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Kwiatkowski, Marion

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Portraying the voice of the other: Quoting as a device for the reproduction and negotiation of in-group and out-group membership

Marion Kwiatkowski, University of Helsinki

Social identity in the form of group membership is not fixed but may be revised over time. One context which conditions contact between social groups and might lead to a repositioning on the social identity scale is that of migration. This article examines how relations between different sociocultural groups are portrayed and how social identity is linguistically negotiated in accounts on cultural differences by second-generation Bosnian immigrants in Swedish-language Finland. The analysis focusses on how the speakers present their own, as well as the other's voice, that of the local, non-immigrant population, in the form of direct quotations. The study demonstrates that second-generation immigrant speakers utilise quotations to characterise the non-immigrant population by verbalising their negative and disinterested attitude towards immigrants and their heritage cultures. The second-generation immigrant speakers also use quoting to express their own emotional reaction towards the excluding behaviour by the non-immigrant population and portray themselves as involuntary out-group members in relation to the local non-immigrant population. The article argues that quoting as a stylistic device allows the speakers to implicitly comment on the marginalisation they experience by the non-immigrant population and to make their experiences more tangible for the interlocutor. On a more general level, the present study contributes to our understanding of quotations as devices that pragmatically convey the speaker's stance towards the quoted content and with that, the quoted party, not only through semantic content, but also through variation within the quotative frame.

Keywords: social identity, quoting, quotative frame, second-generation immigrants, Swedish, Finland

1 Introduction

In 2008, the EU calculated that approximately 10.4 million EU citizens aged between 25 and 54 had at least one parent who was born in a non-EU country (Albertinelli et al., 2011, p. 122). The children of immigrants have been a subject of great interest to researchers examining the effects of migration, as they occupy a special position in the integration process. As the second generation, they have been raised and socialised in the receiving society, but they nonetheless remain vulnerable to the challenges associated with immigration, such as a higher risk of unemployment and (for children whose both parents are foreign-born) a greater

Corresponding author's email: marion.kwiatkowski@helsinki.fi

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likelihood of leaving the education and training system without an upper secondary qualification (Albertinelli et al., 2011, p. 21). Another aspect of the second generation's experience is their exposure to and membership in two or more cultural groups, which raises issues of self-identification and identity. This leads to the question of how community and group membership is perceived in an increasingly diverse society and how it is constructed and reproduced in social behaviour including linguistic practices.

This article examines how social identity in the form of group membership is linguistically negotiated in narrative sequences on cultural differences by second-generation Bosnian immigrants in Swedish-language Finland. The analysis focusses on how the speakers present their own voice, as well as *the other's* voice – that of the local, non-immigrant population – in direct quotations. The article argues that the second-generation immigrants use quotations to present themselves as involuntary out-group members with respect to the non-immigrant population. The non-immigrant population is, in turn, depicted by these second-generation immigrants as a closed group that actively distances themselves from them. The analysis further aims to develop a more detailed understanding of the pragmatic effects of quoting in spoken interaction and demonstrates that variation in the *quotative frame*, meaning the phrase that introduces the quoted content, allows the speaker to comment on both the quoted content and the quoted speaker. On a more general level, this article also argues that as a stylistic device, quoting awards agency and with that, power to speakers, particularly when they relate to the circumstances that made them feel misunderstood, powerless and marginalised.

2 Social identity

Tajfel (1974) defines social identity as “that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership” (p. 69). He further identifies an important factor for social group membership – social consensus. This means that individuals not only have to categorise themselves as group members, but they also need to be identified as such by others (Tajfel, 1978, p. 29). Group membership and therefore social identity is a dynamic rather than a static concept: In other words, group membership loyalty is subject to change, both as to the extent people identify with a group and the meaning they attribute to their group membership may be revised over time (De Fina, 2006, p. 355). This suggests that individuals continuously reposition themselves on a social scale – both in the situational context and in the larger context of the available categories that can be renegotiated and reinterpreted. Furthermore, Tajfel (1974) argues that group membership only becomes relevant to an individual when it encounters other groups: “[t]he characteristics of one's group as a whole ... achieve most of their significance in relation to perceived differences from other groups [...] the definition of a group [...] makes no sense unless there are other groups around.” (pp. 71–72). This suggests that social identity and group membership may be particularly relevant in immigration contexts, where two (or more) groups, defined by a distinct cultural heritage, meet and live together in a community possibly over a longer period of time. Culture is understood in the context of this analysis as encompassing “basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, beliefs, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions ... that influence (but

do not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour." (Spencer-Oatey, 2008, p. 3). Cultural background thus operates as a socially significant factor that distinguishes social groups and may even create different social groups as well as influence intergroup attitudes and behaviour. The children of immigrants are exposed to and participate in more than one culture and may therefore claim membership in two or several social groups. At the same time, they may not be accepted as members in any of the groups by other group members, because they do not fit into the traditional, monocultural ideal that still determines the mutual exclusiveness of social groups that are defined by cultural background (Phinney & Alipuria, 2006, p. 211). In this manner, second-generation immigrants are simultaneously in-group as well as out-group members, as they are to differing degrees rooted and marginalised in two or more sociocultural groups.

Speakers can construct and negotiate their social identity in spoken interaction through both form and content (De Fina, 2006). For instance, they can select the topics to discuss or the aspects of a topic to highlight, as well as the linguistic means they use to do this. Chun (2009) demonstrates that second-generation Asian American youth resort to Asian immigrant speech to negotiate their generational identity. These speakers may adopt immigrant-like speech as part of their own linguistic repertoire to accommodate to their interlocutor, thus aligning themselves with first-generation Asian immigrants and their cultural background. On the other hand, the speakers may engage in stylised immigrant-like speech as a mocking interpretation of first-generation Asian immigrants to highlight cultural and linguistic generational differences. These verbal performances were found to achieve a distancing effect and position the speakers above first-generation Asian immigrants (Chun, 2009). Rampton (1999, 2005) reports that speakers may even *cross* social or ethnic boundaries during interaction by adopting the variety of the out-group as a spontaneous yet symbolic move to negotiate their own group alignment. Thus, *language crossing* may either reproduce or challenge essentialist notions of ethnicity and culture, creating new solidarities and new forms of group identity (Rampton, 1999).

