

Forensic Linguistics

Asylum-seekers, Refugees and Immigrants

Edited by

I.M. Nick

Germanic Society for Forensic Linguistics
(GSFL)

With a Foreword by

Tina Cambier-Langeveld

International Association for Forensic Phonetics and Acoustics
(IAFPA)

Series in Language and Linguistics



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www.vernonpress.com

In the Americas:
Vernon Press
1000 N West Street,
Suite 1200, Wilmington,
Delaware 19801
United States

In the rest of the world:
Vernon Press
C/Sancti Espiritu 17,
Malaga, 29006
Spain

Series in Language and Linguistics

Library of Congress Control Number: 2018943409

ISBN: 978-1-62273-128-2

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Abbreviations and acronyms

AAT	Australian Administrative Appeals Tribunal
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AMA	American Medical Association
AsylG	Asylgesetz (German Asylum Act)
BAMF	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (German Federal Agency for Migration and Asylum)
BFA	Bundesamt für Fremdenwesen und Asyl (German Federal Office for Migration and Asylum)
BM.I	Bundesministerium für Inneres (Austrian Federal Ministry for the Interior)
BVwG	Bundesverwaltungsgericht (Federal Administrative Court)
CAR	Central African Republic
CI	Cognitive Interview
COI	Country of Origin Information
DHA	Discourse Historical Approach
DoD	Department of Defense
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
EIT	Enhanced Interrogation Techniques
EMN	European Migration Network
EU	European Union
FL	Forensic Linguistics
FOM	Federal Office of Migration (Switzerland)
FP	Forensic Phonetics
IAFL	International Association for Forensic Linguistics
IAFPA	International Association of Forensic Phonetics and Acoustics
IGC	Intergovernmental Consultations on Migration, Asylum and Refugees

IND	Immigratie- en Naturalisatiedienst (Netherlands; Immigration and Naturalisation Service)
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
LA	Language Analysis
LAAP	Language Analysis in the Asylum Procedure
LADO	Language Analysis for the Determination of Origin
LNOG	Language and National Origin Group
LOID	Linguistic Origin Identification
NENS	Non-Expert Native Speaker
NICHHD	National Institute of Child Health and Human Development
NS	Native Speaker
NSNLs	Native Speaker Non-Linguists
OCILA	Office for Country Information and Language Analysis
PRIDE	P rior knowledge about the interviewee and the wider context, R apport with the interviewee, I nterpretative assistance (if required) D iverse array of hypotheses about the alleged offence, E ffective techniques for eliciting a free narrative
PRC	People's Republic of China
RRT	Refugee Review Tribunal
SEM	State Secretariat of Migration (Switzerland)
SERE	(US Air Force's School for) Survival, Evasion, Resistance, and Escape
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
VCRS	Vulnerable Children's Resettlement Scheme
VPRS	Vulnerable Persons Resettlement Scheme

Notes on reviewers and contributors

Mohammed Ateek conducted his PhD research on the impact and effectiveness of extensive reading in the EFL classroom. Main research interests are English language education, refugee education, language and migration, L2 reading and learner autonomy. Being an academic and a Syrian refugee himself, he is currently involved in different research projects that draw on English language education and language analysis for asylum seekers/refugees. His recent research project sought to analyse the Syrian refugees' linguistic choices on social media, with more focus on identity, translanguaging, social media and language teaching. Mohammed also has teaching experience in the fields of TESOL and EFL. He previously taught at the University of Aleppo, Syria, where he was involved in BA language education programmes. Mohammed also taught English in different countries in the Middle East. He is also a member of different organisations in the UK which support the rights of migrants.

Gaby Axer holds an MA in Applied Linguistics (University of Bonn, Germany), a Post-Graduate Diploma in Forensic Linguistics (Aston University, Birmingham, UK) and a BA in English Studies, Linguistics and Phonetics (University of Cologne, Germany). For her MA thesis, in a blind study she explored cross-linguistic features of authorship in instant messaging. The originally compiled corpus was comprised of three German native speakers' WhatsApp messages written in German and English. The analysis yielded promising results and formed the basis for her current doctoral research. For her PhD, she plans to further investigate the reliability of the identification features used in the German corpus and test their degree of applicability in assessing different sets of speakers and genres. She is an active member of the Executive Council of the Germanic Society for Forensic Linguistics (GSFL) and serves as the current Senior Roundtable Coordination Officer after ending her elected tenure as the Student Liaison Officer.

