Investigating the language-culture nexus in refugee legal advice meetings

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Abstract

This paper explores linguistic and cultural complexity within immigration legal advice communication. Drawing from a linguistic ethnographic study, ethnographic and interactional data from two linked advice meetings about UK refugee family reunion processes are subject to deductive analysis using Risager's (2006) model of the language-culture nexus, within which the intersection of language(s) and culture(s) in a communicative event is conceptualised as a nexus of linguistic, languacultural, discursive, and other (non-linguistic) cultural resources and practices. The paper operationalises this intercultural communication theory in a new and exploratory way to investigate how cultural complexity is manifest, and interactionally managed, at different levels of meaning.

The substantive analysis shows how a range of divergent resources, brought in by the different participants, are drawn upon and externalised as communicative practices in both legal advice meetings. Understanding is negotiated interculturally at different levels of meaning – the linguistic, the languacultural, and the discursive - in contrasting ways in each meeting. Methodologically, the paper argues that a strength of Risager's (2006) framework is that it supports a methodical and structured analysis of communicative events characterised by linguistic and cultural complexity, which can be linked to other discourse analytical approaches. The model's complexity, and its foregrounding of verbal over other semiotic modes, are highlighted as challenges for the analyst.

Keywords: legal advice; intercultural communication; linguistic diversity; interpreting; language-culture nexus

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1. Introduction

This paper explores linguistic and cultural complexity within the under-explored field of immigration legal advice communication, and demonstrates how this complexity is manifest, and interactionally managed, at several different levels of meaning. The paper features interactional data from two linked advice meetings between one lawyer and one client about refugee family reunion. These data are subject to a deductive analysis using Risager's (2006) critical ecological model of the language-culture nexus, within which the intersection of language(s) and culture(s) in a communicative event is conceptualised in terms of a nexus of linguistic, languacultural, discursive, and other cultural resources and practices which are brought together in the communicative event as individuals meet.

This novel analysis - the first of its kind to apply Risager's (2006) framework to empirical data - shows how a range of different communicative resources, brought in by the various participants and connected through them to diverse networks, are drawn upon by each individual and externalised as practices in the two legal advice meetings. Faced with their divergent resources, the meeting participants must negotiate understanding at different levels of meaning – the linguistic, the languacultural, and the discursive. Comparison of two meetings using a transcontextual approach (Wortham and Reyes 2015) facilitates a discussion of how communication goals and power asymmetries govern and regulate which resources are externalised as practices, or - expressed in Risager's (2006) terms – how potential flows of resources and practices are impeded or facilitated in each communicative event. The analysis reveals how through the making and enabling of choices about which communicative practices are used, the lawyer (as the person in control of the communicative space) has the capacity to open up the legal advice meeting to be a "space of multilingualism" (Blommaert et al. 2005: 197) which supports client self-expression, rather than a closed space dominated by institutional language ideologies (Codó and Garrido 2010).

The paper consists of eight sections. Following this introduction, contextual background is provided about linguistic and cultural complexity within refugee family reunion processes in Section 2, and the limited scope of research on communicative complexity in legal advice is discussed in Section 3. In Section 4, Risager's (2006) theoretical framework is presented as a suitable model to use in investigating this complexity. After introducing in Section 5 the research study, data and analytical approach underpinning the paper, Sections 6 and 7 present the analysis, which explores and discusses data from the two legal advice meetings in turn. The concluding Section 8 offers some implications for practice, and also highlights the strengths, challenges and potentialities of Risager's (2006) model for this kind of analysis.

2. Refugee family reunion

Refugee family reunion brings together two key principles of international human rights law: the right of someone suffering persecution or the fear of persecution to seek asylum in a safe third country, and the right to a family life (United Nations General Assembly 1948, Arts. 14 and 16). Close family members of a refugee in the UK are eligible to apply free of charge for visas allowing them to travel to the UK to join the refugee (Home Office 2018: IR 352A-F), who acts as their sponsor in an application and may do much of the work to prepare it.

Applications to UK Visas & Immigration (UKVI), an agency of the UK Home Office, for refugee family reunion visas are not necessarily straightforward: UKVI refused 37% of such applications in 2016, during which year data for this study were collected (Home Office 2017). Recent Red Cross reports (Beswick 2015; Pike et al. 2016) indicate that refugees frequently seek legal advice on family reunion procedures, despite state funding for this having been withdrawn in 2013. Refugees overwhelmingly feel they need expert help with the process in areas such as English language support, assistance with the online application process, and legal support for complex cases or challenging refusals through the appeal courts (Beswick 2015; Pike et al. 2016).

These findings illustrate that the UK visa application process is linguistically and culturally challenging for refugees and their families on many levels. Applicants and their refugee sponsors may not have sufficient language skills; they may not be able to navigate and complete the online application forms; and/or they may not have sufficient awareness of the legal rules and hidden cultural assumptions (Carver 2014) underpinning UK immigration applications and their evaluation by UKVI. Such *de facto* requirements constitute additional barriers in visa application processes, and mirror inbuilt structural inequalities in migrant-institutional communication noted in research on asylum gatekeeping processes (Blommaert 2001; Maryns 2006). Linguistically, the dominance of Western-oriented, monolingual language ideologies in such gatekeeping settings can result in discrimination against those whose linguistic resources do not match expected profiles (Blommaert 2009; Blommaert et al. 2005; Maryns 2006). Requirements for "institutional literacy" (Slembrouck 2011: 158), such as knowledge of evidentiary requirements, lead to additional structural disadvantage for migrants who are culturally unfamiliar with institutional processes and associated expectations (Maryns and Blommaert 2002).

This environment of linguistic and cultural complexity, and structural communicative disadvantage in migrants' interactions with immigration law enforcement institutions, forms a key backdrop to the legal advice meetings discussed in this paper. Legal advice is a co-operative environment within which lawyers support clients to engage with the complexities of legal processes (Maley et al. 1995). As is discussed below, immigration legal advisors mediate these complexities for and with their clients during advice meetings in various ways. Such advice meetings are therefore a suitable context to draw from in exploring theories of language and communication which seek to reflect complexity: can such theories explain what actually happens in legal-lay communicative interactions characterised by diversity?

3. (Immigration) legal advice communication

Legal advice meetings are highly private environments, and empirical research into legal advice communication in the Anglo-Western literature covers only a handful of areas of law and advice contexts. Studies generally feature same-language interactions between lawyers and clients who share the same broad socio-cultural context, and highlight three key interrelated characteristics of legal advice communication. The first, and primary, focus is the manifestation of imbalances of power as between lawyer and client (Bogoch 1994; Trinch 2001; cf. Sarat and Felstiner 1995), and the interactional management of this. Legal advisors in several studies are shown to use a "participatory discourse" (Dieckmann and Rojas-Lizana 2016: 167; see also Maley et al. 1995) grounded in a client-centred professional ideology (Binder et al. 1991) to address asymmetry. Second, processes of legal-lay translation, mediating between legal and lay perspectives, language and discourses (Maley et al.1995), are frequently evident in legal advice communication. Third, relational work in lawyer-client interactions is shown to be central to establishing necessary bonds of trust (Masson 2012).

Empirical research examining how lawyers and clients manage multilingual and/or intercultural legal advice communication is rare. Trinch's (2001) empirical study of US domestic violence advice features the unusual situation of lawyer-client bilingualism and highlights that in this context language choice is an important tool for identity work. Non-empirical work by US law educators, grounded in casework within clinical legal education contexts, has pointed to the complexities arising for interactional power and lawyer-client relationship management when legal advice is given through an interpreter (Ahmad 2007), or across cultural differences (Bryant 2001), suggesting the need for further empirical research.

Studies of immigration legal advice have, however, recently begun to emerge which approach intercultural and multilingual communication from different theoretical standpoints. One ethnographic study of immigration advice practice in a non-governmental organisation (NGO) in Catalonia, Spain (Codó and Garrido 2010) reports a patchwork of flexible communicative practices. These include advisors simplifying legal terms into lay language, using documents as tools in communication, code-switching by one multilingual staff member (although dismissed by him as an inadequate practice), other staff drawing on French or English, and occasional use of interpreters. Recurrent communication difficulties arising from service users not speaking Spanish are also reported. The authors focus on the institution's Spanish-dominant language ideology and its detrimental impact on service provision, arguing that the NGO is a space which closes down access to its services for users with few resources in Spanish or other "prestigious" (Codó and Garrido 2010: 36) global languages. Whilst an important point is made, other forms of interculturality present in this environment (such as mediation between legal and lay perspectives) are not interrogated or theorised.

