

# The Arabic language and national identity.

Citation for published version (APA):

Wagner, L. (2007). The Arabic language and national identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11(1), 110-112. [https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2007.00312\\_5.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2007.00312_5.x)

## Document status and date:

Published: 01/02/2007

## DOI:

[10.1111/j.1467-9841.2007.00312\\_5.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2007.00312_5.x)

## Document Version:

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

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## BOOK REVIEWS

BETHAN BENWELL and ELIZABETH STOKOE. *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh, U.K.: Edinburgh University Press. 2006. 314 pp. Pb (0748617507) £16.99.

Reviewed by LUCY JONES

*Discourse and Identity* is a monograph aimed at scholars and students interested in identity and its relationship to language. An introduction to theories and approaches, this book offers a guide to the field via existing data and analyses and is designed to be a valuable resource and reference for scholars in this area. The book aims to introduce the study of identity as constructed in discourse across a variety of disciplines (including linguistics, psychology and cultural studies) and the authors offer case studies to support their overview of work in each area. Focusing primarily on methodology, the first half of the book considers interactional and ideological approaches to identity through the analysis of discourse extracts. Though confusing at times due to the huge variety of approaches covered, the authors impressively link together the array of interdisciplinary methods in order to set the foundation for the remainder of the book. The second half considers some literal and ideological contexts in which identity is constructed through discourse, at which point the foundation laid out by the opening chapters on methodology becomes clearer. In this sense, the second half of the book contextually applies the theory and method detailed in the first.

To introduce the book, the authors use an illustrative stretch of discourse from British fashion show *What Not to Wear* (BBC Television), where the ‘style gurus’ from the programme explain how they can find their participant’s ‘true identity’ by setting her up in the ‘right’ clothes. The brief analysis offered raises the issue of identity as stylistic practice (since it is apparent that the way in which we adorn ourselves is seen as an expression of our identity) yet it also demonstrates the assumptions of essentialism that underlie much of the work into identity to date. The concept of identity as constructed through style is a contemporary one, with scholars such as Irvine (2001) arguing that the meaning behind style is ideologically mediated and thus contextually specific. This approach demonstrates how style is used to construct fluid identities rather than it being a reflection of a ‘true’ or ‘natural’ self. This is in contrast to early variationist work in sociolinguistics which took the vernacular, or ‘unconscious’ speech as reflective of a fixed social identity. Approaches which consider discourse as the means by which identity is constituted rather than the place in which it is reflected have since come to fruition (cf. Eckert and Rickford 2001), and it is this constructionist stance which is articulated in the book’s introduction.

Chapter 1, 'Conversational identities', focuses on two familiar approaches to identity: constructionism and performativity. Using gendered examples of talk amongst friends, the authors demonstrate how an empirical analysis of everyday interaction aims to reveal a speaker's projection of his/her own identity, but also how the analysts' interpretation of that will inevitably be clouded by their own ideological presumptions about that identity. As a contrast to this, they demonstrate and critique an ethnomethodological approach which takes identity to be constructed on a very local scale and therefore not in relation to wider ideologies, showing the conflict between approaches which focus solely on the micro context, and those which are seen to 'jump' from micro to macro indiscriminately. Ultimately, the chapter is indicative of the methodological debates involved in any identity research, and creates a foundation for the remainder of the book to exemplify and critique additional approaches.

The following chapter on 'Institutional identities' again considers two main approaches to the study of discourse and identity: conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis. The chapter highlights the distinct sociological stances that each approach takes, with conversation analysis viewing identity as locally-specific and constructed through discourse (for instance an 'institutionalised' identity as resulting from a person's professional interaction), and critical discourse analysis taking identity as a construction reflecting on a local/micro scale what is relevant on a global/macro scale (interaction as reflecting existing social forces). Since institutions are intrinsically bound up with power and authority, it is suggested that discussions of hegemony and its reproduction through local interaction are the focus of critical discourse analysts in this area. Conversation analysis, on the other hand, typically considers how speakers orient to their institutionally-defined identities. The chapter clearly highlights a key issue in the discussion of these two approaches: whether there is a need to consider macro contexts in relation to micro contexts, a debate which gains momentum in the second half of the book.

The chapter 'Narrative identities' again weighs up the methods employed for discourse analysis, offering a range of empirical examples and discussing the methodological implications and issues involved in the collection of narrative data to do so. The authors draw on Labov's (1972) approach to narrative elicitation, appropriately (considering the discourse focus of this book) critiquing the orchestrated context in which it took place. The authors further critique the structured approach to narrative taken in these early studies, suggesting that not all narratives fit a prescribed pattern. They argue that conversation analysis, by contrast, has shown that speakers construct their identities through positioning and referring to themselves in narrative, and it is clear that they view narrative analysis as most useful when the discourse is not being forced into a pre-defined model. The chapter further considers psychoanalytical approaches to narrative, which see the speaker as unconscious and their narratives as revealing elements of their inner psyche or identity. By offering this approach, Benwell and Stokoe introduce readers to debate in disciplines different to those they ordinarily come

across, and critique an approach in which the researcher is seen to understand his/her participant's identity more than the participant him/herself. Though the inclusion of this approach does not fit well into the constructionist stance of the book as a whole, it does highlight issues of researcher ideology as defining the analysis, rather than the actual experience of those under study. For a study of social identity, it is convincingly argued that this approach is flawed.

It is in the second half of the book that these approaches to identity are applied to particular contexts. Though the preceding chapters consider methodological and theoretical approaches in discursive environments (i.e. in 'everyday' versus 'institutional' settings), it is in the remaining chapters that the contextual identity rather than methodology is considered. The contexts chosen are those which have provoked recent debate, and it is a relief to find a focus on illustrative examples rather than complex definitions of a variety of interdisciplinary approaches. Without the introductions to these approaches, however, the remaining chapters on the sites of identity construction would not be feasible.

Chapter 5 opens the second half of the book with a discussion of 'Commodified identities'. The authors consider and critique existing analyses of discourse in order to consider identities as they are shaped and represented by corporate or commercial ideologies. The main concern of the chapter becomes one of whether individuals have their identities shaped for them by existing ideological structures, or whether they have some degree of agency which allows them to construct their own identities. Here, the relationship between micro and macro contexts comes to the fore, as the authors show the need to consider ideological influences on locally-constructed individual identities. Benwell and Stokoe advocate a 'circuits of culture' model of analysis to do so, where texts producing cultural ideologies (such as girls' magazines) are analysed and focus groups of relevant participants (such as the target readership of the magazine) are used to support the analysis from an insider perspective. This approach allows the macro ideological identity being constructed by the medium to be considered alongside the context in which identities would be constructed by agentive speakers (through their receipt of the cultural messages), and also avoids a 'top-down' method such as that of the psychoanalytical approach to narrative. The chapter itself follows a 'circuits of culture' model to re-analyse existing work into men's magazines, and the contribution is valuable for scholars working on identity from an interdisciplinary perspective. However, this is certainly not the only possible way to access the micro context (with scholars such as Eckert (2000) advocating the use of ethnographic approaches to access local communities, for example), and the chapter is weakened by its uncritical presentation of just one possible approach.

The penultimate chapter on 'Spatial identities' covers non-textual data, considering other types of discourse than spoken or written forms. It shows identity to be a spatial category, since the constraints and opportunities surrounding people's own self-definition are often symbolically created by the space in which they occur. The chapter considers a social psychology perspective,

whereby aerial photographs can reveal different individuals as projecting their identity through their decisions on where to sit on a beach, for example. Referring to ethnomethodological studies, the chapter also argues convincingly that a study of identity must be at least accompanied by a representation of the physical, an argument in line with Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *habitus*, as identities cannot be understood as meaningful without an understanding of the physical boundaries which surround the discourse being produced. The chapter concludes that space and discourse are fundamentally similar; they are both constructed and designed by humans to have socially symbolic meaning. In this sense, a consideration of space should be embedded in a study of identity in discourse.

The final chapter continues to consider the most contemporary perspectives, with an interesting look into computer-mediated communication (CMC) and 'Virtual identities'. In the context of cyberspace, the authors argue that CMC is fundamental to understanding the ways that discourse is created in a non-audio-visual medium. The identities proclaimed by users of chat-rooms or internet forums (where regular individuals or users contribute and interact) is often found to be in line with set roles, such as *newbie* or *mod* ('newcomer' or 'moderator' of the site). This chapter not only provides a fascinating linguistic account of CMC users, such as the use of deixis to index community knowledge and thus community identity, but provides extensive extracts of text from online contexts which provide the reader with insight into the methods employed for identity claiming online. The chapter emphasises the argument that identity is a discursive accomplishment on the part of the individual, and in this sense reflects the resounding theme of the whole book.

The book gives a much wider range of reference to sociological and psychological theories than would normally be found in a linguistics text. These references are made in concise and comprehensive ways and provide the reader with a taster of the contributing theories and approaches which have subsequently made up much of our contemporary 'linguistic' approaches to identity. This is a valuable resource in that sense. However, the range of approaches could become bewildering, especially for the reader who dips in and out of this book. Though it is necessary for the authors to broach such a wide range of theories, in-depth accounts of so many differing approaches and sub-approaches can render the overall topics and conclusions less clear. This is in part due to the structure of the book: in aiming to focus on identities and discuss a variety of methods for each one, the content is confusing and at times repetitive. Had the authors structured the chapters so that each one covered an analytical or methodological approach, and then considered the types of identities coverable by that approach, the book as a whole may have been more coherent and logical.

It is interesting to see a cultural psychology approach alongside cultural linguistics, as the two differ so considerably but yet are both concerned with the same notion. In many ways, the book explains why there is so little agreement between scholars of sociolinguistics in terms of how best to approach identity: different scholars in the same discipline can be swayed by any number of diverse

theoretical backgrounds. The diversity of theory and context is commendable in this book, and its presentation of alternate ideas and approaches allows its reader to come to their own informed conclusions about how *they* believe identity in discourse is best investigated. In this sense, I have no doubt it will prove a highly valuable resource for teachers, scholars, and students of identity alike.

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RUTH WODAK AND PAUL CHILTON (eds.). *A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 2005. 322 pp. Hb (9027227039) €115.00 / (1588116379) \$138.00.

Reviewed by ADAM HODGES

*A New Agenda in (Critical) Discourse Analysis* builds upon the three-decade long tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) – and its precursor Critical Linguistics – to offer a future vision decidedly marked by interdisciplinary approaches. Indeed, the interdisciplinary theme iterated throughout the volume is the one thread that ties together this broad collection of papers.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I, 'Interdisciplinarity and (C)DA', discusses a range of theoretical issues and methodologies. The contributors, all important figures in the development of CDA, raise critical challenges for the field to consider and suggest new agendas for the pursuit of their solutions. Part II, 'Implementing interdisciplinarity', provides analyses – largely centered on discourses of European identities – that apply interdisciplinary thinking. Part III,

'Inside and outside traditional disciplines', moves into the realms of sociology and anthropology to highlight the integration of discourse analysis into these fields.

Part I aptly begins with Theo van Leeuwen's overview of the way interdisciplinarity has historically been incorporated into academic research. In 'Three models of interdisciplinarity', Van Leeuwen discusses the 'centralist', 'pluralist' and 'integrationist' models. In the centralist model, a traditional academic discipline sees itself 'as the centre of the universe of knowledge, and, from this centre, charts its relations to other disciplines' (p. 3). The focus, therefore, is on the autonomy of disciplines with their core theories and methodologies. Both the strength and weakness of centralist approaches, according to Van Leeuwen, is their development of important methodologies, which encourages disciplined thinking on the one hand, but discourages the pursuit of important issues that fall beyond the reach of those methodologies. The pluralist model treats the same issue from the different perspectives offered by separate disciplines. In this way, varying points of view shed new light on the subject under study. The integrationist model involves a more dynamic collaboration among disciplines. Here, we see the use of diverse methodologies and a focus on 'problems rather than methods' (p. 7).

In 'Missing links in mainstream CDA: Modules, blends and the critical instinct', Paul Chilton provides an agenda for CDA firmly rooted in cognition and argues that linguistic researchers, critical discourse analysts included, need to pay more 'attention to the human mind' (p. 22). The discussion draws from ideas on modularity (Fodor 1983) and speculations on the evolutionary development of cognition (Cosmides and Tooby 1992). The forays into evolutionary psychology may leave many socially oriented discourse analysts wondering whether their focus on society has anything to do with the agenda Chilton advocates. Yet the latter part of the chapter provides a useful look at cognitive models of discourse based on Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) blending theory, and provides a concise illustration of its application in analyzing – and attempting to *explain* the efficacy of – rhetoric from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Indeed, a large impetus for the chapter is an important goal for any analyst to keep in mind: the need to take 'an explanatory stance rather than a merely descriptive one' (p. 24).

In 'Critical discourse analysis in transdisciplinary research', Norman Fairclough stresses a model of 'transdisciplinary' research where the aim is not just the integration of diverse resources from other disciplines into CDA (i.e. 'interdisciplinary' research), but a dialogue between CDA and those disciplines that leads to the development of both (cf. Chiapello and Fairclough 2002). Throughout the chapter, Fairclough illustrates this transdisciplinary approach by continuing a dialogue between CDA and recent sociological theory – specifically, Jessop's (2002) work on governance and the relationship between discourse and social processes. The theoretical ideas contained in such work form an important backdrop to CDA's interest in understanding, for example, language in the 'new capitalism'. In turn, CDA's detailed account of the workings of discourse enhances theoretical ideas that link discourse to other aspects of the social. In particular, Fairclough develops the notion of 'genre' in a way that is not only useful to the

critical analysis of texts, but also to the broader theoretical understanding of 'regimes of governance'.

In 'Contextual knowledge management in discourse production: A CDA perspective', Teun van Dijk examines 'the way knowledge in discourse production and comprehension is managed as a function of context' (p. 72). The key to the integration of knowledge into mental context models is what van Dijk terms the *K-device*, an active cognitive process that 'calculates' what interlocutors know during their interaction. The K-device effectively manages the development of the context model used in conversation. The importance of these ideas for CDA lies in their capacity to 'critically examine not only what beliefs are taken for granted as knowledge, but also how this is done' (p. 95).