3 Quoting and social group membership

Quoting, the representation of one's speech or thought or that of others at a later time, constitutes a distinct stylistic move in discourse. Quoting creates a sense of immediacy in speech as the speaker can step back and present the words or thoughts of the quoted speaker seemingly unfiltered. This change in perspective leads Wierzbicka (1974) to ascribe quoting a theatrical quality, as the speaker 'plays the part' of the person they are quoting (p. 272). Wierzbicka's observation introduces another important aspect of quoting: Not only is the content of someone else's words or thoughts presented in a seemingly unfiltered manner, but also *how* they said them – the speaker can opt to portray the quoted person's choice of language, idiosyncratic vocabulary, accent, tone of voice and so forth (Wierzbicka, 1974, pp. 274–277). In that manner, quoting can serve as a device to implicitly characterise other actors mentioned in the conversation. The speakers can refrain from explicitly commenting on the person being quoted; instead, they give an immediate rendering of the quoted speaker's behaviour – it is up to the listener to interpret this rendition (cf. Clark & Gerrig, 1990 on quotations as *demonstrations*).

Tannen (2007) observes that quotations are not mere *reports* of what someone else has stated. Rather, she refers to quoting as “an active conversational move that fundamentally transforms the nature of the utterance” (Tannen, 2007, p. 108). This means that the speaker *transforms* or *reconstructs* an utterance by placing it into a new context. Tannen (2007) further emphasises the speaker’s active role in depicting someone else’s speech and argues that in this case, the quoted party should not be perceived as a person but rather as a mere “resource ... for the facework of the immediate context” (p. 111). This entails that the speaker in turn is never merely an *animator* (cf. Goffman, 1981) who plays up someone else’s words, but rather that speakers consciously and actively use the quoted content as well as the quoted party as resources to achieve their communicative goals (Tannen, 2007, pp. 110–111). Quoting in speech therefore constitutes a strategy to implicitly characterise parties featured in the discourse and/or serves as a means to achieve the speakers’ communicative goals.

It is therefore not surprising that speakers use quoting to depict and construct their social worlds – to represent the relations between different social groups and to negotiate their own social group membership in the course of it. When two groups are contrasted, quoting can be used to portray, and with that, comment on the behaviour of the out-group members. Basso (1979) examines how the Western Apache voice cultural constructions of *the other* in their joking imitations of “the Whiteman”. Basso (1979) argues that these jokes serve as “dramatizations of the Western Apache experience” (p. 64): Through their jokes, the Western Apache create an animated cultural construction of a “Whiteman” and express problems encountered in social interaction. These constructions of out-group members are relational, meaning the construct of the “Whiteman” functions simultaneously to define what the Western Apache is not. The portrayal of out-group members’ behaviour thus entails an implicit characterisation of in-group members. Furthermore, joking is used to make sense of their experiences with the “Whiteman”. By animating the construct of the “Whiteman”, the Western Apache offer an interpretation of the behaviour of the “Whiteman” towards them.

Quoting may also be used as a linguistic practice to construct social categories such as race and gender (Bucholtz, 1999; Buttny, 1997, 2003). Speakers may articulate and challenge dominant attitudes or stereotypes of the respective out-group (White versus non-White) in representations of interracial conflict by quoting a ‘prototypical’ group member who epitomises the group as a whole to characterise and criticise the group’s behaviour or attitudes (Buttny, 1997, 2003). Speakers may also resort to quoting to appeal to societal ideologies of social categories in order to construct their own identity in relation to *the other* (Bucholtz, 1999). According to Buttny (1997), quoting as a conversational practice in talking race further involves a speaker’s assessment of a situation and it is within that assessment that racialised events are contested: “Reporting speech is not simply reporting; it is also editorializing – making *evaluations* or *assessments*. Reported speech makes relevant, or is made relevant by, an assessment from the reporting speaker.” (p. 501). Quoting is therefore accompanied by some form of assessment or comment in its immediate context, or the presentation of the quoted content itself implicitly involves a comment on the quoted speaker’s behaviour. Buttny (1997) notes that the portrayal of racialised events involves an element of powerlessness on both sides, either as “unjustified recipients” or as actors whose behaviour has been “blown out of proportion” (p. 502). He explains that through quoting, this powerlessness can be challenged as words of *the other* are made

visible and as a consequence, out-group members can be held accountable and the portrayed interracial realities can be criticised (Buttny, 1997, p. 503).

Quoting may further be invoked as an interactional device in discourse to interrogate hegemonic social relations and to criticise existing power relations between different social groups (Sandhu, 2016). The “ultimate semantic authority” (Sandhu, 2016, p. 46) in quoting lies with the speaker; the speaker may utilise the words of other characters to construct a social world as well as an image of the characters featured in it according to their own intentions and communicative goals. Quoting may in this case function as a stylistic device to *enact* and make visible social relations and the underlying ideologies that are perceived to have shaped them (Sandhu, 2016, p. 47).

The present article analyses the use of quoting as a stylistic device by second-generation Bosnian immigrants to construct and negotiate their social identity in sequences related to cultural conflict. The analysis approaches the topic of social identity construction from a pragmatic perspective, as it examines how variation in the quotative frame is used by speakers to present and comment on the behaviour and attitudes of individual social groups featured in the sequences and consequently negotiate their own place in the portrayed social world.

4 Negotiation and construction of social identity through quoting among second-generation immigrants in Swedish-language Finland

4.1 Grannstad and its history of immigration

The informants for this study reside in a rural municipality on the Western (Swedish-speaking) coast of Finland, which is referred to here by the pseudonym *Grannstad*. Historically, Finland has predominantly been the source of immigrants rather than the target, which is why Finland is classified as a *recent receiving society* (Berry et al., 2012, p. 16; cf. Välimäki, 2019, p. 53). In 1990, only 1.3% of Finland’s inhabitants were first-generation immigrants, a number that rose to 5% in 2014 (Nordic Welfare Centre, 2017, p. 9). Nonetheless, compared to Finland’s neighbour Sweden, where every seventh inhabitant (approximately 16%) has immigrated to the country (figures as of 2016; Nordic Welfare Centre, 2017, p. 12), the number in Finland remains rather low.