A second ethnographic investigation of UK immigration lawyers advising on spousal visa applications argues that lawyers practise "cultural translation" (Carver 2014: 274) in mediating between understandings of marriage underpinning UK immigration law, and the contrasting understandings and realities of diverse clients. Lawyers firstly make such differences explicit to their clients, and secondly "translate the experiences, norms and values of their clients' relationships using authorial devices [in witness statements] to make the account ring true within a commonsense understanding of British culture" (Carver 2014: 271). This study presents insights into the exclusionary effect of majority British cultural norms such as monogamy being enshrined and encoded into UK immigration laws. However, the discussion focuses on a sociological view of culture - loosely defined as the "'commonsense' understanding" of "the 'tradition of the other'" (Carver 2014: 274 citing Bouillier 2011) - without examining the linguistic work taking place in cultural translation practices.

A third, recent linguistic ethnographic study (Baynham et al. 2018) examines advice interactions at a drop-in consultation service in Leeds, UK, following one "ostensibly monolingual" (Baynham et al. 2018: 56) immigration lawyer's advice activities. Many communicative practices observed in this intercultural and multilingual context mirror those previously reported in the legal advice literature, such as eliciting and telling narratives as a means of bridging lay and legal perspectives; using discourses of affiliation and colloquial language to build rapport with clients; and "linguistic and epistemic flattening" (Baynham et al. 2018: 43) through explaining complex legal procedures and terms to clients in simple language in order to manage "knowledge asymmetries" (Baynham et al. 2018: 2). In addition, the lawyer addresses linguistic diversity by occasionally working through ad-hoc interpreters and technology-mediated automated interpreting, and using literacy practices such as drawing

and photography.

These advice meetings are characterised as "a translanguaging space, an interactional space where voices are heard and audible" (Baynham et al. 2018: 2) "regardless of the language, variety or mode of communication" (Baynham et al. 2018: 57). Consultations are described as "a nexus … where mobilities of different kinds are brought together" (Baynham et al. 2018: 56). Baynham et al.'s study illustrates in empirical detail the wide range of communicative practices employed in this setting to address communicative complexity, supplemented by a linguistic ideology of inclusion. Yet communication difficulties apparent in the data, arising from mismatches in participants' linguistic resources, are glossed over. Instead, the 'translanguaging' label (or slogan, Pavlenko 2018) is applied to indiscriminately group together a diverse range of mediatory and translation practices taking place at different levels of meaning. Adoption of the translanguaging perspective (Wei 2011; Canagarajah 2014) arguably results here in insufficient problematization of linguistic and cultural diversity and the communicative challenges it presents. This is underpinned by the absence of a clear theoretical structure to ground analysis of interactions in the contact zone or nexus.

4. Theorising the nexus - language, culture, and communicative events

This paper proposes Risager's (2006) model of the language-culture nexus, an approach to conceptualising linguistic and cultural diversity in communicative encounters as situated at different levels of meaning, as a potentially suitable theoretical structure for empirically analysing such complex communicative events. This section introduces the model.

4.1 The building blocks of language and culture

Risager (2006) breaks down the terms 'language' and 'culture' into a range of sub-constructs, situated in three different loci of experience: psychological (resources), behavioural (practices), and system-level (constructs). The interrelation of these loci of experience is clarified below, starting with the psychological locus. According to Risager, every individual possesses a range of **resources** as follows:

- **linguistic resources** – understanding of, and ability to reproduce, the structure and organisation of one or more varieties of verbal language (speech and writing), including aspects of communication which accompany verbal language such as paralanguage, kinesics, or punctuation;

- **languacultural resources** – understanding of, and ability to reproduce, the cultural meaning of different elements of language in one or more varieties, and which meaning can have semantic-pragmatic, poetic, and/or identity-related dimensions (Risager 2006: 115);

- **discursive resources** – understanding of, and ability to reproduce, discourses – comprising a subject and a particular perspective on that subject (Fairclough 1992) – circulating in a society or group; and

- **other cultural resources** – understanding of, and ability to reproduce, aspects of cultural meaning not involving verbal language, such as modes of dress, customs and conventions regarding non-verbal behaviour.

Resources are internal (cognitive or affective) in nature, and can alternatively be described as a person's repertoire, or competencies (Risager 2006: 80), although for Risager they also include attitudes towards language, or linguistic ideology (Risager 2006: 80-81). An individual's resources develop over time through life experience and education. They can be comprehensive (extending into all regularly encountered social domains) or partial (extending into only some social domains, or limited in scope), depending on how and where they were acquired or learned. Each of us acquires the set of resources ('**first**' or '**L1**' resources) associated with our first language(s)-and-culture(s) through early childhood socialisation in the family. We may also acquire other comprehensive or partial sets of resources ('**second**' or '**L2**' resources) during childhood and/or adulthood through other socialisation and learning experiences. Our learning of L2 resources is inevitably influenced by our L1 resources, such that each individual develops a unique (idiolectal) set of resources or linguistic-and-cultural profile. This can complicate the negotiation of understanding in interactions.

In Risager's (2006) second locus of experience, an individual's resources are drawn upon and externalised in linguistic, languacultural, discursive and other cultural **practices**, selectively chosen by the individual to fit the interactional context and the purpose(s) of the particular externalisation. Practices are behavioural, or sociological, in nature and are (unlike resources) directly observable in social interaction.

The third locus of experience discussed by Risager (2006), equivalent to general public understandings of language and culture, is the generic **system** level. The linguistic, languacultural, discursive and other cultural practices commonly used by a particular social group, are acquired or learned as internal resources that can be used not only for communication, but also to identify self or other with that social group. The externalisation of resources through practices therefore becomes a means of indicating and negotiating social belonging, as well as communicating. Generalisations stem from this: where commonly co-occurring resources and practices are grouped together and formalised within a generic system or model, systems of 'language' in the sense of 'the English language' or 'culture' in the sense of 'hip-hop culture' or 'Welsh culture' can be said to exist, but only as fluid social constructs.

In Risager's framework, linguistic, languacultural, discursive and other cultural resources and practices represent different levels of meaning. The first three of these are grounded in verbal language and are cumulative: languacultural resources and practices will always also be linguistic, and discursive resources and practices will be linguistic and also languacultural, in that they are communicated through verbal language. Modes of communication that do not use language are separated out as 'other cultural resources and practices'. This categorisation of semiotic resources can, of course, be critiqued. Some would challenge the distinction made between "[verbal] language-accompanying and –complementing" (Risager 2006: 77) kinesics, and communicative use of the body that does not accompany verbal language (Streeck et al. 2011). Others would argue that discourses can also be found in non-verbal form in art, sculpture, dance and music (Hall 1997). But since this paper is interested in the legal advice context where communication is largely undertaken verbally, and Risager's categorisation aims to illuminate how *verbal* language is connected to culture (Risager 2006: 2-6), it will be respected for the purposes of this analysis.

4.2 Global flows and the language-culture nexus in communicative events

In Risager's critical ecological perspective, resources and practices **flow** around the globe within, and are transformed through, **networks** constituted by the movement of peoples, goods and services, media and telecommunications. These networks contextualise and shape interactions within different relations of power (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008), and the flows of resources and practices bring about "cultural complexity" (Risager 2006: 64 drawing on Hannerz 1992) in today's linguistic and cultural environments. Risager thus acknowledges that instead of understanding communicative events as grounded in just one or two cultural frames, participants draw on a multiplicity of cultural references in co-constructing understanding. Firstly, practices can evoke or bring in different "**cultural contexts**" (Risager 2006: Ch. 10), or "concrete historical, societal context" (Risager 2006: 152) within which and/or in relation to which communication takes place. Secondly, practices can introduce "**cultural content**" (Risager 2006: Ch. 11), or topics or methods of communication that are specific to a particular social group. Lack of shared knowledge of either cultural context, or cultural content, can be problematic for successful communication and may require additional negotiation of understanding.