In 'Lighting the stove: Why habitus isn't enough for Critical Discourse Analysis', Ron Scollon and Suzie Wong Scollon argue for *nexus analysis*, 'a research strategy which seeks to map out the multiple semiotic cycles which circulate through a moment of social action' (p. 115). In essence, this approach aims to move beyond the simple statement that discourse is sedimented in habitus. Instead, the goal outlined by Scollon and Scollon is to describe *how* habitus arises – that is, 'to more closely theorize just how discourse becomes action and action becomes discourse' (p. 101). Their explication centers on the mundane example of internalizing the discourse involved in learning to light a camp stove. The simplicity of the example works well to highlight the key ideas from activity theory and sociocultural psychology that form the crux of their arguments. In the end we are left with an important step in the complex process of unraveling a discourse cycle.

Part II, 'Implementing interdisciplinarity', features studies that do just that, with a focus on discourses on European identities. The chapters in this section largely stem from ongoing research carried out in affiliation with the Research Center for Discourse, Politics, and Identity (DPI) at the University of Vienna. Ruth Wodak started DPI in 1997 with a three-fold focus on communication within organizations, the tension between national and supranational (e.g. EU) discourses of identity, and the issue of racism in Austria (DPI 2006). In 'Analyzing European Union discourses: Theories and applications', Ruth Wodak and Gilbert Weiss sketch out an overview of DPI's research. In particular, they address the complexity of analyzing EU institutional discourse in context, and stress a theoretical framework that takes into account issues of intertextuality, interdiscursivity, and recontextualization.

In "'European identity wanted!' On discursive and communicative dimensions of the European Convention', Michał Krzyżanowski examines the way institutional communication within plenary sessions of the European Convention takes place. Important is the way a 'mainstream voice' – i.e. a dominant set of visions about Europe – develops. In Chapter 8, 'Deliberation or "mainstreaming"?: Empirically researching the European Convention', Florian Oberhuber continues to explore the construction of a 'mainstream' position within discourses emanating from the European Convention. Specifically, Oberhuber provides a



critique of the 'consensus' procedure used during the convention whereby dissent is subtly frustrated among less powerful members in favor of quiet assent to the position of those with more power, an important condition that leads to the discursive realization of 'mainstreaming'. The work in these papers moves toward an understanding of what is sometimes described as the 'democratic deficit' of the European Union. The structural conditions that lead to mainstreaming, as these researchers show, inhibit the intended process of deliberative democracy aimed for by the European Convention. In this way, the work provides an important critique that could potentially be taken up to improve the democratic process within EU institutions.

In "It is not sufficient to have a moral basis, it has to be democratic too": Constructing "Europe" in Swedish media report on the Austrian political situation in 2000', Christoph Barenreuter provides a particularly incisive look at the way discourses on national and European identities intertwine and influence each other. The chapter focuses on the case of EU reaction to participation of the racist and anti-Semitic Freedom Party in the Austrian government in early 2000. To understand the tension between national and supranational discourses, Barenreuter examines a corpus of articles taken from four major Swedish newspapers. His examination of the interplay between discourses on national identity and European identity found an ideal site in the Euro-skeptic Sweden, also a nation with a proud democratic tradition.

Chapter 10, 'Language, psychotherapy and client change: An interdisciplinary perspective', shifts abruptly from the topic of European discourses that make up the rest of Part II. Although the chapter seems out of place in this section, it nevertheless provides a fascinating example of Van Leeuwen's integrationist model laid out in Chapter 1. In this chapter, Peter Muntigl and Adam Horvath incorporate Systemic Functional Linguistics and psychotherapy research. The goal is to better understand (and hence improve) psychotherapy by applying 'rigorous and detailed attention' to the way 'language is actually used during therapy' (p. 217).

Finally, Part III steps outside the starting point of linguistics and into the fields of anthropology and sociology to discuss the implementation of discourse analysis within these fields. In 'Anthropology of institutions and discourse analysis: Looking into interdisciplinarity', Irène Bellier asks, how do institutions think? The institutions she has in mind are specifically those of the UN and EU. In trying to understand 'the complex relations between the content of the discourses, their conditions of production and their effects' (p. 263), she provides a discussion that stresses the need for interdisciplinarity.

In 'The role of a political identity code in defining the boundaries of public and private: The example of latent antisemitism', Andràs Kovàcs examines concealed anti-Semitism. The primary question examines where people draw the boundary between public and private communication, which determines whether they divulge or choose to keep latent anti-Semitic views. Kovàcs explains how anti-Semitism functions as a code in that 'it draws a symbolic line between

politico-cultural camps, and is one of the most easily comprehended tools in the establishment of public political and cultural identity' (p. 276).

In 'Social order and disorder. Institutions, policy paradigms and discourses: An interdisciplinary approach', Tom R. Burns and Marcus Carson set out to describe the discourses associated with different problem situations in institutions. Drawing upon ideas from Kuhn (1970) and others, the chapter outlines a typology of systemic problems and concomitant discourses in an effort to understand the way changes take place within institutions – and importantly, the way certain discourses accompany those changes. 'In general, major paradigm adjustments, or even paradigm replacement, may be preceded by changes in the discourses as well as in the organization and practices of the institution' (p. 292).

Overall, the focus on interdisciplinary research throughout this volume plays out in what may at times seem to be a disparate collection of ideas and topics. Yet this breadth of ideas, and especially the approaches discussed in the more theoretically oriented Part I, becomes the book's strength. The diverse contributions provide a little something for everyone interested in forging new directions in (Critical) Discourse Analysis.

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HO-MIN SOHN(ed.). *Korean Language in Culture and Society* (KLEAR Textbooks in Korean Language). Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press. 2006. 292 pp. Pb (0824826949) \$29.00.

Reviewed by M. AGNES KANG

The contributions in this volume represent a successful collaboration of noted Korean linguists and Korean language instructors who have managed to adapt the methodological insights and rigor of linguistic analyses to the very different but equally challenging requirements of the second language classroom. This book provides a long-overdue treatment of what may arguably be considered some of the most 'interesting' aspects of the Korean language. Topics such as the history of borrowings that come from contact with Japan (including borrowings from English and European languages), the elaborate system of sound symbolism found in Korean, and the usage of Korean address and reference terms are only some of the notable aspects of communication in Korean that make the Korean language so distinctive. In addition to providing historical contexts for the development of the Korean language, the five parts of this book present the reader with aspects of Korean language and culture that would most often require an additional lecture in the second language classroom. According to the publisher, this book was intended as a companion text to the KLEAR Textbooks in Korean Language series and the editor also notes that the audience of the volume is 'undergraduate and graduate students from a wide variety of disciplines who are interested in Korea' (p. 16). For the Korean language learner, the information contained is invaluable. However, it also stands alone as an informative overview of cultural aspects of Korean that would be of note to anyone interested in various sociocultural aspects of the language and people.

Even the most elementary conversation in Korean cannot be fully understood or produced without knowledge of the sociocultural aspects of Korean, aspects such as the honorific system, kinship terminology, address terms and politeness strategies. The first chapter outlines the theoretical framework for the treatment of these concepts in the book, why they are necessary, and how a speaker of Korean necessarily constructs particular views of the world. The subsequent chapters address relevant aspects of communication in Korean, which any learner of Korean would eventually need to know and come to question in her journey toward becoming a competent speaker of Korean. The numerous examples, often taken from real data, and the accompanying activities and questions for discussion that conclude each chapter serve as a useful resource for language teachers as well as the avid reader who seeks further practice or issues for discussion.

Although much of this material is available in other books and articles, the volume provides some updated information on sociolinguistic concepts that tend to change over time. While some reference materials present information on such topics as address terms in a static and rigid way, the chapters included here attempt to describe the usage of the Korean language among speakers in contemporary society, revealing how changes in language practices reflect the changes in contemporary Korean society. For example, Sohn cites the changing usage of address terms like the use of the kin term *onni* '(female's) older sister' to address female clerks, waitresses, or female customers, regardless of the age of the addressee and the age or gender of the addresser. This dynamic aspect of language

is stressed even in the activities at the end of the chapters. For example, the activity concluding the chapter on Korean kinship terminology asks readers to conduct fieldwork to compare sets of kinship terms from speakers of different generations. Some other more recent changes, like the noted use of *oppa* '(female's) older brother' to address one's boyfriend and the cross-adoption of kinship terms by different genders (cf. Kim 1998), are not discussed here, however. These topics are also not addressed in the two chapters on gender in the volume, which are more traditional in scope. Clearly, the main purpose of this volume is pedagogical in nature: to provide the reader with a clear and concise overview of sociolinguistic and sociocultural aspects of Korean communication. In this respect, it is still very useful as a reference for researchers in sociocultural studies, for example, who wish to trace changes in social practices in contemporary society. Instructors teaching cross-cultural communication, for example, would find specific chapters of interest.

The chapters vary in their formats as well as the density of the material presented. Some chapters are more like reference grammars that provide concise, and somewhat dense, information on certain linguistic phenomena, like borrowings in Chapter 4. This kind of format may be more familiar to linguists, and this format does have limitations in the discussion of some topics. The reader may, for example, wish for more extensive explanations and contextualizations of some examples of slang discussed in Chapter 10. This kind of detail may have had to be sacrificed for the broader coverage of different types and sources of slang that are covered, which is impressive indeed. Chapter 15, 'Korean cultural values in request behaviors', and Chapter 19, 'The television ad as a reflection of culture', present empirical studies with specific data sets and methodologies that add a rich dimension to the volume. Other chapters, however, are less targeted to an audience with linguistic background and less methodologically rigorous. This may be done purposely, to appeal to different kinds and backgrounds of readers. Some knowledge of Korean is helpful in understanding and appreciating the level of detail of some of the chapters, especially the chapters in Part 5 on 'Linguistic features in Korean'. Others are very accessible to readers who may not have strong Korean language backgrounds, for example, the chapters in Part 4 on 'Korean in the Media'.

One impressive aspect of this volume is the way it is clearly updated and edited for Korean language learners. This careful attention to necessary cultural and linguistic information in discussing aspects of the Korean language is nicely illustrated in Chapter 11 on 'The structure and use of Korean honorifics'. This is one of the clearest chapters on Korean honorifics available, and the author carefully explains the difference between addressee-related and referent-related honorifics with copious examples for the language learner without making any assumptions regarding linguistic or cultural knowledge. Some of the chapters also nicely overlap and reinforce one another. Chapter 15 on request behaviors includes a section on honorifics which compares native speakers' results with mistakes of Korean language learners to show how specific forms should be used.

This approach targets the concepts that are most difficult for learners of Korean and also reinforces the more general information given in the aforementioned Chapter 11. While some of the chapters could have been adapted into (or adapted from) linguistics articles, the authors are careful to write for their audience, pointing out the relevance of each topic for the language learner and for the most part avoiding overly-technical discussions. For example, the volume introduces readers to useful terminology like 'teknonymy' (the practice of referring to or addressing an adult by their relationship to a child) and 'geononymy' (practice of specifying kinship terms with place names; both terms discussed in Chapter 9), which provide the vocabulary for talking about these particular sociolinguistic practices and setting the groundwork for further research on these practices.

While there is existing literature available now on these various topics, it is very convenient to have a volume such as this to serve as a synthesized reference on Korean communicative practices. The collection nicely updates and expands previous work in Korean sociocultural studies, and in most cases, makes improvements in the area of clarity from previous work in the field. This may be due, in part, to the use of real-life data in much of the examples, which provides clearer illustrations of contextualized meanings. While the chapters discuss contemporary issues in Korean culture and society, the reader also gets a sense of the historical dimensions of language change. For example, the comparison of dialects in terms of kinship terminology reveals historic changes in kinship and gender, what King (Chapter 9) describes as 'the situation before the great Neo-Confucian shift to patrilinearity and agnatic kinship was completed in approximately the seventeenth century' (p. 114). The changing undercurrents in Korean culture and society come up in other places as well. There is a reference in Chapter 17 to the changing value system in contemporary Korean society that may regard modesty and humility less highly than in the past. The chapter on advertisements in Korea also discusses the use of shared Confucian ideologies in the success of certain advertisements but notes that

by the 1990s young people had begun to move away from Confucian values. They had begun to have their own ideas and to pursue them without thinking about their own place in societal hierarchy or the view of other people, an important facet of a Confucian society. (p. 216)

Changes such as these are also important aspects of the Korean language that are too often ignored or marginalized. The attention given in this volume to the changes taking place in contemporary society helps to highlight the dynamic nature of language, for the language learner, the sociolinguist and the lay reader alike.

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LAADA BILANIUK. *Contested Tongues: Language Politics and Cultural Correction in Ukraine* (Culture and Society After Socialism). 2005. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 256 pp. Pb (0801472792) \$24.95.

Reviewed by ANETA PAVLENKO

After the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, 36 million speakers of Russian as a first language – only 25 million of whom were ethnic Russians – became members of the ‘beached diaspora’ (Laitin 1998) in the so-called Near Abroad countries. The presence of this, often monolingual, population created major challenges for the nation-building efforts of local authorities, and derussification and dominance shift in the direction of titular languages emerged as the key goals of post-Soviet language policy and planning (Pavlenko 2006). Ukraine is a particularly interesting context for investigation of post-Soviet language politics because in 1991 it housed the largest Russian population of all the former Soviet republics, numbering 11.4 million out of 47 million Ukrainian citizens. In addition, 72% of eastern Ukrainians spoke Russian as their first language (Zevelev 2001), and so did Jews and members of many other ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, Ukrainian authorities proclaimed Ukrainian the only official language of Ukraine (1989 language law, followed by article 10 of the 1996 Constitution), while Russian became a minority language. Follow-up policies succeeded in making Ukrainian the main language of secondary and higher education, institutional paperwork, and the state media. And yet, a tourist landing in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, in 2006 will encounter a predominantly Russian-speaking environment within the semiotic landscape of Ukrainian-language billboards and street signs. Bilaniuk’s monograph, the first full-length English-language treatment of post-Soviet language and identity politics in Ukraine, aims to elucidate this complex linguistic puzzle.