The rural community of Grannstad is an exception to this as 12.9% of its inhabitants are non-Finnish nationals from various cultural backgrounds, which means that it is a multicultural and multilingual community (figures as of December 2018; Regional Council of Ostrobothnia, 2019a). Of Grannstad’s approximately 10,000 inhabitants, 14.8% have registered their *mother tongue*¹ to be other than the national languages Finnish or Swedish (figures as of December 2018; Regional Council of Ostrobothnia, 2019b). The first Bosnian immigrants arrived in Grannstad during the 1990s when the Balkan Wars were raging. Later on, their relatives, friends, and other Bosnians followed them as workforce immigrants so that today, people with a Bosnian cultural background form a relatively large and vital group in Grannstad (4.2% of the population in Grannstad have Bosnian as their registered *mother tongue* (figures as of December 2018, Statistics Finland, 2019)). First-generation immigrants were integrated in Swedish and speak standard Finland-Swedish with some dialectal elements that result from contact with local dialect speakers (Ekberg & Östman, 2017b; Östman & Ekberg, 2016).

The informants for this study are all children with two Bosnian parents who immigrated to Finland during the 1990s.

4.2 Material and method

My material consists of 14 recorded sequences of varying length on cultural contrasts and conflicts. During these sequences, second-generation immigrants narrate instances where practices and beliefs that they perceive to be connected either to their cultural background or to someone else's were addressed or perceived as the underlying cause of misunderstandings or conflicts. The sequences were selected from a corpus of audio-taped recordings, which was collected as part of the LIRA research project (Language and Integration in Rural Areas in Swedish-language Finland and in Sweden) in 2015 and 2016 (cf. Östman and Ekberg, 2016).

The sequences were extracted from semi-structured interviews that were conducted in Swedish with second-generation immigrants regarding their life in the rural Finnish countryside in general as well as their perceived marginalisation due to their immigrant background. The informants were 14–22 years old and were either born in Finland or had immigrated to Finland at a very young age (less than 1 year old), which means they had lived in Grannstad for the better part of their lives and grew up with Finland-Swedish culture. The parents of all informants were first-generation Bosnian immigrants; the informants spoke Bosnian fluently and reported that Bosnian was the main language spoken in their family homes. They also had strong ties to Bosnian culture and stated that they regularly visited their parents' country of origin.

The interviews were orthographically transcribed using ELAN (Eudico Linguistic Annotator, Sloetjes & Wittenburg, 2008)². The sequences that contained discussions of cultural contrasts and conflicts were extracted. To ensure terminological and analytical consistency, the quotations in the sequences were annotated with the help of a controlled vocabulary for the quoted speaker and quotative. In addition, to fully understand their stylistic purpose within the sequences, special attention was paid to the context of the quotations.

4.3 Theoretical background: The quotative frame

Quotations can not only be used to characterise the quoted person by presenting their (speech) behaviour in an immediate, seemingly unfiltered way, but speakers can also influence how the quoted content is to be understood through the context they embed it in. The immediate context of the quoted content, particularly in spoken language, may consist of an introductory element that frames the quotation as such. For example, let us consider the following:

She says, "Hey babe, take a walk on the wild side" (Reed, 1972)

This example consists of the quoted content (indicated here in quotation marks) and the *quotative frame* "she says" preceding it. The quotative frame in the example is placed immediately before the quotation and consists of two distinct elements. The first provides information on who has uttered the quoted content as the subject of the clause, which is the pronoun *she* in this example. In most cases, the *quoted speaker* is represented by a personal pronoun that refers to an earlier instance in the speaker's account when the protagonist in question was introduced. The second element in the quotative frame is the (quotative) verb "say", which

provides information on how, according to the speaker, the quoted content was originally presented, meaning in this case that it was “said” and not, for example, “thought”. This element is referred to here as a *quotative*. The quotative can also consist of pragmatic particles, which pragmatically modify the quoted content through aspects such as their foregrounding or approximating semantics.

The quotative frame marks the quoted content for the listener and may provide further information on the quoted speaker and the manner in which the quoted content was stated. Due to the on-line processing of spoken language, the quotative frame usually precedes the quoted content in spoken interaction.

In Swedish, the quotative frame also indicates the quoted speaker and the quotative. The length of the quotative frame can vary markedly depending on how the speaker intends to present the quoted content. The quotative frame can consist of a whole clause that can be modified with (in most cases hedging) particles and adverbs, or the speaker can decide to let the quoted content stand on its own without any introduction whatsoever. The quotative frame can further vary in content: Speakers can select from a large repertoire of quotatives with different semantics in order to guide the listeners’ interpretation of the quoted content.

In the present analysis, I examine the quoted speaker and quotative as two distinct elements of the quotative frame that (generally) precedes the quoted content in spoken interaction. Speakers can select from a range of options to fill (or even decide not to fill) the two slots. This analysis further illustrates how speakers can employ quotations to implicitly characterise actors who are featured in the conversational sequence. Especially in sequences that pertain to cultural differences, with two (more or less) opposing groups presented, speakers can use the quoted content and the accompanying quotative frame to remark on and characterise the two sociocultural groups and their behaviour. The quoted content and quotative frame may also constitute important devices for speakers to negotiate their own social group membership.

4.4 Analysis

The material contained 39 quotations that were part of sequences on cultural differences. For an overview, the quotations were grouped according to the voices they represent. As stated above, second-generation immigrants typically move between two cultures, their heritage culture and that of the society they have grown up in. In the examined sequences, second-generation speakers did not contrast themselves with their parents’ generation as representatives of Bosnian culture, but mainly focused on contrasts with the non-immigrant Finland-Swedish population. This might be attributed to the general framing of the interviews as an inquiry into immigration to rural areas. The quotations were consequently classified as either representing the speaker’s own voice (10 quotations) or the voice of the local, non-immigrant population (29 quotations), namely the inhabitants of Grannstad who do not have an immediate (first or second generation) immigrant background and who were perceived by the speakers as representing local, Finland-Swedish culture. The distribution of quotations suggests that when speakers in my material discussed cultural contrasts and conflicts, they used quotations considerably more often (29 out of 39 instances) to render their perceptions of out-group behaviour than to portray their own voice (10 out of 39 instances).

