CHANGING CITIES, CHANGING NEIGHBORHOODS, CHANGING PEOPLE:

EXPLORING EMERGENT MODELS OF PERSONHOOD IN U.S. URBAN

REVITALIZATION THROUGH INTERDISCURSIVITY

by

CSILLA WENINGER

(Under the Direction of Betsy Rymes)

ABSTRACT

Shifts in the physical geography of urban areas in the United States and elsewhere occur in tandem with changes in the sociocultural landscape of cities. The reviving of urban America has not only transformed streetscapes of numerous inner city areas but has also resulted in a redefinition of what it means to be an urban resident. This dissertation investigates the role of discourse in urban change, particularly concerning the emergence of new models of personhood in the wake of revitalization, in a mid-size US city. I build upon the theoretical and empirical traditions of linguistic anthropology, critical discourse analysis, and corpus semantics to analyze how discursive-semiotic activity contributes to the creation and propagation of a particular type of persona, the engaged, "neoliberal" citizen. I base my claims on empirical grounds as I couple micro-level analyses of language use as evidenced in interviews with analyses of larger discourse patterns as established by the computerized analysis of relevant text corpora. Using the concept of interdiscursivity, the interview analysis focuses on the discursive resources participants employ to produce convergent metasemiotic descriptions of desirable and undesirable elements in revitalized neighborhoods. The corpus analysis is based on two special corpora of texts on

urban revitalization and centers on the semantic patterns of the word *resident.* Viewing

discourse as process rather than product, I show that both kinds of analyses shed light on how the

emblems of the urban resident and of the urban threat as metasemiotic constructs are articulated,

passed on and enacted through networks of speech events. Further, I argue that such while

metasemiotic formulations are fundamental as models of personhood for an engaged urban

citizenry, they can also lead to social hierarchies and an exclusionary urban space.

INDEX WORDS: Urban revitalization, Interdiscursivity, Metasemiotic descriptions, Corpus
                 analysis, Emblem of personhood

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INTRODUCTION

Those who live in urban areas or have (re)visited a favorite US city recently are more than likely to have witnessed the impact of revitalization. What used to be a closed-down manufacturing plant has been turned into a building of upscale condos with retail stores and a coffee shop downstairs; an empty, blighted lot has been cleaned up and made into a park, surrounded by a row of renovated and beautifully landscaped single-family homes that are being sold at prices that would have been unbelievable a few years earlier. The reviving of urban America is happening, though at various scales and speeds and with varying degrees of success in different locales. These changes not only affect the physical geography of urban areas but also transform the sociocultural landscape of cities. The population of urban areas is changing: as an increased tax base is forcing some out of their inner-city homes, others who want a downtown lifestyle and can afford its new price tag are moving in. These socio-economic shifts seem to be paralleled by a cultural redefinition of urban existence as revitalized downtowns become (once more) home to young artists, small-scale entrepreneurs and affluent professionals. It seems that the meaning of urbanity is shifting, shaped by consumption patterns, leisure preferences and the spatial imaginations of a new wave of city inhabitants.

Chattanooga, a city of 155,000 in the southeast corner of Tennessee, has been no exception in this regard. In fact, it has become somewhat of a poster child among small cities due to its citizens' success in transforming the city's downtown. Chattanooga's makeover during the

past few decades has been rather remarkable, as the city changed from having the worst air pollution in the nation according to a 1969 Federal Air Quality Report to being featured in numerous magazines praising its accomplishments. *Family Fun* magazine listed Chattanooga in its February 1998 issue among the "Top Ten Family-Friendly Cities"; in the same year, *the U.S. News & World Report* declared it as "One of Six Cities That Work" and Chattanooga made the cover story in *Parade Magazine*'s April 25, 1999 issue as "The Reborn American City". In the last 25 years, downtown Chattanooga has seen an incredible $2 billion in investments from both public and private sources. The city now boasts among others a freshwater and saltwater aquarium, a children's discovery museum, an IMAX theater, a downtown landing pier, an expanding array of dining establishments and numerous walkways accented with pieces of local art that connect major sights and seek to re-make the entire downtown into a seamlessly pedestrian-friendly environment. Residential opportunities have also opened up in several new downtown condominium complexes as well as in adjacent and formerly distressed neighborhoods that are now undergoing rapid renewal.

The often rather dramatic social and physical changes that are happening across urban American cityscapes have not eluded scholarly attention. Urban geographers and others have researched not only the spatial transformation of cities but also the social issues that have emerged in the wake of urban redevelopment. In line with a strong Marxist tradition within urban geography, many writers have focused on political-economic processes associated with renewal efforts. Often, researchers scrutinize the damaging impact of revitalization on the life of disenfranchised urban populations, for instance in terms of displacement. Partly in order to offset the prevalence of "pathological urbanism" (Lees 2004) that such critical research has produced, in the last decade there have been efforts among those researching cities to gain a more nuanced

understanding of urban change by examining its cultural dimensions. Scholars have looked at urban spaces as diverse and contested cultural sites, captured by Sandercock's (2003) term of the "mongrel city," that provides a source of self for those who live in it. Discourse has become a legitimate analytic focal point within both orientations. While critical research has investigated how policy language contributes to the reproduction of social inequality among city populations (e.g., Haworth & Manzi, 1999), cultural examinations often focus on space-based narratives of identity (e.g., Cox & Holmes, 2000; Gorman-Murray, 2007). Both perspectives represent important steps in recognizing the consequentiality of language use, though linguistic analysis is usually either superficial or not a concern at all. Integrating discourse theoretically and empirically into existing conceptualizations of urban transformation has been a marginal research agenda.

The physical, social and cultural changes that cities are undergoing are intertwined and interdependent. Not only is it a challenge to tease out the complexity of processes involved in urban transformation, it is also difficult to rank-order them in terms of priority. Researching the city from the perspective of macro-economic processes or how policy decisions often sidestep social problems in the interest of maximizing profit are just as important as understanding how people experience and attach meaning to urban existence. Further, it seems that both approaches share a concern for those who live in urban areas and are interested in describing, although from different perspectives, how changes affect various groups of citizens.

This division between descriptions of structural conditions and lived experience echoes a familiar dilemma that has been one of the fundamental theoretical questions occupying social scientists in the last century. While each discipline casts the issue within its own theoretical framework and dresses it in its specific terminology, the "micro-macro question" seems

recognizable to almost everyone. Rather than asking whether society makes people or the other way around, however, the problem seems to revolve around explaining how individual or collective social action brings about and is at the same time influenced by so-called structural factors. For those interested in language as a sociocultural phenomenon, the question is further compounded by having to factor in discourse − exactly what role does language use play in society and how do we explain language as both individual creation and collective, social institution?

Shifting the discussion back to the realm of urban change, if we assume that the trajectory of redevelopment for a city like Chattanooga is at least partly shaped by situated social interactions, then it is clear that discourse, understood as any instance of language use, plays some role in that process. New questions then emerge: what is this role and how can we study it empirically? I would suggest that if an investigation into language use and urban revitalization is to be relevant to others who study cities and enhance our understanding of urban change as a complex set of interrelated processes, it has to engage the ideas and theories that are already the topic of scholarly discussion. Equally importantly, it has to situate itself within existing conceptualizations of language as sociocultural practice with the ambition of furthering our knowledge of the language-society interface.

In this dissertation, I orient to this double task as I explore the relationship between discourse and urban revitalization in Chattanooga. More specifically, I look at how language use contributes to the creation and propagation of a particular type of social persona, the neoliberal urban resident, which I argue is corollary to socio-spatial restructuring that is governed by market principles. I base my claims on empirical grounds as I couple micro-level analyses of language use as evidenced in interviews with analyses of larger discourse patterns as established

by the computerized analysis of relevant text corpora. Several recent theoretical developments in the study of language use provide the theoretical motivation and foundation for my research. The first area, often referred to as intertextuality or interdiscursivity, highlights the interconnectedness of discursive events and draws attention to the process-like characteristics of discourse. The second line of research investigates how humans use language to reflect upon their social world and in that process generate often-conflicting explanations and evaluations of social actors and their actions. Corpus semantics represents the third area, looking at large collections of texts and what they can reveal about the social organization of discourse. Drawing on these three analytic frameworks, my goal is to understand how discursive events are connected to one another and at the same time are part of a larger network of discourse within the domain of neighborhood revitalization. In doing so, I also aim to show the relevance of analyzing language use, both as situated interaction and as semantic patterns, to understanding the sociocultural and spatial transformation of America's cities.

Outline of the Chapters

In Chapter 2, I review sociocultural approaches to language use with regard to how different approaches have addressed the language-culture-society relationship. I consider and discuss variationist and interactional sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, linguistic anthropology, critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics. I argue that while every major approach has engaged this theoretical question, either explicitly or implicitly, theoretical discussions have only rarely been matched by convincing empirical investigations. I conclude the chapter by identifying several analytic concepts that have currency across the different research traditions and therefore

may serve to advance our understanding of how language use figures in the socio-cultural organization of human life.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of how cities have been studied and conceptualized. Through a brief historical overview, I consider US urban restructuring as unfolding at the intersection of economic, political and sociocultural processes. In the chapter I also discuss the revitalization of Chattanooga's downtown and adjacent residential neighborhoods in more detail. I then review and critique recent research on urban transformation that has the explicit aim of illuminating the role of discourse in shaping the socio-spatial and cultural design of cities. I argue that the current predominance of analyses based on written texts that focus on the discursive manifestations of overarching processes such as neoliberalism should be balanced by an examination of social interaction to understand how abstract processes are made relevant in everyday social life.

Chapter 4 focuses on methodological issues. After explicating the purpose of my research and spelling out my specific research questions, I describe the research process. Corresponding to the two primary sources of data I use, I devote a section to interviews and one to corpora. In my discussion of interviews, I focus on my involvement in Chattanooga and provide details concerning how the interviews were conducted. In this section, I also introduce interdiscursivity as a theoretical concept and analytic tool through which I analyze the interviews in Chapter 5. Regarding corpus data, my focus is on explaining the process of compiling the two corpora used in the analysis: CORPUS A, a collection of texts on urban revitalization in Chattanooga, and CORPUS B, which is made up of texts that deal with urban revitalization across the United States. In this section I also present basic analytic categories that I rely on for the corpus analysis. In

each section, I also refine research questions I presented at the beginning of the chapter with reference to the specific analytic categories for each type of analysis.

Using the dual concepts of type- and token-interdiscursivity, in Chapter 5 I discuss how interviews are linked to each other. First, I argue that during each interview, speakers provide very similar metasemiotic typifications of people and things that amount to stereotypes about who is and is not a desirable urban resident in revitalized urban neighborhoods. I discuss the linguistic resources through which such typifications are achieved and argue that they provide a functional link across these speech events that can be captured through the concept of type-interdiscursivity. Second, within the framework of token-interdiscursivity, I look at how and to what end speakers index other speech events during the interviews. Through examples, I highlight differences in residents' and organizational representatives' usage of deixis as the key linguistic resource in achieving such indexing. I situate my findings in relation to urban revitalization in general by arguing that metasemiotic typifications are instrumental in creating enactable models of personhood for residents of a changing urban environment. Finally, I discuss how interdiscursive analysis can help us understand how these models spread through discourse networks that spawn social domains such as neighborhood revitalization.

I devote Chapter 6 to presenting the findings from the corpus analysis. I start with an examination of basic frequencies in both Corpus A and B and a discussion of their significance. I then look at the semantic profile of *resident*; a word that was among the most frequent words in the two corpora and proved central in the interdiscursive analysis as well. First I look at the semantic distinctions made through the collocations that *residents* enters with its top collocates and make the point that they indicate relevant cultural distinctions. Next I investigate the discourse prosody of *residents*; that is the connotative meanings attached to the word through the

words that frequently occur around it. Throughout this chapter, my arguments rest on the assumption that recurrent lexico-grammatical constructions are empirically visible traces of culturally shared ways of speaking that people draw upon in social interaction.

In the final chapter (Chapter 7), I discuss the findings from the two analytic chapters and attempt to integrate them within the broader concern for the role of discourse in urban revitalization. Relating interviews to corpora, I comment on similarities and differences regarding lexical distinctions made relevant in the two types of data as well as *engagement* as an evaluative dimension attached to urban residents. I also discuss the contribution of the interview and corpus analyses to a process-based understanding of discourse. I conclude the chapter by pointing out how the types of analysis undertaken in this dissertation can enhance our understanding of urban change as a complex set of processes. Specifically, my arguments center around how metasemiotic descriptions contribute to a neoliberal refashioning of the urban resident as a social persona and also draw attention to how this newly defined citizenry may actually deepen the social imbalance that already exists among different urban populations.

CHAPTER 2

LINGUISTIC APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE AS SOCIOCULTURAL

PHENOMENON

Introduction

Most approaches that study language use in its sociocultural context have addressed the question

of how to relate, theoretically and empirically, language to cultural patterns and social

organization. In some cases, scholars have sought out answers in the form of explicit theories;

for others the link remained implicit yet inducible from findings and interpretations of large

bodies of empirical research. The issue of "relating word to world" (Rymes 2003) provides a key

conceptual footing for this dissertation, since any attempt to explicate relations between situated

social interaction, discourse patterns in large text corpora and social-cultural change will

necessarily involve a theory of how discourse functions in society. In this chapter, I review major

areas of inquiry that developed at various times during the 20th century and have been influential

in the sociocultural study of language. The four approaches can be broadly labeled as

Sociolinguistics, Linguistic Anthropology, Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics,

with the important caveat that the boundaries separating these fields are often fluid. In my

review, I highlight the intellectual origins of each approach, describe empirical focal points and

typical methods of inquiry and present critiques (where applicable) that have been leveled

against scholars working in these areas. The overall purpose of reviewing existing ideas about

how language relates to culture and society is to clarify the conceptual and intellectual

foundations upon which the present study is built and to which I aim to contribute through this dissertation.

Sociolinguistics

Despite the widespread currency the term *sociolinguistics* enjoys within and outside of linguistics, it has meant different things to different people over the last five decades and continues to do so today. In the early 1970s, Dell Hymes (1974) characterized the field of sociolinguistics as comprising three major orientations, based on the relationship of each to traditional (i.e. structural) linguistic theory. Although his threefold distinction may not be entirely adequate when applied to the current state of the discipline, I still find it very useful as it points to earlier divisions, some of which have persisted into the 21st century.

Hymes labels the first area "the social as well as the linguistic" (ibid. p. 195) and identifies as its primary concern the examination of social problems that involve language use, such as literacy issues, teaching foreign languages, language policies and minority languages. Much of the research identified by Hymes under this rubric has been pursued under the banner of Applied Linguistics (e.g. Cook 2003; Pennycook 2001) as well as the Sociology of Language (e.g. Fishman 1975) and represents areas of inquiry not always considered as belonging within the scope of sociolinguistics (cf. Chambers 2003, esp. Chapter 1). According to Hymes, a second orientation may be called "socially realistic linguistics" and subsumes research whose theoretical goals align with traditional linguistic concerns but differs from those in matters of methodology. Specifically, he places Labov's and others' work on variation and social context into this category, since they are interested in linguistic rules and sound change but examine these through data from actual speakers in communities. The third broad area Hymes identifies

represents a "socially constituted linguistics" and differs from the previous two in making social functions, not linguistic form, the point of departure for the study of language. Such an approach is fundamentally different from conventional linguistic investigations since, as Hymes argues, "much of what is there, organized and used, in actual speech, can only be seen, let alone understood, when one starts from function and looks for the structure that serves it" (1974: 197). Unsurprisingly, Hymes himself advocates this latter position as the necessary future direction for sociolinguistics.

The three-way distinction proposed by Hymes serves as a basis for my review of sociolinguistic notions about the language-society intersection. I start with the approach commonly known as variationist sociolinguistics, the second of Hymes' orientations, associated with the names and work of researchers such as William Labov, Peter Trudgill, Jack Chambers, Walt Wolfram and others. This is followed by my review of what has been called interactional sociolinguistics, or recently sociolinguistic discourse analysis (Coupland 2001), and that we may subsume under Hymes' socially constituted linguistics. I conclude the section by presenting and evaluating a theoretical approach that originates from within applied linguistics, the first area identified by Hymes. The primary reason behind restricting myself to a single theory from an otherwise substantial sub-discipline lies in the fact that it directly addresses the link between language use and society/culture and does so in great detail. Given the immense amount of research that has been carried out within all three orientations in the past 50 years, I cannot begin to do justice to the empirical and theoretical diversity and complexity that characterizes each. Instead, while acknowledging and in part commenting on the ongoing emergence of new ideas that push existing notions, my focus will be on more or less solidified theoretical formulations and typical methods of investigation.

Variationist sociolinguistics

Variationist sociolinguistics is closely linked with the name of William Labov who, mainly through a number of methodological innovations, pioneered the quantitative study of the social stratification of linguistic variables. As Hudson (1996) points out, Labov was not the first to notice and examine variation in language use among speakers of a speech community; that had been the concern of dialect geographers for quite some time. Milroy (1987) also notes a close connection between variationist sociolinguistics and American descriptive linguistics (e.g. Bloomfield 1935) regarding a serious emphasis on accountability to data: the requirement that descriptions of language have to be based on and justifiable through empirical evidence. In the case of variationists, this was partly a reaction against the exclusive reliance on native speaker intuition in generative linguistics. Labov's most significant contribution has been to show empirically the systematic patterning of linguistic variation.

His initial work on the social dimensions of sound change on Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963) was soon followed by his sociolinguistic investigation of New York City speech (Labov 1966; 1972), which is often seen as a hallmark study within variationist sociolinguistics. The design of this study, including the methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation set the standard for an entire generation of sociolinguistic research on a variety of different languages. It may be useful to characterize this line of research by inventorying the key methodological and analytic principles that underlie these studies (based on Chambers 2003):

i.   The sampling population is the speech community, typically located in urban environments;

ii. The use of some form of statistical sampling procedure to select informants;

iii.   The sociolinguistic interview, a combination of set tasks and casual conversation, as the primary method of data collection;

iv.   The use of tape-recorder as a necessary prerequisite to ensure accountability;

v.   The linguistic variable as a structural unit of analysis;

vi.   The use of statistical procedures to correlate linguistic variables and social variables, most notably phonological variants and socioeconomic class;

vii.   The ultimate goal is to contribute to a theory of language structure, especially to our understanding of changes in the phonological system of a language.

Taking these principles as a basic framework, some researchers have developed slightly different agendas. One of the most notable among them has been social network studies, launched by Lesley Milroy (1980) and soon followed by others (Cheshire 1982; Lippi-Green 1989; Eckert 1988, 2000). In contrast to the broadly macro-sociological perspective taken by Labov and others regarding the role of social factors in language change, scholars who take a network perspective narrow the scope by focusing on individuals' network ties as impacting linguistic behavior. Variation, and ultimately sound change, has been shown by network studies to correlate with the strength of an individual's integration into a given social network. For instance, in the working class community of Ballymacarrett, Milroy (1980) found that women's ability to establish ties outside the local network resulted in their speech exhibiting much more diversity than men's, most of whom had lived and worked in the neighborhood and spoke only the regional vernacular. Milroy's and ensuing network studies also drew attention to a range of social variables, such as gender and age that have proved to be highly important in the study of language variation.

Later sociolinguistic research including network studies also differed from Labov's early paradigm by employing a more ethnographic methodology as a necessary framework to

investigate what may be considered personal aspects of life in smaller communities. While the interest in language change remained, the ethnographic approach afforded a more diversified look at variation as encompassing both inter and intra-group differences in speech. Though an emphasis on quantifiable results still predominates in variationist sociolinguistics, recently the field has also seen an increase in qualitatively-oriented research. An important trigger for such studies may have been the recognition that by treating social categories as monolithic constructs (a necessary condition for inferential statistical analysis) researchers have glossed over subtle distinctions that could prove significant for explaining variation. The category of *style* may be a telling example. Labov (1966) in his New York City study operationalized style as the attention an informant pays to her language use, translated into a 5-point scale that corresponds to the five task-types employed during the interviews (Minimal Pair, Word List, Reading Passage, Interview Style and Casual Speech) taken to represent a decrease in formality. Labov's understanding of style has since then been supplanted by others that see style more as an individual's expression of social identity (e.g. Bell 2001; Johnstone 1999) or the performance of a recognizable social persona (e.g. Coupland 2001; Rampton 2001, 2003). Such shifts are a part of a larger development within variationist sociolinguistics concerning the relationship between language use and social factors, as I explicate in the following paragraphs.

Labov himself has not written extensively about the social-theoretical underpinnings of his linguistic research. In his *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Labov 1972) he provides the following specific comment on the topic:

As a form of social behavior, language is naturally of interest to the sociologist. But language may have a special utility for the sociologist *as a sensitive index of* many other *social processes. Variation in linguistic behavior does not in itself exert powerful influence*

on social development, nor does it affect drastically the life chances of the individual; on the contrary, the shape of linguistic behavior changes rapidly as the speaker's social position changes. The malleability of language underlies its great utility as an *indicator of social change*. (p. 111, emphasis added)

This formulation of a deterministic view of social forces resembles other social-scientific approaches influenced by Parsons' (1951) structural-functionalist sociology. Language reflects reality but itself has no impact on shaping societal arrangements, neither at the individual nor at the collective level. Chambers' (2003) *Sociolinguistic Theory,* a comprehensive summary of 40 years of variationist research, provides no explicit treatment of the role of language variation in social life, although the general reinforcement of Labov's 1972 position is not difficult to infer. For Chambers, correlations prove the social significance of language variation, that there is a strong relationship between who people are (in terms of stable social categories) and the way they speak (pronounce words). However, demonstrating the existence of this relationship constitutes the limits of linguistics' contribution to understanding the social-linguistic interface. The main effort driving variationist sociolinguistics as a socially realistic linguistics has to remain the advancement of the theory of language structure.

This view has been subject to some critique, most notably from Cameron (1990) who sees this theoretical bias as an unquestioned ideological assumption. As she argues, variationist sociolinguistics is founded upon the idea that language simply reflects pre-existing social structures. More crucially, viewing correlations as the endpoint of sociolinguistic research, the variationist approach has largely failed to answer the fundamental question of why those correlations exist in the first place. Milroy (2001) also critiques quantitative sociolinguists for

consistently under-theorizing the social side of their endeavor, mainly through an often uncritical use of category labels as a proxy for complex social phenomena and through an over-reliance on class as the primary social factor that shapes communities.

Perhaps as a response to these and similar critiques, recent developments within variationist sociolinguistics point to the need for more differentiated theories of language in society, as well as to improved methods and analytic concepts. A recent collection of essays (Fought 2004) by established practitioners of the field offers critical reflections on current practices and provides an illuminative survey of some new directions in the study of variation. The chapters by Schilling-Estes and Johnstone are particularly interesting as the authors' observations challenge the quantitative paradigm on epistemological grounds. In a section on sociolinguistic methods, Schilling-Estes (2004) illustrates how the presence of others' words and voices in informants' talk during sociolinguistic interviews impacts speakers' production of target variables. If intertextuality or polyvocality is such a pervasive characteristic of everyday talk, she comments, then sociolinguists need to rethink the feasibility of eliciting an individual's vernacular. Johnstone (2004) revisits another sociolinguistic construct, *place*, and offers instead of the geographical definition an alternative conceptualization for space as an intersubjectively constructed, partially imagined category. Both Schilling-Estes and Johnstone move away in their chapters from the strong positivism represented by early variationist sociolinguistics and consider the implications of a social constructivist position. Importantly, social constructivism licenses understandings of the language-society interrelation as mutually constitutive and not simply one-way. While the extent to which this newer wave of studies establish themselves and impact variationist sociolinguistics remains to be seen, it seems clear that diversification and a greater inclusion of cultural approaches will continue.

Interactional Sociolinguistics

Apart from a shared disciplinary designation, interactional approaches to language use have little

in common with variationist sociolinguistics. In fact, interactional sociolinguistics was partly

initiated to account for questions left unanswered by generative grammar and quantitative

sociolinguistics. As Gumperz (1982) argues, survey sociolinguistics produces group or

community-level generalizations about the interaction of social and linguistic features but is

incapable of addressing how interlocutors use social knowledge to interpret discourse in situated

interaction. Interestingly, while Gumperz acknowledges that sociocultural knowledge lies at the

center of conversational inferences and that interpretation is ultimately a cognitive matter, he

rejects individual psychological approaches such as Chomsky's. He also finds problematic

treating background knowledge as extralinguistic information that speakers bring into a speech

situation, as it had been viewed in ethnographies of speaking (Hymes 1962). Instead, Gumperz

advocates a speaker-oriented approach rooted in the empirical study of interaction where

interpretation must be understood and studied "as a function of the dynamic pattern of moves

and countermoves as they follow one another in ongoing conversation" (1982: 153).

Despite such dynamism, speakers clearly orient to some conventional frame when they

enter social situations and Goffman's work on the structured nature of social interaction had a

significant influence on Gumperz' thinking in this regard (Schiffrin 1994). *Speech activity* serves

as a basic unit of interaction that activates (foregrounds) socioculturally rooted expectations

about what is going to happen, without determining meaning (Gumperz 1982: 131). The actual

process of interpretation depends upon *contextualization cues*; habitually co-occurring linguistic,

prosodic and non-linguistic features that make up/accompany talk and serve as the basis for

inferences about speakers' intentions. According to Gumperz, the ability to maintain

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conversational involvement by successfully negotiating interpretive processes through contextualization cues requires a shared communicative background, which is often anchored in ethnicity.

Since contextualization is a routine activity that typically occurs without much notice, it is in cases of miscommunication or divergent conversational inferencing that attention is drawn to its existence. Inter-ethnic encounters, where speakers may rely on different contextualization conventions to interpret what is happening, provide an ideal setting in this regard, and much of Gumperz' own research that shaped his ideas was conducted in such settings (e.g. Gumperz 1971; 1972). The highly situated nature of contextualization calls for investigations of real-time speech activities, preferably thematically bounded or "self-contained episodes" (Gumperz 1982: 134) that have been recorded and for which ethnographic information about participants and the speech event is available. As part of the analysis, these conversational segments are played to judges whose assessments of what happened and why are elicited through various techniques. The purpose of this procedure, so Gumperz, "is to relate interpretations to identifiable features of message form, to identify chains of inferences, not to judge the absolute truth value of particular assessments" (1982: 137). The ultimate goal of the interpretive sociolinguistic approach is to identify differences in interpretive strategies that pattern according to cultural dimensions such as gender or ethnicity.

The research tradition initiated by Gumperz has had significant momentum in the past few decades as scholars investigated speakers' verbal strategies in various settings. One particularly fertile area of study has been gender, pioneered by Deborah Tannen's work into the different interactional styles of men and women (Tannen 1990; 1993; 1994) and pursued by others as well (Coates 1996; Morgan 1991). Interactional analyses have also found application in

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a variety of institutional settings, among others in education (Erickson & Schultz 1982; Rampton 2006) and medical encounters (Coupland et al. 1994; Tannen & Wallat 1987) as well as in geriatrics (Hamilton 1994; 1999). Some of these studies have parted from Gumperz' formulations both methodologically as well as in terms of theoretical goals. Rampton, for instance, has expanded some of Gumperz' notions about talk and ethnicity through his research on language crossing (Rampton 1995).

Interactional sociolinguistics is often viewed as a distinctively micro-approach to language use, presumably due to the detailed analytic attention to discourse features of small data sets characteristic of analyses. However, the original aims and methodology set forth by Gumperz also make it clear that generalized description (though not prediction) in the form of culturally (ethnically) specific discourse strategies is sought after. Further, the concept of speech activity acknowledges the impact of structural ("macro") communicative conventions on interaction as constraints on interpretive processes and communicative action. Interactional sociolinguistics also draws attention away from a purely referential view of language use to how we rely on culturally rooted contextualization conventions not only to infer meaning but also to attribute intent to others. By doing so, interactional sociolinguists are able to address larger social issues relating to mobility, education and language ideologies (Gumperz 2001).

Applied Linguistics: A Realist Approach

The appeal of the approach I review in this section lies in the authors' ambition to fill the apparent gap between applied linguistics (which in their broad definition subsumes variationist sociolinguistics) and other social science disciplines (especially sociology) by illuminating ways in which they can fruitfully inform and enhance one another. In two major publications, Alison

Sealey and Bob Carter (Carter & Sealey 2000; Sealey & Carter 2004) have argued for the application of sociologist Margaret Archer's (1988, 1995, 2000) social realist approach to applied linguistic theory, methodology and practice. In their view, this is necessitated mainly by the inability of both structuralist and interactionist theories to account for the complex relations between situated human action (including language use) and the existence, persistence and change of social structures (including language structure). While the authors' ideas have received only modest attention from American sociolinguists, I find it important to review them as an explicit effort at comprehensive theoretical explication.

At the core of Archer's social realist approach lies the notion that society has a dual ontology: on the one hand, structural factors present themselves as pre-existing constraints and enablements whose operations are largely independent of any one individual. A person, on the other hand, possesses agency (in the form of self-reflexivity, intentionality and cognition) that allows her to act upon societal (structural) influences so that their causal power is mediated. In her latest work (Archer 2003), Archer attributes much of this mediating process to internal conversations through which individuals devise courses of action based on their assessment of objective constraints and enablements. This dualist view of society is necessary, so Archer, in order to examine the interplay between structure and agency and thus to account for both the persistence and change of larger social arrangements.

Emergence is a key concept in explaining how this dualism has come about. Structural and cultural properties are emergent as they have developed from human interaction and practice but are irreducible to the original component elements that gave rise to them (Sealey & Carter 2004: 12). Importantly, Sealey and Carter propose a conceptualization of language as a cultural emergent property that emerged from the engagement of the human language capacity with the

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physical world (2004: 32). Languages qualify as emergent because a) they cannot be reduced to their constituent elements (e.g. sound waves or individual cognitive processes); b) they have "a partial autonomy from both human beings and from the material world" (2004: 83) (e.g. we acquire a language that pre-existed us); c) and they "possess an ability to interact with their constituent elements" (2004: 83) (that is, with people and the material world). Most significantly, as an emergent cultural property, languages possess causal powers and are "capable of exerting influence in their own right" (Carter & Sealey 2000: 8). This formulation is key to their proposition that language will have different significance depending on which level of social reality one is investigating.

Carter and Sealey draw on the work of another realist sociologist, Derek Layder, in order to illustrate the ways in which language interacts with social life at four distinct levels. In his domain theory, Layder (1997) differentiates the two primary spheres of social reality, structure and agency, into four interrelated domains. Agency can be broadly conceived of as encompassing *psychobiography*, the development of an individual's identity and personality over time, and *situated activity*, people's experiences of social life as actors in face-to-face interaction. Structure, on the other hand, includes the domains of *social setting* (in which situated activities are embedded) as well as *contextual resources*, the "anterior distributions of material and cultural capital which social actors inherit as a consequence of being born in a particular place at a particular time" (Carter & Sealey 2000: 7). Structural domains will present constraints as well as enablements for how an individual's (linguistic) psychobiography unfolds and how they act (linguistically) in social situations, but will not determine their outcome. For instance, during a formal job interview (social setting), an African American, working class Atlantan will have a more or less specifiable set of linguistic features (contextual resources) at his/her disposal.

However, his/her psychobiography (e.g. a strong desire for social mobility or commitment to the vernacular) is likely to influence how s/he will act/talk in a given situated activity. In other words, the power of pre-existing social structures becomes mitigated by individual agency, by how a person acts upon those structural conditions.

In discussing methodological applications of a social realist approach, Sealy and Carter (2004) advocate a research design that takes into account how the four domains interact to produce social phenomena. Examinations of situated activity as the most easily accessible domain have to be augmented by explications of structural relations that condition what is possible in localized settings. Moreover, Sealey and Carter argue in favor of "middle-range research" that generates relational patterns between structure and agency that hold across contexts. In other words, the purpose of research should be to identify common configurations of structural constraints and agentic attributes (beyond simple categories) and the particular outcomes that their interaction is likely to produce. Carter and Sealey acknowledge that a "modest form of objectivity" (2004: 201) is a desirable feature of realist applied linguistic research, but do not prescribe the use of any particular methods to attain it.

Fairclough (2000) provides a critical evaluation of Carter and Sealey's (2000) proposal of applying a realist theoretical framework to sociolinguistics. While he agrees that studying the structure-agency relationship constitutes a crucial theoretical effort and accepts the 4-domain perspective, Fairclough critiques the lack of attention paid to exactly how these domains of social life are interconnected. He argues for the need to introduce mediating categories that enable us to move between social spheres. Social *practices* as "more or less durable ways of producing social life" (2000: 26) and *positions* as the "places, functions, rules, duties, rights occupied […] by individuals" (2000: 25), when sufficiently theorized, could fill that role.

Further, these two categories as mediating links between structure and agency could help theorists articulate the specific role of language or semiosis in linking social domains. Fairclough's comments also draw attention to the fact that Sealey and Carter devote their efforts to the micro-macro divide without adequately addressing how to relate language/discourse to other elements of each domain at a theoretical level.

Sociolinguistics: Summary

As can be gleaned even from such broad review of the field, macro and micro approaches to the study of language in society coexist within current sociolinguistics. Furthermore, scholars have also begun to integrate structural and social-action accounts of language use, thus advancing our general theoretical understanding of social formations and their relation to discourse (cf. Coupland et al. 2001). There is reason to believe that some convergence between variationist and interactional approaches has been taking place. Within the quantitative paradigm, we have seen changes on the one hand in the linguistic units of analysis, as an almost exclusive focus on phonological variables is being supplanted by arguments for the inclusion of discourse as an analytical unit (Johnstone 2003). On the other hand, geographical communities as relevant entities for language study have been redefined in terms of networks, of certain practices and accompanied by calls to resurrect the individual in sociolinguistic research (Johnstone 2000). While variationist sociolinguistics remains a distinct enterprise with its own annual conference and publication outlets, these fundamentally epistemological developments seem to have brought many sociolinguistic investigations under one umbrella and also in alignment with current trends within the social sciences.

<u>Linguistic Anthropology</u>

If we return to Hymes' classification of sociolinguistics, the quite uncontroversial claim can be made that much of what has been called linguistic anthropology in the past 40 years qualifies as "socially constituted linguistics". Duranti's (1997) definition of linguistic anthropology as concerned with "the study of language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice" (p. 2) lends support to this claim. That Hymes, devoted to the ethnographic study of communicative competence, would treat three such diverse perspectives under one label was a conscious effort on his part to keep (Labovian) sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology at least loosely affiliated (Duranti 2001). Despite mutual origins of the two fields, however, this attempt was unsuccessful, as variationist sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology grew quite apart during the second half of the 20th century. Several decades later, Hymes himself admits the infeasibility of a mutual agenda between the two by now separate disciplines as he writes, "[d]espite overlaps, it does not seem likely that there will be a grand fusion or integration" (2000: 313).

The origins of linguistic anthropology (in the United States) reach back to Franz Boas who established the field as one of the four core areas of anthropology. The analytic precision and methodological rigor with which Boas described the languages of the peoples he researched had a significant impact on what later became known as descriptive linguistics (Stocking 1974; Hymes 1970). As he outlines in the *Introduction to the Handbook of American Indian Languages* (1911), linguistic studies contribute to anthropology by filling a practical need (enabling researchers to study cultures without interpreters) as well as by carrying theoretical importance. Boas saw the relationship between language and thought, and more generally, between language and culture, as the key theoretical concern where (descriptive) linguistic studies are most

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relevant. In fact, these ideas have been at the center of linguistic anthropological theory and research ever since.

The first theoretical issue that occupied linguistic anthropologists concerned linguistic relativity (Duranti 2001); the claim that languages present their speakers with different conceptual categories through which to perceive reality, resulting in different experiences of the same objective world depending on the structure of the language. This idea was originally developed by Edward Sapir and elaborated by Benjamin Lee Whorf, who formulated the principle the following way: "…users of markedly different grammars are pointed by their grammars toward different types of observations and different evaluations of extremely similar acts of observation, and hence are not equivalent as observers but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world" (Whorf 1956: 221; quoted in Duranti 2001). Interestingly, this seems to be the flip side of the argument put forth by Labov (see above) regarding the relationship between language and society: while for Labov language patterns merely reflect existing societal divisions, Whorf seems to assume that language structure shapes the development of cultural patterns. In fact, Hymes (1966) points to these two positions (without reference to Labov) as two different types of relativity that both address the language-culture relationship and differ in the nature and direction of dependence between the two. He adds a further possibility according to which some underlying factor (such as 'world view' or 'national character') is implicated in shaping both language and culture (1966: 120). It was against the one-sidedness of the Whorfian relationship that Hymes advocated the position that "[c]ultural values and beliefs are in part constitutive of linguistic reality" (1966: 116), maintaining all the while that an adequate theory must include and account for all possible relationships. This idea of a dialectic between language and culture that views "language as both a resource for and a

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product of social interaction" (Duranti 1997: 6) has been a fundamental tenet of linguistic anthropological thinking of the last several decades.