From the first pages of the monograph, the author acknowledges her own positioning as a member of the Ukrainian diaspora in the United States. However, the book is not written as a critique of russification or of linguistic genocide of Ukrainian, a common topic in Ukrainian sociolinguistics (cf. Masenko 2005), nor as an account of the resurrection of Ukrainian. Instead, Bilaniuk chose to

study bilingualism, a choice criticized by many local linguists as 'tantamount to a legitimation of the role of Russian in Ukraine' (p. 9). Throughout, her fieldwork was complicated by ideological pressures from those who wanted to assign her to a particular 'side', either pro-Ukrainian, or pro-Russian. Nevertheless, in the end the author manages to side-step the politicization of her research and offers a fascinating and innovative examination of ways in which ideologies of language purism function in an unstable linguistic context.

The monograph, which consists of an introduction, six chapters, and an epilogue, has three interrelated goals: (a) to examine the historical origins and the current functioning of language ideologies in Ukraine; (b) to highlight the prevalence of 'mixed language' practices and to explore symbolic meanings attributed to them; and (c) to contribute to our general understanding of the relationship between language and social power by studying a context where the system of symbolic values is in the process of rapid transformation. All three goals are accomplished by the author in a manner that combines scholarly sophistication with a lively and engaging presentation.

The introduction takes us back to 1991, the year of the dissolution of the USSR and the declaration of Ukrainian independence, and also the year the author began her fieldwork in Ukraine (continued until 2002). In the opening scene, the author is in a Kyiv hospital where she chats with local people about the nature of Ukrainian-Russian bilingualism. It was there that one of the locals made a surprising statement that had challenged the young researcher's assumptions about bilingualism and reshaped her research agenda. Rather than describing her language use in terms of contexts or competencies, the local woman stated that she always used a single 'mixed' or 'joint' language. It is this language contact variety, or rather constellation of varieties, commonly referred to as *surzhyk*, that became the focus of Bilaniuk's further inquiry. In the eyes of many locals, this focus was even more controversial than bilingualism per se, because it legitimized a phenomenon that for them was nothing but a 'disease or a product of Ukrainian self-hate and self-denigration' (p. 9).

Chapter 1, 'Language paradoxes and ideologies of correction', opens with a brief overview of language politics and policies in the Soviet Union, followed by a discussion of the challenges encountered by the post-Soviet Ukrainian government in the nation-building process. Among the central challenges were the dominance of Russian as the public language everywhere but Western Ukraine, and an accompanying ideology of Russian as a language of culture, civilization, and urbanization, and Ukrainian as a language of rural backwardness, which, during the Soviet era, led many Eastern Ukrainians to shift to Russian. In itself, this portrayal of the Russian/Ukrainian contact is not new – it has appeared in many other writings about Ukraine (cf. Wanner 1998). Bilaniuk, however, manages to offer a novel and refreshing view of the linguistic situation in Ukraine, drawing attention to the heightened concern for linguistic correctness, which emerged as 'one response to the skepticism about the legitimacy of Ukrainian and of the new regime' (p. 19).

Chapter 2, 'Lives of language: Individual motivations, practices, and symbolic power in a changing social order', foregrounds biographical narratives collected by the author in 2002 from four ethnic Ukrainians with different linguistic trajectories. Bilaniuk uses these narratives to highlight the results of iconization (Irvine and Gal 2000) by which Russian became associated with high culture, superior education, and urban polish, and Ukrainian with provincialism, lower education, and unculturedness. The narratives also allow the author to trace the post-Soviet shift in attitudes whereby Ukrainian became the 'team flag' (p. 54) for citizens of the independent Ukraine, intent on showing Moscow that they can make it on their own. What is particularly important about this chapter and the book as a whole is the author's recognition of the fact that it is not simply two languages, Ukrainian and Russian, that are at play, but rather numerous varieties and ways of speaking that have distinct symbolic values for the speakers.

Chapter 3, 'Language at the threshold: A history of ideological categories and corrections', offers an explanation of some of the attitudes witnessed in the narratives through a comprehensive overview of the history of Ukraine and its language, whose standardization began in the late eighteenth–early nineteenth century, only to face restrictions and prohibitions from the Russian tsarist regime in the East, and the domination of Polish, Hungarian, and Romanian in the West. The early 1920s saw the implementation of the policies of nativization in the USSR, consequently, 'great strides were made in the development, standardization, and codification of the Ukrainian language' (p. 81). After a few years, however, language policies have shifted toward russification, which has continued throughout until the late 1980s. The chapter offers an in-depth description of how this russification proceeded and ends with a lively discussion of the post-Soviet language policies and their reception by inhabitants of different regions of Ukraine. Of particular interest here is the author's analysis of a 1929 play *Myna Mazajlo* by a Ukrainian author Mykola Kulish, which offers an intriguing glimpse into linguistic tensions and attitudes in early Soviet Ukraine.

Chapter 4, 'Surzhyk: A history of linguistic transgressions', offers an engaging overview of the history of purism and mixed language in Ukraine. The author uses a rich array of examples to illustrate this discussion, including excerpts from the correspondence of well-known Ukrainian writers and from nineteenth and twentieth century plays. She argues that in the modern day Ukraine the focus on an ideal, pure form of Ukrainian functions to imbue the language with prestige, so that both Russian and pure Ukrainian could occupy the position of a high language in the present diglossia, while the position of the low language could be given to surzhyk. Next, she presents a typology that differentiates between five categories of surzhyk and illustrates each category with a set of examples. This discussion serves to show that surzhyk cannot necessarily be pinned down in linguistic terms, rather it is a constellation of several varieties which emerged in different social, historical, and ideological conditions, and are jointly perceived as 'impure language'.



Chapter 5, 'Correction, criticism, and struggle over status', takes us to the heart of Bilaniuk's argument that linguistic insecurity, linguistic purity, linguistic correction, and the maintenance of boundaries between languages are at the center of identity struggles in the independent Ukraine. The researcher uses a variety of examples to show how the label 'surzhyk' functions to discredit the value and legitimacy of particular speakers of either Russian or Ukrainian. She argues that the insistence on the purity of Ukrainian made the language a more valuable commodity in the marketplace, while making this language so elusive that no one could be seen as speaking it well enough. This negative effect of purism is nicely linked with other linguistic contexts, such as, for instance, Corsica (Jaffe 1999). One of the most interesting aspects of the chapter is the discussion of a popular media character, a low-class surzhyk-speaking woman Verka Serdushka, created by a male actor Andrei Danylko, to expose the shallowness of the social and cultural values of both the Soviet regime and the purist nationalism that replaced it.

Chapter 6, 'Concealing tensions and mediating pluralisms', examines the new bilingual practices that emerged in Ukraine, and in particular in eastern Ukraine, since independence. At the center of these practices is non-reciprocal bilingualism, leading to non-accommodation, whereby one party may be speaking Ukrainian and the other Russian, with both languages treated as equal and equivalent. Bilaniuk argues that this co-presence of both languages 'could be seen as strategic syncretism and active resistance to the imperatives of a traditionally construed nationalism rather than as apathy or ambivalence' (p. 175). To make her point, she offers a variety of engaging examples from debates about language laws to language play in the media and in public signage and advertising, where a third language, English, is gaining ground as well.

The epilogue, 'The languages of Ukraine's Orange revolution', offers an optimistic coda to the discussion, pointing to Yushchenko's vision of a multilingual future for Ukraine as a European country, where all citizens would speak the national language, Ukrainian, and a variety of other languages, including but not limited to Russian, English, French, and German.

Despite its overall excellence, the book does contain a few minor weaknesses. To begin with, it is rather unfortunate that the history of Ukraine and the background for its language and identity politics are not fully explained until Chapter 3, because until then the reader unfamiliar with the Ukrainian context has difficulties understanding the tensions. Both Chapters 1 and 3 would have further benefited from presenting the Census data to clarify to the reader the demographic and linguistic situation in Ukraine in 1989 and in the subsequent years. Chapter 2 would have benefited from inclusion of narratives by ethnic Russians who live in Ukraine. Chapter 3 displays a number of errors in discussion of russification of Ukrainian words: while there is no doubt that certain Ukrainian words were replaced with Russian variants, several of the examples can hardly be characterized as 'original Ukrainian' – rather, words such as *arsen* 'arsenic', *vakacji* 'vacation', *cynamon* 'cinnamon', or *ovoci* 'fruit', are lexical borrowings

from Polish. The book also contains some misspellings of Russian words, and a few unsupported statements, such as the one about 'very limited' mutual intelligibility of Russian and Ukrainian (p. 3). While this may indeed be the case for Russian and Ukrainian speakers who grew up without any exposure to the other language, in the absence of rigorously collected experimental data, such judgments remain impressionistic.

These minor problems however do not detract from the originality and freshness of Bilaniuk's arguments, and from her virtuoso analysis of the semiotic landscape of modern Ukraine, of the history of Ukrainian language, and, most importantly, of ways in which ideologies of linguistic correctness take center stage in Ukrainian identity politics. Consequently, the importance of this monograph transcends the boundaries of post-Soviet sociolinguistics and anthropology – rather, it has succeeded in the author's original intent, which was to use the data collected in Ukraine during the era of dramatic linguistic, social, economic, and political transformations, to enrich our overall understanding of the relationship between language and social power.

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YASIR SULEIMAN. *The Arabic Language and National Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2003. 280 pp. Pb (0748617078). £17.99.

Reviewed by LAUREN WAGNER

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Given the title, Suleiman's analysis could take any number of directions. He delimits his project quite explicitly in the introduction by acknowledging, then dismissing hot topics in Arabic sociolinguistics like ideologies of purity and questions on diglossia. Instead, this book focuses on language *and* national identity, regarding the role written and spoken Arabic has played as a symbolic form in various nationalisms, from Pan-Arab projects to those of individual states. Putting aside questions of variation and class, Suleiman's book is a thorough and diverse (if at times dense) treatise on the importance and specificity of Arabic to the creation and implementation of national identities in the Arab Middle East.

As is necessary in a work treating such a broad concept as 'national identity', Suleiman's first substantive chapter outlines the scope of his use of the term, addressing questions of civic vs. cultural nationalism, of Eastern vs. Western iterations, and more importantly the role of language as an inciting factor to nationalism. In the third chapter, he considers features specific to Arabic that have historically delineated Arab against non-Arab, and therefore served as ingredients for constructing national identities. Next, he examines the development of Arab national identities and modernization in the Arab Middle East in relation with the Ottoman Empire and Turkification. Chapter five shifts focus from Ottoman influence to writers within Arabic discourses, documenting a range of ideological stances on the functions of Arabic and of language generally in nationalism. In his final substantive chapter, Suleiman approaches three examples of territorial nationalisms – Syria, Egypt and Lebanon – as situations in which language was invoked as an element of national distinction. He concludes by reviewing the connections between historical constructions of Arabic, modernizing projects in the Arab Middle East, and language ideologies that enabled and hindered these processes.

In his analysis of discourses surrounding Arabic, Suleiman makes a specific effort to separate the language from Islam, focusing instead on modern discourses that developed in conjunction with the modern state. He identifies particularly the links between the Arabic language as object and political figures emerging in the nascent states of Syria, Lebanon and Egypt, three centers in the development of Arab nationalism. In this discussion, Suleiman sheds a new light on the evolution of these states through the role of Arabic as a unifying force that was not dependent on the influence of the West. He evokes multiple sources for this argument, including the Ottomans and their role as an oppressor of Arabic and proponent of Turkish as a nationalist language.

In comparison with other texts in the realm of sociolinguistics, *The Arabic Language and National Identity* has a distinctly historical perspective. All of the primary texts Suleiman draws upon date at least thirty years prior to this publication, most of them more. In that sense, Suleiman is attempting an interdisciplinary study of the Arabic language, as an historical object that played a part in centuries of battles for territory and ideological supremacy. His references are extensive and detailed, however they assume a similarly extensive knowledge on the part of the reader. For those not familiar with Arab/Islamic historiography,

many of the citations would be difficult to contextualize. That said, Suleiman provides a convincing argument for the central role of Arabic in the historical development of Arab nationalism(s).

In short, Suleiman provides a history of the evolution of thought about the Arabic language in a political and/or nationalist context, presenting arguments from the dominant thinkers, especially those of the last two centuries. This book will appeal particularly to Arab historians and political theorists with an interest in discourses about language as an element of national identity. It will be of use to sociolinguists interested in the role ideologies of language as motivating forces for political change. Although the prose is dense, Suleiman provides a wealth of information and references for further exploration, and a solid argument for the role of language in the formation of national identities.

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NIC CRAITH MÁIRÉAD. *Europe and the Politics of Language: Citizens, Migrants and Outsiders* (Palgrave Studies in Minority Languages and Communities). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. 217 pp. Hb (1403918333) £50.00/\$80.00.

Reviewed by LEIGH OAKES

In 2004, the number of member states of the European Union (EU) rose to 25, with the admission of ten countries, including some former Soviet Bloc states of Eastern and Central Europe. This latest wave of enlargement has had the effect of further highlighting the great diversity of the EU, not least that of a linguistic nature. Considering the EU's commitment to democracy and equality between its growing number of citizens, it is not surprising that attention is increasingly being drawn to the fact that Europeans do not all enjoy the same rights to speak and use their mother tongue in a wide range of contexts. This book considers such questions of linguistic inequality and explores 'the impact of European politics on languages spoken within the continent' (p. 19).

Chapter 1 examines the difficulties involved in defining Europe. Much more than a simple geographical reality, the concept of Europe is also shaped by the complex interaction of cultural, political, ideological, religious and other factors. As the conceptions of Europe have changed over time, so too have the discourses of inclusion and exclusion that are associated with 'European' identity. Today, Europe has become largely synonymous with the European Union (EU), hence

the unwillingness of many to grant membership to Turkey, deemed insufficiently European for cultural and especially religious reasons. Within the EU itself, many residents of immigrant origin continue to be excluded, despite the new European citizenship introduced in 1993 with the Treaty on European Union (a.k.a. the Maastricht Treaty). Indeed, the author argues that EU citizenship merely reinforces the traditional construction of citizenship based on membership of the nation-state.

