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ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ ΕΚΔΟΤΩΝ

Το 12ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας (International Conference on Greek Linguistics/ICGL12) πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Κέντρο Νέου Ελληνισμού του Ελεύθερου Πανεπιστημίου του Βερολίνου (Centrum Modernes Griechenland, Freie Universität Berlin) στις 16-19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2015 με τη συμμετοχή περίπου τετρακοσίων συνέδρων απ' όλον τον κόσμο.

Την Επιστημονική Επιτροπή του ICGL12 στελέχωσαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου, Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος, Άρτεμις Αλεξιάδου, Δώρα Αλεξοπούλου, Γιάννης Ανδρουτσόπουλος, Αμαλία Αρβανίτη, Σταύρος Ασημακόπουλος, Αλεξάνδρα Γεωργακοπούλου, Κλεάνθης Γκρώμαν, Σαβίνα Ιατρίδου, Mark Janse, Brian Joseph, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Ναπολέον Κάτσος, Ευαγγελία Κορδώνη, Αμαλία Μόζερ, Ελένη Μπουτουλούση, Κική Νικηφορίδου, Αγγελική Ράλλη, Άννα Ρούσου, Αθηνά Σιούπη, Σταύρος Σκοπετέας, Κατερίνα Στάθη, Μελίτα Σταύρου, Αρχόντω Τερζή, Νίνα Τοπιντζή, Ιάνθη Τσιμπλή και Σταυρούλα Τσιπλάκου.

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Παρότι στο συνέδριο οι ανακοινώσεις είχαν ταξινομηθεί σύμφωνα με θεματικούς άξονες, τα κείμενα των ανακοινώσεων παρατίθενται σε αλφαβητική σειρά, σύμφωνα με το λατινικό αλφάβητο· εξαίρεση αποτελούν οι εναρκτήριες ομιλίες, οι οποίες βρίσκονται στην αρχή του πρώτου τόμου.

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NARRATIVE, IDENTITY AND AGE: THE CASE OF THE BILINGUAL IN GREEK AND TURKISH MUSLIM COMMUNITY OF RHODES, GREECE

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Περίληψη

Σε αυτή τη μελέτη εξετάζονται αφηγήσεις μελών της δίγλωσσης στα Ελληνικά και Τουρκικά μουσουλμανικής κοινότητας της Ρόδου σε συνάρτηση με την κατασκευή ταυτοτήτων των ομιλητών/τριών. Η ανάλυση σχετίζεται με τη δομή των αφηγήσεων, τη θέση τους στις συνομιλιακές ακολουθίες και τις γλωσσικές επιλογές των ομιλητών/τριών σε συνάρτηση με την ηλικιακή ομάδα τους. Τα αποσπάσματα που παρουσιάζονται εξετάζονται ως προς την τοποθέτηση του εαυτού και του άλλου μέσω των αφηγηματικών στρατηγικών άμεσης και έμμεσης αξιολόγησης. Αποδεικνύεται ότι τα μέλη διαφορετικών ηλικιακών ομάδων κατασκευάζουν και (επανα)διαπραγματεύονται δυναμικές ταυτότητες μέσω των οποίων τοποθετούνται σε συμφωνία/ αντιδιαστολή με το σύστημα αξιών της κοινότητας.

Keywords: narrative, identity, life stories, bilingual communities

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to discuss narrative contributions to conversations and life story interviews with members of the bilingual in Greek and Turkish Muslim community of Rhodes¹ in connection with the structure of narratives and the generation

¹ For the description of the community examined see Georgalidou et al. 2011 and references.

group of the members. Based on an ethnographic framework it aims at discussing the construction of minority identities through the verbal and non-verbal action presented in the narratives. The question addressed is how speakers position themselves towards the in-and out of the story social world in connection with their age. More specifically, the question concerns the structure of narratives and the performance of identities revealed by the linguistic choices and the linguistic positioning of self and other within the narratives by members of different age groups. In what follows, we discuss theoretical aspects of narrative analysis (section 2). In section 3, we discuss the data and in section 4, we present our conclusions.