Although research shifted from the early focus on describing and cataloguing native North American languages to studying communicative practices of cultures or speech communities, linguistic anthropologists still often rely on the methods and analytic categories of descriptive linguistics. Descriptions of language use constitute the beginning rather than the end point of investigations, as they are viewed valuable only insofar as they are relevant in understanding the cultural significance of diverse acts of speaking. Linguistic analyses are deeply embedded in an ethnographic approach that is central to the anthropological fieldwork tradition, including methods such as participant observation, document/text analyses and interviews. Acknowledging the importance of non-verbal systems of meaning-making in enacting and understanding episodes of cultural practice, linguistic anthropologists pioneered the use of the video camera (Goodwin 1981). An equally significant area of methodological concern has been transcription; just as conversation analysts (Sacks et al. 1974), scholars who study the minute details of verbal and non-verbal performance have devoted much attention to the problem of how to represent their data on paper (Ochs 1979).

Taking two recent collections as points of reference (Duranti 2001; 2004), the most productive areas of research within linguistic anthropology in the past few decades have been the study of *performance*, *language socialization* and *power*. Rather than reviewing each of these as separate research strands, it may be more illuminating to explore these areas through a set of partially shared analytic concerns and their empirical manifestations that have produced convergent research foci. My overall argument will be that partly in order to theoretically and empirically address the connections between broader sociocultural patterns and situated

communicative activity, many linguistic anthropologists have turned toward placing the emphasis on *processes* that (analytically) connect singular episodes. More importantly, these developments have led to reformulations within linguistic anthropology of how culture is understood and researched.

Texts of all sorts, whether pieces of native writing or oral narratives, have played a central role in anthropological research. Like material objects such as ceramic pots or tools, sounds and words have been viewed as crucial elements in the transmission of culture (Urban 2001). The great appeal in viewing culture as a collection of texts (Geertz 1973), as Silverstein and Urban (1996) point out, is that texts could be extracted from their surrounds and examined as autonomous, decontextualized objects. As the two scholars argue, this view also plays into non-anthropological conceptions or ideologies of culture as resting upon a specifiable canon of texts, used as a measuring stick in labeling individuals as being 'cultured' or not. However, by equating culture with cultural products, anthropologists risk "miss[ing] the fact that texts […] represent one, 'thing-y' phase in a broader conceptualization of cultural process" (Silverstein and Urban 1996: 1).

Similar arguments have been made regarding the notion of *context*. Ethnographies of communication have emphasized the communicative event (along with *situation* and *act*) as the basic analytic unit (Gumperz & Hymes 1972), necessitating models (such as Hymes' SPEAKING model) that delimited what was to count as relevant constituents of a speech event. Against these earlier, static formulations of contextual categories came Gumperz' (1982) concept of *contextualization cues*. Taking as a basis Goffman's work on frames as "the organizational premises" of activities (Goffman 1974: 247), Gumperz argues that context is an interactional achievement in that our interpretation of an activity "is cued by empirically detectable signs,

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contextualization cues [whose recognition] is essential for creating and sustaining conversational involvement" (Gumperz 1992: 42). In other words, unfolding semiotic activity within encounters plays a key role in managing the production and interpretation of ongoing conversational activity.

It is within this same impulse to grasp cultural communicative activities in processual terms that Bauman and Briggs (1990) discuss the parallel processes of *decontextualization* and *entextualization*. If *contextualization* examines performance and other types of situated discursive activity as interpretable only within the matrix of unfolding semiotic activity, Bauman and Briggs draw attention to processes of *entextualization*, of "rendering discourse extractable, of making a stretch of linguistic production into a unit – a text – that can be lifted out of its interactional setting" (1990: 73). Performance, through the heightened emphasis placed on the verbal act itself, is particularly prone to entextualization. Importantly, decontextualized discourse is also always recontextualized, or redeployed, re-enacted in a different social setting, giving way to possible transformations in form and function through changes in framing, indexical grounding, translation or the emergent structure of the new contexts (ibid. 75f.) These processes can all be seen as analytical elaborations on Bakhtin's notions of intertextuality and dialogism (Bakhtin 1981, 1986) that also make possible empirical substantiations of Bakhtin's original claims (Bauman 2004).

A third important aspect of recent linguistic anthropological theory is the meta-discursive level of communicative behavior as cultural practice. It can be regarded as an extension to Silverstein's (1977, 2001 [1981]) work on meta-pragmatic awareness, or speakers' ability to articulate rules of use for certain features of speech. Contextualization, the on-line management of conversational interpretation, is a meta-discursive activity (Silverstein 1992) in so far as it

prompts speakers to reflexively monitor ongoing interaction. Similarly, entextualized discourses can contain or entail metadiscursive descriptions (Urban 1996), for instance in the form of stage instructions in a play or a critique of its performance. Agha (2007) places this reflexive aspect of language use as the key process through which social relations become established, maintained and contested.

So what is gained by this shift to process-based concepts and empirical studies that utilize them? First, they shed light onto the temporal dimension of culture that affords both sociohistorical continuity and ongoing change (Bauman & Briggs 1990). Analyzing situated semiotic activity as both unfolding and being linked to previous and potential future encounters counteracts a-temporal, objectified views of culture. Second, processes of entextualization point to the possibility that discourse features (e.g. in the form of genres) may assume a normative (or conditioning) function in subsequent social interactions, offering a response to charges against linguistic anthropology as a strictly micro-analytic approach. Finally, meta-discursive activity as endemic to all forms of cultural practice enables us to explain differences in cultural and social organization across the world (Urban 2001; Agha 2007).

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis as a distinct approach to the study of language in society became known through the writings of a group of primarily European scholars, most prominently Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun van Dijk, though it has since spread to other parts of the world. The intellectual origins of CDA reach back to British and Australian critical linguistics in the 1970s (Fowler et al. 1979; Kress & Hodge 1979) that aimed to research the intersection of discourse, ideology and power (Blommaert 2005). While the specific areas of

research and methods of analysis within CDA are by no means homogenous, what unites all scholars engaged in CDA is a critical perspective that is geared toward examining the subtle ways in which unequal power relations are maintained and reproduced through discourse. CDA scholars, perhaps more than any other linguists working toward a sociologically solid theory of discourse, have also advocated situating linguistic investigations within social analysis. Such "transdisciplinarity" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 2) has resulted in an engagement with a variety of theories outside of the linguistic canon, most often in sociology, cultural studies and political economy. This fusion has entailed a significant expansion in the conceptual toolkit of the CDA analyst, as the goal is no longer linguistic description but an understanding of how language-in-use (discourse) contributes to and reproduces social inequality. Concepts such as *globalization*, *power*, *ideology*, and *hegemony* often figure in CDA studies that attempt to capture the interconnections between discourse, power and social organization.

In addition to methodological and conceptual diversity, CDA as a mode of investigation also lacks a unitary theoretical framework (van Dijk 2001a), though it is by no means a-theoretical. An important challenge for a socially sophisticated model of language use is to explicate the relationship between discourse and social formations while attending to the layered nature of social existence. Fairclough (2003) attempts to do that when he proposes a three-tier organization of social life: social events (micro level) are linked to social structures (macro level) by mediating social practices (meso level). The latter evolve through repeated realization of certain structural possibilities and represent normative or conventional ways of 'doing things'. As Fairclough argues, discourse (semiosis) is a part of all three levels: language is seen as a set of structural possibilities from which certain orders of discourse emerge at the level of social practices, which then influence the production and reception of texts in social events.

Importantly, discourse in this sense is not *another* social practice but rather *a part* of social practices. As such, it is inseparable from other social elements (e.g. participants, social relationships, material surroundings) of events or practices and should be analyzed in conjunction with them.

In line with such scalar social organization and the multiple linkages it creates and presupposes, text analysis for Fairclough (2003) is concerned with relations. On the one hand, analysts look at "external relations" (p. 36); that is at the relationship between meaning in the text and higher level discursive units such as genres, discourses and styles. Analysis should on the other hand also investigate "internal relations" (p. 36) that obtain in a text: semantic, grammatical, lexical and phonological relations that are considered realizations or instantiations of text-external relations.

While Fairclough has been the most important force in pursuing an explicit theoretical background for CDA, two parallel developments are noteworthy. Van Dijk has explored the discourse-society intersection by incorporating social cognition as a key vehicle in maintaining oppressive social practices and reproducing ideologies (van Dijk 1998). In his work on racist discourse, he conceptualizes racism as a system of group dominance, manifesting itself both in social cognitions (shared group norms, beliefs, attitudes, ideologies) as well as in systematic social practices of exclusion, oppression or marginalization of out-group members by in-group members (van Dijk 1993). Social cognition, he argues, precedes individual or group discriminatory social practices and racism can only be reproduced if these social cognitions are reproduced. They are reproduced through public discourse and communication, all of which are controlled by the elite. Through their privileged access to public media, therefore, elites play an

instrumental role in the shaping of public opinion and the production and maintenance of racist and biased beliefs, attitudes and ideologies.

In their investigations of discriminatory discourses of various kinds, Ruth Wodak and her colleagues (Wodak et al. 1990) have developed the discourse-historical approach as a critical mode of inquiry within the larger framework of CDA. As most CDA research, discourse-historical studies are concerned with social critique through the in-depth analysis of hegemonic discursive practices within particular social domains, most notably politics. Discourse-historical investigations place special emphasis on studying diachronic changes in discourses as well as tracing intertextual connections among multiple fields of action as a necessary step to uncover how (discriminatory) genres and discourse topics spread across time and social domains (Wodak 2001). Analyses are complex, relying on multiple data sources, triangulation and require linking text-internal analysis to socio-historical context drawing on interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks for interpretation and explanation. With regard to discriminatory discourse, Wodak and her colleagues have identified systematic ways of using language to discursively construct sameness or difference ('us' vs. 'them') that are often deployed in racist or nationalist discourses (Reisigl & Wodak 2001).

Following van Dijk (2001b), it is important to point out that while critical engagement with texts unites all CDA practitioners, there is not one single method to be used for textual analysis. Due to the diversity and range of potentially relevant discourse structures at multiple levels, a universal recipe is neither available nor sought. For the same reason, a full analysis of any piece of discourse that takes into consideration all textual properties is infeasible. As van Dijk suggests, analysts should select those discourse elements that in light of the text-context relationship they regard as functions of the social structures under investigation, but should also

be explicit about their criteria of selection. In line with his advocacy of a thoroughly social and critical approach to discourse, Fairclough (2001) proposes to start empirical investigations by identifying a social problem that has a discursive aspect. Subsequent steps involve an analysis of a) the network of practices it is located within; b) the relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practices concerned; c) the discourse. The next step involves determining the extent to which the social problem is contingent upon its discursive aspects and identifying ways to resist or change those.

Critical discourse analysis has gained currency and legitimacy across many disciplines in the social sciences. This recognized status and saliency has also brought criticism, targeting multiple aspects of this mode of inquiry. Probably the most serious – in terms of its implications for CDA theory – critique has questioned the assumptions of CDA research regarding the relationship between linguistic form and social function. In short, CDA aims to uncover the ideological content or intent of various texts through linguistic analysis; that is through the analyst's interpretation. Several issues are raised in this regard. First, Stubbs (1997) points to the circularity inherent in arguing that no linguistic form has intrinsic ideological function yet claiming that scholars are able to 'read off' the manipulative intent of texts. Second, Stubbs (1997, 2001) also draws attention to the unexplained or under-theorized role of cognition in CDA. In other words, analysts often seem to infer intentions, beliefs and attitudes – all mental constructs – from the way language is used yet the exact link between the two is not made clear. As Stubbs emphasizes, "there is always a category shift when we move from ways of talking to ways of thinking" (2001: 157) and CDA has been slow to problematize this shift in a satisfactory manner.

Other points of criticism are related to the above issues. A common problem seems to be an almost exclusive focus on the production side of discourse, without systematic efforts to (empirically) account for how texts are received by audiences (Stubbs 1997). Widdowson (1998) touches on the very same issue in saying that in CDA analyses, "given a text, you can not only read off the representational subjectivity of its producer, but also *assume the subjectivity of the receiver and read off* what Kress refers to as *its transformational effects as well*" (p. 139, italics added). Related to this are methodological concerns about how much data is analyzed and how representative textual samples are. Luke (2000) comments on the tendency within CDA to favor ideological critique of a single or small number of texts, neglecting analyses that highlight the creative power of language to resist or subvert powerful discourses, thus running the "risk of fetishizing the power of the text, preempting its local uptake, and presupposing the systematicity and consequences of its discourses" (p.103). Finally, CDA's treatment of context as largely anecdotal has been noted by a number of critics (Blommaert 2001; Schegloff 1997). A priori formulations of relevant contextual (i.e. socio-historical) information are drawn upon as needed in order to support the analyst's interpretative claims regarding the meaning of textual features (Blommaert 2001). Dynamic views of context as situationally emergent and contingent, and as to a great extent anchored in textuality/discourse, are not characteristic of CDA studies.

Corpus Linguistics

To describe corpus linguistics as a unitary field or distinct research tradition may be misleading; perhaps a better way to characterize it is to say that corpus linguistics represents a particular perspective on language. This is not to deny its intellectual roots or the theoretical ambitions of many who call themselves corpus linguists. Rather, it is to highlight that corpus linguistics,

through its methodological innovations, is able to offer a view of language that complements and at times challenges existing assumptions by shedding light on thus far unexamined aspects of language use. While much corpus linguistic work falls (or stays) within the disciplinary realm of linguistics with regard to theoretical goals, there are scholars who are actively seeking to situate corpus linguistics and its findings within a broader social scientific framework.

Corpus linguistics emerged at a historical time when theoretical impetus to study language (grammar) through empirical means within British linguistics coincided with the development of certain technological tools that made it possible to record, store and analyze relatively large amounts of natural language data. Set against the increasing influence of Chomsky's mentalist approach to language study in North America, these European linguists turned to studying usage to answer persistent questions about grammatical structures of languages (Teubert 2004). A number of major projects were undertaken in the second half of the 20th century in order to gather empirical data that could be used as the basis for descriptions of grammar: Quirk's Survey of English Usage (Quirk et al. 1985), then the compilation of the computerized Brown Corpus of American English by Nelson Francis and Henry Kučera in the 1960s, which provided the model for the London-Oslo-Bergen corpus for British English in that same decade. With the rapid evolution of computer capabilities in the late 1980s and 1990s corpora became more and more common and sophisticated, forcing researchers to concentrate on working out theoretical and technological issues of design (Teubert 2004).

What these and other research projects have in common is the reliance on large (usually consisting of millions of words) corpora of authentic (i.e. written or spoken by people) language data, gathered in a principled way, to uncover "'association patterns': the systematic ways in which linguistic features are used in association with other linguistic and non-linguistic features"

(Biber et al. 1998). Some studies concentrate on particular linguistic constructs (e.g. ellipsis) and look at their differential patterning according to registers (text-types) or dialects or over time, while others start with texts or dialects and attempt to describe the patterns of usage along which they may be distinguished. Corpus studies therefore start from the assumption that language is a social phenomenon (Teubert & Čermáková 2004) and that variation in language use is socially motivated.

Corpus linguistic ideas and methods have found application in a number of language-related fields. Within stylistic analysis, corpus studies have been conducted for the purpose of author identification (Burrows 2002; Hope 1994) or to analyze literary dialects (Kretzschmar 2001; Minnick 2001). Such stylometric investigations offer an alternative indicator or measure of style – one based on frequency and patterns of use of lexical items or grammatical constructions – that can complement traditional, subjective stylistic evaluations. Although the corpus-based study of sociolinguistic variation that relies on traditional social variables (e.g. gender, social class) poses particular challenges (Meyer 2002), there have been attempts to expand research into that direction (e.g. Aston and Burnard 1998; Kretzschmar and Barry 2005). Corpus work in lexical semantics has fundamentally reshaped the study of meaning and with it also lexicographic theory and practice. Two developments seem crucial here. First, the availability of large reference corpora for languages allows lexicographers to search for and establish typical uses for words; meaning is thus seen as use, rather than the result of subjective decision making. Second, one of the major contributions of corpus studies has been to empirically show that words typically/habitually co-occur with other words. This in turn has necessitated the re-evaluation of the word as the basic lexical unit, and foregrounded the argument that meaning is distributed over collocations (semantic prosody) that allow for finer semantic distinctions. *COBUILD* is one

of the most comprehensive dictionary projects based on corpus evidence that has produced a series of reference works (e.g. Cobuild 1987; 1990) but corpora have been utilized in the creation of reference materials for second language learners as well (e.g. *Longman Essential Activator* 2006).

In the remainder, I outline corpus research within the study of meaning as the area that has most clearly and coherently articulated arguments for situating language within the study of social behavior. This line of scholarship has intellectual roots in the British tradition of text analysis, most importantly in the work of Firth (1935, 1957), Halliday (1971, 1978, 1992) and Sinclair (1965, 1980, 1991). As mentioned above, corpus linguistics rejects mentalist or psychological views of language and places it firmly within the observable social realm. For Firth, but also for Halliday and Sinclair, linguistics should be concerned with the study of meaning (understood as lexicogrammar), in particular with a social semantics that underscores a contextual theory of meaning (Stubbs 1996). Contextual implies both the need to examine whole texts instead of individual sentences and the imperative to relate textual analysis to its social embedding to understand how language as routine behavior achieves cultural transmission (Firth 1935).

Stubbs (1996, 2002) has made significant steps toward elaborating on the above principles within the framework of corpus linguistics and also integrating them into larger social theoretical issues outside of linguistics. First, he takes the Saussurean notion that words only have meaning in relation to other words; i.e. that meaning is relational, and argues for the primacy of collocations as units of investigation. Second, drawing on Sinclair (1965) who argued that "[a]ny stretch of language has meaning only as a sample of an enormously large body of text" (p. 76), Stubbs maintains that the study of texts and text types has to be comparative.

Context in the more linguistic sense is thus understood as both co-text (collocations, or the syntagmatic) and inter-text (the occurrence of certain collocations across different texts, or the paradigmatic). This latter notion clearly connects corpus semantics to ongoing discussions within sociolinguistics about intertextuality and the inherently historical nature of discourse.

Stubbs also attempts to relate these ideas about meaning and textual organization to the study of culture and society. Against the generative emphasis on speakers' creativity in grammar, corpus linguists have made the case that much of language use is routine. If certain lexical expressions repeatedly co-occur with certain others (collocations) in multiple text-types that enjoy wide social circulation, they may attain a natural status as lexical representations and become what Halliday (1978) has called semantic orientations, or semantic habits. Stubbs therefore argues that corpora could be used to expand studies of cultural keywords (Williams 1976) by producing systematic evidence for recurrent collocations and their distribution across texts. In discussing the significance of repetitions, Stubbs remains within the territory of the empirically observable, and admits that the cognitive influence of such semantic habits is not clear (Stubbs 2001).

For Stubbs and undoubtedly for others as well, several interconnected theoretical issues remain. Perhaps the overarching question concerns the relationship between language use as routine vs. creative; the micro-macro problem of sociology. In linguistic or discourse terms, this translates into the question of how we can relate patterns of usage that are established by corpus analysis to individual instances of speech or writing. This is a difficult issue to solve, since while probabilistic models of language use are adequate for corpus studies, they cannot sufficiently or fully account for individual text production. Further, corpus linguistics has focused on investigating meaning, at the expense of studying understanding (Teubert 2004). This has to do

with the strongly empiricist legacy that makes corpus linguists reluctant to engage with issues of interpretation (the individual), as doing so would necessarily entail recourse to mental constructs. Stubbs (2002) is acutely aware of this omission, and advocates a view of language that does away with long-standing binaries in favor of a three-part distinction: language as a physical act (parole or performance), language as a psychological fact (individual competence) and language as social facts (Saussurian langue).

It is the noticeable absence of individual competence from current corpus linguistic discussions that Widdowson (2000) alludes to. As he points out, corpora can give us an observer's (a third person) perspective of what people do without shedding light on "the introspective of the insider" (ibid. p. 6). Along the same lines, he also critiques the lack of inclusion of contextual factors into analyses in the sense of the social situation in which texts are produced. Third, Widdowson takes issue with treating texts as discourse, claiming that they are no more than "static abstractions" from "the discourses of which they are a trace" (p. 7). Though Widdowson frames his criticisms with regard to corpus linguistics' contribution to applied linguistics, they constitute recurring objections to the quantitative study of lexical and grammatical variation (cf. Stubbs 2002).

<u>Summary</u>

There are several common threads running through all of the frameworks reviewed above but one seems particularly pertinent to issues raised in the Introduction: scholars in every approach have attempted to tackle the micro-macro question. This fundamental conundrum has surfaced in a variety of theoretical concepts and empirical questions. The still ongoing debate among representatives of different (broadly) sociolinguistic strands concerning exactly what constitutes

context involves a tension between an emerging (micro) concept of context and recognizing the influence of everything that has come before any given interaction (macro). In purely discourse terms, the same dilemma is articulated in the opposition between individual texts (written or spoken) and language as a set of structural possibilities.

The methodological dimensions of these issues emerge partly from the imperative to study language as sociocultural practice through empirical investigations. One of the difficulties lies in the fact that while analyses of individuals' actions presuppose an empirical focus on agency, agency itself is often cast in mental or cognitive terms (e.g. intentions, attitudes) that defy direct empirical scrutiny. The second problem relates to how structural constraints (discursive and non-discursive) can be operationalized for empirical study. Even if scholars can agree on what constitutes context, is there a systematic way in which it can be described? This difficulty is evident in criticisms against anecdotal treatments of context as well as in the appeal of micro-definitions of context, which ultimately also evade talk about individuals' mental states. Structural approaches sidestep dealing with these issues altogether by conceptualizing language as a community-level phenomenon (variationist sociolinguistics) or by disregarding issues of interpretation and focusing on meaning as discourse (corpus linguistics).

It seems that several scholars have identified a way out of this impasse by proposing a focus on processes. Intertextuality is a concept that has become salient in each of the four approaches to sociocultural language study, though different takes exist regarding what it means in empirical terms. Variationists highlight the phonetic dimensions of repeated words, while interactional analyses often investigate stylistic aspects of repetition. Intertextuality is often understood within CDA as interdiscursivity to describe how the discourse of one social domain becomes infused with other orders of discourse in late modernity. Corpus linguistics deals with

the repeated occurrence of certain collocations across texts and genres through its research on inter-text. Linguistic anthropologists have long engaged the idea of intertextuality and studied it at the level of speech events (and their entextualized form, transcripts) across time and space. *Interdiscursivity* is often the preferred term as it highlights discourse as "the processual, real-time, event-bound social action" (Silverstein 2005: 7). The benefit of trying to capture interdiscursive processes is that it allows us to re-cast the micro-macro dilemma into a more dynamic, and I would argue, more productive framework for investigation. It immediately adds a temporal dimension to investigations, which is necessary if we are to explore the larger issue of sociocultural change and how discourse fits into it. In this dissertation, I orient to such a processual conception of the language and society interface as I try to address some of the issues raised in this review in the context of urban revitalization and change.

CHAPTER 3

URBAN RESTRUCTURING

Introduction

In this chapter I will be mainly concerned with reviewing previous research relating to the socio-
spatial transformation of cities in the United States, particularly in the last one hundred years,
and describe revitalization efforts specific to my field site, Chattanooga. In addition, I discuss
recent discursive approaches to studying urban issues as they provide a potential point of entry
for linguistic analyses. In accordance with recent developments in urban studies, I use the term
socio-spatial as it implies that spatial arrangements are not a mere product of market tendencies
but are embedded in and are reflective of cultural, political as well as economic aspects of
societal organization (Gottdiender & Budd 2005: 140). Similar to the preceding chapter, this one
will take a historical look, since present conditions can only be fully understood (or even
partially grasped) in light of what has come before. Such diachronic depth is all the more crucial
when one is dealing with complex sets of processes such as those that have shaped the
restructuring of urban America. In a sense, this examination may be understood as providing the
macro-level context that critics often find lacking in micro-analyses of social issues. As my
review in Chapter 2 has emphasized, however, such a notion is not without pitfalls, since
evoking *context* in this sense immediately presents the dilemma of selectivity: what is relevant,
and how much of it? As in every area of study, co-existing approaches to urban change will
answer this question differently, stressing for example the role of local planning at the expense of

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global economic tendencies. I will loosely follow Smith's (1986) discussion as he advocates integrated explanations for how urban areas have come to be what they are today. His seems to be an approach that gives a great deal of attention to the role of economic factors. This is not to deny the significance of other dynamics or the role of social agents in changing socio-spatial arrangements, which I also touch upon in the review. Furthermore, I devote much effort in the following chapters to highlighting how abstract (in so far as we think/talk about them as abstract) processes are made meaningful through everyday interaction. Even though my account will be necessarily selective, I hope it will counter prevailing notions about sociolinguistic analyses as sociologically naïve. I aim to achieve this by situating my research within existing, non-linguistic work on urban revitalization as well as by making the case for the relevance of discourse analysis for the study of urban change. In doing so, I also hope to work toward a much praised but rarely practiced interdisciplinary understanding of social issues.

Urban restructuring in the United States

Beatley and Manning (1997) argue that "with the exception of the early 1900s, the United States has never been a highly urbanized nation" (p. 171). Considering the plethora of problems faced by industrial cities and their inhabitants at the turn of the 20th century, it is perhaps no surprise that the urban environment held very little appeal for people in the decades that followed. Throughout the second half of the 19th century, cities grew rapidly in response to the infrastructural demands of an expanding industry that included not only manufacturing plants but also housing for masses of migrant and immigrant workers. Given the speed at which industrialization and urbanization occurred in the US, there was no deliberate planning or legislative action that would have guided the making of cities. By the end of the 19th century, the

results of this absence became obvious. Inhumane living conditions bred high rates of disease and mortality as well as an increase of crime, making cities altogether an unsafe and undesirable place to live (Moe and Wilkie 1997). There were some attempts to remedy this situation through grassroots movements. However, the prevalent response to urban decay – especially for middle class Americans – in the first half of the 20th century was to flee from it, leaving behind an image of the city as wilderness and jungle (Smith 1986).

Economic Factors

Suburbanization has been ongoing for a hundred years in the United States and represents a key factor in the restructuring of urban spaces. However, the process entails much more than a residential move out of cities. In economic terms, the availability of cheap land (and thus low ground rent) outside of urban areas lures capital out of cities and leads to the establishment of commercial and residential areas on suburban territory. Importantly, as suburban land prices rise, abandoned city properties depreciate and trigger a decrease in urban land value and rent rates. The development of this rent gap between city and suburb accompanies the decentralization of capital but at the same time also creates the opportunity for urban space, still appealing due to its central location, to become revalorized (Smith 1986).

The emergence of the rent gap follows the cyclical process of capital accumulation where periods of boom alternate with years of economic crisis (Smith 1986). The first half of the 20th century that witnessed the Great War, the Great Depression and culminated in the destruction brought about by World War II paved the way to a time of economic growth and continued restructuring in the ensuing decades. While manufacturing increased in certain regions of the country – though almost always located outside the urban core – broader changes in the

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employment structure surfaced in a general decline of traditional industries and the growth of a white-collar economy. The emerging service sector closely trailed the path of decentralized capital into the urban periphery, although key decision-making centers remained within city areas where auxiliary services (financial, legal and other business support) were available (Smith 1986).

The post-war years also saw the first systematic attempt to deal with urban decay through federal intervention. The 1949 Housing Act, also known as the Urban Renewal program, strengthened federal policy on slum clearance as a key strategy in eliminating blighted urban areas, while also setting the goal of establishing decent housing for disenfranchised urban populations. More importantly, the Housing Act of 1949 gave city governments the right to seize and clear slums and abandoned industrial sites through eminent domain in order to sell them to private developers (Moe and Wilkie 1997). In the US as in other Western countries, state intervention in the form of legislation or the provision of funds during the post-war era served to set the stage for private investments that characterized economic restructuring in later decades of the century (Smith 1986).

The 1980s brought the onset of another wave of economic recess. Despite ongoing efforts, it also became clear that nationally conceived programs were insufficient in fighting urban decline (Nelson 1988). Already in 1974, existing programs were grouped together under the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) that relegated design and fiscal control over urban space to local officials who were to act within broad national guidelines (Fraser & Kick 2005). The creation of CDBG can be viewed as part of a larger shift in the allocation of policy responsibilities among different levels of government that has entailed devolution of responsibilities to state and local governments (Conlan 1998; Linhorst 2002). With an

increasingly neoliberal transformation of the US and world economy, it seemed that urban decline could only be adequately solved by handing city reinvestment over to the forces of the private market (Nelson 1988).

Gentrification, the process of reviving formerly distressed urban residential and commercial properties through private capital investment, has to be located within this larger neoliberal political-economic restructuring and rescaling. In the words of David Harvey, "neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework" (2005: 2). Arguing that neoliberalism drives and effects economic as well as social restructuring, Jessop (2002) identifies several strategies that characterize the "neoliberal project". *Liberalization* refers to the removal of restrictions and policies regulating market economies (*deregulation*) in order to promote free competition, not only within national boundaries but also globally. It is often accompanied by a strong push toward *privatization*; relinquishing state or government ownership of property and public services and integrating them into the private sector. Typically, the residual public sector also assumes market-like operational and organizational qualities. The function of the state is reduced to the provision of an institutional framework (e.g. appropriate monetary policies, legal structures, civic order) that guarantees "the continued expansion of the liberal market economy and a self-organizing civil society" (Jessop 2002: 454). Cities assume a central role within this neoliberal transformation as sites where social and economic tensions surface. It is also at this scale that civic participation and communities become relevant as "compensatory mechanisms" for the inadequacies of market forces (Jessop 2002).

Restructuring as a Socio-political and Cultural Process

While Smith (1986) emphasizes macro-scale economic processes as key factors impacting the transformation of cities, he does not discredit the influence of what he terms "demographic and lifestyle issues". Nevertheless, he critiques approaches that claim that urban restructuring is the result of decision-making by a few pioneering individuals, pointing to the embeddedness of such explanations in the American frontier ideology. This ideology that surrounded the Western expansion has been increasingly deployed to characterize cities since the Urban Renewal program, replacing the earlier image of cities as urban wilderness with that of the urban frontier. The power of this ideology, Smith argues, is that it fosters the cultural legitimation of gentrification:

> Whatever the real economic, social and political forces that pave the way for gentrification, and no matter which banks and realtors, governments and contractors are behind the process, gentrification appears, at first sight, and especially in the US, to be a marvelous testament to the values of individualism and the family, economic opportunity and the dignity of work (sweat equity). From appearances at least, gentrification can be played so as to strike some of the most resonant chords on our ideological keyboard. (p. 19)

Casting gentrification and urban revitalization within an individualist, frontier ideology not only downplays the effects of structural factors but it also (albeit implicitly) places those "indigenous" to the wilderness-turned-frontier, namely long-term, working class urban dwellers, into the problematic position of a conquered population, tolerated or simply ignored.

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Despite the significance of such ideological embedding, the social dimensions of urban restructuring are difficult to sever from political and economic factors. Suburbanization in the United States has always been a socially selective process in that more affluent families moved away from deteriorating urban areas, while those who couldn't afford the move stayed in neighborhoods that were becoming increasingly poor. Throughout the 20th century, certain legislative decisions have aided the selectivity of this process in class as well as racial terms. The Federal Housing Agency (FHA), established in 1934, created a mortgage insurance program in order to encourage home ownership through low down payments and long-term, low interest rates. However, the program was highly discriminatory as it overtly favored purchases in white, middle class neighborhoods and denied claims if even a single home with an ethnic or racial minority was present in the area – a risk factor to future property values (Moe and Wilkie 1997). In addition, realtors often exploited racial fear to "scare" middle-class whites into selling their urban homes, which in turn they sold to black migrants at outrageous prices (Squires 1994). A series of legislative acts (among others, the Federal Fair Housing Act of 1968, the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974, and the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977) were passed in order to protect minorities and residents of low-income areas from such overt discriminatory practices, although lending bias for mortgage loans and housing is still widespread (Turner et al. 1991).

In spite of legislative and grassroots efforts, the concentration of poor people in urban areas has been growing for the past 100 years (Jargowsky 1997). Those living in impoverished inner city neighborhoods often find themselves caught in a vicious cycle: with capital disinvestment and the move of middle-class families to suburban areas, urban property values continue to decrease and the tax base to shrink. As there is less tax money

to spend, city governments cut down spending on city services (e.g. infrastructural upkeep) which leads to further physical deterioration and devaluation. In addition, without the necessary education to qualify for the white-collar jobs needed in city business districts, most working class urban residents have to opt for minimum-wage service employment or face unemployment.

Perhaps one of the gravest consequences of 20th century urban restructuring for the social and cultural fabric of cities has been the continuing erosion of communal life in the wake of political-economic decision making. The mass exodus of middle-class Americans to suburban homes during the post-war decades followed policies that aimed to produce profitable communities, not strong ones (Wilkie and Moe 1997). Suburban neighborhoods were designed to provide residents with space and privacy as a desirable alternative to the density of city life. However, the absence of pedestrian traffic, local meeting places and the close proximity that facilitated communal life in urban spaces led to the social isolation of residents in subdivisions (Beatley and Manning 1997).

The economic and physical decline of inner cities has produced similar effects in urban neighborhoods. As Katz (1995) points out, many institutions withdrew from inner cities, leaving residents without access to services such as education or health care that are the basis of a civil society and "the props that sustain a viable public life and the possibility of community" (p. 91). In addition, America's growing dependence on the automobile and the absence of reliable public transportation further isolated the urban poor, making it difficult for them to seek services and employment outside the city. At the federal level, the utter disconnect of the Highway Act of 1959 from a national urban and transportation policy lead to the destruction of countless urban communities for the purpose of building highways

(Moe and Wilkie 1997). In a similar vein, not until a 1954 amendment to the Housing Act of 1949 did rehabilitation instead of demolition become a major strategy in fighting urban decay. By that time, countless structures that had functional or symbolic significance for local communities have been destroyed or allowed to deteriorate beyond repair.

Revitalization in Chattanooga, Tennessee

In the second half of the 20th century, Chattanooga, a city of 155, 554 (US Census 2000) located in the southeast corner of Tennessee, faced very similar problems. The decline of its once flourishing inner city manufacturing industry was accompanied by (white) middle-class migration to the suburbs that also brought about the relocation of many downtown businesses (Fraser 2004). In addition to disinvestment and physical deterioration within the urban core, the city and its residents were also confronted with serious environmental challenges. Partly as a result of its geographic location in the Tennessee River valley, the city's smog problem reached almost intolerable levels, earning Chattanooga the title of having the worst air quality in the nation by a Federal Air Quality Report in 1969.

As a reaction to the environmental challenges as well as the dismal state of Chattanooga's downtown residential and business areas, in the 1980s a task force consisting of city officials and private citizens engaged in a process called *Vision 2000*, with the objective to outline goals and directions for a complete revitalization of Chattanooga's inner city by the end of that century. The process involved forums for consultations with over 1,700 city residents and the resultant plan, published in 1984, had as its overall goal to increase the livability of Chattanooga as well as to spur economic development. Additional issues residents wanted to see addressed included family violence, affordable housing and the renovation of a local theater. The riverfront and

adjacent downtown became the target points for renewal that was initially sponsored by private funds and coordinated by a private, non-profit organization.

