



Universidad Autónoma
de Madrid

Biblos-e Archivo
Repositorio Institucional UAM

Repositorio Institucional de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

<https://repositorio.uam.es>

Esta es la **versión de autor** del artículo publicado en:
This is an **author produced version** of a paper published in:

Journal of Sociolinguistics 21.5 (2017): 672-695

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/josl.12265>

Copyright: © 2017 John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

El acceso a la versión del editor puede requerir la suscripción del recurso

Access to the published version may require subscription

"This is the peer reviewed version of the following article: "Cosmopolitan stance negotiation in multicultural academic settings", which has been published in final form at <https://doi.org/10.1111/josl.12265>. This article may be used for non-commercial purposes in accordance with Wiley Terms and Conditions for Use of Self-Archived Versions. This article may not be enhanced, enriched or otherwise transformed into a derivative work, without express permission from Wiley or by statutory rights under applicable legislation. Copyright notices must not be removed, obscured or modified. The article must be linked to Wiley's version of record on Wiley Online Library and any embedding, framing or otherwise making available the article or pages thereof by third parties from platforms, services and websites other than Wiley Online Library must be prohibited."

COSMOPOLITAN STANCE NEGOTIATION IN MULTICULTURAL ACADEMIC SETTINGS

Luisa Martín Rojo & Clara Molina Avila

Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

ABSTRACT: Our analysis of an informal event involving Chinese and Spanish students and lecturers displays the cumulative nature of stance negotiation in multicultural settings. It also highlights the role of sociocultural and ideological elements in stancetaking, not only in relation to the positions adopted by the participants, but also in the successive redefinition and reframing of the stance objects. Sociocultural and ideological elements are also crucial for the collective construction of intersubjectivities, particularly among mobile citizens. The way in which our international students managed to overcome misalignments, the values and ideologies evoked within the interaction, reveal nuances of cosmopolitanism that point to a globalization of tastes triggered by multiculturalism and the worldwide expansion of capitalism. Sharing a cosmopolitan orientation, however, did not prevent ideological contradictions among the participants. An analysis of how these were voiced and negotiated allows grasping the remarkably wide spectrum of cosmopolitanism(s) today.

KEYWORDS: Accretive stance object negotiation, cosmopolitanism, ideologies, intersubjectivities, Chinese exchange students

RESUMEN: Nuestro análisis de un evento comunicativo informal con estudiantes de intercambio chinos y españoles muestra cómo la toma de posición se va negociando de modo acumulativo en entornos multiculturales. Subrayamos también la importancia de los elementos socioculturales e ideológicos tanto en el posicionamiento de los participantes como en las sucesivas redefiniciones del objeto respecto al que estos se sitúan. Los elementos socioculturales e ideológicos son clave también para la construcción conjunta de intersubjetividades, en especial entre ciudadanos internacionales. El modo en que nuestros estudiantes superan sus desalineamientos, los valores e ideologías que evocan al hacerlo, revelan un cosmopolitismo que apunta a una globalización del gusto derivada del carácter multicultural de la sociedad y de la expansión del capitalismo. Pese a una disposición cosmopolita compartida, nuestros participantes se enfrentan con contradicciones ideológicas. Al analizar cómo se verbalizan y negocian nos acercamos al amplísimo espectro de matices del cosmopolitismo.

1. FOREWORD

Aiming at analyzing the effects of the internationalization of universities, a joint research team from Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (UAM) and Hong Kong University (HKU) studied the socialization process experienced by a group of Chinese and Spanish students enrolled in mobility programs. Since exchange students must show fluency in both relational and academic discourses (which includes the ability to move through institutional and social spaces with ease, Blommaert 2013), we tried to identify which practices international students deploy in order to enter the alien environment. To do so, we traced a group of exchange undergraduates and analyzed their interactional practices at institutional and non-institutional spaces. The socialization networks in which students take part are suitable sites for analyzing the negotiation of ideologies and subjectivities, and for exploring the relationship between stancetaking and recent forms of cosmopolitanism.

This is why, in this paper, we address such networks in our analysis of a communicative event situated on the fringe of a focus group (a research technique) and an informal gathering (naturally situated interaction). Over a dinner party organized to inaugurate the research project in Madrid, the participants (two local researchers, five Chinese students and two local students, one originally from Taiwan) share meanings, recall semiotic resources to interpret the meaning of elements of sociocultural life, jointly construct intersubjectivities and negotiate their social identities within interaction (Jaworski & Thurlow 2009). However, shared enactments of stance require complex strategies that go beyond the customary understanding of stance negotiation (cf. Jaffe 2009 for an overview of sociolinguistic research on stance). In this respect, our paper aims at making two contributions.

On the one hand, within sociolinguistic theory, it explores the extent to which sociocultural and ideological factors underlie stance alignment and the collective construction of identities (intersubjectivity being the link between both threads). On the other hand, concerning cosmopolitanism, we advance a more nuanced approach to the notion based on positioning. Cosmopolitanism remains an elusive concept, both in its definition and in its various kinds. The subjects in our study position themselves as cosmopolitans, but not in ways that distinctly reflect an “ability to stand outside of having one’s life written and scripted by any one community” (Vertovec & Cohen 2002). Rather, their cosmopolitanism points to a globalization of tastes resulting from increasingly multicultural societies and widespread capitalism (Calhoun 2002). However, in spite of sharing a cosmopolitan orientation, significant ideological contradictions emerged during the interaction, and required of negotiation to overcome the misalignments. The analysis of these tensions shows the extent to which all the elements involved in the stancetaking process (evaluation, positioning, and the definition and framing of the object of stance) are shaped by social values and ideologies.

In order to present our contributions, the paper is organized as follows. After an introduction in Section 1, the theoretical frame is presented in Section 2. The communicative event is described in Section 3. Section 4 analyzes two case studies (one on bullfighting, another on shopping trips to European capitals) excerpted from the transcription of the video-recorded event: transcriptional conventions are to be found after the references. A rounding-up discussion of cosmopolitanism is presented in Section 5, and the main conclusions are summarized in Section 6.

2. DIALOGICAL POSITIONING: FROM SITUATEDNESS TO IDEOLOGIES

We follow a fine-grained discourse analytic approach that (drawing from the fields of the ethnography of communication, the micro-ethnography of social interaction and sociolinguistic ethnography) highlights the role of local complexities in interactional activities. Often, supposedly stable social processes are projected onto discourse as background facts (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000; Rampton 2001). Such an aprioristic approach conceals how participants, in particular situations, enact language patterns in unexpected, creative and heterodox ways (Gumperz 1982; Roberts et al. 1992; Rampton 2001). At the same time, we think that ideologies and social processes (such as cosmopolitanism, the internationalization of universities or consumption patterns in global societies) should be part of the analysis, since interactions shape and are shaped by other social practices and processes across space and time (Heller 2006, 20011; Rampton 2006).

