which has the potential for norm development, especially in the context of a ritualized and recurring activity such as toasting. Yet, it would be premature to claim or posit the emergence of a new norm concerning multilingual cheers in this TIG based on just this one short conversational exchange. For this to become possible, I suggest that we need to supplement the preceding discussion and presentation of transcribed data with additional ways of data presentation and visualization. This will allow us to get a sense of the bigger picture of the interaction in the TIG by means of holistic (Section 4.3.2) as well as micro-diachronic (Section 4.3.3) views.

4.3.2 Non-*English elements in the student TIG: A holistic overview

Moving from this individual episode of multilingual cheers to the more general perspective of the whole speech event, the first key point to make is that the use of elements in *languages other than *English is a very prominent feature of LEcon560. Making use of the L1/LN/LQ tags annotated in VOICE transcripts, we can establish that, out of the 3,038 utterances in LEcon560, 219 (i.e. 7.21 %) contain at least one L1/LN/LQ tag. Of these 219 utterances, 21 include two L1/LN/LQ tags and one contains three. This leads to a total of 241 L1/LN/LQ tags indicated in LEcon560, each of which contain one or more non-*English word(s).[8]
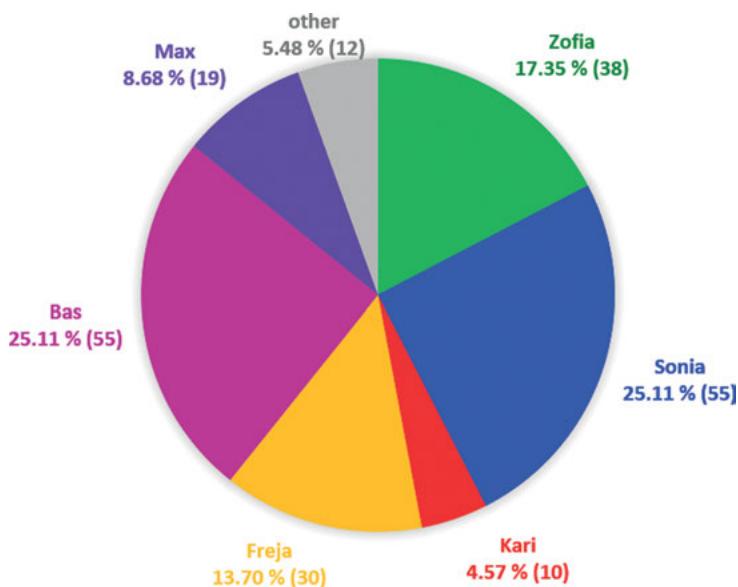
This number is noticeably higher than in other speech events in VOICE. For comparison, the entire corpus contains 3,601 L1/LN/LQ tags, which means that a remarkable 6.7 % of all L1/LN/LQ tags in VOICE occur in the student TIG in LEcon560. This finding is even more remarkable, if we consider that the number of non-*English elements in VOICE is considerably higher than, for example, in ELFA (Corpus of English as a lingua franca in academic settings). Hynninen, Pietikäinen and Vechinnikova (2017: 101) report "651 code-switches occurring in 82

---

8 As useful as the mark-up of non-*English speech is for the analysis of code-switching and multilingual practices, marking the use of different *languages in transcripts also has its downsides, as it is, of course, not unproblematic conceptually and runs the risk of reinforcing the perceived boundedness of individual *languages (see Cogo 2018: 364; Pitzl 2021).

speech events" when "search[ing] the ELFA corpus for all the elements tagged as <FOREIGN>". So, the 241 L1/LN/LQ tags in LEcon560 correspond to more than two thirds (37.1 %) of all so-called foreign elements in ELFA, a corpus that is equal to VOICE in size (namely one million words of spoken ELF). Although such differences between VOICE and ELFA could in principle be partly due to differences in corpus design concerning data selection and/or transcription (cf. Pitzl 2021), LEcon560 also stands out in comparison to the rest of VOICE. This indicates that the use of non-*English elements in the examined student TIG is not limited to Extract 1, but something that must go widely beyond the *cheers* episode in the transcript.