The planning process produced a series of developments during the 1990s. The Tennessee Aquarium (see Figure 1) opened in 1992 and represents a $45 million project funded exclusively through private money. It was followed by a Visitors Center, a Creative Discovery Museum and a 3D Imax Theater, all within walking distance from each other in downtown Chattanooga. After renovation, the 100-year-old Walnut Street pedestrian Bridge (see Figure 2)

Figure 1. Tennessee Aquarium

was opened to the public in 1993, providing a walkable link from downtown across the river to the north shore with its newly established Coolidge Park (see Figure 3) and revitalized retail

district. A free electric bus service was also put in place that provided an environmentally friendly way of transporting tourist and locals around the central business district. Today, downtown Chattanooga boasts of a variety of dining establishments, a local brew-pub, a seven-screen multiplex theater as well as a new hotel and several upscale residential apartment buildings overlooking the river.

Figure 2. Walnut Street Bridge

Recently, the central business and entertainment district has seen another wave of expansion and investment through the *21ˢᵗ Century Waterfront* project that was initiated in 2002. The primary goal of this plan was to redirect a major parkway that ran along the river, separating

it from downtown and easy public access, as well as to create more green space and a public pier. In addition, the Aquarium was expanded with the $30 million Ocean Journey building, as was the Hunter Museum and the Creative Discovery Museum. As an outcome of the development initiative, new walkways featuring public art provide easy passage to and from all downtown attractions.

Figure 3. Coolidge Park

With redevelopments in Chattanooga's central business district well under way, in the late 1990s, city officials in cooperation with a number of private and public organizations turned their attention and efforts to inner city, mainly low-income residential areas as the next challenge

in the revitalization project (Fraser 2004). In 1999, four residential neighborhoods were selected

to participate in a revitalization project whose coordination was placed in the hands of

Neighborhood Change Initiative (NCI)[1], a small non-profit organization funded primarily

through money from a major local foundation. The Comprehensive Community Building

Initiative (CCI) was chosen by the foundation's Board as the model for revitalizing these

neighborhoods with its double focus on physical revitalization and capacity building. During the

1990s, CCI gained popularity as a framework for reviving urban residential neighborhoods (see

next section). The four neighborhoods were chosen because "each had active residents willing to

be involved in change efforts and a neighborhood organization with a leadership base committed

to building alliances outside the neighborhood" (NCI 2004 Progress Report p. 5).

CCIs have become the preferred framework for revitalizing inner city residential

neighborhoods while ameliorating poverty (Fraser et al. 2002). Underlying a community or

neighborhood-based revival strategy is the assumption that social issues facing a neighborhood

can only be adequately addressed with the help of local knowledge and involvement from

residents. Further, it is a comprehensive approach as it aims to combat a cluster of interrelated

problems thought to contribute to the physical, economic and social decline of a neighborhood.

CCIs center on the idea of community capacity, "the interaction of human capital, organizational

resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve

collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of a given community" (Chaskin

2001: 295). Community capacity typically entails: 1) a sense of community, 2) a level of

commitment among community members, 3) the ability to solve problems, 4) access to resources

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[1] Names of organizations, neighborhoods and persons are all pseudonyms.

(Chaskin 2001). Building on existing human and material resources in a neighborhood, the goal

is to teach residents how to identify and deal with problems that may stand in the way of

ensuring neighborhood progress and also to seek out and establish partnerships with local

political and business entities. Resident involvement is crucial in this process and entails

participation in neighborhood-level governance (i.e. a neighborhood association) as well as

individual initiatives that contribute to neighborhood development.

The four Chattanooga neighborhoods targeted to participate in a community-based

revitalization project were Morningside, Fiddlers Bend, Fernwood and Eden Green, all located

within the central blocks of the city (see Figure 4). NCI conceives of the initiative as a "two-

pronged strategic approach" that targets neighborhoods one block at a time. Physical

revitalization proceeds through several avenues: NCI uses a special "buy/hold" fund to acquire

blighted or vacant properties and hold them until they can be sold for redevelopment. The

organization also partners with other city-wide agencies as well as realtors for particular

development projects. Special homebuyer incentives are provided to attract new residents into

the neighborhood and current residents can apply for special façade grants to improve the visual

appeal of their homes. According to the 2004 NCI Progress Report, strategies for capacity

building include the following:

- Recruiting and training block leaders to build relationships with neighbors and think
  strategically about how to resolve block issues;

- Training neighborhood safety committees to work with police to develop crime deterrent
  strategies;

- Reporting crime data to track progress and identify hotspots;

- Supporting events and activities that strengthen the social fabric of the neighborhood;

- Working with neighborhood associations on leadership and organizational development, partnership recruitment, and development of positive relationships with local government.
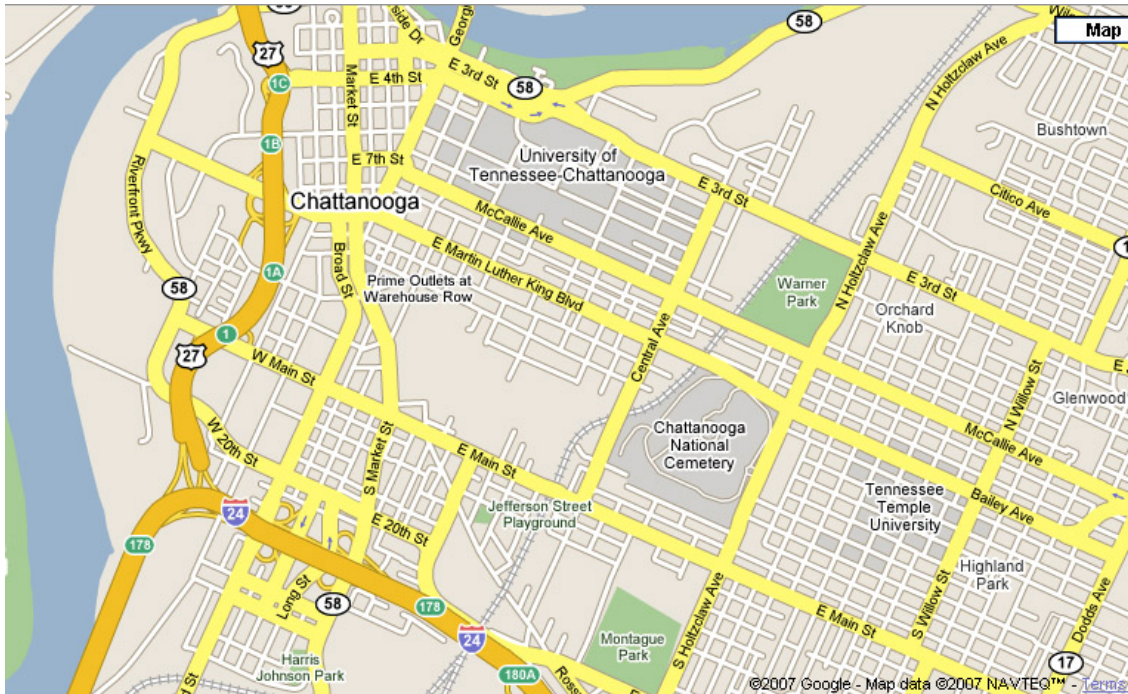
Figure 4. Downtown Chattanooga[2]

As the report emphasizes, these activities should train and prepare residents to deal with issues "that threaten the health of their community" (p. 8).

In order to measure and track each neighborhood's success, NCI evaluates "outcomes" in 8 distinct areas: 1) physical revitalization, 2) neighborhood safety, 3) education, 4) social revitalization (level of resident involvement), 5) leadership development, 6) organizational development (at the neighborhood level), 7) community outreach and engagement (partnerships

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[2] Neighborhoods are not marked in order to maintain confidentiality.

with the public and private sectors), 8) community empowerment (residents impacting public policy for the benefit of the neighborhood). Participating neighborhoods are evaluated on each point along a continuum ranging from declining, stable/declining, stable/improving to solidly improving. According to the latest NCI report (2004), all four neighborhoods were on the stable/improving and solidly improving end of the continuum in all categories, with the exception of Fiddlers Bend and Eden Green still in the stable/declining phase regarding education, which also showed the slowest progress rate in every neighborhood.[3] Given their progress, two of the neighborhoods "graduated" at the end of 2005, which meant that residents themselves are now responsible for raising the money to finance strategic activities set up and initially funded by NCI. The other two neighborhoods were scheduled to graduate at the end of 2006.

One of the cumulative effects of imprudent decision-making in the face of economic possibilities has been, as mentioned earlier, the erosion of communities. Unsurprisingly, the national nostalgia for lost local communities and social trust that has overcome many Americans has also characterized the cultural definition of urban revitalization in the past few decades.[4] Communities have become central not only as the local catalysts for neighborhood revitalization, as we have seen in Chattanooga. Cultural aspects of urban living such as lifestyle and consumer choice have also gained prominence as a marketing tool in selling cities. Perhaps as a reflection of this centrality of cultural issues, there has also been an increase in non-economic academic

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[3] While these figures provide one measurement of progress, there is research indicating that alternative forms of evaluation may be necessary in order to shed light on revitalization dynamics that are systematically sidelined by organizational assessments (Fraser et al. 2002).

[4] "Lifestyle centers", open-air suburban shopping areas that are modeled after an idealized downtown, have successfully capitalized on this nostalgia, bringing the downtown atmosphere into the safety and cleanliness of suburbia.

approaches to the study of urban issues, many of them with an explicit focus on discourse. Such shift does not necessarily mean inattention to the role of political-economic factors as feared by some (e.g., Imrie et al. 1996) but rather should be perceived as a challenge to integrate economic, political and cultural explanations. For instance, the connection between the frontier ideology that portrays individual entrepreneurs as "urban pioneers" driving revitalization and the neoliberal impetus for reinvigorating civic participation and communal life as substitutes for absent social policies is not difficult to discern. However, populating the abstract world of political economy and examining "actually existing neoliberalism" (Brenner & Theodore 2002) requires attention to lived experience and contextual embeddedness in empirical investigations of sociocultural practices. In the next section, I briefly review the main developments in discursive approaches to urban issues as they provide a possible point of convergence where linguistic insight may contribute to an understanding of urban transformation as encompassing complex processes.

Discursive Approaches to Urban Issues

The so-called discursive turn transformed language from its status as a transparent, taken-for granted medium into a fundamental social phenomenon worthy of social-scientific consideration. A range of disciplines have embraced this shift and have begun to incorporate theories and methods of discourse analysis into their existing disciplinary canon. Urban geography, with its history of critical scholarship examining the structural conditions that shape urban existence, has also opened up to culturally grounded understandings of the city (Hastings 1999). A part of this change has been a growing interest in critical approaches to discourse, particularly within urban

policy; that is, research investigating legislative processes and outcomes that affect urban spatial design as well as social relations of those living in urban areas.

In contrast to materialist-realist conceptions of space and studies that conceptualize urban policy as involving chiefly rational decision-making processes, discourse-oriented approaches view policy as a "setting where different groups compete to establish a particular version of 'reality' in order to pursue their objectives" (Jacobs 1999: 203). In other words, instead of taking policy language as an objective medium that articulates and reflects some underlying reality, it is seen as actively shaping policy practices (Jacobs 1999; Jacobs & Manzi 1996). This change in perspective has clearly entailed an epistemological shift from an objectivist to a constructionist grounding of research. While the former has measured the impact of policy on socio-spatial developments as objective outcomes, a constructionist stance has licensed examinations of urban policy as partly constructed by discursive practices.

The empirical focus of studies has been diverse. Within policy research, analyses often center on documents produced by government agencies. These texts are sometimes interpreted as instances of larger discursive tendencies (e.g. Atkinson 1999; Jacobs & Manzi 1996) or viewed as local sites where such discourses become reformulated and hybridized (Healey 1999; Stenson & Watt 1999). Others have scrutinized how certain concepts such as *community* or *partnership* are deployed and understood by stakeholders in urban revitalization (Darcy 1999; Hastings 1999). Scholars such as Haworth and Manzi (1999) and Healey (1999) have studied changes in policy discourse, linking those to shifts in the organizational and institutional practices in which they are embedded. Research outside of the policy arena has investigated conflicting definitions of place among urban residents and private investors (Schaller & Modan 2005) and looked at urban space as a site for identity struggle (Carter et al. 1993; Modan 2002, 2006).

Apart from spotlighting discursive processes, most of these studies converge with respect to their emphasis on social critique. This critical stance results from a view of discourse as both a reflection and a vehicle of power (Hastings 1999) while it can also be seen as a continuation of a history of engagement by urban scholars with issues of poverty and social inequality in city environments. To provide a frame within which critical inquiry can be exercised, researchers have emphasized a joint focus on discourse, power and material processes (Hastings 1999; Richardson & Jensen, 2003). This has been particularly important for urban scholars utilizing a discourse approach, as criticism has been leveled against treating space as a purely discursive and cultural construct, disregarding its material existence (Imrie et al. 1996). To counter such criticism and to demonstrate the potential of discourse analysis for urban research, the majority of scholars now seek ways to integrate discursive and material processes both conceptually and in empirical analyses.

Many of the scholars cited above have adopted CDA as a theoretical and analytic framework for investigating discourse. As a result, the majority of empirical research has focused on written documents where analysts mostly examine vocabulary and critique texts for their overt or covert ideological or manipulative intent. Little attention has been paid to how this is linked to or taken up in face-to-face interaction. The mutual orientation toward a top-down view of power relations that characterizes both CDA and critical urban geography may stem from their shared Marxist origin. With an intent focus on structural critique, scholars working in these two traditions often tend to focus their investigations on discursive manifestations of overarching processes such as *globalization* or *neoliberalism*, yet seem less concerned with their local interpretations or mutations. Without a doubt, it is important to investigate phenomena that reach beyond an individual actor or locale, as they can inform and deepen our understanding of

what happens in any given situation or clusters of situations (Agar 2005). Yet it is also clear that any critical approach whose ultimate aim is to further social justice cannot do without a thorough understanding of how structural inequalities operate among oppressors or those deemed oppressed at a more mundane level.

<u>Summary</u>

This chapter introduced major themes that run through the literature on US urban transformation and also described key factors and events in Chattanooga's history of downtown revitalization. As a main concern, I tried to present urban restructuring as a complex process that unfolds out of an interaction of economic, political and sociocultural developments. I also discussed cultural, and more specifically, discourse-oriented approaches to urban space and life as they provide a potential link between the present study and more strictly economic investigations of urban change. My main critique of this literature has targeted their almost exclusive focus on written documents, at the expense of investigating discourse as deeply embedded in everyday social relations.

Disciplinary traditions inevitably favor certain theoretical concerns and types of methodological frameworks to research them. A strong precedence of and preference for studies into the structural dimension of social phenomena can make it difficult to validate case studies that employ micro-analyses of small-scale human practices. When researchers cross disciplinary boundaries, as most scholars mentioned in the preceding section have done, their work also becomes accountable to an additional set of standards and criteria of evaluation. It is with these added difficulties in mind that we should assess social scientific research that strives for multifaceted descriptions and explanations that do justice to the complexity that characterizes

human affairs. In this dissertation, I investigate revitalization efforts from a sociocultural point of view, as the focal point of interest in this study is the role of discourse in urban transformation. However, my goal is also to seek out ways in which cultural forms interact with (i.e. support, oppose, reject) smaller and larger-scale political-economic developments. In particular, my focus will be on how the urban resident as a particular social persona is not only a crucial part of the neighborhood revitalization initiative but is deeply embedded within neoliberalism as the guiding principle of urban transformation. Drawing on findings from the interview and corpus analyses, I conceptualize the urban resident as a metasemiotic stereotype within the metadiscourse of neoliberalism that represents a model of personhood, enacted and promulgated in a network of speech events generated within the bounds of neighborhood revitalization.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODS

<u>Introduction</u>

As I pointed out at the end of Chapter 2, sociolinguistic approaches that view language use as partly constitutive of social and cultural practices have at least in theory addressed the micro-macro divide. In empirical studies, researchers often commit themselves to studying one or the other: some regard situated social interaction as the only relevant site where we can study the local unfolding and negotiation of societal forces; others attempt to describe those forces in generalized ways that can characterize groups of people or types of interaction. Recent developments toward a more processual understanding of the relation between language use and sociocultural formations seem to offer a way out of this deep-rooted and rather unproductive dichotomy. However, some questions still remain.

The difficulties are not simply a matter of employing qualitative vs. quantitative methods but rather of how to operationalize theoretical concepts in empirical investigations. A host of unanswered questions pertain: Assuming that so-called structural factors impact (constrain or enable) local action, how can we adequately describe them? (The issue of context.) How can we investigate discourse as a structural phenomenon? How can we measure or describe the impact of pre-existing discursive and non-discursive factors on local (inter)action and how does the latter bear on the former? With regard to interdiscursivity, what does it mean in empirical terms and how can we explore interdiscursive connections among instances of discourse or semiotic

acts? All these questions underscore the impossibility of separating theoretical and methodological issues when pursuing the discourse-society interface empirically. While there are no easy answers to any of the above questions, in this chapter I describe how I tried to resolve some of them in my investigation of urban revitalization discourse.

Research Purpose and Questions

The purpose of my doctoral research is to explore the connections among different instances and scales of discourse and their interplay with non-discursive aspects of social and cultural practices within the context of urban revitalization in a mid-size city in the US southeast. I use the term *discourse* to refer to any instance of signification, or meaning-making, whether through oral or written language or non-linguistic means. In this sense, a dinner table conversation or a newspaper article on globalization are instances of discourse, and so is an advertisement in a fishing magazine. Nevertheless, in this dissertation I rely primarily on verbal discourse.

As discourse theorists have pointed out (e.g. Foucault 1972), discourse is a scalar phenomenon that operates at various levels of sociocultural organization. On the one hand, we employ language and other means of signification in order to carry out our daily social tasks, and studying discourse at this level of situated social interaction has an established tradition. While miscommunication is a common feature of human interaction, the fact that we usually manage to go about life using language implies that each of us draws on our (partly overlapping) repertoire of previous (partly discursive) experience to do so. When we study interaction, the problem becomes exactly how to account for this 'background' in an empirically systematic way.

Corpus linguistics offers a viable way for dealing with this question. Corpus researchers have long stressed for instance the importance of genres and genre conventions for the analysis

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of text and talk, showing us through large-scale investigations how language use patterns along social functions. The fact that many people repeatedly follow similar paths when using language for similar purposes points to their orientation to shared notions about language use. The great advantage of a corpus methodology is that these conventions can actually be described through them. There is no question that individual speakers will be exposed to slightly or vastly different language experiences and that ideally, access to such personalized data would provide us with the most relevant 'background'. However, as that option is not feasible in most cases, an equally worthwhile task may be to explore the full empirical and theoretical potential of corpus methods for studying the discourse-society link.

Linguistic anthropologists have made significant steps toward furthering our understanding of intertextuality and interdiscursivity through empirical studies. Below I give a brief review of this research as it provides a conceptual and methodological framework for my analysis of interviews. Examining the links that connect instances of discursive practice to similar others is a necessary prerequisite for understanding how communicative acts are grounded in sociocultural reality and at the same time contribute to its reproduction and change. In that respect, while corpora may give us insight about the sociocultural patterning of language at a given time, interdiscursivity may shed light on processes through which language use and other behavior become patterned and assume sociocultural significance over time. For example, Agha's (2003) concept of enregisterment, while specifically applied to registers of language such as Received Pronunciation, aims to describe how forms of talk become an "emblem of speaker status" (p. 231) through a variety of circulating metadiscourses.

Following the above lines of argumentation, I investigate the discourse of urban revitalization in Chattanooga by a focus on language use in face-to-face interviews as well as

through special corpora compiled for this purpose. The overarching questions that I am asking in this research are the following:

1) How are instances of discourse, understood as face-to-face interviews with participants, interdiscursively connected?

2) What characterizes discourse generated around downtown revitalization in Chattanooga, as evident in a large corpus of relevant texts?

      2a) What are the most frequent words and what can they tell us about the corpus?

      2b) What are the keywords that distinguish this corpus from a general corpus on a similar topic?

      2c) What kind of semantic patterns characterize target words that were selected based on the interview analyses?

3) What intertextual links obtain between interviews as situated speech events and corpora as large-scale textual patterns characterizing discourse on revitalization?

4) How can an investigation of discourse enhance our understanding of urban change?

The first question investigates intratextual and intertextual characteristics of face-to-face talk on neighborhood revitalization while the second question looks at semantic patterns of discourse on the topic that emerge through computer-assisted analysis of corpora. As they entail two different methodological frameworks, close textual and corpus analysis, I devote a separate section to describing the data and analytic procedures for each below. My choice to concentrate on face-to-face interaction and corpus-based discourse patterns does not necessarily correspond to the oft-invoked micro-macro levels. In line with my aim to further process-based understandings of discourse and social practices, I emphasize that they are all connected by their mutual embeddedness within a web of social relations we call downtown revitalization. The notion of

interdiscursivity, of textual (semantic, syntactic, modal, etc.) and social relations that obtain

among instances and patterns of discourse, guides my analysis throughout. The inclusion of

corpora merely represents an effort to characterize, in a methodical and empirical rather than

anecdotal manner, discourse that has been produced and circulated on the topic of revitalization

in Chattanooga. By relating the results from interview and corpus analysis (Question 3 above),

my purpose is not only to shed light on the role of background discourse but also to test the

validity of using corpora for such a purpose. Finally, in line with my overall goal to situate

discourse analysis as part of a larger framework of examining complex social phenomena, my

goal in answering Question 4 is to explore potential links between ways of talking and non-

discursive characteristics of urban revitalization.

Data Sources

The two types of analysis that I undertake in this dissertation involve two different kinds of

datasets whose elicitation/compilation and examination required fairly distinct methodological

routes. While stressing their interconnectedness, for clarity of presentation I will describe each

set of procedures in a separate section, although both face-to-face and corpus data should be

regarded as integral parts of the overall research project.

Interviews

As I mentioned in the Introduction, I have been visiting Chattanooga on a regular basis for the

past 6-7 years, mainly to see friends and family. During these stays, I noticed, heard and read

about the ongoing changes in the city's downtown and developed a casual interest in the topic.

When I decided to turn this informal interest into a dissertation topic, I knew that I would need

some help accessing the field in order to gather data. As most issues that involve multiple groups of stakeholders, revitalization in Chattanooga has not been without controversies, some of which took on an explicitly political dimension during the 2005 mayoral elections.[5] Unable to claim insider status (I was not a city resident, nor was I affiliated with any of the organizations involved) and faced with the challenges of researching economic elites, I needed a person with the necessary connections to gain access to potential participants.

This access was made possible through my collaboration with an urban geographer who had conducted extensive research in Chattanooga in the past and had established and maintained connections with local organizations and people. Though we knew each other primarily through informal social ties, our intersecting research interest in urban revitalization led to a collaborative project. His research expertise in the area of revitalization as well as his affiliation with a prestigious university made it relatively easy for him to set up meetings with organizations and through them with residents. We made three focused field visits to Chattanooga in March, May and August of 2005 and had arranged interviews in advance, but we also negotiated some additional meetings once we were in Chattanooga. Prior to the field visits, we discussed our overall plan and what each of us wanted to accomplish through this research. My colleague's main interest lied in a summative report of the city's revitalization efforts, both residential and non-residential, in the past several years, primarily from a planning perspective. My general

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[5] Public-private partnerships have been a key vehicle in revitalizing downtown Chattanooga. This has generally entailed an infusion of some public funds to further private sector development, done through various organizations who oversee the design and execution of development activities. During the 2005 mayoral campaign, one of the main candidates raised concerns about the ethics of such partnerships in Chattanooga, pointing to the relatively small group of people (his opponent one of them) who were serving as board members across these organizations. Though there were no official accusations, his campaign highlighted claims about the abuse of power and public funds for individual interests in developing the city's downtown, at the expense of other areas in Chattanooga. This controversial charge dominated much of the public discussion during the mayoral elections, which resulted in this particular candidate's victory.

concern for understanding how revitalization discourse interacted with socio-economic and other factors complemented his research agenda.

During the field visits, we conducted interviews, walked and drove around the city taking pictures, and collected documents relating to revitalization in Chattanooga, some of which became a part of my corpus. In selecting who we wanted to meet, we tried to be purposeful and interview people from various stakeholder groups. Thus, our pool of informants comprised representatives of public and private organizations or agencies involved in revitalization efforts as well as long-term and new residents from three downtown neighborhoods undergoing revitalization. We developed a semi-structured interview guide to serve as a point of orientation, primarily for interviews with organizational representatives. For resident interviews, our questions were much more open-ended, with the initial question typically prompting informants to tell us about their experiences living in/ moving into downtown. Each interview started with our explanation to the participants of who we were and why we wanted to talk to them (See Appendix B for sample excerpts that illustrate how this was done). As my colleague was the primary reference person and simply much more knowledgeable about revitalization, he acted as the main interviewer. Importantly, I was present at all interviews and occasionally also participated in the discussion.

We talked with 32 different individuals in total, though most of the interviews were done with two or more participants present. Also, several of the people agreed to talk to us on multiple occasions, during two or all three of the field visits. The locations for the interviews varied, though those with organizational affiliates were usually conducted in offices whereas resident interviews took place in people's homes, the community house or a restaurant. The average length of an interview was sixty minutes, though they ranged between 35 minutes and two hours.

All talk was audio-recorded per participants' consent and was subsequently transcribed. About one half of the interviews was transcribed by an experienced third person and subsequently checked for accuracy by me, while I transcribed the rest myself.

Owing to the large number of interviews and the level of detail called for by discourse analysis, I decided to focus on a selection of the original interview pool. Since my primary interest lies in the revitalization of residential areas of Chattanooga, I chose interviews with individuals who were directly involved in that part of the process. The remaining interviews became part of my corpus, as explained in the following section. Table 1 gives a basic overview of the participants and interviews that I relied on for the first part of the analysis.

For confidentiality reasons, I have substituted all proper names with pseudonyms. This includes people we interviewed, the four city neighborhoods and the names of key organizations. *Neighborhood Change Initiative* (NCI), as I described in Chapter 3, is a privately funded program that was set up to coordinate the revitalization of target downtown residential areas in Chattanooga. *Brown Foundation* is a major philanthropic organization that is based in the city and funds NCA as well as a variety of other projects that are focused on development. *Chattanooga Development Agency* (CDA) was established in 1986 as a private, non-profit organization dedicated to developing affordable housing for low to moderate income residents. The agency receives funding from the City of Chattanooga, the Brown Foundation, the Department of Housing and Urban Development as well as financial institutions and private donors. *Morningside Developers* is a non-profit initiative funded by the Brown Foundation that was set up in 2003 with the specific goal to boost the limited housing stock in the Morningside neighborhood. Partnering with CDA, the initiative has facilitated the construction of new town homes and condos as well as the building and renovation of existing single family homes.

Downtown Living is a private marketing company that works closely with Morningside developers to promote the neighborhood and facilitate the sale of Morningside housing developments.

Analytic frameworks

My analysis of the interview transcripts was guided by my view of discourse as process rather than product. As a result, instead of describing in detail each interview as a singular event, my primary goal was to identify interdiscursive links that connect these interactions. Bakhtin (1981, 1986) is often credited as the first thinker to draw attention to the dialogic nature of language in general, and of utterances in particular. As he observes, "When we select words in the process of constructing an utterance, we by no means always take them from the system of language in their neutral, *dictionary* form. We usually take them from *other utterances*, and mainly from utterances that are kindred to ours in genre, that is, in theme, composition, or style" (1986: 87). Further, words that we employ in utterances also "echo" at least part of what they meant in their previous utterances, onto which our own expressive intentions are added. This dialogicality not only implicates previous discourses in present ones but also orients towards future responses – a function of the utterance Bakhtin calls "addressivity" (1986: 95).

Silverstein (2005) has expanded these Bakhtinian notions in his discussion of interdiscursivity as "a structural relationship of two or more situations, and an idexical one at that. [..] It is the intersubjective cover under which participants give interpretability, significance, and causal consequentiality to any social action by stipulating its non-isolation in the domain of interaction" (2005: 9). In other words, participants in a speech event interpret discursive/semiotic acts partly by locating them in connection to other events. Silverstein suggests two different

Table 1. Participant and interview information

Transcript#	Pseudonym	Affiliation	Date	Location	Length (min)
1	Joseph	CDA	May 2005	CDA office	75
	Karen	Brown Foundation; Morningside Developers			
	Heather	Morningside Developers; Downtown Living			
2	Heather	Morningside Developers; Downtown Living	May 2005	Morningside Developers office	45
3	Lloyd	NCI	May 2005	NCI office	100
4	Frank	NCI/realtor	August 2005	Neighborhood tour	60
	Lloyd	NCI			
	Evelyn	NCI/realtor			
5	Simon	Morningside resident	May 2005	Restaurant	81
6	Matt	Morningside resident	May 2005	Restaurant	55
	Sharon	Morningside resident			
7	Dorina	Morningside resident	May 2005	Work office	43
8	Maria	Morningside resident	August 2005	Residents' home	42
	Paul	Morningside resident			
9	Wendy	Fernwood resident	August 2005	Fernwood community house	84
	Harriet	Fernwood resident			
10	Mike	Fernwood resident	August 2005	Fernwood community house	39
11	James	Fernwood resident	August 2005	Residents' home	37
	Ellen	Fernwood resident			
12	Lee	Eden Green resident	August 2005	Eden Green community house	77
	Mrs. Garret	Eden Green resident			
	Mrs. Smith	Eden Green resident			
	Tania	Eden Green resident			
13	Gloria	Eden Green resident	August 2005	NCI office	20
14	Harry	Eden Green resident	August 2005	Residents' home	52
	Selena	Eden Green resident			

kinds of interdiscursivity for empirical study. *Type-interdiscursivity* relies on 'likeness' or iconicity to unite events into an identifiable set or class. While Silverstein does not specify the aspects of discourse that can act as grounds for likeness, he identifies *genres* as examples of type-interdiscursivity; i.e. participants' interpretation of an act/event as an instantiation of a certain set. Insofar as the set is recognizable based upon structures of likeness, it is also achronic since the structures of similarity are extractable from time-bound instances of occurrence. *Token-interdiscursivity*, on the other hand, refers to indexical links that connect one event to another and has a temporal aspect. It refers to how one text as a temporally specific event of discourse production points to another specific text through various indexical resources.

With regard to type-interdiscursivity, Irvine (2005) also notes how the apparent achronicity brought about by structural similarity need not deny the possibility for creative diversions from the type within temporal instantiations. Her point applies more generally to taking into account structures of contrast when studying interdiscursivity, since selecting similar bits of discourse also implies that "there must be a residue of "unlike" chunks that are copresent in the analytical field of view but rejected from the set of "like" ones (2005: 76).

Silverstein's differentiation between type and token-interdiscursivity provides the conceptual principle for my analysis of the interviews. In particular, I was guided by the following two questions that also specify Research Question 1 from above:

1a) What structures of likeness connect these interviews and thus account for type-interdiscursivity?

1b) How are the interviews linked to one another as well as other events indexically through token-interdiscursivity?

In exploring and answering question 1a), I am primarily concerned with examining how the interviews are recognizable as instances of certain metasemiotic discourses. I draw on Agha's (2007) discussion of the reflexive dimension of communicative activity; the fact that we use language to describe, characterize and evaluate other perceivable, linguistic and non-linguistic signs. Metasemiotic activity constitutes a particular type of reflexive action whereby diverse signs are linked together under a meta-sign that typifies them as "signs of a particular type of conduct" (Agha 2007: 22). For instance, *politeness* as a meta-sign encompasses (links together) such seemingly disparate signs as language use (e.g. appropriate form of address), paralinguistic behavior (a neutral but friendly intonation), personal space (not stepping too close to interlocutor), gaze (eye contact without staring) and so on. As Agha points out, we associate these different behavioral displays with politeness as a result of discursive activity that typifies (i.e. characterizes) them as such. These associations come about through processes of everyday communicative activity. In addition, this process of bringing together diverse signs as alike through typifications is aided by explicit metasemiotic commentaries. In the case of politeness, we may think of sententious phrases such as "It's not polite to lick your knife", used by some parents to socialize their children into culturally defined modes of polite behavior. Such metasemiotic discourses (metasemiotic because they typify linguistic and non-linguistic semiotic acts) make the link between the meta-sign (politeness) and its sign-objects (e.g. *not* licking one's knife) explicit and thus promote its spread within social domains. As I argue in Chapter 5, metasemiotic discourses of desirable and undesirable elements exert a similar influence within the social domain of revitalization.

I investigate token-interdiscursivity primarily through an exploration of how participants use various forms of deixis to index interdiscursive relations between the current and other

events. In particular, I analyze transcripts with regard to speakers' use of reported speech deixis; describing an utterance (or speech event) that is temporally distinct from the one being uttered. Agha (2007) suggests using the term *represented speech*, since the described speech event may or may not have actually occurred or occurred in the form in which it was described. As I argue, indexing other speakers and speech events through represented speech not only affords interviewees resources that may be deployed for various pragmatic effects in the ongoing interaction but also provides a virtual glimpse into their discursive history of participation in neighborhood revitalization.

The interview as speech event

Before moving on to Chapter 5, I find it important to comment on relying on interview data for my research. Interviews have been the primary vehicle of data gathering within quantitative sociolinguistics, with the aim of eliciting a stylistic range of speaking from formal to unmonitored speech (cf. Chapter 2). Since most studies were interested in linguistic features and not socially produced discourse, interviews were seen as an adequate and reliable technique – a position critiqued relatively early on (cf. Wolfson 1997). Within ethnographic approaches to language use (interactional sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology), naturally-occurring speech serves as the primary data source; that is, speech that would have been produced (though perhaps unfolded differently) with or without the researcher's presence. Since language is always produced within sociocultural practice, it is important to record and analyze it as part of those practices: a naming ritual, a dinner-table conversation, a children's play and so on. Interviews may be used as secondary data source, particularly in anthropological research.

A position that seems to blend these two perspectives has been articulated very succinctly by Carolyn Baker whose ethnomethodological research yielded a new conceptualization of the research interview. In conducting interviews with 12-15 year-olds about their views on being adolescent, Baker discovered how the interviews, instead of merely constituting a method for collecting data, became "instances of their own topic" (Baker 1984: 305). Contrary to a common stance within the social sciences, Baker argues, it is a mistake to treat interviews as occasions where we elicit people's reports of a life external to the interview. Instead, interviews are best seen as sites where participants display cultural knowledge and engage in practical reasoning to "put together a world that is recognizably familiar, orderly and moral" (Baker 2004: 175).

Baker's ideas relate explicitly to the study of ethnomethodology and membership categorization through interview data. However, they raise issues that are relevant to my own research methodology. I view interviews as a speech event that gives participants an occasion to put themselves on display and to (re)formulate and (re)affirm (some part of) who they are. Just like any other speech event, the interview is shaped by participants' perceptions and expectations about what is going to happen as well as by the local management of unfolding talk. In addition, I also view the interviews we conducted as instances of discourse production that belong and are linked to the socio-discursive field of revitalization. In other words, if we conceptualize revitalization, itself an abstract term, as at least partly constituted by all the interactions that occur in relation to it, then these interviews, though occasioned by our research, are linked to those interactions through a network of social-discursive relations. This point is crucial to understanding discourse in terms of process rather than a static product, and I will elaborate on the ramifications of this position in the final chapter.

Corpora

The second component of data analysis entailed a computer-assisted investigation of two corpora that I compiled specifically for the purpose of the dissertation research. To reiterate, the conceptual motivation for using corpora lies in their capacity to provide insight into typical lexico-grammatical uses and patterns within a certain domain of language use. In the present case, this domain is topically defined as consisting of a variety of texts that deal with issues of urban revitalization. Further, corpus analysis is highly compatible with an intertextual view of language use since concordance lists highlight how lexical units are realized in repeated patterns across texts and contexts.

I will rely on two corpora as databases that I compiled during 2005 and 2006. CORPUS A gathers texts that were produced by individuals in Chattanooga and/or relate to revitalization in the city. CORPUS B acts as a reference corpus consisting of texts on urban revitalization that were drawn from nationwide sources. The primary rationale behind a reference corpus (CORPUS B) is that it allows me to ground my claims about characteristic patterns of discourse on urban revitalization. As Sinclair (1965) observes, every text or act of language is the result of "a complicated selection process, and each selection has meaning by virtue of all the other selections which might have been made, but have been rejected" (cited in Stubbs 1996: 131). Comparative analysis of texts and corpora thus lies at the heart of corpus linguistics and will play a key role in this research as well. In the following, I comment on the general process of compiling corpora and describe the make-up of each corpus in detail.