As shown in Chapter 2, the nation-state has also been instrumental in the construction of the concept of 'a language'. Nationalism has transformed languages from mere forms of communication into political issues and powerful symbols of national identity. The chapter briefly outlines the historical links between language and nationalism, both of the ethnic and civic varieties. Whereas the ethnic nationalism of Herder and the Grimm brothers emphasised the importance of the German language for the German *Volk*, the civic-republican nationalism of France claims in principle to be neutral with regard to culture, even if, in reality, there is 'an inextricable link between language, culture and imagined community' (p. 24). The remainder of the chapter examines these issues in the particular contexts of Croatia and the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. With the possible exception of the latter, these newly independent states have on the whole adopted the same principle of one state = one language for which they once criticised the Serbs and Russians respectively.

The specific efforts of the EU with regard to language policy are the focus of Chapter 3, which examines the effect that successive waves of enlargement have had on the internal linguistic regimes of the institutions. The failure of various initiatives to reduce the number of working languages has resulted in a covert policy whereby some official languages, especially English, have become more equal than others. The author also discusses the efforts of the EU to promote linguistic diversity in the EU at large, in particular its desire, as expressed in the *Action Plan 2004–2006*, that in addition to their mother tongue, all Europeans know at least two other languages, be they national, regional, minority or immigrant. Finally, the author concludes that '[t]here appears to be a certain lack of logic in finding plurilingualism divisive and disadvantageous at national level but a source of cultural capital within a broader [European] context' (p. 56).

As seen in Chapter 4 with regard to the autochthonous minority languages of Europe, the term minority does not always reflect the numerical weight of speakers; rather 'it is more appropriate to think in terms of access to power in a specific political context' (p. 58). With its 6.5 million speakers, Catalan is more widely spoken than Danish with 5.3 million speakers, yet, of the two, only the latter enjoys official status in the EU. The author explains how these minority languages, although autochthonous, have traditionally been considered as obstacles to the nation-building process and as threats to the unity of the state. For example, before the introduction of the new constitution of 1978, Basque suffered from severe measures designed to limit its use in Spain. Similarly in Northern Ireland, Irish frequently found itself wound up in the troubles which preceded the new

era of peace and reconciliation. The plight of Europe's minority languages has been aided somewhat by pan-European initiatives including various European Parliament resolutions, such as that which led to the establishment of the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL) in 1982, and in particular the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) adopted in 1992.

Chapter 5 examines cross-border co-operation with regard to minority languages. The author discusses the historical and contemporary circumstances of Trentino-South Tyrol in Northern Italy (not Austria as initially implied) and the Schleswig-Holstein region on the border of Denmark and Germany, including the infrastructure available for the minority language speakers in these contexts with regard to education, culture, health care and other domains. Efforts at cross-border co-operation in the case of Ireland are more recent and include the establishment of the North/South Language Body as part of the Good Friday Agreement. Cross-border co-operation with regard to Basque is more difficult: while devolution has resulted in the language having official status in Spain, a strong tradition of centralisation allows for very little recognition in the public sphere in France. Initiatives at the pan-European level to promote cross-border cooperation include the above-mentioned ECRML and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities adopted in 1994.

As demonstrated in Chapter 6, the distinction between a dialect and a language is essentially determined by political rather than linguistic considerations. This situation is all too familiar for the Kashubs in northern Poland, who claim to speak a distinct Slavic language; for Ulster-Scots in Northern Ireland, who argue that their language is not merely a dialect of English; as well as for users of national sign languages throughout Europe. The quest for recognition for such languages operates on two axes: 'At the horizontal level, legitimacy is self-affirmed and can be validated at a local, non-governmental level. . . . Legitimacy can also be conferred vertically by an official or outside observer, such as a government organisation' (p. 113). Indeed, pan-European initiatives have acted as a catalyst for the recognition of contested languages. In the U.K., this is evidenced by the case of Scots (Lallans), Ulster-Scots (Ullans) and British Sign Language (BSL).

In the absence of an independent state, language often comes to play an essential role in the identity of nomadic groups, as seen in Chapter 7. For example, those eligible to stand for membership in the respective Sámi parliaments of the Nordic countries are identified by an association with one of the Sámi languages. As for Romani-Chib, spoken by the Roma throughout Europe, and Cant, the language spoken by the Travellers in Ireland, the lack of standardised literary forms means that these languages are not readily accessible to those who have not learnt them orally from previous generations. As the only ethnic group recognised as an aboriginal people within the EU, the Sámi now benefit from a fair degree of linguistic rights, not least those resulting from the ECRML. Romani-Chib has also benefited from the Charter, while Cant has not been as fortunate. The author notes that '[w]ith modern technology such as mobile phones or the Internet,

the link between culture and a specific place may become less important, but the concept of place is still very significant in international charters such as the ECRML' (p. 143).

Chapter 8 focuses on 'immigrant, non-European languages which have, for the most part, been ignored in European charters or conventions' (p. 147). Economic factors served as a catalyst for the Turks who moved to Germany and the Chinese in Northern Ireland, while the presence of Arabs in France is also explained by the historical relations between France and North Africa. The initial assumption that immigrants would one day return home meant that the cost of any teaching of immigrant languages has usually fallen on the countries of origin. Because most immigrants have stayed, decisions are now having to be made by respective European governments about whether these languages (and which varieties of them) should be taught. Although the EBLUL 'does not advocate any rights for speakers of non-European languages' (p. 160), the situation is not entirely bleak thanks to international initiatives: the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights adopted in 2000 'explicitly includes immigrant languages' (p. 163); similarly, no distinction is made between immigrant and regional languages in UNESCO's Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity of 2002.

A final chapter provides an overall evaluation of EU language policy. It questions 'the notion of equality and its implications for different categories of language' (p. 168) and makes some recommendations for a more equitable system. For instance, it is suggested that there needs to be a shift in focus from languages to speakers, in order to cater for the very different circumstances in which the latter find themselves. However, this is somewhat at odds with the need, also identified by the author, for a greater understanding of the different ideologies that underpin language policies in different EU member states. According to the French model of nation, for example, there can be no positive discrimination in favour of any one group. Not only did France not even consider the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities for this reason, it ultimately also rejected the ECRML which, while designed to grant rights to languages, nonetheless made mention of the groups which speak them. How the willingness to grant linguistic rights will be affected by a shift in focus from languages to speakers clearly requires further consideration.

The notion of citizenship would also have benefited from a more in-depth analysis. While it is true that EU citizenship requires nationality of a member state for the moment, there is an important historical and conceptual distinction between nationality and citizenship, the former in its legal or political sense having to do with the state to which one belongs, the latter in its classical sense referring to certain duties and rights associated with one's membership of the polity (Heater 1999). While the two often coincide, this need not be the case; EU citizenship thus still offers a *conceptual* way forward with regard to improving the situation of non-nationals such as immigrants, even if this has not yet been put into practice.

Despite a certain amount of repetition, possibly owing to the book's structure, and a number of typographical errors, e.g. 'adapted' instead of 'adopted' (p. 1),

'Nynorsh' instead of 'Nynorsk' (p. 24), 'Kinrue' instead of 'Kiruna' (p. 143), 'renumerated' instead of 'remunerated' (p. 157), *Europe and the Politics of Language* raises many extremely relevant, if not always new, points. It shows how the study of language planning can offer a deeper understanding of social disparities in a broader sense, and how a more intensive commitment to this field of research could make an important contribution to a more equitable and democratic Europe.

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JOANNA THORNBORROW AND JENNIFER COATES (eds.). *The Sociolinguistics of Narrative* (Studies in Narrative, 6). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 2005. 299 pp. Hb (9027226466) €105.00 / (1588116352) \$126.00

Reviewed by BETHAN BENWELL

In their introduction to *The Sociolinguistics of Narrative*, the editors argue that narrative analysis needs to address questions of theory, context and culture – questions that have hitherto often been left implicit in other sociolinguistic accounts of narrative. What, for instance, are the theoretical, formal and descriptive limits of narrative? What kinds of social and contextual variations can determine situated stories? It is questionable whether or not the collection as a whole consistently manages to address these issues and certain chapters are more rigorous about attending to theoretical questions than others. Nonetheless, this is an interesting and eclectic set of papers, a valuable resource for students and researchers of narrative, which situates a number of new studies together, bounded by their common interest in narrative as a sociolinguistic phenomenon.

The title, *The Sociolinguistics of Narrative* immediately begs the question: what is unique about a *sociolinguistic* approach to narrative, as opposed to an oral history approach, a sociological approach, a psychological approach or a conversation/discourse analytical approach? The seminal work on narrative quoted and used by most narrative theorists is that of sociolinguists, Labov and Waletzky (1967) – arguably affording sociolinguistics a kind of prior claim on narrative analysis as coming from 'their' stable. Most contributors to this volume



however do not explicitly address this question of discipline (N. Coupland et al.'s and Blum-Kulka's papers are exceptions). Ultimately, the variety of methods and the role that narrative analysis plays in the research represented in this volume – whether a tool/facilitator of sociological investigation (e.g. Cheshire and Ziebland; Armbruster and Meinhof; Holmes and Marra; Blum-Kulka; Leith), a measure of sociolinguistic difference (e.g. Coates; Sheldon and Engstrom), or series of evidences for a theory of narrative (e.g. Norrick; Harris; Montgomery; Coupland et al.) reveals that the label 'sociolinguistics' has a usefully expansive and generous scope. It is testimony to the skills of the editors that they present such a tight and coherent overview of the collection in their introduction.

A number of key issues emerges either explicitly or implicitly across the collection: firstly, the close relationship between narrative and identity including the way in which the 'tellability' of narratives is revealing of cultural values of particular communities; secondly, the formal properties or criteria of narrative as a staged genre, and finally the methodological implications of whether narratives are treated as situated accounts, or as generalised windows onto the world or into the mind.

A majority of the chapters share a preoccupation with the relationship between narrative and identity. Cheshire and Ziebland look at narrative as a means of 'managing ill identities'; Armbruster and Meinhof consider the relationship between narrative, memory and generation in borderland communities; Coates; Leith; Sheldon and Engstrom focus on gender; Holmes and Marra look at the workplace and professional identities; Blum-Kulka tackles young children's stories and the 'imaginary worlds' they create; and Coupland et al. are interested in adolescence and the cultural capital afforded by 'successful' anecdotes.

All of these chapters to a greater or lesser degree acknowledge the crucial role played by narrative in constructing a coherent self (the 'storied self'), even adopting a 'narrative model of identity' (Armbruster and Meinhof) which assumes that narrative is the primary means of articulating a subjective identity in a public context. However, the precise relationship between narrative and identity is differently theorised across the chapters. Coates, and Sheldon and Engstrom, for instance, theorise gender as a stable and pre-discursive entity which 'causes' differences between men's and women's, girls' and boys' narratives. Sheldon and Engstrom explore gender in children's 'play' narratives and discuss the way in which gender influences the process of interactive oral narrative construction. Their findings replicate traditional sociolinguistic findings about 'gendered' speech styles: collaborative (female) vs. adversarial (male). Coates argues that men co-narrate with their female partners (though arguably in her examples, women occupy a supporting role: either furnishing the *man's* story with more detail or encouraging him to tell it) but do not with other men. Such gendered styles of narrative are deemed to have a performative function in helping to shore up 'hegemonic masculinity' and heteronormativity.

Other chapters consider narrative to be a site of identity work through which identities are articulated and emerge (e.g. Cheshire and Ziebland). Coupland et al.

develop Bauman's anthropological theories of performativity in order to identify the functions of narrative. Holmes and Marra focus on narratives of managers in the workplace as a means of exploring professional identities and managerial styles. They argue that off-topic anecdotes are an important site of professional identity work and compare the anecdotes of two managers with very distinct managerial tactics, echoing other research (e.g. Drew and Sorjonen 1997) that has attempted to problematise the distinction between institutional and non-institutional talk.

A number of chapters are united by an implicit notion of collective identities and the way in which narratives may serve as a cultural barometer of the communities, contexts and historical period in which they are collected. Armbruster and Meinhof argue in their chapter on communities living on the Polish/German and former German/German borders that individual memories are closely related to cultural memories and to 'culturally sanctioned' forms of remembering. They detect a distinction between narratives of different generations and their attitudes to the past, whereby the older informants convey a sense of completion and resolve, but a middle generation reveals ambivalence and opposition to the politics and events of the preceding decades. Coupland et al.'s chapter considers the question of cultural value or 'capital' of narratives in the stories of adolescent boys. In an approach recalling Labov's work on narrative, the boys were asked to recall a significant, funny or embarrassing incident. In a second stage of analysis, these stories were presented to another group of adolescents for their evaluation. The most highly rated (in terms of their 'tellability') were non-institutional stories that sustained interest, were funny and which presented the teller in a positive light. One might, however, quibble with Coupland et al.'s methodology here. Whilst triangulation is a worthy aim, the status of the peer group's (largely cynical and uncharitable) judgements is questionable. Are they responding to the narratives themselves – or competitively to the idea of an 'other' tribe of adolescents? An ideal, though methodologically difficult alternative would be to elicit responses in situ (indeed one might also argue that the narratives should be naturally occurring if they are to tell us about the authentic cultural lives of the tellers). In her chapter on children's story-telling, Blum-Kulka looks at the 'cultural matrix of children's lifeworlds' (p. 149). She argues that story-telling as a social practice is formative for children in two ways: sociocultural (learning about what is 'valued' in community) and discursive (*how* to tell stories).

After questions of identity, form is the second theme addressed by a large number of contributors. What are the boundaries of narrative? What is the distinction between narrative and discourse? Is narrative unproblematically a 'genre' of discourse? In her concluding chapter, Threadgold asks 'on what grounds do we include all these heterogeneous phenomena under the rubric "narrative"?' (p. 262). The range of examples of what could be said to constitute narrative in this collection certainly contributes to this sense that the formal definition of narrative is problematic or at least unresolved. The two chapters on children's narratives (Blum-Kulka, and Sheldon and Engstrom), for example, employ data which only

tenuously resembles a common conception of narrative. Both use data that could be described as 'imaginary play', but with no element of temporality or trajectory, it is questionable whether this constitutes narrative or even story-telling.

