

○ **J. N. JØRGENSEN (ED.) *BILINGUALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE: TURKISH SPEAKERS IN NORTH WESTERN EUROPE***

(CLEVEDON: MULTILINGUAL MATTERS. 2003. PP. III, 148).

Jørgensen and his colleagues make an important contribution to our understandings of bilingualism in young people through a series of empirical papers which also raise important conceptual issues. The conceptual discussion culminates dramatically in Jørgensen's deconstruction of the monolingual/bilingual opposition in young people's mobilisation of available linguistic resources. The papers presented aim to complicate notions of the functions and functioning of bilingual practices in a number of urban settings. The context is also generational, with a focus on 'second-generation' young people, although little information is provided on social and migratory backgrounds. The chapters address questions of consciousness and individual choice in language use, and of the role of language use in maintaining or challenging both macro- and micro-social relations. Most use conversation-analytical approaches (CA), and are accompanied by extensive transcripts in both the original languages and in translation.

The book's strength is to draw together for a second time (this collection republishes the articles which appeared in volume 24 of the *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development*) work which focuses on the same, or similarly positioned, language communities from a range of angles. Studies of small numbers of respondents using recordings from Germany provide the basis for two papers (Dirim and Hieronymus, Hinnenkamp), while the remaining five empirical papers analyse data from a Danish study known as the Køge Project. This 10-year longitudinal project has produced masses of data on a small cohort of Turkish background students over their school career. Intensive and repeated scrutiny of these data allows the reader to gain some familiarity with a particular study cohort. A drawback of this narrow base is that the book faces a difficult transition from micro-level observations to wider implications and theorisations. The introductory chapter announces such theoretical ambitions.

Jørgensen opens the volume with a review of the relationship between power, language use and the construction of social relations:

Classical sociolinguistics studied linguistic variation as an effect of social structures, but the perspective has now been reversed, and social structuring is viewed as an effect of variation in language use (p.1).

This shift is mirrored by methodological shifts towards the analysis of smaller units ('communities of practice') and greater attention to language as an act of identity construction and negotiation. Jørgensen concludes that 'the relationship between linguistic variation and social structures is reciprocal' (p.9), with social pressures and norms both appearing in language use, and being challenged by resistant and self-reflexive linguistic strategies.

The inclusion in the book of empirical work on less socially equal interactions (only one chapter is not based on peer interactions) and on the dominant discourses or norms surrounding linguistic variation would strengthen claims made in this chapter. A more convincing case is made for the role of bilingual practices in the establishment and display of peer-group hierarchies in the chapters by Cromdal, Esdahl and Masden, where the linguistic dimensions of power relations and status emerge in the instrumental and playful mobilisation of socially differentiated linguistic variation. Musings in the introduction about the implications for education systems find little echo in the subsequent chapters, but would make for an interesting extension of the book's theme.

In Chapter 1 Volker Hinnenkamp examines the interactions of Turkish background respondents aged between 15 and 25 in Hamburg, Germany. He analyses the phenomenon of 'mixed speech' (code-switching, code-mixing, code-oscillation, and stylised forms of 'Immigrant German') to distinguish 'local sequential functions' and a 'We-group' function (p. 12). Some switches appear to follow a local interactional logic, while others appear puzzling to the author. Hinnenkamp identifies 'stylistic-rhetorical reasons', 'cognitive reasons and reasons based on competence' and 'recipient-designed routines' with a ritual character as satisfactory explanations for most switches (pp.25-26). He attributes a subversive role to the 'hybrid language' to which marginalised youth actively lay claim as an identity-building 'counter-discourse' (p.13). Attention is drawn to some colloquial spoken forms which are not indicated in the English translation (p.15), although here, as elsewhere, many are not glossed for the English reader ('yapyoruz' for 'yapiyoruz' for example).

In the second chapter Inci Dirim and Andreas Hieronymus further argue that new 'mixed language' speech-communities are developing and that these are a distinctive social formation. Also based on data from Hamburg, the chapter's most astonishing discovery is the sophisticated use of Turkish in the conversation of non-Turkish-background young people. This use of Turkish forms part of rituals which build group identity, even when no one of Turkish background is present (pp. 52-53). In this way, according to the authors, it constitutes a certain cultural capital in the linguistic expression of dominated youth.