Before embarking on the actual compilation process, I designed a preliminary plan that guided my search and selection of texts to put into each corpus. A key objective was to make the two corpora comparable, not only with regard to size but also, as far as this was feasible,

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concerning the proportion of spoken vs. written discourse and the variety of text types. As Meyer (2002) points out, the resources one has available for creating a corpus will greatly impact aspects of design such as size. Since I had to restrict myself to publicly available (i.e. free) documents, and I was working alone, I set the target size for each corpus at 500,000 words. Given the difficulty in acquiring transcripts of spoken discourse, particularly given the specificity of the topic, I planned to have each corpus comprise of 80% written and 20% spoken language.

With regard to text types, I expected to gather 50% of texts from various newspapers, since they constitute the most easily accessible sources and also enjoy wide circulation. Given the involvement of various organizations in urban revitalization initiatives, I estimated that around 20% of documents would come from reports and program descriptions published by these organizations. I included these texts because many of them get circulated and read by those involved in downtown revitalization initiatives, including residents. The remaining 10% of written texts were to come from unspecified sources; I created this category since I could not predict exactly what kinds of texts would be available on the topic. Finally, the spoken segment for CORPUS A included transcripts of the interviews we conducted in Chattanooga while for CORPUS B I planned to use radio and television broadcasts on urban revitalization. Table 2 gives a summary of the corpus design I just described. As was to be expected, several aspects of this design had to be modified as I proceeded with the compilation process, though the estimated total size of each corpus remained uncompromised. The next two sections deal with the decisions I made and also provide a characterization of each corpus in terms of the categories and texts they comprise.

Table 2. Original corpus design

CORPUS A: CHATTANOOGA CORPUS (500,000 words)	CORPUS B: NATIONAL CORPUS (500,000 words)
Local newspapers 50% (250,000 words)	Regional and national newspapers 50% (250,000 words)
Print and online publications and reports of local organizations 20% (100,000 words)	Print and online publications and reports of national organizations 20% (100,000 words)
Miscellaneous (neighborhood newsletters, academic articles) 10% (50,000 words)	Miscellaneous (textbooks, academic articles) 10% (50,000 words)
Interview transcripts 20% (100,000 words)	Radio (NPR) and television broadcast transcripts 20% (100,000 words)

CORPUS A: Chattanooga corpus on urban revitalization

The most important difference between my original plan and the final corpus used in the analysis concerns the proportions between spoken and written texts, which in turn affected some of the other segments as well, as can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3. CORPUS A: Target size and actual size

	TARGET SIZE (words)	ACTUAL SIZE (words)
Local newspapers	250,000 (50%)	255,711 (49.7%)
Publications by local organizations	100,000 (20%)	54,284 (10.6%)
Interview transcripts	100,000 (20%)	172,990 (33.7%)
Miscellaneous	50,000 (10%)	31,151 (6%)
TOTAL	500,000 (100%)	514,136 (100%)

I started the compilation process with the newspapers, since they were the most readily available and easiest to retrieve, although I was simultaneously but not very systematically also searching for texts in the other categories. The interviews came next. At the time I prepared the plan, I had not finished transcribing the interviews and had only a rough estimate of how many words they

would total. I had significant difficulties in obtaining or finding publications by local

organizations and also did not come across a huge number of texts that could qualify for the

miscellaneous category. As a result, instead of trying to fill up these two by stretching the

boundaries of what may qualify as relevant texts, I decided to keep all interviews and adjust the

proportion instead. By doing so, I was also able to stay close to the original target size and keep

CORPUS A and CORPUS B comparable.

Local newspapers

Texts for this category came from two primary sources: the *Chattanooga Times Free Press*

(CTFP), the city's major daily newspaper, and from *The Chattanoogan*, a web-only, full-service

daily newspaper (www.chattanoogan.com). Since the interviews were conducted in 2005, I

wanted to stay within that time range for the articles as well. In both newspapers, articles that I

selected were published between December 2004 and March 2006.

I had access to electronic texts of the CTFP through a publicly available online search

engine.[6] I used the following search words: *revitalization*, *downtown neighborhood*,

redevelopment, *gentrification*, *gentrified*, the names of the four downtown neighborhoods

participating in the revitalization initiative and one additional urban neighborhood.

Unfortunately, the search engine did not support the use of regular expressions or Boolean

operators, which meant that my search for phrases was not very successful. For instance, in

searching for texts with *downtown neighborhood*, I received hits that contained both words but

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[6] http://epaper.ardemgaz.com/default/client.asp?skin=arkansas

not necessarily as a phrase. Searching through the CTFP database within the above time period produced texts with a total word count of 222,208.

The Chattanoogan enables readers to search through its archives using a *Google* search engine. While there was no option for advanced search, the engine proved very sophisticated as the results displayed the publication date as well as excerpts from the articles, which made the selection process fairly easy. Using the same search words as for the CTFP, I was able to generate a total of 23,963 words and thus reach my target size of 250,000 in the newspaper category. For both online sources, I followed the same retrieval and saving procedure of copying and pasting. The software program Word Smith Tools 4.0 that I used for the corpus analysis requires documents to be in plain text format in order to read them. After pasting each text onto a Microsoft Word document page, I saved them as plain text files and gave them a file name. File names typically consisted of the source, the publication date and the word count; e.g. *CTFP 05-26-05-(657)*. In addition, I saved files into folders based on the search words that generated them, so that for example all texts that I found under *revitalization* were placed in the same folder on my computer.

Table 4 gives an overview of word distribution according to the search terms I used. With regard to text types, the majority of texts were articles, although I also included editorials as well as letters to the editor if they contained the search word. The length of texts ranged from 100 to 1,800 words, with an average text length of 567 words. Texts were not included in the corpus if the search word appeared as part of an institution or organization, as for instance in *Eden Green Community Health Center*, unless the article related to urban revitalization. Some of the neighborhood names also appeared either as part of a proper name (e.g *Robert Fernwood*) or as a sports team and these articles were not selected. Finally, articles that covered revitalization issues

outside of Chattanooga were also not included. Typically, a short skimming of each article was sufficient to determine its topical focus and to decide whether it should become part of the corpus.

Table 4. CORPUS A: Word count distribution in newspapers according to search word

Search word	NUMBER OF WORDS/TEXTS
Revitalization	61,498/91
Redevelopment	6,250/15
downtown neighborhood	71,688/110
Morningside	24,084/52
Eden Green	25,160/53
Fernwood	19,374/43
Fiddlers Bend	10,726/21
Alton Park (neighborhood)	36,812/65
gentrification/gentrified	119/1
TOTAL	**255,711/451=566.9 words (average text length)**

Publications by local organizations

This category is comprised of four texts: the 2003 and 2004 progress reports published by Neighborhood Change Initiative, an information brochure entitled *Chattanooga's Resurgence* that summarizes major achievements in the city's downtown revitalization between 1986 and 2003, and the 2006 State of Chattanooga report that was compiled by the Community Research Council of Chattanooga. The NCI reports (8,757 words total) include pictures and descriptions and focus on the four neighborhoods. While I was able to convert the 2003 PDF file into a readable plain text format, I only had a hard copy of the 2004 report, which meant I had to type in the brochure by hand. The *Chattanooga's Resurgence* booklet (5,843 words), containing color pictures as well as text, also had to be keyed in manually. The *State of Chattanooga Report* with a word count of 39,697 accounts for the bulk of this corpus category. Its inclusion into the corpus

represents a compromise in that finding relevant local organizational publications seemed to be a very difficult task. While we collected some during our field trips (including the three other texts in this category), many of the documents we were given were numerically oriented (e.g. charts with various forms of descriptive statistics) and not text-based. I was also unable to find any usable publications on the websites of local organizations. The *State of Chattanooga Report* covers a range of topics[7] and also includes areas outside of downtown. However, most of these topics were discussed or touched upon during the interviews as being of concern to our interviewees and relevant to revitalization and so I felt justified in including the report in CORPUS A.

Interview transcripts

This section of the corpus comprised of 25 interview transcripts that ranged in length between 2,220 and 17,107 words, with an average text-length of 6,919 words. Since all transcripts were already in a Microsoft Word format, I simply had to re-save them as plain text files and add the word count to each document. Interviews that I excluded from the interdiscursive analysis became a part of the corpus.

Miscellaneous

The miscellaneous category combines nine texts from three different text types: 1) two academic articles on revitalization in Chattanooga (22,700 words); 2) two neighborhood newsletters and a promotional flyer from the Fernwood neighborhood (3,308 words); and 3) four articles featuring

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[7] The chapters of the report are: 1) Demographic Overview; 2) Crime and Public Safety; 3) Health (excluded from the corpus); 4) Jobs and the Economy; 5) Education and Learning; 6) Community Development; 7) Urban Governance.

Chattanooga's resurgence in a national newspaper or magazine (6,151 words). While I could have increased the word count of this category to match the original target of 50,000 by adding more samples of academic literature, I did not want that genre to be overrepresented. Doing so would have also increased the total size of the corpus, which I wanted to keep around 500,000 and thus comparable to the size of CORPUS B.

While I was able to convert the research articles and the news features from their original PDF format into plain text without much difficulty, the newsletters and the flyer had to be keyed in manually. I had tried to scan them as PDF documents and then convert them, but the scanning caused some loss in data quality, which made it impossible to save the file into a format that could be manipulated. The neighborhood newsletters and flyer were collected during our fieldtrip; I came upon the national news features through the Chattanooga Area Chamber of Commerce's website[8] that provides links to retrievable PDF copies of the articles.

CORPUS B: National corpus on urban revitalization

Unlike in the case of Corpus A, I was able to keep to the original design of the national corpus on revitalization, mainly because all texts had to be generated from scratch. Table 5 compares the word distribution among the different categories in the original and the actual corpus. As with the Chattanooga corpus, the most difficult texts to find were organizational publications and texts to place into the miscellaneous rubric.

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[8] www.chattanooga-chamber.com

Table 5. CORPUS B: Target size and actual size

	TARGET SIZE (words)	ACTUAL SIZE (words)
National and regional newspapers	250,000 (50%)	252,386 (50.2%)
Publications by national organizations	100,000 (20%)	100,947 (20%)
NPR transcripts	100,000 (20%)	100,775 (20%)
Miscellaneous	50,000 (10%)	50,129 (9.9%)
TOTAL	**500,000 (100%)**	**502,590 (100%)**

Newspaper articles

In order to acquire the texts for this category, I used two different databases that were both available through the University of Georgia Library. I searched for articles in regional news sources in the *EBSCOHOST Newspaper Database* that allowed full-text access to past issues of 260 regional newspapers. This search engine also made it possible to specify the time range, newspaper title as well as the publication type (*newspaper*, *newswire*, *transcript*, *magazine*). In addition, it offered an advance function that enabled me to search for specific phrases. To include newspapers with a national circulation, I obtained additional texts through the Guided News Search option within the *NexisLexis Academic Search* engine. Here I was able to select a news category (e.g. general news, U.S. news, world news, business news), a geographic area of coverage (by state or region), and specify the time range or the title of the particular publication I wanted to search. Advanced options for combining search words were also available. While I kept the time range of December 2004-March 2006 for all newspaper articles, I had to modify the list of search words from those I used for CORPUS A, since neighborhood names were no longer relevant.

For articles from regional newspapers, I used *revitalize/revitalization*, *urban renewal* and *downtown neighborhood*. These three search terms seemed sufficient to generate a huge volume

of articles, of which 230 were selected for inclusion in the corpus. The texts amounted to a total of 153,000 words and represented news sources from 32 different states. Since the regional search words did not prove productive in NexisLexis, and since NexisLexis let me combine up to three different search terms, I used *revitalization + urban + downtown* and *urban + renewal + neighborhood* to find texts in national newspapers. As I was already up to over 150,000 words of regional news texts, I decided to search only through a select group of national news sources: *The New York Times*, *USA Today* and *The Washington Post*. From the search results, 82 texts were chosen that together totaled 99,386 words, with an average text length of 808.9 words. Table 6 shows the distribution of word count according to search words.

Table 6. CORPUS B: Word count distribution in newspapers according to search word

SEARCH WORD	NUMBER OF WORDS/TEXTS
revitalize/revitalization	48,260/83
urban renewal	56,000/82
downtown neighborhood	48,740/65
revitalization + urban + downtown	58,155/54
urban + renewal + neighborhood	41,231/28
TOTAL	**252,386/312=808.9 words (average text length)**

As in CORPUS A, texts were excluded where the search terms were part of a proper name and/or the text did not deal with the topic of urban revitalization.

National Public Radio transcripts

My original plan was to acquire transcripts of radio and television broadcasts on the topic of revitalization to parallel the interviews that make up the spoken section of CORPUS A. However, conducting systematic searches for television news transcripts proved impossible, as most

television stations simply did not offer searchable online archives of news transcripts, though

some allowed users to search for particular shows or programs. The website of the National

Public Radio is an exception to this, and I decided to collect all the texts for this category from

NPR reports. Access to the transcripts is not free; I had to pay an annual subscription fee that

allowed me to download up to 60 transcripts per calendar year.

The online search engine did not support the use of combined search words, which meant

that searching for phrases produced texts in which both words occurred but not necessarily as a

phrase. I also had to manipulate and use a great number of search terms to get relevant results.

Each hit came with a short excerpt from the beginning of the report, which was typically

sufficient to determine its general topic without having to purchase the transcript. I used the

following search words to generate texts: *urban development*, *urban redevelopment*, *downtown

redevelopment*, *urban revitalize/d*, *gentrification*, *revitalization*, *downtown living*, and *urban

renewal*. Surprisingly, *urban revitalization* did not produce any relevant results, although it

called up a number of transcripts that dealt with rebuilding the Golf Coast after Hurricane

Katrina. My goal was to stay close to the time frame of the research interviews and newspaper

articles, so I conducted my search according to year, starting with the first three months of 2006

and going backward, keeping a running tab of the total word count that was provided by the

search engine. The final selection of texts spanned March 2006 to February 2003 and included

transcripts from all major categories of NPR's news reporting programs, including analyses and

interviews. Table 7 lists all search words as well as the number of texts each generated. The

average text length of NPR transcripts is much shorter than that of the research interviews

(6,919), which is due to genre differences, although NPR texts also ranged from 495 words to

10,207 words in length.

Table 7. Word count distribution in NPR reports according to search word

SEARCH WORD	NUMBER OF WORDS/TEXTS
urban development	54,532/23
urban renewal	13,811/9
gentrification	11,500/6
revitalization	11,121/9
urban revitalize/d	4,102/3
urban redevelopment	4,079/4
downtown redevelopment	875/1
downtown living	755/1
TOTAL	**100,775/56=1799.5 words (average text length)**

Publications by national organizations

What is common to all texts in this category is that they were produced or published by national organizations that have participated in discussions about urban revitalization through offering various forms of support to local governments or civic groups, such as grant opportunities or program initiatives. Using my background knowledge to identify these institutions and organizations, I searched through their websites to find relevant publications or downloadable reports. The five organizations included two government agencies (*U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development* (HUD) and the *Community Capacity Development Office* (CCDO) of the U.S. Department of Justice), the *National League of Cities* (NLC), *The Brookings Institution* and the *Fannie Mae Foundation*. Table 8 gives information about these organizations and the publications selected from each.

The HUD documents represent descriptions of programs and initiatives (e.g. Economic Development Program; Fair Housing Program, Community Development Block Grant Program) that provide assistance (financial and technical) to groups and organizations that are involved in community planning and development. The *Weed and Seed Program* of the CCDO aims to fight

violent crime in affected neighborhoods by bringing together law enforcement, public and private sector representatives and residents in "weeding out" criminal activities and "seeding" social services and economic revitalization. Implemented in over 300 neighborhoods across the country, *Weed & Seed* was also adopted in several downtown neighborhoods in Chattanooga. *Community Policing* can be regarded as one component of a comprehensive effort to reduce urban crime rates by incorporating proactive and preventive measures into traditional crime-fighting and emphasizing partnerships between local police and residents. The brochure gives a brief summary of community policing and is aimed at promoting interest in the program among local officials. The three NLC reports are addressed to local municipal agencies and officials and discuss a topical issue that the organization deems relevant and important for the future of cities.

The three topics featured in the selected texts are: land use (2001), inequality (2003) and inclusive communities (2005). The Brookings Institution report assesses economic opportunities in Detroit's revitalized downtown area, touching on employment, housing and services. Finally, the two Fannie Mae newsletters provide short practice-oriented articles on two topics: inclusionary housing and a new type of community planning process called *charrette*. While this particular selection covers a wide range of document types, it is the result of a long process of searching and deciding what may be considered relevant texts. It is by no means representative or random (in the statistical sense), as that was also not my original goal. As with other texts, I tried to remain within the same time span, although I had to include publications produced before 2005. Also, there was no particular date attached to the HUD program descriptions; presumably they have been in operation for several years.

Table 8. Sources of national organizational publications

ORGANIZATION/ AGENCY	MISSION	PUBLICATION(S)	WORD COUNT
HUD	"To increase homeownership, support community development and increase access to affordable housing free from discrimination." www.hud.gov	16 HUD Community Planning and Development Program descriptions	19,295
CCDO	"To promote comprehensive strategies to reduce crime and revitalize communities. CCDO helps communities help themselves, enabling them to reduce violent and drug crime, strengthen community capacity to increase the quality of life, and to promote long-term community health and resilience." www.ijp.usdoj.gov/ccdo	2005 Weed and Seed Program Implementation Manual; Brochure on Community Policing	37,210 1,602
National League of Cities	An advocate and resource organization for municipal governments that aims to "strengthen and support cities as centers of opportunity, leadership and governance." www.nlc.org	3 NLC Futures Reports: 2001 2003 2005	14,660 8,770 3,600
The Brookings Institution	An independent research institute dedicated to the analysis of public policy issues www.brook.edu	A 2006 report on market opportunities in downtown Detroit	6,562
Fannie Mae Foundation	Provides funding for programs and grants that increase the supply of affordable homes nationwide www.fanniemaefoundation.org	Summer 2003 issue (Vol. 4, No. 1) of *BuildingBlocks*, a newsletter aimed at housing and community development practitioners; 2006 issue (Vol. 8 No. 1) of *Housing Facts & Findings*, a newsletter on housing and community development issues	5,165 4,083
TOTAL			**100,947**

Most of these publications were available on the organizations' websites in PDF format and some I had to cut and paste into a Word document. After converting a PDF document, it was necessary to check the plain text version against the original, as the conversion often misplaced paragraphs or consistently did not recognize certain character strings, which I had to manually correct. The key guiding principle in choosing texts was that they had to relate to urban revitalization and community/neighborhood development.

Miscellaneous

This category is comprised of two documents: 1) part of a book on community-based development (Rubin, Herbert J. 2000. *Renewing Hope Within Neighborhoods of Despair: The Community-based Development Model*. Albany: State University of New York Press) and 2) an academic article on capacity building (Chaskin, Robert J. 2001. Building community capacity: A definitional framework and case studies from a comprehensive community building initiative. *Urban Affairs Review* 36(3): 291-323). Similar to CORPUS A, I had difficulty finding a variety of texts to place in this group and thus fell back on academic sources. I used the online collection *NetLibrary*, available through the UGA Library website, that provides full-text access to a large number of eBooks, eJournals and eAudiobooks. Searching for books on neighborhood development and urban revitalization and scanning their tables of content, I chose Rubin's book because it discusses neighborhood revitalization efforts that have utilized a community-based approach. Although an academic book, it is a mix of data excerpts, description and theoretical comments. In order to save the book's content, I had to manually cut and paste the pages from the online reader into a word-processing program. Chaskin's article is from an academic journal and has a more theoretical focus, although like much of the planning literature, it is deeply

grounded in actual community and organizational practices. As I only needed about 50,000

words for this component of CORPUS B, after including the full article (12,400 words), I only

needed part of the book. Instead of selecting particular sections, I simply took the first 4.5

chapters (37,699 words) in order to reach the target corpus size.

A note on copyright. Many of the documents that make up the two corpora consist of

copyrighted material. In accordance with the fair use doctrine of the US Copyright Act (sections

107 through 118) that permits the use or reproduction of copyrighted materials for criticism,

comment, teaching, scholarship and research, I consider my use of these documents as falling

into the limits set by this doctrine.

<u>Analytic tools and procedures</u>

As mentioned before, I used a commercially available computer software program, Word Smith

Tools Version 4.0 (WST). Once a corpus of texts has been loaded into the program, it enables the

researcher to carry out three main types of analysis. *Wordlist* generates a list of all the different

words that occur in the corpus (word types) and computes the number of times each word occurs

(word tokens). *Concordance* produces all occurrences of a target word (node) in the corpus and

lists them in a column, with the node highlighted and surrounded with some co-text on each side

of the word. The program also calculates some descriptive statistical data such as the most

frequent collocates of the target word or if the corpus is sufficiently large WST can generate

frequent lexical patterns. There is a link from each concordance line to the full text in which the

word occurs. The *Keyword* function enables the analyst to compare two corpora based on the

wordlist created for each. Specifically, it tells the researcher which words in a corpus occur

significantly more or significantly less frequently than in some reference corpus.

Using Word Smith Tools or any other software in corpus linguistics is only the first analytic step; results generated by the concordance program have to be interpreted by a human analyst. Stubbs (2002), building on work done by Sinclair (1996, 1998), aims to develop a framework for systematically studying extended lexical units (units of meaning that extend beyond a word) using corpus tools. He proposes four different types of relationship that obtain among constituents of a lexical unit. *Collocations* are made up of *collocates*; two or more words that habitually co-occur (e.g. *seek advice*). *Colligation* refers to a relationship that obtains between a word and some grammatical category. For instance, the word *cases* often occurs with a quantifier in phrases such as *in some cases*. *Semantic preference* describes a relationship between a word form and some set of words with which it co-occurs and which form a semantic set. The verb *commit*, for example, frequently appears in combination with other words that denote some form of socially disapproved behavior (*crime*, *suicide*). Finally, *discourse prosody* refers to a feature of meaning that extends over multiple units in a linear string. For instance, there is extensive corpus evidence showing that the word *cause* appears overwhelmingly in the vicinity of words denoting some negative events (*problem*, *damage*, *death*). According to Stubbs, discourse prosody expresses speaker attitude and discourse function and as such belongs to the realm of pragmatics.

In describing the lexical patterns in Corpus A and B, I draw on the above analytic distinctions. They are not only useful for the linguistic study of lexis but provide a useable model to explore the sociocultural significance of syntax and semantics. As Stubbs (2002) observes, "Native speakers conform not only to rules of grammar, but also to norms of idiomaticity, and perhaps even to norms of what they might be expected to say" (p. 147). Looking at recurrent collocations and colligations as well as the evaluative connotations that extended lexical units

assume through discourse prosodies can bring us closer to understanding the cultural repertoires of language we all draw on and how they come about.

CHAPTER 5

INTERDISCURSIVE CONNECTIONS

<u>Introduction</u>

In this chapter I explore the interdiscursive links connecting interviews to one another as well as

to other speech events. In discussing type-interdiscursivity, I suggest that these interviews be

conceived as instantiations of a metasemiotic stereotype that typifies things and people as

desirable or undesirable elements in urban revitalization. Through excerpts I illustrate the

different discursive resources speakers deploy in order to construct metasemiotic descriptions of

desirability and undesirability. Further, I argue that these stereotypes spread through speech

chain networks that generate and sustain social relations among those engaged in revitalization

efforts. An examination of token-interdiscursivity sheds light on how interviewees index speech

events in order to achieve certain interactional effects while at the same time unfolding a partial

virtual map of the speech chain networks in which they are participants. I argue that

interdiscursivity constitutes not only a handy conceptual framework but also a valid and

powerful analytical tool to uncover the intricate connections between speech events, speakers

and their webs of social relations.

Type-Interdiscursivity

In examining the interviews in terms of type-interdiscursivity, the question arises: in what sense are they similar? Silverstein's (2005) notion of type-interdiscursivity has been primarily associated in empirical research with the study of speech genres that connect semiotic events through some form of structural likeness that participants recognize (or don't). In this sense, we may argue that the research interview as a particular speech genre may be invoked here and serve as a point of connection. Certainly, there are similarities among the interviews in terms of their interactional architecture; i.e. the predominance of question-answer sequences or a participant framework regulating discourse roles (who is asking vs. answering questions), turn lengths and amounts of floor time. Examining type-interdiscursivity in terms of such formal, extractable properties of the interview genre provides one way of exploring similarity across this set of speech events. While acknowledging the relevance of these properties, I concentrate in the analysis on the functional similarities in the metasemiotic activity speaker engage in across these speech events.

I argue that we can conceptualize these interviews as occasions for the formulation and generation of meta-level descriptions of various kinds. In an interview, participants or interviewees are asked to describe some aspect of their phenomenological world. In doing so, they engage in a reflexive activity in the sense that they use communicative signs "to typify other perceivable signs" (Agha 2007: 16). Such reflexivity is by no means unique to the interview genre but pervades communicative action in general. Yet interviews are speech events where the reflexive dimension becomes explicit by being the focus of discursive activity. Importantly, such reflexivity is also an interactional achievement in that its shape and content is subject to negotiation through the unfolding talk. However, some of the formal properties of the genre

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occasionally work against such negotiation. For instance, the extended turn length granted to interviewees promotes stretches of uninterrupted talk, prompting speakers at times to articulate their views without the active (verbal) contribution of co-present interactants.

The analysis below centers on metasemiotic descriptions as grounds for likeness among our interviews with residents and others about neighborhood revitalization. I use the term *metasemiotic* as opposed to *metadiscursive* to highlight that descriptions encompass typifications of a wide range of semiotic activity of which forms of talk is but one, and in this case marginal. As I illustrate below, the descriptions primarily involve typifications of personhood and conduct in terms of what are considered desirable and undesirable elements in urban revitalization.

Metasemiotic Descriptions of Desirability

Central to participants' talk about the process and experience of revitalizing downtown neighborhoods was to anchor it firmly within their phenomenological world. A key device of doing that entailed the evaluative characterization of individuals, groups and themselves in relation to their role within urban revitalization. These metasemiotic descriptions or typifications involved linking seemingly disparate semiotic complexes (e.g. various social group designators or certain types of conduct) to notions of character and social worth and resulted in the emergent division between desirable and undesirable things and people. Speakers differed with respect to the discursive resources they deployed to create this link through metasemiotic descriptions. They involved 1) nomic statements; 2) semantically explicit co-occurrence patterns; and 3) indexical linkage.

Typifications through nomic statements

As a first example of a metasemiotic description, let us consider an excerpt from our interview

with Lloyd, who is NCI's program manager. Toward the beginning of the interview, he provides

an overview of the community building initiative and explains the role NCI plays in the process:

(1)

> *Lloyd*: […] Then on the capacity building side […] we will do several things. One, at its
> foundation we see block leaders add the most significant foundation for neighborhood
> management. When you think of it when things get out of hand it starts at the block.
> Somebody (.) a group of residents decide to either tolerate the issue or don't know how
> to deal with the problem and so that problem festers and spreads to other blocks. So we
> see block leaders take leadership over their blocks. Not in the Barney Fife cop sense (.)
> but really first and foremost, relationship building. Building strong relationships among
> residents and then secondly (.) when you do have an issue (.) how do you deal with it in
> a way that respects other residents but deals with the problem? […] Layered on top of
> that [block leader training] obviously you have your neighborhood organization cause
> obviously you need to have some kind of a framework for dealing with issues that get
> beyond the capacity of a block leader to solve. You know if you look at the history of
> neighborhoods (.) typically they become neighborhood watch associations because
> there's a particular issue that people realize is a common threat that we need to organize
> together as a community to solve. Well that's essentially what neighborhood
> associations do is they bring people together to develop relationships and they solve
> threats. You know when you have them. So we work with neighborhood associations to
> improve their strategic thinking capabilities. Also we help them in terms of reaching out
> (.) increasing their influence. Cause probably the two biggest threats that neighborhood
> associations face (.) one is just pure obsolescence because they become internally
> focused (.) it's the same leadership structure (.) and they engage in activities that really
> don't help solve issues. It's more because of tradition- well we've always done it this
> way which is good. There are certain events that enhance and add value but are they
> helping change the conditions in the community for the better? So we kind of help them
> in terms of strategic thinking about activities, you know think about results. If you're
> investing this amount of time and energy what kind of result are you trying to get out of
> it?

What Lloyd describes during this interview amounts to a model of conduct for downtown

residents that involves descriptions about behavioral traits. Residents are characterized in terms

of activity type (i.e. what they do or should do) rather than static descriptors (e.g. they are single,

middle-class, English-speaking, enthusiastic) though the activities can easily be decomposed into presupposed sign-attributes (e.g. you probably need to be able to speak English if you want to be a board member in a neighborhood association). This metasemiotic description represents a fairly instrumental view that places forms of involvement (as models of conduct), quite explicitly, in the service of neighborhood management: By building strong relationships and organizing together, residents are supposed to develop skills to identify and solve issues that their neighborhood faces. Co-existing with the economic impetus for *outcomes*, *results* and *strategic thinking*, we also find in Lloyd's description a blend of humanistic ideals; humanistic not only with regard to the imperative to *respect others* but also regarding the unstated universal morality that supposedly guides residents in determining what is a problem and what constitutes positive vs. negative solutions to it.

The lack of deictic specificity in Lloyd's description lends his utterances generality and factuality, representing his propositions as nomic or timeless truths (Agha 2007). At the verbal level, most utterances employ the simple present tense. In some cases, this simply expresses habituality, as in, *So we work with neighborhood associations to improve their strategic capabilities*, but in others frames the proposition as a fact (e.g. *that problem **festers** and **spreads to** other blocks*). Nominal reference is mainly indefinite, as the majority of noun phrases refers to collectives or involves plural forms, such as *block leaders*, *neighborhoods*, *neighborhood associations*, *community*, *threats* or *people*. Several linguistic features mitigate the nomic status of Lloyd's statements. He introduces some of his utterances with *we see*, thus marking those as originating from this collective 'we' that presumably stands for NCI. There are a number of sentence adverbs in this excerpt, some of which seem to strengthen the factual quality of the proposition (e.g. *obviously*) while others soften that same force (e.g. *typically*, *probably*). The

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resulting typification links residents (including block leaders as a special type of resident) to forms of conduct (e.g. dealing with issues, develop friendships, solving threats, promoting the neighborhood) based upon a logic of factuality: this is how problems come about (e.g. *obsolescence* within the neighborhood association) and these forms of conduct are the 'natural' and thus desirable response to them (e.g. strategic thinking).

Such generalized or even essentializing typifications were not characteristic during the interviews; in fact Lloyd himself spends a lot of time providing specific examples and stories from the NCI neighborhoods. Speakers nevertheless often described development and change in Chattanooga in ways that produced a similar discourse effect, as when Simon contemplates what is likely to happen in the city:

(2)

> *Simon*: So we're gonna have a lot of uh (.) land speculation that will continue (.) people are gonna drive the price up by buying and buying thinking the profit's gonna come later and it may- will come. That's gonna happen. And building is is gonna start booming.

Such assertive statements about the prosperous future of downtown were not uncommon in the interviews. They are not timeless since we know he is talking about the future of downtown Chattanooga. However, the unmitigated *will* and *going to* future forms (notice the absence of modal verbs and Simon's self-correction of *may* to *will*) present Simon's propositions as factual and more importantly, as inevitable. These processes are *some natural things that are taking place*, as Simon observes, or even *organic* in Heather's words. Revitalization is an inescapable and common sense phenomenon and is therefore also highly desirable.

Typifications through lexico-grammatical co-occurrence patterns

Interviewees were often quite candid about the kinds of people and things that they saw as desirable constituents in a revitalized or revitalizing downtown neighborhood. In excerpt 3, Lloyd explains the benefits of "getting" certain types of people to move into a revitalizing neighborhood:

(3)

> *Lloyd*: That's **the good thing about** diversity **getting new folk in**- if you **bring additional skill sets** too and **bargaining power** (.) **influence**- you know people who are in in a managerial position or whatever you know could have influence on the delivery of services to a neighborhood (.) and to me it helps the bargaining power of the neighborhood to you know bargain for resources (.) but also- ((Kathy interrupts and shifts to a new topic))

People in managerial positions are desirable residents (*a good thing*) because they are assumed to know how to communicate with various service providers (e.g. the city) and get things done in the neighborhood. *New folk* is not simply anyone who moves in but stands for a particular social group who would also make the still largely low-income neighborhood a more diverse place in economic terms.

Our interviewees designated other desirable groups in similar ways, though the rationalization was rarely as explicit as Lloyd's in excerpt 3. We find several examples where various synonyms of 'get' marked certain populations as wanted:

(4)

> (a) *Karen*: We used that tool I think very effectively to **recruit early pioneers back** to the neighborhood.
> …
> (b) *Heather*: So when the time came for us to start **recruiting developers** we wanted to make sure that **people like me** who had come to Chattanooga with some degree of resources but not a whole lot of experience could participate in this.
> …

(c) *Karen*: How do you **incentivize them** [people who work at the downtown university] to think about that neighborhood differently?

…

(d) *Karen*: So you know we're trying to say look we **want teachers** living in the neighborhood.

This interview (transcript #1) featured Karen, *Heather* and Joseph describing how their organizations went about facilitating the revitalization of the Morningside neighborhood; an area that has become somewhat of a poster child in the city's redevelopment story. Although not the explicit focus of their talk, these interviewees also produced preferred categories of urban residents, as the quotes in excerpt 4 illustrate. While *early pioneers* is rather vague and remains so even when considering it in the larger discursive context, the homebuyer incentive as anaphoric referent of *the tool* narrows the range of possible referents to individuals who are willing to purchase a home in an urban neighborhood that is in the early phase of revitalization; in other words, people who take the risk of 'investing' in the neighborhood. Just like early pioneers, *developers* also represent a group that should be recruited and in this particular case *Heather* is talking about people who want to and have the resources to renovate old houses, just like *Heather* herself has done it. In both cases, the social group whose presence is desirable represents individuals with enough income to make a financial investment in the neighborhood. Finally, teachers and other university workers are not simply wanted but also wanted to the degree that they should be *incentivized*; offered certain financial incentives such as a non-refundable subsidy of $5,000-15,000 on their home purchase to motivate their move to the neighborhood, all as part of Morningside Developers' "Live where you work" campaign.

Excerpts 3 and 4 have several things in common. First, speakers mark certain social groups that they label through lexical designators such *early pioneers*, *teachers*, *developers*, as wanted. They all appear as direct objects of verbs of acquisition: *get*, *recruit*, *want*, *incentivize*, making it also obvious (though unstated) that these groups do not currently or traditionally exist in the neighborhood: they have to be 'lured back' (see Table 9). Further, the city emerges as the urban frontier (cf. Smith 1984), awaiting to be re-captured by this group of entrepreneurial individuals. Another commonality among the groups is that their desirability rests in their economic and resultant social capital: not only do they possess necessary financial resources to purchase a home, but they also are thought to have skills that they could put to use in the service of the neighborhood, though this latter argument was only explicit in Lloyd's description.

Table 9. Construction of desirability through lexico-grammatical co-occurrence patterns

"GET" EQUIVALENT	OBJECT OF "GET"	LOCATION
3) *getting*	*diversity* *new folk*	*in* [to the neighborhood]
3) *bring*	*additional skill sets* *bargaining power* *people who are in in managerial positions*	[to the neighborhood]
4a) *recruit*	*early pioneers*	*back to the neighborhood*
4b) *recruiting*	*developers* *people like me*	*to Chattanooga*
4c) *incentivize*	[people who work at the downtown university]	
4d) *want* [to get]	*teachers*	*living in the neighborhood*

A second type of semantically explicit co-occurrence pattern involved a predicate adjective or noun that characterized the subject as desirable or undesirable:

(5)

(a) *Heather*: […] and we were fortunate in that the first family that bought into the neighborhood **were the perfect kind of family** as far as creditworthiness and so forth.
 …
(b) *Evelyn*: This family here is a Caucasian family and they moved in before we started revitalizing the neighborhood and **they're cool people**.
 …
(c) *Selena*: So:: but anyway the couple on the corner moved in (1.0) probably like a year a year and half after us and they like immediately were involved with the kids and you know didn't mind kind of the (.) late night basketball and all that kind of stuff so they were uhm (.) we were really excited that they had come and **they've been a great**- he's been on the board the husband and uh they've been a great (2.5) great uhm (.) **they've been great members of the community**.