As a means of uncovering this complexity in communicative encounters, Risager invites us to investigate the "language-culture nexus" of a communicative event, or "the relationship between language and culture" (Risager 2006: 185) that exists *in that event*. Risager draws here on the ethnography of communication tradition (Saville-Troike 1989), but in a departure from this tradition encourages researchers to view each communicative event as one single node in a complex of networks, "a linkage of various flows coming from various places" (Risager 2006: 186). The language-culture nexus is thus "a local integration of linguistic, languacultural, discursive and other cultural flows in more or less differing social networks" (Risager 2006: 186), a mix which can be relatively "convergent" or "divergent", depending on the participants' backgrounds (Risager 2006: 187). This nexus can be empirically investigated by analysing how each participant's resources, brought along from their various social networks and life trajectories, are (or are not) externalised as communicative practices in a "local integration… a dialogical process in which the participants co-construct, negotiate or struggle for meanings and identities" (Risager 2006: 187).

This paper examines the inherently intercultural and multilingual space or "divergent language-culture nexus" (Risager 2006: 187) of refugee family reunion legal advice meetings, analysing how participants in such meetings negotiate understanding at the linguistic, languacultural, and discursive levels of meaning. Since Risager does not herself suggest any specific analytical process, the paper outlines the approach that was adopted and considers its strengths and limitations.

5. Data and analytical approach

5.1 Data

The data originate from a linguistic ethnographic study (Copland and Creese 2015) of intercultural and multilingual communication in the UK asylum and refugee legal advice context (Reynolds 2018). During 2015-2016 the researcher undertook seven months of participant observation as a volunteer-researcher at an English city-based not-for-profit advice service. This included observation and audio recording of advice meetings with the prior informed consent of all involved, and interviewing participants about their communication practices where possible.

The paper focuses on transcribed audio recordings[1] and ethnographic notes from two legal advice meetings, part of a set of five between a British immigration lawyer, Julia, and a Sudanese refugee client, Khalid (all names are pseudonyms). Other attendees include different interpreters and Steve, a support worker from a local NGO. Under UK rules, spouses and dependent children aged seventeen and under are eligible for family reunion visas. Khalid's wife and five children, sponsored by Khalid, applied for visas in late 2015. UKVI refused all six applications in February 2016, giving the reason that the date of Khalid's marriage to his wife and dates of birth of his children did not correlate with the dates of the relevant certificates given as supporting evidence (issued in 2015 by the Sudanese authorities). Five meetings, listed in Table 1, follow on from receipt of these decisions.

Table 1 - Overview of meetings between Julia and Khalid

Meeting	Month	Purpose	Interpreter	Other participants
One	February	Advice on options after the refusal decisions	Professional A	Steve Researcher
	February	Completing appeal forms (online)	Non-professional	Steve Researcher
	April	Preparing statement to support the fresh applications	Professional B	Steve Researcher
	April	Checking and finalising statement	Professional B	Researcher
Two	May	Completing fresh applications (online)	none	Steve Researcher

Khalid's options following the refusal decisions are not straightforward, because in the interval between submitting the applications and receiving the refusals, his eldest two children (twins) have turned eighteen. Khalid's wife and three youngest children can re-apply for visas using the same (cost-free) procedure, providing additional evidence about the family relationships. But since the twins are now adults under the relevant rules, they cannot make fresh applications and may only file an appeal against their refusal decisions in the appeal courts. This process attracts a substantial fee and takes much longer than the fresh applications, meaning that the family risks becoming separated if the two different processes are followed, and wife and younger children are granted visas requiring travel before the older children's appeal is resolved. The unpalatable alternative - filing appeals for all six decisions - would incur prohibitive costs and a long delay for all. Following advice, Khalid decides to pursue four fresh applications and two appeals.

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[1] English language sections were transcribed by the author. Arabic language sections were transcribed into Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and translated into English by a research assistant, a qualified Arabic-English legal translator and interpreter. Transcription into MSA reflected the research assistant's usual work practices in producing a written Arabic script accessible to readers of MSA globally, and meant that the author (a learner of MSA) could partially follow the transcripts. However, the transcriptions do not reflect the different varietal forms of spoken Arabic actually used in the meetings, and features of oral interaction (e.g. pauses, repair) are also omitted – a reminder that all transcriptions are translations and partial representations of the actual spoken interaction (Hammersley 2010).

The analysis examines the first interpreted meeting (**Meeting One**), in which advice on the visa refusal decisions is given, and the final non-interpreted meeting (**Meeting Two**), in which the four fresh online applications are completed. Meetings One and Two have been purposively chosen because the linguistic, languacultural and discursive practices evident in each meeting differ considerably. This enables examination of what constrains or facilitates the use of certain practices over others – or in other words, what impacts on the language-culture nexus in each communicative event.

5.2 Approach to analysis

A broadly deductive approach to analysis is adopted, in which the theoretical concepts outlined in Risager's (2006) model are applied to the empirical data. Transcripts and related observational notes from both meetings are examined, and interviews reviewed, to identify the range of linguistic, languacultural, discursive, and other cultural resources and practices evident. The first aim of the analysis is to develop a picture of the language-culture nexus within each meeting and how it is constituted. A second aim – underpinning the first - is to explore the usefulness of Risager's framework for understanding and theorizing intercultural and multilingual communication within a communicative event in a structured manner.

In the following Section 6, data from Meeting One evidencing the resources present and which of these are externalised as practices are analysed, and a diagrammatical representation of the findings is presented and discussed. Then in Section 7, the resources present and communicative practices evident in the contrasting Meeting Two are analysed and diagrammatically represented, and the two meetings compared.

6. Analysis – Meeting One

6.1 Resources present in the communicative event

This section 6.1 illustrates how ethnographic data can be drawn upon to sketch out the range of resources that the participants bring to a communicative event. The following vignette (Hymes 1996), constructed from data in fieldwork notes and interviews, presents the participants in Meeting One:

> The meeting room feels full for this meeting, with five people present. Julia is in charge, an experienced immigration lawyer working at the advice service. Julia uses English to engage with her clients; she also tells me that she understands French 'a bit' and would like to learn other languages, but does not have time. Khalid, the client, is a Sudanese Arabic speaker who obtained refugee status last year. Since then, he has been studying English at college and seeking work through the local Job Centre. Also present is Steve, an English-speaking support worker from a local refugee integration NGO who has been supporting Khalid to transition into life in the UK. Steve knows a little about Sudan through having worked there as an English teacher in the past. He is, like me, trying to learn some Arabic at evening classes. Steve and I are at about the same elementary level, and we share conversation about our classes and the challenges of learning Arabic. We are joined by a female Arabic-English interpreter, wearing a headscarf and an ID badge issued by the local interpreting agency she represents, and who we learn in conversation is originally from Libya.

The vignette provides information about the **linguistic resources** brought in to the meeting by participants. These include knowledge of L1 varieties of English (Julia, Steve and the researcher) and Sudanese or Libyan Arabic (Khalid, the interpreter); and L2 varieties of

English (Khalid, the interpreter), Modern Standard Arabic (Steve, the researcher – this is the form of Arabic commonly taught in British classrooms), and French (Julia) at a range of different levels of fluency. Participants may also have other linguistic resources that are not evident from the data – Khalid may also have an indigenous language as an L1, for example.[2]

Each set of linguistic resources has associated **languacultural resources**, or understandings of the semantic/pragmatic meaning, identity dimensions, and poetic meaning carried by different forms of language for different social groups. Here, Khalid and the interpreter's use of their respective Arabic varieties have a languacultural function as identity markers, signalling information about each individual's background to anyone aware of varietal differences. Separately, Julia's semantic-pragmatic understanding of English immigration legal terminology is part of an English legal languaculture acquired through her professional training. Linguistic and languacultural resources are interconnected, and it is "language in the differential sense" (Risager 2006: 146), i.e. the use and meaning of specific systems or subsystems of language such as Libyan Arabic, or legal language, that is relevant.