Stancetaking implies an evaluative, affective and cognitive act to which participants react. For this reason, our study of dialogical positioning addresses the interplay between intersubjectivity and interactional stances. However, our study of stance is not restricted to the situated interactional level, but moves onto the ideological domain of constructed values. During the collaborative process of successive stance realignments upon which the construction of intersubjectivities rests, the sociocultural values and beliefs deployed by the participants have a most significant impact.

As presented by Du Bois (2007), the stance alignment process rests upon a coincident evaluation and positioning with regard to a given object, and both the mediating framework of linguistic structures and the values invoked by participants are crucial factors. To our mind, however, the successive reframing of the object

itself is also crucial, since it allows the emergence of new stances upon which alignment can happen.

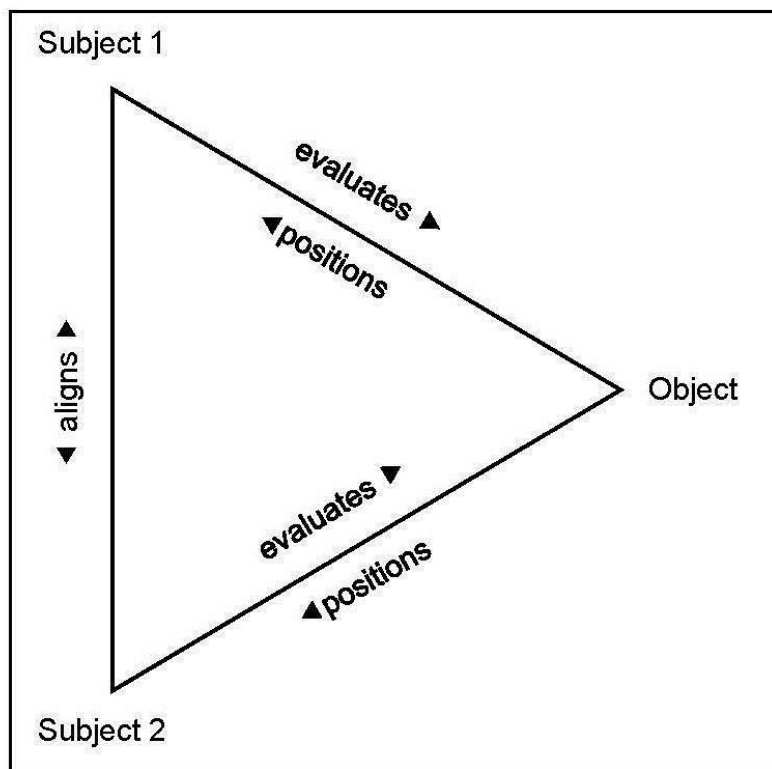


Figure 1. The stance triangle (Du Bois 2007: 163)

In Du Bois's approach (2007: 141), "sociocultural value is mobilized and deployed through stance processes. Via specific acts of stancetaking, value can be focused and directed at a precise target, as locally relevant values are activated to frame the significance of participant actions". Also (2007: 173), "stance always invokes, explicitly or implicitly, presupposed systems of sociocultural value, while at the same time contributing to the enactment and reproduction of those systems". Our proposal places much more emphasis on sociocultural values and ideologies for a number of reasons: to begin with, stances are interactional moves in which face (Goffman 1967) is negotiated, and face is rooted in sociocultural values. These values, as we

will see, shape the positioning of interlocutors and the co-construction of intersubjectivities. Secondly, stances are also moves in which the expression of values and beliefs can trigger misunderstandings, particularly if the participants were first socialized in significantly different settings and conditions. Finally, sociocultural values and ideologies are evoked to reframe and redefine the object of stance, which is therefore not a static and automatically shared entity, but an object of collision. In fact, as discussed below, repeated enactments of stance ingrain particular subject positions layered into particular ideologies (Jaffe 2009; Jaworski & Thurlow 2009). Along these lines, the pages that follow address a series of research questions:

- (1) To what extent do convergence and divergence depend on the accretive co-construction of the stance object? What role do sociocultural values and ideologies play in such a reframing of the object, and how does it allow for repositioning and alignment? Which role do interactional moves (such as contextualization in interactional inferential processes and accretion) play in stance alignment within multicultural dialogical interactions? These questions, in relation to interactional stancetaking, are addressed in section 4.1.
- (2) What communicative practices foster the interactional construction of a cosmopolitan-oriented identity among young mobile citizens? What kinds of cosmopolitanism do they exhibit? What (local and/or transnational) cultural experiences and ideologies are they based on? These questions, in relation to cosmopolitanism, are addressed in section 4.2.

3. AN INFORMAL DINNER AS A SETTING FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Once the Chinese exchange students (registered in language and communication classes taught in Spanish and/or English by the local researchers) had volunteered to take part in the project, an informal launching gathering took place at the home of one of the researchers. Despite the difficulties of being a lecturer, a participant and an analyst at the same time, our multi-faceted position was particularly valuable, as it allowed tracing the students' everyday life at the university with both participant and non-participant observation for an extended period. The five exchange students taking part in the event included three women (student #1, aged 20; student #2, aged 20 and student #3, aged 19) and two men (student #4, aged 20 and student #5, aged 21). They came from small cities in northern and southern China, but studied elsewhere: four had been taking Spanish for three years at the International Studies University of Beijing; another one at the Sun Yat-Sen University in Guangdong. In all cases, their first language was Mandarin (one also spoke Cantonese) and all of them had studied English for years (student 3 was schooled at a private bilingual school).

While in Madrid, the two men (students 4 & 5) shared a flat with a Spanish student of Chinese (with whom student 4 had become friends in Beijing when the Spanish student was on exchange); among the females, students 1 and 2 also shared a flat; student 3 lived at the UAM hall of residence, where she only spoke Spanish. The rest spoke Chinese at home, although all of them were friends with Spanish and international classmates, with whom they socialized a lot. Among them, the exchange students used WeChat to text one another in Chinese, but used WhatsApp to communicate in Spanish with their UAM classmates. Their Spanish was good (a B2 level upon arrival to Madrid) and they achieved top grades while at UAM. This is not surprising if considering that, in China, they had entered university

through a very competitive process which only allows one student per province, and that their home universities selected them for the exchange program because of their excellent academic records. Of the destinations available for a semester abroad, the decisive factor for choosing Spain rather than Latin America was security, and the reason for choosing UAM was its location in a capital city.

