ISA International Sociological Association

RC25 Language and Society

RC25 NEWSLETTER

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Edited by Anna Odrowaz-Coates & Idalina Odziemczyk

Highlights:

- **RC 25 ISA Conference in Nairobi approaching fast**
- **Notes about the war in Ukraine**

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NOTES ABOUT THE WAR IN UKRAINE

An insight from a Polish academic based in Warsaw on the war in Ukraine

On the 24th of February 2022, Ukraine was brutally invaded by the Russian Federation. The day filled people in Poland with shock and horror. Distant memories of the evils of IInd World War and the Stalinism period came to mind.

In the following month almost 2.5 million refugees from Ukraine crossed our border. Not all of them remained in Poland but majority did. We were not prepared. Residents of Poland offered to help as volunteers and to host in their homes women and children who fled the war. Our university organized many support activities from day one, starting with building volunteer force from our students and our staff, organizing language training and psychological counselling, organizing free accommodation, food collections, aid collections, art auctions, days of friendship, a data base of useful websites and applying for special stipends. We also offered several academic posts and are in the process of preparation for recruitment of students from Ukraine. These are the formal activities. There are also many actions by individuals, our staff and our students. Many embassies are helping with paying for hotel accommodation and some hotels offer number of rooms for free. Refugees are entitled to one off financial sum and to claim child benefit in Poland. Recently the government decided to support Polish families hosting refugees with a small financial incentive of 10 euro per day per person to help with the bills and expenses. It is also legal to gain employment for the refugees and to access free medical care.

Apart from large train stations in Warsaw, where some refugees decided to wait, in the city it is business as usual at work, schools and on the streets, with just larger number of women and children wondering around during the day. It is impossible to tell that they are refugees apart from the fact the kids are not at school at school time, but this will soon change as the first 100000 Ukrainian kids started attending education and slowly others are enrolling.

Safety wise, it is safe at the moment. All transport means operate normally, we have fuel reserves, we are self-reliant on food supplies, and we feel weirdly reassured by the increased NATO forces presence. The Covid-19 agenda disappeared from the news. All the news and all our eyes are now in Ukraine. We cry together for the loss of life and the damage caused to this beautiful country.

We were worried about humanitarian crisis due to large numbers of people arriving at the short period of time and most often opting for Warsaw as the destination as they knew the name, so the city gained 500 000 newcomers over a short period of time and now is reaching its maximum housing capacity.

I think that all rental rooms and apartments are now full, on top of citizen action hosting refugees in our homes.

Some people remain at train station not because they have nowhere to go but because they hope to go back to Ukraine any minute or they wait for trains to the west and do not want to miss the opportunity to move further west and meet the quota (other countries introduced quotas on how many people they can accommodate)...

It is good to see free trains, free city transport, even ferries across Baltic sea offer free transport for refugees. Is this enough if the war persists?

Ministry of Education and Science forbid us from any contact with academics and institutions from Russian Federation as an act of action against the unprovoked war.

It is a difficult situation. We worry about our colleagues at partner universities of Ukraine, some of whom are under siege or fighting the invaders. Many Ukrainian male students gone back to Ukraine to fight, some female ones too. Some universities in the attacked areas continue to operate online, the same with the schools.

Our Maria Grzegorzewska Foundation organized a collection for wheelchairs for the refugees with disabilities that we host in large numbers, as they are one of the most vulnerable victims of the war and many have no access to their everyday life aids, that were damaged or left behind during the evacuation. Generosity of our colleagues from Oranim College of Education in Israel is to be praised as the first wheelchair will be purchased thanks to them. Personal thanks from the Head of our Foundation Dr Diana Aksamit goes to Prof. Moshe Shner from Oranim College and Ghetto Fighters Association.

We are a bit tired as the organization and as individuals because of all the volunteer work and participation in many humanitarian and educational actions but the weather is so nice and sunny it gives us more energy to maintain the same level of help and engagement. I feel we did a lot in the last few weeks and realize it may be needed for a long period of time. I hope we can persevere and that the war will stop soon.

This situation shows us how language and discourse impacts lives and even wars. The way some facts are presented and represented may have a significant role in manipulating the public opinion in different countries. It makes our research on language and discourse even more important than before.

Comment prepared by Anna Odrowaz-Coates

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT & VICE-PRESIDENT

A Fundamental Step Toward International Scholarship in Language & Society: RC25 International Conference in Nairobi, Kenya

Dear members,
Dear colleagues,

In about two months we will be altogether virtually in Nairobi for the international conference. A section is dedicated below to the related insights of such a huge step; we did not give up! The conference is also organized to support the membership; hence it is accessible for free for RC25 members, and it enables a partial membership (RC25 only; which is exceptional and only for 2022) to discover what the RC may offer as a community.

Time is flying. While the programme of the virtual international conference in Nairobi (June 2022) will be published, we will soon open the call for sessions for the World Congress in Melbourne (2023). On the one hand, it is difficult for all of us to anticipate about how will work the hybrid (virtual and on-site) organization for the congress. We are conscious that these elements may influence your wish to (co)organize a session, and your way to be overall involved. Some rules towards academic travel grants changed, climate change impact our thinking and acts, economic effects of the sanitary crisis and other development influence the possibilities to participate, war raised other challenges toward scholarship, etc. However, on the other hand, we need to grant the future with our intentions to support language and society as a core field to think about the world. Thus, we strongly encourage you to submit a session; if you rather wish to build a partnership but did not identified yet another scholar, please contact us for support.

We are glad that Gianluca Miscione contacted us to communicate material previously disseminated among RC25's members. As Celine-Marie Pascale underlined in her article for Language, Discourse & Society (Pascale, 2021), the publication of original articles started in the newsletter, before the creation of LD&S. These articles are inserted in this issue of our newsletter to give them a new home and making possible that they are still alive for reading for a wide audience.

As a long term member of the RC, if you see that some issues of the newsletter, or other material, are not on our website, please enter in contact with us so that we can gather and archive what belong to our history, but also to our future through the possibility of making links and discussions within the field of language and society.

To support the field, we are also organizing an online activity dedicated to RC25 members in good standing: a language and society writing retreat. It will be held on Saturday the 4th of June, from 11:00 to 17:00 GMT (next time, another time slot will be offered so that is will be more convenient for scholars for whom it will be at night this time). The objective is to share a writing objective related to language and society during the retreat, with sessions of individual work, and session of feedbacks. If you are interested, please register sending an email to president@language-and-society.org before Monday 23rd of May so that we can build groups. See the newsletter below for more information.

Last but not least, we do remind that whatever idea you may have in relation to language and society, please do not hesitate to share it with us. We are glad that Nadya and Anna are bringing their context into the newsletter to enrich our understanding of national and international challenges. Beyond the newsletter, Language, Discourse & Society welcomes submissions all along the year.

Stéphanie Cassilde, RC25 president

Keiji Fujiyoshi, RC25 vice president

Pascale, Celine-Marie (2021). "The Past Doesn't Stay Behind Us: RC 25 in Historical Perspective", Language, Discourse & Society, Vol. 9, 2 (18), pp. 9-12.

https://www.language-and-society.org/the-past-doesnt-stay-behind-us-rc-25-in-historical-perspective/

LETTER FROM BOARD SECRETARY

Research Committee on Language and Society (RC 25): A look inside. The secretariat challenge.

Dear colleagues,

Performing secretarial duties for the first time in a reseach committe, my first need is to get to know the group. Who is the ISA-RC25?

The secretarial functions are very important and interesting. The secretariat is responsible for establishing the bridge and communication between the associates and the members of the Board.

The secretary is responsible for keeping an accurate list of RC members list and for coordinating the compilation of a list of the members in good standing. All applications for membership shall be reviewed by the RC25 Secretary and he/she shall accept or reject any application for membership, among other duties that have to do with keeping a record of the Board's internal communications. For these reasons, I look closely at who we are.

Currently, 22 nationalities are represented at Rc 25 (Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, France, Finland, Germany, India, Israel, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Singapore, Spain, South Africa, United Kingdom, United States United). We are a multinational and multidisciplinary research committee, currently having members working in areas of: linguistics, communication and language sciences, sociology, anthropology, social policy, social sciences, multidisciplinary studies, migrations, pedagogy, education.

How does a group formed in 1968 survive?

RC25 is one of the oldest groups to be formed at ISA, according to available data, only "RC Social Stratification" began two years earlier. However, the membership of the current members is very recent, in most cases between 4 and 8 years. This fact denotes the renewal of the members, with new people who join, but we want to deepen the participation of the members and for that it is necessary to stay together and build work.

The RC is an active group with a lot to offer, dynamic and enterprising, as we can see in the work agendas. I appeal not only for us to renew all our belonging, but also for us to capture colleagues who identify with our purposes of creating sociological knowledge concerning language, face-to-face interaction and language-related phenomena, working with language broadly constructed as systems of representation, which translates into power and is present in everything around us. Taking these questions as an object is an invaluable contribution of

sociology to the explanation of the realities in which we live, how they have changed and transform us as individuals and as a society. This is important knowledge for change and freedom in complex, difficult times, where language reinvents itself and takes multiple paths from control to emancipation.

We count on you to continue!

Your RC25 Board Secretary,

Beatriz Xavier

LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY – ONLINE WRITING RETREAT

Dear members,
Dear colleagues,

To support the field, a **Language and Society Online Writing Retreat** will be organized on Saturday the 4th of June, from 11:00 to 17:00 GMT. This event is dedicated to RC25 members in good standing. Please consider that you can also purchase an RC25 only membership (just for 2022) through the RC25 online International Conference of Nairobi, co-organized with Kenyatta University: if so, please contact us for guidance for the payment.

The aim of the event is twofold. First, and mainly, the purpose is to have a dedicated writing time for your research about language and society. Second, it can be the case of identifying questions and issues to be offered to the sagacity and advices of Eloisa Martin, who will give an international publication workshop on the 15th of June, just before the Nairobi conference (16-17th of June).

The writing retreat will be organized as follow:

time slot	content
11:00-11:05 GMT	Welcome – presentation of the group and about the structure of the writing retreat
11:05-11:15 GMT	Short mindfulness exercise to shift into the writing mood
11:15-11:25 GMT	Roundtable – sharing of the writing objectives for the retreat
11:25-11:30 GMT	Transition to start the first part of the writing retreat
11:30-11:55 GMT	Writing time 1
11:55-12:00 GMT	5-minute break (1)
12:00-12:25 GMT	Writing time 2
12:25-12:30 GMT	5-minute break (2)
12:30-12:55 GMT	Writing time 3
12:55-13:00 GMT	5-minute break (3)
13:00-13:25 GMT	Writing time 4
13:25-13:30 GMT	Closure of the first part of the writing retreat – invitation to a longer break and to prepare for the second part
13:30-14:00 GMT	30-minute break
14:00-14:05 GMT	Welcome back and short mindfulness exercise for the second part of the writing retreat
14:05-14:10 GMT	Roundtable – sharing of updated writing objectives for the retreat
14:10-15:35 GMT	Writing time 5

Time	Activity
15:35-15:40 GMT	5-minute break (1)
15:40-15:05 GMT	Writing time 6
15:05-15:10 GMT	5-minute break (2)
15:40-16:05 GMT	Writing time 7
16:05-16:20 GMT	Reading of the writing produced during the retreat of a language and society colleague (groups of 2 constructed during the retreat by the facilitator)
16:20-16:45 GMT	Mutual feedback (groups of 2)
16:45-16:55 GMT	Roundtable – overall feedbacks toward each other language and society writing goals
16:55-17:00 GMT	Closure of the event

To prepare the writing retreat, you will need to:
- Identify the writing project you wish to work on, and which is related to language and society;
- Prepare your input material in advance: appropriate reading completed, having your notes / etc. the resources you will need to use for your writing;
- Prepare the other writing material you need in advance: your computer, your pencil, etc.;
- Prepare the material you need at your side: your tea/coffee, etc..