Chapter 3, based on data from the Køge project, looks at the role of bilingual practices in the power dynamics of a group of students focused on the task of creating a cartoon strip. Jakob Cromdal finds that as the group negotiates the unfolding storyline, one particular individual is able to effectively regulate the interaction in the group and suppress alternative activities. Linguistic strategies are most effectively used by this individual as ‘techniques for soliciting and ratifying alliances and for highlighting oppositional actions’ (p.72) within the overall purpose of the activity and the division of labour, including linguistic labour, involved.

In Chapter 4 Trine Esdahl also takes up the theme of power dynamics, this time considering differences between seventh grade boys and girls in single-sex interactions. This is taken as a critical moment for examination as the proportions of Turkish and Danish used by students changed at this age. Looking at the same group of students as did Chapter 3, the same individual emerges as dominant in the girls’ group. Esdahl concludes that ‘the two languages are not just a way of establishing a position on the outside but also a means to define and renegotiate relations and hierarchies within the group’ (p.87). Given the small numbers of cases, however, it may be difficult to generalise gender-based distinctions found in the sample.

Chapter 4 looks at strategies for negotiating relationships and identities. The analytical distinction of power bases (resources brought to the interaction), from power processes (the use of power bases) and power outcomes (the results of disputes) (pp.90-91) helpfully informs the discussion of an Initiative-response analysis. Girls emerge as more competitive than boys when they are in single-sex interactions, but adapt to higher levels of focally linked utterances and responses to initiatives, characteristic of boys’ conversation, when they are in mixed groups. When the outcomes of disputes are recorded over time, we are unsurprised to find that the dominant individual identified in previous chapters has only lost one out of eleven conflicts examined (p.95). Again, extremely small sample size makes gendered generalisations difficult.

Chapter 5 marks a change of pace with a study of the encoding of social hierarchies through politeness. Data from Køge is compared with a Dutch study in Rotterdam. Respondents to a questionnaire had to choose from items distinguished by levels of politeness to ask for a pencil in a range of situations. Contrary to classical politeness theory, the authors find little evidence that young Europeans calibrate linguistic choices according to status. Only the bilingual Turkish-Dutch respondents in Rotterdam appeared to partially confirm the theory. The authors conclude from these findings that there is a shift towards a linguistic construction of social equality. Indeed, the relationship between social hierarchies and language appears to be weak for the scenario proposed in the study, but

this is a narrow base indeed upon which to make a broader case for linguistic or social levelling. Most interestingly, the authors make a case for the importance of the variable ‘affection’ over and above social distance in determining politeness (p.123).

In the final chapter Jørgensen returns to a Conversation Analysis in which the breadth of language variation in the Køge project, including English, is highlighted, together with the diverse ways in which language choice patterns function. Dismissing officially sanctioned bilingualism as ‘double monolingualism’ (p.128), he argues for greater recognition and appreciation of linguistic variation and the abandonment of the concept of the bilingual.

Overall the reader is enlightened on the values ascribed to different languages and linguistic practices, and hence communities of linguistic practice. Further, the instrumental, identity-forming and playful aspects of these practices have been clearly demonstrated. The book would benefit from drawing on a wider range of interdisciplinary knowledge in the field, such as postmodern theorisations of performance and pastiche. The informants do tend to be treated in isolation from their immediate family and educational context, which often remains a mystery to the reader. Cultural and linguistic variation within the Turkish language community is not addressed, and nor is the broader theme of social change identified in the title really clarified in the final analysis.

The book is marred by awkward expression and typographical errors (‘they are also Dutch respectively Danish’ and ‘cline’ instead of ‘line’, both on p.104). These errors extend to transcription conventions, with italics being inconsistently used to identify Turkish utterances in the English translation (for example pp.135, 138).

Overall, this book provides useful reading for those interested in the development of bilingual practices, but may disappoint those looking for theoretical advances in the analysis of how such developments constitute social change.

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