More interesting than simply looking at global numbers of L1/LN/LQ tags, however, is investigating how much individual speakers in the TIG make use of non-*English elements and which *languages they "switch" to. Figure 4 provides a holistic overview of the distribution of all utterances with L1/LN/LQ tags (n=219) among the six main participants of LEcon560. Comparing this with the distribution of utterances in general (see Figure 2 above), it can be attested that the two charts look fairly similar. There are some shifts where pie segments for non-*English elements (Figure 4) increase or decrease in comparison to the total number of utterances (Figure 2), yet, these shifts are fairly small.

Figure 4: Utterances with non-*English elements per speaker (VOICE, LEcon560; n=219): Holistic view.

What such a holistic overview of the examined phenomenon in an interaction provides is the insight that all main speakers contribute to the occurrence of the phenomenon (here: the use of non-*English elements) and they do so more or less to the same extent as they verbally contribute to the interaction in general. That is to say, roughly speaking, those who speak less contribute fewer non-*English elements; those who speak more also contribute more "switches". The high number of multilingual elements in LEcon560 is not the result of only one or two speakers. Should it become possible to identify a newly emerging norm with regard to multilingual practices in this TIG, these are likely to be the result of interaction (as evidenced by Extract 1), not the result of individual patterns of use by just one or two speakers.

In addition to considering the active involvement of speakers, it might often be useful to get a sense of certain categories or subtypes of the phenomenon explored in a study. With regard to multilingual creativity and non-*English elements, it is interesting, for example, to look at which *languages are actually used by the participants in the course of LEcon560.
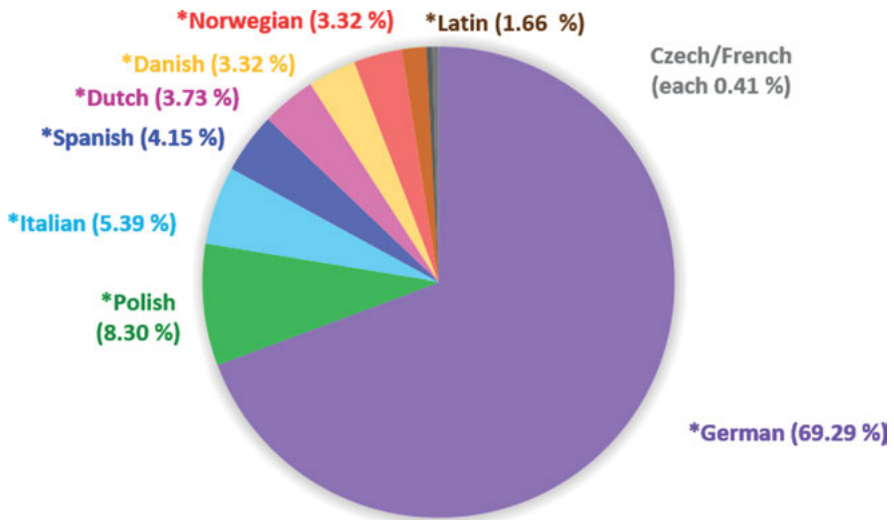

Figure 5: *Languages switched into (VOICE, LEcon560; n=241): Holistic view.

As can be seen in Figure 5, almost two thirds (69.29 %) of all L1/LN/LQ tags (n=241) in LEcon560 are occurrences of *German, while the remaining third (30.71 %) comprises a range of other *languages, even beyond participants' L1s. The prominence of *German elements may seem surprising in light of the multilingual *cheers*

episode in Extract 1, which contains no intentional use of *German (only Bas's accidental *German *prost*). It is, however, not uncommon for non-*English elements to be prompted by the locality (i.e. the local/regional setting) in which an interaction takes place (see e.g. Pölzl & Seidlhofer 2006, Hynninen et al. 2017: 110–112, Pitzl 2018c: 44–53). A further aspect that contributes to the frequent use of *German elements is a general interest in language learning and a high level of metalinguistic awareness evidenced by participants in different phases of the conversation (see below). In general, the number of LN elements (n=188) is much higher in LEcon560 than the number of L1 elements (n=53) in this conversation, which might be interpreted as a further indicator of participants' interest in learning about (and using elements) from *languages other than *English and their L1 (i.e. LN).