Our students make for an affluent set: although none had ever been in an exchange program before, all of them (except student 4) had travelled abroad as tourists in Asia (Korea, Japan, Singapore). Their friends and family had commissioned them to bring luxury brands as presents from the (many) trips they took while in Europe. They always had lunch on campus even if the class timetable allowed them to go home. They all thought Madrid was a safe, friendly and inexpensive place and, having anticipated rejection, they were surprised at the welcome they received from their Spanish classmates. While other Chinese friends and classmates initially identified as potential participants for the study finally chose not to take part, the core group remained committed to the project and their overall impression of their stay abroad was very positive.

In addition to the exchange students, a female Taiwanese PhD candidate in linguistics at UAM, also the deputy director of a travel agency specializing in luxury Chinese tourism in Spain living in Madrid for over 10 years and with Spanish nationality, attended the gathering. Also present was a male Spanish undergraduate at UAM recently returned from an exchange in France, who audio-video recorded the event and eventually ended up playing a significant role in it.

The local researchers, both female, were there too. They have a long record of academic experiences abroad, in Europe and in the US, and one experiences interculturality at home. They both lecture on communication in intercultural settings

and often involve students in their research. At the meeting, they overtly displayed their positioning regarding a number of controversial topics (such as bullfighting or Franco's dictatorship). This, which is common practice in Spain (a country fraught with political and ideological strife, particularly at the time of the gathering, with the economic crisis at its peak) was the source of struggle. In communicative events, participants extract a range of salient biographical information about co-participants that will impact into their stance interpretation, in addition to what the speaker is saying (Du Bois 2007: 155). On this occasion, there was virtually no previous acquaintance among most of the participants, so the negotiation of meaning proved challenging, and a considerable amount of contextualization was required for reaching alignment.

The communicative event, convivial and easy-going, lasted for two and a half hours and can be divided into two parts: the dinner, buffet-style around a table, and after dinner, when the participants sat in sofas and armchairs and chatted about various aspects of the exchange program and about life in Spain and China. The recorded material was transcribed in full and translated into English; the fragments in standard modern Chinese were also transcribed and translated.

4. STANCETAKING IN INTERCULTURAL CONTEXTS: NEGOTIATING COSMOPOLITANISM

4.1. Struggling with national identities: The controversial condition of being a Spaniard

The gathering starts with a buffet-style dinner where everyone stands around the table and tastes different dishes. This is the first time the participants meet outside the university context, some have never met, and all of them have to renegotiate

their relationships. The analysis of the first fragment (4, 33 minutes altogether) allows us to delve deeper into the role of the experience lived by the exchange students and how they intersubjectively position themselves with regard to local values. The selection takes part during the first half hour of the meeting, once everyone has been introduced to each other and the ice has been broken. At one point (line 4), the convivial ambiance is unexpectedly disturbed. The fragment deals with a culturally salient activity, bullfighting, which is both a touristy must-have and the source of bitter confrontation among Spaniards. While increasingly large numbers of Spanish citizens demand the end of bullfighting, many tourists still attend the show; reproducing what Hannerz (1996: 103) calls a genuine form of cosmopolitanism: “an orientation, a willingness to engage with the Other. It entails an intellectual and esthetic openness toward divergent cultural experiences, a search for contrasts rather than uniformity. To become acquainted with more cultures is to turn into an *aficionado*”. This is why negotiating stances in relation to bullfighting becomes a significant concern for the Chinese exchange students, as it affects their enactment of cosmopolitanism.

FRAGMENT 1.1. (Bullfighting case study 1/3)

1.	Spanish SS	y os han llevado alguna vez aaaa a ver ciudades? =	and have they taken you (pl) sometime to::: see (other) cities? =
2.	Rsrch#1	= excursiones de turismo y eso?	= tourist trips and things like that?
3.	SS#4	Toledo=	Toledo

4.	Rsrch#1	=>HABÉIS IDO A LOS TOROS?<	=>HAVE YOU (pl) GONE TO THE BULLFIGHTS? (eyes widen)<
5.	SS#4	emm, TOLEDO	emm, TOLEDO
6.	Rsrch#1	sí	yes
7.	SS#1	TOLEDO	TOLEDO
8.	Rsrch#1	>AH, TOLEDO< Entendí torero	>AH, TOLE:DO<. I understood bullfighter
9.	SS#1	[pero toros también] hemos ido	[but to bullfight] we've also gone
10.	SS#4	[toros también]	[bullfight too]
11.	Rsrch#1	tamBIÉN?= =sí=	that TOO? =yes=
12.	SS#1	=sí=	=yes=
13.	Spanish SS	=ah sí?	=oh yeah?
14.	SS#1	sí	yes
15.	Spanish SS	dónde?	Where?

exchange students took them to Toledo, a sightseeing city. At this point, the nonverbal aspects of the interaction available from the video become salient. As researcher 1 says “Have you (pl) gone to the bullfights?” (line 4) her voice becomes louder, her eyes widen as she looks directly at student 4 and leans slightly in his direction. Her eyebrows rise and the phrase ends in a marked intonation, slightly up and then down. Hearing “Toledo” as “bullfight” comes from the phonetic resemblance of “torero” (bullfighter) with a possible equivalence of “r” and “l” in Chinese followed by a softened second “r” phoneme. The combination of gaze, lean, volume and intonation suggests an evaluative reaction to the notion that the exchange students have attended a bullfight. Du Bois (2007: 143) understands evaluation as the process whereby a stancetaker orients to an object of stance and characterizes it as having some specific quality or value. Here, researcher 1 is taking an evaluative stance on attending bullfights, and although the nature of the evaluation is not entirely clear, the final downward intonation suggests negativity. Students 4 and 1 (lines 5 and 7) both repeat “Toledo” in slightly louder voices, making clear that their pronunciation of “l” was intentional. Researcher 1 repeats “AH, TOLE:DO” to confirm that she now understands the reference was to a city, not bullfights, and specifies her previous response with “I understood bullfight”, in a softer tone. Physically, she leans back and gazes away from the students, smiling.

The trouble, however, has just begun. Students 1 and 4 overlap researcher 1’s response invoking bullfights to say that they have actually attended one. Her response (“that TOO?” in line 11) is louder and ends in an upward intonation. Her eyes widen, she looks directly at student 1, shakes her head briefly, then gazes off camera in the direction of researcher 2 and the Spanish student. The gaze shift, combined with the headshake and pause that follows it, suggest disbelief. The whole

set of turns in this interaction shows how all the participants dispute the floor to either confirm some have actually attended a bullfight or to express incredulity about it. The dispute inaugurates a long-lasting stance accretion process by means of which the gradual accumulation of repeatedly taken stances in the run of conversation ends up making for reinforced, enduring positionings and identity structures (Du Bois 2002, Rauniomaa 2003). In this respect, observe how researcher 1 positions herself: “I’ve never been to a bullfight. Never, never, never, nor...” (line 16), somehow forcing the object of stance, which could have gone back to sightseeing but remains at bullfighting. The subjective dimension is overtly indexed by discrete linguistic elements (i.e., personal pronouns and a reiterated negation) that reveal the subject's feelings and positions her along a scale of affective value. These linguistic elements are also contextualization cues (cf. Gumperz 1982 for a theory of interactional inferential processing): the emphatic use of the first-person pronoun in a null subject language, which presupposes a contrast between her and those who attend bullfights; and the repetition of “never”, which contributes to the management of information.