If you cannot attend the retreat this time but are interested in doing so next time, please show your interest with your time zone for our information for the next writing retreat. If you wish to share any wishes about adaptations of how the retreat is organized, please contact us too.

To register for the writing retreat, you need to be in good standing and send an email to president@language-and-society.org before Monday 23rd of May. Looking forward to meeting you during this event,

Kind regards,
Stéphanie

Language, Discourse and Society

10th ANNIVERSARY of LANGUAGE, DISCOURSE AND SOCIETY

See the celebratory issue here:
https://www.language-and-society.org/volume-9-number-2-december-2021/

and read:

The Past Doesn't Stay Behind Us: RC 25 in Historical Perspective by Celine-Marie Pascale

&

Now, where were we? Celebrating ten years of Language Discourse and Society doing what we do best: researching Language in Society by Federico Farini (Former Journal's Editor 2010-2016)

We are starting another decade with the thematic issue due in June 2022: *Discourses of childhood and children's rights in the context of social inclusion*

Preserving the traces of our RC25 history – discovering the disappearing landscape of scholarship.

With this contribution we open a new section for preserving the fading pieces of RC25 history, when they are in danger of vanishing from the internet and therefore, from our memory forever.

This idea was triggered when we received a message from our former member Dr Gianluca Miscione, Assistant Professor at University College Dublin, who informed as that when he was a postdoc at the University of Oslo, he co-chaired 2 sessions at ISA Congress 2008. Gianluca Miscione wrote to us about precious materials published online at the time, that are now no longer available in the net. He explained:

> *"Based on those submissions, we edited a 2009 special issue of the the RC25 newsletter on "**Hegemonies in classification processes**" (after duly peer-reviews, we accepted the articles I attached previously). This special issue, like others back then, was hosted on http://www.crisaps.org, which is now offline …"*

The RC25 Board thought that it would be tragic not to give this material a new home. Therefore, we reprint 4 items that formed the ISA RC25 Newsletter in 2009. 2 items in the current newsletter and 2 more in the next issue. We hope you will find it interesting.

Hegemonies in Classification Processes

Introduction

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Classifications serve as shared systems to organize and handle knowledge in a given domain. They act as infrastructures that "[enforce] a certain understanding of context, place, and time" (Bowker and Star 1999: 82). We therefore look at classifications as being one of the means to "establish, maintain, and transform mechanisms of power" (Foucault 2007: 2), while these same mechanisms of power are at the same time deeply inscribed into classifications. This mutual dependency of power and classifications raises the question how changes in the roles of the actors who negotiate classifications affect and maybe challenge power relations and hegemonies in a wider sense.

The negotiation of classifications through discursive practices is only one of the ways in which classifications depend on language. Language also takes on a central role in establishing, applying, and reproducing classifications. The reproduction through language is necessary for classifications to stabilize, to gain recognition and explanatory power, and to affect social activities. Last but not least, language provides labels for classifications. Indeed, the interpretation of a class crucially depends on the label and its connotations. Whether a specific illness is, for instance, referred to as GRID (gay-related immune disorder) or as AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome) has implications that go far beyond health care organizations.

The role of classifications in coordinating formal and informal social activities is becoming more evident with the spread of information and communication technologies (ICT). Since communication processes are increasingly taking place between dispersed individuals and groups, common understanding and coordination are not facilitated by co-location. Thus, classifications (are expected to) keep patterns of action aligned. Health care activities provide a clear example: information about patients needs to travel with and beyond the patients themselves, in order to allow consequent actions to be performed by a variety of actors (different specialized physicians, nurses, pharmacists, relatives, lab technicians, sometimes local communities and public opinion…). However, classifications do not travel across different contexts without being reinterpreted or changed. Instead, they are often locally renegotiated and given a different meaning, resulting in unplanned actions and consequences.

1

Other examples of dispersed settings for social activities can be found in online communities, which enable the communication and collaboration of actors who do not share the same physical place. The Internet and related communication technologies provide laypersons with access to information, possibilities for participation, and reception by large audiences, which used to be restricted to experts only. Knowledge collections like encyclopaedias and dictionaries, which used to be compiled by small groups of highly instructed experts, are now written collaboratively online by large numbers of dispersed laypersons. Such collaborative authoring requires explicit and tacit negotiation of shared classifications – a process which sometimes even becomes a goal in itself, for instance in creating meta-information to organize the abundance of information online through social bookmarking (Bruns 2008: 171–178).

The role of laypersons in classification processes is thus becoming one of great interest: empirically because of increasing use of ICT in accessing, manipulating, and sharing information; theoretically because of the consequences for a constructionist view, which include the question of shifts in power between the different actors and the effects of this on hegemonic classifications. It becomes apparent that classifications are not 'natural' since they are themselves the product of negotiation and/or enforcement (Bowker and Star 1999: 44, 131). Therefore the "double hermeneutic" between those who are usually termed 'subjects' and 'objects' has to be revised, mutual dependency between classifications and their objects needs to be highlighted. Thus, the works presented here are not only interested in the way classifications construct their objects, but also in the co-construction of objects and classifications, in the unfolding exercise and unfinished task of mixing force and consent that create and support hegemonies, or challenge them.

The consequences of this stance for health care and online interactions are not obvious. For the health domain, for instance, this means to go beyond the point of arguing that medicine constructs the patients. Rather, we want to ask how and why patients and their environments enter into an active interplay with health delivery services. Undoubtedly the dynamics and power relations of the interaction between laypersons and experts can change considerably.

All the papers of this special issue deal with power and hegemonies in classification processes, but approach this issue from different angles and with different empirical data. CORINNE KIRCHNER looks at online dictionaries, asking whether (and if so how) user involvement in the process of dictionary creation manages to challenge power relations and the role of professional lexicographers. She argues that existing theoretical frameworks on the sociology of dictionaries need to be expanded in order to account for the new characteristics of user-generated online dictionaries, such as Urban Dictionary and Wiktionary. She further presents exploratory research of the user involvement on 10 of the most frequently visited online dictionaries, which contain both user-generated dictionaries as well as online versions of traditional dictionaries (e.g. Cambridge Advanced Learners). Her results suggest that the picture is more complex than expected. While user involvement is unsurprisingly a core value of user-generated dictionaries, there is also more than just moderate value placed on user input on one of the online versions of traditional dictionaries. Moreover, Kirchner argues that user involvement cannot directly be taken to indicate a power shift from professional lexicographers to users, since user information can be used for marketing and content purposes, thus enhancing professional control.

2

Also DANIELA LANDERT works with online data, analysing the self-classifications through which users of online chats construct their identities. Given that there is no restriction or control of the self-classifications of users and because the anonymity ensures a relative independence of real-life and online identity, online chats have sometimes been identified as the ideal space to overcome hegemonic identity norms. Landert's results suggest however that many users reproduce hegemonic norms online, rather than trying to subvert them. She sees this in relation to the need to construct identities that are intelligible to the other chat participants. Non-normative identities need to be negotiated, which bears the danger of rejection, whereas identities which are in correspondence with hegemonic identity classifications are generally accepted. She therefore concludes that the modalities of power that regulate identity classifications in these chats are not fundamentally different from those that govern identity construction offline.

ROBERTO LUSARDI, finally, studies the reliance on different classification systems by medical professionals on the one hand and patients and their relatives on the other. While the medical professionals interpret a patient's disease based on medical evidence, the patient's relatives interpret his or her illness based on biographical evidence. Lusardi analyzes the relationship between these two systems of interpretation and classification of a patient's condition in interactions between physicians and relatives in an Italian Intensive Care Unit. He thereby distinguishes between situations in which medical evidence and biographical evidence are in congruence and situations in which there is no congruence between to two classification systems. In the first case, this can lead to a standardization of the patient or to the personalization of the treatment; in the second to an integration of the incongruent data into the medical schema or to antagonism. The interaction between medical evidence and biographical evidence are in all cases closely intertwined with the hegemonies that are at work within the Intensive Care Unit's organizational processes.

While data and topic of all three papers differ, they all share a concern for implicit classifications that non-professionals deal with. In the research by Kirchner and Lusardi, these classifications of lay persons are in direct competition with or even in opposition to more formal classifications used by professionals. In Landert's paper the interest lies in the relation between established power structures and informal (self-)classifications in non-professional interaction. The three papers give original hints at the large field of potential further research that might shed more light on the hegemonies in formal and non-formal classification processes in all areas of life.

We conclude this introduction by sketching other possible research topics that we would have liked to discuss more extensively. A first example comes from an ethnographic study conducted two years ago in Kerala, a Southern state of India, known in the West for traditional Ayurvedic treatments. In one of the hospitals of the capital the findings showed that the state health care system produces aggregated data about its activities according to the International Classification of Diseases (ICD) as required by the World Health Organization. The surprise came by seeing that health delivery practices did not implement such a classification system. Physicians were trained to diagnose and treat without relying on the ICD. Nurses and supporting staff did not have knowledge, entitlement and intention to change the status quo. So, health care practices implemented their own classifications. At the end of each patient's treatment, an officer without medical skills, sitting in a corner office and apart from core activities, translated diagnoses and treatments into ICD compliant labels for national and international organizations.

3

The ICD has been criticized for being Euro-centric by representatives of tropical medicine, who saw tropical diseases underrepresented. Recently, a new version of the ICD has been 'crowdsourced' to respond to such criticisms. We are curious to see if this develops towards increased inclusion. The Kerala example shows mutual accommodation of different classification systems when they are hegemonic in different settings, local and global, and they co-exist in the same place, since the Kerala health personnel did not seem very interested in changing their own classification, nor the international.

Another anecdote comes from an ethnographic research project in the Upper Amazon. Natives there use to apply mud to the skin of their children in order to hide them – as they explain – from mosquitos at night (malaria is endemic). Physicians trained in capital universities laughed at their practice as being "primitive" and "non-scientific". Later on a US pharmaceutical company found an active principle in that mud. It is now patented and used for repellents sold all over the world. These two examples aim at showing that the encounter of different classification systems in so-called "developing contexts", legitimized differently, can be of invaluable interest.

We also see a rich potential for further research on classification processes at the intersection of health and identity. On the one hand, formal classifications such as the ICD have the power to define, for instance, which sex/gender identities are "normal" and which are considered to be a "disorder". The consequences of such a classification for individuals do not only include effects on their self-perception, but they also have implications for medical practices and financial support, for example in the case of sex-reassignment surgeries. On the other hand, there is an increasing number of online forums for self-help groups, which provide medical information for laypersons and the possibility for an exchange of experiences with other (directly or indirectly) affected users. In these forums users typically adopt an identity based on the specifics of their disease. Thus, classifications of diseases through medical experts become the basis for the identity of users within the forum, while at the same time the knowledge acquired in the forum is often used to challenge the authority of medical experts and their classifications. These are just two cases of which we think that they provide interesting starting points for investigations into the dynamics of health classifications, identity and power. Undoubtedly, there are many more.

As a further, non-health-related topic we would like to mention social bookmarking and similar forms of tagging of online resources. In contrast to traditional formal classifications, tagging can be done by a large and mostly anonymous dispersed group and the categories assigned to specific items neither form a closed set, nor are they mutually exclusive. Furthermore, there are usually no binding rules about how categories are applied or how new categories are created. The knowledge structures that result from such tagging by the masses are consequently very different from the organization of knowledge through formal typologies and classifications. We think that the effects of these new forms of knowledge organization on larger social processes deserve further attention.

Last but not least, the political dimension of classifications is worth to be explored more thoroughly. Classifications are often subservient to problem definition in political processes and decision making. Indeed, defining problems is not simply a matter of defining goals and measuring the distance from them. The representation of situations is strategic in building alliances even before an issue becomes a recognized problem on which to take action.