Participants also bring with them knowledge of a range of discourses about different topics they are familiar with, in the form of **discursive resources**. One example here is a discourse about the challenges of learning Arabic, which is shared by Steve and the researcher. In this example the exchange takes place in English, but it could also have taken place in Arabic, illustrating that it is the content of "language in the generic sense" (Risager 2006:146), i.e. the subject matter of talk in whatever language, that is the relevant level of meaning here. Many discourses, for example about climate change, flow across different linguistic communities and networks. However, there are also "discourses that exclusively circulate within one particular linguistic network and are never translated or transformed in some way or other" (Risager 2006: 146).

Finally, **other cultural resources** drawn upon include understanding of the cultural meaning carried by the interpreter's practice of wearing the headscarf, which is an expression of her Muslim culture and faith.

It is clear that Meeting One is a communicative situation characterised by diversity at different levels of meaning. This can be connected to the migration pathways and life trajectories of the participants, including the migration of Khalid and the interpreter to the UK; Steve's past sojourn in Sudan; and different educational and career pathways taken by each individual. Put another way, the diverse set of networks through which resources flow into this communicative event through each participant creates this "divergent language-culture nexus" (Risager 2006: 187) in the *resources* locus of experience.

6.2 Practices evident in Meeting One

The focus now shifts to the second, behavioural locus of experience, and to which *practices* are used in the communicative event of Meeting One, in which Arabic-English interpreting is employed. Interactional data from Meeting One transcripts are drawn on to evidence that negotiation of understanding is taking place at different levels of meaning. This illustrative analysis is, for reasons of scope, limited to the advice-giving phases of Meeting One.

6.2.1 Complexity at the level of linguistic resources and practices

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[2] In Sudan, Arabic is an official language and is taught in schools, but is used alongside a wide range of indigenous languages, reflecting Sudan's ethnic diversity (James 2008).

As noted in Section 6.1, client and interpreter come from different parts of the Arabic-speaking world. Extract one shows the interpreter explicitly addressing varietal differences between her own Libyan Arabic and the client's Sudanese Arabic:

Extract one³

	Speaker	Original language	Translation to English
1	Int	أرجوك أخبرني عندما تكون اللهجة غير واضحة ...	please, let me know when the dialect is not clear
2	K	نعم	yes
3	Int	I just told him that [he tell me when when the dialect is not clear	
4	K	[(xxxx)	(xxxx)
5	K	mm is okay	

<div align="right">Meeting one transcript, 04:16 – 04:23</div>

This short exchange illuminates how interpreter and client approach communicating with each other: both use their own L1 varieties of Arabic when speaking (i.e. in linguistic practices), and draw on L2 resources in the variety spoken by the other when listening, to understand and interpret the other's speech. This pattern of use of resources and practices (confirmed by the research assistant, personal correspondence, 3 January 2017) expands our awareness of the range of these individuals' linguistic resources beyond that presented in Section 6.1.

6.2.2 Complexity at the level of languacultural resources and practices

Extract two, in which Julia is explaining why the applications were refused, illustrates the interconnectedness between linguistic and languacultural resources:

Extract two

	Speaker	Original language	Translation to English
1	J	it's mainly about the dates on which the the certificates were iss↓ued	
2	Int	and it's what sorry?	
3	J	mainly about the <u>dates</u> on which the certificates >were iss↑ued so the <u>marriage</u>< certificate and the <u>birth</u> certificates	
4	Int	كانوا بخصوص تواريخ الشهادات، شهادة الزواج والميلاد	they were about the dates of the certificates, the marriage and birth certificate
5	K	mmm	
6	J	okay? (.) because (.) entry clearance officers <u>stupidly</u> believe (.) that (.) everything happens as it does (.) in <u>this</u> country	
7	Int	cos wha- er (.) who's who's believe?	
8	J	the entry <u>clearance</u> officers, who make the deci↓sion	

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³ See the Appendix for transcription conventions.

9	Int	لأنه ببساطة مصدري القرار لديهم إعتقاد بأن أي شيء ممكن أن يحدث في هذه البلاد	well, simply, decision makers think that anything could happen in this country
10	J	okay so <u>they</u> think (.) that as soon as you have a baby in Sudan (.) you have (.) you obtain the birth certificate regardless of which area you live in	
11	Int	mmm	
12	J	um similar >with the marriage certificate< and (.) <u>I</u> know (.) and >everyone else in the world probably knows< @ that that just <u>doesn't</u> happen (.) that way	
13	Int	لأنهم يعتقدون بأنك بمجرد الحصول على طفل في السودان فإنك تحصل على الشهادة مباشرة وكذلك عقد الزواج ونحن نعرف بأن هذا لا يحصل في كل مكان في العالم	they think that as soon as the baby is born in Sudan, you get the birth certificate immediately and even the marriage one. We know that such things do not happen all over the world

Meeting one transcript, 01:04 – 02:26

In line 1, Julia very briefly summarises the issue underlying the refusal, mentioning 'the certificates'. This is - like many other phrases used - an indexical term (Silverstein 2003), understanding of which requires both linguistic and semantic-pragmatic languacultural resources. Khalid may have understood a bare translation of this statement, since he knows that his family's birth and marriage certificates were submitted with the applications as supporting evidence. However, the interpreter does not share this contextual knowledge and cannot infer the correct pragmatic meaning of 'certificates'. She has the linguistic, but not the languacultural resources needed, and must ask for clarification before interpreting (lines 2-4). A similar exchange occurs in lines 6-9 when Julia uses the term 'entry clearance officers': specialist vocabulary which forms part of the languaculture of UK immigration procedures. This extract illustrates that linguistic *and* languacultural knowledge is needed to decode the *meaning* dimensions of language (Risager 2006: 134). English and Arabic linguistic systems are used for communication together with the languaculture of immigration processes, a languaculture that is only partially shared between the participants and thus requires additional interactional work to negotiate understanding. The interpreter performs this additional work through her clarifications, although in the second exchange this additional work arguably disrupts her focus, leading to an only partially accurate rendering at line 9 of Julia's utterance at line 6. The examples illustrate that although they are always used together, an individual's linguistic and languacultural resources are not the same thing, and that one individual's linguistic-languacultural resource profile may differ from another's (Risager 2006: 134).

6.2.3 Complexity at the level of discursive resources and practices

Discursive resources also feature in extract two. At lines 6-13, Julia brings in a critical discourse circulating in the immigration law community about the lack of cultural understanding of UKVI decision makers. Julia here draws on her knowledge of differences between two cultural contexts relevant to this interaction: family registration administrative practices in Sudan, and the contrasting, UK culturally-grounded institutional expectations of

UKVI. She brings both contexts into the talk, explicitly evaluating UKVI expectations as 'stupid' (line 6, see also line 12) in a display of affiliation with her client (Dieckmann and Rojas-Lizana 2016). Even though the interpreter's linguistic mediation is only partially accurate, Khalid is made somewhat aware of how Julia views the stance of UKVI decision makers. There is a potential flow of the discourse happening here, from Julia to the other meeting participants, including Khalid through linguistic mediation.

Later in the interaction, in response to Khalid asking how this issue will be addressed in the fresh applications and the appeals, Julia confirms that she will prepare a supporting statement to UKVI on Khalid's behalf explaining the differences in birth and marriage registration practices, in addition to other issues. Following the meeting, Julia then produces formal written legal representations in English. She thus performs the kind of cultural translation reported by Carver (2014), providing support to Khalid - importantly - by using her own specialist linguistic/languacultural and discursive resources.

In the meeting, the advice and discussions inevitably bring in immigration law and its processes: they represent a primary cultural context surrounding the meeting, as well as key cultural content. Notably however, it is not exclusively Julia, the lawyer, who raises these. In extract three, whilst getting advice about the £140 fee for submitting an appeal, Khalid asks a question about a different legal process:

Extract three

	Speaker	Original language	Translation to English
1	K	حسناً، إذا طلبوا فحص DNN ، هل سأقوم بدفع مبالغ أخرى أم أن المائة والأربعون تشمل الفحص ؟	okay, if they asked for DNN test, would I pay other amounts, or the £140 covers the test?
2	Int	mmm (.) so (.) is the er one forty (.) er includes er- er (.) DNN if they ask for ↓it (.) er or does it	

Meeting one transcript, 15:01 – 15:24

Here, Khalid brings in a discourse circulating amongst his refugee community, about DNA testing as part of UK family reunion applications and associated costs (in subsequent speaking turns, the interpreter clarifies with both Julia and Khalid that Khalid's use of 'DNN' actually refers to DNA). A DNA test is not routinely required in applications, but where individuals have no documentation to prove their family relationships, it can sometimes be the only means of providing evidence to UKVI.