4.4.1 Quoted speaker

The quoted speaker is the person to whom the quoted content is attributed, that is, the person who is purported to have said or thought something, or the person who is portrayed to be likely to say or think what is depicted in the quoted content. In the analysis, I distinguish between the intended quoted speaker, that is, a real-world referent, and the referent's structural representation as the subject within the quotative frame.

Example (1) illustrates how the speakers convey the divide between sociocultural groups by employing different variants of referring to the quoted speaker. The two informants, Selma and Aida³, narrate an instance that reflects the ignorance and disinterest they find displayed by the non-immigrant population towards their Bosnian heritage culture.

Example 1

1	Selma	har dom int tagi till sej de då eller	<i>have they not taken notice of this or like</i>
2		som vad va e som problem	<i>like what is like the problem</i>
3	Aida	för jag vet att dom var väldigt	<i>because I know that they were very</i>
4		förvånade "jaha jaha"	<i>surprised "I see I see"</i>
5	Selma	dom var jätteförvånade att dom visste	<i>they were very surprised so that they</i>
6		knappt som var Bosnien ligger	<i>barely like knew where Bosnia is</i>
7		så det var som	<i>so it was like</i>
8	Aida	"varför kom ni hit å flyttar int tillbak"	<i>"why did you come here and don't go back"</i>
9	Selma	"ni tar bara våra pengar"	<i>"you only take our money"</i>
10	Aida	ja man bara "wow"	<i>yeah and one only "wow"</i>
		(...)	(...)
11	Int	men de säger dom väl inte eller har	<i>but they wouldn't say that or have</i>
12		dom sagt de till	<i>they said that to</i>
13	Selma	jå nå har dom sagt de	<i>yeah sure they have said that</i>
14		ja dom har sagt flera kommentarer	<i>yeah they have made several comments</i>
15	Int	alltså nån av era klasskompisar eller	<i>so one of your classmates or</i>
16		nån annan	<i>someone else</i>
17	Aida	alltså di brukar ju nå # slänga	<i>yeah well they use to # throw in</i>
18		såna där kommentarer	<i>those kinds of comments</i>
19	Selma	ja i högstadie	<i>yeah at secondary school</i>
20		som man var som nå lite "okej ni	<i>like one was like a little "okay you</i>
21		förstår ju tydlit inte # alls vad saken	<i>clearly do not understand # at all what</i>
22		handlar om här"	<i>this is about, now"</i>

Selma and Aida recount an episode from a school lesson when the Balkan Wars arose as a subject for discussion. They explain that none of their classmates, let alone the teacher, had any knowledge about the wars and consequently, they did not know that the wars were the reason that people, among them Selma's and Aida's parents, had fled their home country and immigrated to Finland. Selma and Aida create a clear opposition between themselves as descendants of these refugees and their classmates, who obviously do not share their background and who harbour rather negative perceptions of refugees. In the example, Selma and

Aida contribute in length and content equally as they jointly construct the narrated sequence and with that, an image of their classmates as a distinct social group.

Selma and Aida alternate between different variants of introducing quoted content. What is most salient in this example is that the classmates' utterances are not introduced by a quotative frame (lines 4 and 8), whereas Aida and Selma both explicitly frame their own emotional reactions (lines 10 and 20–22) with the quoted speaker "man" ('one'), an impersonal pronoun, and a quotative (the pragmatic particle "bara" 'only, just' and the copula "vara" 'to be' followed by hedging particles).

The omission of a quotative frame constitutes a deliberate move and is referred to as *zero quotative* (Mathis & Yule, 1994; cf. also Clark & Gerrig, 1990, on *free standing quotations*). The attribution of a quoted speaker when using zero quotative is generally implied by the conventional alternation of turns in a two-party dialogue (Mathis & Yule, 1994). Speakers may also index a change in perspective by modulating their voice. In non-dialogic quotative sequences, zero quotative may be used to construct a character's attitude in the form of a quotation (Mathis & Yule, 1994, pp. 72–73). In lines 8 and 9, the speakers present the attitude of the non-immigrant population towards immigrants in the form of quoted content. Selma and Aida both indicate a change in perspective by adopting a falsetto pitch. In addition, by not attributing the quoted content to a specific person as the quoted speaker, Selma and Aida underline their perception of the non-immigrant population as a collective group, suggesting that any one of their classmates could have uttered these statements. This effect is further consolidated outside of the quotative frame during the rest of the sequence: Selma and Aida refer to their classmates in the third person plural pronoun "di" /dɪ:/ or "dom" /dɔm/ (pronunciation variants of Sw. "de", 'they'). This relates to Tannen's (2007) concept of *choral dialogue* (pp. 114–115). In choral dialogue, the subject of the quotative frame appears in the plural form ("they say"), which results in the quoted content being formally attributed to more than one speaker. Tannen (2007) states that speakers resort to choral dialogue to construct an utterance which has or could have been made by several people in this or a similar form (p. 115). Choral dialogue may be used to render the quoted content as "a collective opinion of a particular group of people and hence it instantiates their opinions, beliefs, values, etc." (Sandhu, 2016, p. 48). Speakers may adopt choral dialogue to portray the pervasiveness of marginalising discourses and to illustrate their challenges of encountering and counter-acting them (Sandhu, 2016, p. 48). Even though Selma and Aida use zero quotative with quotations attributed to their classmates, their usage of choral "di"/"dom" in the rest of the sequence suggests that they view their classmates as a collective that shares these uninformed prejudices towards immigrants. These prejudices may even be interpreted as reflecting a general societal discourse that the speakers want to position themselves against.

When Selma and Aida depict their emotional reactions towards their classmates' ignorance and prejudices, they use the impersonal pronoun "man" ('one') as the subject of the quotative frame. The Swedish pronoun "man", when referring to the speaker themselves, involves a degree of generalisation and normalisation (Linell & Norén, 2005). The use of the impersonal pronoun suggests that the portrayed experience or reaction could have happened to anyone in the same situation and therefore constitutes "normal" behaviour (Linell & Norén, 2005, pp. 121–122). The use of "man" in example (1) can therefore be interpreted as a distancing technique through which speakers can downplay their agency and

render their own sentiments as universal or generally accepted. Furthermore, the use of normalising “man” constitutes an act of listener involvement, because speakers formulate their accounts with the listener in mind. Even during interviews, which have a strictly orchestrated sequence of question and answer combined with the expectation that the interviewee takes up most of the speaking time, the content and form of the interview is never independent of the interviewing researcher (cf. Rapley, 2001, on the interactional nature of interviews). Regarding the material examined here, the interviewer entered the community as an outsider with little previous knowledge of the social dynamics at play. By framing their own emotional reactions towards the classmates’ ignorance as potentially universal, Selma and Aida create a sense of allegiance between themselves and the interviewer.