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We therefore see this special issue as an attempt to point out directions in which the study of hegemonies and classification processes could proceed and we are looking forward to further research in this field.

Autumn, 2009

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5

"Define Your World": Dictionaries of Today in Struggles Over Control of Meaning

Corinne Kirchner, Ph.D.

Columbia University, USA

abstract: Dictionary-related activities are an under-examined arena for studying how some people "wield," and others contest, use of language (specifically, definitions) in service of classification systems and power relations. Theoretical approaches to the nexus of language, meaning and power (White, Luhmann and Bourdieu) are referenced, as are observations on dictionaries by Bakhtin and Vygotsky. The need to update theory and concepts in light of online dictionaries (especially "user-generated" examples) is emphasized. Exploratory research reveals emerging types of user-involvement in online dictionaries with implications for (a) professional (lexicographic) *vs.* marketing power in the "reference information" industry, and (b) broader sociological trends contesting traditional expertise, and supporting social movement politics.

keywords: Meaning, Dictionaries, Online dictionaries, User-involvement, Control

1 Objectives and Overview

Dictionary-related activities are, as I will illustrate in this paper, a productive yet under-examined arena for sociological study of how some people "wield" language in service of classification systems and power relations, and how other people contest those uses.

To develop that argument requires several steps. Section 2 positions dictionaries as classifications. Section 3 fits dictionaries into broader sociological theory considerations of power through control over language and meaning. That section implicitly relies on the work by this issue's editors that broadly establishes the hegemonic effects of classifications; therefore I can more narrowly address how dictionaries are used in attempts to exert—and contest -- such hegemony.

Section 3 also introduces the empirical realm of interest: contemporary social processes in creating and using dictionaries. The period since approximately 1990 is strategic because sharp changes are underway stimulated by Information Technology.

Section 4 presents the method of my exploratory research about online dictionaries, and Section 5 presents the findings. My analysis focuses on the theoretically-relevant variable of user-involvement which at one extreme includes user-*generated* dictionaries. My main objective is to characterize types of user involvement that can build community and thus enhance user-control *versus* professional (lexicographic) control over content ("meaning").

Section 6 as closing discussion re-visits the theoretic framework and speculatively relates the findings to broader developments relevant to classification practices.

2   Dictionaries and Classification Systems

The case for studying dictionaries as sources of insights into sociology of classification systems can be approached from two directions: first, dictionaries as used in creating or supporting other classification systems, which necessarily rely on terminology; second, dictionaries themselves as constituting classification systems.

2.1   *Dictionaries in Creating/Supporting Other Classifications*

Little is known about dictionary usage patterns in general so the lack of firm evidence about their use in creating classifications is hardly surprising. However, a strong sense of intertwining between dictionaries and other classifications emerges from the World Health Organization's (WHO) website about its "family" of classifications[1]. The site explicitly states the importance of maximizing "synergies" between classification and compilations of terminology. Furthermore, a search on WHO's site for "Dictionary" revealed hundreds of citations to specialized and general dictionaries for use along with WHO classifications and training protocols.

Beyond WHO, the fact that classification systems often create their own "glossaries" provides indirect evidence that dictionaries had been consulted and judged inadequate, presumably because definitions were too broad or variegated for the precise purpose of those classifications (and/or possibly because writing their own definitions extends [hegemonic] control by the authors of classifications).

2.2   *Dictionaries <u>as</u> Classifications*

Traditional dictionaries – more precisely, their creators and critics – have been guided by criteria for classifications summarized as follows by Bowker and Star (1999): Complete coverage within a specified domain; Principles of organization that are easy-to-comprehend and follow; Categories that are exhaustive and clearly separated. However, as Bowker & Star (1999) attest holds true for all classifications, those criteria are idealized. Thus, in practice, lexicographers debate and make judgment calls about the multitude of potential entries that do not neatly meet those criteria[2]; their decisions can prove consequential for individuals and groups in more and less significant ways.[3]

Classificatory decisions range from the threshold question of which words or phrases should be included at all (e.g., "Nonce" words are typically excluded, but when

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[1]   A WHO classification is the major touchstone for Bowker and Star's (1999) seminal analysis of the social nature and significance of classifications.

[2]   For example, see discussions about classification problems regarding polysemy and homonymy when determining separate dictionary entries, e.g. in Landau, 2001; Malakhovski, 1987, and Robins, 1987.

[3]   For example, from a March 23, 2009 entry on the Law Professors Blog Network: "... there is a revolution going on in the law with respect to the recognition of gay marriages. Therefore, it is not surprising that the dictionary definition of marriage has now been changed, at least according to Merriam-Webster. " Accessed August 20, 2009 at: //lawprofessors.typepad.com/adjunctprofs/2009/03/dictionary-definition-of-marriage-has-changed-.html

An example at the more trivial end comes from a British columnist and Scrabble player, "There is, however, one enormous problem with playing Scrabble with North Americans –...There are two Scrabble dictionaries, one for North Americans, one for Brits...." He complains that his word was in the British dictionary but since he was vacationing in North America, he lost because that dictionary did not contain it. Accessed August 16 at: //www.independent.co.uk/opinion/columnists/dom-joly/dom-joly-britannia-rules-at-scrabble-and-thats-my-final-word-1772855.html

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does a word cease being a nonce word?); to whether varying "senses" of a word are different enough to merit separate headwords; to how differently-spelled inflections should be alphabetized (e.g., Should "brought" appear only under "bring"? If so, English language learners have difficulty finding it); to assigning potentially invidious labels, e.g., "slang", "vulgar," "obsolete" or "technical," which rub off on the status of users of those words.

Finally, addressing Bowker and Star's (1999) central point that setting standards is the "other side of the coin" of classification systems, dictionaries attempt to *standardize* many aspects of language use. That function is widely recognized regarding spelling (e.g., Landau, 2001; Sebba, 2007) and to lesser extent, grammatical usage (e.g., Landau, 2001). I would argue in this connection that categorizing dictionaries as "prescriptive" (explicitly prescribing "correct" usage) *versus* "descriptive" (reporting popular usage without evaluation according to elite preference) is not clear-cut in practice. That is, typical users turn to any dictionary for pronouncements on correctness even if that dictionary identifies itself as descriptive.

Interestingly, the most obvious function of dictionaries, i.e., providing definitions, has been least examined by theorists for its hegemonic potential through standardization. As announced in the title of this paper, and elaborated in the theoretical section below, control over "meanings" conveyed in language is what is "at stake" in constructing, critiquing and using dictionaries. "Meanings" are what generate "definitions of the situation" which, as Bowker and Star (1999) highlight, account for the power potential of classification systems. And "meanings" are what are most likely to mobilize proponents of user-generated dictionaries.

To close this section: While a fuller elaboration, with more examples, of how dictionaries fit into studying classification systems, would be worthwhile, the above must suffice as background for present purposes. The next section sketches the empirical and theoretical contexts of dictionaries that will be explored herein.

3   Empirical and Theoretical Orientation

3.1   *Empirical Orientation: Dictionaries as Contemporary Cultural Products*

Studying dictionaries as cultural products entails looking at distinctive social processes that have general counterparts in creating other classification systems. For dictionaries, the key interlocking processes are: the technical work of "defining" the lexical and grammatical raw materials that constitute all classification; establishing claims to "authoritative" content; and producing and disseminating massive systematized compilations of information for reference use.

Those processes are undergoing sharp changes, driven mainly by the revolution in electronic information technology. Most if not all producers have moved, partly or totally, to on-line versions of their dictionaries, currently numbering an estimated 1,000-1,300.[4]

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[4]   The *OneLookDictionary* site (www.onelook.com, accessed 3/22/09) lists 991 "dictionaries and glossaries." The Open Directory Project (www.dmoz.org/Reference/Dictionaries, accessed 3/22/09) lists nearly 1,400. Alexa, a site that monitors popularity of websites, counts 1,335 (www.alexa.com, accessed 3/22/09) All counts are problematic; issues concern operational definition of dictionaries, and what might or might not be considered "double-counting" due to sites that compile groups of dictionaries. I found no data on the number of producers.

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An online publishing industry – IT Information – has emerged as dictionary producers, without roots in traditional publishing, much less in the dictionary model of university-based publishing, notably Oxford and Cambridge University Presses. As is widely and warily recognized regarding journalism, the online environment radically alters the possibilities for laypersons to engage in and otherwise influence former professional-only practice.

Other changes reflect longer-term evolutionary trends toward professionalization of dictionary-making (lexicography), including efforts to develop more and better evidence about uses and users (e.g., their socio-demographics and interests). Professionalization has expanded higher education and research opportunities for lexicographers, and promoted intra-professional communication through increasingly specialized journals and societies. That pattern heightens barriers for ordinary users to input and influence the professionals' work.

Overall, the ways that creators of dictionaries relate to users are expanding, with some contention and unknown consequences for future authority over "definition of terms." Most significant in socio-cultural terms has been the 21st century emergence of user-generated dictionaries. The conceptual framework for sociological study of dictionaries must be re-considered, especially to recognize new and competing sources of claims to expertise in defining "meanings."

In terms of linguistics, focusing study of language use on dictionaries puts the spotlight on reflexivity of language – especially, *meta-semantic reflexivity* (Silverstein, 1993), i.e., use of language to discuss and influence its relation to "meaning." Because the distinctive jurisdictional claim (Abbott, 1988) of the lexicographic profession concerns "defining" the "meanings" of words and phrases, and because "meaning" is central for sociology (Luhmann, 1990), I will foreground that topic in the theory section. But the design and use of dictionaries goes beyond semantics, into what Silverstein denotes as *meta-pragmatic* reflexivity, which is at least as important for the question of how language use in dictionaries enhances or undermines authority in applications such as classification systems.

3.2 Language and Meaning in Sociological Theory

Key sociological theorists on the nexus of language, meaning and social processes include Niklas Luhmann, Pierre Bourdieu, and Harrison White. I will refer to those, necessarily briefly, to position my focus on dictionaries. Explicit reference to how dictionary processes operate within that theoretical nexus has been rare and perfunctory, but nevertheless evocative for considering how those processes may be imposed and contested.

As underpinning, I draw on White's formulation of meaning, which he and colleagues have concatenated with Luhmann's. They (White, 2008a; Godart and White, 2009) theorize meaning as processual. It emerges through interaction, as a result of "identities" "switching" among "net-doms" (that term melds **net**work relations with their cultural **dom**ains).

Because identities who interact -- whether individual or organizational—have never had the same life-experiences, some minimum of **ambiguity** from use of language and other semiotic tools is inevitable. Ambiguity in White's framework (2008b) is the spark for meaning-making. I would apply that insight to the sub-set of communication that is devoted to creating or seeking definitions, as participants attempt to control the

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profusion of possible meanings and reach sufficient common understanding for continued interaction. Dictionaries and their uses institutionalize in emblematic form the pervasive social acts of defining.

Luhmann (1990) emphasizes that "negation" is essential to the selectivity of meaning-making. I interpret that point as framing language itself as a classification system that selects from the totality of experience ("the horizon of possibilities", Luhmann, 1990: 48.) Language does so by naming some things (i.e., the lexicon) -- and thereby *not* naming others, and by assigning relations among things (i.e., the grammar) -- and thereby constraining other relations.

But Luhmann (1990) also references additional levels of classification: "Language alone is incapable of establishing meaning: this requires, in addition, systems whose particular structures define narrower conditions of possibility, i.e., define additional boundaries within the domain of the linguistically possible. (52)" That structuring is precisely where the power of classifications exerts its impact.

