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BOOK REVIEWS

Alessandro Duranti (ed.). *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* (Blackwell Companions to Anthropology). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing. 2004. 635 pp. Hb (0631223525) £85.00/$124.95.

Reviewed by Dell Hymes

Duranti is Professor of Anthropology at the University of California at UCLA. Of Italian origin, he has done more than anyone else in the past generation to establish linguistic anthropology as a scholarly field. In its four parts the present volume brings together 22 chapters by authors all but one based in the United States. It is designed to be user-friendly. The table of contents is followed by a synopsis of contents (chapter by chapter). The brief but useful preface is followed by notes on the contributors. The general bibliography (pp. 518–605) is quite extensive, and the index has few slips or omissions (pp. 606–625).

Part I: 'Speech communities, contact, and variation' has seven contributions: 'Speech community' by Marcyliena Morgan, 'Registers of language' by Asif Agha, 'Language contact and contact languages' by Paul B. Garrett, 'Codeswitching' by Kathryn A. Woolard, 'Diversity, hierarchy, and modernity in Pacific Island communities' by Niko Besnier, 'The value of linguistic diversity: Viewing other worlds through North American Indian languages' by Marianne Mithun, and 'Variation in sign languages' by Barbara LeMaster and Leila Monaghan.

Morgan plunges into the midst of the complexity which 'speech community' may have, and indeed does have as groups of people are more and more closely examined in terms of what and how they speak. The succeeding six chapters clarify several aspects of the subject. As a student of Native American languages, I am especially impressed by Marianne Mithun's lucid grasp of the history and current status of such communities, and their role in the development of linguistics and anthropology themselves. The other chapters are lucid and helpful too.

Part II: 'The performing of language', also has seven chapters: 'Conversation as a cultural activity' by Elizabeth Keating and Maria Egbert, 'Gesture' by John B. Haviland, 'Participation' by Charles Goodwin and Marjorie Harness Goodwin, 'Literacy practices across learning contexts' by Patricia Baquedano-Lopez, 'Narrative lessons' by Elinor Ochs, 'Poetry' by Giorgio Banti and Francesco Giannattasio, and 'Vocal anthropology: From the music of language to the language of song' by Steven Feld, Aaron A. Fox, Thomas Porcello and David Samuels. Those who may expect to find Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs will find them well represented in the General Bibliography. The chapter

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by Ochs is especially interesting as a general model of two alternative inclinations for realizing personal experience: as a coherent narrative, or an enigmatic life episode.

Part III: 'Achieving subjectivities and intersubjectivites through language' has five chapters: 'Language socialization' by Don Kulick and Bambi B. Schieffelin, 'Language and Identity' by Mary Bucholtz and Kira Hall, 'Misunderstanding' by Benjamin Bailey, 'Language and Madness' by James M. Wilce, and 'Language and religion' by Webb Keane. Language socialization was important to the early recognition of diversity of speech in communities. Kulick and Schieffelin examine the relation of language to the socialization of desire and fear, to show how language socialization can be part of domains that have appeared problematic or unapproachable for anthropologists and linguists. Bucholtz and Hall take up identity as having become a key notion in recent decades, note well researched processes of identity formation, and turn to less explored aspects. Bailey argues that misunderstanding is not so much about interpreting utterances as about negotiating sociocultural worlds. Wilce proposes that linguistic anthropologists can offer new ways to analyze speech environment that help or exacerbate madness. Keane takes 'religious language' to refer to ways of using language that seem to the users themselves to be linguistically unusual and to involve non-ordinary kinds of action or identity. A valuable article. (But I am afraid that the Episcopal congregation recently planted outside Charlottesville, to which my family now goes, and where our son now directs music, being relaxed in its inclusion of both children and adults, and seeming to those who come to be welcoming and accepting, may not qualify as non-ordinary.)

Part IV: 'The power in language' includes Alessandro Duranti's article on 'Agency in language'. It distinguishes between performance and encoding, and opens up a range of possibilities for investigating agency. Susan U. Philips provides an excellent account of social inequality in relation to language, beginning with earlier ways of calling attention to it, and moving from her own early work at Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon to the use of language in courts by judges, and issues of gender, including her own work in Tonga, then on to Wallerstein and Wolf, and the relation of Gumperz and Labov to the political economic approaches of Gal, Woolard, and Jane and Kenneth Hill, and European colonization in general.

Paul V. Kroskrity concludes the volume with an account of research beginning with Silverstein (1979). Unfortunately, the account ignores the existence of Sapir, Whorf, Hoijer, Swadesh, Haas and others who paid attention to meaning. One could become a linguist with an interest in meaning before Silverstein (let me note Hymes 1964a, 1964b, 1966, 1971, 1973, 1974a, 1974b – Kroskrity does cite Hymes 1964b and 1974b).