2. Theoretical background

Narrative is a universal characteristic of oral discourse which appears in all linguistic communities. It is a fundamental tool that humans use in order to elaborate experience (De Fina 2003: 6). In the sociolinguistic framework, narration is viewed as a discursive practice through which speakers re-construct (usually) past events under their own point of view, either by obeying or denying social constraints. Certain ideologies, relations and cultural features emerge in narrative; thus, storytelling is closely related to the linguistic construction of identities. In this framework, narration is a fundamental way of talking about and negotiating interactively the self in relation to others and to social experiences or even expressing collective values and beliefs (De Fina 2003: 7). Although the structures of narratives vary within different civilizations, narrative speech organizes the perception and the expression of an experience under the storyteller's viewpoint and according to specific cultural assumptions and expectations. Under these circumstances reality is not given or reflected in a story, but rather it is constructed by participants to speech events (Archakis & Tsakona 2010: 38, 62).

A life story is a discontinuous and open unit constructed over a long period of time by all the experiences that a person chooses to talk about during his/her lifetime (Linde 2003: 4). Based on Linde's seminal work on life stories (2003), a life story consists of smaller stories that are being constantly revised, because they are told on different occasions to different addressees. All stories that belong to a life story must satisfy the following two criteria; firstly, they have to contain an evaluation point about the speaker. Secondly, a story must be tellable, i.e. it must be unusual or counter

to expectations and norms (Linde 1993: 22). A narrative in a life story is an account of at least two actions in a temporal order and is roughly matched to Labov's Personal Experience Narratives (PENs). Apart from PENs, a life story consists of explanations, i.e. statements of some proposition to be proved, and chronicles, i.e. a sequence of temporally ordered events that does not have a specific point.

When it comes to the structural analysis of everyday conversational personal narratives, we concentrate on the narrative construction of identity based on the evaluative strategies applied by the narrators (for more see Labov 1972). Evaluation answers the question of why the story is worth telling and it does not have a standard position in the narrative structure. It appears in various parts of the story and it can be either *internal* (indirect evaluative comments embedded in the story) or *external* (overt commentary). When using external evaluation, the narrator suspends temporarily the action, in order to make overt statements as to his/her feelings and to comment on the actions narrated. On the other hand, internal evaluation is achieved through indirect commentary devices such as dramatization through direct reported speech, repetition, self-distancing, elliptical syntax, intensifiers, gestures etc. The linguistic choices in narratives as well as the evaluative strategies express the narrator's positioning towards a) the co-heroes in the story, b) the immediate addressee(s), c) the local value system (Bamberg 1997).

As far as the age of the narrators is concerned, sociolinguistic research has proven the importance of generation patterns in the management of the linguistic resources of various communities. In bilingual communities, Winford (2003) has described the 3-generation shift pattern that is compatible with changes in the structure of the personal social networks of bilingual speakers. Linguistic choices made by bilinguals pertaining to different age-groups (Li Wei & Milroy 1995), of which narrative strategies are an example, can be indicative of preservation or change concerning both linguistic resources and distinct value systems. Thus, language change has to do with language shift towards standard varieties connected to a change in the structure of the bilingual community networks and a possible change in local value systems. In this presentation we will focus on the latter. Based on the points discussed so far, in what follows, we will present the community under scrutiny and discuss the linguistic and textual parameters of personal narratives produced by our informants.

3. Data and Discussion

The narratives discussed henceforth were collected within ethnographic research, still in progress (to date, 15 hours of life stories interviews from 12 interviewees, women and men). They are representative of narrative discourse data of this study. They form part of unstructured interviews that did not follow any strict agenda but aimed at engaging informants in the narration of episodes of their life stories. During the process, friends and family members of both the interviewer and the interviewees were also present. Despite the fact that the researcher and the interviewees belong to different social networks as far as their community membership is concerned, they are socially acquainted and belong to the same open networks of the broader Rhodian community².

3.1.1 Excerpt 1

1.A: Ερωτεύτηκες; ((γέλια))

2.N: ((γέλια)) Εκείνη την ημέρα είδα τον άντρα μου

3.A: ((γέλια))

4.N: Μας εφήνανε;

5.A: Ήσουν μικρή, γι αυτό

6.N: Δεν μ' εφήνανε, να 'δω ερχότανε, εδώ εκαθούμαστε, είναι το γεννησ/

7.A: Το πατρικό σου, ναι

8.N: Της μάνας μου. Κι όταν ερχότανε ο πεθερός μου *βγάλε τη νύφη* δε με βγάζανε φώναζε πού 'τανε ο πεθερός πριν πενηνταπέντε χρόνια πενηνταπέντε χρόνια είναι που 'μαι παντρεμένη με τον άντρα μου κι ερχόμαστο καθότανε εκεί ο πεθερός μου, εκαθόταν ο άντρας μου εδώ, λέει ο πεθερός, εγώ μέσα κλεισούρα [ελέανε] *βγάλε τη νύφη να το δούμε γι αυτήν ήρθαμε*