Early narratologists, including Labov, were concerned to identify formal, abstract and seemingly universal elements of narrative, and many of the chapters adopt Labov's categories (e.g. Cheshire and Ziebland). Later critics have encountered difficulties in making their data 'fit' this prescribed model, and concluded that Labov's categories tend to impose rather than reveal structure, thus missing much identity work. Only Holmes and Marra really problematise Labov and cite research that has also done so (e.g. Edwards 1997). They demonstrate how Labov's categories can be plausibly applied to a non-narrative and question whether or not temporal sequence is a precondition of narrative by flagging up the distinction between narrative and description of past events.

Some chapters engage in very rigorous ways with issues of form and genre (Harris; Montgomery; Threadgold; Norrick; Holmes and Marra). Two (Norrick; Coates) consider collaboratively produced narratives, and Norrick identifies a sub-genre of narrative, 'interlaced stories', and argues that these differ from 'first-story, second-story' sequences as well as co-narrations, and are identifiable and oriented to as such by participants themselves. Harris emphasises the distinctiveness of narrative as a genre by considering the hybridisation of narrative and non-narrative modes in courtroom discourse. She argues that the structure of trial is an 'anti-narrativity' mode, fragmented by QA sequences. However the opening statements are flagged to the jury by the trial judge as narratives rather than evidence, and it is precisely this kind of narrative coherence that may persuade a jury.

Montgomery's chapter argues that TV news is not in fact a narrative genre (despite a common assumption that news generally is), but achieves discourse coherence in other ways. His chapter sets out to explore how this 'discursive intelligibility' is achieved, largely through a continual interplay between verbal and visual elements. Again this supports the view that narrative is a distinct discourse genre by arguing that TV news does not meet its core criteria. In her chapter, Threadgold disagrees with Montgomery's argument, making an important point about the role of audience and how narrative may be constructed partially through reception, as well as the role of 'visual' modalities in the construction of narrative.

Having focused so far on themes that have been explicitly addressed by the contributors, I now wish to address an issue that remains largely implicit across the collection – that of methodology. Most chapters fail to address narrative as a situated account (Norrick's analysis of a narrative 'retold' for a second audience is a notable exception) and contain an assumption that narrative can be a transparent window on culture (e.g. gender, adolescence, the workplace), rather than considering how 'narrative constitutes a fundamental resource in social interaction' (Coates and Thornborrow, p. 2). Those chapters which use

elicited narrative interview technique (Cheshire and Ziebland; Armbruster and Meinhof; Leith; Coupland et al.) do not problematise the role of the interviewer (except Leith, who documents the role of the interviewer/researcher, though in a disconcertingly and unapologetically informal and confessional way) or consider the context of interviews. There is an interesting hybrid of constructionist and referential understanding of language here in many papers: an assumption that what is said is a window on the mind/the world, but simultaneously that the narrative itself is the site of identity construction.

Cheshire and Ziebland use interviews conducted by one of the authors and used on a web-based resource for patients, carers and health-care professionals to give 'patient-centred' perspective and 'qualitative study of patients' experiences' (p. 18) – in other words treating these as direct reports of reality. Armbruster and Meinhof present what they term a constructionist account (self-experience constituted within narrative), but they do not question the situatedness of the interview. As I have already discussed, Coupland et al. elicit their narratives in an interview context and gather 'judgement' data from peers in other schools which is deemed to be a representative barometer of cultural opinion and value, but arguably a 'decontextualisation' too far.

However, this is not to say that contributors do not give due attention to method in other respects – both Leith and Norrick consider the context of the narrative and are perhaps the only contributors to consider the issue of audience design. Threadgold also points out that sociolinguistic work on narrative has tended to neglect questions of readership. Coupland et al. are cautious in not attributing gendered readings to their data and they, along with Norrick, employ types of triangulation whereby the collected data is presented to either participants (Norrick) or peers (Coupland et al.).

In conclusion, I would concur with the editors' assessment of the timeliness of a focus on narrative given an increasing interest in narrative analysis and performativity in identity research and discourse analysis. In her 'coda' chapter, Threadgold considers that big theoretical questions have largely been neglected in this collection, though her concern is that literary or critical theory is missing. She implicitly suggests that the collection deals well with micro-analysis but does not deal with 'dense and difficult theories that have tried to understand the force of narrative as itself a way of theorising and embodying the social' (p. 277). I'm not convinced that this is the most crucial lack across this collection: most of the contributors are rigorous in the way in which they theorise narrative. Rather it is methodological questions that are under-rehearsed here.

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ANETA PAVLENKO (ed.). *Bilingual Minds: Emotional Experience, Expression and Representation* (Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 56). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 2006. 324 pp. Pb (1853598720) £28.95/\$49.95.

Reviewed by SUSANNE NIEMEIER

In her introductory chapter, Pavlenko advertises her book as ‘ground-breaking’. This claim might come across as somewhat boastful and overly self-confident, although the book does indeed open up new directions in scholarly research dealing with a hitherto untouched topic of how emotions and mental states influenced by them impact on language choice and use in bi- and multilingual persons.

In the first chapter, opening the section on emotional experience, Pavlenko focuses on the results of a web-based questionnaire on ‘bilingual selves’. Pavlenko’s main claim is that apparently different selves are made manifest in bilingual speakers depending on the language they speak at a given moment, other crucial factors being speaker’s age and the setting of their multiple language acquisition. For example, memories from before immigration seem to be connected to one language (L1), and although they are translatable to a degree, speakers are not capable of expressing them equally well in their other language(s). The bilinguals interviewed for this study feel that their L1 is more ‘real’ and more ‘natural’, whereas their L2, L3, etc. seems more ‘fake’ or ‘artificial’. Pavlenko attributes her informants’ views of their L1 due to affective linguistic conditioning in childhood, with languages learnt later in life likely to create ‘feelings of detachment’ (p. 22). Importantly, ‘the perception of different selves is not restricted to late or immigrant bilinguals, but is a more general part of bi- and multilingual experience’ (p. 27). In conclusion, Pavlenko states that a bilingual is neither the same as a monolingual nor as two monolinguals in one body, falling somewhere in-between these two conceptualisations. One small point of criticism concerning this chapter is that it is not always clear which language, in the persons studied, is L1 and which is L2. For example, ‘Jessica, 16, Spanish–English’ (p. 20) is an L1 English speaker, whereas ‘Ellen, 47, Welsh–English’ has Welsh as her L1.

Besemeres discusses cultural meanings of emotions in literary texts written by bilinguals. The author claims that writing reveals how feelings are shaped by concepts specific to a particular language. Emotions are culturally relative and 'moving between languages involves inhabiting significantly different conceptual and emotional worlds' (p. 39). Besemeres analyzes five contemporary translingual memoirs concerning the relation between language and emotions that they describe. The author poses an apparently 'irresolvable problem' (p. 55) arguing that personal feelings are partly dependent on cultural norms. On a more positive note, bilinguals always have the option of choosing to go beyond a particular emotional world.

Piller and Takahashi deal with the discursively constructed and accomplished desire of Japanese women for the West and Western men. This desire is located between public discourses and individual experiences. Young Japanese women apparently romanticize and eroticize the West and these feelings motivate them to learn English. Japanese media create and reinforce the illusion that Japanese women can 'beautify' themselves by learning English and that they will learn English faster from handsome (male) Western teachers. For these women, the acquisition of vocabulary and grammar does not rank as highly as their social acceptance by native English speakers (preferably white and non-Japanese-speaking). It is not surprising, then, that on their arrival abroad (in an English-speaking environment), the women face a shock, as they often have little or no competence in English. However, this pattern does not apply to all Japanese women. Out of the five interviewees, one woman who had made the most progress in English had the least media-triggered desire for the West or for Western men.

The section on emotional expression starts with a contribution by Koven on displays of affect in a French–Portuguese female speaker. No structural differences in the use of the two languages have been found, unlike in the expression of different kinds of affective performatives, personae and registers. The speaker demonstrates greater restraint in Portuguese, using more neutral terms, whereas in French she demonstrates greater affective intensity, using more colloquial terms and displaying a wider set of interlocutory strategies, i.e. a more marked style. The author concludes that apparently this speaker lives in two separate monolingual worlds, and that the styles of affective performance to which she has access in the two languages are different. Overall, the chapter does not seem to provide enough evidence to warrant such claims and it would have been stronger and more revealing, had the author discussed and reported her results and conclusions with her subject.

Dewaele deals with the ways and difficulties of expressing anger in L2. Anger is generally expressed in L1 because emotion words in L1 profit from multiple traces in memory, strengthening their semantic representation, which does not seem to be the case with L2. Although emotions have a physiological basis, they are expressed in language-specific ways, which are also linked to social and cultural factors. Higher proportions of colloquial and emotion words in

L2 may be indicative of higher levels of L2 socialisation. The study focuses on the identification of factors affecting language choice for expression of anger in multilingual speakers. An important factor is the context of L2 acquisition. It appears that classroom-instructed L2 speakers use their L2 to express anger less frequently than mixed and naturalistic L2 speakers, presumably because there is hardly any exposure to anger expressions in FL classroom. However, L2 may become the preferred language for anger expressions after a period of socialization, and is likely to increase with the (self-reported) proficiency in L2.

Vaid focuses on how humour, defined as emotion management, operates in persons with multiple linguistic and/or cultural identities. The chapter presents two studies of Spanish/English bilinguals' self-perceptions with regard to their use and interpretation of humour in the two languages. Many participants agree that their bilingualism has expanded what they consider to be 'funny' although Spanish and English speakers seem to use humour for the same reasons and in the same social settings. However, unsurprisingly, the author suggests that there is variation in the use and perception of humour depending on one's cultural identification and language choice.

The following section on cognitive representations of emotion words and concepts starts with a contribution by Panayiotou on 'guilt' and its conceptualisation in U.S. English and Cypriot Greek. The author poses the question whether translation equivalents of emotion terms are culturally equivalent. She differentiates between 'shame cultures' (e.g. Greece) which regulate the behaviour of their members via external sanctions, and 'guilt cultures' (e.g. the U.S.A.) which have internalized sanctions. It is seemingly due to these differences that the equivalent emotion terms in both languages are not culturally equivalent.

With a focus on the American and Russian concepts of 'envy' and 'jealousy', Stepanova Sachs and Coley investigate whether cross-linguistic variability of emotion terms is a reflection of differences in the conceptual structure of emotions. They have conducted two experiments with English and Russian monolingual and bilingual speakers, one focusing on emotion labelling, the other on the conceptual categorization of emotions. The results suggest that both monolingual groups tend to treat both emotions as distinct, although English speakers are more likely to conflate them. The results from the bilingual speakers, regardless of the test language, resemble those of the monolingual English speakers. This suggests that exposure to English may have heightened the similarities of the two emotion concepts in the bilinguals' use of Russian.

Altarriba presents a review of novel applications of cognitive methodologies to the study of the representation of emotion words. One perspective suggests that emotion words, which used to be grouped with abstract words and contrasted with concrete words, should be treated as a distinct category. The chapter also deals with the theory of spreading activation. The author has conducted priming experiments with monolinguals and bilinguals in order to find out whether there are functionally distinct lexical processes involved in the retrieval of concrete,

abstract and emotion words. The results indicate that bilingual speakers, who have longer reaction times to monolinguals, may be accessing information not only in their target language but also in the other language, which seems to affect processing.

The section concerning the processing of emotion-laden words starts with a contribution by Harris, Berko Gleason and Ayçiçeği, reviewing recent studies measuring physiological aspects of bilinguals' emotional response to stimuli presented in both languages. The authors claim that emotions are less subjectively perceived than is commonly thought, because there is an aspect of emotional responsiveness that is probably uniform, as bilinguals commonly report experiencing greater emotional intensity when using swear words or taboo words in their L1 as opposed to in their L2. This study results, based on an experiment involving electrodermal recording of skin conductance, reveal that the physiological responses of emotional arousal are weaker for emotional stimuli in L2, but only when it was acquired after the age of seven. The result is interpreted concerning brain maturation, links to autobiographical memory, and context-dependent learning. The authors suggest that perhaps the age of L2 acquisition is not in itself a causal factor in bilingual emotionality, but may be associated with language learning factors, the actual causal factor being the emotional context in which language is learned and used. Proficiency alone is not enough for a language to be experienced as emotional, but high proficiency is often a marker of learners' exposure to emotional contexts of learning.

The final chapter by Schrauf and Durazo-Arvizu deals with the question of autobiographical memory. The authors distinguish three types of memory: retrieval, remembering and spontaneous. Some elements seem to be vividly recalled, whereas others have to be supplied from scripts or schemata. The chapter also distinguishes between episodic and semantic memory, but argues that both kinds of remembered information are contained in autobiographical memory. Memories seem to be tagged by the language of encoding and the language of encoding is effective at retrieval, which leads to the hypothesis that memories are preferentially relived in the language in which they were encoded. If L1 memories are retold in L2, some emotional intensity is lost.

The book is definitely interdisciplinary as it combines research on linguistic, psycholinguistic, cognitive and affective processes in bi- and multilinguals. As the area of emotions in multilingualism has, so far, been considered as largely unresearchable, the scope of the book is indeed innovative. Although an integrative perspective may be lacking from the volume overall, it offers a promising start and provides its readers with a range of interesting empirical data, challenging ideas and insights.

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ANETA PAVLENKO. *Emotions and Multilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2005. 304 pp. Hb (0521843618) £50.00.

Reviewed by BARBARA KÖPKE

Here is a book I have been waiting for for a long time. It is certainly one of the most comprehensive overviews of research on the links between emotion and language to date – a topic which has not received that much attention because of its inherent methodological difficulties. But most importantly, the book adopts a rigorously multilingual perspective on language and emotions and on linguistic research in general, based on a huge range of findings from experimental data obtained in neatly controlled laboratory situations to testimonies from bilinguals, including the author, and literary excerpts from bilingual writers, thus combining impeccable scientific quality with a most enjoyable read.