Khalid's question reveals his membership of a community within which information (albeit incomplete) about immigration legal processes, and discourses built up from the accumulated and re-told experiences of community members, are circulating. His question shows that he is not a novice to the languaculture and discourses of UK immigration law; rather, he has acquired an 'interlanguage' (Trinch 2005: 19) of partial learned resources about immigration procedures, but which he needs to check with a legal expert. Julia advises him that if a DNA test is needed, they can ask for UKVI to arrange and pay for this as part of the appeal.

6.3 The language-culture nexus in Meeting One

Sections 6.1 and 6.2 represent only partial analyses of the range of communicative *resources* present, and the variety of communicative *practices* observed, in Meeting One. Although most of this meeting comprised of a sequence of activities typical of advice-giving (Reynolds 2018), some small talk and anecdote-telling also took place in its later stages. Figure 1 represents diagrammatically the range of linguistic, languacultural and discursive practices evident across the whole of Meeting One.
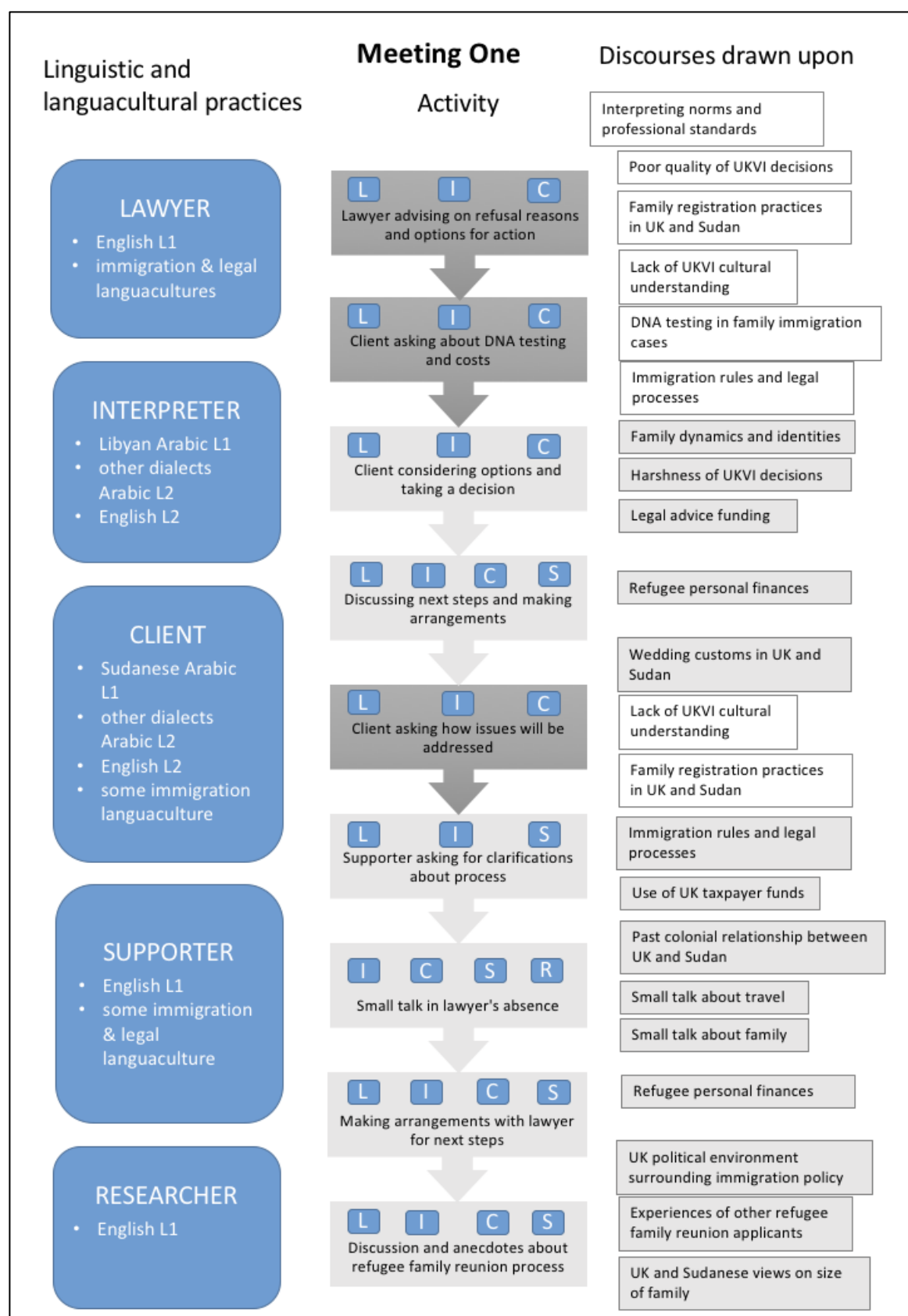
[INSERT FIGURE 1 NEAR HERE]

Figure 1 – Meeting One: linguistic, languacultural, and discursive practices

In Figure 1, the central grey boxes (titled 'Activity') show the progression through different topic-based interactional phases during the meeting. Dark grey boxes indicate phases referred

to in the analysis above; phases represented by the light grey boxes have not been discussed. Active (i.e. speaking) participants in each phase are indicated using their role initials in the relevant box (for example, L = Lawyer). On the left-hand side is a summary of the linguistic and languacultural practices that the data reveal were used by each participant across the whole meeting, and on the right-hand side is an indication of different discourses that are drawn on during each phase, aligned horizontally with the relevant phase. Discourses referred to in the analysis above are shown in a white background, whilst discourses featuring in the meeting, but not discussed above, are shown in lighter grey shading.

Discussion

Empirically observed practices are evidence of (linguistic, languacultural or discursive) resources brought into the meeting and externalised by different participants. The analysis discussed above and represented in Figure 1 responds to this paper's first aim of understanding the language-culture nexus in Meeting One and how it is constituted. The analysis and Figure 1 are drawn on in the following observations.

First, it is clear that the principal activities in Meeting One are accomplished interactionally through talk, and that therefore oral linguistic resources and practices form a key part of the nexus. Due to the participants' divergent linguistic resources and the complexity of the topic (see below), the interpreter has a prominent role and is an active speaker in all phases. The lawyer and client (Julia and Khalid) are also active in all phases except one each. In contrast, the supporter, Steve, speaks only in some phases, and the researcher has a largely passive role – the resources and practices they bring along are less prominent in the language-culture nexus. A more detailed figure offering an improved understanding of the participation frameworks would set out the linguistic, languacultural and discursive practices displayed by each participant *phase-by-phase*, rather than across the whole meeting as in Figure 1 (space limitations prevent this here).

Second, and unsurprisingly, many of the discourses and much of the languaculture featuring in the main advice stages of the meeting are part of the lawyer's domain of expertise. Other participants may have some partial resources in these languacultures and discourses, but Julia is the authority on these cultural contexts and contents, and she has considerable power in these stages of the meeting. This is however, moderated by the interpreter's role as linguistic mediator. The interpreter and other participants interacting with her must do a considerable amount of work to negotiate understanding at all three levels (linguistic, languacultural, and discursive) and open up flows of information.

Third, it is evident that there is a connection between interactional phases, and discursive practices and participation. What discursive practices are evident, what cultural contexts are relevant and what cultural content is brought in, varies according to the phase of the meeting and activity engaged in. This is closely connected to the communication goals for the meeting, and reflects research on communicative activity type (Linell 2010) in purpose-driven communicative events.