With both resources, researcher 1 is helping her interlocutors interpret what the object of her stance is, and what the nature of the stance she is taking is. Student 4’s laugh, as an interactional answer, may suggest hesitation and stress. In line 19, researcher 2 aligns with researcher 1’s stance: “I will never go, I mean, I haven’t gone and I’m not going to go”. Once again, the personal pronoun marks a contrast with those who do; also again, the reinforcement of “no” with “never” act as contextualization cues with regard to the general interactional framework. In choosing these cues, researcher 2 restricts the field of application and emphasizes the lack of alignment. In adopting this stance, she entails a positioning with which

researcher 1 aligns, although she tries to mitigate the interactional consequences of the stance misalignment and its impact on face-work (Goffman 1967). Here we see intersubjectivity in action, when the subjective stances of two participants coincide within a dialogic exchange and, at the same time, collide with the positioning of others. Researcher 1's reiteration of her questions ("but did you go?") and other proxemic markers such as intonation, which point to incredulity, act as cues to indicate to the interlocutor that these are not genuine questions, but illocutionary acts expressing rejection. This explains why student 1 feels it is necessary to justify herself (line 24):

FRAGMENT 1.2. (Bullfighting case study 2/3)

24.	SS#1	pero desde por el principio queríamos ver cómo son la cultura, [española, pero...]	but since at the beginning we wanted to see what are the [Spanish culture like, but...]
25.	Rsrch#1	[no sí, si es interesan]te	[no, yes, I mean, it's interes]ting
26.	SS#4	después de ve:r?lo=	after see:?ing it=
27.	SS#1	=es que hay seis::	=the thing is, there are six::
28.	SS#1	斗牛士怎么说	what? How do you say bullfighter?
29.	SS#5	[torero?]	[bullfighter?]

30.	SS#1	[había seis] personas que mataban a los toros, y una vez había una personas que seguía matando pero no consiguió matar=	[there wer]e six people who killed to the bulls, and once there was a persons who kept ((pushing hand forward repeatedly, as though holding a sword)) killing, but didn't manage to kill=
31.	Rsrch#1	=AH, SÍ, SÍ, [SÍ:,SÍ:]	AH, YE:S, [YE:S YE:S]
32.	SS#2	[muchas veces]=	[many times]=
33.	SS#1	=muchas veces. [muchísimas veces]	=many times. [many, many times]
34.	SS#4	[y pinchó a la cabeza muchas veces]=	[and stabbed ((making stabbing motion)) to the head many times]=
35.	Rsrch#1	=AY, POR [DIOS]	=OH, [GOODNESS] ME
36.	PhD SS	[no me gustan] nada ¿habéis visto un toro?	[I don't like] them at all have you (pl) seen a bull?
37.	Rsrch#1	SÍ=	YES=
38.	SS#2	=sí, en plaza de toros	=yes, in bullring
39.	PhD SS	una vez y nunca [más]=	once and never [agai]n =

40.	SS#4	[sí]	[yes]
41.	Rsrch#1	=no, pero si yo supongo que el espectáculo es bonito, los colores, el traje	=no, I mean, I suppose that the show is beautiful, the colors, the suit
42.	SS#1	bue[no, sí:::]	we[ll, yes:::]
43.	Rsrch#2	[que dicen] que el origen es para aprender a enfrentar la muerte ¿no? Pero a mí... [no me interesa]	[some say] that the origin is to learn to confront death, no? but to me ...[I'm not interested]
44.	SS#1	[pero es que creemos que] si solo hay una persona y un toro, pues [creemos que que...]	[but we think that] if there's just one person and one bull, well, [we think that that...]
45.	Rsrch#1	[más o menos justo], es justo	[it's more or less fair], it's fair
46.	SS#4	sí	yes
47.	SS#1	而已。 这不公平	that's it. It isn't fair
48.	PhD SS	sí, estoy de acuerdo	yes, I agree

Fragment 1.2. starts with “but”, which shows student 1 has clearly detected the cues and has interpreted the researchers’ stances as a disagreeing negative evaluation, so she provides a counterargument: “but since at the beginning we wanted to see

what are the Spanish culture like" (line 24). Her justification is also an attempt to reframe the object of stance. As Jaworski & Thurlow (2009) and Thurlow & Jaworski (2011) note, willingness to engage with local people and culture is a form of "cosmopolitanism". This explains why student 1 reframes attending bullfights as a "cultural activity", and generalizes it to the whole group ("we"). The shift allows detecting two significant phenomena. First, that the object of stance in interactions is not necessarily static and shared, as suggested by Du Bois, but reframed and redefined by successive alignments and misalignments. Secondly, that sociocultural and ideological elements are part of the process of reframing and redefining the object of stance (which goes beyond Du Bois' acknowledgement of the role of sociocultural elements in the evaluation taken by participants). The willingness to become involved with the other as a form of cosmopolitanism, and the concern with achieving competence at a foreign culture also relate to considerations of the self (Hannerz 1996). In this respect, observe how (in line 24) student 1 is also contributing to building face, both hers and that of the group, by presenting their attendance to a bullfight as a sign of interest to be expected from an international student willing to become part of the host culture. Their trip to the bulls is therefore an attempt to approach the other (and also, as discussed in section 5, a form of "consumerist cosmopolitanism"). The enunciation, however, opens a new dimension of the controversy: what the exchange students understand as "Spanish culture" clashes with the opinion of the locals, who do not regard bullfighting as any form of culture ("torture is neither art nor culture" is a popular motto in Spain). We observe how, by means of relating bullfighting and cultural traditions, the object of stance is gradually shifting while the participants co-build their subjectivities.