The book is organised into 8 chapters: two introductory chapters outline the approach taken; Chapters 3, 4 and 5 deal with the language of emotion or how emotions are manifested and perceived in the languages of a multilingual; Chapters 6 and 7 are devoted to the description of the relationship between language and emotion; and the closing Chapter 8 outlines the whole as an integrated perspective taking into account sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, and multilingual linguistic approaches. The book reports extensively on data from a web-questionnaire on bilingualism and emotions (Dewaele and Pavlenko 2001–2003) which is presented in appendix and followed by a very extensive bibliography on language, multilingualism and emotions and an author and subject index.

The two introductory chapters are devoted to two types of readers: (a) people interested in language and emotions who are not necessarily familiar with multilingualism; (b) people familiar with multilingualism without specific knowledge of emotion research (such as the author of this review).

The first one advocates taking multilingualism into account in the study of language and emotion. It argues against the monolingual bias arising from the fact that the multilingual majority of the world's population is insufficiently taken into account in linguistic research, but also from bias due to limited linguistic proficiency of both researchers and informants in linguistic fieldwork and ignorance of the consequences of informants' multilingualism (e.g. shifting dominance patterns or bilingual processing specificities). This chapter gives a succinct, yet sound overview of the main concepts arising from 40 years of research into bilingualism, the discussion of which convincingly shows that bilingualism should be considered both as a topic and as a research method.

Conversely, the second introductory chapter argues for taking emotion into account in research on multilingualism and second language acquisition. Pavlenko starts from the assumption that the only way emotion had been related to bilingualism in the past was through its pathologization. She then goes on to consider bilingualism within psychoanalysis – where L1 is commonly seen as the deep-seated root of anxiety whereas L2 is the language of liberation – and language attitude research, which was the first approach to associate emotions with different languages. The question of anxiety in language learning illustrates the discrepancy between the classroom situation and real life. The chapter closes with a description of the web-questionnaire.

Chapter 3 introduces the issue of the expression of emotion in language with respect to vocal cues. Three types of studies are examined: (1) Psychological approaches associating specific vocal cues (e.g. pitch, intonation, loudness and speech rate) to the expression of emotion. Pavlenko insists on the limitations of this approach because generally only few emotions are represented and the same emotion may be expressed by different cues just as one cue may be associated with different emotions. Her discussion nevertheless shows cross-linguistic differences in the use of vocal cues for the expression of emotion. (2) Another group of studies focuses on the identification of emotions in an L1 vs. L2 as a function of proficiency level. Most studies show that native speakers are better at identifying emotions expressed by vocal cues, but this seems to apply to some emotions only. I do find it a bit strange that tone perception in language learners is discussed within this topic, as I do not see how tone as a distinctive linguistic feature relates to emotional vocal cues. (3) The last part of the chapter is concerned with studies showing how the misinterpretation of vocal cues leads to misunderstandings in intercultural communication. The chapter closes with the discussion of 10 different factors influencing recognition and vocal performance of affect in an L2, among which linguistic and cultural background, L2 proficiency, familiarity of L2 culture, level of anxiety, gender, and type of emotion.

Chapter 4 investigates the expression of emotion at the semantic and conceptual levels in relation with the bilingual mental lexicon based on a presentation of the three main perspectives (nativist, universalist, and relativist or social constructionist). Pavlenko's preference lies in between the latter two, recognizing emotion as universalists do without denying linguistic and cultural specificities. She focuses, in what follows, on the discussion of cross-linguistic differences in emotion concepts. This question is extremely complex since emotion concepts are linked to personal experience and are context dependent, and the boundaries between concepts often overlap. Cross-linguistic studies of the emotion lexicon, however, clearly show that languages differ in the way they encode and conceive emotion. Differences imply for example whether emotion is seen as an inner state or as a relational phenomenon. Just as for other lexical items, languages differ with respect to the emotions they encode and the distinctions they make, the way they do it, and the importance they attach to each emotion. But psycholinguistic research suggests that emotion words are linked to richer semantic networks

than both abstract and concrete words, which leads to the claim that emotion words should be considered as a distinct category in lexical studies. It appears that some bilinguals have L1 dominant emotion scripts, others L2 dominant emotion scripts, whereas completely bicultural bilinguals switch emotion scripts with languages. This chapter illustrates particularly well the necessity to conduct research in these domains with bilingual subjects.

Chapter 5 deals with the discourse level and investigates how different languages contribute to the choice of affective repertoires in multilinguals. It is suggested that emotion communication is a speech act since '*speakers use emotion categories to accomplish social goals*' (p. 114; original emphasis). Similarly, code-switching can be analysed as a speech act: since languages differ in their emotional status, language switching may have a discursive function. Experimental data and testimonies from bilinguals show that languages are switched in all kinds of situations for emotional goals and that the different languages of a multilingual contribute to his affective repertoire in a variety of interactional goals, such as expressing particular emotional meaning, gaining distance, exerting authority, hurting or preventing hurt, etc. Language choice is influenced by proficiency and language dominance, but also by contextual and linguistic factors. Pavlenko concludes that bilinguals may – but need not – have different affective styles in their languages which may contribute to their impression of 'double selves'. She calls for more studies based on spontaneous speech in natural settings which would reveal how understanding emerges on-line in conversational interaction.

Chapter 6 turns to the relationship between language and emotion on the neurophysiological level. Starting from the assumption that many bilinguals feel that their L1 is more emotional, the chapter presents a theory of language embodiment aimed at explaining possible neurophysiological differences between languages. The concept of language embodiment is based on the idea that L1 and L2 acquisition differ in the involvement of the limbic system as part of the emotional, visceral brain. L1 acquisition involves conceptual development and affective linguistic conditioning that '*... contribute to the perception of language embodiment, whereby words invoke both sensory images and physiological reactions*' (p. 155; original emphasis). This leads the author to distinguish between embodied and disembodied languages. One of the main claims however is that L1 is not necessarily more embodied, since affective linguistic conditioning is a life-long enterprise. This claim is underscored by 4 types of evidence: (1) *Case studies in psychoanalysis* show that bilingual patients exhibit different behavioural responses for each language in therapy involving frequently, but not always, a L2 detachment effect allowing the avoidance of L1-related memories and anxiety. (2) *Research with reactions to taboo words*, activating not only semantic areas but also the amygdala as part of the limbic system, extends this claim to healthy bilinguals. Moreover, it shows that language effects arise only for specific categories of words, such as taboo words. (3) Research into *bilingual autobiographic memory* suggests that there are links between words and autobiographic memory: descriptions of memories are generally more elaborated and emotional when

recalled in the language they took place in. (4) *First-person narratives of bilingual writers*. Pavlenko claims that the embodied view of language explains why most writers prefer the L1, while for others, writing in L2 seems to offer a sense of emancipatory detachment. This evidence is compatible with the idea of different socialisation patterns in each language leading to different processes of conceptual development and affective linguistic conditioning. Both impact on the nature of language embodiment for each language in the brain. However, Pavlenko objects that research is still inconclusive because limited to a specific type of bilinguals and to very few language combinations.

Chapter 7 investigates the issue of social cognition in the relationship of language and emotion with special attention to affective factors at play in language choice and the question of identity and language. The author criticises Schumann's (1997) stimulus appraisal approach due to its reductive nature and expresses her preference for Norton's (2000) socially and contextually grounded notion of language investment linking language related emotions to mechanisms like identification and misrecognition. These are discussed on the neurophysiological level (e.g. Damasio), the cognitive level (Oatley), and the social level (e.g. Bourdieu, Gal). Contrary to earlier research on motivation and attitudes, this approach integrates the whole sociohistorical context (e.g. Schmid 2004). Among the evidence referred to are studies of language rejection in German Jews related to the Holocaust showing very clearly the social and historical grounds of emotion and identity; studies on second language acquisition and desire or, on the contrary, negative emotions. The latter illustrates the mechanisms of investment and disinvestment in language learning in relation with a new identity narrative. This approach suggests that language embodiment is only one aspect (albeit probably the most stable one) which may evolve from social and historical context.

The final Chapter 8 proposes an integrated perspective on emotions and multilingualism. What appears clearly from this book is that the relationship between language and emotion is much more complex than generally supposed and closely linked to each subject's personal history. The originality of the approach, as stressed by the author lies in the possibility of affective (re)socialization in a new discursive community. Several directions are proposed in order to integrate multilingualism and emotion research:

- (a) Research considering emotions as inner states with multilinguals gives new insights into the universality of emotion expression and shows that emotion concepts may be borrowed from one culture to another.
- (b) Studies considering emotions as relational processes clearly show the social nature of emotions. Since the social context is most likely to vary for different languages even in simultaneous bilinguals, this may result in distinct affective styles for each language susceptible to evolve when there are changes in the social context, leading to what has been called 'affective resocialization'.

- (c) Emotion research contributes to a better understanding of sociolinguistic aspects of multilingualism since emotion research shows the enormous complexity of issues like code-switching, language choice and attrition, challenging the common assumption that language choice is based on rational arguments.
- (d) From a psycholinguistic perspective, emotion research draws attention to the specificity of the status of emotion words in the multilingual mental lexicon and to cross-linguistic differences with respect to emotion lexicons and affective repertoires. The relationship between emotions and language is bi-directional and dependent on age and context of acquisition.

The chapter closes with some methodological recommendations for the study of emotions in multilingual context including data-collection, reporting and data-analysis.

I think this is an excellent, inspiring and extremely recommendable book. Despite its density due to the huge number of studies reviewed, it remains highly readable. It is also courageous as it is one of the first to tackle the tricky issue of emotions in multilingual subjects, an issue that will be of interest to many graduate students all over the world (and, of course, especially The One mentioned on page xi of the preface), and also scholars from many different backgrounds. However, the most important value, in my view, is the multilingual perspective claimed by the author throughout the book: I think that linguistics and perhaps even the humanities as a whole will take a big step forward when the necessity for such a perspective is more largely recognized and this book is a major contribution towards that goal.

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KES DE BOT AND SINFREE MAKONI. *Language and Aging in Multilingual Contexts* (Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 53). Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters.

2005. 162 pp. Hb (1853598410) £49.95/\$99.95/Pb (1853598402) £19.95/\$39.95.

Reviewed by INGRID SEEBUS

Language and aging, on the one hand, and multilingualism, on the other, are two areas of research that have attracted much research in their own right. However, as the authors of *Language and Aging in Multilingual Contexts* rightly point out, coverage of healthy aging in multilingual contexts has been limited. With increasing longevity and multilingualism as the norm in most parts of the world, De Bot and Makoni's book makes a very significant contribution to fill this important gap.

De Bot and Makoni's book aims to show how Dynamic Systems Theory (DST) can provide an integrated approach to the study of language and aging by melding psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic approaches. The book has two parts: Chapters 2–6 focus on the theoretical aspects of DST and its application to language and language development; Chapters 7–9 report the findings of three empirical studies on language and aging in multilingual contexts.

Chapter 1 introduces four key issues relating to the theoretical chapters, namely: aging, language, the role of memory in language use, and multilingualism. Rather than viewing aging as a purely biological phenomenon, it is defined as 'a change on three interacting dimensions: biological, psychological and social' (p. 1). Language is defined as a 'complex dynamic system' (p. 3) while multilingualism is defined as 'being proficient to a certain degree in more than one language' (p. 3).

Chapter 2 outlines the main principles of DST in terms of how the framework relates to language and aging. DST was originally developed in mathematics but has since been applied to a number of disciplines including multilingualism and second language acquisition. A dynamic system is defined as '*a system of interacting variables that is constantly changing due to interaction with its environment and self reorganization*' (p. 5, original emphasis). Language can be described as a dynamic system because it consists of subprocesses that interact with one another. Moreover, 'it develops through interaction and self-organization, it depends on internal and external resources, it shows growth and decline depending on the setting it is in, and it never settles completely' (p. 7). An important feature of a DST framework is that it gives language development a lifespan perspective. Language development is seen as continuing beyond puberty and affected by such factors as education, employment, personal relationships, etc. 'Different settings of language use will lead to differences in input and adaptations of the language system' (p. 10). In particular, acquiring new languages will impact on the language system as different languages are treated as its subsystems.

In relation to language and aging, the language system can be described as comprising four intersecting variables, namely: 'the physical condition, the life

setting, cognitive resources and language use. The system develops through the interaction of these variables' (p. 11). It is because of this dynamic interaction of variables that the authors argue for an integrative approach to the study of language and aging.

Chapter 3 reviews some of the literature relating to the life setting variable identified above by taking a sociolinguistic perspective on language use with and by the elderly. This includes a detailed discussion of the use of the 'elderspeak' register. This register, often used with the elderly, is described as being comparable to baby talk or foreigner talk and as having a potentially negative impact on patterns of interaction and language skills. The chapter also looks at how elderly peoples' talk is evaluated before turning to the issue of language use in nursing homes, where it may or may not be possible to support the individual's preferred language choice.

Chapter 4 highlights some methodological issues relating to language and aging including the importance of not treating language independently of other cognitive skills. The chapter summarises some of the vast body of psycholinguistic research on language proficiency regarding both pathological and non-pathological aging. It covers language production and comprehension at the phonological, lexical, syntactic and pragmatic levels.

Chapter 5 discusses some of the relevant resources for language development in aging and which, according to DST, interact with language as a skill. These are divided into intra-individual and extra-individual (i.e. social) resources. Intra-individual resources include: memory, inhibition, speed of processing and education. Extra-individual resources include the social and linguistic environment, as well as individual and group multilingualism.

Chapter 6 draws attention to the importance of multilingualism in language and aging research, and also aims to link the theoretical chapters to the subsequent empirical chapters. It firstly reviews key studies which have applied DST to second language acquisition and multilingualism, before turning to the limited research conducted to date on multilingualism and healthy aging, and multilingualism and dementia. The latter part of the chapter discusses issues relating to language testing in multilingual groups.