9.A: [[((γέλια))]]

2 Transcription conventions:

- self-repair
/ interruption
[] simultaneous speech,
: extended sound or syllable
(()) extralinguistic information
= latching
italics: direct reported speech

10.N: Έλεγε ο πεθερός μου ο:: θείος μου ο πατέρας μου ήτανε μοντέρνος αλλά ο θείος μου και η γιαγιά μου πολύ κουμάντο σαν πατέρας κουμάντο εκάνανε έλεε: *όχι, θέλεις έτσι; 'ε θέλεις; τράβα, φύε από 'δω* [ελέανε]

11.A- A: [(γέλια)]

12. N: Ε, ήβραν εμένα, αφήνουνε; δεκαέξι χρονών; 'ε μας εφήναν από πίσω:: είχα πολλή:: αυτή ερχότανε:: ανοιχτή τύχη είχα πάρα πολλή 'ε με 'φήνανε:: συνέ::χεια
[με γυρεύανε]

13. A: [προξενιά]

14. N: Συνέχεια με γυρεύανε συνέχεια συνέχεια και καλοί και:: ας πούμε από Κωνσταντινούπολη πολλοί σπουδασμένοι άνθρωποι με γυρέψαν 'ε με στέλνανε

1.A: Did you fall in love? ((laughing))

2.N: ((laughing)) I met my husband on the day of our wedding.

3.A: ((laughing))

4.N: Were we allowed ((to meet each other))?

5.A: You were young, that's why.

6.N: They didn't let me see ((him)), they would come here, we would sit here, here's my birth/=

7.A: =Your parent's house, yes.

8.N: My mother's. And when my father-in-law would come *let the bride come*, they wouldn't let me, my father-in-law would shout, fifty-five years ago, it's been fifty-five years that I'm married to my husband, and we would come, my father-in-law would sit there, my husband would sit here, my father-in-law says, I was confined, [they would say] *let us see the bride, we came here for her*.

9. [(laughing)]

10.N: My father-in-law would say, my uncle, my father was open-minded, but my uncle and my grandmother were in charge, they were in charge as if they were the father ((of the family)), he ((my uncle)) would say *no, are you ok with this? You are not? Get out of here* [they would say] ((to my in-laws))

11.A-L: [(laughing)]

12. Eh, they ((other bridegrooms to be)) spot me, would they let me go? At sixteen? They wouldn't let go of us; I had much- it would come- I had much luck, much luck, they wouldn't let go of me, all the time [they would ask for me] ((she had many marriage proposals))

13.L: [Matchmaking]

14.N: All the time they would ask for me all the time all the time, and the good ones say, from Istanbul, many educated men asked for me, but they didn't send me.

In the first excerpt, a first generation 80 year old woman, a housewife, who lives in the city of Rhodes, constructs the identity of the desirable young bride of her time via her wedding chronicle explaining how she got married at the early age of sixteen. She constructs the identity of the daughter / niece, who conforms to the norms of the community (turns 12-14). She fully endorses the value system of the time, which did not allow young girls to appear in public. Despite the negative evaluative remark (turn 8: *κλεισούρα*), external evaluation, she appears to be obeying the community rules and she constructs herself as a desirable bride, a fact that becomes obvious in the many marriage proposals even from educated men (turn 12, 14: *σπουδασμένοι*), external evaluation. The reported direct speech in the narrative consists of a verbal episode among her uncle, her grandmother and her father-in-law. Her father-in-law requests her presence to the event, whereas both her uncle and her grandmother respond in an overtly face-threatening way by a bald-on-record refusal. They further aggravate their response by prompting the groom's family to leave if they do not abide by the value system of the family. The bride-to-be remains silent during the episode, thus constructing her own abiding by the norms of both the family and the community, concerning the conduct of a young woman at the time.