For present purposes, this theoretical underpinning clearly rejects the common misconception that dictionaries "make" or "reveal" meaning. Since meaning is generated only through interaction, semantic components of language -- whether observed at the level of words, utterances, discourse, or dictionaries -- are theorized here as *socially structured efforts to impose control on meaning.*

3.3 Dictionaries and Meaning

The disjuncture of dictionaries and meaning-making is explicit in theoretical contributions of Bakhtin and Vygotsky. Linguist Caryl Emerson (1983) notes that for Bakhtin, "words come not out of dictionaries but out of concrete dialogic situations," (248) and further, "Words in discourse always recall earlier contexts of usage, otherwise they could not mean at all…." (248).

She concludes that the Bakhtin circle advanced Saussure's foundational work on "the sign" by specifying the conditions for transformation of "inner speech" to "outer word" in dialogue; I will extend that point to words as they appear in dictionaries. Externalized, the sign partakes in the attribution of authority: "…the sign is external, organized socially, concretely historical, and, as the Word, inseparably linked with voice and authority. "(248)

Vygotsky amplified the point to distinguish between the *"meaning"* of a word [his usage refers to what I prefer to call "the attributed definition"] and its *"sense."*

> The sense of a word…is the sum of all the psychological events aroused in our consciousness by the word…. "Meaning" is only one of the zones of sense, the most stable and precise one. A word acquires its sense from the context in which it appears; in different contexts, it changes its sense. …*The dictionary "meaning" of a word is no more than a stone in the edifice of sense, no more than a potentiality that finds diversified realization in speech.* [Vygotsky, quoted in Emerson, 262-3. Emphasis and quotation marks added by me.]

3.4 Dictionaries and Power Relations

I now can re-state the framework for study of dictionaries: They represent a product of social processes that *attempt control* over a constant flux and virtually endless variation of individualized meaning-senses, by crafting definitions of words and phrases, and embedding them in formats (traditionally, books) with some continuity. Power relations

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shape *who* crafts the definitions, the definitional *content,* and their *uses* to "define the terms of situations." Until recently, there was no question that dictionary-based power was a "top-down" process. How effectively any dictionary project could attain authority was limited by various structural factors (e.g., competing producers, costs of production, low literacy and other constraints on dissemination and socialization) but not by attempts at user-control over the process of defining.

Bourdieu (1991) characterized the top-down view, positioning dictionary-making in the academic-scholarly field, a source of cultural capital. He emphasized that dictionaries were deployed in service of national governmental interests, conveying the "standard [and official] language" as the "exemplary result of [the] labour of codification and normalization…by scholarly recording…of the linguistic resources…" of the "nation." (p. 48)

The "exemplary" dictionary thus is both by-product and tool of broader processes – notably, education, literary production and governance -- that maintain class domination and bureaucratic control through the symbolic power in linguistic capital. Such dictionaries convey authority, having been deemed by those in power to be authoritative arbiters of which version of language should be positively *versus* negatively valued as linguistic capital. Dictionary-creators exerted that power either by omitting the vocabulary and usage of dominated groups, or by including and labeling those entries as "vulgar" or "popular." Bourdieu recognized specialized dictionaries that consisted entirely of "slang and 'unconventional language'" (p.90), but they too were compiled by lexicographers, more evidence of attempted control over linguistic capital by devaluing a class of words and usages (and their users).

Bourdieu emphasized the stabilizing function of dictionaries in "producing and reproducing" status distinctions and in political and bureaucratic control over socially-constructed "meaningful" geographic areas.[5] (That is, "nations" as well as their "official languages" are socially-constructed).

3.5 *Situating Bourdieu*

The context of Bourdieu's analysis differed sharply from that of today's array of dictionaries regarding both national-culture and technology of design, production and use. Bourdieu observed 19th and early 20th c. France – a national culture known for great pride in, and unusual efforts at control over, its official language.[6.] Technologically, dictionaries then were printed products, relatively expensive to produce and own; relatively closed to change even by professionals, and never by ordinary users. (For description of similar conditions in 20th century U.S., see Sledd, 1972, and Landau, 2001). Change occurred, of course, but the forces promoting stability in dictionaries in the face of wide variation in language usage were more significant, a divide that Bourdieu vividly captured.

Today the forces promoting *change* in dictionary processes are more evident. Consider current language attitudes in the United States, a culture with no history of an

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[5]   In one article, Bourdieu (1977) referred to dictionary definitions as "abstract" and "neutral" emphasizing by contrast the point that words change meanings in each social situation; uncharacteristically, he seemed to forget that the same features of linguistic symbolic value affected the dictionary definitions, and especially their uses.

[6]   Language pride is widespread but of varying degree within and across cultures. Regarding practices, L'Academie Francaise and its counterparts, e.g., in Spain and Italy, is the focus of control efforts, worthy of close study in the context of sociology of language and particularly dictionaries.

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official language "academy." And consider computer technology as the environment for dictionary-making and use. The current context is best pictured as turmoil, both in language attitudes and in technology. Regarding attitudes, consider for example "moral panic" over incursions of netlingo into educational and business settings (Thurlow, 2002), *versus* some authoritative linguists welcoming netlingo as positive creativity (Crystal, 2008).

Turmoil also roils publishing in general, and the dictionary domain in particular. Current technology allows virtually (in both senses) unlimited potential for updating dictionaries at any time, with input by anyone who wishes. How, under these conditions, does non-standard language become standardized or, more importantly, acquire force with use in contentious public arenas, with what loosening or tightening of top-down control over linguistic capital? What is the role of dictionaries in that process?

3.6 *Beyond Bourdieu*

Such questions demand attention because, as noted, most traditional dictionaries have an online presence with at least partial access to a free version. At the extreme, and eliciting what the *New York Times* called "Lexicographical Longing" (Heffernan, 2008), Oxford University Press has discontinued publishing in book form the standard-setting *Oxford English Dictionary*, to be maintained henceforth only as an electronic database accessed by subscription.

And user-generated free dictionaries have leaped into wide use over the Internet (see data below.) The two major examples are *Wiktionary* and *Urban Dictionary*. *Urban Dictionary* is a "slang dictionary" (but see below *re* exceptions) and represents a sharp contrast with lexicographic tradition in its content and form; it proclaims the assertive tagline: "Define Your World."

Wiktionary is more traditional in form but includes some innovative content, e.g. netlingo terms (Kirchner, 2008). The Bourdieu model of dictionaries – professional/scholarly input within guidelines derived from centralized state bureaucracy - - needs to be expanded. Toward that end, the notion of *Urban Dictionary* as a "populist" dictionary is usefully presented in a pioneering study by linguists Cotter and Damaso (2007) [also Damaso, 2005] who recognize its unusual feature of being a dictionary to which, in principle, anyone can add definitions at any time.

Cotter and Damaso zero in on analytic features that allow them to specify similarities as well as contrasts of *Urban Dictionary's* process compared to traditional lexicographic methods (e.g., "archiving contemporary usage" and "collaborative codification.") They conclude that *Urban Dictionary* is a "new type" of dictionary that represents a "rare" kind of "symbiosis between language user and lexicographer;(8)" That is, they see the user *as* lexicographer, recognizing users' authority in this process precisely because of *Urban Dictionary's* identity as a "slang dictionary" dealing with a marginalized sector of language that is "close to the end-user."

Cotter and Damaso did not study *Wiktionary*, a populist approach that does not limit its claim to a narrow language sector. Further, it is important to realize that *Urban Dictionary's* terrain in practice is not limited to "slang" words, nor as noted, does *Wiktionary* exclude "slang."

It is thus germane to compare the disparate styles with which *Urban Dictionary versus Wiktionary* confront professional lexicographic practice (Emigh and Herring, 2005, Kirchner, 2008). The longer-run research aim is to discern whether either approach has an

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impact on user involvement in classification practices. Toward researching that core issue, basic groundwork is needed to move from the conceptual categories to observable features. Sections 4 and 5 advance in that direction through exploring the web-presence (availability and uptake) of dictionaries, and the types of user-involvement they afford.

4   Exploratory Research Method

To identify the most popular online dictionary sites, I used Alexa's (www.alexa.com) "Traffic Ranking system,[7]" in which "Dictionaries" is a sub-category of the top-level category of "Reference." I selected the top 10 that are: English dictionaries (some sites also had other language dictionaries); not specialized, (e.g., medical, legal, rhyming), and not solely compilations of other dictionaries. Some decisions were difficult, e.g. a site that compiled other dictionaries but offers its own dictionary-related activities (I included it.) For a comparative base, I also extracted data on Alexa's top two sites under the broader category, "Reference," (excluding two map sites).

Note that the term "global users" in the findings refers to Alexa's sample of "millions of persons" globally who have downloaded the Alexa toolbar so their internet usage is monitored. Sample representativeness cannot be assessed, but Alexa's reports are widely used by stakeholders in the Internet world.

Alexa identifies the company that owns each site, with minimal information. To classify the type of industry for those I did not know, I googled company names and read at least one description by a business publication in addition to information in the site's "About us" section.

I explored the 10 dictionary sites in depth to find all the types of activities they offer users, especially but by no means limited to submitting words and/or definitions. I also examined sites' marketing practices, including their visual style and type and placement of advertising, but did not complete that coding (explanation below).

My search and coding of the sites were less systematic than desirable due to diversity of formats across sites, complexity of some pages, deeply embedded links, and the large size of some sites. I found some relevant material almost by chance, e.g., by performing an action that I had expected would yield something different. I visited all sites multiple times, printing many pages to study closely, and note-taking while viewing others. I spent a conservatively estimated average of 3 hours/site, from 1-2 hours on some to more than 5 hours on others. I also conducted dictionary searches and other activities to discover typical users' experience. Doing so gave insight into issues such as the overlap between dictionaries on covering slang and standard terms.

Finally, my ranking of sites as "high", "moderate" or "low" on opportunities they provide for individual and community identity-building is not only qualitative but reflects my subjective summary of the number and types of activities the sites offer; more formal coding with explicit weights would allow a more objective result.

Recognizing those limitations, I view the effort as a necessary step that I hope will be useful for others beside myself in future systematic search and coding of dictionary and similar reference websites.

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[7]   Broadly explained at www.alexa.com/site/help/traffic_learn_more

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5   Findings: Patterns of Professional and User Control in Online Dictionaries

5.1   The Web Presence of Professional and User-Generated Dictionaries

Table 1 offers indicators of the "presence" of dictionaries in the Web environment: Years the site has been online; "Reach," i.e., number of "persons" who visit it (in web terms, "Unique visitors,") as a percentage of daily "global web visitors"[8]; "Intensity" of visits (i.e., "average page views"), and Number of sites linking to the focal one. Only "page views" can be interpreted in absolute terms, the others showing relative standing of sites on those measures.

Table 1: (A) Top Two General Reference Sites, and (B) Top Ten Online English Dictionaries In Alexa "Traffic Rank" Order[9]: Indicators of Type and Uptake (as of March 2009)

Name/url (overall order[10])	Traffic Rank	Reach %	Page Views	Sites Linked In	Years Online	Industry Type	*Content Control*
A. General Reference							
wikipedia.org	7	8.50	4.4	364,000	8	Foundation	*Prof'l*
reference.com	199	0.48	3.8	2,800	14	IT Info	*Prof'l*
B. Dictionaries							
thefreedictionary.com (2)	333	0.28	1.9	11,000	6	IT Info	*Prof'l*
Merriam-Webster Online/m-w.com (4)	487	0.19	2.5	12,000	16	Language-related publ.	*Prof'l*
Urbandictionary.com (5)	821	0.12	2.7	14,000	8	Individual founder	*User*
Wiktionary.org (6)	1,074	0.10	2.0	700	7	Foundation	*User*
Yourdictionary.com (13)	4,352	0.03	1.8	6,300	10	IT Info	*Prof'l*
Cambridge Adv. Learners (15)	2,866[11]	0.03	4.9	3,200	11	Educ-Publ.	*Prof'l*
Webopedia.com (16)	7,244	0.02	1.3	7,400	11	IT Info	*Prof'l*
AskOxford.com (30)	15,445	0.01	3.9	2,300	9	Educ-Publ	*Prof'l*
Longman Web Dict. (31)	22,910	0.00	9.2	300	5	Educ-Publ	*Prof'l*
Abbreviation.com(36)	28,641	0.00	2.2	400	8	IT Info	*? User[12]*

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[8]   All the Alexa measures used here are gathered daily and averaged over the 3 prior months.