Unlike in excerpts 3 and 4 where interviewees delineated social groups, here speakers talk about concrete individuals. Nevertheless, they differ with regard to the reason or grounds for their positive evaluation. The family *Heather* mentions were perfect (and thus desirable) residents because of their financial status – their home purchase was unproblematic thanks to their excellent credit line. In Evelyn's case it is not exactly sure why the couple is cool, though we do find out that they are white (in a historically black neighborhood) and that they had also moved in from somewhere else and bought a home; i.e. made a financial investment. Selena, an Eden Green resident, praises a couple who are also new to the neighborhood based on their level of involvement in the community and that they are family-oriented. All three speakers typify what we may call ideal or desirable urban residents by linking diverse qualities (good credit, economic investment, community involvement) to semantically explicit positive evaluations.

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<u>Typifications through indexical reference</u>

The walking tours that we were given on one of the field visits showed similarity to the previous

examples by occasioning metasemiotic descriptions of conduct and people. The tours consisted

of my colleague and I walking around the neighborhoods and our three guides (Lloyd, Evelyn

and Frank, the latter two NCI affiliates and realtors) commenting on the properties and physical

aspects of each neighborhood and also touching on the whole process of developing the

particular area. These tours were structurally somewhat different from interviews in that what

our guides told us was as much prompted by the visual scenery as by our questions. Frequently,

the sight of a house prompted a comment on it and led to or perhaps served as a pretext to

remarks about their inhabitants:

(6)

> *Frank*: I guess a couple of years ago a young couple bought [the old store building] for
> $9000 (.) Marvin and Sarah Smith (.) and they converted it into 600 square foot living
> space and he wanted to kind of give back- pay homage to the neighborhood. He took
> the sign down and had it painted and put 'Eden Green' on it because he knew this was
> the Eden Green neighborhood. And you know it's a nice way to honor the community.
> And they've been a very active part of the neighborhood association.

(7)

> *Frank*: This green home here on 16th was purchased by a police officer (.) George
> Wilson (.) and he's been one of those guys who will come and talk about partnering
> with us and you know neighborhood revitalization. He was trained as a recruit in this
> neighborhood back when it was still a tough neighborhood and so he was not afraid and
> he was one of the first ones to build here and he got married in the park.

(8)

> *Frank*: But two single females live in those and they both work at insurance agencies.
> *Int*: Oh really?
> *Frank*: Yeah.
> *Lloyd*: One's Caucasian and one's African American.
> *Frank*: That's right.

Evelyn: And you can't tell that one's affordable and one's market rate (.) they look the same (.) but one's affordable and one's market rate.
Frank: And they're very much very active in the neighborhood association.

(9)

Frank: It's actually two empty lots owned by the former neighborhood association president and that's his great uncle and that's his- Miss Rachel's his grandmother. She's 103. She's in a nursing home right now but up until she was 98 she was actively involved in the neighborhood association.

These residents are alike with respect to their active engagement in the neighborhood: they are either involved in the neighborhood association (excerpts 6, 8 and 9) or have shown significant individual initiative such as restoring a symbolic landmark (excerpt 6) or fostering the neighborhood's partnership with the police (excerpt 7). We also find out that the former neighborhood association president has extended family residing in the area (excerpt 9), that the two females in excerpt 8 work at insurance agencies and that George Wilson is a police officer who "was not afraid" to move into the neighborhood.

Interestingly, in addition to residents who are actively involved in neighborhood affairs, our guides also frequently drew our attention to people they identified simply by their occupation, as the following excerpts illustrate:

(10)

Frank: The guy that lives in the red one is a print shop owner. The guy that lives in that one is a manager of Proffitt's in the mall (.) and the one in the middle is a US postman.

(11)

Evelyn: And his wife is Catherine Johnson and she owns a company called Research Check. What she does is do background checks on employment applications and some of her clients are like Blue Cross Blue Shield. So:: I mean they could have moved anywhere they wanted to but they chose Morningside. Just like the Jones (.) and Simon and everybody up there. The president of the African American Chamber is up there.

In excerpts 10 and 11, residents are mentioned solely in connection with what they do for a living; in other instances not included here there is even less information provided, as when Evelyn points out the number of pregnant women who live in the neighborhood.

Several issues are at work here. First, our guides' ability to name these individuals, their occupations and other personal information testifies to the level of engagement they themselves have had with the neighborhood, or at least with those in the neighborhood who are willing to participate in NCI-initiated activities. Second, and related to the first point, physical elements of the neighborhood such as a restored house or renovated old store building are never mentioned without reference to people, either to those who built it, lived in it or helped to restore it. Describing the physical environment, the main rationale behind the tour, for our guides entails simultaneously describing the socio-cultural world that envelops and populates it with 'real-life' individuals, suggesting that urban change is understood very much as lived experience in socio-cultural space and not merely a product of spatio-economic restructuring. Third, the act of pointing out certain individuals (and not others) indexes them as somehow noteworthy or special. Note that there is no explicit semantic appraisal or positive evaluation in these excerpts. Instead, there is a variety of personal and social attributes that are marked as special and desirable by being pointed out. The people they bring up – all real-life residents – are members of an intra-textual interdiscursive set of individuals worthy of mention and thus distinguished from potential others.

As in the previous cases, these metasemiotic typifications group together a number of different traits. On the one hand, some residents share an exemplary level of involvement in neighborhood matters. However, Kathy, Frank and Lloyd also point out residents based on their occupation, or more precisely, mention people with steady jobs (police officer, insurance clerks,

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business owner, postman, etc.), without commenting on their engagement in the community. The emerging metasemiotic model of desirable residents includes not only those who engage in activities that make the neighborhood a better place (as we saw in Selena's comment in excerpt 5) but is extended to people with steady (middle-class) employment. In other words, it is not only based upon what one does specifically for the neighborhood but encompasses seemingly unrelated qualities such as one's occupation (and implied socio-economic status), one's race (see excerpt 8) or expecting a child. Again, for those characterized by certain demographic descriptors, choosing to live in one of these downtown neighborhoods constitutes grounds enough to qualify as exemplary residents, presumably since they have made a significant financial investment or because individuals with a certain income level are considered more likely to become active in neighborhood affairs. Evelyn's remark in excerpt 11 makes this point obvious: *So, I mean they could have moved anywhere they wanted to but they chose Morningside.*

The emerging metasemiotic model that typifies persons as desirable residents provides a linkage across these interviews. In other words, almost all interviewees generate descriptions that seem to converge with regard to considering certain groups or individuals as remarkable in some respect. Such noteworthiness is typically attributed on the basis of membership in a social category (race, occupation, family status) or by having contributed to bettering the neighborhood through some form of direct and voluntary involvement. Speakers formulated their metasemiotic descriptions through various discursive resources, such as nomic statements, explicit semantic evaluations and indexical pointing. While portrayals of positive or desirable aspects of downtown revitalization (such as residents) in Chattanooga were much more predominant during

interviews, no doubt casting the story as a successful one, models of undesirability also emerged from participants' accounts.

Metasemiotic Descriptions of Undesirability

In the previous examples, metasemiotic descriptions were primarily articulated via third person reference, though it was not uncommon for non-resident speakers to implicate themselves in those descriptions through pronoun usage, for instance when Evelyn recalls a neighborhood's struggle with attracting buyers in saying, *We had to push hard (.) we had a lot of promotion activities to get people to consider, we did a lot of things with the police department*. Nevertheless, for the most part, institutional representatives constructed their typifications as other-oriented models, evidenced by the frequent third-person reference (*they*, *the residents*, *George Wilson*). In our interviews with residents, metasemiotic descriptions encompass the self as part of a desirable collective, while at the same time also construct particular others as unwanted or problematic.

In excerpts 12-14, residents report how they went about solving particular incidents or issues in the neighborhood:

(12)

> *Maria*: So they're going to be on 10th so we've asked the city about- we need a sidewalk all the way down 10th Street on one side where there's a railroad trestle and it doesn't go all the way down the side so you have to walk in the street (.) so that's a whole other issue- we haven't gotten that yet but that will help a lot when that church is built because that's a big piece of property right there and that's really going to-

(13)

> *Ellen*: Plus then we get blamed for everything that happens on the outskirts of it too. Every knifing or shooting or anything, for some reason the paper always said Fernwood

no matter where it was! It's taken awhile but we've got the paper straightened out-actually they quit saying Fernwood (.) they just give an address.

(14)

> *Wendy*: And knowing zoning laws! We studied the zoning laws so that when somebody would say something we'd say "No that isn't right cause if you look at this…." "Oh yeah you're right." "We know we're right."

In excerpt 12, a Morningside resident tells us about how they requested infrastructural improvements from the city in order to foster development in the neighborhood. Ellen describes in excerpt 13 how residents succeeded in improving the public image of Fernwood by getting the local newspaper to identify crime scenes by address instead of neighborhood. In other interviews, residents talked about their involvement and partnership with the police and the Health Department. Wendy tells us how she and others acquired expert knowledge about zoning laws in order to oversee or control the development of their neighborhood. The agentic *we* in their accounts locates speakers as part of a collective of residents whose actions have contributed to making their neighborhood a better place. Furthermore, the metasemiotic description is transformed from a third-person account to a first-person metasemiotic enactment. Speakers' first-person meta-accounts of their own voluntary contributions to the neighborhood emerge as desirable in contrast to things their involvement targets. That their metasemiotic enactments typify them and their behavior as ideal and desired is partly due to the research situation: Most residents were selected by Lloyd to be interviewed by us as residents who live in one of the NCI neighborhoods. The mere fact that these individuals were chosen singles them out as exemplary 'specimen' of the model, able to speak about what it means to live in an urban setting. (I elaborate on this point in Chapter 7.) But excerpts 12-14 also serve as metasemiotic enactments

of Lloyd's generalized description in excerpt 1 of the desired urban resident who builds relationships and thinks strategically.

By articulating these metasemiotic commentaries on their own personal involvement, these residents are also providing (implicitly) models of what constitutes a problem or issue that has to be dealt with. Importantly, excerpts 12-14 were not answers to questions about potential problems the neighborhood faces. In the excerpts above, residents not only typify communication with various service providers (the city or the local newspaper) as a legitimate mode of involvement but at the same time mark and group the grounds for involvement (lacking infrastructure, the neighborhood's bad public image, zoning errors) as problems.

While interviewees sometimes identified 'things' explicitly as a problem (e.g. drug houses), they almost never did so in the case of individuals or social groups. However, as they described forms of involvement and thus ratified their status as exemplary urban residents, they were also discursively demarcating, or typifying, things and people who were undesirable. In addition, the range of acts or activities of what counts as desirable and legitimate forms of involvement was also expanding.

During our interview, Mike, a new resident in Fernwood, mentioned that he regularly walked in the neighborhood. We asked him to simply describe one of his walks to us, what he saw and what kinds of sensations he got. Part of his response included the following:

(15)

Mike: […] I call it the way of getting exercise (.) it's just being aware of your surroundings cause if you are not aware of your surroundings you never know what will sneak up on you. It's like when I go to an event or something you want to know where the exits are in case something happens. […]

Going for walks, besides being a form of physical exercise, also enables Mike to patrol his

neighborhood for possible trouble. As a continuation of this excerpt he tells us about his

backdoor neighbor, "a little lady named Miss Annie" who had promised him to watch his house,

or as Mike reassuringly puts it, *Anything that goes on in my back, she's got it covered*. We are

given a further instance of what an urban resident can do for his neighborhood: be on the lookout

for trouble that may include crime or virtually anything else that may *sneak up on you*.

Maria, who recently moved into a new house in Morningside with her husband, offered

the following comment during the interview:

(16)

> *Maria*: I was telling somebody it was different living in a city neighborhood than living
> in a suburban, because you gotta always be aware of what the politicians are doing,
> what they're trying to do to your neighborhood, what they're trying to stick in your
> neighborhood. So you constantly have to be vigilant. I guess that's why everybody
> knows everybody and you talk about those things. You have to be aware so that if you
> need to act you can be ready to get together to act. […]

While being watchful had a quite literal meaning for Mike and compelled him to patrol his

neighborhood, Maria's vigilance extends beyond the immediate geographic terrain and suggests

civic awareness and participation. Politicians are the ones against whom residents have to unite,

not unlike the criminals that Lloyd and his back neighbor have allied to keep away. Unlike

suburban subdivisions, urban neighborhoods (except for individuals' properties) are public areas

subject to city jurisdiction. Being an urban citizen for Maria includes showing a sufficient level

of political engagement, at least in matters concerning their living space and private property. As

she goes on with her turn, it becomes more obvious what such vigilance may be good for:

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(17)

> *Maria*: […] And we do have this homeless issue here in the neighborhood but I'm not sure exactly how the issue is an issue it's just that there are these people always moving through the neighborhood which it's just the way it was when we got here. I don't know if it will always be that way or not. So that's something that evidently is becoming an issue somewhere and we just don't want the politicians to put anymore in our neighborhood cause it's already here. And we're not sure how it's going to be resolved. And we don't want them to add anymore to that and just recently they put some homeless alcoholics or something like that in one of the towers up there in the Morningside- the housing authority did- I think they put 15. But I think they said they've done something similar like that before and it worked out fine.

Maria's discussion of the homeless issue is somewhat ambiguous, particularly set against her matter-of-fact formulation of the importance of civic vigilance. In fact, she does not commit herself fully to saying it's a bad thing at all, *I'm not sure exactly how the issue is an issue*; *that's something that evidently is becoming an issue somewhere* and thus exhibits some orientation to the sensitivity and potential controversy of her point. Her rather vague evaluative stance is furthered by the fact that the referents of several deictic pronouns are unclear: *We just don't want the politicians to put anymore* (of what?) *in our neighborhood cause it's* (homeless people? the issue?) *already here*. Exactly who constitutes this group is further obfuscated when Maria conflates homelessness with another type of socially deviant behavior in talking about *homeless alcoholics or something like that*. By bringing up homeless people and the possibility of a new shelter being built in the neighborhood in conjunction with having to be vigilant and on the lookout, homeless people are clearly marked as a problem against which residents have to unite. Objectified and demarcated, they belong to the same metasemiotic model as the 'issues' pointed out by residents in excerpts 12-14. Just as the city can be asked to construct new sidewalks to improve the appeal of a neighborhood, politicians can also be asked to remove certain unwanted

elements such as the homeless. The important difference, of course, is that homeless people are flesh-and-blood long-term 'residents' of public urban spaces.

Maria and her husband were not the only residents to bring up homeless people as an issue. Nor are homeless the only group that is constructed as problematic. Some of the residents we talked to reported, not without a sense of pride, the various strategies or tactics they developed to eliminate what they consider to be *undesirable elements* from their neighborhood. James comments on the usefulness of housing codes for that purpose:

(18)

> *James*: […] and we've found that over the years, you can generally solve a lot more problems in establishing a better neighborhood and getting rid of an undesirable element by using code violations on housing than you do sometimes with the police cause it's very difficult for the police to build a case on. I mean even if it's a drug house, which we really don't have many of anymore, it's easier if you can catch them on violating housing code than it is for selling dope.

In order to eliminate criminal activity in the neighborhood, residents in Fernwood engage in enforcing more 'benign' forms of law violations. Instead of waiting on the police to build a criminal case against people in drug houses, residents prefer to take matters in their own hands by reporting and providing evidence for housing code violations that will result in a speedy eviction of the unwanted elements. Being able to do so presumes knowledge of the city code as well as patrolling to look for code violations, which residents regularly engage in: *I mean Ellen was out today, and Wendy, with a couple of the people in the neighborhood, running down what we think are violations*. Notice how *undesirable element* in excerpt 18 cataphorically references *drug houses* – a type of building, not a type of person, even though the house is only a drug house by virtue of the activities of its tenants who nevertheless remain an unspecified "they" that needs to be caught. Residents' involvement as desirable acts targets these undesired elements

that includes drug houses (and the people living in them), along with the homeless and broken sidewalks.

Trying to rid the neighborhood of undesired elements such as drug house dwellers entailed other strategies besides reporting code violations. Responding to our questions about the most memorable moments of neighborhood activism, two Fernwood residents launched into relating a series of anecdotes, of which (19) is an example:

(19)

> *Harriet*: Just just some of the things the police would do for <u>us</u> is like when they brought in the big police bus on our Christmas caroling (.) you know they went along with us and they actually got out on the street and wore Santa hats-
> *Wendy*: Helped us sing.
> *Harriet:* [Yeah they did.
> *Wendy:* [We always had a song about uh if you look up here 'You better watch out, you better not deal, you better not sell, you better not steal, the drug dogs are coming to town.' ((laughter)) So we would go around to the drug houses and we would sing those songs and then we'd go around to the really nice old people and sing regular Christmas songs.

Harriet and Wendy enthusiastically co-construct this narrative about Christmas caroling. There is a sharp contrast between reviving an old tradition presumably in the name of building or restoring a sense of community and using this same tradition as a tool of exclusion or even ridicule – with police support. The *nice old people* (desirable residents) deserve care and appreciation on this holiday of love, while drug house residents are made to feel unwelcome and undeserving of living in the neighborhood. In this series, Wendy and Harriet recount similar additional 'anecdotes' that they consider inventive ways of dealing with undesirable elements in Fernwood but also constitute forms of civic engagement, legitimated through the cooperation of law enforcement.

Mike's story in (20) serves as a final illustration of how some interviewees produced a metasemiotic enactment of the desired urban resident and in the process also constructed others as undesirable. This example is interesting as it extends the category of undesirable elements beyond what we have encountered so far:

(20)

> *Mike*: I had- it wasn't a confrontation with a neighbor but it was- he asked me if I called 311 which is a city service which is to take and come and you get your stuff up. So I just let him go on and on and on and on and talk. He's like "the man came and knocked on my door and telling me I gotta get this up so I got it up and put it on the street." So I'm just listening at him. OK, OK, OK. So when he got through I asked him I said "Are you mad that the man came and knocked on your door to tell you to put that on the street which you've already done obviously because here it is or are you asking me if I reported you? Here's my answer to your question: I don't have to report you. Whatever it takes to keep my property value up (.) that's what I'm going to do. So if it affects you (.) you just need to get on board." He's like "Oh OK I understand I understand."

Mike tells us about an incident where he reported one of his neighbors to City Services for improper maintenance of his property and was subsequently confronted by that neighbor for doing so. The people who were highlighted in the previous excerpts as somehow undesirable involved social groups who engaged in some form behavior considered deviant, either in a criminal sense (drug lords) or a in terms of social status (homeless). Here a regular neighbor, who turns out to be rather compliant (he does what he is told and also accepts Mike's explanation), is subjected to similar measures of reporting and policing for what we may call an 'aesthetic' crime. Further, Mike is quite blunt about his reasons: moving into a downtown neighborhood is a financial investment whose profit he does not want jeopardized by others. Bettering the neighborhood is not simply about creating a sense of community and living in an aesthetically pleasing environment; it is about securing his property value through continuous social and physical development of the neighborhood.

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Type-Interdiscursivity: Summary

The metasemiotic descriptions articulated and enacted during the interviews were similar in that they typified certain groups of people as ideal or desired, either through third-person reference or first-person enactment. The range of attributes that signifies someone or something as desirable encompassed membership in social groups (e.g. a person with a steady job; pregnant woman) but more often described forms of behavior considered to improve the neighborhood, either socially (getting rid of drug houses) or economically (investing by moving in), though the two were clearly intertwined in that new (mainly middle-class) residents are often thought to be more likely to participate in community building activities. In producing a metasemiotic model of desirability, residents were also inadvertently creating a metasemiotic model of undesired elements. They were mostly the target or object of forms of involvement deemed desirable, such as the homeless, drug dealers or other residents who do not fully get "on board" with neighborhood development goals and thus need to be dealt with. By constructing such metasemiotic models, residents were also creating a moral stratification of social agents based upon their contribution to neighborhood development. Good urban citizens who demonstrate voluntary civic initiative of a wide variety or belong to certain privileged social groups hold the right to place-making, to shaping their social and physical environment according to what they deem desirable.

Silverstein characterized the similarities that obtain among members of an interdiscursive type as iconic; we perceive them as being instances of a type. They are also thought to be achronic in that their structural (or other kinds of) resemblance is extractable and describable independently of actual instantiations. If we conceive of neoliberalism not only as a political-economic theory but as a set of interrelated metasemiotic models of conduct, there is an iconic

relationship between the neoliberal model of increased civic participation and residents' typifications of desirable and undesirable elements of an urban neighborhood. It is not difficult to recognize these interviews as instances or enactments of neoliberal models of citizenship dressed in the cultural slogans of individual choice, self-determination and above all, active engagement. In this sense, the models interviewees articulate are metasemiotic stereotypes with a restricted social domain of recognizabiliy, nevertheless: as social scientists, we are able to read and interpret them as typifications of the neoliberal urban citizen. To our interviewees, however, metasemiotic models are emblems of social personhood (Agha 2007); they link types of behavior (e.g. buying a market-rate home, patrolling the neighborhood) to characterological qualities, either through explicit lexical designators (e.g. undesirable; cool; unhealthy) or through indexical reference (singling out certain residents or social groups and thus indexing them as ideal). Urban revitalization is for them lived experience and not an ideology and participating in it is a matter of choice not of ability or means. Those who do not share their vision of the neighborhood or refuse to participate in shaping it deserve to be demoralized and pushed out. The social domain of those affected by the emblem of the desirable urban resident thus extends beyond our interviewees and includes all those living in downtown neighborhoods in Chattanooga.

Token-Interdiscursivity

Type interdiscursivity, as we have seen in the previous section, allows us to examine a set of distinct instances of discourse production with regard to extractable similarities that obtain among them and form the basis for their likeness. I have argued that through the use of various discursive resources, during interviews speakers were constructing similar metasemiotic descriptions of desirable and undesirable elements in urban neighborhoods. In the following, I

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examine interviews with regard to token-interdiscursivity; the links speakers establish to other interactions primarily through various forms of deixis. In doing so, my emphasis will be on how and to what purpose interviewees create such interdiscursive links. In addition, I argue that token-interdiscursivity or an examination of what kind of texts and events speakers index and to what end can shed light on differences in how resident and non-resident interviewees talk about and conceptualize neighborhood revitalization.

Represented Speech Deixis

This form of indexical referring is probably the easiest to notice since it generally involves a predictable pattern. In its direct form, a reporting verb in simple past or present form is followed by an utterance that is marked off from the current interaction by a shift in pronoun reference:

(21)

> *Evelyn*: I was talking to one woman over here- she knows everybody in the police department (.) she knows more people than I know. <u>She said</u> "**Honey if I see something wrong I just call 'em.**"

Here the current speaker, Evelyn, refers to a speech event involving her and a Morningside resident and represents the resident's utterance as a direct quote. The point of reference is perceivably transposed from the current interaction (the interview) to one where Evelyn and the resident are talking, making it unproblematic for listeners to establish that the *I* for a moment denotes this resident and not Evelyn. Occasionally, this transposition is also marked by sound cues such as a change in pitch, accent or speed of delivery. In the above example, *Honey* is set off from the preceding and following parts of the utterance through a higher pitch. These not only signal the shift in the zero point of reference but also provide metadiscursive commentaries on the represented person (i.e. mark her as angry, or as a speaker of a regional dialect).

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While all examples in this section involve direct represented speech, speakers' use of this referential resource differed with regard to another formal characteristic: deictic or indexical selectivity. The people and events to which speakers established interdiscursive links were represented through varying degrees of referential specificity or detail. As we have seen in excerpt 21, the speaker whose utterance is represented is identified as *one woman*. As this excerpt is from our tour of the Morningside neighborhood, we also know that *over here* means the Morningside neighborhood. Since in the immediately preceding stretch of talk (not included here) Evelyn is pointing out certain exemplary residents, the speaker of the reported utterance appears as a female Morningside resident.[9] In other cases, interviewees represented events and speakers with more or less specificity, quoting simply *residents* or a person identified by her proper name. In the following section I examine speakers' differential use of direct represented speech in organizational and resident interviews.

Represented speech deixis in organizational interviews

In our interviews with representatives of various organizations (see especially transcripts 1, 2 and 3), speakers often used direct reported speech to bring resident voices into the ongoing discourse. Depending on deictic selectivity, or how specific speakers' reference to the quoted speech event and the quoted person was, these indexical links fulfilled slightly different goals within the interactional framework of the interview.

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[9] Evelyn's rendition of the utterance with a high-pitched '*Honey*' may conjure up further images of the speaker. Since Evelyn is in her 50s, I picture the represented speaker to be of the same age or older than her, based on my sense of pragmatically appropriate ways for using *honey* as a form of address.

One set of excerpts showed similarity by following a general pattern of interactional positioning. While the instances differed in their deictic specificity, speakers often quoted residents before or after explaining a particular line of action or intervention they pursued. Consider excerpt 22:

(22)

> *Heather*: A lot of the folks in the neighborhood felt threatened because the first thing they thought was **"The white people are coming and it's going to be white people and they're going to be super rich and we're going to be left out."**
> *Karen***:** Left out on all sides.
> *Heather***:** Left out in every aspect.
> *Karen***:** Buying the house as well as producing the home, building the home.
> *Heather***:** Exactly. **And so our plan of course was sensitive to all of that**. So when the time came for us to start recruiting developers here's what we wanted to not be accused of and we were very sensitive to- we wanted to make sure that people like me who had come to Chattanooga with some degree of resources but not a whole lot of experience in this could participate in this. […]

Heather's quote is not introduced by a verb of uttering but by *they thought* and the speakers are identified in rather unspecific terms as *a lot of the folks in the neighborhood*. Combined, these two characteristics amount to making this quote a general sentiment rather than an index pointing to a concrete speech event, although it is quite likely built upon a series of speech events in which Heather may or may not have participated. The sentiment expresses (a lot of) people's concern that (middle-class) white residents would receive subsidies to purchase, develop and resell homes in a traditionally African American neighborhood, and thus make a profit, while the existing residents would not benefit to the same extent from small-scale redevelopment opportunities. The legitimacy of this sentiment is underscored as first Karen and then Heather repeat its gist: *Left out on all sides*, *Left out in every respect* and in the next line Karen even elaborates on what residents may become left out of. Heather's utterance, *And our plan of course was sensitive to all of that*, can be seen as a response within the current interaction to the

sentiment that was expressed through represented speech as having occurred in a previous encounter. Quoting residents here serves the purpose of legitimizing the particular course of action taken by Chattanooga Development Agency and Morningside Developers that Heather describes as she continues her turn.

This pattern was quite common in the interviews. In excerpt 22, interviewees channeled resident sentiments into the ongoing discussion through represented speech just before launching into an explanation of how they went about attracting small-scale private developers to invest into the Morningside neighborhood. In the following example, the pattern changes slightly as resident quotes appear after a statement has been made about an aspect of revitalization:

(23)

> *Evelyn*: I think that **it's important that you remove unhealthy elements from your neighborhood** to some extent and work with the existing residents to help them to build capacity so that they know what they want for themselves and in our case (.) <u>the residents decided </u>"**We don't want to tolerate certain behaviors.**"

Here Evelyn takes the somewhat strong position that removing unhealthy elements is vital to advancing the neighborhood, though her sentence is very ambiguous with regard to the epistemic source of this statement. She starts out with *I think* that marks it as her own opinion, but as the utterance (the proposition) gets more and more complicated through the continual addition of dependent and independent clauses, we also move away from that source and arrive at a different one: the residents. There is an intratextual progression here from Evelyn as the epistemic source to 'someone' (presumably NCI) who works with residents to find out what they want to residents deciding that *certain behaviors* (i.e. unhealthy elements) would not be tolerated in the neighborhood. Unlike in excerpt 18, the speaker here represents resident voices after a proposition has been made about a particular

form of intervention. An arguably controversial procedure of 'removing unhealthy elements' (who/what are unhealthy and how are they removed?) is thus justified as ultimately having come from the residents themselves. In order to further emphasize this, Evelyn provides a number of resident quotes as she continues that are illustrative of residents taking action against these unwanted elements who turn out to be people such as drug dealers.

The third example is different from the previous two in that the speaker indexes the represented speech event quite specifically. Heather refers to a focus group that she had conducted with a colleague in order to find out what people expected of an urban neighborhood:

(24)

> *Heather:* Yeah the thing that's real interesting is- well we look like geniuses now but really what we did was <u>we asked those people</u> "**What do you want?**" And Jack and I, Jack Stones, Stones & Associates, we did five focus group sessions and we had a little over 50 people and if we had had 10 of them we would have had a 100 people. We just ran out of time. But this is what they said, <u>the results of the focus groups said</u>, "**We want** a sense of place. **We want** to know when we get into our neighborhood (.) **we want** to be able to feel it (.) entering or exiting the neighborhood without it seeming like a fortress or feeling like an exclusive place (.) but **we want** to know where the neighborhood starts and stops and **we want** to be able to feel that." […] **So the focus group- they just told us what they wanted and we went about actively putting that together.**

Not only do we find out the name and company of the co-facilitator in the focus group but we have a more dialogic form with both the question and response represented as direct speech. In a separate interview with Heather we also asked her to specify in general terms who participated in the focus groups, though here all we have is *people*. All in all, the speech event indexed appears as an actual event or series of events that happened sometime in the past, as opposed to a sentiment that crystallized over a number of unspecified

communicative encounters. However, the pragmatic effect of the represented event and voice of residents remains the same: it presents organizational action as a direct response to what residents wanted or requested. Nevertheless, it is a verifiable event whose location, time and participants may be traced upon further inquiry.

Through the inclusion of resident voices, interviewees managed to make the current interaction dialogic, but more importantly constructed the process of revitalizing neighborhoods as firmly based upon an ongoing dialogue between residents and involved organizations. With the exception of excerpt 24, all examples of token-interdiscursivity that served the purpose of legitimizing organizational action as a response or accommodation to residents' preferences indexed people and events in a deictically non-selective way. Although the represented speech was formally marked as temporally prior to the ongoing interaction, the lack of referential specificity turned the quotes into general sentiments (analogous to nomic truths) expressing the views of many people (*the residents*, *the neighbors*) and not merely a select few. In excerpt 24, the same effect is achieved despite the deictic selectivity as Heather points out that altogether fifty people participated in the focus groups; thus the ensuing course of action was based on feedback from a sizable group of individuals and duly represented what people wanted.

Organizational representatives incorporated resident voices into their discourse on other occasions as well. Particularly during the walking tour and in our interview with Lloyd, speakers used represented speech deixis to index events that were in a way remarkable. Lloyd tells us about negotiations between a private developer and some Eden Green residents:

(25)

> *Lloyd*: And now he's [the developer] looking at- now it's kind of come at the other extreme (.) now he's wanting to go you know higher market rate but <u>some of the folks in the neighborhood said</u> "**Well let's make sure it's a mixed income development not just- we don't want another Turtle Creek** [upscale development adjacent to Eden Green] **in the middle of Eden Green**". And so they're kind of negotiating working that deal out.

Here residents are quoted as protesting against the developer's plans to build a high-end residential building and requesting that the new development be a mix of affordable and market-rate housing. This indexical reference appears as the second of two stories that Lloyd prefaces as "good examples of neighborhood empowerment". In terms of deictic selectivity, the event and speakers are represented as *the developer* (whose identity could be easily established) and *some of the folks in the neighborhood* of Eden Green, though notice how this claim is not represented as a sentiment (i.e. it's not a unified *the residents* who are posing these demands for mixed-income development). What Lloyd achieves by indexing these negotiations is to provide illustrative evidence for how residents are actively taking part in shaping the direction of redevelopment. Residents' voice also lends authenticity to Lloyd's claims about neighborhood empowerment while at the same time serve as proof that NCI's model is working, that residents come together to deal with an issue, in this case a proposed housing project.

   During the walking tour, our guides provided a number of resident quotes that had similar pragmatic effects. In discussing type-interdiscursivity, I noted how the walking tour offered an optimal framework for the speakers to integrate the physical and social aspects of neighborhood revitalization. In addition to indexically marking certain people and things as desirable and undesirable, speakers also frequently incorporated resident voices into their talk through represented speech deixis. In excerpt 26, Evelyn supplies the following quote from residents:

(26)

> *Evelyn*: Well the residents in this neighborhood passed a zoning to to protect a whole
> section- a huge section of R1 [residential 1] single family home ownership
> opportunities. In order for that to be renovated it would have to be a two family and <u>the
> residents said</u> "**No we don't want to do any spot-zoning (.) we're going to hold off
> until somebody comes along and wanna buy that and turn it into- develop it into a
> single family.**"

We hear from *the residents* who decided to speak up against possibly spot-zoning a large house

within a single family zone; i.e. allowing a developer to turn it into a two-family dwelling and

thus perhaps make it easier to sell. Evelyn as the main speaker during the Morningside part of the

tour spends a great deal of time indexing speech events representing residents as taking initiative

for improving their neighborhood. Here residents are indexed as a unified group who is not only

knowledgeable about zoning laws but exhibits a high degree of strategic thinking by

manipulating them to steer development into the desired direction.[10] Deictically non-selective

reference to a collective of residents by plural forms or the definite article was the most common

way of representing them. It is questionable that all residents, or even most of them, were

involved in these and other negotiations; rather, *residents* indexes those desirable elements who

stand united in the effort to make the best (whatever that may be) of revitalizing their

neighborhood, guided by NCI.

In sum, organizational representatives used represented speech deixis in order to

introduce resident voices into their discussion. As we have seen, with the exception of Heather's

indexical reference of the focus groups in excerpt 24, most of these representations involved

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[10] Though the focus here is on direct represented speech, note how Evelyn's first sentence, *the residents...passed a
zoning*, also assumes and indirectly indexes a series of speech events during which residents negotiated the zoning
deal.

deictically non-selective forms where residents appeared as a collective or occasionally a fraction of a collective. As I argued, such non-specific referencing served the purpose of constructing residents' voices as a general sentiment and representing residents as a unified group of actors determined to take action for the good of their neighborhood. In addition, through resident quotes, speakers were able to frame their description of neighborhood revitalization in Chattanooga as a thoroughly resident-driven process. Forms of organizational intervention have been a direct response to resident concerns and requests, and residents have been actively involved in shaping their neighborhood's fate through activism. Token-interdiscursivity, the indexing of specific other texts, was deployed during these interviews primarily as a discursive resource to achieve certain interactional effects.

Represented speech deixis in resident interviews

Residents also frequently indexed other texts or speech events, particularly those in which they themselves had participated. Unlike the previous group of interviewees, residents' represented speech was more episodic. On the one hand, indexed events and speakers were more firmly anchored in socio-temporal space through selective forms of deixis. On the other hand, speakers elaborated on indexed events and often reconstructed them as explicitly dialogic encounters. Residents frequently indexed events that involved some type of conflict and its resolution. These mini-narratives were partly related to us through the insertion of quoted dialogues. Excerpt 27 is part of a longer narrative about a situation Wendy and some of her friends had when they confronted drug dealers who lived in one of the houses in Fernwood:

(27)

> *Wendy*: They arrested him [Wendy's husband, Hugh] kinda. They never took him down and booked him. But they took him home because he had a gun and that's why- he had showed these druggers his gun and <u>they said</u> "**You better move**" and <u>Hugh said</u> "**I'm not moving.**" And (.) neighbors that we didn't know (.) cut their tree limbs sat out on their porch protected our house- watched our house all night to make sure there was no retaliation. I mean it was wonderful. The next day we had a card in our mail slot from the people living in the house that were nice people <u>saying</u> "**Thank you. Nobody has ever stood up to those people before. Thank you.**"

The reason for the confrontation was a rumor that people in a particular house were organizing dog fights. Wendy's husband, Hugh decided to check whether this was the case and the confrontation quickly turned into a *mini riot*, as Wendy described it, involving police and about 300 hundred people according to the story. Hugh was *kinda* arrested for carrying a weapon without a permit, which actually meant that the police drove him home but never took him to the police station.

We know that one of the protagonists of this story was Wendy's husband Hugh, while the 'bad people' are only indexed as *druggers*, although the house in question is partially identified earlier by the street name. The event that Wendy indexes through the represented speech is a very specific event, described in great detail in her narrative and one that could easily be traced or verified. The first instance of represented speech in excerpt 27 involves a dialogue between Hugh and the *druggers*. It points to perhaps the most dramatic moment of the entire affair when Hugh, with a gun in his hand, refuses to step back, his line *I'm not moving* uttered by Wendy in a defiant tone. It is the moment during the confrontation where things could easily escalate into overt violence and possibly also injuries. Wendy captures this instance, using direct quotes as a dramatic device to intensify her narrative, to convey (some of the) tension that undoubtedly surrounded the indexed situation into the interview frame. The second direct represented speech

in excerpt 27 concerns a thank-you card that Wendy and Hugh received from *the nice people*

who also happened to live in the problem house. As the previous quote, infusing the nice

people's voice (or writing) also animates Wendy's narrative. In addition, it justifies Hugh's

actions and validates the moral point of the narrative that sanctions semi-illegal activities (such

as carrying a gun) as legitimate ways of getting rid of undesired behavior in the neighborhood.