Example (2) illustrates how the choice of quoted speaker may contribute to the speaker’s characterisation of the out-group. Adnan describes how inhabitants with an immigrant background function as default scapegoats in the minds of the non-immigrant population. He argues that this perception is further consolidated by the fact that the public response is more forceful (or even existent at all) when the culprit has an immigrant background.

Example 2

1	Adnan	men som va än som händer	<i>but like whatever like happens</i>
2		utlänningarnas fel	<i>the foreigners’ fault</i>
3		de e aldri dom	<i>it is never them</i>
4		som till exempel int blir ju en	<i>like for example an</i>
5		Grannstadsbo utskälld av någon int	<i>inhabitant of Grannstad does not get scolded by anyone no</i>
6		om de händer nånting som allvarlit	<i>if something like serious happens</i>
7		men meddetsamma blir de nån	<i>but immediately [when] it’s some</i>
8		utlänning # då börjar de "han e dålig	<i>foreigner # then it begins "he is bad</i>
9		han e farlig han e lalala blablabla"	<i>he is dangerous he is lalala blablablah"</i>

Adnan frames the response by the non-immigrant population as a quotation (lines 8–9). He introduces the quoted content with the impersonal pronoun “det” (standard Swedish ‘it’, here realised as “de”) as the subject of the quotative frame. As discussed above, the use of impersonal pronouns represents a step back from the quoted speaker as an agentive individual towards rendering the quoted content as a general statement. Furthermore, in this case, “de” refers to the general reaction by the non-immigrant population that is represented in a dismissive manner (“lalala blahblahblah” in line 9) in the quoted content. This creates the image of the non-immigrant population as the intended quoted speakers as forming one collective group that shares these sentiments, rather than as individual actors. By using the impersonal pronoun “det”, Adnan emphasises the general character of the account and at the same time refrains from assigning agency to a specific person.

In the quotations discussed above, the individual agency of the actors is toned down. This appears to be a general tendency in all the examined material. When presenting their own voice as the intended quoted speaker, the speakers resort to semantically vague variants that do not contain a clear reference to a real-world actor, such as the impersonal pronouns “man” (‘one’) and “det” (‘it’) as the subject

in the quotative frame, or the speakers omit the subject altogether. By using impersonal pronouns to refer to their own voice, the speakers create a distance between the quoted content and themselves as quoted speakers to seemingly diminish their personal involvement. The speakers frame their own thoughts and utterances as potentially universal in order to create an allegiance between themselves and the interviewer as their interlocutor. Furthermore, the speakers omit the subject in the quotative frame when presenting the voice of the non-immigrant population. However, omission of the quoted speaker does not mean that the quotative frame is left out entirely – speakers may introduce quoted content with a pragmatic particle that stands on its own. Another strategy detected in the material was that, when presenting quotations with the non-immigrant population as the intended quoted speaker, speakers aim to convey a sense of chorality by inserting a plural subject. The plural subject contributes to the impression that the out-group is perceived to collectively share the attitudes that are verbalised in the quotations. The use of the impersonal pronoun “det” ('it') as the subject in the quotative frame and the omission of the subject achieve the same effect: The single speaker is not relevant and the quoted content could potentially be uttered by any member of the non-immigrant population.

Rather than forming an in-group of their own and giving voice to it by means of quotation, the speakers present themselves as individual actors in the sequences. They frame their own reactions to the behaviour of the non-immigrant population as universal rather than as informed by their own cultural background and experiences. Through their choice of quoted speaker, the speakers pragmatically consolidate the intergroup relations they describe in their accounts.

4.4.2 Quotative

The second element that forms the core of the quotative frame is the *quotative*. The term *quotative* encompasses quotative verbs such as “säga” ('say'), but also other linguistic elements such as pragmatic particles as “bara” 'just, only'. Quotatives in Swedish form a rich category that ranges from quotative verbs that specify the manner of speaking such as “ryta” 'shout', to quotative particles such as “bara”, that foreground the quoted content as a central part of a speaker's narrative (Eriksson, 1995, p. 40). Quotatives can also express speaker attitude towards the quoted content as well as towards the quoted speaker, as is illustrated in example (3). Aida and Selma alternate between different quotatives to portray the voice of the non-immigrant population and at the same time, comment on it as follows:

Example 3

1	Aida	så de e som # vi # kanske alltså vi	<i>so it is like # we # maybe so we don't</i>
2		går int på fest så här jätte ofta	<i>go to parties very often</i>
3		om de e ett sånt här stort evenemang	<i>if it is a big event</i>
4		eller något så går vi gärna på de	<i>or something then we gladly go to it</i>
5		men int så här varje helg att att	<i>but not like every weekend that that</i>
6		jag måste typ supa mej full de går ju	<i>I have to kinda get hammered – alcohol</i>
7		åt pengar på alkohol också å dricka	<i>costs a lot of money too and drinking</i>
8		och allt sånt å de vill jag gärna spara	<i>and all this and that [money] I want to save</i>
9		till # något annat ja så att #	<i>for # something else yeah so that #</i>
10		de tycker dom är lite lame [Eng.]	<i>this they think is a little lame</i>

11	Int	lame?	<i>lame?</i>
12	Aida	ja	<i>yeah</i>
13		dom tycker att "ja varför" (...)	<i>they think that "yeah why" (...)</i>
14		exakt # och # att vi	<i>exactly # and # that we</i>
15		dom säger bara "å de ja dom där	<i>they just say "oh yeah those</i>
16		bosniska dom där bosnierna går ju	<i>Bosnian those Bosnians do not go</i>
17		int på fest"	<i>to parties"</i>
18	Selma	å sen har vi väl dom	<i>and then we have those</i>
19	Aida	"dom kan inte integrera sej"	<i>"they don't know how to integrate"</i>
20		bla bla bla	<i>blah blah blah</i>