[9]   Traffic rank uses an algorithm combining Reach and Page Views. "Reach" is the percentage of Alexa's "global visitors". Alexa statistics used here are average of 3 months as of March 2009.

[10]   Number in parentheses is rank order before dropping cases outside the study definition, e.g. bi-lingual dictionaries.

[11]   Presumably, rank for a larger part of the main Cambridge site has erroneously been measured.

[12]   See below where I question the site's claim.

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5.1.1 Reference Sites

For comparison, I start with the two top "Reference" sites, of which *Wikipedia* dominates by far, emerging as 7th in global traffic rank (i.e., 7th in overall rank, not just within Reference), followed in the 199th position by www.reference.com, a compilation of well-known standard dictionaries, encyclopedias, and thesauruses, usable free.

The noteworthy point is that the *user-generated Wikipedia*, only 8 years online, leads dramatically in meeting the Web-public's demand for "look-up" type of knowledge, towering over Reference.com's equally free and easy-to-access traditional encyclopedias, available online longer (14 years). Most striking is *Wikipedia's* attraction of links from other sites – 364,000 sites compared to less than 3,000 for Reference.com. Finally, *Wikipedia* draws more intense individual attention as indicated by page views, although the spread is small -- 4.4 vs. 3.8.

Wikipedia's significance for this paper goes beyond statistics, since it is both the conceptual model and operational framework for its dictionary counterpart, *Wiktionary*. *Wikipedia* has stimulated intense social science interest in its innovative social conditions and therefore unknown consequences for collaborative work (e.g., Konieczny, 2009 and references therein.) Linguists too have framed questions around Wikipedia, e.g., how "collaborative authoring" affects discourse genres.[13] That research can inform but not satisfy the need for research specifically on *Wiktionary* to pursue questions distinctive to constructing *dictionary-based* knowledge, e.g. debate over including new language forms (netlingo).

5.1.2 Dictionaries: Overview

Table 1's second tier shows the ranking and features of sites in Alexa's Reference sub-category, "Dictionaries" (after the exclusions noted[14]). The "fully/only dilemma" applies in assessing the drop in "global" traffic ranking from the general "reference" category to "dictionaries." I choose to consider the drop fairly small (*only* 40%[15]), especially considering that www.reference.com includes dictionaries. Combining that with finding that the next four sites each ranks close to the one above, leads me to conclude that the Web-presence of online dictionaries as a group is significant. Using the data on "Reach", I conservatively estimate that, daily, one-half to one percent of "global" users refer to one or more of the top four listed online dictionaries.[16] That percentage is very small, but applies to a very large (unknown) base number.

"Presence" in terms of Years-online varies from 5 to 16, most sites having been available for about 10 years; online age is unrelated to usage rankings: the top two sites include the oldest and one of the youngest. The number of Sites-linked-in varies widely,

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[13] Emigh & Herring (2005) research specifically on *Wiktionary* to pursue questions distinctive to constructing *dictionary-based* knowledge, e.g., debate over including new language forms (netlingo).

[14] The most important exclusion is www.leo.org, the top listing under dictionaries, excluded because it is a bi-lingual dictionary for translation. Onsite for 15 years, its traffic rank is 261, and reach is 0.23%. Very few sites link to it, but average page views is high -- 7.0 See below on page views.

[15] The difference between ranks for *reference.com* and the next one down, *thefreedictionary.com*, divided by the latter's rank=40%.

[16] There is a sharp drop after the top four, i.e. between Wiktionary and www.yourdictionary.com , and again after the next three, i.e., between www.webopedia.com and. www.AskOxford.com I calculated the size of the drop between ranks as a percentage of the lower rank to assess the relative size of drops, and used 50% as the criterion for "sharp drop."

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and *is* generally related to rankings, though it varies little among the top four.[17] Regarding Page Views, two high scorers stand out: *Longman Web Dictionary* (9.2) and *Cambridge Advanced Learners*, (4.9), while almost all others are in the range 1.3 to less than 3.0[18]. This is related to type of usage, since the high Page View sites are "English Language Learner" (ELL) dictionaries published by educational institutions, whose sites also offer materials for teachers. Probably students, including adults, use the sites for assignments as well as for looking up words related to social situations.

5.1.3 Dictionaries with User-Generated *versus* Professional Content

Media attention originally made me aware of *Wiktionary* and *Urban Dictionary,* piquing my interest in them to examine theoretical questions *re* definitions and language use, whatever their relative Web presence. Table 1 shows that both are among the most popular dictionary sites and approximate each other on those measures. (Sample limitations make it unwise to interpret the small differences between them, and as compared to traditional dictionaries in the top four.)

It was surprising to find that the top four dictionary sites are comprised of two user-generated and two traditional dictionaries. That does *not,* however, indicate parity between those types in number of people searching online for definitions. I expect almost no overlap between users of *Free Dictionary* and *Merriam-Webster Online*, while users of *Urban Dictionary* and *Wiktionary* are more likely to overlap; thus, considering "reach," and "sites-linked-in," traditional sources clearly outnumber user-generated ones. (Table 1 shows www.abbreviation.com as user-generated, but as explained later, that is questionable; in any case, it is last on the top 10 list, with few sites-linked-in, and has average Page Views.) All the other sites use professionally-developed content, a feature usually left implicit (in linguistic terms, "unmarked"), but sometimes highlighted in claims to expertise and authority. (www.askoxford.com is unusual by personalizing its top editors with pictures and bios.)

Table 1's "user-generated" category is based on the sites' self-proclaimed identity. The task in the next section is to explore how the distinction between user-generated *versus* professional dictionary is implemented. The section starts with a technical note on ambiguity about the term "users," in moving from Alexa data to analyzing site content.

5.1.3.1 Technical note on "Users"

 Alexa's statistics include a range of types and intensities of "using" websites, from people who reach a site accidentally, to employees working on it, even scholars visiting for research, to persons who are the intended target. I assume but can't know to what extent the intended target users overwhelmingly dominate the numbers. In that group, furthermore, many levels of involvement are possible (reviewed below), but the statistics do not allow me to specify numbers at different involvement levels. I assume that the overwhelming majority of "unique visitors" and "visits" were looking up definitions. Presumably, some non-trivial portion of users on the "user-generated" dictionary sites were involved in creating or editing entries, but they almost certainly are a minority on those sites as well.

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[17]   *Wiktionary's* low number is a special case because links to Wikipedia serve the purpose almost as well.

[18]   AskOxford.com, not an ELL dictionary, stands out with 3.9 average Page-Views.

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5.2 Examining User Involvement in Dictionary Sites

5.2.1 Professional and Marketing Orientations to User Involvement

Lexicographers' first-hand knowledge of what users want or "need" from dictionaries has been minimal, especially compared to other professionals who more likely routinely interact with clients. The lexicographic literature bemoans that lack (e.g., Svensen 1993, Wiegand 1999) and has welcomed rare efforts to reduce it by user surveys. The shift to the online context affords many alternatives to surveys as ways for lexicographers to interact, albeit indirectly, with users *via* dictionary websites.

Of course, ways for users to interact *via* websites also (perhaps mainly) serve publishers' marketing needs. In general, one assumes, the more actively users engage, the more committed they become to the site, the more likely to tell others about it, and more available and inclined to respond to ads. Whether and how those marketing aims compete with, but also support, lexicographers' aims to give what their ethic sees as more informed and authoritative services to users, is an issue fundamental to varied aesthetic and scholarly fields (e.g., literature, museums) that depend economically on market factors. (for a classic treatment, cf. Bourdieu 1992).[19] The dictionary field (similar to other cultural products based on classifying information) shares in those aspects of disparate market and professional perspectives, as well as brings in a distinct user perspective.

User "involvement" in creating and applying dictionary definitions thus can have contrasting "ideal-typical" implications for power relations between "users" and "professionals": At one extreme, user involvement can reinforce and enhance professional control. In this situation, users are "atomized" or isolated from each other. Their activities on a website are individualized and, if they take any action beyond reading, they provide information that can be channeled in various ways to professionals on the staff, and possibly more widely shared with the professional community[20]. Professionals use such information according to their own criteria for content. This is the model I expect to find approximated by traditional dictionaries that have gone online.

At the other extreme is user control; this situation requires that users be in touch with each other, forming some type of community that sets criteria for content. While this situation requires that there be some type of intermediaries (editors) who bring "expertise" to processing widely distributed input into usable content, the intermediaries themselves are members of the user community, chosen and monitored according to community-determined criteria. This is the model I expect to find approximated by dictionaries initiated online whose identity and core value is based on user-generated definitions.

With those models in mind, I reviewed activities afforded to users according to whether they contribute to building an individualized identity as a user of the site's dictionary-resources, or whether they contribute to building a community identity. I consider activities as *individualized* identity-building if they are not visible to other site users, or are visible only without any identifiers, and as *community* identity-building if

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[19] For the present study, I had planned to include qualitative data on mode of economic support in comparing the dictionary sites, but due to space and time constraints, I deferred coding such aspects as types of solicitations to advertisers or donors, and types and pervasiveness of ads. That is a priority for future research.

[20] For example, through presentations at conferences of the Dictionary Society of North America, or in the journal *Dictionary*.

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there is the possibility of such mutual awareness and interaction. Figures 1-2 display the results of my qualitative analysis of the sites.

5.2.2 User input: "Core" *versus* "Marginal" Value

In Table 1, three of the 10 sites had been identified as based on user-controlled content; all others as based on professional control. However, my intensive review of those websites revealed that almost all offer some mechanism for user input; also, one site (Abbreviations.com) that claims "wiki-type" user control in fact offers weak follow-through. (It is perhaps not surprising that "wiki-ness" is a marketing feature for compiling abbreviations, which are relatively ephemeral, specialized, and pose no semantic issues.)

Thus, I further categorized the 8 sites[21] that offer any means for user-provided content according to whether such input appears to be highly valued (a "core" value) *versus* moderately or marginally valued; Table 2 shows the results, discussed later. Figure 1 presents the indicators I used that reflect: how centrally and explicitly the site seeks user input; whether an easy-to-use form is provided to submit words; whether editors are comprised of users, and whether the user-definitions are entered into the site's main look-up source or are "segregated" into a separate dictionary.

As expected, only *Wiktionary* and *Urban Dictionary* truly fit the "Core Value" category, and almost all the others fall into the Marginal Value category, which is expressed in various ways (Figure 1). The unexpected finding was that one traditional site, Merriam-Webster, "earned" a rank higher than "Marginal" for its approach to user-input, although it clearly does not expect to modify its professional product that way. Merriam-Webster's "Open Dictionary" is easy to access for input and browsing; individual contributors are identified. A quick review suggests that most contributions are innovative "blend words", making "Open Dictionary" quite entertaining. In particular, Merriam-Webster's value placed on user-definition is evidenced by its effort to socialize school-children into writing dictionary definitions as a "fun" activity, optionally with personal credit (showing name or nickname and state). In fact, Merriam-Webster's site offers the widest variety of activities for adult and child users (see below), reflecting the cultural/historical context in which its dictionary is embedded (notably, Noah Webster as progenitor; sponsorship of the National Spelling Bee) rather than suggesting that the company is inclined toward user-control as a core value.