There are of course limitations to attempting to analyse and diagrammatically represent the language-culture nexus in this way, and these respond to the paper's second aim of exploring the usefulness of Risager's (2006) framework for analysis. This approach cannot identify any 'hidden' internal resources of participants which are not disclosed in interviews or evident in the transcripts (such as Khalid's linguistic resources over and above English and Arabic). A further limitation is that the complex 'map' of who shares or participates in which

languacultures and discourses, what is translated and/or comprehended, and what remains opaque to some participants in this mediated interaction, is only partially visible from the data. For example, in one phase Steve asks Julia some questions about the process in English, which she responds to in English and which are only partially interpreted into Arabic for Khalid (he does not take a speaking turn in this phase). It is not possible to tell how much of the English talk Khalid follows using his 'hidden' L2 resources or how much the interpreter's linguistic mediation is relied on.

Figure 1 also does not show any links to the wider networks surrounding this communicative event, or the flows of discursive, or linguistic-languacultural, resources that take place within the meeting between individuals through learning or information transfer. Indeed, the analytical attempt indicates thus far that the language-culture nexus (at least in the behavioural locus of externalised practices) is dynamic and shifting *within* this one communicative event, rather than being a stable phenomenon at the event level. Risager's (2006) invitation to analyse the language-culture nexus at the level of the communicative event may be too broad: perhaps the analysis should take place at the level of each activity, or each interactional phase within an activity, particularly if networks and flows are to be mapped (cf. Kramsch and Whiteside 2008).

So far, the analysis and discussion has illustrated three main points. First, it has shown how an analysis of linguistic ethnographic empirical data using Risager's (2006) framework can trace ways in which such complexity is managed, and understanding negotiated, at different (linguistic, languacultural, and discursive) levels of meaning. Second, it has revealed the complexity of the language-culture nexus within the communicative event of Meeting One. Third, some of the challenges of mapping the language-culture nexus, such as the lack of visibility of 'hidden' resources or levels of passive participation in discourses, have been highlighted.

In Section 7 below, the paper asks what more can be learned about the language-culture nexus in Julia and Khalid's legal advice meetings, and in particular about 'hidden' resources such as the level of Khalid's L2 English, through an analysis of the contrasting Meeting Two.

7. Analysis – Meeting Two

7.1 Resources present in Meeting Two

The communicative goal of Meeting Two is to complete online visa applications for Khalid's wife and younger children. Steve and the researcher are both present, but no interpreter is involved. This was Julia's decision, taken in consultation with Khalid after considering the tasks to be completed. Any advanced level shared linguistic-languacultural resources in Arabic are therefore absent from the language-culture nexus in Meeting Two, a result of Julia's power to partially determine what communicative resources are allowed into the interactional space (Blommaert et al. 2005).

7.2 Practices evident in Meeting Two

7.2.1 Linguistic and discursive practices in small talk without interpreters

For much of Meeting Two, Julia works to complete the online application forms on her laptop using information she has on file from the previous applications. During these periods,

relaxed social talk or "small talk" (Coupland 2000) fills the conversational space. Extract four shows Khalid talking about an upcoming trip with his college English class:

Extract four

	Speaker	Original language
1	K	all the peop- all the people er of the college
2	R	yeah okay
3	K	°go° said: tea<u>cher</u> say go to (.) June (.) but says June is er: Rama↑<u>dan</u>
4	R	yeah
5	K	af[ter
6	R	[bit difficult [so you do it once: Ramadan's over
7	K	[yeah yeah (.) eh
8	J	mmm when does Ramadan start this year Khalid?
9	K	June, it's, sixth
10	J	sixth of [June
11	K	[sixth of June

Meeting two transcript, 01:18 – 01:38

The conversation then turns to the challenges of fasting in the summer season. With no interpreter to mediate, and the frame of small talk, Khalid is a more active participant than in Meeting One, and his English L2 resources are revealed as being more extensive than were visible there. Khalid leads the talk here, bringing his social-educational and religious activities and networks into the communicative event as relevant cultural context and content. This is sanctioned by Julia, who joins in the talk whilst progressing the online forms. The small talk frame also allows in the researcher as a legitimate participant, contrasting with her passive stance in Meeting One. The English L1 speakers exercise communicative leniency - a passive strategy of allowing for (permitting) lexical, syntactic and grammatical errors in speech by the L2 speaker, and searching cooperatively to reach agreement on meaning (Meeuwis 1994) - in engaging constructively with Khalid's chosen topics and discourses.

An important role of small talk with clients in legal advice is to open up the interaction, allowing the client space to assume different identities and positionalities: this can contribute to redressing possible power imbalances. As is clear here, such opening up can extend to allowing in L2 linguistic and languacultural practices, in a way that Codó and Garrido (2010) claimed was disapproved of in the legal advice clinic in Catalonia. The whole of Meeting Two does not, however, follow this pattern: other social conversations take place in English without Khalid, covering a range of topics and discourses. A kind of balance of client inclusion/exclusion emerges over the course of the meeting (see Figure 2 below).

7.2.2 Use of technologies in communicative practices

From time to time, direct lawyer-client exchanges take place to obtain missing biographical information about family members. A particular feature in Meeting Two is the use for this purpose of written language - a key dimension of linguistic resources (Risager 2006: 77) which is central to legal communication (see Komter 2006 for a discussion) - mediated through various technologies.

In extract five, Khalid is asked to provide passport numbers and dates of birth for each family member. He draws on photos of each person's passport sent to his phone from Sudan using the social messaging app WhatsApp:

Extract five

	Speaker	Original language
1	J	right can I have (.) er Fatima's passport (.) now [please
2	K	[Fatima (.) okay
3		(3) ((sound of objects being moved around))*
4	K	so mother (you want)? (5)
5	J	I should've- <u>actually</u> I should've- (..) I'll do- (.) go <u>back</u> @ sorry
6	K	@
7	J	go back, to that one (.) [go back to that one
8	K	[ahhh: it's Noor
9	J	yeah Noor

* Observation notes: 'client using smart phone to bring up copies of his family's passports'

Meeting two transcript, 07:08 – 07:28

In the extract, Julia is completing the application for Khalid's daughter, Noor. Knowing this, Khalid is surprised when she asks for his wife Fatima's passport. In lines 2 and 4 he repeats his wife's name and expresses her identity in another way, to check that it is actually his wife's details that Julia wants. Khalid is justified, because when Julia sees his wife's passport on the phone screen, she realises her mistake and in line 5, directs Khalid using deictic language ('go back, to that one', line 7) to scroll back through the photographed images to Noor's passport.

In addition to the linguistic practices of verbal L1/L2 English, Julia and Khalid both draw on the linguistic-languacultural practice of written documentation functioning as a means of information transfer in legal contexts, and the multimodal practice of sharing images - which flow into the communicative event - through online communication networks and smart phone technology. A complexity here is how visual images fit into both the meaning-making activity and Risager's (2006) framework: although it is written information (passport numbers, etc.) that Julia needs from the passports, the photographs of each passport bearer play a role in her process of accessing this information – a communicative dimension that is not easily captured by Risager's verbally-oriented model.

7.2.3 Multimodal and translingual practices

There are many other examples of flexible communicative practices in Meeting Two. Extract six shows the parties trying to establish Khalid's mother-in-law's date of birth. Khalid has already communicated that his mother-in-law was sixty-five years old when she died, and Steve follows this up:

Extract six

	Speaker	Original language
1	S	so do you know, the <u>year</u>, the year that she was (..) born (.) by, roughly?
2	K	okay (.) this is er (...)
3	K	طيب الفين خمسة عشر *tayyib alfayn hamsata-rashar* **okay twenty fifteen** ((Khalid writes down number '2015' on piece of paper))
4	S	mmm
5	K	plus (.) er, six five (..) ((sound of pen writing on paper, Khalid writes '65'))

6	K	[umm:
7	S	[ah right okay=
8	K	=yeah?
9	S	so it- she- [yeah (.) yeah so
10	K	[(xxxx) yeah?
11	K	[one?
12	J	[so nineteen fifty (.) nineteen fifty? nineteen fifty-one?
13	K	yes

<div align="right">Meeting two transcript, 37:03 – 37:37</div>

Khalid shares at line 3 the year of his mother-in-law's death in Arabic, writing this down in roman numerals. Steve, who is a learner of Arabic and understands the utterance, expresses reservation at line 4 with 'mmm': 2015 is evidently not when Khalid's mother-in-law was born. Then with English and more writing, Khalid indicates that they need to subtract her age (65) from the year in which she died (2015) to work out her year of birth. He uses the wrong vocabulary item at line 5 ('plus' instead of 'minus'), but again this is understood and overlooked by the English L1 speakers. Steve expresses understanding of Khalid's thought process at lines 7 and 9, but it is Julia who voices guesses at the answer at line 12, and further exchange confirms the correct year.