In light of the frequent use of *German (LN *German n=144; L1 *German n=25), the multilingual *cheers* episode is not particularly typical for the multilingual elements used in the speech event. Crucially, this does not make Extract 1 insignificant or irrelevant. In terms of multilingual creativity, the initial uses of *chin chin*, *na zdrowie*, *proost* and *skål* (that diverge from *English but are also not *German) and the subsequent converging (other-)repetitions might actually be quite salient for the TIG participants. Although the frequency of these other *language elements is lower than *German, they tend to be used by several speakers (two, three or more participants). Yet, the holistic view of Figure 5 does not actually provide a portrait of what happens sequentially *throughout* the conversation. This is, however, the most crucial perspective for the study of norm development. In order to incorporate this dimension, the next section adopts a micro-diachronic view of the phenomenon.

4.3.3 From code-switching and multilingual creativity to multilingual practices and the initial emergence of translingual norms? – A micro-diachronic view of interaction

Building on and complementing the ethnographic contextualization (Section 4.1.), the TIG characterization and interaction profile (Section 4.2.), the conversational (Section 4.3.1) and the holistic view (Section 4.3.2), this section explores the phenomenon with the help of micro-diachronic visualizations. Starting with a general micro-diachronic portrait, Figure 6 displays the number of utterances containing L1/LN/LQ tags (n=219) throughout LEcon560.

In Figure 6, the interaction has been segmented according to sequences of 100 utterances. What can be seen in this view is that non-*English elements are used intermittently in the student TIG: While some of the 100-utterance segments contain zero or very few (i.e. one to four) utterances with non-*English elements,
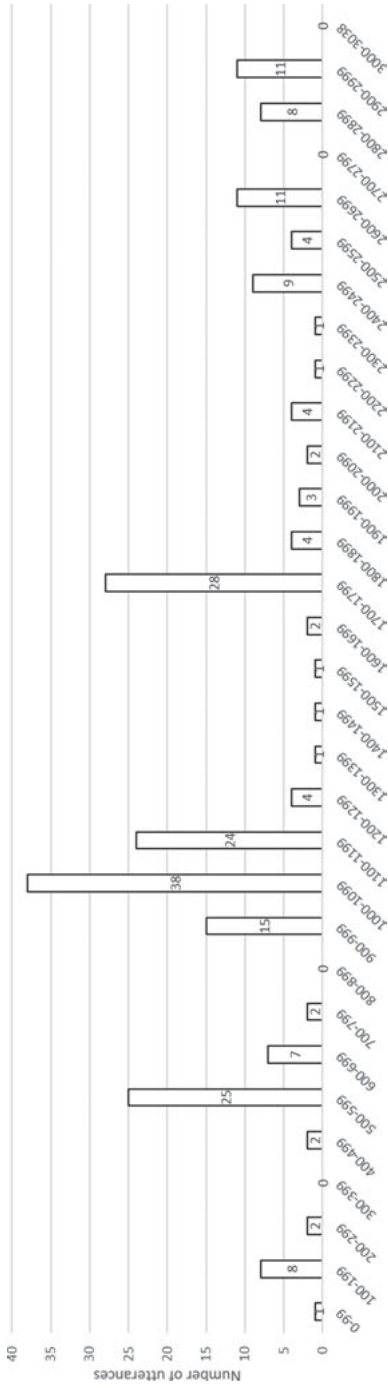
Figure 6: Utterances with non-*English elements (LEcon560; n=219): Micro-diachronic view (utterance segments).

six of them contain between seven and eleven utterances with at least one L1/LN/ LQ tag. This is already indicative of the fact that using non-*English elements is quite common in this TIG. Most noticeable, however, are those five segments that contain an even more substantial number. Ranging from 15 utterances to 38 (out of 100) utterances, there are clearly some phases of the interaction (especially between utterances 900 and 1199) in which non-*English elements play a prominent role. Yet, as might be expected, this is a recurring and intermittent – rather than a continuous – phenomenon in the student TIG. In other words, the use of other *languages is clearly not everything these students do. Hence, the processes involved are clearly not a matter of a simple gradual increase in frequency.

Since I have emphasized that the proposed methodology is qualitative (rather than quantitative) at its core, it is interesting to examine in more detail which non-*English elements are actually used during which phases of the conversation. This will be insightful and essential concerning the potential for norm development in the group. Figures 7 and 8 thus provide more detailed micro-diachronic views with information on the use of different *languages (Figure 7) and a loose categorization of the functional purposes (Figure 8) that these non-*English elements fulfill.