Kirsty Blewitt is a PhD researcher in Applied Linguistics in the School of ECLS at Newcastle University where she investigates courtroom interactions. She earned a BA with honours in Japanese and Cultural Studies and an MA in Cross-cultural Communication and International Relations, both from Newcastle University. She recently completed her doctoral the-

sis: “I hurt her. I hurt her bad. She’s dead’: An Interdisciplinary Exploration of Interactions between the State and the Individual in Legal Settings.” She is a Teaching Fellow in Cross-Cultural Communication at Newcastle University. Her research interests include ethics in FL research; deception detection; courtroom and police questioning; virtual identity; and narrative in forensic settings. She is a member of the GSFL Executive Council.

Grace Sullivan Buker completed her doctorate in Linguistics at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.. Her dissertation focused on the use of African American English and treatment of AAE speakers in the courtroom, specifically the trial of George Zimmerman for the murder of Trayvon Martin. Grace’s research interests also include forensic linguistic threat assessment, deception detection, and forensic speech science. She applies her theoretical linguistics background, which includes minimalist syntax and phonetics and phonology, and the approaches of discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics to her forensic linguistics analyses. She is a member of the Executive Council of the Germanic Society for Forensic Linguistics (GSFL).

Tina Cambier-Langeveld studied linguistics and holds a PhD in phonetics. She is a forensic phonetician with extensive experience in forensic casework of various types (1999-present). Her focus is on empirical investigation of methodologies in forensic speaker comparison and language analysis in the asylum procedure. She started in forensics and was trained to become an expert in forensic casework at the Netherlands Forensic Institute (NFI). At present, she is employed by the Dutch Immigration and Naturalisation Service, where she holds the position of senior linguist and is in charge of language analyses as a means of investigating the claims of asylum seekers on their national/regional origin, ethnicity and language background. She also works as a forensic speech scientist and consultant for the speech and audio group at the NFI. In addition, she is a lecturer at Leiden University, where she teaches an MA course on forensic speech science. She is honorary chair of the International Association for Forensic Phonetics and Acoustics (2011-present).

John Campbell earned his doctorate in the town of Koforidua, Ghana in the mid-1970’s and investigated aspects of the political economy of urban development. Immediately afterwards, he went to the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania where he taught in the sociology department for four years when he became involved in archival and policy-based research on the city of Dar es Salaam. After leaving Tanzania, he worked for Oxfam-UK in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. In 1990, he re-entered academic life in the De-

partment of Anthropology at The Queen's University of Belfast, Northern Ireland where he began to write up material on Ethiopian development. He joined SOAS in 2001 and headed the department from 2010 to 2012. Between January 2007 and January 2009, he undertook an ESRC funded research project on the British Asylum System. He is currently writing an ethnography of the British asylum system and writes expert reports for Ethiopian and Eritrean asylum applicants.

Diana Eades is a specialist for critical sociolinguistics and an expert for intercultural communication in the courtroom. In addition to her teaching duties at a faculty member at diverse institutions of higher education such as the University of Hawai'i (USA) and the University New England (Australia), she has researched extensively into LADO. After convening a group of Australian linguists who exposed problems with this practice in Australia, she convened a forum of international scholars, "the Language & National Origin Group," who developed the *Guidelines for the Use of Language Analysis in Relation to Questions of National Origin in Refugee Cases* (2004). She has been an ardent advocate for the implementation of principles of best practice within forensic linguistics in general and LADO specifically. She has served as an expert consultant in Queensland, New South Wales, and Western Australia. Her numerous scholarly publications include *Discursive Constructions of Consent in the Legal Process* (2016) Oxford: Oxford University Press; *Courtroom Talk and Neocolonial Control* (2008) Mouton de Gruyter; and *Sociolinguistics and the Legal Process* (2010) Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Jon Findahl is a linguist working with language analysis (LA) in the asylum procedure for the Swedish firm Sprakab. As a linguist within LA Jon has been composing language analysis reports and answering questions and critique from involved parties, including when a LA can be helpful, how a LA should be used and responses to counter reports. On occasion, other work within forensic linguistics has also been conducted. The last years Jon has been responsible for collecting information and composing language backgrounds on languages/varieties most common within LA. This is one of Jon's research interest together with semantics and syntax. Jon was a guest lecturer on the course *Migration Law and Procedure* in Örebro 2016. Prior to this Jon mainly studied Swedish and linguistics at Stockholm University. Jon has written dissertations within language planning and politics (bachelor), semantics (master) and syntax (master).