In this process, a shared discourse of using arithmetic to work out significant dates supplements verbal language use. This could be characterised as translingual practice - communicative practice drawing on common underlying processes and orientations to communication, within which 'people shuttle in and out of languages to borrow resources from different communities to communicate meaningfully at the contact zone through strategic communicative practices' (Canagarajah 2014: 79). What is glossed over by this term, however, is that communicative success in this exchange depends on bringing together *the right mix* of practices: Khalid's oral Arabic reaches Steve but not Julia, and it is the use of pen and paper and the familiar discourse of arithmetic, combined with L2 use and the attitude of communicative leniency towards L2 errors, that is instrumental here.

In the space of Meeting Two, it is often this openness to communicative flexibility that allows different resources to be brought in. In extract seven, a time is being arranged for Khalid to collect some documents he needs to send to Sudan:

Extract seven

	Speaker	Original language
1	J	does twelve (.) twelve o clock? (.) on Thursday, is that okay?=
2	K	=Tuesday?
3	S	[Thursday
4	J	[Thursday
5	K	Thursday
6	S	خمس *khamis* **Thursdoy**
7	K	خميس *kham<u>ii</u>s* **Thurs<u>day</u>**
8	S	خميس *kham<u>ii</u>s* **Thursday**

<div align="right">20</div>

9	K	خميس
		khamiis
		Thursday
10	K	(xxxx) (..) about (.) finish, with college will come?
11	J	yeah what time do you finish co↓llege
12	K	twelve
13	J	yeah yeah (.) come after that (.) that's fine

Meeting two transcript, 57:53 – 58:28

Julia and Steve both accommodate to Khalid's level of English by repeating key information (day and time) at lines 1, 3 and 4. Further, Steve uses his L2 Arabic resources to make certain that understanding is achieved – at line 6 committing a similar pronunciation error to that which Khalid committed at line 2, and in respect of which Steve and Khalid correct each other. In this phase, Khalid and Steve perform an echo of an earlier phase of the meeting during which they and the researcher engaged in a small talk activity of language learning centred on English and Arabic kinship terms (see Figure 2 below). The opening out of the space by the use of Arabic L2 resources in this and the earlier interactional phase, helps to 'level the playing field', manifesting a linguistic ideology of seeking to minimise linguistic inequalities.

The excerpts discussed show how the non-interpreted institutional space of Meeting Two is opened up to the use of diverse practices in the effort to reach mutual understanding. This is illustrative of the "translanguaging stance" described by Baynham et al. (2018: 2). Extracts six and seven also show, however, that translingual practice is only effective for communication if participants have shared resources to draw upon in negotiating understanding from these diverse practices. Analysis using Risager's (2006) framework is a means of investigating this more closely.

7.3 The language-culture nexus in Meeting Two

Figure 2 gives an overview of the main interactional phases and linguistic, languacultural and discursive practices evident in Meeting Two. Once again this draws on and expands the partial analysis presented in Sections 7.1 and 7.2. Figure 2 follows the same format as Figure 1, save that an additional central column shows the parallel (non-verbal) data entry activity taking place during the meeting.
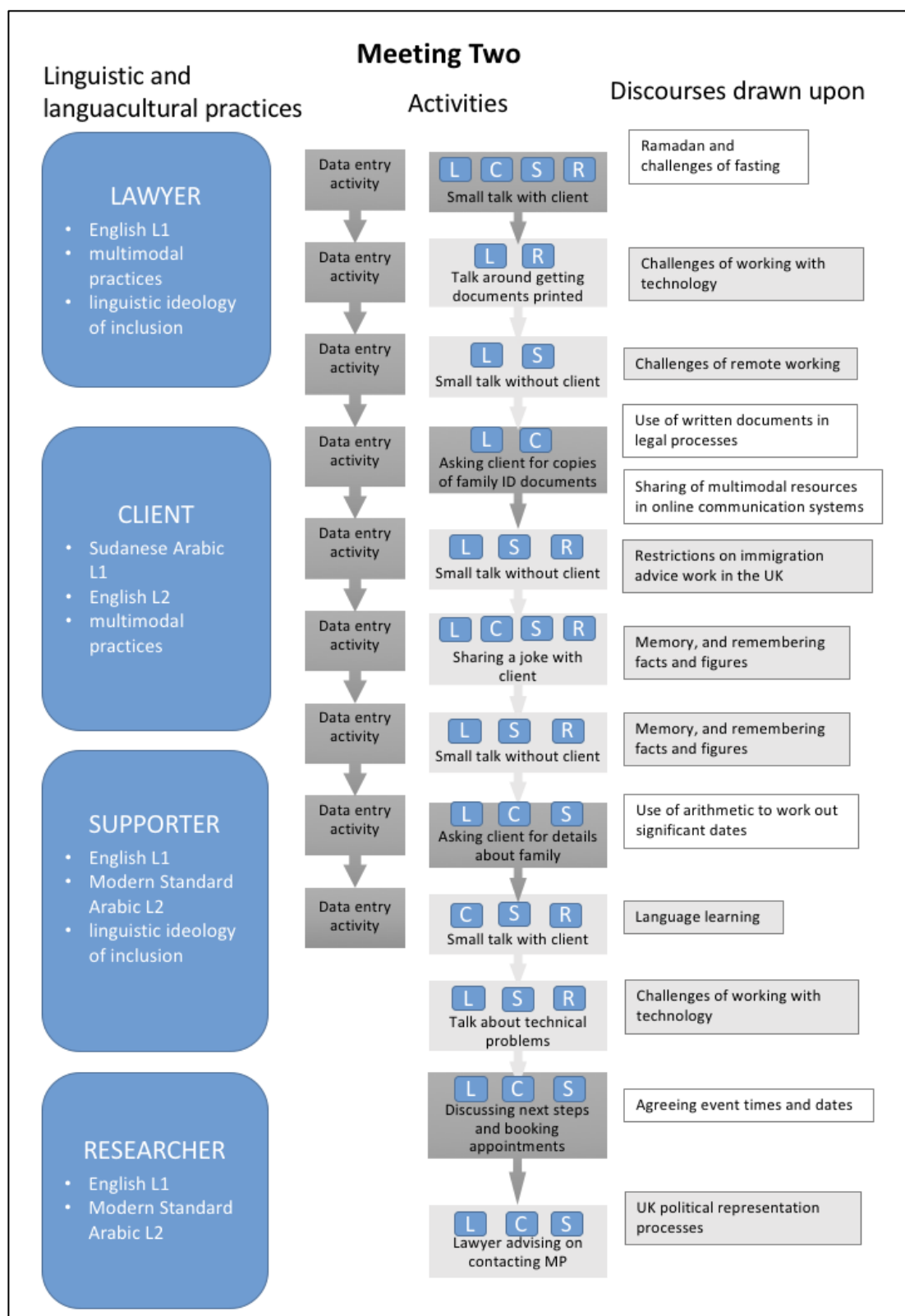
[INSERT FIGURE 2 NEAR HERE]

Meeting Two

Linguistic and languacultural practices | Activities | Discourses drawn upon

LAWYER
- English L1
- multimodal practices
- linguistic ideology of inclusion

CLIENT
- Sudanese Arabic L1
- English L2
- multimodal practices

SUPPORTER
- English L1
- Modern Standard Arabic L2
- linguistic ideology of inclusion

RESEARCHER
- English L1
- Modern Standard Arabic L2

Data entry activity

- L C S R — Small talk with client | Ramadan and challenges of fasting
- L R — Talk around getting documents printed | Challenges of working with technology
- L S — Small talk without client | Challenges of remote working
- L C — Asking client for copies of family ID documents | Use of written documents in legal processes / Sharing of multimodal resources in online communication systems
- L S R — Small talk without client | Restrictions on immigration advice work in the UK
- L C S R — Sharing a joke with client | Memory, and remembering facts and figures
- L S R — Small talk without client | Memory, and remembering facts and figures
- L C S — Asking client for details about family | Use of arithmetic to work out significant dates
- C S R — Small talk with client | Language learning
- L S R — Talk about technical problems | Challenges of working with technology
- L C S — Discussing next steps and booking appointments | Agreeing event times and dates
- L C S — Lawyer advising on contacting MP | UK political representation processes

Figure 2 – Meeting Two: linguistic, languacultural, and discursive practices

It is apparent that even though all Meeting Two participants were also present in Meeting One, a very different language-culture nexus exists in the two meetings. This difference is closely connected to the contrasting communicative goals of each meeting and related decisions taken by Julia about involving an interpreter.