3.1.2 Excerpt 2

1. **N:** Εγώ τι παντρεύτηκα στα δεκαεφτά με [παντρέψατε]
2. **A:** [Κι εσύ το ίδιο]
3. **G:** [Ε έτσι ήτανε] τι να κάνουμε έτσι
4. **N:** Ενώ η κόρη μου [εγώ λέω το παιδί μου θα σπουδάσει]
5. **G:** [Τότε έτσι ήτανε 'ε σπουδάζανε τα παιδιά]
6. **N:** Θα την υποστη-θα την στηρίξω θα 'μαι πίσω της και Πανεπιστήμιο τελείωσε και μεταπτυχιακό και τώρα και ζει και μόνη της
7. **B:** Έτσι
8. **N:** Πώς θα γίνει δηλαδή, να τη δεσμεύσω να τη χαντακώσω; ε:: εσύ είσαι κορίτσι δε θα κάνεις αυτό εσύ είσαι κορίτσι:: εμάς έτσι ήταν τότε α κοπέλα είσαι κορίτσι, ντροπή
9. **B:** Ναι

10. N: Δε θα κυκλοφορείς στο δρόμο δε θα: βγαίνεις έ:ξω δεν δεν όλο δεν ήτανε στη ζωή μας, μας είχανε πολύ:: αποκλεισμένοι, δηλαδή προσπαθούσαν να μας προφυλάξουν από το κακό

11. B: Κι άλλες συμμαθήτριές σας δηλαδή μέχρι το Δημοτικό πήγανε;

12. N: Ναι ναι, σπάνια από στην περιοχή μας ήταν, μόνο παλικάρια πηγαίνανε ήταν αγόρια κοιτάνε να γίνουν άντρες ξέρω 'γω θα διοικήσουνε σπί::τι τους στέλνανε τα αγόρια

13. [...]

16. N: Αυτόν τον υποστηρίζανε και Αγγλικά έκανε τότε φροντιστήριο πήγαινε και:: Γυμνάσιο και Λύκειο, ενώ εγώ είμαι κορίτσι, μόνο Δημοτικό, που ήταν και κοντά στο σπίτι να μη::ν ξεφύγω

1.N: I got married [you gave me to marriage] at seventeen.

2.A: [Eh you too.]

3.G: [That's how things were, what can we do.]

4.N: But, my daughter [I say *my child will study*]

5.G: [That's how things were, children wouldn't study.]

6.N: I will support her, I will stand by her and she finished the University and she did her MA and now she even lives alone.

7.B: Yes.

8.N: What should I have done, bind her? Cause her harm? Eh: *you are a girl you won't do this, you are a girl* that's the way things were for us *a, you are a young woman, a girl, it's a shame.*

9.B: Yes.

10.N: *You will not walk alone in the street, you will not go out, don't, don't,* our life was full of don'ts, we were very restricted, that is they tried to protect us from harm.

11.B: Your other schoolmates only finished elementary school, didn't they?

12.N: Yes, yes, rarely did ((girls)) from our district, only boys used to go. They were boys they had to become men, I don't know, to rule a house they were sent to school.

13.[...]

14.N: They supported him ((my brother)). And he even had private English lessons and he went to junior high and high school. Whereas I am a girl, only elementary school that was near the house. So that I wouldn't go astray.

In the second excerpt, the second generation speaker (N), a housewife of about 45 years of age who lives in the suburbs, explains why she left school at an early age. Exter-