In addition to displaying the general prominence of *German elements, Figure 7 shows that most segments with a high number of non-*English elements contain elements from several *languages (in particular *German, *Polish, *Spanish, *Dutch, *Danish and *Norwegian). The exception to this is the segment from utterance 1700 to 1799, where all L1/LN tags indicate *German (more on this below). The clustering of elements from several *languages in the same segment mirrors the pattern of the exchange shown in Extract 1, suggesting that the sort of multilingual creativity displayed in the extract constitutes a more general phenomenon in the data.

As pointed out above, the emergence of a multilingual norm can only be proposed very tentatively on the basis of Extract 1 alone. However, once we supplement conversational and holistic views with micro-diachronic views of the interaction, we can demonstrate that multilingual cheering actually goes beyond Extract 1 (584–601). As shown in Figure 8, instances of speakers saying cheers in different *languages do not only happen in Seg 5,[9] but also (alongside other types of "switches") in Seg 9, Seg 10 and Seg 11 (and once in Seg 29). In total, there are 38 instances of "cheers" in *languages other than *English, which take place in 35 utterances throughout LEcon560. The conversational patterns in utterances 995

---

9 I refer to utterance segments here by using the initial one or two numbers, i.e. utterance 500- 599 is Seg 5, utterance 1100-1199 is Seg 11.
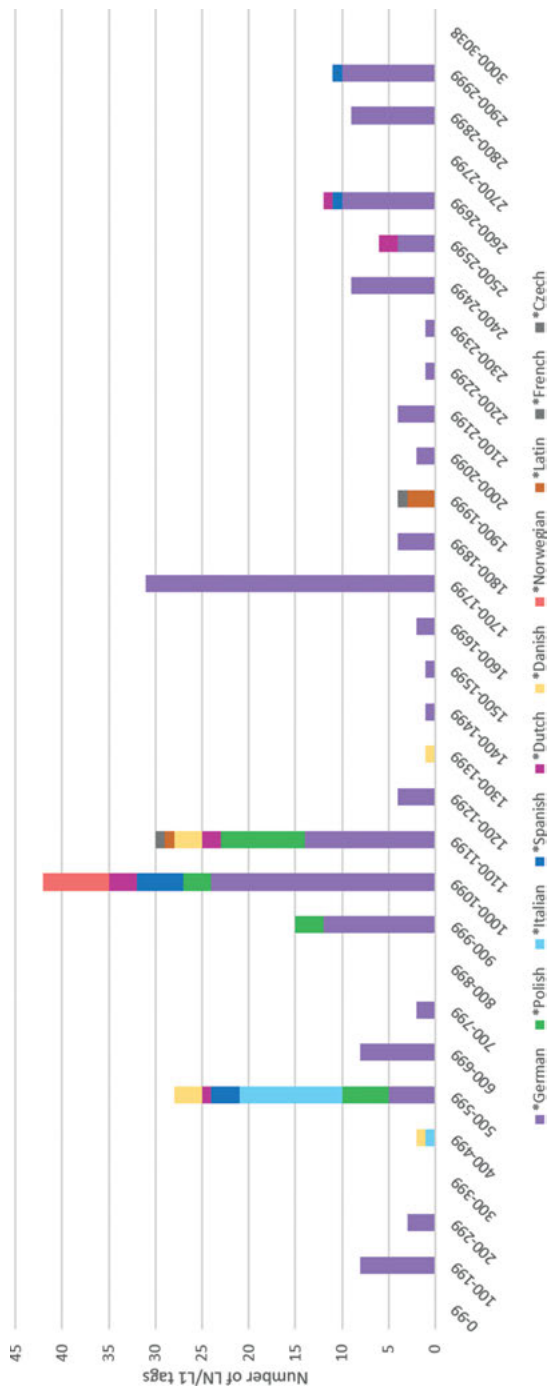
Figure 7: *Languages of non-*English elements (VOICE, LEcon560; n=241): Micro-diachronic view.

to 1023 and 1156 to 1175 mirror, build upon and develop the theme of multilingual cheers in the group. Thus, other speakers learn *na zdrowie* and *chin chin* and Kari from Norway introduces *Norwegian *skål* (1013–1023). Verbatim other-repetition or what Mauranen (2012: 223–226) refers to as "echoing as relational practice" (cf. Holmes & Marra 2004) can be observed with close density in these phases. Speakers accommodate and converge to each other, adopting and repeating the proposed multilingual elements.