Chapter 7 looks at bidialectalism and aging in an African-American community. The two varieties concerned are Standard American English (SAE) and African-American Vernacular (AAV). The study found that language performance (treated here as verbal and categorical fluency) did not necessarily decline with age. Contrary to expectations, overall performance on the verbal fluency tests was better in SAE than in AAV. Participants with lower educational levels also performed better in SAE on the categorical fluency tests. In DST terms, this means that the elderly do not necessarily perform better on language tests in their first language unless they have the resources to carry out the given tasks in that language.

Chapter 8 (by Sifree Makoni with Hwei-Bin Lin and Robert Schauf) reports on a study investigating the potential of narrative to be used as a diagnostic

tool for assessing cognitive decline. The significance of a DST perspective is that storytelling requires the ability to integrate various mental representations such as sensory imagery, emotion, language and narrative coherence.

Testing the effects of age and education on the grammatical and narrative skills of elderly Chinese living in New York, the authors found that syntactic complexity correlated positively with education, and negatively with age. However, no significant correlation was found between narrative complexity and either education or age, which indicates that narratives may indeed be a useful diagnostic tool.

Chapter 9 is based on an interview study in which the interviewers, matched with the interviewees for race and ethnicity, judged the communication abilities of elderly subjects from three different ethno-racial groups in New York: 'African-Americans, Latinos, and whites' (p. 118). Subjects were tested three times at 18 month intervals. Approximately 2,000 people took part in the initial test, 1,381 in the second, and 996 completed all three tests making the study important in terms of its sample size as well as its longitudinal design.

No statistically significant differences were found between interviewers' judgements of the three groups, and so the matching procedure is offered as a means of reducing cultural and linguistic biases in language testing. The oldest interviewees (aged 90+) were found to be the poorest communicators while interviewees with dementia were also more likely to be assessed as poor communicators. There was no relationship between interviewees' educational levels and ratings of their communication skills. The longitudinal results show that, overall, interviewees did not receive lower ratings in the second and third interviews, while some actually received higher ratings. In DST terms, the elderly may follow 'different patterns of development that are at least partly defined by the availability of relevant resources on different levels' (p. 139).

Chapter 10 draws together the findings from the previous three chapters with further discussion of their relevance for DST. The authors indicate early on that the empirical studies were not originally carried out within a DST framework. Therefore, the three empirical chapters conclude with some comments discussing their results in terms of DST, with further elaboration in Chapter 10. I would have found it useful for Chapters 7–9 to have more extensive discussions of DST making the link between the theoretical and empirical parts of the book clearer and more explicit.

Overall, the book provides a convincing argument for integrating psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives for reaching a better understanding of the complex interaction between biological, social and cognitive factors, and language skills in the elderly. In this sense, it has the potential of suggesting how communication with and by the elderly may be improved, which may in turn lead to their experiencing more meaningful relationships and a better quality of life. The book raises many important issues relating



to multilingualism and aging and is likely to stimulate further research in psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, language testing and gerontology.

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MARKKU FILPPULA, JUHANI KLEMOLA, MARJATTA PALANDER AND ESA PENTTILÄ (eds.). *Dialects Across Borders: Selected Papers from the 11th International Conference on Methods in Dialectology (Methods XI), Joensuu, August 2002* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 273). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 2005. 291 pp. Hb (9027247870) \$138.00/€115.00.

Reviewed by PATRICIA POUSSA

This book, a selection of papers given at the 11th International Conference on Methods in Dialectology, Joensuu 2002, is a good introduction to the new directions dialectology is taking this century. One of the most positive aspects of this conference was the openness of discussion over the traditional disciplinary boundaries between historical/geolinguistic dialectology and sociolinguistics, and this is reflected in the present volume. In their introduction, the editors have chosen to emphasise the linguistic consequences of boundaries of all kinds: historico-political; social, mental and cognitive; and boundaries between languages. The chapters are organised in three parts: 'Dialects across political and historical borders' (five papers), 'Dialects across social and regional borders' (five papers), and 'Dialects across language boundaries' (three papers). Naturally enough, some of the best papers defy even this classification, but the editors have done a good job of selection, and the book merits a place on the shelves of any university library. The Methods conference was originally set up by a consortium of British and Canadian scholars, and it has been a major meeting place for English-language dialectologists. Old Methodians will enjoy this volume, but it also reaches out to a wider linguistic audience. My only grumble is that none of the papers from the conference on Finnish or Finnic dialects appears in the volume.

Part 1 contains three papers on contact phenomena among German dialects, and two on cross-Atlantic variation. In 'The construction of linguistic borders and the linguistic construction of borders', Peter Auer discusses recent linguistic changes in German border areas, where national standard languages have had a differentiating effect on the traditional dialectal continua. Auer revisits Georg Simmel's theory of the 'sociology of space' dating back to 1903, developed to account for the relationship between geographical space and the nation-state.

Auer reapplies the theory to the present-day relationship of standard languages to dialectal space in four areas on the German border with France, the Netherlands, Austria and Switzerland. Simple dialect-to-standard advergence seems to be in progress in the first two areas, but the remaining three cases are more complicated due to regional advergences and the plurilingualism of Switzerland. This is a question of cultural memory, so that Auer's argument is also a cognitive one. He concludes that:

[D]ialect divergence at the national borders of Germany is . . . not due to impeded communications, as suggested in traditional dialectology. . . ; rather, they are the limits (boundaries) of the reach of the national standard languages or of repertoire types which symbolise, in some way or other, national identities. (p.28)

The chapter is firmly anchored in the history of German dialects predating the unified nation-state, and in the history of German dialectology. For example, it discusses the redrawing of dialectal boundaries for propaganda purposes during the Nazi period. It is good to have the English version of this paper available, including the translations of the quotations (cited in the original in footnotes).

Sandra Clarke and Gunnel Melchers' contribution 'Ingressive particles across borders: Gender and discourse parallels across the North Atlantic' presents ingressive particles as an aerial phenomenon in the North Atlantic zone stretching from the Eastern Baltic to the Atlantic seaboard of the U.S.A., and including Norwegian and Swedish. The authors suggest that 'the cross-language boundary of diffusion of ingressive particles has been accompanied by the diffusion of social and pragmatic constraints on their usage' (p. 51). Furthermore, particles such as the U.S. ingressive *yeah* and its translation equivalents in the other languages manifest similar patterns of gendered use in discourse. The particles seem to be particularly favoured by women as expression of support in informal conversation without initiating a change of turn. This research was based on the Newfoundland English Taped Corpus, the Göteborg Spoken Language Corpus of Swedish, and the London-Lund Corpus of British English, and it offers a rich and promising starts for future studies of the diffusion of discourse markers.

'English dialects in the British Isles in a cross-variety perspective: A base-line for future research', by Sali Tagliamonte, Jennifer Smith and Helen Lawrence, is concerned with establishing the roots of American English varieties through the examination of peripheral dialects on British soil.

The chapter by Raphael Berthele discusses posture verbs and locative adverbials in German and Romance, and the chapter by Larissa Naiditch discusses the development of the consonant system of Mennonite Low German, which is shown to be a result of historical contacts with other languages.

In Part 2, Ronald Macaulay's chapter, 'Can we find more variety in variation?', overviews previous British and American studies of linguistic variation with regard to differences related to speaker age, gender and social class (though not all studies cover all three factors). Macaulay points out that the majority of work in linguistic variation to date has dealt with phonological or morphological

variables, and he offers a plea for a more principled study of discourse markers, using reliable quantitative methods for the analysis of machine-readable texts. However, not all corpora are sufficiently representative. For example, the London-Lund corpus of transcribed speech is limited to educated, middle-class adults with a preponderance of males, Cheshire's Reading corpus is limited to adolescents, and Basil Bernstein's work was similarly limited. Macaulay offers an example of a methodologically more reliable approach to the study of discourse markers based on the corpus of interactive Glasgow speech collected by Stuart-Smith (1999). This corpus has been fully stratified for nonlinguistic variables, following the methodology developed by Docherty et al. (1997).

Macaulay examines discourse markers which are easily retrieved by string searches, e.g. items such as *very*, *oh*, and *quite*. He emphasises the need for replication in the social sciences, and for the negative variation findings to be reported alongside the positive ones. Essentially, his message is that lack of experimental rigour in sociolinguistic sampling leads to unreliable conclusions, and this renders cross-variety comparisons difficult. This chapter is to be strongly recommended to budding researchers.

Recent claims by Icelandic educationists and the Icelandic press that the entire case system of Icelandic is under threat form a backdrop to Finnur Fririksson's chapter 'On "dative sickness" and other linguistic diseases in modern Icelandic'. These complaints have been mainly based on language tests of children and teenagers in the Reykjavik area, with only one study including adult speakers. Fririksson's ongoing work across various age-groups outside the Reykjavik area is based on the analysis of data from spoken interactions (interviews) and original written texts. Initial findings indicate that the three areas of public complaint: non-standard use of the dative, the 'new passive', and genitive avoidance are spread evenly across different age groups, so that what has been witnessed may in fact be 'low-level variation, which may or may not indicate that large-scale changes may take place in the future' (p. 169). Fririksson's interim conclusion is that the complaints are exaggerated, and that they may in fact be a part of the sturdy defense mechanisms which Icelandic society deploys against any form of morphological change.

Dennis Preston's chapter 'Dialects across internal frontiers: Some cognitive boundaries' is concerned with the socio-phonetics of North American dialects. Joan Beal and Karen Corrigan's chapter is titled 'A tale of two dialects: Relativisation in Newcastle and Sheffield'. So far as the repertoire of spoken relative markers is concerned, Sheffield emerges as closer to the general perception of an English traditional dialect than Newcastle. Finally, Part 2 includes the chapter 'Pronunciation of /i/ in avant-garde Dutch: A cross-sex acoustic study', by Vincent J. van Heuven, Renée van Bezooijen and Loulou Edelman.

In Part 3, Ruth King's 'Crossing grammatical borders: Tracing the path of contact-induced linguistic change' deals with French in Canada, particularly in two French-speaking villages on Prince Edward Island. This chapter is concerned with the apparent syntactic borrowing of English preposition stranding into

French, e.g. *Lui, c'est le gars que je travaille pour* 'Him, he's the guy I work for', and the author observes that lexical borrowing from English has had grammatical repercussions in the Prince Edward Island French. The remaining chapters in this section are 'The *after*-perfect in Irish English', by Patricia Ronan, and 'Dialect history in black and white: Are two colours enough?', by J. L. Dillard.

Dillard's title is not transparent: it refers to the 'Red-Indian' input to Afro-American Vernacular English. Contrary to many current and earlier theories, Dillard argues for 'extreme multilingualism' in the early history of the New World colonies, and for contacts between black slaves and Native Americans in the New England colonies. He indicts American historical dialectologists such as McDavid for 'a desire to trace all possible American forms to regional British dialects' (p. 275), and Mufwene, Poplack and Tagliamonte for resembling 'the Linguistic Atlas people in supporting a general theory' (p. 277). Only Hancock, who attests to the survival of Seminole Gullah, a Black 'Indian' variety, seems to escape the general anathema. This piece shows encyclopedic knowledge and requires a close reading. I am pleased to have had the opportunity of both hearing and reading this paper, which I regard as a must for the students of AAVE and creolistics. This paper, like Auer's, underlines the fact that there are no easy answers in contact dialectology, because of the multiplicity of actors and factors involved.

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EDWIN L. BATTISTELLA. *Bad Language: Are Some Words Better than Others?* Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2005. 230 pp. Hb (0195172485) £17.99.

Reviewed by WINIFRED DAVIES

I was especially pleased to be asked to review this book since a colleague and I had recently completed a monograph on 'bad' German, investigating the history of a range of stigmatised variants of German over five hundred years (Davies and

Langer 2006). Our approach was quite different from Battistella's, being based on a detailed analysis of the treatment of eleven individual constructions in a large sample of prescriptive grammars, style guides and linguistic advice books from 1600 to the present day. Battistella, on the other hand, concentrates on the general beliefs (often misconceptions) which underpin speakers' attitudes towards linguistic varieties and variants. Despite the difference in our approach, we had at least one aim in common, namely to show that judgements about language are often arbitrary and based on social rather than linguistic criteria.

A basic tenet of modern sociolinguistics is the Difference theory, which assumes the functional equivalence of all linguistic varieties, whilst accepting that they are differently evaluated by society. One conclusion that has been drawn from this is that there is no one correct variety, but a range of varieties which speakers use (or should be taught to use) in appropriate ways, depending on situation. This approach, however, has little in common with the behaviour of many 'ordinary' speakers, who tend to evaluate varieties and variants as 'good'/'correct' or 'bad'/'incorrect'. This ranking of linguistic forms seems to be widespread and to have gone on for centuries, even before the creation of standard varieties, but once a standard variety exists, the construction of 'bad' language usually becomes much more systematic and is an important part of the maintenance phase of standardisation. This sort of metalinguistic activity has not always been considered worthy of attention by sociolinguists, but over the past 20 years some important work has appeared in this field, e.g. Cameron (1995) and Milroy and Milroy (1999), and I was rather surprised to find no reference at all to these in the present work. Even more surprisingly, there is no reference to two earlier works which, like this one, are aimed at an educated lay rather than specialist readership with the aim of cultivating a more reflective use of language and of uncovering and providing a critique of the prejudices and misconceptions that inform our attitudes towards speakers of other varieties: Andersson and Trudgill (1990), Bauer and Trudgill (1998).

One of the challenges facing professional linguists is how to communicate with lay people. Their status does not seem to be as clear-cut in the public's perception as that of experts in other fields, since many speakers consider themselves equally qualified to comment on linguistic issues and seem to think that linguists complicate matters unnecessarily. I suspect that some of the very things that irritated me about this book, where I felt the author did not complicate matters as much as I would have liked him to have done (e.g. not using IPA, not being critical enough of notions like 'appropriateness' or the 'hegemony of the standard variety'), may make this work more accessible and acceptable to a lay reader.