Most episodes of confrontation involved residents coming together to handle a particular issue or

group of "problematic" people in the neighborhood. On a few occasions, however, residents also

indexed events in which they had to deal with one of the organizations involved in the

revitalization initiative. Dorina, a Morningside resident and past president of the neighborhood

association, tells us about one such encounter:

(28)

> *Dorina*: So we've had some (.) you know Karen and uhm what's his name-
> *Int*: Joseph?
> *Dorina*: Yeah Joseph. We've had some differences of opinion because they wanted to
> come in and <u>say</u> **"Look we want to come in and rezone- we want to spot zone."** And
> <u>we just kept saying</u> "**No.**" And <u>we would say</u> "**Look. Give us your plan for our whole
> entire neighborhood and we'll do one spot- we'll do one complete zoning piece.
> Don't come to us piecemeal.**"

In excerpt 28 we have a represented dialogue between Karen, Joseph (from CDA and the Brown

Foundation) and a collective *we* that minimally includes Dorina. The subject of dispute is zoning

(not of the same area that Evelyn mentions in excerpt 26): the development agency (Joseph and

Karen) suggested that residents allow that individual properties be zoned according to particular

needs of the developers – a plan to which residents objected since it would mean losing control

over what types of buildings would be built in that area. The particular form of the

representing/reporting verb (*kept saying*; *we would say*) marks the represented speech as

indexing potentially recurring texts and events in which residents repeatedly expressed their preferences, suggesting that the conflict, which eventually got resolved in the residents' favor, involved a process of negotiation. During the interview, Dorina discusses a similar episode of disagreement between NCI and the neighborhood and again indexes the event through represented speech deixis. Giving organizations their own voice in this way enables the speaker to clearly demarcate her own position from the organizational stance and thus discursively reinforce the indexed event as an instance of conflict between 'us' and 'them' – not unlike the opposition between the druggers and Wendy's husband.

Finally, residents also indexed events that did not involve any conflict but could be viewed as vignettes from their lives as urban residents. Four of the residents indexed the instance of becoming interested or initiated into the neighborhood through direct speech deixis. Gloria, who had lived in Fernwood for years but was never active in the neighborhood, describes in excerpt 29 how she became engaged in neighborhood affairs:

(29)

> *Gloria*: And then all of a sudden this contractor he said uh (1.0) he said "**you know they got a good ne-**" and he don't even live in the neighborhood. ((laughs)) He said "**They got stuff goin' on with the neighborhood**" this and that but I know they sent me flyers but I was never home. So one day I said when I got the flyer after the contractor said that they got a neighborhood program goin' on and Neighborhood Change Initiative was involved I said "**Let me go around here and see what's goin' on**" ((chuckles)) you know I got curious then so I went around then and talked to Simon and I've been involved ever since that day. He told me everything that they were doin' what they stand for (.) and this and that. Got right into it ever since that day.

Gloria indexes multiple texts in this excerpt, although not all of them through direct represented speech deixis. Her initiation into becoming an engaged resident involved a process that started with a discussion she had with a contractor whose voice we hear through a direct quote. The second speech event involved a flyer informing residents about the NCI initiative and

encouraging them to get involved. Gloria's response to the flyer again appears as a direct self-quote, followed up by a discussion with Simon and perhaps others (*I went around then and talked to Simon*) that finally convinced her to take on an active role in Fernwood. At the time of the interview, Gloria was in her second year as president of the neighborhood association.

Indexing an event through represented speech deixis marks it as special and draws attention to the details of what was said and how. In this excerpt, not only does Gloria construct her initiation as notable but also as a dialogic event and the result of deliberation on her part. Two texts, the contractor's comments and the NCI flyer prompted a response from Gloria, a thought process that is verbalized in the excerpt, that led to further speech events and eventually to her decision to get involved. The other 'initiation' or 'moving in' vignettes shared this dialogic focus where key exchanges that prompted a decision were represented through direct speech deixis.

As the above excerpts illustrated, residents indexed other events during the interviews for various interactional effects such as highlighting opposition and dramatic tension or to recreate a dialogic series of events. All episodes indexed by residents during interviews included the speaker and some others and constituted narrated instances of 'neighboring': forms of interaction in which participants engage as neighbors or residents of a neighborhood (cf. Kusenbach 2006). They range from friendly conversations to strategic meetings to various forms of policing or episodes of neighborhood activism. It is interesting that most of the episodes that were marked as noteworthy through direct represented speech deixis involved getting rid of undesired elements or dealing with a conflict situation. Residents very rarely indexed events that featured more mundane or perhaps communal aspects of neighborhood life. This in turn may characterize these neighborhoods as emerging or developing communities where 'neighboring' centers around

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struggles in defining what the community should be about and who should or should not be a part of it.

Proper Name Deixis

Interviewees engaged in other forms of indexical pointing that are consequential for our understanding of interdiscursive connections in neighborhood revitalization. The one I want to discuss here might have become obvious by now from the preceding excerpts: interviewees constantly pointed to certain individuals through proper name reference. I have already outlined the significance of such indexical highlighting for singling out exemplary or ideal residents or resident-types. However, the fact that the names circulated during the interviews seem to comprise a recurrent set suggests that our interviewees and others they name are all members of the same speech chain network (Agha 2007: 67) that has built up around neighborhood revitalization in Chattanooga. In other words, they share a discursive history of engagement in revitalization that has linked them to others in speech events like those indexed during the interviews. Membership in this speech chain network has obvious advantages given the fact that it encompasses institutional representatives with certain resources. So on the one hand, being linked to this network enables members to find out about future development plans and have access to economic resources to help out with neighborhood projects. On the other hand, the network allows institutions such as NCI to channel and spread their metasemiotic models of urban revitalization to those who are willing to engage in it. Some individuals have been able to maximize their 'membership benefits': as we find out, several of the institutional representatives are also realtors, working mainly in downtown Chattanooga, and some of the residents have also been active as small-scale private developers, building or renovating residential homes in the

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affected neighborhoods. These people have managed to not only contribute to communal advancement but also to reap some private economic benefits in the process.

Interdiscursivity: Summary

Examining interviews with regard to interdiscursivity has shown how they are connected to one another as speech events during which participants produced converging metasemiotic descriptions about neighborhood revitalization. It also shed light on the links that connect these interviews to other speech events that have occurred within a discursive network spawn around revitalization in Chattanooga. Given the reflexive nature of communicative action and its role in creating and maintaining social relations, we can conceive of the interviews as further links or instances within this speech chain network. Lloyd, Evelyn and other institutional representatives were asked to tell and show two academics the story of neighborhood revitalization in Chattanooga. Overwhelmingly, this turned out to be a success story, discursively constructed through metasemiotic models of desirability. The interview became another occasion to sell this success story, with the possibility that it will be retold and spread in our subsequent writings. Residents were interviewed as individuals who have chosen an urban lifestyle and asked to characterize that experience. Their metasemiotic descriptions do not only typify the urban neighborhood as a place founded upon an ethics of self-help. Engagement in such metasemiotic activity also provided an occasion for these people to ratify their urban resident persona as an element of their autobiographical self (Agha 2007: 237). In other words, narrating episodes of neighboring does not simply fulfill the current interactional task of answering questions but also gives residents the opportunity to reanalyze them into a coherent whole (cf. Ochs & Capps 2001) within the present interaction.

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The metasemiotic descriptions of desirable and undesirable acts and persons that are circulated within speech network chains are significant in that they provide coherent models of personhood and conduct, to be inhabited, enacted and replicated by urban residents. In addition, these models also serve as the basis for judgments of character and resultant moral stratification of people who occupy or make claims to urban space. Further, as we have seen, there are slight variations in exactly what constitutes legitimate forms of action or social characteristics of desirable residents. While for some individuals engagement means obtaining resources or services that will enhance the social cohesion or physical appeal of their downtown neighborhood, others feel compelled to actively police other's behavior through means whose legitimacy or legality may be called into question.

This chapter centered on the close analysis of interviews as speech events. The interdiscursive analysis shed light on the interconnectedness of these social events, linked among others through convergent metasemiotic descriptions that served as tools for the social stratification of residents. In the next chapter, I present findings from a different type of analysis. With the aid of a special software program, I analyze a large collection of texts on urban revitalization with regard to frequent words and collocational patterns. Focusing in particular on the semantic profile of *residents,* I explore how this lexical unit assumes the discourse prosody of *engagement* by recurrently participating in certain lexico-grammatical constructions. I argue that such collocational patterns represent empirical traces of shared discursive repertoires that are deployed in speech events within the social domain of urban revitalization.

CHAPTER 6

CORPUS ANALYSIS OF SEMANTIC PATTERNS

Introduction

The word *discourse* enjoys widespread usage not only as a linguistic or social-scientific concept but also as an everyday term. Frequently, it appears as part of a phrase with a noun or adjective modifier: *economic discourse*, *medical discourse*, *political discourse*, or less often in possessive constructions such as *discourse of the virtual, discourse of knowledge transfer* or *discourses of migration and asylum*.[11] According to Stubbs (2002), when used in phrases such as these, discourse typically "means recurrent formulations which circulate in a discourse community" (166). Such usage is not uncommon in critical investigations of language use, as the three possessive constructions above, all taken from the titles of academic articles, attest. In fact, I have also been using a similar phrase throughout the dissertation: the discourse of urban revitalization. In Chapter 5, I shed some light onto some of the recurrent formulations that characterize revitalization discourse by drawing attention to how speakers during face-to-face interviews produced converging metasemiotic descriptions of desirable and undesirable acts and people. In this chapter, my goal is to further elaborate the characteristic patterns of this discourse by relying on a different set of methodological tools.

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[11] All attested examples.

The chapter is divided into two main sections that correspond to two main types of analysis. The first section describes the two corpora in terms of basic frequency patterns and focuses on what they can tell us about the topic of each corpus. The second part represents an in-depth analysis of the most frequent collocations of the word *residents*, first using the Chattanooga corpus and then the national corpus. The analysis in both cases centers on establishing a lexical profile for *residents* based on its most frequent immediate collocates and with particular emphasis on the discourse prosodies they help create.

Frequencies in the Two Corpora

Frequency counts represent one of the simplest types of computer-assisted analysis of a text or a corpus. They consist of a software-generated list of words found in the corpus presented in descending order of frequency that also features some additional descriptive statistical data. Nevertheless, frequency counts can offer some useful initial insight into a collection of texts: they can indicate or confirm the topical focus of the corpus and the results may be used as a starting point for more detailed and elaborate lexical investigations (Stubbs 2002: 128).

As a preliminary analytic step, I created a wordlist in Word Smith Tools (WST) first of the Chattanooga corpus (CORPUS A) and then of the national corpus (CORPUS B). In addition to checking the general topical focus of the corpora, I wanted to see to what extent their central theme, evidenced by commonalities in the most frequent words, coincided. I selected only content words (noun, adjective, adverb, main verb) from the frequency list, since in isolation they may be better indicators of what texts are about than function words (auxiliaries, pronouns, determiners, prepositions, conjunctions), even though the latter tend to account for the most

frequent words in most corpora. Table 10 presents the fifty most frequent content words in

CORPUS A and CORPUS B, with those words occurring in both highlighted in yellow.

Table 10. Word frequency lists for CORPUS A and B

	CORPUS A WORDLIST	CORPUS B WORDLIST		CORPUS A WORDLIST	CORPUS B WORDLIST
1	said	community; communities	26	building	street
2	Chattanooga	city; cities	27	county	project
3	city	said; says	28	now	many
4	Mr	new	29	residents	well
5	neighborhood; neighborhoods	people	30	work	programs
6	people	housing	31	street	plan
7	community	development	32	really	property
8	more	more	33	lot	time
9	one	one	34	also	urban
10	downtown	neighborhood; neighborhoods	35	time	weed
11	know	other	36	two	seed
12	some	downtown	37	see	two
13	like	some	38	right	know
14	new	local	39	go	use
15	just	Mr	40	place	get
16	think	residents	41	property	mayor
17	green[12]	building	42	way	planning
18	other	years	43	million	here
19	development	also	44	Ms	first
20	years; year	area	45	house	economic
21	area	public	46	then	home
22	here	like	47	first	business
23	housing	now	48	good	make
24	well	work	49	things	organizations
25	get; got	just	50	officials	think

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[12] The presence of *green* on this list is due to the fact that it figures in compounds of neighborhood names, such as Eden Green. (Changed from the original word to maintain the pseudonyms.)

There is quite a bit of overlap between the two corpora; 33 of the top 50 content words are the same.[13] What is more, most of the words not highlighted can be found within the next 50 most frequent content words of the other corpus (e.g. the word *mayor*, here #41 for CORPUS B, comes as #51 on the CORPUS A wordlist). If we take a look at the nouns, those shared by both CORPUS A and B seem to correspond to our intuitions about words that a corpus on urban revitalization would typically have, as most refer to various aspects of the built environment (*city*, *neighborhood*, *downtown*, *area*, *building*, *street*, *property*), those who populate it (*people*, *residents*, *community*) and words that indicate change (*development*, *new*). It is therefore justifiable to suggest that the two lists and the significant overlap between them indicate a) the adequacy of each corpus as a collection of texts that represents the topic of urban revitalization; and b) that the two corpora are comparable in topical emphasis.

Another type of analysis that may be called upon to establish what a text or collection of texts is about is the keyword list. Keywords represent words that occur significantly more (in the statistical sense) or significantly less frequently in a text/corpus when compared with some reference corpus, based on frequency lists. To make use of the analysis, I merged the two separate frequency lists for CORPUS A and B in WST and compared it to the word list generated from the FROWN CORPUS, a general corpus of one million words of written American English published in 1991. Table 11 illustrates the result of this comparison. Words highlighted in yellow appear on the frequency lists of CORPUS A and B as well as on the keyword list that compares those two corpora to the FROWN corpus. Words that are highlighted in pink appear on at least one of the frequency lists as well as on the keyword list.

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[13] Note that the list contains the top 50 most frequent *content* words. The actual frequency ranking of each word differs, although all fall within the top 150.

As the table illustrates, most of the top 30 keywords (content words), that is, words that occur in CORPUS A and B combined significantly more often than in the reference corpus,

Table 11. Top 30 keywords based on wordlists from Corpus A+B and FROWN

N	KEYWORD LIST A + B TO FROWN	N	KEYWORD LIST A + B TO FROWN	N	KEYWORD LIST A + B TO FROWN
1	community; communities	11	Green	21	homes
2	neighborhood; neighborhoods	12	building	22	project
3	city; city's	13	people	23	lot
4	Chattanooga	14	area	24	officials
5	downtown	15	mayor	25	local
6	said	16	revitalization	26	Tennessee
7	housing	17	property	27	Hamilton[14]
8	Mr	18	county	28	know
9	development	19	street	29	think
10	residents	20	urban	30	new

coincide with the most frequent words in the two corpora. As a measure of 'aboutness', the results from the keyword analysis seem to corroborate the topical emphasis established by the independent frequency lists in Table 10. What distinguishes these two corpora from a general corpus of American English are the content words that represent semantic pillar points within each corpus: aspects of the built environment, those who inhabit it and words having to do with change.

There are obvious limits as to how much wordlists and keyword lists can tell us about a corpus. As we have seen, they are capable of providing preliminary empirical evidence about the general theme or topic of a collection of texts. An important tenet of corpus semantics as an

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[14] Chattanooga is in Hamilton county.

inter- and co-textually focused enterprise is that communicative activity is not based on the encoding and decoding of messages in single words. Rather, when we interact, we draw on our repertoire of recurrent (i.e. typical) lexical patterns, strings of words that habitually co-occur, in order to convey and understand meaning. In the next section, I look at the patterns that characterize *residents* – a word marked as topically central by the frequency and keyword analyses, and one that proved focal in participants' metasemiotic descriptions.

Semantic Profile of *Residents*

In Chapter 4 I reviewed Stubbs' model of relationship types that characterize lexical patterns in a language: collocation, colligation, semantic preference and discourse prosody. They provide an empirically useful framework for the study of lexical units as complex linguistic phenomena while also allowing room for variation in their individual realization. The assumption that meaning is use and that recurrent patterns represent norms within a discourse community also validates their study for the purpose of socio-cultural analysis. We can describe them as empirical manifestations of discursive formations and also compare them with situated discourse production as affirmations of or deviations from these norms.

Residents in Collocations and Colligations

The interdiscursive analysis in Chapter 5 revealed that a great deal of participants' discourse during the interviews involved producing metasemiotic descriptions of people, of residents in downtown neighborhoods. As we saw, the word *residents* also appears on the frequency lists for CORPUS A and B and on the FROWN keyword list, reaffirming its saliency in revitalization discourse. An interesting question concerns the extent to which situational discursive

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constructions of *residents* are compatible with the semantic patterns that characterize the word in the corpus. In order to investigate this question, I analyzed the word *residents* using CORPUS A with regard to the collocational and colligational relationships it frequently enters. Since my interest goes beyond linguistic/lexical description, in discussing findings I also consider the social and cultural significance of these semantic patterns.

Using the *Concord* function in WST, I generated a concordance list for the node word *residents* using texts from the Chattanooga corpus that called up all the occurrences of the word within the corpus, along with their immediate co-text. Additionally, the procedure also calculated the most frequent collocates of the node within a span of five words to the left and right. From the collocates, I selected those words that appeared to the immediate left (L1) or right (R1) of *residents*, at least 5 times. This provided a more varied picture of collocations than the overall collocates, since it gave information about their relative position and thus lexico-grammatical function. Table 12 gives the output from the analysis. The left column lists words that appear most frequently to the immediate left of *residents* in the corpus, while words in the right column appear most frequently to the immediate right of the node. Each list was generated independently from the other and should be considered separately.

A quick look at the list of L1 and R1 collocates implies some preliminary points of interest. A number of adjectives that appear to the left of the node word reveal collocations that categorize residents into different 'types': *new* residents, *old* residents, *existing* residents, etc. Nouns can fulfill the same function; we have *Chattanooga* residents, *county* residents, *city* residents. Verbs in the R1 column indicate actions frequently associated with residents: *are*, *have*, *were* (potentially auxiliary verbs followed by a main verb), *said*, *will*, *can*, *want*, etc. While these lists and the raw frequency numbers can give us important preliminary insight and suggest

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directions for further analysis, more in-depth examinations are necessary to make sense of the

data.

Table 12. CORPUS A: most frequent L1 and R1 collocates of *residents*

N	WORD	LEFT 1 FREQ.	CENTER	RIGHT 1 FREQ.	WORD
1	THE	69	Residents	79	AND
2	OF	51	Residents	47	TO
3	NEIGHBORHOOD	44	Residents	42	IN
4	NEW	31	Residents	41	OF
5	FOR	26	Residents	40	WHO
6	AND	22	Residents	24	ARE
7	COUNTY	20	Residents	23	HAVE
8	EXISTING	20	Residents	22	WERE
9	PARK	20	Residents	15	SAID
10	AREA	19	Residents	17	FROM
11	CHATTANOOGA	18	Residents	12	THAT
12	WITH	16	Residents	11	BUT
13	OLDER	15	Residents	10	ON
14	BY	14	Residents	10	WITH
15	LOCAL	12	Residents	8	WILL
16	SOME	12	Residents	7	CAN
17	MANY	11	Residents	6	ABOUT
18	INCOME	10	Residents	6	AS
19	OTHER	10	Residents	5	HAD
20	BETWEEN	9	Residents	5	LIVING
21	HILL	9	Residents	5	SAY
22	ALL	7	Residents	5	THE
23	HOMES	7	Residents	5	WANT
24	LONGTIME	7	Residents		
25	THESE	7	Residents		
26	TO	7	Residents		
27	CITY	6	Residents		
28	COMMUNITY	6	Residents		
29	FROM	6	Residents		
30	LANE	6	Residents		
31	THAT	6	Residents		
32	AMONG	5	Residents		
33	CURRENT	5	Residents		

Stubbs (2002) considers collocations as "a purely lexical relation […] which ignores any syntactic relation between words" (p. 64). However, he later observes that collocations often involve a blend between syntax and lexis. In the following, while I use co-textual proximity as an important feature of collocations, I do not take the distinction between collocation and colligation as significant or consequential. Following the argument of corpus linguistics, that syntax and lexis are inseparably involved in producing meaning, the division becomes a merely analytic one.

Taking the above observation about categorization as a starting point, I grouped collocates into semantic subsets based on how they categorize *residents*. In many cases, this required going back to the concordance lines to see the full co-text. For instance, while adjectival phrases such as *existing residents* or *longtime residents* were easy to spot as categorizations, others were less obvious and needed double-checking. So while *residents from* seemed a good candidate for geographical categorization, it could have involved socio-economic designators such as *from low-income households*.

About one third of L1 collocates (n=11) involved attributive adjectives and nouns that modified (and thus categorized) *residents* with regard to geographical location. In the majority of cases, these collocates were content words that did not participate in other types of categorization. In addition, several collocates that appeared to the immediate right of residents also modified them with regard to geographical location. These were mainly function words that introduced prepositional phrases or participial and relative clauses that acted as post-modifiers of the noun. Unlike L1 collocates, most of the R1 function words also participated in modifying residents according to a different semantic category. Below is a list of collocates that categorize

residents in terms of geographical location, with example phrases from the concordance list in parentheses:

L1: *neighborhood, county,* (Alton) *Park, area, Chattanooga, local,* (Cameron) *Hill,* (Poss) *Homes,* (inner)-*city,* (Cameron) *Lane,* (close)-*by* **RESIDENTS**

R1: RESIDENTS *in* (downtown Chattanooga), *of* (Lake Hills), *from* (the downtown area), *on* (Cameron Lane), *living* (in the county), *that* (reside in inner city areas), *who* (live down there);

A second semantic classification of residents through modifying collocations and colligations concerned socio-economic status. The three primary L1 content words involved here were *income, neighborhood* and *community*. Though the semantic pattern was not obvious right away, looking at the actual concordance lines revealed that going further in the left-side span from the node word we find *low income, moderate income, upper income, fixed income* as well as *impoverished neighborhood residents*. When used as an attributive adjective, *community* was always preceded by *renewal*, creating the phrase *renewal community residents* – a designation given to distressed urban areas participating in a HUD economic development program. Most of the same function words that modified *residents* with regard to geographical location were also involved as post-modifiers in this semantic group:

L1: (low, moderate, upper, fixed) *income,* (impoverished) *neighborhood,* (renewal) *community* **RESIDENTS**

R1: RESIDENTS *in* (impoverished neighborhoods), *of* (other distressed neighborhoods), *with* (housing vouchers), *living* (in institutions or group quarters), *who* (receive public assistance for rent; stand to lose their homes);

Again, pre-modification through L1 content-word collocates was more exclusive than R1 post-modification in that L1 words did not participate (except for *neighborhood*) in other types of semantic categorization. Also, except for *income*, all collocations and colligations categorize residents as low-SES.

A third type of semantic collocational pattern grouped residents in terms of their length of residence. It involved words from both L1 and R1 lists, either as attributive adjectives (L1) or as function words introducing a relative clause (R1):

L1: *longtime*, *current*, *new*, *existing* **RESIDENTS**

R1: RESIDENTS *that* (are coming in), *who* (lived here already)

Residents appear as belonging to one of two groups: those who have lived in an area or neighborhood for some time (*longtime*, *current*, *existing*, *who lived here already*) or have moved there recently (*new*, *that are coming in*). The adjectives *current* and *existing* may be thought to potentially include new residents as well; however, looking at the concordance lines makes it clear that they always appear in the sense of *longtime* (e.g., "ensuring that current residents can continue to own their homes as the community prospers" or "existing and new residents working together").

A number of determiners appear among the L1 collocates of *residents*: *the*, *some*, *many*, *all*, *other* as well as various constructions with *of*, such as *95% of*, *a group*, *an influx*, *a number*, *hundreds*, *dozens of residents.* Often, they combine with other modifiers (e.g. "some residents who moved into Eden Green") or appear in a text on a particular geographic area, thus delineating a sub-group within a category. Exactly what these subcategories are will be discussed in conjunction with *who* and discourse prosody below.

Age also appeared to be a category realized through collocations of *residents*. Interestingly, the L1 collocates include only *older* residents (the L1 collocate *elderly* also appears, though only twice); the adjective *young* or *younger* does not collocate with *residents*. On the right-hand side we find age in only three concordance lines, all involving the L1 *of*: *40% of residents between 35 and 64*; *14% of residents 60 and older*; and one featuring the younger population, *the lowest percentage of residents under 18 years old*. All three cases involve reference to population statistics. In three cases, age was also expressed through the R1 collocate *were*, as in *a lot of the existing residents were elderly*.

Looking at the most frequent R1 collocate of *residents*, the conjunctive *and*, reveals some interesting details. I am mainly concerned here with occurrences where *residents* is conjoined with another noun phrase with which it functions as subject or direct object in a clause, as in the example **residents and businesses** *now largely agree on the need to pace growth with infrastructure improvements*. Such constructions contribute to the categorization of *residents* by placing them into opposition with other collectives (e.g. businesses) while at the same time aligning them through their shared semantic roles as agents or patients (affected). *Residents*

appears with the following groups in conjunctive phrases[15] (numbers refer to frequency of occurrence; no number indicates a single occurrence):

businesses (7); *business owners* (7); *stakeholders* (4); *officials* (3); *visitors* (2); *tourists*; *potential homebuyers*; *prospective neighbors*; *police*; *outsiders*; *workers*; *community partners*; *university students*; *neighborhood leaders*; *neighborhood association leaders*; *association leaders*; *community leaders*; *community representatives*; *organization representatives*; *neighborhood associations*; *the built environment*.

Except for the built environment, all nouns refer to animate collectives. In many cases, the two conjoined groups are not necessarily mutually exclusive; someone can be both a business owner and a resident. In some cases, it is certain that one includes the other: a neighborhood association leader has to be a resident of that neighborhood. These conjoined phrases do not simply tell us about the overall semantic pattern of *residents* but bear cultural significance: it is at least partly through semantic labels that social groupings are called into existence and become meaningful as distinct from others.

The relative pronoun *who* appeared among the examples above as a lexico-grammatical tool of semantic categorization. Mostly, however, it occurs in combination with other collocates to deictically select a subgroup within a general category, typically that of geographical location (e.g. *Cameron Hill residents who*). With one exception, the pronoun is typically followed by a verb in active voice, either a mental verb (*feel*, *think*, *worry*), a verb of saying (*say*) or an action verb (*support*, *participate*, *take*, etc.). What these relative clauses have in common is that they categorize resident subgroups in terms of engagement and positive attitude, as the following concordance lines illustrate:

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[15] Examples also include collocates conjoined with *residents* by L1 AND (e.g. *police and residents*).

RESIDENTS WHO say that their neighborhood association is effective
feel that they have good neighbors
are now serving in the leadership structure
have participated in at least three social events
have a positive outlook for the neighborhood
feel safe in their neighborhood
were involved in the selection process
supported their vision
are committed to keeping them strong and healthy
raised about $1,000 toward building a park
were participants in these "learning exchanges"
participate in an environmental college
took them on a tour of five communities
hosted a 'meet and great'

There is one exception to this pattern, namely a concordance line that expresses denotationally negative content: *residents who worry about being robbed*. It is important to note that the claim is not that residents often appear as acting or feeling in a positive and engaged way. Rather, when a particular section of residents is further defined through a restrictive who-relative clause, such definition in the corpus examples is characterized by denotationally positive lexis such as *effective*, *safe*, *good*, *positive*, *healthy* as well as verbs that express engagement (*serve*, *support*, *raise*, *participate*, etc.).

As we have seen, the majority of the immediate collocates of *residents* share the lexico-grammatical function of modifying *residents* in terms of types: geographical location, socio-economic status, age and length of residence. Often times, the same typification is achieved through function words that are perhaps less obviously noticed as R1 collocates. Also, L1 determiners are deictically less explicit and often serve to delineate a particular fraction of a resident type. The identified categories exemplify semantic preferences for *residents* as they involve, particularly among L1 collocates, lexical sets. Importantly, it is almost certain that other types also exist and that there are additional ways of indicating them. However, my concern is

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with frequent and recurrent patterns that can be detected by systematic computer analysis. In the following section, I focus on the phenomenon of discourse prosody by examining connotational and evaluative aspects of *residents* through extended lexical units.

Discourse Prosody

As Stubbs (2002) has emphasized, discourse prosody as a semantic phenomenon is far more difficult to objectively study than simple frequency counts. It is typically not retrievable through intuition because discourse prosody emerges as a pattern through intertextual investigations. The main argument is that lexical items such as *residents* can assume evaluative connotations through the extended lexico-grammatical environment in which they repeatedly appear. Below I discuss five frequent R1 collocates of *residents* (*to, are, have, were, said*) with regard to their role in creating certain discourse prosodies for this word.

As can be seen from Table 12, *residents* frequently collocates with the function word *to*. Looking at the concordance lines reveals that in some cases, *to* acts as a preposition, resulting in phrases/clauses such as *the same things that draw residents to the area*. However, roughly half of the total occurrences of *residents* with *to* as its R1 collocate involves one of two kinds of grammatical structure where *to* acts as an infinitival particle:

VERB	DIRECT OBJECT		TO	VERB
Example:	*got*	***residents***	*to*	*sign petitions*

VERB	PREP	OBJECT OF PREP	TO	VERB
Example:	*work*	*with*	***residents***	*to*	*build capacity*

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The first type of grammatical frame is more common; also, the frames are somewhat variable in

that there may be other sentence elements between the constituents of the frame. Figure 5 lists

the concordance lines containing *residents to* in either colligation.

1. nships with local government. The ultimate goal of all these activities **is for residents to be able to** identify and manage issues that threaten the health of t
2. How do you reweave the fabric of inner-city neighborhoods? **Equip residents to manage** day-to-day issues and guide their community's future. Inves
3. Kinsey Probasco Hays. Both BlueCross and Kinsey Probasco Hays will **work with** the **residents to make** sure their transition to other housing goes as smoothly as pos
4. efforts in the production of space and place, **calling upon** "local" neighborhood **residents to change** their social and spatial situation without providing full ac
5. ity government, he is best equipped to **work with** City Council members and local **residents to address** these neighborhoods interests. Expressing his belief
6. about the proposed zoning change and **conducted** several neighborhood **forums for residents to ask** questions about the study. These grassroot efforts paid off: th
7. pets in the park. We **had twenty-two houses open for** prospective neighbors and **residents to view**. As a result, Highland Park had five contracts written on "for
8. ogram support from community partners, Community Impact has been able to **assist residents to develop** and implement strategies to transform their neighborhoods.
9. or old; or socioeconomically challenged. The foundational concept was to **spur residents to develop** plans for their neighborhoods using the expertise of a host
10. School Bash in Cowart Place cause they got the school right there and **got** the **residents to help** with that in terms of getting the kids ready for school. Thro
11. ental initiatives (i.e., federal, state, municipal) are dependent on **convincing residents to participate** in community-building-type initiatives that provide the
12. andfills if that were the case." A public **hearing** is set for next month **for residents to voice** their opinions about the construction landfill. The time
13. gned to improve Chattanooga government services and accomplishments by **engaging residents to provide** input and feedback. Funded by the Alfred P. Sloan Found
14. e believe, in part, that this is achieved by **enabling** impoverished neighborhood **residents to express** their right to the city (understanding the city as a nodal
15. m the National Institute of Health Sciences will **allow** UT researchers and local **residents to gather** information from residents and educate the community on chem.
16. anooga Police Department to set up radar in the area. She and her committee **got residents to sign** petitions. As a result of all this effort, the City approved a
17. seholds, also provided us with an opportunity to train and **work with** nearly 100 **residents to collect** data.
18. althy elements from your neighborhood to some extent and **work with** the existing **residents to build** capacity so they know what they want for themselves and in ou
19. hase new housing. We are not aware of those incentives **being offered to** current **residents to move** into better housing. 14. Our contention is that communit
20. ctive community-building work must also aim to **enable** impoverished neighborhood **residents to change** the processes that lead to a status of isolation. This is a

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21. invites everybody so this is a wonderful tool to **get** existing residents and new **residents to get** to know each other. The neighborhood association, Moses may ha
22. rhood leadership base, monitoring the quality of new development, and **equipping residents to ensure** long-term sustainability. But after thirty years of disinvest
23. unity, according to BettyeLynn Smith, Community Impact director. "We **help residents to make** their neighborhoods places where anyone would want to live, re
24. ht expand to Missionary Ridge as well, but right now Cornerstones will **wait for residents to settle** a proposed local historic district debate, he said. Mr
25. pronged strategic approach: Build community capacity: **increase the capacity of residents to manage** day-to-day issues and influence the future of their communit
26. e some big yards if they were moving from suburbia, but yeah we **wanted** existing **residents to be able** to buy a different house if they wanted to or at least to t

Figure 5. Concordance lines from CORPUS A for the colligation *residents to*

In all of these examples, grammar and lexis interact to produce a particular prosody that characterizes residents but stretches over several units. There are two points to note. First, *residents* appear as agents of the verbs that follow in the infinitive clause: they are the ones who *develop and implement strategies* (concordance line 6) or *provide input and feedback* (concordance line 11). Second, *residents* is also the object or, in terms of semantic roles, the patient of the clause preceding it. Looking at the verbs of which *residents* is an object, we see that most of them denote some kind of facilitating action (*call upon*, *get*, *assist*, *help*, *equip*, *enable*, etc.). As a result, in these examples, residents are repeatedly represented as agents whose actions are aided or made possible through some external influence. This kind of prosodic or connotative meaning is distributed over multiple clauses and involves repeated realizations of a similar lexico-grammatical frame.

I have examined four further top collocates of *residents* to see whether they confirm or add to the above observations about discourse prosody. *Are*, *have*, *were* and *said* as R1 collocates frequently enter into a phrasal relationship with *residents*. Based on English word order, it is to

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be assumed that these cases involve constructions where *residents* acts as the subject of which

something is predicated through the four verb forms. Semantically, then, these clauses are

thought to reveal the types of activities or states through which residents are characterized in the

corpus examples.

In grammatical terms, *are* as R1 collocate figures in three types of construction: passive

(*residents are brought to the processes*), copula/main verb (*residents are "fearful" to operate*

without the NCI being) and present progressive (*residents are converting large homes*). In two

cases, *residents* was not the subject of the clause (*the homes of current residents are identified;*

competing interests between residents and other stakeholders are common) and these examples

were eliminated. In terms of prosody, we see 'engagement' as a prosodic meaning: residents as

active and proactive members of their neighborhoods. This was most evident in concordance

lines with the present progressive, though the present progressive was not the exclusive means to

represent engagement:

1. that to make that investment here so Brown did it here. Fernwood, **the residents are driving that development** by buying and fixing and reselling the ol
2. downtown living is apparent, with renovation projects dotting the streets. **Residents are converting large homes** once split into apartments back into single
3. ods experience reduced crime without compromising respect for civil rights, and **residents are less tolerant of crime and feel safer**. Drug crimes
4. around key issues affecting the community. Community outreach and engagement: **Residents are working in partnership with the public and private sectors** to addr
5. Some St. Elmo **residents are up in arms over a 45-foot billboard** springing up at the site of the old Zah
6. ves that local social problems can be adequately addressed only if neighborhood **residents are intimately involved in the ameliorization process**. Revitalization
7. Some St. Elmo business owners and **residents are opposing a billboard** on St. Elmo Avenue along with plans to close
8. t because the underlying dynamics of the neighborhoods have changed and because **residents are learning to manage their neighborhoods**. Only time will show whether

Figure 6. Sample concordance lines from CORPUS A for *residents are*

Two of the examples involving the copula and one passive construction expressed denotationally negative content: *residents **are jaded** from all the undelivered promises city officials have made; residents **are "fearful"** to operate without the NCI being as available as it has been* (referring to the graduation of the neighborhood from the NCI initiative) and *residents **are isolated** and have limited positive relationships with their neighbors*. Two further concordance lines mention that *residents are living below the poverty line*. Apart from the negative denotational meaning, residents here appear in the semantic role of affected as opposed to agent. Finally, two examples of *are* as part of a passive construction resemble the discourse prosody discussed in relation to *to* above: residents as engaged with significant external support (***residents are brought to the processes** taking shape*; ***residents are encouraged to offer** their ideas*).