Alongside the recurring use of multilingual cheers, Figure 8 also shows that LEcon560 contains a high number of non-*English elements that I have loosely grouped using the label "Language learning" (n=98). Throughout the conversation, the participants repeatedly talk about different *languages and, in doing so, introduce and repeat non-*English words in order to make comparisons, enquire about or teach each other words from their L1s and other *languages. In particular, Seg 10 and 11 (but also Seg 17) show a high density of LN/L1 tags used in this way. After the second cheers episode (995–1023), Bas, Freja and Max discuss how grammatical gender is expressed in the *German determiner and inflectional system (1024–1053), which leads Bas and Max to compare meaning relations between *German *maedchen, magd* and *Dutch *maagd* (1064–1085). This triggers a comparison of *German *jungfrau* (1092–1105; 1117), *Danish *jomfru* (1108–1116) and even *Polish *dziewica* (1129), as Bas (L1 *Dutch) and Max's (L1 *German) conversational thread is joined by Freja (L1 *Danish) and Zofia (L1 *Polish). Just a few utterances later, after having talked about the Latin origin of *Polish *kolumna* (1139–1155), the third cheers episode occurs, which leads Bas to compare *Polish *na zdrowie* with *Czech *na zdravie* (1175).

In Seg 17, which in contrast to Seg 10 and 11 exclusively contains *German elements (cf. Figure 7), the language learning orientation is topicalized as Zofia and Bas discuss (sometimes with Sonia) various labels that appear on their mobile phones after having intentionally changed the phone's language settings to *German. In this passage (1702–1775), Bas and Zofia use words like *zufaelliger titel, menue, kontakte, mitteilungen, adressbuch, telefonbuch, einstellungen, anrufliste, kalender, kamera, dateimanager* in high density without flagging them. This indicates that – at this stage of the conversation – they have become aware that, in addition to *English, they share a fair amount of *German in the central area of their MRP and presumably also that they have in common a general interest in learning (about) *languages.
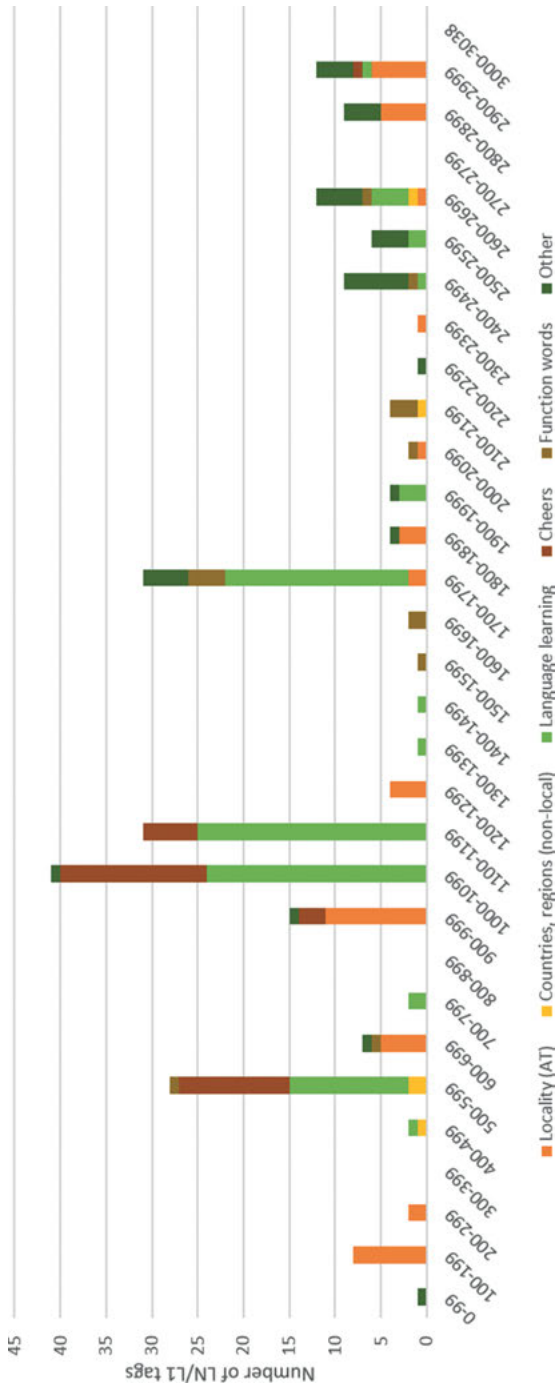
Figure 8: Functional purposes of non-*English elements (LEcon560; n=241): Micro-diachronic view.