Prior to the exchange featured in the excerpt, Aida states that she only has a few friends who do not share her Bosnian background. In the excerpt, Aida then suggests the reason for this, namely that her peers who are not from a Bosnian background spend their weekends partying and drinking alcohol, which she does not particularly enjoy. Aida concludes her explanation by attributing the depicted social dynamics to differences in mentality. In other words, while she sees no point in spending money on alcohol, her peers without an immigrant background see no point in saving money for anything else. Aida illustrates this sentiment by using a quotation to verbalise her peers' opinion (line 13). Aida subsequently again changes perspective when she portrays her interpretation of how the non-immigrant population's perception of her, and on that note, the reluctance of the whole Bosnian cultural community to drink and attend parties (lines 15–19) in the form of a quotation. Aida frames partying and drinking as an important part of the local non-immigrant culture and as a consequence, not participating in their social activities is perceived as an unwillingness to integrate on the part of first- and second-generation immigrants.

The quotatives Aida uses to introduce the voice of the non-immigrant population, "tycka att" ('think that') and "säga bara" ('say just'), are combinations of a verb and a particle. The verb "tycka" ('think'), even though pragmatically strong, is semantically neutral in the sense that it merely denotes that the ensuing quoted content constitutes a constructed thought, which can be either concrete or a general attitude, rather than an utterance. In the Swedish spoken in Finland, "att" ('that') can commonly precede quotations without marking them as indirect (unlike in the Sweden-Swedish standard or in English, but similar to Finnish "että" 'that') (Henricson, 2010). In the Swedish spoken in Finland, "att" has advanced to a signalling element that pragmatically marks and projects quoted content (Henricson, 2010). Similar to "tycka", the verb "säga" ('say') denotes the type of quoted content (an utterance), but remains rather neutral as to the manner of speaking. The quotative verb "säga" is combined with "bara", which can also alone constitute a quotative particle. Eriksson (1995) explains that "bara", often realised as "ba"⁴, was originally used in quotations as a foregrounding marker in combination with other quotatives, and only in a later step, "ba" has been reinterpreted as a quotative on its own, which has then led to the optional deletion of the quotative verb (pp. 41–42). The quotation in lines 15–17 concludes Aida's part of the account and illustrates the generalising and somewhat disparaging attitude of the non-immigrant population towards the fact that people with a Bosnian cultural background ("dom där bosnierna", 'those Bosnians') do not or rarely go to their parties. The quotation mirrors Aida's initial

statement in line 1 explaining that they (cf. “vi”, 'we'), referring to people her age with a Bosnian cultural background, do not often attend the parties hosted by the non-immigrant population. In lines 15–17, however, Aida presents her interpretation of the non-immigrant population’s attitude towards the matter and she makes her statement more absolute by stating that inhabitants with a Bosnian cultural background do not (Sw. “inte”, here realised as “int”, line 17) attend parties at all. The quotative “bara” in this instance can thus be interpreted as foregrounding a central element in the sequence as well as expressing the speaker’s disapproving attitude towards the sentiment featured in the quoted content. Both “tycka” and “säga” appear in the present tense in the example, which suggests a high degree of involvement on the part of the speaker (cf. Perridon, 1996, p. 175). This pertains not only to the quotation; the whole sequence is told in the present tense by Aida and Selma. The choice of tense further underlines that the speakers consider this description to be generally applicable rather than situational.

The main point of the sequence is expressed in line 19, namely that the non-immigrant population interprets the unwillingness by Aida and Selma to attend parties as a general rejection of their activities and therefore, as an unwillingness to integrate and become part of the local community. This point is stated in the form of a quotation. Aida introduces the quoted content with a zero quotative. She further changes her voice quality to a higher falsetto pitch to express her exasperation with the attitude verbalised in the quoted content. This use of zero quotative is similar if not identical to the one in example (1), where zero quotative is combined with a falsetto pitch to mark the speaker’s frustration with uninformed accusations directed at immigrants they encounter among the non-immigrant population. Aida inserts “blah blah blah” (line 20) after the quotation, a comment which further conveys her exasperation and which renders the attitude expressed in the quoted content exaggerated and untenable. In addition, the zero quotative creates the impression that the quoted content reflects a general attitude that the inhabitants of Grannstad with a Bosnian cultural background confront.

Throughout the examined material, the speakers frequently use “bara” ('just, only') to represent their own voice as well as the voice of the local, non-immigrant population. The quotative “ba(ra)” can introduce various types of quoted content such as thoughts, utterances and non-verbal reactions (Eriksson, 1995, pp. 34–35). It is particularly suitable for performed narratives, because “bara” is not marked for tense and therefore possesses “the same directness as historical present” (Eriksson, 1995, p. 36). The quotative “ba(ra)” always involves emotional engagement by the narrator; it either articulates the narrator’s emotional attitude towards the ensuing quoted content or introduces quoted content that in itself constitutes an emotional expression – including by other characters featured in the narrative – towards an event in the narrative (Eriksson, 1995, p. 39). This explains why the speakers frequently opt for “bara” in their accounts on cultural differences: It not only makes the depicted experiences more immediate for the listener, but it also further emphasises the emotional involvement of both featured parties in the matter at hand.

To express the voice of the non-immigrant population, speakers in the material often choose to omit the quotative, which mainly coincides with the omission of the quoted speaker. Speakers may combine zero quotative with voice modulation to implicitly comment on and devalue the attitudes and utterances of the non-immigrant population that are presented as quoted content. In addition, the

speakers commonly favour tenseless markers as quotatives to portray both their own voice as well as that of the non-immigrant population. Tenseless markers may either signal a high degree of involvement on the speaker's part or they may be used to frame the quoted content as something general and not situational. Similarly, the speakers resort to zero quotative to mark the quoted content as general attitudes or behaviour. When quotative verbs are used in the sequences to introduce quoted content, they predominantly appear in the present tense and this results in a similar, generalising effect.