In this fragment, the mediating role of the Taiwanese PhD student stands out (lines 36 and 39). Recall she was at one point an exchange student, but has now been living in Madrid for years. Her stance aligns with that of the locals, but she admits that, like the international students, she did once go to a bullfight. With her evaluative stance, she shows how rejecting a local cultural event does not threaten the image of the host interlocutors. This opens the door for students 1 and 4 to state their displeasure regarding certain aspects of the bullfight. From this moment on, the movements of all the interlocutors (which now also include students 5 and 2) bring stances closer: researcher 1 recognizes an interesting folklore aspect in bullfighting (line 41) and researcher 2 (line 43) recognizes it may have a deeper anthropological value (although she ends up saying “but I’m not interested”). Both moves point towards an alignment regarding bullfighting, now reframed as a cultural good. However, students 1 and 4 make a new move in the construction of face (lines 44 and 46), and find a new space for the co-construction of intersubjectivity which is ideological in nature. These students start a narrative that describes the savage nature of the show and take a stance over which there is widespread agreement: the fight is a bloody and unfair practice. Later on in the conversation, subtle degrees of affection (“it’s not fair”) and agreement (“I agree”) would align stances. As participants gradually converge after a conflictive process of accretive stancetaking, affective stance gradually became more explicit (“I don’t like it”, “I dislike it”). The connection between stance alignment and intersubjectivity also comes to the fore. However, the movement also seems to announce a new reframing of the stance object. From this moment on, the divergence there was with regard to the object of the stance, whether attending bullfights is worthwhile or a practice to be avoided, a cultural event or a brutal tradition, has gradually converged around the shared

condemnation of violence. Regarding the latter there is alignment, as displayed in the fragment that follows.

FRAGMENT 1.3. (Bullfighting case study 3/3)

49.	Rsrch#1	en Portugal se hace diferente, en Portugal=	in Portugal it's done differently, in Portugal=
50.	SS#4	=¿en el caballo?	=on the horse?
51.	Rsrch#1	sí, no tiene, es igual pero no matan...	yes, it doesn't have, it's the same but they don't kill...
52.	SS#4	ah, no matan al toro=	ah, they don't kill the bull=
53.	SS#1	=[ah]	=[ah]
54.	SS#5	=[me]jor	=[bett]er
55.	Spanish SS	aquí también lo hacen en España, pero no es [digamos lo que la gente ve]	they do that here in Spain too, but it's not [let's say what people see]
56.	Rsrch#1	[no es LA FIESTA NACIONAL]	[it's not THE NATIONAL FIESTA]

In this excerpt, several accretive evaluative stances point to less bloody variants of bullfighting, a preferred alternative for all the participants. Having arrived at a point of agreement following the previous misalignment, all participants co-build their subjectivity as people who reject animal abuse, an ideological position they all share.

The national issue reappears in this fragment, in both cases evoked by researcher 1, who first refers to a neighboring country that keeps the tradition without sacrificing the bull, then to an underlying issue: the controversial declaration of bullfighting as “the national fiesta”, a category it was included in during Franco’s rule. Her sarcastic comment (line 56) shifts the stance object once more, reframing it within the political arena. The association of the “fiesta” not with Spanish culture but with politics and, more specifically, with the Francoist definition of the Spanish identity and the one-sided use of some traditions would appear again later on in the conversation. At that time, researcher 1 recalled the recurrent broadcasting of bullfights at prime time when she was a child, and the Spanish student stressed the fabricated nature of the fiesta. Thus, what had started as small talk ended up reflecting the controversies that exist between different value systems, and helped redefine bullfighting not as cultural good, but as a political issue.

The evocation of the “fiesta nacional”, an expression coined during Franco’s regime, is a very effective resource for reframing the stance object and reorganizing the alignment process. In the dialogic construction of intersubjectivity, the local participants want to remove themselves from elements considered from abroad (among some Spaniards too) a salient part of Spanish culture, in spite of the decadence of a tradition which has already been banned in some parts of the country. In doing so, they question its essentiality and bring the international students closer to a more complex reality: there is still a division between the so-called “two Spains”. As Jaworski & Thurlow (2009) point out, stances (particularly if they are accretively constructed) are unavoidably sites of ideological constructions and contestation. The bullfight episode closes with the alignment of all the

participants, who jointly manage to create an intersubjectivity removed from the national boundaries the debate started with.

With regard to the questions we posed for this section, we already have some answers. Throughout the negotiation to fix the shifting object of stance, and through successive convergences and divergences over the value system they relate to, intersubjectivity emerges as individuals within a group who condemn violent traditional practices. Within the construction of the stance object and the stance alignment process, three factors have proven crucial: contextualization, inferencing and stance accretion. The outcomes of such a complex procedure are significant: not only intersubjectivity has been built; the participants have also co-constructed their social identities. Having reached this point, the conversation changes topic and moves onto football. Just beforehand, laughter suggests an alignment has been reached and the face of all the participants has been saved. All in all, the foregoing section has shown that (i) stance objects are negotiated and gradually co-constructed within interaction in a shared attempt to build a working consensus; (ii) sociocultural values and ideologies shape face-work; and (iii) intersubjectivity is the link joining both strands. Through this negotiation of stance towards bullfighting, the Chinese students may be able to position themselves as more sophisticated cosmopolitan subjects, who do not simply view local cultural traditions as exotic, but show sensitivity to values shared with local people, such as human treatment of animals.

4.2. From local to cosmopolitan: The distinction of being a citizen of the world

Once dinner was over, the participants started an after-dinner chat, now sitting down. The conversation kicks off with a question from researcher 2 about the exchange

students' plans for the Christmas break. This particular fragment starts with spatial and temporal deixis pointing at the mobility scenario and the opportunities that the location provides: "And now that you are here, you'll take the chance to go to other countries" (line 57). The referent "here" is both Spain and the city of Madrid, to which they refer on several occasions as a place from which is it easy to get to other European capitals. The turn initiates a conversation in which the stances taken by the participants can be understood as reflections of different ways of being cosmopolitan. Their value systems, however, are different, which triggers misalignments between some for whom luxury shopping is endowed with a romantic allure and others with a more pragmatic orientation, who favor budget deals. At this point, the cultural premises that contextualize the object of stance are sometimes problematic once again. The fragments (4, 50 minutes altogether) show how the interpretation of the stance object is not always shared. Thus, interlocutors have to dialogically determine regarding what they are taking stance, and to modify the value system within which the stance object is framed. Fragment 2.1. comes 45 minutes later than Fragment 1.3 and starts with researcher 2's suggestion of taking advantage of the location for traveling.

FRAGMENT 2.1. (Shopping case study 1/2)

57.	Rsrch#2	y ahora que estáis aquí vais a aprovechar para ir a otros países::::?=	and now that you're here you'll take the chance to go to other countries::::?=
58.	SS#3	=Sí:::: en la semana próxima semana voy a París	=YE:S in the week next week I'm going to Paris

59.	SS#1	pero vamos a la navidad para también hacer compras [hacer compras]	but we'll go at Christmas too to shop [to shop]
60.	SS#4	[para hacer compras] sí sí sí	[to shop] yes yes yes
61.	SS#1	y luego Italia (risas), también para hacer compras=	and later on Italy (laughter), also to shop=
62.	Spanish SS	=pero compras en Italia o aquí en Madrid?	=but shopping in Italy or here in Madrid?
63.	PhD SS	no, lo que querían comprar son marcas famosas	no, what they wanted to buy was famous brands
64.	All	(incomprensible: hablan todos a la vez)	(unintelligible: all talk at once)
65.	SS#1	pero es que aquí los (ininteligible) de marca son más baratas que en	but here (unintelligible) brand names are cheaper than in
66.	Rsrch#2	claro, porque (ininteligible), pero Italia es mucho más caro que esto...	of course, because (unintelligible), but Italy is much more expensive than this...
67.	Spanish SS	[y Francia...]	[and France...]