Jessica Findling is a Sessional Academic and PhD candidate in the School of Global, Urban and Social Studies and an Associate Member of the Social and Global Studies Centre at RMIT University. Her research focuses on

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Tricia Redeker Hepner is an Associate Professor at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville where she also serves as the Director of the Disasters, Displacement and Human Rights Program. Within the area of political and legal anthropology, her research centers on African diasporas; forced migration (refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced); human rights; conflict and peace-building; and transnationalism. For her human rights research, in 2009 she was awarded the Meritorious Medal for Outstanding Service for her work with the Eritrean Refugee Community. In 2008, she received an award from Amnesty International for her activism. Since 2005, she has served as a Country Specialist for Eritrea for Amnesty International. She is the Associate Editor of *African Conflict and Peacebuilding Review*. From 2011 to 2014, she served as the Vice Chair of Africana Studies at the University of Tennessee. She has published extensively on the issues surrounding forced migration particularly with regard to Northeast Africa and the Great Lakes Region of Eastern Africa. In 2015, she co-authored her fourth book: *African Asylum at a Crossroads: Activism, Expert Testimony and Refugee Rights* (Ohio University Press). She has served an expert witness and consultant on some 300 asylum and immigration cases.

Georgina Heydon is an Associate Professor in Criminal Justice at RMIT University. In 2005, she published the first monograph to analyse the language of police interviewing in Australia from a linguistic and discourse analytic perspective. Over the last ten years, her research has attempted to contribute a new level of detail to the analysis of legal-societal issues in policing by focusing on the discursive phenomena that underlie testimonial integrity, methods of detecting deception, formality and the right to silence. A/Prof Heydon is the President of the International Association of

Forensic Linguists and an active member of the International Investigative Interviewing Research Group. She has designed and delivered interviewing training and advice to police and legal professionals in Australia, Sweden, Belgium, Indonesia, Mozambique and Canada, and to members of Australian judicial colleges and tribunals as well as lawyers and corporate clients. She has been a guest presenter for the European Police College, the Edmonton Police Academy (Canada), the Australian Federal Police, the South Australian Police, the Swedish Police Academy, and several other law enforcement bodies. As a forensic linguist, she provides expert evidence on authorship and speaker identification, as well as on threat identification, and commercial trademark cases.

Jim Hoskin is a former employee of Verified AB, one of the five most prominent LADO (Language Analysis for Determination of Origin) agencies currently in operation. While at Verified, he worked extensively on language analysis reports on Arabic and Kurdish dialects as well as on the description and classification of various Semitic and Iranian dialects. He completed undergraduate and postgraduate degrees at universities in Australia and is presently a PhD candidate at the University of York, England. His thesis, titled *Language analysis in the asylum context: towards more robust and transparent procedures for LADO*, seeks to test empirically a number of assumptions underlying the practice of language analysis and to explore the viability of new techniques which may contribute a more specific test of asylum claimants' language skills within the LADO procedure. His PhD research is supported by a Wolfson Scholarship in the Humanities.

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Pilar Cal-Meyer is a state certified court interpreter with the Massachusetts Trial Court. In this capacity, she has interpreted for court proceedings in district and superior courthouses as well as for family and juvenile courthouses. She has also served as an expert witness for linguistics in numerous court cases. She holds an MA in Applied Linguistics with a specialization in ESL from the University of Massachusetts and has published in several national and international peer-reviewed journals including the *Massachusetts Lawyers Weekly* and *Language & Law=Linguagem e Direito*. She served on the panel of experts and co-authored a chapter on forensic Transcription and Translation for the seminal US publication, *Fundamentals of Court Interpreting*. She has worked extensively with law enforcement and court officials to help increase institutional awareness about the complex language profiles of immigrants.

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Her recent publication was “The Contemporary Practices of Indonesian Police Interviewing of Witnesses.” It was a chapter of a book entitled “International Developments and Practices in Investigative Interviewing and Interrogation, Volume 1: Victims and witness” (2016) edited by David Walsh, Gavin E. Oxburgh, Allison D. Redlich and Trond Myklebust.

Fallou Ngom is a professor of Anthropology and the Director of the African Studies Center at Boston University. His research includes the interactions between non-African languages and African languages as well as the Africanization of Islam. Within forensic linguistics, his work encompasses language analysis in asylum cases. Within this area, his work addresses the impact of multilingualism in West African languages and dialects for the evaluation the migrants’ applications for asylum. He holds a PhD in French Linguistics and is a fluent multilingual speaker of English, French, Wolof, Mandinka, and Pula(a)r. His publications have appeared in a number of journals including *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *Language Variation and Change*, and *African Studies Review*.