5 Discussion and concluding remarks

Building on recent work on transient international groups, I have suggested in this chapter that norm emergence is likely to involve instances of norm-transcending creativity as well as (subsequent) phases of convergence. In order to systematically investigate both processes (i.e. creativity and convergence) beyond short data extracts, the chapter proposed and applied a micro-diachronic approach to the analysis of spoken interaction. It examined the use of non-*English elements in a diverse TIG of exchange students (LEcon560 in VOICE). In doing so, holistic and micro-diachronic techniques for analyzing and visualizing interactive spoken data were introduced and it was exemplified how these techniques can be used to complement established research practices (like the discussion of excerpts of conversational transcripts).

The micro-diachronic analysis of non-*English elements and multilingual creativity in LEcon560 demonstrated that accommodative processes like convergence do not only happen at an immediate next-turn/next-utterance level, but also more longitudinally as an interaction unfolds and the MRP of a TIG gradually expands. Instances of multilingual cheers that are first observable in Extract 1 (=Seg 5 in Figure 8) were shown to align with subsequent episodes of multilingual cheering (Seg 9–10 and Seg 11 in Figure 8), which gradually makes the use of non-*English words for saying "cheers" less creative and more normal or common in this TIG.

Having ethnographically and longitudinally engaged with an Erasmus student Community of Practice (CoP) in Hungary, Kalocsai (2014: 110–133) discusses and explores the "shared negotiable resources" of her group. Having spent a whole semester with her Erasmus CoP, Kalocsai (2014: 123) describes that eventually,

> when the students were to say "happy birthday", "cheers" and "enjoy your meal", they typically did it in more than one language. First they used the Hungarian form, and then repeated the form in other languages as appropriate. For instance, if the students were having a small dinner party, any *one student may have said "cheers" in four or five languages, depending on how many L1 speakers of different languages were present*. However, if the students were at their weekly European Club Evening (where most of the Erasmus Family were present), it was "right" to perform the above rituals only in the organizers' L1. Thus, if it was an Italian evening, those students acted appropriately who said *Salute* "cheers", even if in their immediate environment there were no Italian speakers. In a situation like this I was once told, "Say 'Salute!' It's an Italian evening!"   (Kalocsai 2014: 123, my italics)

The student TIG examined in this chapter is not identical to Kalocsai's student CoP, but clearly shows some similarities in terms of socio-demographic and con-

textual parameters. The "norms and practices" that Kalocsai (2014: 103) describes are the result of students having spent a whole semester abroad in which they had time to develop their own local multilingual ways of performing certain activities. The diverse student TIG examined in this chapter is clearly not a CoP (yet) – and we do not know whether the speakers involved ever met again after LEcon560.

The point of investigating TIGs/TMCs (and not only CoPs) and of applying micro-diachronic tools for data analysis is to make possible a systematic representation of the most initial stages of such local norm development in heterogenous multilingual situations. Longitudinal studies like Kalocsai's (2014) often rely heavily on interviews and observational data and are extremely valuable in being able to narrate how matters evolve throughout a longer period of time (e.g. an exchange term). But we have not really begun to fully explore the possibilities of showing – in terms of concrete linguistic description on the basis of 3rd person evidence – how such situational norms may begin to emerge in spoken interaction.

Throughout the chapter, I have intentionally used the phrase non-*English elements on many occasions, rather than referring to them as multilingual practices. By adopting this terminology, I wish to highlight that non-*English elements are likely to be made up of (a) initial individual instances of multilingual creativity that may be followed by (b) instances/phases of convergence (such as verbatim other- and self-repetition) in interaction. This may (or may not), eventually, lead to (c) particular kinds of multilingual practices that become specific for a group. Although such multilingual practices are likely to sediment (cf. Mortensen 2017) as more stable or tangible norms (that could be reported by participants in interviews, for example) only over longer periods of time (i.e. weeks or months), situational multilingual practices might emerge also in short-lived TIGs/TMCs in the course of single interactions. Such situational multilingual practices are emergent, not yet sedimented norms that are locally and interactionally established in interaction by participants.