68.	Rsrch#2	[y Francia] muchísimo más todavía	[and France] much more still
69.	SS#1	no sabemos si hay un descuento en navidad	we don't know if there are Christmas discounts
70.	Rsrch#2	en enero son las rebaja[jas]	in January there are sa[les]
71.	SS#1	[SI]	[YES]
72.	Rsrch#2	las mejores rebajas, aquí y en Londres	the best sales, here and in London
73.	SS#5	sí, pero no podemos ir a buscar ropas porque con el pasaporte de visa con	yes, but we can't go look for clothes because with the passport, of visa with
74.	PhD SS	podéis pedir aquí, pero MUY difícil	you (pl) can apply here, but VERY difficult
75.	SS#5	[sí, muy difícil]	[yes, very difficult]
76.	Spanish SS	[pero por qué no] podéis ir con el pasaporte?	[but why can't] you go with your passport?
77.	Rsrch#2	necesitarán un visado	they'll need an approval stamp
78.	SS#2	podemos ir, pero tenemos dejar nuestro [pasaporte en el mm]	we can go, but we have to leave our[passport in the mm]

79.	SS#1	[embajada]=	[embassy]=
80.	SS#5	=por unos días	=for a few days
81.	SS#2	sí, y no podemos ir a (ininteligible)	yes, and we can't go to (unintelligible)
82.	SS#5	(ininteligible)	(unintelligible)
83.	Rsrch#2	porque PARA REBAJAS, en Londres es mucho mejor	because FOR SALES London is much better

Three exchange students respond affirmatively to researcher 2's question: their plans include visiting other European cities. The aim of such trips is quickly specified: "to shop, to shop" (line 59). As student 1 mentions shopping twice in rapid succession, student 4 confirms the point ("yes yes yes"), after which student 1 expands on the statement: shopping over Christmas will happen not just in Paris, but also in Italy. Her laughter and the burst of unintelligible overlapping talk that follows highlight the emphasis placed on shopping as the reason for travelling abroad. Later on in the evening, student 5 would comment on the cultural interest of Italy, but at this point nothing but shopping is mentioned. Although no explicit evaluation is produced by the local participants, the Spanish student starts his turn with a counter argumentative marker ("but") and a request for confirmation (line 62). Researcher 2's subsequent utterance suggests that shopping could happen in Madrid as well, which is implicitly a negative evaluation of the stance object, i.e., shopping trips. She responds to students 1 and 4's stance, comparing price reductions in Madrid with prices elsewhere. Although the full statement is unintelligible, both researcher 2 and the local student seem to be suggesting that the exchange students might find better

prices in Madrid (in fact, the full transcript reveals that researcher 2 had unsuccessfully tried to introduce the point three times already). The sales imaginary (line 83) evoked by the researcher, focused on budgeting, clearly contrasts with the glamorous imaginary the students have in mind: luxury shopping in Paris and Milan, as we will soon discover. Hence, there is a conflictive misalignment regarding shopping and what shopping means.

To understand the alignment dynamics, we need to explore contextualization in further detail, tracing salient indexical meanings and identifying those aspects of context that participants must know to gather a successful interpretation of stances. To do so, we resource to Gumperz's theory, paying particular attention to how the contextualization move of the Taiwanese PhD candidate (the only participant familiar with both sociocultural contexts) creates the necessary common ground. Her move (line 63) provides information that contributes to the contextual definition of the object in relation to which stance is being taken, i.e. luxury brands. Hence, in helping reframe the stance object, she is paving the way for alignment. In further conversation, the exchange students would complete the contextual information highlighting the obstacles to find luxury brands in China at even less affordable prices, and explaining how their families had specifically asked for these products as travel presents.

The foregoing fragment has shown our participants taking a different stance in relation to the object (i.e. shopping abroad as an opportunity for purchasing luxury items versus shopping abroad as seeking cheaper deals). Despite the differences, both stances can be seen as different ways of being cosmopolitan, in that both groups profess their knowledge and experience of traveling to different places in the world. Thus, the fragment reveals the complex relation between consumption and

cosmopolitanism (a more detailed discussion is presented in section 5). The reference to the (very hard to obtain) visa needed for the Chinese exchange students to go to Britain shows cosmopolitanism is still a mode of social stratification. Likewise, the fact that relatives put in orders for branded items shows that, for these students, mobility is also a means of gaining access to social distinction.

The fact that both groups display cosmopolitan-oriented stances allows addressing another research question, namely, the extent to which the enactment of cosmopolitanism depends on encounters with interlocutors who themselves exhibit cosmopolitan features. In this regard, the romantic imaginary put forward in fragment 2.2 forms the basis for going beyond the initial lack of alignment about shopping. In line 84, researcher 2 restates her original question in the form of an affirmative statement, and a negotiation ensues among the participants in an attempt to align stances. During the process, the mediating role of the Taiwanese PhD student stands out once again.

FRAGMENT 2.2. (Shopping case study 2/2)

84.	Rsrch#2	entonces en navidad... vais a aprovechar navidad para viajar	then over Christmas... you'll take advantage of Christmas to travel
85.	SS#5	am París yyy Italia	am Paris aaand Italy
86.	PhD SS	es que ALLÍ en Asia siempre es un, no sé, es un un sueño, algo parece romántico que si puedes ir a Italia [o ir a París	the thing is THERE in Asia it's always, it's a I don't know a dream, something seems

			romantic that you can go to Italy [or go to Paris
87.	Rsrch#2	[a mí también me lo parece]	[it seems so to me too]
88.	All	(risas, incomprensible)	(laughter, unintelligible)
89.	Rsrch#1	para mí también es romántico	for me it's romantic too
90.	PhD SS	bueno, pero no estoy de acuerdo, lo siento	well, but I don't agree, I'm sorry
91.	Spanish SS	pero luego lo estarás	but later on you will
92.	Rsrch#1	no, pero siempre tienes ganas de ir a Venecia, París	no, but you always want to go to Venice, Paris
93.	SS#4	sí	yes
94.	Rsrch#2	a Milán de COMPRAS, a Milán de compras?	to Milan to SHOP, to Milan to shop?
95.	All	(risas)	(laughter)