Iman Nick holds a PhD in English Linguistics; an MA in German Linguistics; an MSc in Forensic and Investigative Psychology; BA in German Language and Literature, and a BSc in Clinical and Social Psychology. In the Summer of 2010, she was also awarded the German post-doctoral degree, the ‘Habilitation,’ for her research in English Sociolinguistics. In Forensic Linguistics, her areas of interest include criminal aliases, suicide letter analysis, and language policy and planning. Aside from her teaching duties, she also regularly serves as a journal editor and reviewer. From 2014 to 2016, she served as the elected Chair of the Committee for Ethnic Diversity in Linguistics (CEDL) for the Linguistic Society of America. She is currently the President of the American Name Society (ANS) as well as the Co-founder and President of the Germanic Society for Forensic Linguistics (GSFL). She has published in several international peer-reviewed journals (e.g., *Current Issues in Language Planning*; *Language and Law*; *Language*; and *Names*) and has given interviews for the *Chronicle of Higher Education* and *Time Magazine*.

Peter Patrick is Professor of Sociolinguistics in the University of Essex’s Department of Language and Linguistics. He is a Member of the Essex Human Rights Centre and belongs to the Research Network of L’Observatoire international des droits linguistiques. Within forensic linguistics, he has given expert testimony to UK and US criminal courts, employment tribunals, and asylum tribunals. Since 2003 he has been investigating and contributing to best-practice in LADO. He was a founding

member of the Language & National Origin Group who developed the *Guidelines for the Use of Language Analysis in Relation to Questions of National Origin in Refugee Cases* (2004) (2004). From mid-2008 to mid-2011 he has submitted expert linguistic reports to the UK immigration and asylum tribunals in about 50 appeals cases. In efforts to improve standards of linguistic data collection, analysis and interpretation, and to monitor the role of linguistic expertise in LADO, he has met with LADO agencies and asylum bureaux from a dozen European countries and invited them to share their practices and concerns.

Tanya Prokofyeva is a Swedish linguist who was born and raised in Moscow, Russia; she started her path towards a degree in linguistics at Moscow Aviation University. From 2003 till 2008 she studied linguistics and translation and graduated from MAU, holding a degree with honors. At the age of 24, she moved to Linköping, Sweden to continue her education abroad. During her years of study at Linköping University, Tanya became especially interested in forensic linguistics and wrote her final thesis on the language of suicide letters. Tanya was awarded her Master of Arts in general linguistics from LiU in 2013. Shortly after graduation from Linköping University, she was employed as a linguist by Verified AB where she worked with language analysis in refugee cases for three-and-a-half years. Tanya has worked for the Swedish Migration Agency since September 2017. Due to her interest in language around suicides, Tanya also volunteers in suicide prevention work. As well as her passion for forensic linguistics, she's particularly interested in conversation analysis and discourse analysis. In the field of forensic linguistics, her interests focus on courtroom interaction, investigative interviews, and suicide letter analysis. Tanya is a member of Germanic Society for Forensic Linguistics.

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written a textbook on quantitative methods, published in its 2nd edition by Bloomsbury Academic in 2013.

Judith Rosenhouse earned her degrees in Arabic and English (Cum Laude), MA (Cum Laude), and PhD in Arabic from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. She specialized in Arabic dialects, also publishing on Hebrew, English, and Hungarian. For her research, she has been granted several prizes and awards and has been invited to visit several universities. She worked first at Haifa University, and later at the Technion - I.I.T., from which she retired as head of the Department of Humanities and Arts. Her research works comprise well over a hundred papers in journals and books, as well as (11) original and edited books. Her research interests include colloquial Arabic dialects and Literary (Modern Standard) Arabic, Arabic and Hebrew phonetics and acoustic phonetics, Arabic dialects identification in forensic linguistics, language acquisition of 1st and 2nd language, Arabic, and Hebrew speakers' hearing problems, and sociolinguistics. In addition to teaching, she mentored MA and PhD students at the Technion and other universities. Since her retirement from the Technion, she has been working with SWANTECH Ltd., without ever neglecting her linguistic research.

Doris Schüpbach is a Research Fellow at the Research Unit for Multilingualism and Cross-Cultural Communication (RUMACCC) within the School of Languages and Linguistics at the University of Melbourne, Australia. She holds a Master's Degree in Applied Linguistics and a PhD, both from the University of Melbourne. Her PhD-thesis investigated life stories of immigrants from German-speaking Switzerland in Australia. Her main research interests are in sociolinguistics and concern issues around multilingualism and migration. In particular, she has worked on questions related to language and identity, migration and citizenship, including language assessment in the context of migration and citizenship. She is also interested in Australia's language demography and language maintenance among migrant populations. Another focus of her work is societal and individual multilingualism and their interaction, and she has been involved in research on address in European languages, particularly in German.