nal factors i.e. the value system of the community led to this decision. Her parents, who are constructed as the agents made her marry at an early age (turn 1 *με παντρέψατε*). In turn 3, her mother tries to protect her positive face as a person who acts in accordance with the mainstream value system of the community at the time (turn 3, *έτσι ήτανε τι να κάνουμε έτσι*, and turn 5 *τότε έτσι ήτανε 'ε σπουδάζανε τα παιδιά*). However, she does not make any other interventions in the rest of her daughter's narration. N constructs a self who, as a teenager, obeyed the rules of the community, despite the fact that she positions herself against them by means of direct reported speech and repetition which constitute internal evaluation (turn 8, *εσύ είσαι κορίτσι δε θα κάνεις αυτό εσύ είσαι κορίτσι::, εμάς έτσι ήταν τότε, α κοπέλα είσαι κορίτσι, ντροπή*). She is forced to leave school in order to be protected from the so called "evil" (turn 10, direct speech), internal evaluation. The inferior position of girls and women in the community is further highlighted by her brother's different upbringing. As opposed to her, he not only finished school, but their parents even paid a language school for English lessons (turn 14, *αυτόν τον υποστηρίζανε, εγώ είμαι κορίτσι*). The juxtaposition of the personal pronouns *αυτός-εγώ* marks the different expectations from boys and girls. According to the community value system of past generations, male and female identities vary considerably; boys are raised to lead, whereas girls are raised to abide by the strict rules that control female sexuality. This system is evaluated negatively by the speaker via external evaluation (turn 10, *πολύ:: αποκλεισμένοι*). On the other hand, she appears ambivalent as she justifies the parents' viewpoint via external evaluation (turn 10, *προσπαθούσαν να μας προφυλάξουν από το κακό*). As an adult woman and mother though, she considers these decisions as a complete disaster (turn 8, *πώς θα γίνει δηλαδή, να τη δεσμεύσω να τη χαντακώσω*;) positioning herself against the value system of the elderly via external evaluation. She constructs the identity of a strong mother figure who supports her daughter in her life, encouraging her to study and even live on her own (turn 6). Therefore, a further contrast is created by the alternative construction of herself as a female parent overtly opposing the community value system.

3.1.3 Excerpt 3

1.G: [...] Ήταν κάπως αυτονόητο ότι κάποια πράγματα δεν μπορώ να τα κάνω.

2.B: Ναι όπως;

3.G: Όπως αυτό βέβαια είναι και γενικό: αλλά εγώ το είχα από τη θρησκεία παραδείγματος χάρη το ότι μπορεί να έλεγα στον μπαμπά μου να βγω μετά τις

δώδεκα πια ας πούμε όταν είχαμε αρχίσει να βγαίνουμε ε: μου λεγε *όχι γιατί:: εσύ συγκεκριμένα δε μπορείς* ενώ ας πούμε εγώ καταλάβαινα ότι υπάρχει και στις φίλες μου τις χριστιανές ας πούμε τις Ελληνίδες εκείνος το:: απ τη μεριά του το έβλεπε σαν μουσουλμανική κοινότητα ότι εσύ έχεις έναν λόγο παραπάνω να μη μπορείς να βγεις.

4.B: Ναι ναι

5.G: Ή εννοείται να μην έχεις φίλο [και:: να] μην

6. B: [ναι ναι]

7.G: κάνεις πολλή παρέα με αγόρια γιατί:: άμα σε δει κάποιος από την κοινότητα τη δική μας τι θα πει; δεν ήταν ποτέ βίαιος δεν ήταν υπερβολικός; δε μου μιλούσε ποτέ άσχημα απλά μου το 'λεγε σαν συμβουλή ότι *ξέρεις κάτι; ε: θα σε συζητάνε αν σε δούνε έξω με παρέα αγοριών θα σε συζητάνε.*

8.B: Ναι

9.G: Υπήρχε αυτή η ιδέα

10.B: Κατάλαβα ντάξει αυτό ήτανε κι ανάλογα με την οικογένεια πιστεύω δηλαδή κι εγώ δε μπορούσα να βγω μέχρι::

[το πρωί ας πούμε]

11.G: [Πι αυτό λέω] ότι καταλάβαινα ότι δεν ήταν μόνο δικό μου θέμα ο πατέρας μου το έβλεπε όμως έτσι ότι είναι δικό του στοιχείο ότι:: υπήρχε μια παραπάνω ένας παραπάνω λόγος να μη μ αφήσει να βγω βέβαια εγώ καταλαβαίνω ότι ήταν θέμα χαρακτήρα γιατί ο μπαμπάς μου είτε χριστιανός ήτανε

[είτε:: οτιδήποτε]

12.B: [Θα 'ταν το ίδιο]

13.G: θα 'ταν το ίδιο οπότε κούμπωσε.