In line 86, the PhD student provides information she considers local participants must bear in mind in order to contextually ground and understand their co-positioning. In doing so, she is introducing sociocultural differences between Asia and Europe and displaying ethnic identities. The use of the deictic “there” builds an implicit opposition between “there” and “here”, reframing the interaction in cultural terms. In choosing to mediate this way, she is assuming the participants do not have

enough information about each other to make sense of differences. Once France and Italy have been targeted as the desired destinations for the holidays, the Taiwanese student makes the premise behind such travelling explicit: “there in Asia it seems like a dream”. Researcher 2’s alignment (line 87), an endorsement of the stance of the exchange students, draws laughter and incomprehensible comments. Her cleft sentence emphasizes the lack of differences (“to me” [stance subject], “too” [position]) and neutralizes the PhD student’s polarization, thus bringing the subjective positions into alignment. Laughter eliminates the tension of previous moves, and researcher 1 (line 89) immediately adheres to the newly emerged alignment. This is not constructed on the grounds of shopping, nor on the idea of it being an impossible dream (unlikely within a setting in which the destination is already geographically close and travelling already a reality for these students), but rather on the romance attached to the destinations. The common acknowledgement of France and Italy as romantic places reveals the presence of a shared object of stance, and that the participants share socio-cultural values too. The statement of the Spanish student in line 91 (“but later you will be”), aimed at the only person who disagrees, levels all the participants. The shared imaginary is clearly a sign of distinction for all of them. Nothing to do with the practical logic of low-cost flights avoiding and high prices implicit in researcher 2’s recommendation which led to the former misalignment (a logic from which, for the sake of alignment, she distances herself in line 94, which elicits laughter as a welcoming response). The alignment on the romantic nature of transnational mobility marks a departure from the consumerist dimension of cosmopolitanism. In fact, besides the “consumption” of foreign places, both exchange students and locals come up as global connoisseurs who perform cosmopolitan practices in their interaction.

Overall, the foregoing section has shown (i) the relevance of common ground for understanding stances and reaching points of interactional alignment; (ii) the impact of ideologies in the alignment process; and (iii) how some current forms of cosmopolitanism (e.g. the consumption of romantic places) tend to trigger alignment much more expediently than others (e.g. the consumption of luxury goods).

5. COSMOPOLITANISM REVISITED FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF STANCETAKING

So far, we have observed the enactment of cosmopolitanism in interaction. The orientation of our participants towards different cultures and locations constitute interactional-level manifestations of cosmopolitanism, and the analysis of the fragments reveals the many tendencies and strands that coexist within cosmopolitanism. The participants in our study might be seen as exemplars of today's cosmopolitanism. They can be said to be cosmopolitans in that they manage to make their way into other settings and successfully renegotiate meanings. However, we cannot assess the extent to which they are indeed developing a symbolic personal repertoire (along the lines of the cosmopolitan competence suggested by Hannerz 2004, Vertovec & Rogers 1998). This is why, although they present themselves as such, our participants cannot be unmistakably called cosmopolitans nor the opposite.

Nonetheless, they do seem to enact some of the main trends detected in the literature in relation to current forms of cosmopolitanism. The bullfighting case study reveals how international students act as tourists (albeit with an academic slant) and, although they dip into the national culture of the host community, they remain rooted in their own culture at the point of origin: this is why mediators are needed to “get the

point". We therefore acknowledge the presence of a form of "touristy" cosmopolitanism that includes the search for varied experiences and a delight in understanding contrasts between societies rather than a longing for uniformity or superiority, as well as the development of some skills at interpreting cultural meanings (Vertovec & Cohen 2002). However, as Hannerz (1996: 103) notices, cosmopolitans do not accept particular elements of the alien culture and refuse others; they do not negotiate with the other culture, but rather accept it as a package deal. And this is precisely where tensions emerge. Locals, even if oriented towards cosmopolitanism, cannot embrace culture as a package, because they are committed to it and need to face and act against the cultural elements they reject. This tendency to see the experience of cultural diversity as a value in itself is linked to Urry's (1995) notion of "aesthetic cosmopolitanism", by means of which not only elites, but also tourists (and, in this case, international students) have developed more cosmopolitan or far-reaching aesthetic tastes. The consumption of foreign places seems to be based on exoticism, on commodification and on a consumerist culture (for a revision of the notion of commodification, cf. Pujolar 2017). However, engaging with locals and negotiation stances, international students face the contradictions raised by superficial cultural immersions, and they develop cultural competence in the stricter sense of the term.

The analysis of the fragments on shopping reveals another significant trend in relation to current forms of cosmopolitanism. Although the excerpt does not allow discerning if the reason behind Paris and Milan-based shopping goes beyond the actual purchase of goods, it clearly points to a distinction-seeking identity-building practice: I got it in Paris. Following Jaworski & Thurlow, we observe how a form of elitism is enacted by "making a claim to exclusivity, superiority, and/or distinctiveness

on the grounds of status, knowledge, authenticity, taste, erudition, experience, insight, wealth, or any other quality warranting the speaker/author to take a higher moral, aesthetic, intellectual, material, or any other form of standing in relation to another subject (individual or group)". In this respect, places are significant. As the analysis reveals, specific cultural practices and commodities offer a means of self-definition that removes subjects from a restrictive local context. Also indisputably, it reveals that cosmopolitanism is linked to transnational mobility and distinction. To be sure, there is cultural capital in saying "I am off to Paris next week", just as much capital as in the actual Chanel scarf eventually bought there. Would the same scarf carry less value if bought during a January sale in Madrid? Probably not: it is not the object itself that lends distinction to contemporary cosmopolitans, but having bought it at the right place, just as having had a picture taken at whatever iconic spot (Thurlow & Jaworski 2011). Participants in this interaction were socialized in particular consumption patterns at one place but currently they are relocated, again as customers, in another one (Hannerz 1996: 153). As a result, they have access to commodities, such as luxury brand names, that have a significant part of their value derived from their original (and not peripheral) location/locus of production. Thus, the analysis of the shopping case study seems to refer to what Calhoun (2002) describes as "consumerist cosmopolitanism", manifested in the globalization of tastes (such as the massive transfer of foodstuff, artworks, music, literature and fashion), which represents the multiculturalization of society, and also the advanced globalization of capitalism. As Calhoun notes, cosmopolitanism still refers to "the class consciousness of frequent travellers"; it is embodied in the emergent culture of the transnational capitalist class described by Sklair (2000). In being associated with such elites, cosmopolitanism is now largely a matter of consumption, an acquired

taste for cultural artifacts from around the world. However, concerning these consumption patterns, spatial and ideological position give rise to contradictions.

Finally, in connection with places, our paper shows a diversification of origins: a Chinese elite is now being formed under the auspices, among others, of university internationalization schemes and exchange programs. The transnational capitalist class, however, is only a small fragment of the population. Mobility is endowed with nuances that go further beyond travelling itself, and this is clearly linked to social inequality: some subjects can travel the world, others cannot or not to every country; some can access given consumer goods, others cannot. If cosmopolitanism is a matter of distinction, it must be recognized by others beyond biographic and/or cultural differences.