Jens Vedsted-Hansen is a law professor at Aarhus University and a member of the following institutions and agencies: the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) since 2012; the Danish Equal Treatment Board (since 2015); the Danish Refugee Appeals Board (from 1987-1994 and 2013-2016); and the Danish Institute for Human Rights (from 2009 to 2016). Some of his relevant publications include *New Asylum Countries?*

Migration Control and Refugee Protection in an Enlarged European Union (2002); 'European non-Refoulement Revisited' (2010). *Scandinavian Studies in Law* 55: 269-83; 'Reception Conditions as Human Rights: Pan-European Standard of Systemic Deficiencies?' (2016) *Reforming the Common European Asylum System: The New European Refugee Law*: 317-52; and 'Refugees, Asylum-Seekers and Migrant Workers' (2012). *International Protection of Human Rights: A Textbook*: 331-52.

Rositsa Zhekov holds an MA in English, Spanish, and Sociology from the University of Cologne. Currently, she is enrolled in an MA program in Applied Linguistics at the University of Bonn. Within forensic linguistics, her primary areas of interests lie in the language of the legal process. More specifically, she is interested in linguistic tactics used during courtroom proceedings and police interrogations of vulnerable witnesses such as children and non-native speakers. She is also interested in Social Media communication, including threats, insults, harassment and cyberbullying. Her dream is to use her skills to advance the public and academic awareness of FL/FP research throughout the Slavic and Germanic-speaking world. She is a member of the GSFL Executive Council.

Acknowledgements

Like the members of the Germanic Society for Forensic Linguistics, the many authors, reviewers, and editing team who contributed to this book represent a broad variety of cultures, languages, faiths, and traditions. Despite that heterogeneity, the contributors of this work all share a common goal and that is to use our skills, talents, knowledge, creativity and passion for helping those in need. The Executive Council of the GSFL would like to acknowledge the incredible support and energy that all of the contributors invested in this publication. We received far more submissions than could be included in this single work. We would, therefore, like to extend our sincere thank you as well to all those researchers and practitioners who answered our call. That collective readiness to share one's insights and expertise represents the best of what science has to offer our communities-at-large.

This book is dedicated to Fatos and all those who dare to dream of a better, more humane, world...

Foreword

As a practicing forensic phonetician/linguist, I find the study of spontaneous language samples deeply fascinating. A spoken language sample can be studied from so many different perspectives. It is not just a string of words with a message; it is also an act of communication, an indicator of social identity and origin, a biometric trace, and a carrier of emotion. From a forensic perspective, language samples in spoken or written form are a rich source of information, but they are also extremely complex. One complicating factor is that language experts are involved in the study of a thing which is not their province alone--after all, *everybody knows about language*.

This book presents a collection of chapters about one type of forensic linguistic analysis: the analysis of an asylum seeker's language knowledge to investigate whether his/her claimed origin is supported by the linguistic evidence. The list of authors and their various lines of work reflect the many angles from which this topic can be addressed. At the same time, this book places language analysis firmly and centrally in the realm of forensic casework, as evidenced by the title of the book and the presence of contributions from the Presidents/Honorary Chairs of GSFL, IAFL, and IAFLPA. The editor of this volume and I obviously share the view that the forensic aspect is key.

With this book, GSFL has made available a platform upon which experienced practitioners, accomplished academics and relative newcomers have come together. The contributions of practitioners working (or having worked) full time on language analysis for immigration services provide unique insights into current practices. Other contributions provide helpful analyses of two critical steps that precede and follow the actual language analysis: data collection and legal reception. Another recurring theme is the ethical dimension. The book lays out the context in which language analyses are performed, presents empirical data, counters previous misconceptions, effectively pinpoints problems and provides constructive ideas for improvements in the field. In all, editor Iman Nick has succeeded in putting together a balanced set of contributions.

The application of language analysis to investigate an asylum seeker's language background is often referred to as "highly controversial" and "hotly debated". My name features regularly in these debates, but I am

delighted to see that this book allows us to look at things afresh and come up with points of consensus. We all agree on the responsibility of linguists to state and explain the limitations of language analysis. We agree similarly on the critical importance of proper data collection and on the need to have appropriate methods in place. We are unanimous, too, in wanting to discover more about current practices and the way in which language analyses are used and interpreted. Finally, and most importantly, we are united in wishing to move the discipline forward.