1. G: [...] it somewhat went without saying that I could not do certain things.

2. B: Yes, like what?

3. G: Like:: of course this is widespread, but I had it due to religion, for example I would ask my father to let me go out after midnight say, when we started going out, eh: and he would tell me *no because particularly you cannot say*, while I understood that the same rules applied to my Christian girl-friends to my Greek friends as well, he, on his part acquired the point of view of the Muslim community that *particularly you have an extra reason not to go out.*

4. B: Yes yes

5. G: Or of course you shouldn't have a boyfriend [and not] go

6. B: [yes yes]

7. G: out with boys because if someone from the community sees you what would they say? He was never violent he never exaggerated he never offended me, he just advised me, *you know, they will talk about you if someone sees you going out with a boys' group they will gossip about you.*

8. B: Yes

9. G: There was that idea

10. B: I see, ok, I believe it depended on the family, I also couldn't stay out
[say until dawn].

11. G:

[That's why I say] that it was not only my issue, but my father saw it as his own thing, that he had one more reason not to let me go out, of course I understand that it was a matter of character because my dad would have been the same even if he wasn't a Muslim [or whatever]

12. B: [It would have been the same]

13. G: It would have been the same so everything fits.

In the last excerpt a woman of the younger generation, about 28 years of age, currently unemployed, explains why it was forbidden to her to stay out late as a teenager. Her father, who is constructed as the agent and seems to be the rule maker in the house, enforces the value system of the community he belongs to which does not allow teenage girls to go out until late at night or have a boyfriend. As we can see in turns 3, 5 and 7, indirect evaluative comments representing the thoughts of a third party as well as direct reported speech function as internal evaluation (*εσú συγκεκριμένα δεν μπορείς, έχεις έναν λόγο παραπάνω να μη μπορείς να βγεις, άμα σε δει κάποιος από την κοινότητα τι θα πει*). She, however, protects the positive face of her father by presenting him as a positive father figure, who acts as a consultant to his daughter and tries to protect her from the gossip of the community (turns 7, 8) via internal evaluation through repetition (*θα σε συζητάνε*). Therefore, the family rules are not being imposed directly and the relations between the father and the girl are considered as cooperative. They both accept the fact that the community rules are important and they, as a family, have to follow them, which constitutes internal evaluation through repetition (turns 3, 11, *ένας παραπάνω λόγος*). The speaker constructs for herself the identity of a daughter who obeys her father willingly, as she understands that the rules apply to Christian girls of her age as well (turn 3). She implies that the strict rules of the community had an impact on her father's behavior towards her (turn 3), but she concludes that, besi-

des the community system, it was her father's personality which determined the family rules (turn 12, *είτε χριστιανός ήταν είτε μουσουλμάνος το ίδιο θα 'ταν*). However, the strict code of the community is constructed as compatible to her father's personal value system (turn 14). All explanatory comments to actions undertaken by the father constitute external evaluation strategies.

As far as the linguistic resources used in the three narratives are concerned, the elderly women in the first two excerpts speak the local Greek dialect of Rhodes with interference from Turkish. For example, the narrator in excerpt 1 uses the default gender value of the neuter instead of the feminine (turn 8: *βγάλε τη νύφη να το δούμε*) and she prefers verb final constructions (turn 18: *ε, τώρα άσχημη είμαι*). The middle aged woman speaks Standard Greek with less interference. In her discourse there are few cases of verb final constructions (excerpt 2, turn 16: *φροντιστήριο πήγαινε*) and she has more expanded vocabulary resources. The young woman speaks standard Greek with no interference from Turkish. Despite the fact that language shift attested in the narratives needs to be further examined, it is compatible with shift in the value systems as it has been constructed in the discourse of younger and older female informants.

4. Conclusions

The aim of this presentation was to discuss aspects of the construction of identities in the bilingual Muslim community of Rhodes according to the generation group of the informants. When narrating, speakers construct their identities by directly or indirectly evaluating themselves and others in the story. They position themselves within value systems circulating in the communities of reference concerning un/acceptable identities. Through external and internal evaluation the speakers determine their value system in connection with their age and their times.

More specifically, both linguistic means and evaluation strategies of the narrators in the excerpts show differences in the identity construction of women storytellers. For the old and the middle aged women, both male and female guardians impose the community rules directly. The middle aged woman, however, evaluates the rules negatively and constructs resistance to them by presenting herself as a different mother figure to her own daughter. The younger woman, on the other hand, constructs her father as being less abiding by the community system and more by his own personal values. She therefore ascribes the rules imposed to her as a teenager to a perceived common local

value system of both religious and ethnic communities constructing herself as less of a representative of “otherness”. Linguistic resources used for the construction of the narratives seem compatible to shifts in both linguistic and value systems. Similar observations have been made for the total of the data analysed for this study. Still, further research is needed in order to establish these tendencies in interaction.

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