The speakers' choice of quotatives suggests that discussing cultural contrasts (which pertain to the speaker's own cultural background) involves emotional engagement on the part of the speaker, which may be explained by the fact that sociocultural group membership constitutes a potentially significant part of an individual's identity. Regarding the representation of the speaker's voice, this emotional engagement only seemingly stands in contrast to the choice of subject in the quotative frame, which has been discussed as a strategy to reduce the speaker's personal involvement in section 4.4.1. On the contrary, my data provide evidence that the speaker's emotional engagement combined with an implied universal validity of their reactions and attitudes serves the speaker's communicative goal of creating a sense of allegiance between themselves as out-group members in relation to the non-immigrant population, and the listener.

4.4.3 Functions of quotations in negotiating social group membership

Quotations can serve different communicative goals and can therefore assume different forms and functions. The quotations that represent the stance of the speakers' heritage culture are restricted in my data to quotations of the speaker themselves. The quotations therefore mainly reflect the speaker's emotional reactions or utterances rather than constituting a form of general in-group characterisation. For that reason, this section focusses on the speakers' use of quotations to depict and characterise out-group members, that is, members of the local population without an immediate immigrant background. The different functions that were identified in the material are discussed in terms of extracted examples and are related to the choice of the quotative frame.

Example 4

1	Int	ha+ har dom andra människor som ni	<i>have other people you</i>
2		pratar me har dom en någorlunda klar	<i>talk to have they a somewhat clear</i>
3		bild av vad Bosnien är eller så	<i>idea of what Bosnia is or like</i>
4		eller liksom sådär e ni "ja dom är	<i>or more like this, are you" yeah they are</i>
5		någonstans Irak eller va de nu var"	<i>somewhere Iraq or whatever it was"</i>
6	Selma	de e just de	<i>that is exactly it</i>
7	Aida	de e mera som mer som "ah int vet	<i>it is more like more like "ah I don't know</i>
8		ja var Bosnien ligger ah"	<i>where Bosnia is ah"</i>

The interviewer in example (4) asks Aida and Selma whether their classmates know anything about their parents' former home country, Bosnia, and related to that, Aida and Selma's heritage culture. In line 7, Aida picks up on the interviewer's cue that immigrants tend to be grouped together, irrespective of their different heritage cultures. She states that most of her classmates could not

even locate Bosnia on a map, suggesting how little they know about Bosnian culture. Aida verbalises this general lack of interest and ignorance in a quotation prefaced by the impersonal quotative “de e som”. The quotation is a direct response to the interviewer’s quotation (lines 4–5) that exemplifies an indifferent sentiment. Aida’s quotation does not specifically refer to a concrete event, but rather represents an instantiation of a verbal or verbalised reaction that recurs and is perceived as typical for the non-immigrant population framed as the out-group. The quotation is constructed to provide a more immediate rendition of the out-group’s indifference. This quotation thus epitomises a general perceived characteristic of the out-group on an abstract level.

In example (5)⁵, Aida utters two quotations and both reflect a rather overgeneralising attitude, or for that matter, a stereotype, that she has encountered among the non-immigrant population towards people with a Bosnian cultural background.

Example 5

1	Aida	dom säger bara "å de dom där	<i>they only say "oh those Bosnian</i>
2		bosniska dom där bosnierna går ju	<i>those Bosnians do not go</i>
		inte	
3		på fest"	<i>to parties"</i>
4	Selma	å sen har vi väl dom	<i>and then we have those</i>
5	Aida	"dom kan inte integrera sej"	<i>"they cannot integrate"</i>
5		bla bla bla	<i>blah blah blah</i>

In contrast to example (4), the quotations in this example do not illustrate a characteristic trait of the out-group, but rather an attitude that is found across group members. Here, “bara” does not function as a particle that foregrounds the quotation but is used as an adverb with restrictive semantics to indicate that the non-immigrant population harbours a rather dismissive attitude towards the behaviour by those from a Bosnian cultural background. Again, the quotations operate on an abstract level in that they are not assigned to a specific situation or person. As discussed earlier, the two quotations are framed with zero quotative (line 5) or with a generalising choral subject (line 1) rather than referring to a single, concrete, quoted speaker. This suggests that the quotations in the example constitute verbalisations of general attitudes perceived to be held among the out-group members.

A further, distinct function is depicted in example (6):

Example 6

1	Adnan	alltså till exempel om jag hjälper en	<i>so for instance if I help an</i>
2		Grannstadsbo # med nånting	<i>inhabitant of Grannstad # with something</i>
3		så "oj tack så mycket vet du de	<i>so "oh thank you so much you know that</i>
4		var snällt av dej"	<i>was nice of you"</i>
5		då då den där personen blir i en	<i>when when that person is in a</i>
6		flock me andra Grannstadsbor	<i>group with other inhabitants of Grannstad</i>
7		så känner han int dej nå mera	<i>then he does not know you anymore</i>

In this example, Adnan constructs an exemplary scenario to illustrate that it is predominantly (intra-) group dynamics that cause the non-immigrant population

to exhibit a negative attitude towards him as a person with an immigrant background. He uses a quotation to describe the friendly behaviour displayed by members of the non-immigrant population when encountered on their own. Adnan clearly marks the narrated event as constructed in line 1 (“till exempel”, ‘for instance’). In contrast to example (5), however, no recurrence is involved; rather, a concrete, single incident is devised to illustrate the perceived two-faced behaviour of the non-immigrant population towards people with an immigrant background.

Quotations in sequences on cultural contrasts and conflicts may function as stylistic devices that enable the speaker to verbalise the prevailing attitudes by the sociocultural out-group. In this manner, quotations contribute to an implicit characterisation of the out-group and portray the intergroup dynamics as perceived by the speaker. Quotations further enable speakers to verbalise their own emotional reaction towards marginalising behaviour by the out-group, which offers the listener a more immediate insight into the speaker’s emotional world and results in involving the listener further in the speaker’s account.

5 Discussion and summary: Quoting as a means of negotiating social group membership

Second-generation immigrants find themselves rooted to a varying degree in two or more cultures. However, this does not necessarily mean that they are accepted members of the social groups that have formed locally around these cultures. The accounts on cultural conflicts and contrasts examined here attest to this: Young second-generation immigrants in Finland describe the marginalisation they face due to their cultural background at the hands of the local, non-immigrant population in general and in particular, by their peers who are not from an immediate immigrant background that is first or second generation.