Everybody knows about language, but this book will increase expert and lay understanding of the challenges and solutions involved in state-of-the-art language analysis in the asylum procedure.

Tina Cambier-Langeveld

International Association for Forensic Phonetics and Acoustics (IAFPA)

June 2018

Introduction

The Germanic Society for Forensic Linguistics (GSFL) is an international scholarly organization of scientists, practitioners, and students who are devoted to promoting the investigation and application of forensic linguistic evidence for the betterment of the society. As a part of this community service mandate, the Executive Council of the GSFL decided to address one of the largest humanitarian crises facing the global community today: forced migration. The purpose of this publication is to provide a critical examination of the historical and contemporary application of Forensic Linguistic (FL) methods, theories, policies, and practices used in the decision-making processes affecting the status of immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers.¹

1. Background on the crisis

Today it is estimated that 1 in every 113 people is forced to flee their homes to escape armed conflict, civil unrest, and/or war (UNHCR 2016). As a result, the world is witnessing a humanitarian crisis of truly epic proportions. According to recent statistics gathered by the United Nations, a little over 66 million people were registered as an asylum-seeker, a refugee, or an internally displaced person (BBC 2017). In an effort to process this unprecedented number of people in need, many government agencies across the world have increasingly enlisted the expertise of forensic linguists to provide language-based evidence to be used by officials to help (dis)confirm the origin of applicants seeking refuge.

Although scholars have claimed that people's language may often provide key information about previous socialization, it is not the case that the way a person speaks is an unambiguous, irrefutable, reliable, determiner of his/her official national, regional, or ethnic identity (e.g., Eades, Fraser, Siegel, McNamara, et al. 2003; Eades and Arends 2004; Maryns 2004). For this reason, within the forensic linguistic community, the asser-

¹According to the official set of terminology used by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 2006), the term "asylum-seeker" refers to "an individual who is seeking international protection" and may or may not be recognized as a "refugee" (i.e. a person who meets pre-established legal criteria including fleeing from armed conflict or persecution). For more on this distinction, see: (Edwards 2016).

tion that **Linguistic Analysis** can be used to irrefutably **Determine the Origin(s)** of a speaker (henceforth LADO) has been broadly condemned as scientifically untenable. Moreover, the continued and widespread governmental use of linguistic analysis for the purposes of addressing such highly politicized questions as asylum, refugee, and immigrant status has considerable controversy both inside and outside of the forensic linguistic (FL) community.

The accuracy and morality of applying forensic linguistic techniques to help adjudicate and potentially reject petitions made by immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers and sometimes questioned. However, supporters counter that the expertise offered by the forensic linguistic community can bring an invaluable level of reliability, professionalism, and fairness that might otherwise be absent (Campbell 2011; Eades, Fraser, Siegel, McNamara, et al. 2003; Eades 2010). Further exacerbating what is often an uncomfortably heated discussion is the increasing fear of terrorist organizations using legal routes of refuge to gain illegal access to unsuspecting foreign targets. Additionally, there are mounting concerns over right-wing extremist groups exploiting public insecurities and promoting xenophobic ideologies. The result in many communities has been the progressive demonization of innocent men, women, and children who are in desperate need of protection (Gardner-Chloros, Gognas, and McEntee-Atalianis 2016).

2. Author selection criteria

In April of 2017, a general call for book chapter proposals was issued by the GSFL. Submissions focusing on any of the following sub-areas were solicited: Language and Law; Translation and Interpretation; Forensic Phonology and Phonetics; Forensic Linguistics and Ethics; and Forensic Linguistics and Education. In addition, case studies of individual countries, as well as international comparisons, were also welcomed. Once the deadline for submission had expired, all submissions were subjected to intense blind review from an international team of experts. These professionals were drawn from two intersecting communities: 1.) academicians whose research centers upon socio-linguistics, forensic linguistics, refugee human rights, and international human rights law; and 2.) expert practitioners who work as translators, interpreters, and linguistic consultants on cases to determine the legal status of displaced persons. Each submission was evaluated by three independent reviewers using a transparent two-part rating system. The first part of the system was quantitative and required each reviewer to rate every proposal on a 10-point Likert scale across the following 10 variables: 1.) methodology; 2.) innovation; 3.) sci-

entific writing; 4.) potential scientific contribution; 5.) argumentation; 6.) expertise in FL and forced migration; 7.) likelihood of sparking discussion in the FL community; 8.) thematic appropriateness; 9.) social relevance; and 10.) feasibility.