Very similar discourse prosodies are achieved by *have* as R1 collocate of *residents*. In terms of syntactic relationships, it participates primarily as auxiliary in present perfect constructions or as main (possessive) verb. We see notions of engagement being linked to residents lexico-syntactically through the present perfect (e.g. *some area **residents have begun developing** the Highway 58 Community Plan*; *Fernwood **residents have expressed interest** in conservation zoning*). An interesting variant of this active engagement can be seen in one example where residents seem to express complaint, as opposed to positive cooperative action: *some **residents have protested** that they* [regulations] *are not strict enough or stringently enough applied*. As this and previous examples indicate (see concordance lines 5 and 7 in Figure 6), engagement can also mean expressing discontent with some aspect of revitalization. *Residents have* as a lexico-grammatical unit also participates in construing the discourse prosody of what we may call facilitated engagement: e.g. *all neighborhood **residents have been invited to** participate in a porch decorating contest*; *this* [National Night Out] *is really the only time that*

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police and residents have a chance to interact with each other on a casual basis. In these cases, the actions of *residents* are made possible through a framework or intervention set up by someone other than residents (both events in the examples have been organized by third parties). Finally, the negative denotational meaning we have seen in other examples is also carried by clauses introduced by *residents have*: *impoverished neighborhood residents have an unequal voice* in claiming their own rights to the city; *residents have had no input* in the business development in their area; *residents have suffered* more than necessary. In these examples, *residents* figure semantically as affected (*have suffered*) or as agents impeded in their actions (*have an unequal voice*, *have had no input*).

Were as R1 collocate of *residents* is either part of a passive construction or is used as a main verb with a predicate noun or adjective. As I have mentioned above, *were* as a past tense copula and R1 collocate of *residents* can involve age descriptions (e.g. *a lot of the existing residents were elderly*). Apart from these examples, we find primarily instances of facilitated engagement (see Figure 7) and negative sentiment among the concordance lines.

1. to other impoverished residents that lived in cities across the United States. **Residents were expected to communicate** with their neighborhood associations and
2. At the beginning of the initiative in 1998, diverse groups of neighborhood **residents were asked to have faith** that this effort would produce tangible results
3. patial practices that altered the actual landscape of the neighborhood in which **residents were supposed to be leading** the planning process, a process that began
4. to continue its progress toward redefining itself as a "livable city." While **residents were asked to operate** at a scale of the "local" by focusing on building
5. their involve-ment will substantially change their life opportunities. Indeed, **residents were required to participate** in "learning exchanges" for over a year,
6. us that the learning exchanges had become one-way information sessions whereby **residents were directed toward** developing plans for their neighborhoods from a l

Figure 7. Connotations of 'facilitated engagement' through passive in concordance lines with *residents were*

Interestingly, all examples in Figure 7 come from two academic articles on Chattanooga's revitalization. This is perhaps indicative of genre differences: passive constructions contribute to the relatively impersonal style that sets off academic English from general fiction or conversational registers (Biber et al. 1998). Or it may hint at the author's style or particular point of view regarding residents' role in revitalization efforts. The remaining four instances of *residents were* in the concordance involve cases where residents are semantically framed as negatively affected: *it's like residents were an afterthought*; *residents were living in poverty*, *residents were not invited* and *residents were frightened by the drug dealers*.

The final verb, *said*, is a reporting verb so it comes as no surprise that as R1 collocate it primarily functions as such. About half of the examples involved statements that cannot be categorized or characterized in terms of the discourse prosodies discussed so far. They include indirect quotes such as *The history of Fort Wood is just as important as anything happening today in the neighborhood,* **residents said** or *the neighborhood is a hodgepodge of different period, style and priced homes,* **residents said**. The other half involves some type of complaint; residents expressing disapproval (e.g. *many* **residents said** *they were upset with the amount of financial compensation offered*; **residents said** *Tuesday night they are upset about being denied an opportunity*). Presumably, there are more than 15 instances when residents' utterances or opinions are reported in CORPUS A; they may involve quoting individuals or quoting with pronoun reference, which would be difficult to detect or search for.

Looking at the extended lexical units introduced by five frequent R1 collocates of *residents*, I have identified some convergent characteristics. One of the connotational patterns emerging through the various lexico-grammatical constructions that *residents* enters concerns

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'engagement': residents appear as agents of verbal structures that denote activities relating to neighborhood revitalization. I have argued that this may entail cooperative action or protest. Further, several collocations and colligations support the claim that engagement can be lexico-grammatically realized as facilitated: *residents* as agents by external intervention. Third, certain extended units involved denotationally negative lexis that in conjunction with certain syntactic structures cause the connotation of 'affected' or 'impeded in action' for *residents*. Complaint is common among instances of reported utterances with *said*. Complaint as a speech act is distinct in that it does not necessarily presuppose or require action but often simply entails expressing disapproval or discontent. In that respect, it does not belong to the discourse prosody of engagement but rather furthers the connotation of *residents* as affected bystanders of revitalization.

'New' and 'existing residents' in extended lexical units

One of the semantic categories of *residents* I discussed in an earlier section characterized them in terms of their length of residence, either through L1 collocations with an adjective (*new*, *existing*, *current*, *longtime*) or through a defining relative clause (*residents who lived here already*, *residents who move in*, etc.). Given their high frequency in CORPUS A, and the fact that the distinction was also brought up during the interviews, I decided to examine the concordance lines in which these collocations appear with regard to discourse prosody.

Collocations of *residents* that refer to people who have lived in a particular area for some time (though exactly how long is never specified) comprised 33 concordance lines. As Figure 8 indicates, the majority of these lines involved co-text that through various lexical or syntactic

means fostered a connotation of either 'facilitated engagement' or (negatively) 'affected' for

existing, current and *longtime residents*:

FACILITATED ENGAGEMENT
1. some big yards if they were moving from suburbia, but yeah we **wanted existing residents to be able to buy a different house** if they wanted to or at least to t
2. emand thing, but by providing a variety of housing types and **equipping existing residents with some tools to continue living in their house** and again to reap so
3. epped in called a meeting, got parks and recs folks there, **talked with existing residents** and really, the problem was there were no Spanish signs, the people wh
4. home buyer incentive. So we try to actually use that as **a way so that existing residents can take part in the revitalization**. That and the façade program. We
5. e got paint you know so. Int: Looks nice. M: Just a way **to help existing residents** you know **to get some of the incentives** to renovate. F: And it help
6. hase new housing. We are not aware of those **incentives being offered to current residents to move into better housing**. 14. Our contention is that communit
7. is being conducted thoughtfully and with sensitivity - **ensuring that current residents can continue to own their homes** as the community prospers. During the
8. How about the incentives you mentioned this morning about old or **long-time residents being able to apply for certain funds** to- improve their- The thing

AFFECTED
9. ought to do was to make sure that **there was something that was going to go to the residents that lived in this community** and not just remove them from our
10. based objectives or the goal of **promoting a sense of community between existing residents**. As the Lowville residents stated: This plan. I won't say succeed
11. their outcomes involved **human capital development and opportunities for existing residents**. After two years, the CIF was pressured by their board to produce some
12. .held with Housing Corp., there was no mention of a plan **to make sure existing residents were not displaced**
13. ness development in their area. They added that to their knowledge, **no existing residents had purchased any of the new housing**. The feelings many residents disc
14. down here, they did have **an economic component that was focused toward existing residents**, they quickly learned that they didn't have the skill sets to do that
15. r King. It was where most of the low-income housing was, a lot of the **existing residents were elderly and couldn't afford to make repairs** to their homes and be
16. dents. Why this occurs in the context of initiatives purporting **to aid existing residents** is underexamined in the evaluation literature. We argue that researche
17. lts in the displacement of low-income families and **marginal return for existing residents**. Why this occurs in the context of initiatives purporting to aid exist
18. ram. What that does, is we'll go in on a block and **we'll look at some existing residents** and say OK we're trying to improve the street appeal of this street so

19. ighborhood and in doing so, can help to attract new homeowners and **give current residents more confidence** in the future of their neighborhood." Chattanooga's
20. a "buy/hold" fund to create highly visible improvements. When **homes of current residents are identified for façade improvements** - such as new fencing, paining,
21. a cost, as higher property taxes can **price out longtime lower- and fixed-income residents**. Moreover, a demand for urban land can mean older, large homes are rep

Figure 8. Connotations of 'facilitated engagement' and 'affected' in concordance lines with *residents were*

The main difference between the two connotations is that while in facilitated engagement residents are explicitly (i.e. semantically and/or syntactically) marked as agents or co-participants of some actions, such marking is absent when residents are represented as merely affected. The main lexico-grammatical means to express the connotative meaning of facilitated engagement involves the colligational frame discussed earlier, as for instance in line 8 (*wanted existing residents to be able to purchase*). As affected, *residents* frequently appears as indirect object (*something was going to go to the residents*, *help residents*, *give current residents more confidence*). This discourse prosody is also achieved through negation (*make sure residents were not displaced*, *no existing resident has purchased*, *couldn't afford to make repairs*) as well as passive constructions (e.g. *homes of current residents are identified for façade improvements*). Additionally, nominalizations can create the same effect: *human capital development and opportunities for existing residents*, *an economic component that was focused toward residents*, *a marginal return for existing residents*. In these examples, residents occupy the semantic roles of 'patients' or 'affected' and not agents who participate in revitalization efforts based on their own initiative.

In some examples, *existing residents* appears in conjunction with other groups:

- this is a wonderful tool to get **existing residents and new residents** to get to know each other

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- the neighborhood's location is one reason **new people** move in **and longtime residents** remain
- come join the **long-time residents**, **families**, **professionals and empty-nesters** who call Fernwood home
- exciting both in terms of again socioeconomic and **new residents and old**, **existing residents**
- The ultimate choice is whether or not to live in a neighborhood. For **current residents and potential homebuyers alike**, these choices are shaped by both

Four of these concordance lines involve setting existing and new residents in opposition to one another, even though grammatically they figure as compound subjects. Through explicit semantic labeling, however, the distinction is made relevant. This, as I argued above, has cultural significance; representing groups of residents as distinct in discourse establishes or reinforces the saliency of the distinction as social group relations.

Finally, four concordance lines involving the collocation *longtime residents* feature the group as a collective with local knowledge:

- While **longtime residents** of South **Chattanooga have fond memories of** Chattanooga Creek
- North Chattanooga wasn't always the fashionable borough it is today, **longtime residents said**.
- **Long-time residents** of Fernwood **are not surprised to see the growing interest** in their neighborhood
- part of the growing new urbanist movement that puts a name to **what the long-time residents have always valued**.

Fond memories evokes feelings of nostalgia, while the last two examples put the recent surge in downtown neighborhood revival in historical context: longtime residents have always known that city living was a good thing. This seems to be at least somewhat at odds with the idea of existing residents needing facilitation and aid in order to participate in recent revitalization efforts or being simply affected by processes.

New residents does not have a clear discourse prosody attached to it. However, based on the lexico-syntactic environments in which the collocation appears, it is possible to isolate certain semantic sets. From 32 concordance lines, eight feature *new residents* in conjunction with *existing residents*, some of which I have already discussed in the above section. Interestingly, in several cases *existing residents* are lexically realized as *old residents*. That *old* in these examples does not refer to age becomes only obvious through the juxtaposition of old and new, as in *and a strong neighborhood association that mixes **old and new residents***.

Five concordances involve *new residents* as object; four as direct objects of the verbs *draw* and *attract* and one where it is an indirect object, *managers plan on leasing to new residents until February 2006*. There are also several instances of the collocation appearing in the subject position, usually with an activity verb (e.g. *some new residents who are now serving in the leadership structure*; *but some residents came* [to the meeting]). In two instances, *new residents* occurred in constructions similar to those illustrated in Figure 5 (facilitated engagement): ***making sure that the new residents know about** the neighborhood association*; *she **appointed one of the new residents as the chair** of the safety committee*, where new residents are agents by virtue of someone else's action or intervention.

Finally, the following four lines containing *new residents* are from a single interview with a couple who moved into their downtown neighborhood in 2003:

- Many of the **newer residents that are coming in do not have children**.
- we would definitely be outnumbered as far as the **new residents** go and their (.) desire for (1.0) uhm **expensive rentals are fine with them**
- which [*homeless walking by*] initially (2.0) is **a shock to new residents** but we've kind of gotten used to it and they're less scary now
- in that we're not the **new residents who can't wait for it** [neighborhood] **to be sanitized**

These utterances do not easily fit into any of the above semantic sets. While the first line seems to be a demographic observation, the other three contain vocabulary that is explicitly (and categorically) evaluative. *New residents* don't mind expensive rentals, seeing homeless people are a shock to them and they want the neighborhood sanitized (i.e. gentrified). Also, in the last three examples, *we* is set in opposition to *new residents* and the way they are characterized. It is perhaps the potentially controversial associations (partly amplified by words such as *shock* and *sanitized*) that sets these examples apart from other co-texts of *new residents* and also explains their occurrence in face-to-face talk rather than written documents.

In sum, the discourse prosodies characterizing *existing residents* and *new residents* are similar to those found for *residents* in the previous section. The most salient and pervasive connotative meaning concerned what I have termed *engagement*; both as active participatory and as facilitated. The lexico-syntactic tools through which this prosody is achieved are also shared and include recurrent syntactic frames, passive, nominalizations, and multiple verbal structures such as the present perfect. While *existing residents* recur in lexico-grammatical environments that connote facilitated engagement or often even passivity, concordances show multiple semantic evaluations for *new residents* without a clearly dominant one.

Semantic Profile of *Residents*: Summary

In discussing the lexical profile of *residents*, I started by examining the immediate collocates of the word and argued that they contribute to the differentiation of *residents* into semantic types or categories. Left collocates predominantly comprised adjectives and nouns that attributively modified residents while right collocates often involved function words that alone or in combination with further elements in the right span functioned as post-modifiers of the node

word. The semantic sets characterizing *residents* this way involved geographical location, socio-economic status and length of residence.

In discussing connotative meaning in collocations of *residents*, I have extended the notion of discourse prosody beyond the basic negative-positive evaluative distinction and included the designation *engagement*, both as active and as facilitated, as well as a third dimension that indicates a lack of engagement: affected. As Stubbs (2002) points out, we know little about the kinds of evaluative meanings that speakers often express, but it may be possible to identify recurring types and attach labels to them. Aspects of the discourse prosody of what I have called *engagement* are sometimes discussed as *agency*; how certain people are represented textually. While those discussions typically limit themselves to the passive vs. active distinction, based on the above findings it is likely that the connotations are much more nuanced and involve many more lexico-grammatical constructions than previously thought.

Residents in the National Corpus on Revitalization

In order to see whether the semantic patterns identified for *residents* in the Chattanooga corpus were typical of revitalization discourse in general or specific to local discourses, I conducted the same types of analysis using CORPUS B. The frequency analysis discussed at the beginning of this chapter already confirmed the comparability of the two corpora in terms of overall topical or thematic content. To detect more subtle differences, a more detailed investigation is needed.

Semantic Subsets and Categories

With regard to frequent collocates to the immediate left and right of *residents*, I generated a list that is similar to the one for CORPUS A, and can be seen in Table 13. Comparing this table to

Table 12, we see that there is quite a bit of overlap not only in function words but also with regard to the most frequent content words as collocates of *residents*. There are fewer collocates with a frequency of 5 or higher, although that may be simply a result of CORPUS B being somewhat smaller than CORPUS A.

Looking at the semantic types of *residents* that are created through its collocations, the same categories emerge. Geographical location is expressed through the L1 collocates *neighborhood*, *downtown*, *local* and *community* and through the R1 collocates *in* (Laurel Park), *of* (Atlanta's Glenwood Park), *from* (those cities), *at* (Plaza East), and *who* (live there). Additionally, L1 *its* also serves to anaphorically link *residents* with an antecedent noun designating a geographical area. Unlike in the Chattanooga corpus, there are only two primary lexical items frequently involved in designating length of residence: *new* and *longtime*, both functioning as attributive adjectives. Socio-economic status also figures as a principle of lexico-grammatical categorization, in collocations such as (low, lower, upper, moderate, middle, higher) *income residents*, (public) *housing residents* and (renewal) *community residents*. In addition, R1 collocates of *residents* also appear in this semantic set, namely *from* (the renewal community), *at* (five Hope Six sites), *of* (gentrifying neighborhoods), *with* (higher income), *who* (are receiving public assistance; live in the renewal community). Reference to low-SES residents is more frequent than reference to high SES-residents.

L1 collocate #25 in Table 13, *speaking*, adds another category not seen in the Chattanooga corpus. In the concordance lines, it appears in the collocation *non-English speaking residents* four times and once as *English-speaking residents*, creating a category of residents based on their language background. Age is not frequently marked semantically as salient in CORPUS B, although two examples (both R1) indicate that it does occur: *downtown residents*

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were ages 45 to 64 (age as a subgroup within geographical location) and *residents with a range*

of ages and income. Finally, as the L1 list indicates, a number of determiners precede *residents*:

the, *many*,

Table 13. CORPUS B: Most frequent L1 and L2 collocates of *residents*

N	WORD	LEFT 1 FREQ.	CENTER	RIGHT 1 FREQ.	WORD
1	OF	42	Residents	88	AND
2	THE	41	Residents	48	TO
3	AND	36	Residents	46	OF
4	FOR	30	Residents	45	ARE
5	INCOME	23	Residents	34	WHO
6	NEIGHBORHOOD	19	Residents	32	IN
7	TO	19	Residents	20	HAVE
8	MANY	18	Residents	16	CAN
9	DOWNTOWN	17	Residents	12	WILL
	LONGTIME	17	Residents	11	WERE
10	NEW	16	Residents	11	WITH
11	COMMUNITY	15	Residents	9	AT
12	LOCAL	15	Residents	7	SAY
13	SOME	15	Residents	6	ABOUT
14	WITH	15	Residents	6	BUSINESSES
15	THAT	14	Residents	6	FROM
16	FROM	10	Residents	6	IS
17	BY	8	Residents	6	SAID
18	INVOLVE	8	Residents	6	THE
19	HOUSING	7	Residents	5	AS
20	HOW	7	Residents	5	COMMUNITY
21	ITS	6	Residents	5	DOWNTOWN
22	MORE	5	Residents	5	LIKE
23	MOST	5	Residents	5	MUST
24	OFFICIALS	5	Residents	5	OR
25	SPEAKING	5	Residents	5	TOGETHER

some, *more*, and *most*. As in Corpus A, *of* as an immediate left collocate of *residents* is often part

of compound constructions such as *groups of*, *a small set of*, *an influx of*, *20 percent of residents*.

Most of these combine with other modifiers to further delineate resident types (e.g. *an influx of*

residents who could no longer afford to live nearby Seattle; *many residents of these*

neighborhoods).

With regard to the collocation *residents and*, I have noted how it serves to further

demarcate residents by setting them in contrast (despite the conjunctive) with some other group.

In CORPUS B, we see *residents* conjoined with similar nouns as in CORPUS A: *businesses* (4);

business owners (7); (*city*) *officials* (3); *other stakeholders* (12); *shoppers* (2); *workers* (2);

others (3) and many other animate collectives that only occur once (e.g., *organizations*,

landlords, local entrepreneurs, everybody, etc.). Unlike in CORPUS A, there was no noun

referring to neighborhood leaders or neighborhood associations, although the range of nouns

(word types) following *and* was wider in the national corpus than in the Chattanooga corpus (29

vs. 21).

Finally, as in CORPUS A, the relative pronoun *who* ranks fairly high on the list of R1

collocates. As a candidate for further sub-categorization of *residents*, I examined concordance

lines with the collocation *residents who*. Below are occurrences where *residents* has already been

modified (e.g. *downtown residents who*) and is followed by a who-relative clause:

RESIDENTS WHO   supported the school
are calling for a public referendum
attended the city's Historic Review Board meeting
set off with a map on the self-guided Hard Hat Home tour
saw a historic district as a way to prevent future high-rises
do not want a neighborhood of oil depots
find the shopping center unappealing
serve on the Steering Committee
do participate in the governance of CCIs
want to escape suburban sprawl
support short-term rentals
create a 24-hour city
know the neighborhood's history

RESIDENTS WHO   have never been a part of this type of process
                          could no longer afford to live in nearby Seattle
                          can't afford the new and higher rents
                          have to move because of Hope 6
                          were displaced by urban renewal projects
                          got to return to their remade housing developments

I have separated examples where the relative clause further defines a particular group of residents as engaged or involved (subjects of activity verbs) or as affected (passive; lack of ability). While the first type is more prevalent, we also find in CORPUS B more examples where *residents who* sub-categorizes people who are not actively participating in revitalization efforts. To reiterate my earlier claim, the interesting point here is that this relative construction contributes to semantically creating a further division or type among residents: those who are active participants and those who are merely affected by urban revitalization. As we have seen, this distinction recurs as the key discourse prosody characterizing the semantic profile of *residents*.

Discourse prosody

An intriguing finding regarding discourse prosody in CORPUS A entailed two syntactic frames with the R1 collocate *to* that I argued produced the connotation of 'facilitated engagement' for *residents*. Looking at the concordance lines with the collocation *resident to* in CORPUS B, we see the same pattern emerge. In the overwhelming majority of cases involving this collocation (see Figure 9), *residents* functions both as object of a verb expressing some form of facilitating action and as subject of the verb introduced by the infinitival particle. The frequent collocation *involve residents* fulfills a similar function and creates a similar prosody, as does the R1 collocate *together* in phrases such as *bringing residents together for a common cause* or *bringing residents*

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together to discuss issues. As this connotative aspect is repeatedly realized through the various

lexico-grammatical means, facilitated engagement becomes a discourse prosody associated with

the use of *residents*.

1. king progress, according to Fortner of the Housing Authority. But they **need the residents to cooperate** and take pride in their new neighborhood. At first, Jann
2. development, Hospital of Saint Raphael officials are **working with** neighborhood **residents to further advance the area**, said Cindy vonBeren, a hospital spokeswom
3. Secure Resident Commitment and Involvement Community mobilization **enlists residents to become involved** in and accountable for the planned changes that res
4. their needs and contribute their skills toward changing the area. By **getting residents to help decide** on the changes required, the community mobilization pro
5. elopment "emphasizes the positive effect of mixed-income communities, and **helps residents to have a voice** in decision-making and to acquire the skills and resou
6. ough a sense of community may be fostered by a local action such as **encouraging residents to participate** in problem-solving activities (Chavis and Wandersman
7. meetings. (This will help build trust in the community.) Step 2: **Encourage Residents To Help** Provide Community Focus An important step that must be compl
8. said. "This exists everywhere," Scott said. "The real goal is to **get the good residents to take control** of their property." Scott said the company will eventu
9. of the functions of first-line supervisors include—**Meeting** regularly **with residents to get feedback** on policing plans and activities that affect their co
10. king. Representation on the Steer-ing Committee is one of the primary **means for residents to be involved in policymaking** and decisionmaking. Another considera
11. der this model of policing, officers **establish** an ongoing **dialog with community residents to solve crime problems** through a systematic process that addresses th
12. ds; 2. Using neighborhood job coaches to provide one-on-one **counseling to residents to help them** access and retain jobs; and 3. Working directly wit
13. some of their worst public housing projects. The goal of the program is **to move residents to better housing** and more stable, productive lives. New research look
14. the county, local municipalities, land trusts and activists joined **to encourage residents to plant** more trees and safeguard existing ones. The city is planting
15. mmunity-based organizations, houses of worship, and local businesses **to empower residents to effect and sustain** positive changes in the neighborhood. The Stee
16. **Mobilize community residents to assist law enforcement** in identifying and removing violent off
17. neighborhood restoration is one of the components of Weed and Seed that **allows residents to actively participate** in the transformation of their community
18. rmalls in the community. A popular idea is to develop programs that **encourage residents to save** their money and that provide matching funds they can use to
19. residents learn more about their community or neighborhood. The goal is to **get residents to articulate their needs** and contribute their skills toward changing

20. can. Healthy communities begin with the residents who live in them. **Empowering residents to engage in rebuilding** their neighborhoods is critical to promoting

21. ents are interested in and supportive of Weed and Seed. The ability **to mobilize residents to participate** at different levels of the Weed and Seed process can se

22. in two or more languages to secure maximum participation. It is important **for residents to understand** that the community assessment is their opportunity to

23. Law enforcement agencies and criminal justice officials **cooperate with local residents to "weed out" criminal activity** in the designated area. 2. Soci

24. research, survey, and evaluation work. (At a minimum, **convene focus groups for residents to voice their concerns**.) . Contract with neighborhood organizations

25. s, we identified a need for local elected officials to create **opportunities for residents to become more involved** in shaping the future of their cities and town

26. The Neighborhood Conservation Overlay Zone in Raleigh, North Carolina, **enables residents to identify** existing amenities and characteristics that the community

27. d-a-half day community gathering that **brought together** a broad cross-section of **residents to assess** the community's hopes and ideas for the future. The meeting

28. ves of Section 3 are: (1) to use HUD program funds **to provide a springboard for residents to become** economically empowered through direct participation in const

29. ns) and at the individ-ual level (by **increasing** the skills and **opportunities of residents to find and retain jobs**). The organization is focused principally on

Figure 9. Concordance lines from Corpus B for the collocation *residents to*

The four verb forms I examined with regard to their role in discourse prosody in CORPUS A (*are, have, were, said*) are also among the top R1 collocates of *residents* in the national corpus. Through the various lexico-grammatical constructions they enable, these verbs were found to contribute to the threefold connotation of 'engagement': active (through collaboration or protest), facilitated and affected (the latter is actually not a form of engagement but a lack thereof). Based on concordance lines from CORPUS B, the four verb forms appear in the same grammatical constructions as in CORPUS A and account for very similar connotations. Below I have assembled examples from the concordance list of each verb as R1 collocate of *residents* and grouped them according to the discourse prosody.[16]

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[16] For CORPUS B, I have also included the verb *say*, which was not on the frequency list for CORPUS A.

- Along the Hudson, **residents have moved into** 120 Riverside Boulevard, the seventh and final building
- 'Well over 10,000 **new residents have moved into** the area." Indeed, the Washington real estate market
- hundreds of Wyandanch **residents have helped to develop a plan** to revitalize 10 blocks of Straight Path
- Grassroots **residents have in general been concerned more with making real, short-term gains**
- While the authorities seem to have been caught flat-footed by events, **residents are beginning to take matters into their own hands**.
- NIILER: Near the proposed biotech center, longtime **residents are organizing to have a say** in the rapid development that's changing
- In these neighborhoods, **residents were the catalyst for renewal**. City officials eventually recognized

FACILITATED ENGAGEMENT

- **Residents are receiving some assistance in finding new homes**. The plaintiffs
- **ensure that** neighborhood **residents are sufficiently represented on the Steering Committee** and any other
- County police helped residents -- but **residents have to ask for help**, Gause said. "The law enforcement has to be involved

COMPLAINT

- used federal funds in the late '60s to clear land for a new civic center, black **residents said their homes were targeted and demolished**.
- Most of the homes were believed to be about 70 years old. Some **residents said** they won't miss the cottages but **they have concerns about** the
- "These models have no relationship to the community." Many **residents said they felt the same way**. **"It's just awful**," said Mona McNamar
- **Worst of all**, many **residents said**, the project would make Brooklyn look and feel more like Manhattan
- **Many residents say things haven't changed much since summer**. Some say they are still
- "We will all understand what can be built." But some **residents say the plan doesn't go far enough**. They want a citywide moratorium on
- Some **residents say** designing new buildings that cast shadows over Savannah's historic structures **isn't the best way**
- one effect of sluggish price appreciation in this area is that some longtime **residents say they don't have enough equity in their current homes to afford** to
- But trust comes slowly in the weedy lots around Sursum Corda. Many **residents say it sometimes feels as if the whole world has written them off**

- "We know from surveys and feedback that downtown **residents have eagerly awaited a grocery store**," said Tamara Door, president and
- In fits and starts over the last decade, **residents have seen some progress** in rebuilding the state's largest city: a mino
- In Garner, meanwhile, officials and **residents are hoping** a local businessman can have a similar effect on its
- Now, just when parts of downtown are gentrifying and the **new residents are clamoring for stores**, the irony is the agency is taking a more
- But the prices they're asking for is outrageous. ZARROLI: But many long-time **residents are thrilled by what's happening**.
- Bobb said he will do what it takes **to make sure residents are not forced out of the neighborhood**. Unlike HOPE VI, which paid for
- **There is a buzz** in Tuskegee that longtime **residents say they haven't heard in decades**. The National Park Service is building
- So when building began in late 2004, **residents were pleased**. "It's good for the community, good for me also," said

NEGATIVELY AFFECTED

- whose investments have created signs of visible change. But candidly, **not all the residents have been able to take advantage** of that change.
- Its downtown was mostly abandoned, but some **residents were too waterlogged and weary to move**.
- **Residents were also pessimistic about** law enforcement efforts and economic development
- but Ida B. Wells was the reason for the fence around our buildings. Its **residents were blamed for any petty theft** in our complex.
- representatives proposed to the neighborhood early last year. In January 2004, **residents were presented with a 143-unit building** with the GLCC owning some
- CONAN: And are longtime **residents--are they being forced out**? Mr. McLENNAN: Yes, they are. And that's
- the same time that the city's racial complexion is changing, many of its poorer **residents are being displaced** because they can't afford to live in the District.
- cities, older suburbs, and rural communities across the country, low-income **residents are disconnected from good jobs**, quality schools, and decent, affordab
- at a time when officials are increasingly concerned that low- and middle-income **residents are being priced out** of the real estate market. The county recently ap
- to build multifamily homes, arguing that **the civil rights of** its largely Latino **residents are being violated**. City officials say they will use eminent domain on

As the above concordance lines indicate, the four verb forms as collocates of *residents* produce

lexico-grammatical constructions that conform to the discourse prosodies found in CORPUS A.

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Again, *residents* are not simply represented as active or passive participants of revitalization efforts. Rather, through collocations that involve a variety of lexical and grammatical arrangements, the word's discourse prosody becomes differentiated. Overall, *residents* can be said to connote different degrees of engagement. This may be active or facilitated where residents appear as actively contributing to changing their neighborhoods or socio-spatial environment. On the other hand, *residents* in many cases connotes inability or inaction in processes of revitalization; in these cases residents are represented as mere bystanders as the city around them changes. We have also seen that the positive-negative distinction may be misleading – protest generally entails disapproval yet can be a very active form of engagement. On the other hand, people can be positively affected by certain events but play no role in their coming about. Also, as I have argued, this discourse prosody and its varieties are realized through a range of lexico-grammatical means, without any particular form being exclusively responsible or reserved for a certain connotation. An exception to this seem to be the two syntactic frames associated with the collocation *residents to*, which I claimed contributes to the discourse prosody of facilitated engagement. In the last section, I check these assumptions one more time as I compare the discourse prosodies of *new* and *longtime residents* in corpus B.

'New' and 'longtime residents' in extended lexical units

While length of residence in CORPUS A was realized through multiple L1 collocates that functioned as attributive adjectives or nouns, in CORPUS B we only find *new* and *longtime* among the most frequent words to the immediate left of *residents*. From the sixteen concordance lines that contain *new residents*, we find seven in which new residents are drawn/added to or bring something to downtowns:

- of new jobs starting at 10 to \$12 an hour; **a magnetic draw for thousands of new residents**, many of them Hispanics.
- All this activity **has drawn more than a thousand new residents** downtown in the last five years, including Mark and Meg Boyco(ph).
- creation of 8,000 new jobs, and **the addition of** 373 new hotel rooms and **812 new residents to the downtown area**.
- the revitalization plan in an attempt to transform the town by **attracting new residents and businesses**. Janssen also insisted that the project include
- growth, **making the community more marketable to** business, tourism and **new residents**, and finally developing expanded tax revenue without placing the
- city is very excited about the project," Derrick said. "It's going to **bring new residents downtown** and new retail downtown. It's good for business.
- "I suspect it will be great for us. Once the project is complete, **with new residents here**, it will **bring us more traffic**." But he said that if he lived in

We have seen this collocation appear in similar constructions in CORPUS A; notice also the presence of words such as *transform*, *growth*, *very excited*, and *great* in the last four lines. In another example we hear from *a local business owner who is indeed excited about the new residents of the Sterling Market Lofts*. New residents are contributing to the progress of downtown redevelopment and are something that can/should be attracted to city areas. An exception to this positive evaluation of new residents occurs in one concordance line: *they feel that too much attention is being given to the needs of wealthy new residents*, although even here new residents is further modified by *wealthy* – a clue to why they may be welcome additions to downtown areas.

This financial or economic aspect is also present in four other concordances lines with *new residents*, although not through immediate collocations:

- Now, just when parts of downtown are **gentrifying** and the **new residents are clamoring for stores**, the irony is the agency is taking a more
- poverty, indifference or the incapacity of aging owners. Some of these **new residents** simply eat and sleep in Takoma, **sending their children to private school**
- According to a survey of new residents, Beebe & Associates found that **new residents see downtown housing as a wise investment**, prefer urban environment

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- **real estate values have nearly quadrupled**," Mr. Pomeroy said. "'**Well over 10,000 new residents have moved into the area**.'" Indeed, the Washington real estate market

In terms of the discourse prosody of engagement, new residents in the first set of concordance lines are not active participants but at the most affected: they are drawn or added to downtown and (involuntarily) bring about certain changes. In the second set, their participation is more active although it does not merely involve revitalization processes. The first three of these four concordance lines seems to characterize new residents in terms of their economic power, similar to some concordance lines from CORPUS A describing new residents as favoring expensive rental units and wanting the neighborhood to be "sanitized".

As in CORPUS A, *longtime residents* in CORPUS B most frequently enters into lexico-syntactic constructions that foster the discourse prosody of 'affected'. From a total of sixteen concordance lines, six involve occurrences where longtime residents appear as negatively affected by revitalization processes:

- folks who are often the **victims or being displaced by eminent domain are longtime residents** and merchants who've stuck with the neighborhood despite all of the
- and so we're seeing an influx from Washington. CONAN: **And are longtime residents-- are they being forced out**? Mr. McLENNAN: **Yes, they are**.
- She and some other **longtime residents also feel a disconnect with the 48 new businesses** whose owners are
- one effect of sluggish price appreciation in this area is that some **longtime residents say they don't have enough equity** in their current homes to afford to
- and modernization at some point, probably **to the consternation of longtime residents** during that period. As important, even if it comes to pass, the housing
- for luxury residential buildings, **driving out manufacturing jobs and longtime residents** unable to pay rising rents.

Longtime residents in these examples are 'victims' of downtown revival and 'are being forced' out – the exact opposite of what *new residents* experience, even though in lexical-grammatical terms they are both represented as affected. This contrast also surfaces explicitly in one

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concordance line that mentions the two groups together: *when the newcomers started arriving, many longtime residents packed up and left*. In CORPUS A, I discussed a number of examples where *new* and *existing residents* were mentioned together, generally with the imperative to "bring them together". That same pattern does not seem to be present in CORPUS B.

In addition to two instances where *longtime residents* appear as positively affected by developments, we find three concordance lines where this evaluation is at least ambivalent:

- on in new investment, including a $192 million convention center, **many longtime residents and business owners wonder whether the bright future includes** any scra
- s, I say we see an influx of whites moving into this area. CARADINE: **Longtime residents like Turay have mixed feelings about the changes** taking place in their
- economic revival, and **that is being greeted with ambivalence by many longtime residents**. From Chicago, Monique Caradine reports.

Again, *longtime residents* are not actively engaged in revitalization processes but rather *wonder about*, *have mixed feelings* about or *greet with ambivalence* what is happening, without any decisively negative or positive lexis modifying this evaluation. Much like in CORPUS A, *longtime residents*, through the lexico-grammatical environments in which they occur, assumes the connotation of affected in CORPUS B (there was one example of active participation, *longtime residents are organizing to have a say in the rapid development*). Longtime residents are represented as someone or a group of people who react to (by feeling and thinking) rather than act in transforming their social and built environment.