The indicators of placing Marginal Value on user-input for the four remaining sites reflect the fact that the sites' requests for input are difficult to find and/or to implement. At AskOxford.com, a user's hope of having a suggestion accepted is pointedly made unlikely by extensive explanation of the editorial vetting process for new words.

While my site reviews did not substantially alter the basic categorization of dictionaries regarding user or professional dominance, they add important nuance to the distinction. Further, they show operationally how online dictionary publishers are beginning to exploit the technological potential for greater user involvement.

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[21]   The two ELL dictionaries (Cambridge and Longmans-Pearson), both of which are produced by Education Publishers, are therefore not in the remaining analyses.

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Figure 1: Indicators of Value Placed on User-Definitions by Selected Popular Online Dictionary Sites.

Core value

– Home page clearly states that user input is the only or main way that words and definitions are entered and clarifies how to do that (Urban Dictionary, Wiktionary)
– Discussion of entries (Wiktionary) or "Comments" (Urban Dictionary) is encouraged and easy to enter
– Becoming an editor is encouraged and easy to do (Urban Dictionary, Wiktionary)
– Voting on entries is easy, which determines the order of definitions if more than one are submitted for a word (Urban Dictionary)

"Pseudo-Core"

– Adopts the "wiki" rhetoric and overall screen appearance, and provides a form for entering words and definitions, and for becoming an editor (offers a free T-shirt) but offers no Discussion section. It does not show which entries have been offered by users, nor are editor guidelines provided.

Moderate value

– Clearly invites, and provides easy form for user contributions for an "Open Dictionary" that is maintained separately from the main look-up source. Also offers a separate user-built dictionary in the "For the Kids" section. (m-w)

Marginal value

– Invites user contributions for a separate "Online Community Dictionary", and provides an easy form, but these are very difficult to find (shown as second option under a link for "Feedback.") (freedict)
– Within recently added "Forums", one topic is "Missing from Dictionary"; explains it refers to a word that user feels should be in the "licensed" traditional dictionary that is the site's main look-up source (yourdict)
– Within "About Us", notes that many suggestions for the site's ongoing updating result from suggestions by the site's users; however, this is not mentioned on the home page and no form is provided for submissions. (webopedia)
– In an article on new words, located deep into the site, asks users who have "spotted a new word" to email the word and brief explanation of what it means and "if possible, where you came across it," but no submission form is provided, and other articles make clear the rigorous editorial selection process for accepting new words. (askOxford)

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Figure 2 extends the evidence about activities that sites offer in attempting to engage users, besides submitting words and definitions. These activities are of interest to the extent they may contribute to forming an identity as dictionary-user other than in a traditional "needy supplicant role" (i.e., the traditional user seeks a handout – a definition, pronunciation, or etymology -- from the professional's treasure trove of lexical knowledge.)

As noted, the key analytic distinction is whether the activities are "individualized" or "community-building." *Within* those categories, I have grouped examples according to degree of involvement based on (my estimate of) how much effort the user must exert to do the activity.

Figure 2A presents the *individualized* activities. All these sites offer one or more low-involvement options; except for *Wiktionary,* all have a "Word-of-the-Day" on the home page, or linked from it. Indeed, all the sites also offered at least one moderately involving activity. High involvement activities are rare, but offered by several sites. It is noteworthy that *Wiktionary* and *Urban Dictionary* offered almost no activities categorized as "Individualized" (*Urban Dictionary* has a Word-of-the-Day), because all their activities fit into the community-building category.

In general, if the site owners subscribe to reports on web-metrics (they could receive such information from activities with moderate or high involvement, because users take some action on the site), what they would learn from most of these activities seems more suited to marketing than professional applications. However, some activities might help inform professionals about trends in vocabulary needs and interests (e.g., building a personal word list; suggesting a Word-of-the-Day).

Figure 2B is of particular interest because it details the type of *community-building* activities offered. The common element in these examples is that when one user engages in the activity, other users can be aware of it. Minimally, that demonstrates to them that there is a virtual community involved with the site, with the potential (but it would be a big leap) for building greater identity and even for mobilization.

In the "Low Involvement" category, the presence and activity of others is known but it is one-sided and at least one party is anonymous, e.g. casting a vote up or down on a definition in *Urban Dictionary*; reading without participating in a "Forum" (a discussion board on language-related topics-- e.g. vocabulary, grammar – where more knowledgeable members, or perhaps staff , answer questions.)

For "Moderate Involvement," the user shares information about him/herself, e.g. Wordlists s/he has built, or participates in a Forum discussion infrequently.

For "High involvement", all but one of the concrete examples (frequent participation in Forums) come from *Urban Dictionary* and *Wiktionary*. In these activities, members interact with each other more or less directly, and have some knowledge of who that is (usually "nicknames"). *Urban Dictionary* offers an ongoing Chat room (my few brief visits show that discussing words and definitions is not how it is used; rather it revels in competitive patter of seemingly light-hearted and gross insults. But the potential for actual chats about language is in place.)

In *Wiktionary*, a community identity is literally possible as a "Wiktionarian," with optional picture and bio to introduce oneself. Also, a status hierarchy of titles and privileges in editing exists, based on elections by those who have titles, in a nominating and "campaigning" process that is visible to anyone interested.

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Figure 2: Examples of User Activities Offered by Selected Popular Online Dictionary Sites, Toward Forming Identity (A) as an *Individualized* Dictionary User and/or (B) as a member of a *Community* of Dictionary Users

A. Individualized Activities that require:

a) Low involvement
-- on home page, read Word of Day, recently added terms, etc. (provided by all)
-- on home page, read an article about words or dictionaries (askOxford, m-w)

b) Moderate involvement
-- build a personal "word list," i.e. for own vocabulary-building (several)
-- play word game provided, e.g. crossword puzzle (several)
-- request emailed "Word of the Day" or word games (several)
-- use 1 or 2 links to get to any of the above(any)
-- add a link to the dictionary on own computer home page (several)
-- watch "live" as words/definitions are being added (Urban Dictionary)

c) High involvement
-- send suggestion for "Word of the Day" (several)
-- follow the dictionary on Twitter or RSS feed (several)

B. Community-building activities that require:

a) Low involvement
-- vote anonymously (positive or negative) on word definitions (Urban Dictionary)
-- read Forum discussions without participating

b) Moderate involvement
-- Share (anonymously) one's own Word List and read other members' lists (yourdict.)
-- Participate in Forum discussions infrequently (Yourdictionary labels infrequent
   participants as "newbies")

c) High involvement
-- Frequent participant in Forum discussions (labeled "Senior Members" in
   Yourdictionary)
-- In the *Wiktionary* community:
-- Edit entries, with or without name (but IP address will be taken) and participate in
   discussions about entries;
-- Become a "Wiktionarian," giving name (real or nickname) and bio, picture optional
-- Apply for various levels of "Administrator" status, which will be voted on by others
   with that status, in a process that can be view by anyone; status achieved only after a
   high level of participation that meets with others' approval.
-- In the *Urban Dictionary* community:
-- register as editor (anyone may register, but more established editors will review edits
   before they are implemented)
-- participate in chat room
-- participate in blogging

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6   Summary and Conclusions

6.1   *Emerging Opportunities for User Control in Dictionary Processes*

Table 2 summarizes the data, and takes a broad leap into implications. The last column suggests how the features of dictionary-sites that have been reviewed, might combine to facilitate long-range effects on the *status quo* of professional control over dictionary-definitional processes.

Table 2: Emerging Opportunities for User Control Over Online Dictionary Processes: A Qualitative Summary of Indicators of: Value Placed on User Input; Types and Amounts of User Activities Offered by Top Eight English Dictionary Sites;[22] and Implications for Professional Control

Name of site	Value placed on User Input	Opportunities for Building Identity: a. Individualized	Opportunities for Building Identity: b. Community-oriented	*Implications for Professional Control*
Thefreedictionary.com	Marginal	Low	Low	*Sustains*
Merriam-Webster Online	Moderate	High	Moderate	*Enhances*
Urbandictionary.com	Core	Low	High	*Poses "stealth threat"*
Wiktionary.org	Core	Low	High	*Diminishes*
Yourdictionary.com	Marginal	High	Moderate	*Enhances*
Webopedia.com	Marginal	Low	None	*Sustains*
AskOxford.com	Marginal	Moderate	None	*Sustains*
Abbreviations.com	Pseudo-Core	Low	Low	*Sustains*

I will comment first on the columns that summarize, at the dictionary site level, features that were separately (and selectively) illustrated in Figures 1-2 (Value on User-input; Opportunities for Individualized and Community-Based Identity). To arrive at the impressionistic summary measures, I considered not only what activities each site offered, but whether it offered few or many of them. At best, these results must be considered tentative.

Some results in Table 2 were unexpected, notably finding that any traditional dictionary sites went beyond a minimal gesture to solicit and feature content from users. I concluded that although Merriam-Webster segregates its *"Open Dictionary"* from its standard product, the site gives the latter enough prominence to suggest it values user-input.

Regarding opportunities for individualized identity-building, I had no clear expectations and the results do not seem surprising. By contrast, I was surprised that sites other than *Urban Dictionary* and *Wiktionary* offered features potentially promoting a

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[22] Includes only those dictionaries that offer any possibility for user input into definitions.

community-based identity around involvement in dictionary processes. Again, Merriam-Webster qualifies, not only because of *"Open Dictionary,"* but also its projects to socialize children beyond learning how to *look up* word-definitions to how to *create* them. Similarly, *Yourdictionary's* elaborate structure of discussion Forums, with activity records that all users can see, suggests greater opportunity to develop community-based identity than expected in a professionally controlled site.

How might these site-level patterns of features combine in the future to affect power relations between professionals and users in the institutional arena where dictionary-making occurs? The most defensible prediction (Table 2, last column) is that for most sites, entrenched professional control will be sustained (four sites) or even enhanced (two sites). The former outcome reflects the fact that even though varied user activities were identified, these sites (*freedictionary, webopedia, askoxford, abbreviations*) offer few activities even at the individualized level, and few or none at the community level.

The story is more complex for the two sites that may enhance professional control. For them (*Merriam-Webster* and *Yourdictionary*), I expect the high-level of individualized activities will provide their publishers with considerable information about users that they can shape for both marketing and content purposes. Both sites also offer some community-based activities with potential in the *long* long-run for users to discover shared interests and some influence over definitional issues, but until then those activities add further to the publishers' fund of user information. Rather than sharply altering power relations, providing community-based activities on these sites may more subtly reduce "social distance" between professionals and users, from both directions.

Finally, the most interesting speculations concern the user-generated dictionaries. They exemplify user-control within their own spheres, but can we envision their affecting professional control over dictionary-processes generally? It seems safe to project that *Wiktionary* will undermine professional dominance in its domain, perhaps more slowly than is occurring regarding *Wikipedia*, but drawing on the *Wikipedia* effect (Cohen, 2008).

Urban Dictionary is a more questionable matter. While *Wiktionary* is a distinctly adult activity, *Urban Dictionary* is youth-dominated but is drawing increasing attention in mainstream media (e.g., Heffernan, 2009; Smarty, 2009). *Wiktionary* covers standard language though it includes slang and new forms; *Urban Dictionary* claims only to cover slang, but in fact includes general terms.

It is intriguing to consider that the *Urban Dictionary* phenomenon – with its sloganized call to any and all to "Define Your World" – could be seen as part of a "stealth" social movement[23]. Under the right conditions, its large virtual community -- or a substantial sub-community within it -- could recognize a common interest in definitional (and classification) issues that affect their life-chances, and could mobilize to protest the old methods and shape new alternatives.