Complementing this first quantitative assessment was the second qualitative part of the reviewer evaluation. In this section, each evaluator was requested to give a detailed summary of his/her overall impressions of the proposal. In addition, reviewers were requested to provide explanatory commentary for those points which they felt need deeper examination. It is important to stress that all of the identifiers of the authors personal and professional backgrounds (e.g., place of work, academic qualifications, gender, nationality, etc.) were removed from each submission before they were sent out for review. After all of the blind assessments had been received, those authors whose proposals had been awarded the best cumulative assessments were invited to submit a chapter for potential publication.

These chapters were then submitted to a second round of blind review by another team of experts who represented the same professional cross-section mentioned above. During this phase, care was taken to distribute chapters to evaluators from similar as well as competing perspectives. For example, contributions which had been written by consultants who offer Language Analysis (LA) reports for use in asylum, refugee, and immigrant casework were not only sent to reviewers from competing LA consulting firms but also academicians whose research centered upon testing sociolinguistic and forensic linguistic theories. By the same token, highly theoretical chapters that had been authored by linguistic researchers were sent to scientists working in analogous areas as well as practitioners with many years of professional experience working directly with members of the asylum-seeker, refugee, and immigrant communities. The reviewers who kindly provided scholarly assessments for this publication include the following: Mohammed Ateek, Grace Sullivan Buker, John Campbell, Diana Eades, Jon Findahl, Tricia Redeker Hepner, Jim Hoskin, Tina Cambier-Langeveld, Emilia Lindroos, Tim McNamara, Katrin Maryns, Pilar Cal-Meyer, Fallou Ngom, Iman Nick, Peter Patrick, Tanya Prokofyeva, Judith Rosenhouse, Doris Schüpbach, and Jens Vedsted-Hansen. Only those submissions which had been given the highest collective ratings were invited to submit a final chapter for publication.

The final selection of chapters represents a diverse cross-section of perspectives, opinions, and themes. This heterogeneity is reflected in the variety of labels and acronyms the authors used for language analysis (e.g., LA, LA(DO), LOID, LAPP, etc.). The decision was made to retain these orig-

inal labels to call the reader's attention to differences in policy, philosophy, and practice. A comprehensive explanatory table of acronyms and abbreviations is provided for the reader's convenience. Alongside these variations in terminological use and preference, the authors in this collection also reflect a pleasing heterogeneity of nationalities, cultures, linguistic expertise, and professional backgrounds. From well-established experts who have spent many years researching and publishing in this subject-area to emerging scholars whose novel and innovative ideas demonstrate the continuing intellectual vitality of this critical area of work. Despite this diversity, the chapters in this publication represent a cohesive work with contributions that provide strong, thought-provoking, complements to one another.

3. Content and organization

Chapter One begins with a contribution from one of the most influential voices working within the field today, *Tina Cambier-Langeveld*. In this chapter, an overview of methods is provided that are used by European immigration services to investigate various aspects of an asylum seeker's identity. Thereafter a detailed description is given of the ethical pitfalls and sand traps of LA. Finally, using two case reports, practical alternatives to LA are explored. The chapter aims to provide deeper insight into the forensic context in which LA takes place, to facilitate cooperation between practising and non-practising linguists. Such informational exchanges would not only benefit the field of forensic linguistics, but they would also ultimately help to improve the plight of asylum-seekers, refugees, and immigrants.

In past discussion between LA practitioners and non-practitioners, one of the primary points of debate has surrounded the qualifications and expertise of the persons who are often hired to make these assessments (Cambier-Langeveld 2010; Fraser 2009). In particular, there has been widespread concern that company executives and government officials have relied on the untrained judgements of native-speakers. Over the years, in some circles, this concern has degenerated into a general condemnation of native-speakers in LA.

In **Chapter Two**, *Jim Hoskin* argues that the expertise offered by highly-trained native-speaker non-linguists (NSNLs), though not identical to that of linguists, is nonetheless highly valuable and should not be rejected out of hand. As the number of people seeking refugee abroad continues to increase, the number of government agencies and private companies that perform language analysis has substantially increased.

However, as *Tanya Prokofyeva* rightly observes in **Chapter Three**, up until recently, many of the details surrounding the practices and procedures used in these analyses have remained shrouded in the dark. To help increase understanding of and facilitate constructive dialogue about some of these procedures, this chapter offers a basic overview of the ‘linguist-and-native-speaker’ combined approach used by VERIFIED, a consultancy firm specializing in LA for casework in asylum cases.