Micro-diachronic portraits of interaction make it possible to make visible how interactants converge and tacitly agree on such local practices, but also help us understand how and why these are not generalizable across (E)LF contexts and situations. While a bilateral TIG of business professionals may jointly establish the use of L1 side sequences as their predominant multilingual etiquette (cf. Pitzl 2021), the diverse student TIG studied in this chapter might be developing an emergent situational norm for multilingual cheering, for mutual language teaching/learning and for relying on (local) *German expressions without the need to check comprehension or flag them as *German. Future descriptions and micro-diachronic portraits of TIG/TMC interactions are therefore needed in order to deepen our understanding of interactional norm development and of the influence that different contextual factors have on these.

Transcription conventions

?	Words spoken with rising intonation are followed by a question mark.
(.)	Every brief pause in speech (up to a good half second) is marked with a full stop in parentheses.
=	Indicates that a speaker continues, completes or supports another speaker's turn immediately (i.e. without a pause).
o:h no	Lengthened sounds are marked with a colon.
(1)	Longer pauses are timed to the nearest second and marked with the number of seconds in parentheses, e.g. (1) = 1 second.
<1> </1>, <2> </2>	Whenever two or more utterances happen at the same time, the overlaps are marked with numbered tags.
<L1spa> **chin chin** </L1spa>	Utterances in a participant's first language (L1) are put between tags indicating the speaker's L1.
<LNpol> **na zdrowie** </LNpol>	Utterances in languages which are neither English nor the speaker's first language are marked LN with the language indicated.
{parallel conversation}	Contextual information is added between curly brackets { } if it is relevant to the understanding of the interaction.

These conventions represent a subset of the VOICE transcription conventions (VOICE Project 2007).

References

Auer, Peter. 1999. From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Toward a dynamic typology of bilingual speech. *The International Journal of Bilingualism* 3 (4). 309–332.

Baird, Robert, Will Baker & Mariko Kitazawa. 2014. The complexity of ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 3 (1). 171–196.

Breiteneder, Angelika, Marie-Luise Pitzl, Stefan Majewski & Theresa Klimpfinger. 2006. VOICE recording – methodological challenges in the compilation of a corpus of spoken ELF. *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 5 (2). 161–188.

Canagarajah, Suresh. 2018. Translingual practice as spatial repertoires: Expanding the paradigm beyond structuralist orientations. *Applied Linguistics* 39 (1). 31–54.

Cogo, Alessia. 2009. Accommodating difference in ELF conversations: A study of pragmatic strategies. In Anna Mauranen & Elina Ranta (eds.), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and findings*, 254–273. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Cogo, Alessia. 2016. "They all take the risk and make the effort": Intercultural accommodation and multilingualism in a BELF community of practice. In Lucilla Lopriore & Enrico Grazzi (eds.), *Intercultural Communication. New Perspectives from ELF*, 365–383. Rome: Roma Tre Press.

Cogo, Alessia. 2018. ELF and multilingualism. In Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker and Martin Dewey (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*, 357–368. London: Routledge.

Cogo, Alessia & Martin Dewey. 2006. Efficiency in ELF communication: From pragmatic motives to lexico-grammatical innovation. *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 5 (2). 59–93.

Cogo, Alessia & Martin Dewey. 2012. *Analyzing English as a lingua franca: A corpus-driven investigation*. London: Continuum.

Gafaranga, Joseph & Maria-Carme Torras. 2001. Language versus medium in the study of bilingual conversation. *The International Journal of Bilingualism* 5 (2). 195–219.

Gasiorek, Jessica, Howard Giles & Jordan Soliz. 2015. Accommodating new vistas. *Language & Communication* 41 (1). 1–5.

Giles, Howard, Justine Coupland & Nikolas Coupland. 1991. Accommodation theory: Communication, context, and consequence. In Howard Giles, Justine Coupland & Nikolas Coupland (eds.), *Contexts of accommodation*: *Developments in applied sociolinguistics*, 1–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holmes, Janet & Meredith Marra. 2004. Relational practice in the workplace: Women's talk or gendered discourse? *Language in Society* 33 (3). 377–398.