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Discussion

In relation to the paper's first aim of understanding the language-culture nexus in these legal advice meetings, the analysis in Section 7 has shown that at the level of linguistic-languacultural practices, considerable flexibility is evident in Meeting Two. Written communication and the use of technologies are more prominent than in Meeting One (within which oral communication prevailed), and a wider range of linguistic-languacultural practices and modes are used to negotiate understanding in the absence of an interpreter. Understanding is, however, still constrained by each participant's own resources, and the bringing in of *the right mix* of practices is important.

At the level of discourses, the principal activity of completing online forms in Meeting Two (controlled and largely undertaken by Julia) allows for topic flexibility in the oral communication, and a wider range of cultural contexts are referenced and cultural content is brought in than in Meeting One. Some of these discourses are introduced by Khalid, illustrating a partial openness of the communicative space and a flattening of the hierarchy. Others, however, are inaccessible to him because of the choice of topic by Julia and/or Steve and the level of linguistic complexity used to engage with it in English. It is impossible to say why Khalid is excluded from some interactional phases but not others, but this may arguably be due to the relative informality of the meeting and the degree of familiarity the three main participants feel with each other: such periodic exclusions of Khalid from the talk seem to be an unmarked feature of the interaction. It is important to note that these exclusions do not impede the participants from progressing the main goal of the meeting, the online form completion task.

Importantly for understanding how the language-culture nexus is constituted, implementation of the analysis across two linked but contrasting meetings in this transcontextual manner (Wortham and Reyes 2015) provides a more complete picture of the range of resources present in *both* meetings. For example, resources such as Steve's L2 Arabic and Khalid's use of multimodal online communication networks to access key evidential documents, which were latent or 'hidden' in Meeting One, are revealed by the Meeting Two analysis. This throws light on how and why certain resources but not others are externalised as practices; by whom; and under which circumstances within a communicative event. In the case of these two lawyer-client meetings, two interlinked determining factors are instrumental. First is the *communicative task factor*: different tasks and goals in each meeting (legal advice in Meeting One, and visa application form completion in Meeting Two) require utilisation of a different set of practices. Second is the *interactional control factor*: as the person responsible for ensuring task completion in the interactional space of the meeting, Julia takes decisions about the need for an interpreter, and either actively or passively manages use of the oral and visual channels of communication during each meeting to facilitate getting the key tasks done. These determining factors are also central phenomena in activity type analyses (Linell 2010).

Responding to the paper's second aim, the findings from Meeting Two support those from Meeting One about using Risager's (2006) framework for a structured analysis of multilingual and intercultural communication, whilst also illustrating a further challenge. This is that multimodal communicative practices are not sufficiently well catered for in the framework. Risager's foregrounding of the verbal in her categorization of semiotic resources is problematic here, and an interrogation of the theory underpinning Risager's framework from the perspective of multimodality (Streeck et al. 2011) could yield significant insights.

8. Conclusions

This paper has attempted a novel application of Risager's (2006) theoretical model of the language-culture nexus to linguistic ethnographic data illustrating communication in two refugee family reunion legal advice meetings, in order to try to uncover the linguistic and cultural complexity of such interactions and how understanding is negotiated within them. Several key implications emerge for professional practice on the one hand, and for research on the other.

8.1 Implications for professional practice

The analysis of both legal advice meetings has revealed how communicative work to negotiate understanding takes place using diverse resources and practices, according to the task at hand, at different levels of meaning: the *linguistic*, the *languacultural*, and the *discursive*. The impact on the interaction when participants do, or do not, have shared resources at different levels has also been critically considered. Legal advice and interpreting professionals alike could benefit from greater awareness of these different levels of meaning, and how to recognise and address diversity at each level in a legal advice context. Examples that would support good legal advice practice both within and across languages include: at the linguistic-languacultural level, remaining mindful of the need to explain and reformulate specialist legal terminology to clients; and at the discourse level, the benefits of opening up the interactional space to client-initiated topics in small talk.

The analysis has also highlighted that the lawyer is in control of the interactional space of the legal advice meeting, and influences the language-culture nexus through his or her choices about what communicative practices to allow in. The communicative goal(s) of the meeting is central to this decision-making, but a linguistic ideology of inclusion, manifested in practice, is important in opening out the space, creating a welcoming environment, and maximising possibilities for successful communication. How the "power dimension" (Risager 2006: 187) in interaction is handled is an important factor in facilitating or impeding the flow of resources and practices within and across communicative events, as highlighted by this and other research discussed above (Codó and Garrido 2010; Baynham et al. 2018).

8.2 Theoretical-methodological implications and limitations

The analysis demonstrates that Risager's (2006) framework has strengths in supporting a methodical analysis of multilingual and intercultural communicative events. The framework highlights the complex connections between the concepts of 'language' and 'culture' as they are generally understood, and invites a structured approach to identifying the different dimensions of language(s) and culture(s) relevant to a communicative event. Compared to a translanguaging view, this approach could be argued to be more constructive because it provides a framework through which to identify how individuals use divergent communicative resources to interact with others *at different levels of meaning*.

However, a major challenge of using Risager's (2006) model for analysis is its grounding in a complex systems view of linguistic, languacultural, discursive and other cultural flows. In a limited analysis such as this it is impossible to represent the full complexity of the communicative event, and the picture painted in this paper is a partial snapshot of some of the externalised dimensions of the language-culture nexus (i.e., observable linguistic, languacultural, and discursive practices). Further, with the methodology adopted for this study only a small amount of data was collected about other (non-verbal) cultural practices

that may have conveyed meaning for the participants. The nexus in each meeting will also include and be affected by these and other practices, resources and flows, such as participants' unused linguistic resources, and participants' subjective attitudes to and beliefs about different practices (Risager 2006: 189).

It is suggested here that it is not possible to fully map out the language-culture nexus of a communicative event, and that this should not be the goal for any study. Instead, Risager's (2006) framework can be fruitfully drawn on in future research by exploiting the complementarities and synergies between it and other related theories of communication. For example, analysis using Risager's (2006) framework can complement an activity type analysis of an intercultural communicative event (Linell 2010), as revealed by this paper's approach. Risager's model could also be used to explore and apply Blommaert et al.'s (2005) theorization of spaces of multilingualism and the (non-)portability of linguistic resources in contexts of migration.

To conclude, the analysis of the language-culture nexus in two refugee legal advice meetings undertaken in this paper demonstrates how Risager's (2006) model allows a structured understanding to emerge of linguistic and cultural complexity and its management at different levels of communicative activity. At the same time, the analysis reveals limitations of the model for empirical analysis, including the complexity of the model itself, its verbal and linguistic focus, and the inaccessibility of some dimensions of meaning-making to empirical investigation.

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Appendix

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

(adapted from Richards 2003, cited in Copland and Creese 2015)

Speakers are Int = Interpreter; J = Julia; K = Khalid; S = Steve; R = Researcher.

,	continuing contour (intonation which demonstrates speech is continuing)
?	questioning intonation
<u>here</u>	emphasis
(xxx)	unintelligible
(seems)	unclear, best guess at what was said
((xyz))	other details including paralinguistic features and other noises
[	overlapping speech
°utterance°	utterance spoken more softly than surrounding utterances
>utterance<	utterance spoken more quickly than surrounding utterances
↓	fall in pitch
↑	rise in pitch
(.)	micropause
(..)	pause of around 0.5 seconds
(…)	pause of around 1 second
(3)	longer pause or silence (number represents duration in seconds)
:	sound stretching
-	cut off word (part of word only spoken)
=	latching
@	laughter