Chapter Four presents the policies and practices of Sprakab, another leading consulting firm providing Language Analysis for Asylum Procedures (LAAP). In this chapter, a linguist at Sprakab, *Jon Findahl* tails how linguistic information is gathered from written academic sources as well as an onsite native speaker to produce a store of information about a linguistic region of interest for future LAAP casework. Using the example of Gorani, a Kurdish language of the Northwestern Iranian language group, Findahl demonstrates how historical and contemporary accounts of fine-grained geographical, social, and linguistic variations are used at Sprakab in preparation for LAAP work. Like a high-powered microscope, this chapter demonstrates one of the most bedeviling, but fascinating, facts of language analysis: the more intensively one looks, the more variation and complexity one discovers.

The potential impact of this complexity is taken up in the next contribution of this work. The investigatory focus is turned 180 degrees from the experience of the analyst to the person being analyzed. Drawing on interview data gathered from Syrian refugees in Great Britain, in **Chapter Five**, *Mohammed Ateek* and *Sebastian M. Rasinger* shed light on the ways that idiolectal, regional, and national variations in the Arabic spoken by the LADO interviewer and interviewee can have unforeseen conversational effects such as linguistic accommodation or convergence which in turn may impact upon the validity of the subsequent analyses. Discussion is provided of the possible repercussions of such confounds for both individual applicants and the reception of LADO procedures by targeted ethnolinguistic minority communities.

In **Chapter Six**, *Sabine Lehner* carries on with the discussion of linguistic conceptualizations, but shifts from the micro to the macro level. In this chapter, Lehner investigates the (re)production and manifestation of language ideologies in Austrian asylum procedures on a linguistic level. After theorizing on the complex interplay between language and ideology, using an empirical approach, this chapter explores the various roles which individual linguistic entextualization practices and institutional language ideologies play in the construction of (in)credibility within Austrian asylum procedures.

Chapter Seven shifts the investigatory focus to the angle of language and law. More specifically, in this chapter, *Emilia Lindroos*, and *Stefan Kirchner* look at the German judiciary's use of LADO asylum proceedings and explore legal challenges which have been placed before the German courts. The resulting investigation of case law not only provides many insights into the court system's understanding of LADO practices and principles. It also illustrates how legal conceptualization impacts decision-making in Germany – a nation that has processed one of the largest numbers of asylum cases since the current refugee crisis began.

Chapter Eight continues in the area of language and law but with a different geographic, thematic, and analytic center. In this chapter, *R. Dian Dia-an Muniroh*, *Jessica Findling*, and *Georgina Heydon* address the issue of cross-cultural interviewing and questioning in the Australian Administrative Appeals Tribunal. In their examination, the authors demonstrate how forensic linguistic methods are used in the decision-making processes while exploring the appropriateness of narrative-based questioning in the cross-linguistic settings of the Australian Refugee Tribunal.

In **Chapter Nine**, *Tim McNamara* and *Doris Schüpbach* discuss the broader issue of justice with regard to LADO. They give examples of how issues of fairness arise in the practice and how they can be addressed. Through their insightful juxtaposition of these two constructs, the authors add much-needed clarity to ongoing discussions over the acceptability and defensibility of LADO. The strong philosophical basis of the argumentation provided in this chapter provides a compelling contrast to the following and final chapter.

In **Chapter Ten**, *I. M. Nick* explores the pressing ethical questions that surround the practice of LA(DO) given mounting international concerns over egregious human rights abuses. Placed within the historical context of other controversies surrounding the (mis)use of scientific expertise for political purposes, this chapter argues for more discussion of the ethical questions confronting the forensic linguist who decides either for or against providing LA(DO) services.

4. Conclusion

Taken all together, the purpose of this work is two-fold. The first goal is to stimulate constructive, thought-provoking discussion between colleagues engaged in the analysis and application of linguistic data for forensic purposes. Towards that end, this collection directly and powerfully reflects one of the primary purposes of the Germanic Society for Forensic Linguistics: to provide collegial and supportive spaces for social scientists, practitioners, and students who are devoted to promoting cooperative work

within Forensic Linguistics for the betterment of the society. And therein lies the second major objective of this publication.

By promoting critical but constructive discussions about the use of FL in language analysis in forced migration procedures, this book seeks to shed more light on the plight of millions of men, women, and children whose liberty and lives are in peril. According to statistics gathered by the International Organization for Migration (IOM 2018) of the United Nations Migration Agency, during the period of time from the first call for chapter proposals and the final manuscript was submitted, approximately 3,297 people died in the Mediterranean Sea in an effort to reach Europe to escape persecution, destruction, and death in their homelands. This book is dedicated to the memory of all those who bravely risked everything in the hope of finding a better life.

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