Battistella sums up his aim: 'My goal in what follows is to focus on "bad language" as a cultural construct and to show how badness is a much more complex phenomenon than it first appears to be' (p. 21). Chapter 1, 'Bad language: Realism versus relativism', engages with many of the arguments levelled against linguists (and other academics since the advent of postmodernism), e.g. that they have no standards and anything goes, an argument sociolinguists in the British

context are very familiar with. Cameron (1995) has argued convincingly that conformity to the laws of grammar signifies for many people conformity to the laws of society and disregarding the one leads to disrespect for the other. Similar voices are cited by Battistella, e.g. Sydney Harris, who worried that 'failure to uphold standards of language – grammatical right and wrong – would lead us down the slippery slope to nihilism and anarchy' (p. 10). Battistella shows how views about language can't always be aligned predictably with the political Right and Left (in his words, 'traditionalism' and 'progressivism', respectively): in many countries, there are people on the political Left who believe that mastery of the standard variety (even at the expense of local varieties or minority languages) is necessary to be able to participate in democratic decision-making, etc.

Chapter 2, 'Bad writing', examines how our notions of 'good' writing have changed over time. Chapter 3, 'Bad grammar', discusses how grammarians and codifiers of the standard variety have been influenced by different traditions. Battistella uses the terms 'prescriptivism' vs. 'usage and utility'. Usage, of course, normally means the usage of certain prestigious groups, e.g. 'good' authors. Some of the references here mean little to a non-U.S. reader, e.g. K-12 English textbooks and college rhetoric manuals, and a note explaining their role in the education system would have been helpful. In general, the work is clearly aimed at readers in the United States and, apart from a few references in the historical section to British English, there is little reference to any other variety of English or any other English-speaking country, let alone any other countries. Battistella consistently refers to Standard English, not Standard American English – if this is a deliberate rejection of the pluricentric model of English, that is not explained, and I could find no definition of what was meant by Standard English.

Battistella argues that the concepts used in traditional prescriptive grammar are often arbitrary and inconsistent. One aspect of traditional prescriptive grammar that is not discussed, however, is the fact that it is often based on notions of what is correct in *writing*. A full discussion of the various uses of the term 'grammar' would also have been useful. In this chapter it is not always clear that *all* varieties have 'grammar', although that is clarified in later chapters on non-standard varieties. I also expected some reference to the ideology of standardisation (Milroy and Milroy 1999) and – since the author believes it is important to place notions of 'bad' language in a historical context – a discussion of how notions of prescriptive grammar in the eighteenth century related to more general notions about authority in society at that point in time. He gives an account of how English language teaching has developed in the United States in the twentieth century and how teachers have engaged with the findings of descriptive linguists. Despite the inaccurate media reports (familiar to British teachers, too!) teachers did not argue against teaching Standard English in schools. Battistella himself does not seem to question the need for Standard English, but argues that 'We need to know Standard English' (p. 66), without questioning whether it is really necessary to know its spoken *and* written realisations. He talks about 'freeing learners [of Standard English] from socially stigmatized usage by replacing that usage with

new linguistic manners' (p. 66): this seems to be a rather unemancipatory view of language education – that it should simply encourage speakers to replace their vernacular with Standard English. Much later in the book, he does say that speaking Standard English is not necessary to have a voice in national affairs (p. 152), although he stresses that non-standard accents are only tolerated from socially influential speakers.

Chapter 4, 'Bad words', deals with cursing ('swearing' in British English), slang and political correctness. Here we see how language can be used to destabilise assumptions that mainstream norms are shared by everyone. Chapter 5, 'Bad citizens', shows how using 'bad' or the 'wrong' language has often been interpreted as a sign of being a 'bad' citizen of the United States. For that reason, assimilationism has often been pursued as a policy in language as well as in other matters (cf. attitudes towards native American languages and towards sign language). Another manifestation of assimilationism has been negative attitudes towards languages other than English culminating in the English Only Movement of the late twentieth century. In the next chapter, 'Bad accents', we see that assimilationism has affected attitudes towards regional non-standard varieties of American English as well as towards those numerous inhabitants of the United States who speak English with non-native accents. The example of the Ebonics controversy allows Battistella to show how, even within one speech community, there may be conflicting attitudes towards the variation at its disposal, and we also see how fraught with difficulty was the dialogue between linguists and educational policy makers on the one hand, and the general public on the other, with the media often distorting and simplifying the arguments.

In the last chapter, 'Images and engagement', the author revisits some of the common objections to 'bad' language. By examining various ways of talking about language (e.g. language as organism, language as artefact) he throws light on why misconceptions about 'bad' language persist.

In many ways this is a very interesting book and it goes a long way towards accomplishing what it sets out to do, i.e. showing how 'bad' language is a relative notion which is culturally constructed and may take different concrete form in different historical epochs. However, there are some shortcomings, even if one accepts that it is aimed at a lay readership and not at his peers.

It is not made clear that highly literate societies with a standard variety are not universal and have not always existed, although the importance of literacy affects speakers' perceptions of 'good' usage. Battistella seems to regard the present sociolinguistic situation in the United States as the inevitable outcome of the 'natural tendency for speakers and especially writers to look for a fixed standard of language' (p. 9). When one considers that the German speech area managed without a fixed standard until the eighteenth century (pronunciation and spelling were not codified until over a century later) I am more sceptical of this argument. Battistella does stress the conventionality of judgements about language but in my opinion he could have done more to show the historical contingency of such

judgements, e.g. by providing more information about the standardisation of English to illustrate how it was 'constructed' in practice.

The concept of appropriateness is accepted unquestioningly. There is no mention of the vast literature on Critical Language Awareness, and the social structures and power relations which dictate that certain varieties are relegated to informal, private, unofficial situations are not subject to any questioning.

However, despite these criticisms, this book does a pretty good job of identifying and deconstructing folk beliefs about language and showing how the findings of sociolinguistic research can enrich the teaching of English and help us to engage in a more informed and reflective fashion with the pluralism of modern society.

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GIBSON FERGUSON. *Language Planning and Education* (Edinburgh Textbooks in Applied Linguistics). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2006. 243 pp. Hb (0748612610) 60.00 / Pb (0748612629) £19.99.

Reviewed by SANDRA R. SCHECTER

In this book, Gibson Ferguson addresses a compelling topic of interest to academicians in second-language acquisition and ethno-linguistics, language planners, and professional educators. Its domain has, moreover, both top-down and bottom-up relevancy. The processes and policy trajectories associated with elected representatives' decisions concerning what languages and language varieties are taught in schools and used in the conduct of state affairs constitute an important top-down perspective. Ethnographic accounts of



community-based, 'grassroots' language revitalization programs, often leading to significant changes in the linguistic environments of schools, provide bottom-up evidence of the viability of the concept of language planning in reference to initiatives undertaken at levels other than that of the nation state.

The book is organized into seven chapters, followed by a section containing discussion questions, exercises, and suggestions for further reading. Chapter 1 delineates the field of language planning and offers a historical overview of its development. Chapter 2 describes key processes traditionally associated with language planning on a national level, such as standardization, differentiation, and codification. Chapter 3 begins an extended discussion on the hegemony of English through an elaboration of the social context of bilingual education in the United States. This discussion continues through Chapter 4, addressing issues associated with language death and revitalization, and Chapter 5, addressing the global spread of English. Chapter 6 elaborates on a major effect induced by the global spread of English: diversification in the language. Chapter 7 contains a relatively independent treatment of the socio-political constraints shaping language education policy in post-colonial Africa. The book also contains an extensive reference list and a comprehensive subject-author index.

There are a number of welcome inclusions in this volume. Firstly, I appreciated the epistemological and theoretical scaffolding provided in the first two chapters. The historical trajectory (Chapter 1) reveals a broadening over the last 40 years in the range of topics investigated within the discipline of language planning, and provides useful context for the extensive discussions of cultural vitality and minority language maintenance later on in the volume. Review and exemplification of the influential distinction between corpus and status language planning in Chapter 2 allow for a smooth transition to the more nuanced discussions of national linguistic revitalization projects in Chapter 4 and hypotheses concerning the ascendance of English in Chapter 5.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6, in my view, are all exceedingly strong. The case studies in Chapter 4 of state-sponsored or national language revitalization initiatives to reverse linguistic atrophy are highly informative. The cases of Welsh and Breton, until recently suppressed and excluded in tandem with processes related to the formation of states (Britain and France) and the homogenizing forces of modernization, are especially well delineated. These descriptions contain, on one level, discussions of discrete steps associated with language status planning and other forms of institutional support, and on another, observations drawn from ethnographic study of social and symbolic meanings that speakers attach to the uses of the different idioms in their daily lives as well as the ideological values that they attach to their language practices both on a societal level and in asserting their own social competence. Ferguson accounts convincingly for the dissimilar fates of these two large-scale revitalization initiatives, with Welsh undergoing a process of standardization that has facilitated its incorporation as a language of instruction in the schools, and Breton evolving into several mutually incomprehensible varieties that attract few new learners.

These studies, as well as others reported in less detail elsewhere in the book (for example, discussions of the dialectic between 'purified' and 'actual' varieties of the national idiom following the liberations of Norway and Greece in the nineteenth century) go a long way toward consolidating the argument for interventionist language planning on behalf of endangered languages. They illustrate the instantiation of patterns that fill a void in the absence of formal language planning and that constitute *de facto* language policy.

In Chapter 5, the author brings prevalent explanatory frameworks concerning the large-scale appropriation and spread of English under the lens for critical review. These frameworks include the linguistic imperialism postulate (e.g. Crystal 1997; Phillipson 1992) and the global language system hypothesis, which explains the ascendancy of English as a *lingua franca* of an emergent transnational society (de Swaan 1998, 2001). Each of these hypotheses benefits from lucid, in-depth treatment, with the author laying out the arguments, exposing the caveats, and discussing the implications for *de facto* language policy. Ferguson is clearly more persuaded by de Swaan's claims that the spread of English has been in good part unplanned, resulting from individual decisions guided by perceptions of personal advantage. These processes, it is believed, are influenced by global developments involving technological advancement, but they are nonetheless bottom-up processes, channeled through hyper-collective dynamics. We understand, then, the emergence of the *lingua franca* (whether English or another expanding language, such as Arabic) as a defining feature of modern nation states, as the large, concentrated services that are necessary for and, indeed, a mark of modern societies – medical schools, for example – serve to guarantee and regulate the minimum number of speakers for such 'full-service' languages. It may be claimed that the chasm between this and the linguistic imperialism hypothesis is not that great. To be sure, the position of English as a *lingua franca* reinforces a predisposition toward monolingualism and a concomitant desire for homogenization on the part of native English speakers. But there is a difference between this statement – which places human agency at the centre of cultural flow – and an explanation that holds that the commercial and political interests of the United States and Britain require the diffusion of English. These are important distinctions and Ferguson is agile at teasing them apart for the novice.

Continuing on the theme of the spread of English, in Chapter 6, the author turns his attention to problematizing claims concerning the existence of a discrete 'standard' for either American or British English. I found these discussions, as well as his review of squabbles about where to go looking for indices of standardness (the phonology? lexis? grammatical structure?), particularly refreshing. Ferguson is clearly in his element in his discussion of the 'New Englishes', as the exercises in the end section attest. Exercise 1 asks readers how they would respond as teachers to forms signaling variations in preposition usage ('He isn't coping up with the amount of work he has to do') and mass nouns ('Can you provide us with some advices about the exam?') that are grammatical features of the New

Englishes. Exercise 2 asks one to read a short article from the *Deccan Herald* and to evaluate the divergences along grammatical, lexical, stylistic, and discursive liners from British English. (It's a trick question.) I would have liked to see the author push the envelope even further. India is fast becoming a technological and academic superpower. Following frameworks reviewed in Chapter 4 for assessing the autonomy and vitality of linguistic varieties (e.g. Fishman 1991; Giles et al. 1977), can one predict post-colonial English in India evolving into co-equal status with its American and British counterparts?

My one substantive problem with the volume concerns the author's treatment of the studies of and debates over bilingual education in the United States (Chapter 3). It is well and good to concede that 'schooling processes are embedded in, and influenced by, the wider social context' (p. 41), which in the United States, in dominant circles, includes the embracing of an assimilationist agenda. But why is there widespread concern that immigrant languages will swamp English in, of all places, the United States, where there are virtually no data to support this apprehension? (Non-English-speaking enclaves, such as the Pennsylvania Germans, have persisted since before the American Revolution, and Spanish has coexisted with English since the annexation of the western United States in 1848, without danger of English disappearing.) Why has linguistic diversity been regarded as a threat to national unity for over a century? Why is the very concept of national minorities regarded as pernicious?

I would advance that in the United States the overwhelming majority of debates over the education of immigrant minority students are engaged within a deficiency framework. That is, the scope of the discussion is attenuated (in comparison with that in the European Union, for example, where minority language maintenance is acknowledged as a right), with the societal issue framed in terms of the underachievement of minority students and what can be done about it (Schechter and Bayley 2002). Thus, when the educational infrastructure entertains a bilingual education initiative, commentators across the ideological spectrum frame their arguments within the larger movement for 'school reform', contextualizing such an approach as a curricular response for raising test scores (James and Schechter 2000). Even strong proponents of publicly supported Spanish maintenance initiatives, as represented in bilingual education programs, argue the advantages of these strategies in terms of English-language literacy performance measures. (Why not argue instead that good bilingual education programs do no harm, and that it is far better to have two languages than just one?) I am suggesting here that almost everyone is complicit in buying into these terms of debate (perhaps because, operating within them, the funding opportunities are attractive?), and now it has become exceedingly difficult to dig out. Although Ferguson fairly reports the findings of the various studies reviewed in this chapter, he falls short of putting his finger on the discursive framework in which these study results are embedded, and consequently I find his perspective less critical here than it is in the other chapters.

I also have a minor quibble with the book's format. I'm not convinced that formal academic chapter and section numbering is a good fit with the subject matter, which is of interest to educational policy makers, teachers, and school board administrators as well as academicians. The text is well written, and a modest tweaking of the format would have rendered the book accessible to a broader, more diverse audience.

The book, part of the Edinburgh Textbooks in Applied Linguistics series, was designed as a course text. I warmly recommend it for use in graduate seminars – on the basis of the strengths outlined and also as an impetus for mounting courses that address crucial topics at the nexus of political linguistics, public policy, and language teaching and learning.

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