Overall, findings from CORPUS A and B were mainly comparable. We have seen that they shared a significant portion of the most frequent L1 and R1 collocates, function words as well as content words. Resident categories based on geographical location, length of residence and socio-economic status were the same, as were many of the lexico-syntactic means through which these types were delineated in discourse. While age was among the categories realized through

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the top collocates of *residents* in CORPUS A, CORPUS B had in addition language background as a lexical set. Also, while *residents who* sub-categorized city dwellers only as active participants or as positively affected in CORPUS A, we find several instances in the national corpus where the relative clause and lexis depict residents as negatively affected by revitalization.

With regard to discourse prosody, my observations about engagement as a relevant connotative meaning for *residents* in revitalization discourse seemed to be confirmed by examples in CORPUS B. I have examined how several top collocates (including the verbs *have*, *were*, *are*, *said/say* and the infinitival particle *to*) contribute to creating different versions of this prosody that represents residents' participation in revitalization as self-initiated, facilitated or impeded. In the latter case, residents appear as merely affected (positively, negatively or ambivalently) by events and processes happening in downtown. I also argued that complaint that nearly exclusively accompanied instances of the collocation *residents said/say*, was also best viewed as belonging to the discourse prosody of 'affected' since it merely expresses negative sentiments without evidence of action aimed at doing something about it. Finally, concordance lines with different lexico-grammatical realizations of *new* and *longtime residents* revealed that in both corpora, existing residents are repeatedly represented as either affected or participants in facilitated engagement. *New residents*, on the other hand, did not have a clear-cut connotation, although I noted in CORPUS B the frequent recurrence of economic and positively evaluative lexis in the vicinity of the collocation *new residents*.

Corpus Analysis of Semantic Patterns: Summary

In this chapter I was concerned with gaining insight into the basic lexico-syntactic patterns that characterize revitalization discourse, as evidenced in two corpora. Hopefully, it has become

obvious from the above investigations and discussion that corpora make possible a number of

different types of analysis that can also range quite widely in their extensiveness. Given the

findings from Chapter 5 about metasemiotic descriptions and typifications of residents in

interviews, I decided to focus my analysis – in addition to a preliminary round of frequency-

based observations – on the different collocations that the word *residents* enters in the two

corpora.

My arguments throughout this chapter rested on the assumption that recurrent lexico-

grammatical constructions (collocations) are not simply reflective of social relations but also

serve as culturally shared repertoires of speaking, organized according to social

domains/discourses that people draw upon as they assemble their social world in interaction. I

paid particular attention to the notion of discourse prosody; the connotative or evaluative

meaning that words assume as they enter into recurrent relationships with other words. I argued

that prosody is not simply a matter of lexis but requires the joint working of denotative meaning

and syntactic positioning. The discourse prosody of engagement that I made the case for with

regard to *residents* emerges out of a combination of denotational meaning, syntactic positions

and semantic roles in utterances or sentences. While lexis may be more readily available as an

evaluative dimension (many words denote things that our culture deems positive or negative),

grammatical constructions can contribute a great deal to our overall perception of discourse

connotations. Clearly, results from corpus analysis need a human mind to interpret them,

especially if the goal is to shed light on what collocations and concordance lines can tell us about

cultural processes. In Chapter 7, I attempt to do just that by relating my discussion about

interdiscursivity in the research interviews to what I have found out about revitalization

discourse through corpus analysis.

CHAPTER 7

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Introduction

In this chapter, I have two primary objectives. First, I discuss the analyses and findings presented

in Chapters 5 and 6, particularly as they relate to research question #3. That is, I examine ways in

which the interdiscursive analysis of interviews and the corpus analysis reveal similar as well as

diverging ideas about the role of discourse in urban revitalization while also considering the

contribution of each to a processual view of language use. Second, in this chapter I also address

research question #4: how can analyses of language use contribute to our understanding of urban

transformation as a set of sociocultural and spatial processes? In that discussion, I focus on how

an examination of discourse as meta-level description as well as situated enactment provides an

empirical grounding for claims about the neoliberal reframing of US urban renewal.

Interdiscursive Links between Interviews and Corpora

The Role of Meta-level Typifications

In Chapter 5 I argued that what connects our interviews as time-bound events are metasemiotic

descriptions that typify people and things within the social domain of Chattanooga revitalization.

While the linguistic means through which speakers achieved such typifications varied, they were

cast within a moral framework that grouped those typified along the more or less binary divide of

desirable and undesirable. Interviewees' descriptions belong to the meta-level since they brought

together otherwise disparate signs under an emblem of personhood by associating types of behavior, social group membership and characterological attributes that translated into social worth within a socially and spatially transformed urban environment. So a middle-class professional (social group) is a desirable (social worth) urban resident (emblem) since he is likely to apply his skills for the benefit of the neighborhood (behavior). This association was brought about in (linguistically) more or less explicit ways, such as indexical pointing or evaluative lexis, or left merely implied, as in the case of the homeless for instance.

Results from the corpus analysis in Chapter 6 can also be conceived of as meta-level descriptions, though of a somewhat different kind, and I will comment on the ontological status of corpus patterns a little further in the next section. The collocations and discourse prosodies of *residents* I identified represent a form of typification in that they reveal lexical categories or distinctions (such as the different types of residents) and embellish those with certain evaluative (connotative) meanings. In the following, I first draw parallels between the interviews and corpus patterns with regard to the semantic distinctions they make and argue that those have social consequences. Second, I discuss results from both analyses in terms of the evaluative dimensions that serve as grounds for typifications. While the analysis of the interviews allowed me to focus on a variety of discourse features, due to the nature of corpus analysis I limited myself to examining, in addition to a general characterization of the corpus, a single word in detail. Nevertheless, it is possible to draw connections between findings revealed by the two types of analysis.

Examining the collocations that the word *residents* enters pointed to some distinctions made through discourse. Based on immediate collocates, I identified several categories of residents that were made relevant in the corpus. Residents, an unspecified collective, became

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specific as living in a certain neighborhood or area (geographical distinction); as having resided there for a particular length of time (existing vs. new residents); as belonging to a certain age group (elderly vs. young residents) and as having a particular socio-economic status (lower, middle and upper income residents). Notice how age and length of residence manifest themselves semantically as binary distinctions, even though they are scalar characteristics. Also, while *older residents* was a frequent collocation, *young residents* was not. In the analysis, I also discussed distinctions that were made salient in phrases where residents were conjoined and at the same time contrasted with, some other group designators. For instance, residents and neighborhood association leaders (or community leaders) were treated as two separate social groups lexically, even though the latter are also by definition residents of their particular neighborhood. I also noted how a further distinction was made within these larger categories through the relative pronoun *who* that delineated a group of residents (through denotationally positive lexis) who are active in or in support of neighborhood revitalization.

It is important to note that these distinctions are not general or universal but rather characteristic of the Chattanooga corpus that I compiled. As the comparison with the national corpus has shown, some of the categories seem to obtain beyond CORPUS A, such as those based on geographical location, length of residence and socio-economic status. On the other hand, a distinction that was absent in the Chattanooga corpus but relevant in collocations in CORPUS B concerned the language background of residents. In the national corpus, there was also no reference made to neighborhood association leaders as a social group designator distinct from residents. Collocations can shed light on semantic distinctions that matter in a particular collection of texts by being frequent. I also argued that corpora might be conceived of as 'discourses' or discursive formations; in this case the discourse of downtown revitalization.

Corpora can give us insight into possible distinctions based upon actual ones made in individual concordance lines, but they by no means exhaust all possibilities, as they themselves are the product of a process of selection. In any instance of language use, speakers may create novel distinctions that suit their interactional purposes. We have seen that interviewees populate the world of revitalized urban Chattanooga with far more social types than suggested by the frequency list of CORPUS A: they talk about druggers, homeless people, unruly neighbors, none of which is included in the corpus wordlist. By comparing instance to corpus patterns and examining the selections made, it is possible to see situational language use as a particular 'framing' within the larger socio-discursive domain described by corpus analysis.

The link between the interviews and corpus patterns may be analyzed in a similar manner. With regard to distinctions among different types of residents, we have seen that length of residence, or more precisely the distinction made between new and existing residents, featured prominently in interviewee's accounts. Specifically, the focus was on new residents as desirable additions to city neighborhoods. Unlike in the corpus, middle-class SES was linked to new residents and appeared to provide the grounds for their desirability as city dwellers. Also, while the corpus pattern showed a predominance of collocations involving lower SES residents, poor residents or the issue of poverty was nearly absent from the interviews. Geographical division clearly played a role as residents were often classified during the interviews as belonging to one of the revitalized neighborhoods. As in the corpus, speakers sometimes talked about or showed concern for older residents, while younger age groups were only rarely mentioned. That neighborhood leaders play a significant role in NCI's plan of revitalizing neighborhoods became obvious from Lloyd's initial description of the initiative. They constantly recur in other interviews as well, along with block leaders, all of whom are constructed as desirable elements.

The above observations may seem trivial. These lexical distinctions, however, are important as it is partly through them that a particular social world emerges, within each interview as well as across encounters and their records that comprise the corpus. As Hackings (1986) argues, "numerous kinds of human beings and human acts come into being hand in hand with our invention of the categories labeling them" (p. 236). In the emerging social hierarchy of revitalizing urban neighborhoods, a range of new social personae are also coming into being, and lexical designators play an important role in making reference to them and meta-level descriptions of them possible. Further, circulating lexical distinctions within particular social and discourse networks ensures that they are being made salient and thus relevant among participants of the network. Lexical distinctions, when circulated and repeated as embodied enactments, become socially relevant and culturally meaningful distinctions. In that process, they also typically assume a particular cultural value through the evaluative characterizations that are attached to them.

In my analysis of the discourse prosody of *residents* in the Chattanooga corpus, I argued that as an extended lexical unit the word connotes different levels of engagement: active, facilitated and one where residents appear as merely affected by revitalization processes. A range of lexico-grammatical constructions participated in the construal of this prosody and most of them were not exclusively associated with any of the three types. The analysis showed how we may use corpus data to uncover connotative or evaluative meanings of lexical items that have sociocultural significance: as recurrent patterns, they are empirically traceable records of a culturally shared repertoire of speaking that people draw upon in social interaction. By suggesting engagement as a possible connotative dimension, I also made the case that the

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positive-negative binary as the primary evaluative scale be rethought in favor of more varied and more nuanced distinctions.

Different degrees of engagement served as the basis for interviewees in labeling people as desirable or undesirable elements of an urban neighborhood. In other words, one's social worth as an urban resident was measured based upon one's contribution to the improvement of the neighborhood, and the main indicator of this contribution was the amount of time and effort volunteered for the benefit of the community. My analysis also pointed out, however, that for some groups of people, most notably middle-class newcomers to the city, the investment they made by purchasing a home in a revitalizing area often sufficed as a substitute for engagement.

I have discussed this evaluative dimension in the interviews in terms of desirability. This judgment refers to the social consequences of metasemiotic typifications: by deeming something desirable or not during an actual speech event is consequential in that it contributes (by further circulating the metasemiotic description) to certain people or groups being included or excluded as legitimate actors in urban spaces. Further, it signals intentionality on behalf of speakers who are capable of attaching cultural value to different levels of engagement. During the interviews, this was achieved through nomic truths, indexicality and denotationally explicit lexis. Discourse prosody, on the other hand, while using the same grounds (levels of engagement) to differentiate among residents, does not attach value to those different levels. Unlike the interviews, corpora are not time-bound events involving social actors whose behavior is consequential. The patterns they reveal, instead of being the property of single speech acts, can only be ascertained by examining numerous instances of discourse production. As possibilities, they provide a record of and a resource for situated talk.

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Nevertheless, it is possible to draw parallels between engagement as lexical pattern or possibility and as value-laden characterological attribute. The three levels identified in corpus examples also appear and are made relevant during the interviews. In fact, much of what organizational representatives talk about concerns facilitated engagement, from NCI's perspective. Recall Lloyd's description of the initiative as providing residents with the necessary skills and training them to "improve their strategic thinking capabilities" or Heather making sure that "the new residents know about the neighborhood association and encourage them to go to the meeting and get involved". Examples of active involvement in neighborhood matters and in the revitalization process abound during the interviews. On the one hand, speakers typify other residents as desirable elements based upon how active they are in the neighborhood. On the other hand, resident interviewees self-identify as active participants through narrating episodes of successful activism or by telling us about ways in which they get involved: recall Mike's patrolling the street or Harriet's story about the conflict with "druggers". Another type of active engagement concerns voicing protest and acting upon it. Interviewees sometimes framed their participation in terms of objecting to certain development plans (as we saw in Eden Green in excerpt 25) and sometimes even show opposition to NCI, as Dorina's example about zoning issues in Morningside (excerpt 28) illustrates. Finally, residents as being merely affected by revitalization was not prevalent in participants' descriptions, although the issue of elderly homeowners being priced out from the neighborhood did surface during two resident interviews. I also noted in the corpus analysis how reported utterances by residents (as shown by the collocate *says* and *said*) often involved complaints. During most of the interviews, complaints about the present situation were noticeably rare (though not entirely absent), although complaints

about the past of a neighborhood, formulated in contrast with an optimistic present, were fairly frequent.

During the interviews, facilitated and active engagement, together with those who take part in them, were articulated as desirable. The new urban resident takes an active role in transforming his or her socio-spatial environment, with the guidance and facilitation of NCI and similar institutional entities. As a cumulative effect, revitalization is constructed as a resident-driven process but one that also depends upon – at least initially – certain forms of intervention. Those who are unwilling or incapable of volunteering time and effort for the neighborhood cause, or do not have enough income to purchase a home, do not fit the model of personhood for urban residents.

Discourse as Process in Urban Revitalization

Arguments in favor of theorizing discourse as process have recently been supplanted by analytic tools that facilitate the empirical exploration of a processual view of language use. Silverstein's distinction between type and token-interdiscursivity is one of them; and I utilized these two concepts to seek out connections among the interviews. As I hinted at in Chapter 5, the interviews as time-bound events are situated within a social-discursive network that links individuals across time and space through social interaction. Using Agha's (2007) term, these interviews represent links within a speech chain network through which metasemiotic descriptions of the desirable and undesirable urban resident become circulated. Further, such descriptions, when circulated (minimally) among those whose behavior it characterizes, are quite instrumental in facilitating the emergence of new social personae.

Agha (2007) emphasizes two distinct yet interrelated processes that enable us to make inferences about the kind of person our interlocutors are. One of them involves reliance on stereotypes as culturally circulated typifications of images/categories of personhood (e.g. immigrant, conservative, Goth, etc.) in terms of salient behavioral displays (clothing, speech, mannerism, consumption patterns, etc.). These typifications spread by expanding the social domain or circle of people who can perceive and "read" the behavioral displays as emblems for a specific social persona. This process of transmission occurs through a long chain (or network) of speech events during which the range and type of signs associated with a type of personhood may be altered. In each speech encounter, signs (i.e. perceivable 'things' that index something other than themselves) enter into unforeseeable configurations with other signs and produce "emergent emblems" (Agha 2007: 236) of identity that are very specific to the current speaker and the current interaction. As Agha emphasizes, it is through both stereotypic and text-level indexical effects that we are able to assess our interlocutors as kinds of people. If we want to investigate semiotic processes through which certain identity types, such as that of the urban resident, become "enregistered" (widely recognized) over time, we can either study a series of (speech) events that contributed to the emergence and spread of an emblematic figure of identity, or study a single event that acts as a virtual model of a chain of events by "formulate[ing] its own connection to other events" (Agha 2007: 72).

Discourse as process in interviews

In this sense, the interviews can be examined as providing a virtual map pointing to past and future interactions. My analysis of token-interdiscursivity provided a number of examples where speakers, through various forms of represented speech deixis, brought past encounters into the

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current conversation. On the other hand, interviews can also be investigated as actual events: as somewhat formal interactions between residents and two academics. Both conceptualizations give a glimpse of the speech chain networks through which the metasemiotic description of the urban resident spreads. In the following, I want to briefly illustrate this using the example of Mike from Chapter 5. I examine how the interview with Mike points to other speech events that constitute simultaneously i) a recontextualization of the metasemiotic typification as an enacted persona; and ii) episodes in Mike's trajectory of socialization into the identity of the urban resident. I also argue that the interview itself as a speech event also constitutes iii) an occasion for Mike to ratify his urban identity and iv) an act of transmission through which the metasemiotic discourse about the urban resident as an indexible category of personhood spreads.

Metasemiotic description as enacted persona

If we think of the metasemiotic descriptions as behavioral displays associated with the role category of urban resident, we can view Mike's retelling of the encounter with his neighbor as pointing to a specific event in which this metasemiotic description appeared/was recontextualized as a (potentially) perceivable semiotic display. Here is a slightly expanded version of the excerpt from Chapter 5:

> *Mike*: […] With me taking advantage of the incentive I put in my time basically by trying to bring in more people you know (.) keep my property value up. I probably step on a lot of toes. We go around and if we see something that isn't right you know I take- I don't come running up to you and pointing a finger and all (.) I just give it a look like "OK." I had- it wasn't a confrontation with a neighbor (.) but it was- he asked me if I called 311 which is a city service which is to take and come and you get your stuff up. So I just let him go on and on and on and on and talk. He's like 'the man came and knocked on my door and telling me I gotta get this up, so I got it up and put it on the street.' So I'm just listening at him. OK, OK, OK. So when he got through I asked him I said "Are you mad that the man came and knocked on your door to tell you to put that on the street which you've already done obviously because here it is or are you asking

me if I reported you?" "Here's my answer to your question: I don't have to report you. Whatever it takes to keep my property value up, that's what I'm going to do, so if it effects you, you just need to get on board!" He's like "Oh OK, I understand, I understand."

Mike tells us about this incident in which he as a resident with significant monetary investment in the neighborhood took initiative in ensuring that other residents' actions (or lack thereof) did not stand in the way of furthering development. Recall Lloyd's imperative to "solve problems" (e.g., having 'stuff' outside one's house) in order to "add value". Primarily (or most obviously) through reported speech, we learn about the actual behavioral displays as embodied diacritics that index Mike as an urban resident. It can involve a certain facial expression ("I just give it a look like "OK"") that indexes his acknowledgment of something as a problem. Or it can entail calling city services (as he reiterates later on) to report people who violate his sense of appropriate behavior in an urban neighborhood. In other interviews, we hear similar stories in which residents re-enact their version of an urban resident, and each time the perceivable signs constituting their acts appear to be somewhat different, though many of them fall within the bounds of community policing.

Socialization into the urban resident identity

A point that is closely related to the previous one, we can look at the events Mike tells us during the interview as episodes in his socialization into the category of urban resident as a type of person. Wortham (2005) illustrates how the process through which a person comes to inhabit a certain identity type involves a long chain of interactions. Calling someone a "bad student" does not automatically make them one, at least not beyond the current situation. That effect is brought about through a series of speech events "across which an individual participates, becomes

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socialized and thereby develops aspects of a social identity " (Wortham 2005: 97). This chain of events or a person's "trajectory of socialization" (ibid 97) is influenced by local models of personhood as well as by larger social-historical developments but unfolds in ways that are unique to the individual.

The interview with Mike is then a virtual chain, pointing through various forms of deixis to other speech events in which he acted as an urban resident. Two points support this claim. As I mentioned, Mike was contacted (by Lloyd) to be interviewed by us as a new neighborhood resident, presumably somewhat of an exemplar model. The interview is framed as being about his experience of moving into and living in that particular urban neighborhood, and thus from the beginning highlights this particular aspect of his life (rather than, say, his work experience). Second, in the excerpt, Mike refers to "the incentive", basically free money from Lloyd's organization that was given to him (and other new residents) to encourage home purchase in one of the four downtown neighborhoods. As he states, he felt like he had to give back (to the organization) by "putting in his time"; in other words, it is not difficult to envision a series of speech events around the incentive during which Mike had direct contact with either Lloyd or other members of his organization, exposing him to the metasemiotic model of the urban resident who volunteers for his community. So during the narrated episodes of his "putting in time" (of which the above excerpt is an example), he is acting at least partly as the urban resident. These events give Mike an opportunity to display and thus make readable (and transmittable) his urban resident identity as a set of signs shaped by the (institutional) meta-semiotic discourse but also embellished and animated by his unique demeanor indexicals (Agha 2007: 240).

Ratifying the urban persona

While the previous two sub-sections discussed the interview as a virtual chain, the next two points I want to make relate to the interview as an "actual" chain. In other words, looking at the interview as a speech event itself, we may conceptualize it as another episode in Mike's trajectory of socialization during which he gets to display his urban identity. However, unlike in the other events Mike tells us about, the interview compels him to engage in a reflexive activity (of which his storytelling is a part) about being an urban resident; i.e. to formulate his personalized metasemiotic discourse. Just as I argued earlier that distinctions aid or go hand in hand with the emergence of social personae, we can argue that Mike's engagement in such meta-semiotic activity contributes to ratifying this persona as an element of his autobiographical self (Agha 2007: 237). In other words, narrating past events of his trajectory of socialization during the interview gives Mike the opportunity to reanalyze them into a coherent whole (cf. Ochs & Capps 2001), reinterpreting those behaviors in terms of his urban persona and incorporating it into the present interaction.

Transmitting the signs-emblem connection

Finally, we can think of the interview as a semiotic activity through which an emblem (behavioral displays perceived as indexing a social persona) is transmitted. My colleague and myself as (somewhat passive) participants in the interaction are reading Mike's behavior as at least partly indexical of his urban resident identity. Such reading is facilitated by the particularity of this speech event – that Mike is interviewed as a newcomer to this urban neighborhood. It is also coupled with other text-level indexicals that produce an emergent image of Mike as an effeminate, metro-sexual African American. Thus while we read his words through the lens of

the interview frame, his presentation of self and representation of his actions result in a more complex picture, of which the urban persona is simply one constituent, shifting in and out of focus. In a similar vein, my reading of Mike's behavior is influenced by Lloyd's description (which preceded this interview) as well as by my experience in interviews we had with other residents. We can view this trail of speech events as my indoctrination into reading a particular set of signs as indexical of a particular social persona; a process that contributes to my ability to not only read these signs in subsequent encounters as indexing that social persona but also to add to the stock of metasemiotic discourse on urban identity - by writing academic papers such as this dissertation.

Discourse as process in corpora

Corpora as data can also be conceptualized in a way that accommodates the type of analysis they make possible within a process-based view of language use. As Stubbs (2002: 240) remarks, corpora are not events and thus not behavior that is anchored in time and space; rather, they are records of behavior. Nevertheless, corpora as samples of behavior can be described using the actual-virtual distinction I drew upon above. An individual concordance line is a trace of an actual act of speaking or writing; we can easily access the text from which it originates, if we choose to do so. A concordance list on the other hand enables us to see paradigmatic relationships as possible realizations of a particular syntagmatic relationship (cf. Stubbs 2002). Further, while a single concordance line represents the trace of an actual event, the patterns that emerge across multiple concordance lines, such as the discourse prosody of engagement, have virtual existence: they can only be observed using corpus tools to examine a large number of actual instances of discourse.

Type-interdiscursivity offers another way of looking at how corpus results provide interdiscursive links to time-bound, situated language use. Silverstein's concept aims to capture features of interaction that are common or typical across certain types of interaction. In his words, it represents "the interpreter's retrospective or recuperative relationship […] to an internalized notion of a type or genre of discursive event" (2005: 9), since the common discourse features (understood in a very broad sense) come to be constitutive of genres and thus also become expected in their instantiations. Corpora represent empirically observable typicality in language use, or in the case of special corpora such as the ones used in this dissertation, of a particular discursive formation. It can tell us what is common or similar or typical of discourse within a particular social domain or network of social relations. These typicalities (e.g. the discourse prosody of engagement) that can only be described as a virtual phenomenon, provide interdiscursive links among instantiations of the discursive domain; it is partly through them that certain interactions are recognized as instances of that discursive domain.

There are notable differences, however. In the literary tradition, the definition of a particular genre has generally been based on textual features or on typical themes, characters or storyline that were salient and observable in each instantiation of the genre: we have poems, the *Bildungsroman*, or comedy as literary genres. In (linguistic) anthropological research, the attention turned to orality and the dimension of social function was added, as ethnographers described the various types of (ritual) interactions of different cultures. We find descriptions of linguistic characteristics of rituals along with physical-spatial arrangements and participant framework that combine as constitutive elements of the genre. Genre characteristics are based on analyses of a number of individual occurrences (realizations, performances) of a particular ritual;

analyses that are geared toward uncovering how recurrent and new features achieve local interactional effects.

A corpus, as I have suggested above, can also reveal recurrent characteristics of particular types of text. I have deviated from traditional definitions of what counts as a genre; in fact I have not used that word to refer to the collection of texts that make up CORPUS A and B. The texts that comprise the two corpora are thought to belong to the same discursive domain, based on the shared topical focus of urban revitalization, as evidenced in or indexed by shared keywords used to generate the corpus. This is not to deny that the more formal definition of genre also applies: the corpora comprise newspaper articles, academic writings, and spoken discourse, all of which will share certain formal and organizational characteristics. I made the same point in Chapter 5: using type-interdiscursivity, our interviews can be analyzed based on how they confirm or deviate from typical characteristics of the interview genre. However, by focusing on metasemiotic descriptions instead, we are able to go outside of generic boundaries and identify similarities that act as interdiscursive links across multiple genres, each produced within the more encompassing discursive domain of urban revitalization. To the extent that a corpus is an adequate, though not representative, sample of a particular discursive domain (and a comparative analysis of wordlists can verify that), the discourse prosody of engagement provides a similarity that obtains beyond the individual genres that make up the corpus, though its linguistic realizations may well be genre-specific. It characterizes usage within urban revitalization discourse as virtual possibility that nevertheless rests firmly on empirical observations.

<u>Discourse and Urban Change</u>

As my review in Chapter 3 indicated, the transformation of America's urban landscape over the past century has often been discussed and explained in political-economic terms. There has also been parallel research into the cultural milieu of the city, starting with ethnographies by Chicago school sociologists of the urban disenfranchised (Faris 1967). Recently, some urban scholars have turned to discourse in an attempt to uncover its role in shaping urban change, though as I noted, much of this research is somewhat limited in its empirical scope and theoretical innovation. My goal in this dissertation has been partly to address how examining discourse beyond CDA-inspired textual analyses might provide additional insight into how cities are changing. The question then becomes: how can the results from my analyses inform current understandings of the processes involved in urban revitalization?

It seems to be widely accepted that neoliberalism as a political-economic model provides the guiding framework for the transformation of cities in Western, post-industrial societies. Neoliberalism is often defined as a theory (Harvey 2005), as a programme (Bourdieu 1998), a project (Jessop 2002) or simply an ideology; all legitimate frameworks that however run the risk of obscuring the empirical reality of complex processes that constitute neoliberalism. As Agha (2007) notes,

> My impression is that for many anthropologists, 'macro' things are things denoted by certain types of nouns. If I'm writing about 'modernity' or 'hierarchy' or 'globalization' that's clearly 'macro-'. […] phenomena grouped under vast notational rubrics in this way cannot be studied empirically unless the forms of social-semiotic activity through which they are expressed, and the processes through which such activities become valorized so as to be able to express them are clearly understood. (p. 12f)

Neoliberalism as a 'vast notational rubric' is often treated in an abstract ('macro') way, masking the need or possibility to explore its empirical manifestation as social practice.

In order to amend such conceptualizations prevalent in writings on urban transformation, I suggested in Chapter 5 that we might think of neoliberalism as metasemiotic discourse that generates a particular version of social reality. A significant part of this meta-discourse involves metasemiotic descriptions of personhood that are circulated through speech chain networks and provide recognizable and inhabitable models of social persona for social interaction. The metasemiotic descriptions of desirable and undesirable residents during the interviews belong to such neoliberal meta-discourse. We have seen that individuals and social groups were judged based on their contributions to community development and neighborhood growth. The neoliberal emphasis placed on individual engagement was also evident in the corpus patterns associated with *residents* as a lexical role designator.

So-called structural (macro) factors such as economic changes that only appear abstract when observed from some temporal distance go hand-in-hand with meta-discourses about them that explain and legitimize their existence. However, meta-descriptions alone do not suffice in changing or moving social life forward; there have to be actual instances when these models are enacted as embodied personae. The urban resident is no longer simply a demographic category; and metasemiotic descriptions as well as situational enactments ensure that its cultural (re)definition on neoliberal principles is transmitted and replicated across interactions and social domains. My comments in the previous section described some ways in which the interviews served as occasions for both the circulation of metasemiotic descriptions as well as for their enactment. They not only gave a glimpse of the speech chain network through which descriptions have spread, but the interviews themselves became a part of that network.

As I have pointed out before, the associations drawn between social groups, types of behavior and social worth create a social world in which individuals as types of people are cast into a basically dichotomous moral evaluative system: those who do and those who do not contribute to the advancement of the neighborhood. The consequences of this are 'real': when metasemiotic descriptions of homeless people as undesirable urban dwellers have reached (and convinced) a sufficient number of residents, they can in turn act as good neoliberal citizens and convince the city council that homeless be removed from downtown. During the interviews, we heard countless examples of interviewees proudly retelling us episodes of such "activism".

One question that may be rightfully asked is this: Why is it a problem that these residents want a clean neighborhood that is free of criminals and criminal activities? The answer is, of course, that it is not a problem – people deserve to live in a safe and neat environment. The problem is that neighborhood development has become dependent on forms of civic participation that can foster or surface in rather uncaring attitudes and behavior. Despite NCI's promise that "participating neighborhoods experience reduced crime without compromising respect for civil rights" (NCI 2004 Progress Report p. 7), some of the ways in which residents go about creating a 'neighborhood of choice' (such as engaging in an armed confrontation) seem in violation of that principle. Further, as the role of the state is reduced to that of a financial facilitator and distant observer, intervention becomes the responsibility of individuals, guided by private organizations such as NCI. These support systems are often temporary; the four downtown neighborhoods in Chattanooga have "graduated" from the program (which means no more financial or strategic help) and are now on their own to maintain their progress. As a result of a devolution of responsibilities, it is no longer the anonymous institutions that act as oppressors – it is everyday people. As undesirable elements and structures are removed from urban areas, urban

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neighborhoods become spatially purified (cf. Modan 2002) and socially homogeneous – partly through the actions of self-reliant urban residents.

Fairclough (2003) suggests that part of what makes citizens as contemporary 'characters' (social personae) is their engagement in processes of deliberation and decision making over matters of public interest and concern. Lepofsky and Fraser (2003) also argue that the neoliberal re-definition of what it means to be a citizen has entailed a shift from citizenship as a static category to one where being a citizen is a performance-based identity; it is not something one has as a result of being born into a country but is assigned based upon what one does. While we may welcome the agentic aspect of this redefined citizenship, it can also be problematic considering that metasemiotic descriptions entail a consequential moral assessment of self and other, of things, people and actions that are desirable and those that are not, creating a moral hierarchy of residents distinguished by their level of participation and willingness to engage in place-making. 'Getting on board' in revitalizing one's neighborhood is a matter of choice, not of ability or means, giving Mike and others moral license to condemn and even chase away those who do not subscribe to the neoliberal meta-discourse. This plays directly into the redefined role of citizens as the makers of their own fate and accountable for their actions; perhaps amplified in the present case by the individualist philosophy that has characterized US cultural history. Unfortunately, while the voluntarism of an engaged citizenry seems crucial in compensating for diminishing social services in free-market societies, in some cases it may instead contribute to maintaining social problems.

At several points in this dissertation, I have alluded to the importance of interdisciplinary research. The final question then remains, what is gained for interdisciplinarity? First, interdiscursivity as a conceptual frame and analytic tool for investigating discourse may serve as

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linkage among various sociolinguistic approaches by fostering 1) an understanding of language use as encompassing both routine and creative acts; 2) a move away from a static conception of discourse as product toward a processual understanding of language as sociocultural practice; 3) recasting the micro-macro dilemma into a more dynamic framework that pushes the inherent temporality of social interaction into the foreground. Second, it can benefit social-scientific inquiry outside of linguistics, particularly research that takes account of language and social interaction. Interdisciplinarity, if it is to work, cannot merely involve a consideration of other literatures, though that is clearly a key component. Rather, scholars need to identify conceptual tools and ways of looking at social reality that are relevant and can be integrated into a larger social scientific framework. If we take a dynamic, processual view of discourse as sociocultural practice, analyzing language use both as networked situated social interaction and as virtual possibilities will without a doubt enhance cross-disciplinary understandings of the social world.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SAMPLE INTRODUCTORY STATEMENTS DURING THE

INTERVIEWS

From Transcript #1[17]

INT: Well I'm, just so you know, I was here a while ago, six years ago, God it's been a while, I've been in Chapel Hill ever since, but I'm familiar a little bit, but mainly with a while ago, 1997, 98, a few articles for Matt Brahm and for Joseph and so this is really helpful information. Especially about the renewed interest, not that it waned, in Morningside because some of the big stories that had started to come out were more about Fernwood and then also of course Turtle Creek and what happened in Eden Green so I'm more ignorant about what happened in Morningside so maybe we could actually take that strand, since I know Karen you're involved directly in that, and since we talked about the Eden Green before, we could start running with that a little bit. What we're trying to do is find some examples of stories that would be of interest to the Urban Land Institute readership, for actual practitioners to maybe even get in touch with people here in Chattanooga to maybe export some of the successes that have gone on and then also to kind of recognize some of the challenges of this work because there are certainly cities that are similar size or maybe even a little smaller that really are strapped for resources and need to know that if they embark on something that they follow a path that's actually produced results. So that's in part why we're here.
Karen: And you'll be here until?
INT: Until Wednesday evening perhaps.
Karen: Were you here this weekend?
INT: I wanted to, but I had a wedding up in Chapel Hill. I didn't have a wedding…I had a wedding six years ago here at Bluff View which is still, I'm going….but I was at a wedding so I couldn't pull myself away but I was very interested in that and also the Fernwood Tour of Homes and that whole thing so I really wish I hadn't missed it. And Csilla is at the University of Georgia right now.
Karen: You are? I got one there.
INT: Oh really? Yeah. She's finishing her Ph.D. in linguistics.

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[17] Transcripts are orthographic and do not adhere to the detailed conventions underlying transcripts quoted in Chapter 5.

CW: Yeah.

INT: And the Fannie Mae also asked me if we wanted to write something up which I think they're putting enough toward to make it happen, but Csilla would like to work on her dissertation topic looking at neighborhood revitalization and looking at ways in which cities talk about that so just so you're aware of the multiple things we're up to here. You know I've already done as much writing as I need to do. But this is serving both purposes, if that's fine.

From Transcript #10

INT: We're writing--well we're doing a few things. One, the larger project is to document some of the change that's happened in Chattanooga over the last twenty years with downtown revitalization as well as some of the neighborhoods that are right near downtown and it's kind of building off work I did when I was here back in the mid '90s. I was at UTC for a while and I worked with the Neighborhood Change Initiative to help kind of get a baseline of where neighborhoods were at and I did a survey with them. About 70 residents helped do the survey actually, about 4 different neighborhoods that did it, or 5, at that time Westside was included. But now I'm at Chapel Hill, at the University of North Carolina and Csilla is at the University of Georgia and she's, we're both writing an article together for the Urban Land Institute on the change that's happened, the urban revitalization, and she's also writing her dissertation looking at the way that people view the changes that have been going on so we're interested in talking with a wide range of people. Some of the most important folks are the ones who live in the areas that you know, so Lloyd said that you had lived, you live in a part of Fernwood that hasn't completely been touched by the efforts that have gone on, the folks like Harriet and those blocks there have felt maybe a little bit more with the kind of revitalization activities.

APPENDIX B: TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

::   **colons** indicate that the preceding sound is prolonged; more colons means increased prolongation;

(1.0)   **numbers in parentheses** mark pauses in seconds;

(.)   **period in parentheses** indicates a micropause (less than 1 second);

-   **a dash** marks a brief stop or break in the flow of speech;

(( ))   **double parentheses** enclose information about gaze or body movement as well as certain audible characteristics of talk;

[…]   **brackets with three periods** indicate an omitted segment of talk;

[ ]   **information in brackets** is added by the author to clarify references made by the speaker;

Bold   **bold** in the transcript indicates analytic points of interest;

[**brackets connecting lines** mark overlapping talk.
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