6. CONCLUSION

To conclude, let us review the most significant contributions of our study. First, and in relation to stancetaking, we have shown that the actual objects of stance are a matter for negotiation, and cultural values and ideologies play a crucial role in the process. Interacting with participants from different backgrounds is always a source of uncertainty and often the reason behind inconsistent stances. For this reason, we propose an interactional understanding of stancetaking that overtly focuses on the negotiation of stance objects. Objects are not static items situated outside the interaction: their meaning fluctuates and therefore, their co-construction is as dialogic as positioning itself. The contextualization and negotiation of stance objects, as well as stance accretion, allows participants to interpret the positioning of others and gradually construct compatible subjectivities. In intercultural settings, misalignments are often the result of misunderstandings because stance objects are implicit and the

background knowledge that participants evoke does not coincide. In positioning themselves, subjects respond both to the stances of others and to the values rooted in a community. For this reason, the stance triangle model should expand to accommodate the sociocultural and ideological aspects without which contextualization cannot succeed.

Secondly, interactional negotiations are inherently related to the co-construction of interpersonal relations. For this reason, face-work stands out as a key factor within the dialogical negotiation of stance. At this point, cultural values and ideologies play a crucial role as well: presenting oneself as a cosmopolite is a social asset that provides interactional legitimacy. In negotiating face and co-constructing identities, many stances and responses within interaction have a sense of it being “the right thing to say” to display social distinction. This, together with an inclination towards cooperation, explains why participants try to repair misalignments. However, in multicultural settings interlocutors often ignore the historical processes, cultural meanings and value systems associated to social practices, that is, the larger context without which a convergent interpretation of facts and events is impossible. Thus, while our exchange students were not aware of the controversial nature of bullfighting and its politicization in Spain today, the locals ignored the symbolic value associated to luxury shopping in European capitals among Chinese citizens, and difficulties emerged. Once the participants negotiated meaning and overcame their lack of shared background knowledge, their stances could come together. Since emplacement allows the neutralization of face-threatening acts and helps repair misalignments, stressing the embodied and situated nature of communication is paramount for a successful understanding of stancetaking.

Thirdly, ideologies play a much more critical role in stance negotiation than often acknowledged in the literature. Misalignments have allowed us to capture the contradictions, and coincidences, that the enactment of a cosmopolitan orientation raises between locals and newcomers. The stances taken in the construction of the stance object show the powerful role of ideologies in interactional clashes, and how overcoming such clashes is often a matter of ideology too. Repeated enactments of stance embody positions that sediment into ideological stands. Integrating ideology into the study of stancetaking is therefore theoretically relevant, as it helps understand the role of underlying sociocultural processes in stance negotiation. It also sheds light onto processes that shape contemporary communicative practices, such as the commodification of cultural and linguistic skills or the need of a cosmopolitan habitus to succeed in university exchange programs.

Fourthly, and consequently, in joining detailed analyses of local discursive practices with ideological issues and current social processes, our study goes beyond the here and now of interactional analysis. Also relevant at a theoretical level is the pertinence of approaching ideology from a micro rather than a macro standpoint, since there is an often-disregarded link between micro situated practices and social/ideological aspects and processes. To our mind, focusing on the local and situated construction of social processes and on the reproduction of ideologies allows novel insights into the ways in which globalization is modifying access to symbolic capitals, and also into promising routes for sociolinguistic enquiry.

REFERENCES

- Blackledge, Adrian and Angela Creese. 2010. *Multilingualism: A Critical Perspective*. New York: Continuum.
- Blommaert, Jan and Chris Bulcaen. 2000. Critical discourse analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29. 447-466.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2013. *Ethnography, Superdiversity and Linguistic Landscapes: Chronicles of Complexity*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Calhoun, Craig. 2002. The class consciousness of frequent travelers: Towards a critique of actually existing cosmopolitanism. In Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (eds.) *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 86-109.
- Du Bois, John W. 2007. The stance triangle. In Robert Englebretson (ed.) *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 139-182.
- Du Bois, John W. 2002. Stance and consequence. Paper presented to *Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association*, New Orleans, U.S.
- Goffman, Ervin. 1967. On face-work: An analysis of ritual elements in social interaction. From *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face To Face Behavior*. Aldine Transaction. 5-45.
- Gumperz, John. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hannerz, Ulf. 1996. *Transnational connections: Culture, people, places*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

- Hannerz, Ulf. 2004. Cosmopolitanism. In David Nugent and Joan Vincent (eds.) *A Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*. Oxford: Blackwell. 69-85.
- Heller, Monica. 2011. *Paths to Post-Nationalism: A Critical Ethnography of Language and Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heller, Monica. 2006. *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity: A Sociolinguistic Ethnography* (2nd ed.) London: Continuum.
- Jaffe, Alexandra (ed.). 2009. *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jaworski, Adam and Crispin Thurlow. 2009. Talking an elitist stance: Ideology and the discursive production of social distinction. In Alexandra Jaffe (ed.) *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press. 195-226.
- Pujolar, Joan. 2017. Post-nationalism and language commodification. In James Tollefson and Miguel Pérez-Milans (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Language Policy and Planning*. Oxford University Press.
- Rampton, Ben. 2001. Language crossing, cross-talk and cross-disciplinarity in sociolinguistics. In Nikolas Coupland, Srikant Sarangi and Christopher Candlin (eds.) *Sociolinguistics and Social Theory*. London: Longman Pearson Education. 261-296.
- Rampton, Ben. 2006. *Language in Late Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rauniomaa, Mirka. 2003. *Stance Accretion: Some Initial Observations*. Santa Barbara: University of California at Santa Barbara.
- Roberts, Celia, Evelyn Davies and Tom Jupp. 1992. *Language and Discrimination*. London: Longman.

- Sklair, Leslie. 2000. The transnational capitalist class and the discourse of globalisation. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 14:1. 67-85.
- Thurlow, Crispin and Adam Jaworski. 2011. Banal globalization? Embodied actions and mediated practices in tourists' online photo-sharing. In Crispin Thurlow and Kristine Mroczek (eds.) *Digital Discourse: Language in the New media*. New York: Oxford University Press on Demand. 220-250.
- Urry, John R. 1995. *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.
- Vertovec, Steven and Alisdair Rogers. 1998. *Muslim European Youth: Reproducing Religion, Ethnicity and Culture*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Vertovec, Steven and Robin Cohen (eds.). 2002. *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

[]	beginning and end of overlap;
=	latching
::	indicates pitch rise
'capital letters'	volume
. ? ,	falling, rising and continuing intonation
> <	the talk between them is rushed, and < > slowed
()	no hearing could be achieved for the talk or item