The speakers depict the local population without an immigrant background as a closed group that actively distances itself from the population with an immigrant background. The speakers explain that their own out-group status from the social group of the non-immigrant population is due to the speakers’ different cultural background that conditions dissimilar values, beliefs and behaviour. In the sequences, the cultural background appears to be a significant factor that delineates as well as perpetuates the social groups, building on essentialist notions of culture that makes a change in group alignment impossible due to a lack of social consensus. The speakers explain that due to their Bosnian cultural background, they are regarded as being different by the non-immigrant population, and their behaviour is interpreted within that frame. This further cements the boundaries of the social groups and thwarts a possible renegotiation of social group membership.

The speakers use quotations in the sequences to perform and reveal the negative and partly even prejudiced attitudes towards immigrants they witness among the non-immigrant population. In their use of quotations, the speakers construct an image of the non-immigrant population as a closed and exclusive group that collectively shares these negative attitudes towards immigrants. Speakers further insert quotations to support their previous characterisation of the non-immigrant population by referring to a specific situation or conversation. These quotations serve as a stylistic device to render the speakers’

characterisation of the out-group as immediate and apparently unbiased, while the accompanying quotative frame guides the interlocutor's interpretation of the quoted content.

In other instances, the speakers adopt a reflective stance when quoting the non-immigrant population, which allows them to present the perspective of the out-group and to analyse the out-group's behaviour. Ekberg and Östman (2017a) find that first- and second-generation immigrants may adopt a 'third position' (referring to "third space" in Bhabha, 1994), meaning a form of identity that is not confined to one culture but moves between, or even fully resists, the extreme poles represented by the heritage culture and that of the receiving society (p. 89). In the third position, immigrants can move freely between the perspectives of both cultures that they have access to and consequently can become mediators between the culture of the receiving society and their heritage culture. Phinney and Alipuria (2006) explain that exposure to alternative and potentially conflicting points of view may give multicultural individuals a better understanding of other social groups and may presumably lead to less bias against other social groups. Indeed, the examined material contains quoting that appears to be a linguistic manifestation of this reflective, third position. The speakers are able to verbalise sentiments they encounter among the non-immigrant population regarding immigrants and with this, to provide the non-immigrant population's perspective for the interlocutor. At the same time, the quotative frame allows the speakers to comment on these sentiments, and consequently to negotiate their meaning and impact.

The speakers also utilise quotations to express their attitudes and emotional reactions towards the marginalisation they experience by the non-immigrant population. The quotations give a more immediate rendering of the speakers' experiences as second-generation immigrants, as they provide insight into their thought processes concerning their behaviour in a narrated sequence, which further involves the interlocutor in their account. In these instances, the speakers present themselves as merely reacting with little agency (rather than acting) to the behaviour of the non-immigrant population. This effect is further enforced by their choice of quotative frame, which mainly involves impersonal pronouns as the subject or zero quotative in order to downplay the speakers' individual personal involvement and agency.

As Basso (1979) observes, portrayals of out-group members are always relational, that is, they are rooted in the speakers' understanding of their own group. In my material, rather than presenting themselves as (in-) group members, second-generation immigrants depict themselves as the recipients of distancing behaviour from the non-immigrant population. While the speakers characterise the non-immigrant population as a closed group, they implicitly present themselves as open and willing to redefine social groups and renegotiate social group membership. Their quoting strategies can therefore be interpreted as agentive acts of contesting their assigned social group membership. Quoting constitutes an important device in this process, as it provides the opportunity to verbalise and therefore reveal the attitudes and ideologies that are held among the social groups and thus shape their relations as well as group boundaries. The unique position of second-generation immigrants in their having access to both heritage and local culture becomes apparent in their ability to change their sociocultural perspective to adopt the viewpoint of both social groups, and through this ability, they negotiate existent intergroup relations.

The informants' accounts form part of a larger societal discourse around immigration and culture in Finland. Discourse constitutes a social process, as it is conditioned by social structures and may at the same time effect social change (Fairclough, 2015, p. 56). The sequences that describe the informants' experiences as second-generation immigrants thus not only contribute to a discourse that is predominantly shaped by the majority, non-immigrant population, but they are also intended to change the social structures that it concerns. The quoting in the examined sequences that present cultural contrasts and conflicts can be interpreted as an agentic act that subverts the existing power dynamics in society. As I pointed out in the introduction, Grannstad has a considerable number of inhabitants from a cultural background other than Finland-Swedish (or Finnish for that matter). Despite this, the speakers in my material feel that they are not fully accepted as equal members of the local population. Their depictions make it clear that, even though Grannstad has welcomed immigrants for a few decades now, the image of a local continues to be based on a monocultural ideal. As second-generation immigrants who have grown up in Grannstad, the speakers challenge these traditional social categories of "local" and "immigrant" that appear to prevail among the population without an immediate immigrant background. Quoting constitutes an important linguistic device in this process: It allows the speakers to reveal the marginalising sentiments among the non-immigrant population and to hold them accountable for these sentiments (cf. Buttny, 1997). Quoting further grants the speakers the opportunity to present their own perspective on the non-immigrant population's behaviour and attitudes and that changes the speakers' role from passive recipients (cf. Buttny, 1997) of marginalisation to a more active stance where they can express their own social identity and challenge the meaning and delimitations of established social categories.

Endnotes

- ¹ The term “mother tongue” is used by Statistics Finland to refer to the language officially registered as a person’s main language. It is important to note that only one language can be registered as mother tongue in the population register.
- ² ELAN (Version 5.2) [Computer software]. (2018, April 04). Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. <https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>.
- ³ The names of the informants have been altered to maintain confidentiality.
- ⁴ Eriksson (1995) states that as a foregrounding and quotative particle, “bara” is typically used in a reduced form, “ba”, in Sweden-Swedish adolescent speech, and therefore Eriksson uses “ba” to refer to these functions. In my data, “bara” is reduced to “ba” as a quotative in only one instance, which suggests that the Swedish spoken in Finland prefers the long form.
- ⁵ A longer stretch of this extract has already been discussed in section 4.4.2 in connection with the choice of quotatives.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Key to transcription symbols

- # pause
- "..." quoted content
- + word fragment
- (...) some material omitted

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