A not-impossible example is intergenerational job competition emerging in a greatly constricted job market, where classification and labeling of labor market qualities negatively associated with youth could be contested. The stealth *weapon* that the *Urban*

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[23]   A newer venture -- *Leximo* (www.leximo.org) -- is unlikely to approach *Urban Dictionary's* clout, but illustrates the social movement mentality of some user-generated dictionaries by declaring a "Manifesto" to guide its development as a "Social Dictionary", and by proclaiming on its home page: "Become a part of the Revolution! Spread the word about Leximo!"

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Dictionary community could effectively wield is being continually sharpened on its definitional "raw materials" (sometimes extremely raw.)

That weapon is its "style" – which is best characterized as imaginative, humorous ridicule. Professionals (lexicographers, academics, others) are vulnerable to that weapon, being widely perceived – not only by youth -- as terminally stuffy. Indeed, that weapon has recently been used by political comedians in the U.S. and promulgated through online and other news media – and has indeed proved effective in national politics. Not unexpectedly, *Urban Dictionary's* site features a press section, and on its home page highlights its pickup in mainstream news-media.

I do not seriously expect my scenario about *Urban Dictionary* in the short-term. Rather, the scenario supports my opening suggestion that new social forms emerging in dictionary-making (viewed as efforts to control meanings) deserve serious attention by sociologists. The new forms and processes resonate with related populist trends online. Consequently, their potential is enhanced for contesting power relations that, like classification systems generally, draw sustenance from the reflexive and pragmatic as well as semantic capacities of language.

6.2 Reflections on Theory

Reflections on my earlier review of sociological theory help point the way forward. Earlier, I situated Bourdieu's analysis of dictionaries in its historical national setting, which this study has shown increasingly out of touch with conditions of online dictionaries (e.g., beyond jurisdiction of language institutes; allowing frequent updating and input by non-experts).

But Bourdieu's insights on linguistic capital remain a productive framework for doing research on dictionaries; it simply requires turning his rigid categories for describing dictionaries[24] into *variables*. Then, we can locate contemporary dictionaries accordingly (e.g., variable authority over dictionary content by professionals, producer/marketers, and users) to study how different types of dictionaries influence processes that generate interactional meanings (e.g., in social movements).

Regrettably, neither Bourdieu nor Luhmann is alive to tackle extending -- possibly revising -- their theories of language in the evolving digital-world context. By contrast, White, with colleagues, is actively engaged in plumbing linguistic aspects of his theoretic framework of social formations to expose underlying "meaning mechanics."[25]. They have not explicitly considered whether and how the digital context might elaborate dynamics (including language) of identities seeking control. Nor have they proposed study of dictionaries as a tool in uncovering "meaning mechanics." However, in current work (White and Fontdevila, 2009), they strongly argue for attending analytically to pragmatics of language use. Since the meta-pragmatic act of *defining* is pervasive in its informal manifestations, I conclude that dictionaries -- the formal iceberg-tip of attempts to control ambiguity and meaning – merit continuing research that informs theory.

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[24]   Re-stating Bourdieu's definition: Dictionaries are repositories of word-codings (semantic and pragmatic, e.g., designating low-status usage) done by experts with authority derived from state-approved educational criteria. Dictionary coding of words and phrases, we might venture, operate like federal monetary policy does for financial capital, regulating their exchange value as linguistic capital. The expression "coining words" captures the analogy nicely.

[25]   My term.

Acknowledgements

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Hatred of Sex links Jacques Rancière's political philosophy of the constitutive disorder of democracy with Jean Laplanche's identification of a fundamental perturbation at the heart of human sexuality. Sex is hated as well as desired, Oliver Davis and Tim Dean contend, because sexual intensity impedes coherent selfhood and undermines identity, rendering us all a little more deplorable than we might wish. Davis and Dean explore the consequences of this conflicted dynamic across a range of fields and institutions, including queer studies, attachment theory, the #MeToo movement, and 'traumatology', demonstrating how hatred of sex has been optimized and exploited by neoliberalism. Advancing strong claims about sex, pleasure, power, intersectionality, therapy, and governance, Davis and Dean shed new light on enduring questions of equality at a historical moment when democracy appears ever more precarious.

'Fascinating, formidable, and timely, this volume probes unexpected links between democracy and sexuality. Hatred of Sex will undoubtedly disturb established ideas that are widely and at times too reflexively adopted in current academic conversations about sexuality. A manifesto grounded in careful scholarship, this book has the makings of a classic.'— Avgi Saketopoulou, faculty of the Postdoctoral Program in Psychotherapy and Psychoanalysis at New York University

'Hatred of Sex is a bold critical intervention in current discourses of violence, trauma, affect, attachment, and safety, propagated by queer studies, carceral feminism, the theory of intersectionality, and identity-driven politics. No other book has offered such an unapologetic and persuasive critique of the incursion of anti-democratic and sex-hating discourses in queer theory. Davis and Dean make arguments that few others would dare to wage, given how greatly they diverge from today's prevailing sacred notions, political platitudes, and piously moralizing stances—found not on the political right but at the center of liberalism.'
— John Paul Ricco, professor of comparative literature at the University of Toronto.

Utopia and Education. Studies in Philosophy, Theory of Education and Pedagogy of Asylum by Rafał **Włodarczyk**
https://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/dlibra/publication/143927/edition/133473#description

Utopia and Education is an original contribution of the philosophy and theory of education, which also enters the fields of disciplines other than pedagogy and uses their approaches and achievements. The work is part of utopian studies and complements its discourse with a less marked path of philosophy and theory of education. Moreover, in the context of pedagogy and education, it takes up a number of issues whose significance goes beyond the conventional framework of a single discipline: utopia, ideology, social criticism, fundamentalism, democracy, populism, translation, transdisciplinarity and knowledge transfer, socialisation, school as one of the social institutions, etc. The work not only reconstructs knowledge about specific phenomena relevant to education and pedagogy but also proposes an original solution to educational problems in the form of the concept of asylum pedagogy. The approach to these phenomena is well reflected in the division of the book into two parts. The book, apart from references to researchers associated with utopian studies, addresses ideas of such figures of the humanities and social sciences as Emmanuel Levinas and Erich Fromm; their concepts were earlier used by the Author in two monographs. Besides, there are references to Bronisław Baczko, George Steiner, Jacques Derrida, Michael Walzer, Hannah Arendt, Janusz Korczak, and Ilan Gur- Ze'ev. Throughout the work, the Author attempts to combine the perspectives of critical pedagogy and dialogue, finds inspiration in the achievements of the Warsaw School of the History of Ideas and draws on Jewish thought and tradition.

Book edited by Prof. Viviane de Melo Resende (in Portuguese)

"Estudos do Discurso.Relevância social, interssectionalidade, interdisciplinaridade" (2022).

Chapter by Stephanie Cassilde "UMA ABORDAGEM HOLÍSTICA DA DINÂMICA CONFLITUOSA DAS CATEGORIZAÇÕES NO MESMO ESPAÇO SOCIAL" (pp. 169-206)

Chapter by Micheline Mattedi Tomazi and Viviane de Melo Resende
"MAIS MULHERES SÃO ASSASSINADAS NA PANDEMIA": CONSTRUÇÃO DISCURSIVA JORNALÍSTICA SOBRE VIOLÊNCIA CONTRA MULHERES NO ISOLAMENTO SOCIAL (pp. 79-108).
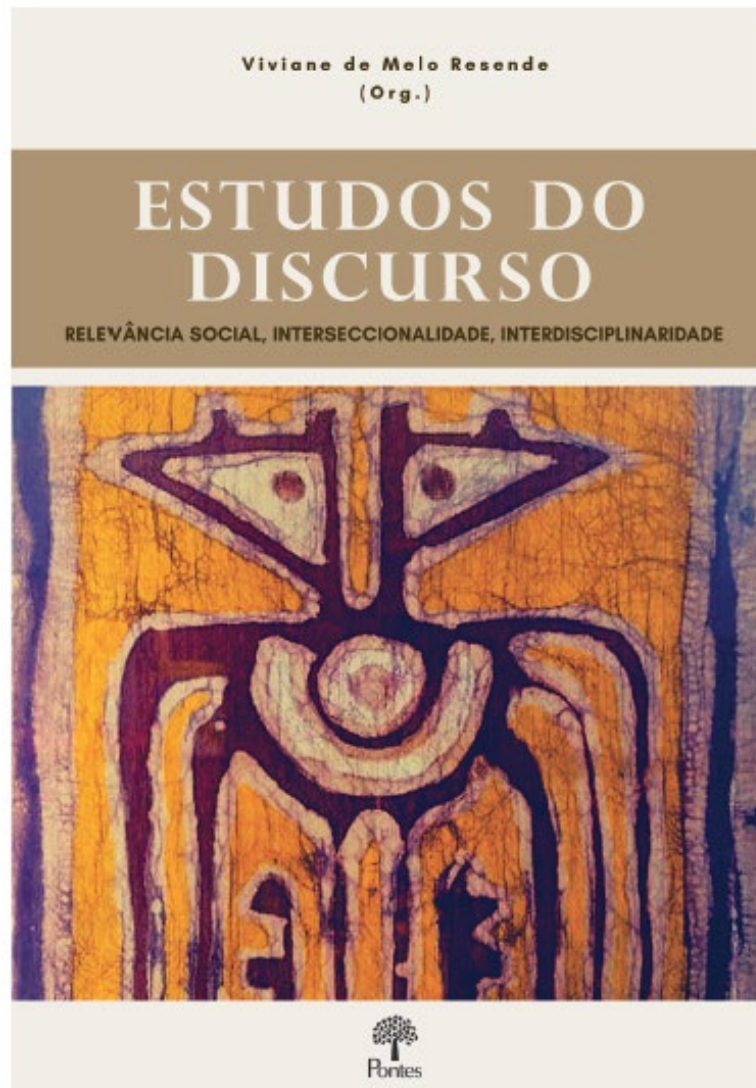
RC25 FACEBOOK ACTIVITY UPDATE

https://www.facebook.com/ISARC25/

Keiji Fujiyoshi, RC25 Facebook page webmaster

I usually make two or three posts a week. Most of them are the link to the articles which may interest some of the RC25 members. Due to my limitation in language, most posts are in English. I will appreciate it if you let me know interesting webpages written in other languages on the Internet.

Send the link to me at fjosh524@hotmail.com ... Thanks!

Among all posts from October 1, 2021 to March 31, 2022, thirty-three posts have got thirty or plus 'reaches.' Here is a list of them. I hope it is any interest of you.

- [Feel free to download! Education & the Challenges of the Multicultural World (PDF)](#) Edited by Ewa Dąbrowa & Anna Odrowąż-Coates. February 9, 2020 (500 reaches: the MOST reaches ever!).

- [RC25 is going to have an international conference on Lauguage and Society at Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya, in June 2022](#) @RC25. November 28, 2021 (299 reaches).

- [Black hair, white shoelaces: Japan school rules under fire](#) @France24. March 17, 2022 (198 reaches).

- [A new year greeting from RC25 Secretary, Beatriz Xavier.](#) December 16, 2021 (86 reaches).

- JobOpening: Tenure-Track Professorship for the field of Qualitative Social Research @University of Vienna. March 5, 2022, (54 reaches)

- ['My students never knew': the lecturer who lived in a tent](#) @TheGuardian. October 31, 2021 (54 reaches).

- [Problems in the abstract submission page for the RC25 Nairobi 2022 Conference are now fixed](#) @RC25. January 4, 2022, (46 reaches).

- [Timbuktu manuscripts: Mali's ancient documents captured online](#) @BBC. March 12, 2022 (43 reaches).

- ['All art must go underground:' Ukraine scrambles to shield its cultural heritage](#) @TheWashingtonPost. March 15, 2022 (40 reaches).

- [I sold my eggs for an Ivy League education – but was it worth it?](#) @TheGuardian. November 8, 2021 (40 reaches).

- [Princeton will significantly increase stipends to support graduate students](#) @PrincetonUniversity. February 5, 2022 (40 reaches).