Hymes, Dell H. 1974. *Foundations in sociolinguistics*: *An ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hynninen, Niina, Kaisa S. Pietikäinen & Svetlana Vetchinnikova. 2017. Multilingualism in English as a lingua franca: Flagging as an indicator of perceived acceptability and intelligibility. In Arja Nurmi, Tanja Rütten & Päivi Pahta (eds.), *Challenging the myth of monolingual corpora*, 95–126. Leiden, Boston: Brill/Rodopi.

Jenkins, Jennifer. 2000. *The phonology of English as an international language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, Jennifer. 2015. Repositioning English and multilingualism in English as a lingua franca. *Englishes in Practice* 2 (3). 49–85.

Kalocsai, Karolina. 2014. *Communities of practice and English as a lingua franca*: *A study of erasmus students in a Central European context*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Larsen-Freeman, Diane. 2016. Complexity theory and ELF: A matter of nonteleology. In Marie-Luise Pitzl & Ruth Osimk-Teasdale (eds.), *English as a lingua franca: Perspectives and prospects. Contributions in honour of Barbara Seidlhofer*, 139–145. Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Lichtkoppler, Julia. 2007. "Male. Male." – "Male?" – "The sex is male." The role of repetition in English as a lingua franca conversations. *Vienna English Working PaperS* 16 (1). 39–65.

Mauranen, Anna. 2012. *Exploring ELF. Academic English shaped by non-native speakers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mortensen, Janus. 2017. Transient multilingual communities as a field of investigation: Challenges and opportunities. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 27 (3). 271–288.

Mortensen, Janus & Spencer Hazel. 2017. Lending bureaucracy voice: Negotiating English in institutional encounters. In Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola, Anna Mauranen & Svetlana Vetchinnikova (eds.), *Changing English: Global and local perspectives*, 255–276. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Pitts, Margaret J. & Jake Harwood. 2015. Communication accommodation competence: The nature and nurture of accommodative resources across the lifespan. *Language & Communication* 41. 89–99.

Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2012. Creativity meets convention: Idiom variation and re-metaphorization in ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1 (1). 27–55.

Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2013. Creativity in language use. In Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren (eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics. 2013 Installment*, 1–28. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2016. World Englishes and creative idioms in English as a lingua franca. *World Englishes* 35 (2). 293–309.

Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2018a. *Creativity in English as a lingua franca: Idiom and metaphor*. Boston: Mouton de Gruyter.

Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2018b. Creativity, idioms and metaphorical language in ELF. In Jennifer Jenkins, Will Baker & Martin Dewey (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English as a lingua franca*, 233–243. London: Routledge.

Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2018c. Transient International Groups (TIGs): Exploring the group and development dimension of ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 7 (1). 25–58.

Pitzl, Marie-Luise. 2021. Tracing the emergence of situational multilingual practices in a BELF meeting: Micro-diachronic analysis and implications of corpus design. In Kumiko Murata (ed.), *ELF research methods and approaches to data and analyses: Theoretical and methodological underpinnings*, 97–125. London: Routledge.

Pölzl, Ulrike & Barbara Seidlhofer. 2006. In and on their own terms: The "habitat factor" in English as a lingua franca interactions. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 177. 151–176.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2009. Accommodation and the idiom principle in English as a lingua franca. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 6 (2). 195–215.

Seidlhofer, Barbara. 2011. *Understanding English as a lingua franca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Taylor, John R. 2012. *The mental corpus: How language is represented in the mind*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

VERBI software. 2019. *MAXQDA 2018*. Berlin: VERBI software.

VOICE Project. 2007. *VOICE transcription conventions* [2.1]. http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/voice.php?page=transcription_general_information (13 February 2019).

VOICE. 2013. *The Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English* (version 2.0 XML). Director: Barbara Seidlhofer; Researchers: Angelika Breiteneder, Theresa Klimpfinger, Stefan Majewski, Ruth Osimk-Teasdale, Marie-Luise Pitzl, Michael Radeka.

Weinreich, Uriel, William Labov & Marvin I. Herzog. 1968. Empirical foundations for a theory of language change. In Winfred Lehmann & Yakov Malkiel (eds.), *Directions for historical linguistics: A symposium*, 95–195. Austin: University of Texas Press.