- [Establishment of Committee for Aid to Museums of Ukraine](#) @PolishHistoryMuseum. April 2, 2022 (39 reaches).

- [Abstract submission system for the Nairobi 2022 Conference still has trouble](#) @RC25. December 17, 2021 (38 reaches).

- [Abstract submission system for the Nairobi 2022 Conference still has trouble](#) @RC25. December 26, 2021 (35 reaches).

- [University loses 77TB of research data due to backup error](#) @BleepingComputer. December 31, 2021, (34 reaches).

- [Google's 2021 search list: Bernie Sanders' mittens and Squid Game top the trends](#) @TheGuardian December 12, 2021, (34 reaches).

- [Marie Wilcox, Who Saved Her Native Language From Extinction, Dies at 87](#) @NewYorkTimes October 8, 2021, (34 reaches).

FUTURE OPPORTUNITIES TO PARTICIPATE OR CONTRIBUTE

Call for papers:

CfP for the next issue of **German-Polish Annual/Rocznik Polsko-Niemiecki**

Migration processes in the 21st century in Germany and German-speaking countries

Abstract submission deadline: **June 1, 2022**
Final paper submission deadline: **December 1, 2022**
Languages: English, German and Polish

http://czasopisma.isppan.waw.pl/index.php/rpn/announcement

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Study opportunity:

Study in Poland - Masters in Children's Rights and Childhood Studies

In the language context, it is interesting to announce that the Maria Grzegorzewska University starts their first MA Program in English: Masters in Children's Rights and Childhood Studies.

The 2-year Masters is free for residents of Poland and with some moderate fees for non-residents. Students from outside the EU from B and C category country by OECD classification may apply for special stipend from the Polish Commission for UNESCO of 1500 PLN a month for each month they spend in Poland studying. There is a limit of 10 places for this stipend. The first and the last semester may be completed online from the country of residence, so only the middle semesters would need to be done in Poland, which cuts the subsistence costs significantly.

More information can be found here:

1. Films about the programme: Akademia Pedagogiki Specjalnej - Studying at APS
2. Basic information about the programme: Akademia Pedagogiki Specjalnej - Recruitment (aps.edu.pl)
3. IRK link will appear here: Akademia Pedagogiki Specjalnej - Masters in Children's Rights and Childhood Studies (aps.edu.pl)

Registration for Studies will open in June 2022; e-mail: recruitment@aps.edu.pl

Program starts on 1st of October 2022; ends 30th of September 2024 or in June 2024 if you pass all your exams on time and complete your master's thesis in time.

Conference:

International Conference
DISCOURSES OF CHILDHOOD AND SOCIAL EDUCATION
@ Maria Grzegorzewska University in Warsaw, Poland

2-3 of June 2022

Celebrating 10th Anniversary of International Journal of Social Pedagogy IJSP (UCL, London)

Confirmed speakers:
Prof. Claire Cameron UCL, UK; Prof. Darrick Smith University of San Francisco, USA; Prof. Rudi Roose UGent, Belgium; Prof. Kathleen Manion Royal Roads University, Canada; Prof. Mahesh TS (India), Stephen Okpadah, Nigeria; Prof. Višnja Rajić, University of Zagreb, Croatia; Prof. Ivo Jirásek, UTB, Czech Republic; Dr Tore Bernt Sørensen, UJ, Danmark;

Young Researchers Academy PERA on 3rd June 2022

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NOTES ABOUT THE WAR IN UKRAINE

Recontextualising Lessons from the Past: Responses to the War in Ukraine and the Humanitarian Crisis (The Case of Bulgaria)

Nadezhda Georgieva-Stankova, Trakia University, Bulgaria

The war in Ukraine, the terrors and suffering of the Ukrainian people has made us realise more than ever how globally connected we are, not only in terms of a possible impending military and nuclear risk, or mass-mediated messages, but also of shared values and humanitarian responses. I have been deeply distraught by this tragedy and personally by that of my Ukrainian CEU/GSSR (Warsaw) colleagues and friends, whose homeland has been brutally attacked, their home towns ruined to the ground and families broken and devastated by the enemy invasion. Bulgaria and Bulgarians have opened their hearts and homes to the numerous Ukrainian families fleeing from the war, frequently self-organising to provide humanitarian aid or flooding the streets with peace demonstrations. My home town has also taken on a new vocal appearance, speaking a language one can detect in streets and public spaces, in parks and children's playgrounds – the familiar language of a brotherly people.

The Humanitarian Crisis in Bulgaria: Civil Society and Institutional Responses

What are the dimensions of the humanitarian crisis in Bulgaria? According to the *National Portal for the People Affected by the War in Ukraine,*[1] 175,812 people have entered the country (as of April 14, 2022), of whom 25,000 are children. About eighty-two thousand have remained in the country, while the rest left for other EU countries. More than fifty-one thousand have already been accommodated and 60,806 registered for temporary protection. The procedure, however, has been slow to implement. Twenty temporary protection points have been opened since the beginning of the crisis to provide registration cards to Ukrainians, but many of them were delayed in their work. While governmental responses to the refugee crisis have been criticised as slow and inefficient, civil society was the fastest to respond by setting up volunteer coordination points throughout the country, providing accommodation in their homes, sending mini-buses to the Ukrainian border to help with transportation, collect aid and distribute humanitarian resources.

As employment is concerned, the Ministry of Innovation has been very active in opening a discussion with Bulgarian employers with the potential perspective to provide jobs to some 200,000 Ukrainian refugees on the Bulgarian labour market[2].

The educational needs of Ukrainian children have also been taken care of equally by the government, civil society and private schools. Some children have already continued their education either in Bulgarian schools or online with Ukrainian or Bulgarian teachers. The project "Equal Access to Education in Times of Crisis", co-funded by EU structural funds and created during the pandemic has been redirected to provide technical equipment and resources to school children and young learners from Ukraine. Books and teaching materials in Ukrainian language were collected by volunteers for the youngest, while different art, music and sports institutions have opened their doors for free to Ukrainian children and their families to provide educational and psychological support.

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[1] https://ukraine.gov.bg/
[2] Angelov, G. Georgy, (March 22, 2022) "55, 800 Ukrainians have remained in Bulgaria: What is the state doing for them?" (https://www.dw.com/bg/)

Media and Public Responses

Media and public responses have mostly focused on the cruelty of the war and the suffering of the Ukrainian people as a brotherly people, directing the attention to moments in history, when Bulgarian people acting as one provided help and salvation, for example, to Armenians from the Armenian genocide and saved Bulgarian Jews during WWII. Other Holocaust victims, such as the Roma, also supported Ukrainian refugees morally and financially through civic organisation. Recontextualising such lessons from the past, public figures, artists, musicians and intellectuals appealed to wider society to provide help to Ukrainian people in mass organised concerts, peace marches and other public events and demonstrations. Processes of de-mythologising our Russian-related history and denouncing some pre-existing national myths have been reflected in media and public space, emphasising points in history of Ukrainian contribution to Bulgarian independence, culture and national identity. At the same time, "Russophile" vs. "Russophobe" and pro-Putin vs. anti-Putin discourses have been juxtaposed in official and social media fuelled by another raging war – the hybrid war, and suspicions of Russian influence behind certain established media outlets in Bulgaria[3], opening a serious discussion regarding the boundaries of media pluralism and where it can merge with disinformation and open propaganda.[4]

The Relevance of Sociology in Times of Crisis

What can be the relevance of sociology in deepening our understanding of the ongoing war in Ukraine? One of the first public questions raised after the Russian invasion was how could our highly-developed European civilization relapse into the barbarism of war, destruction, military crimes and the deaths of innocent civilian people? A question, which likewise preoccupied Zygmunt Bauman in his seminal work *Modernity and the Holocaust* (1989)[5]. Expounding on the reasons that led to the genocide during WWII, Bauman relates the Holocaust neither simply to the obsession of a single totalitarian personality or high-ranking Nazi officers, nor to their cruelty alone, but to the consequences of the rational spirit of modernity, to technological advancement, the bureaucratic organization, the principle of efficacy, as well as the underlying racial motivation for targeting the Jewish population. Similarly, Ruth Wodak dwells on the way anti-Semitic discourses have been de-historicised and de-contextualised, then re-contextualised for new purposes in recent years, transferred by analogy to other vulnerable groups, such as migrants, Muslims and Roma (2011)[6]. Today, such re-contextualisation can clearly be illustrated by the Russian propaganda use of "Nazi" and" denazification", creating category crises for some over what can be deemed morally "good" or "bad", or who is to be considered the enemy and who is the actual perpetrator, further raising important questions not only about propaganda, but also regarding the nature of communism and imperialism, post-communist and post-colonial experience. In such turbulent times, the task of sociology is not to provide easy answers, but search for complex contextualised structural explanations on a comparative basis. The sociology of language can contribute in this process, for example, by analysing the discursive dimensions of such problems, the language of propaganda, fake news, disinformation and the way power-ridden discourses can transform public opinion in the information war.

The Moral Task of the Intellectual

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[3] Information provided by the international investigative journalism group Bellingcat soon to be announced publicly. (https://www.clubz.bg) (April 12, 2022)

[4] Provoked by a media report in the Bulgarian National Radio, which relied on false information about the war. (https://www.clubz.bg) (April 11, 2022)

[5] Bauman, Z. 1992[1989]. *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Polity.

[6] Wodak, R. 2011. "Suppression of the Nazi Past, Coded Languages, and Discourses of Silence: Applying the Discourse - Historical Approach to Post-War Anti-Semitism in Austria." In: Steinmetz, W. (ed.) *Political Languages in the Age of Extremes*. Oxford: London.

Zygmunt Bauman teaches us that sociology must be "in service of freedom", helping the individual and humanity[7]. Within power relations, Edward Said perceives the role of the intellectual as "the author of the language that tries to speak the truth to power"[8]. One, who is the exile both in actual and metaphorical terms, related to the social history of dislocation and migration, "constantly being unsettled, and unsettling others"(ibid.). Speaking against the fierce Russian propaganda, for the famous Bulgarian writer, Georgy Gospodinov, the only weapon of writers in such times is to "appeal through voice and language" and tell the truth through their personal story[9]. The Bulgarian historian, Martin Ivanov reminds us that "we must all remember that at some point in time in our family history we have been refugees and have the moral responsibility to those, who are suffering, who are in trouble, to give a hand and not turn our gaze away from their suffering"[10]. Coming from a family of refugees, once fleeing from wars provoked by the clash and collapse of empires and geopolitical gamesmanship, my firm conviction is that speaking the language of humanity and solidarity should be our common *Lingua Franca.* As sociologists, we must be united by a common cause and a conviction, (including our Russian colleagues who have openly denounced the war), that there should be no doubt.

"Together for Ukraine" Peace March in Sofia in which thousands of people participated, joined by Bulgarian politicians on March 24, 2022. (Source: https://www.24chasa.bg/)

[7] Bauman, Z. (November 3, 2010)"The sociologist influencing Labour's new generation". Interview with Randeep Ramesh (www.theguardian.com)

[8] Said. E. 1994. *Representations of the Intellectual*. The 1993 Reith Lectures. Vintage.

[9] Ivanova, Zh. (March 08, 2022)" World Famous Writers Have Appealed for Peace. Georgy Gospodinov expresses an opinion." (https://www.bgonair.bg/a/4-world/258074-svetovnoizvestni-pisateli-prizovaha-za-mir-georgi-gospodinov-s-pozitsiya)

[10] Encheva, T. (March 19, 2022) "The BTV Reporters: "We are All Refugees". (https://btvnovinite.bg/predavania/btv-reporterite/btv-reporterite-vsichki-sme-bezhanci.html)

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SOCIETÀ*MUTAMENTO*POLITICA
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La sociologia pragmatica francese:
concetti, metodi, ricerche

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