Perhaps it would be sufficient to cite the contents of Parts II, III, and IV in Hymes (1964a). This collection was widely read and long in print. Part I, 'Equality, diversity, relativity' included Edward Sapir and Morris Swadesh, American Indian Grammatical Categories (pp. 100–111). Part III, 'World view

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and grammatical categories', included Boas, Meillet, Mauss, Sapir, Whorf, Hoijer and Mathiot. With relevant bibliography in the latter two. Part IV, 'Cultural focus and semantic field', included Boas, Lotz, Goodenough, Conklin and Frake. It is as if in traveling north or south in Oregon one could see only the peaks of the Cascades, nothing of rises and streams between. Not even perhaps any lower peaks. (And many would insist that Sapir was a peak). But to be fair, the very next page opens up aspects of linguistics and anthropology in the United States which many of us recall. Puzzling.

In any event, *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology* as a whole is an impressive achievement, and will be of great value to its field and neighboring fields, for a long time to come.

This *Companion* may be a culmination of Duranti's considerable work to establish linguistic anthropology. It follows his textbook (Duranti 1997), reader (Duranti 2001a) and glossary (Duranti 2001b). Not that this is the only kind of work he does. He has done valuable field work in Western Samoa (with his wife Elinor Ochs, herself a major contributor to the field) and in electoral politics in the United States.

What someone like myself finds missing, needing to be sought elsewhere, is some of the past and present connections of anthropology to other disciplines. For example, the late Erving Goffman is cited, but his going from Berkeley to the University of Pennsylvania, initially into the department of Anthropology, because Sociology would not at first accept him, and his role in establishing a Center for Urban Ethnography, managed otherwise by two people then in Folklore and Folklife (myself and John Szwed) is not noticed.

Of wider importance is lack of recognition of ethnopoetics (not in the index). Such claim as I have to recognition in anthropology and linguistics in these later years stems from ethnopoetics (see Hymes 1981 [2004], 2003). My wife and I (Hymes and Hymes 2002) honored Ron Scollon, indeed, with a 'verse analysis' of a narrative generously provided by Elinor Ochs (2002). William Labov's work with oral narratives is widely known. My article in *Pragmatics* (1998) displays the inadequacy of his approach. Insofar as anthropologists and sociologists consider language in social life, they should take an interest in an approach which counters Chomsky's treatment of language form as independent of social life. Narrators in the United States and elsewhere are unaware of the patterns they use and weave, but at the same time these patterns escape a Chomskyan approach. Finally, I hope that the success of 'linguistic anthropology' will not obscure the important role that 'sociolinguistics' has played and does play in connecting language with social life.

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Scott F. Kiesling and Christina Bratt Paulston (eds.) . *Intercultural Discourse and Communication* (Essential Readings in Linguistics) . Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing. 2005. 330 pp. Pb (0631235434) £19.99.

Reviewed by Irina Zhulamanova

This book presents a collection of 'all star' readings on cross-cultural communication. Except for the very last paper by Diana Eades which is published here

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for the first time, all the articles are reprinted from earlier publications. The book is a significant resource for both undergraduate and graduate students studying sociolinguistics, communication, social anthropology, and social psychology, as well as being useful in second/foreign languages teaching and in public communication training. The book does not claim to give a comprehensive coverage of intercultural discourse and communication, but it does provide a good introduction to this field including its extremely wide-ranging literature. Each part of the book contains a helpful introduction and discussion questions. The book opens with the theoretical foundations of intercultural sociolinguistic analysis (Part 1), then illustrates these theories with analytical applications (Parts 2–3), and, finally, presents practical developments in the field (Part 4).

Part 1 begins with excerpts from the work of several key scholars of intercultural discourse on the basic concepts of sociolinguistic analysis (Dell Hymes), the ethnography of speaking as a method of studying variation across sociocultural contexts (Alessandro Duranti), and conversational inference and contextualization cues in interethnic communication (John Gumperz). Beginners in sociolinguistic studies can find here explanations of such basic notions as language use, context, speech event, speech act, speech style, components of speech, and communicative competence, as well as sociocultural conventions and contextualization strategies. Another interactional research trend is represented by the overview of studies of linguistic politeness by Gabriele Kasper who summarizes the key concepts and universal claims of politeness theory. Rajendra Singh, Jayant Lele, and Gita Martohardjono critique interactional analysis by arguing that it avoids the issue of institutional racism and prejudice, and that it is therefore imbalanced favoring the dominant and powerful 'majority hearers' who misunderstand 'minority speakers'. Consequently, the authors come to a radical conclusion, that 'the analysis of the interaction based exclusively on linguistics and paralinguistic factors is wrong' (p. 48). This chapter may be too polemical for some readers, but it makes an original contribution by connecting the classic sociolinguistic approaches with the notions of social power and identity construction in discourse. A different understanding of the relation between language and social identity is provided by Elinor Ochs through the notion of verbally performed social acts and verbally displayed social stances. The notion of stance and its interplay with sociocultural linguistic norms is further developed by Scott F. Kiesling.

Identity and power remain central for the rest of the book. Janet Holmes examines the narrative construction of bicultural identity of two New Zealand ethnic groups: the Maori people and Pakeha (New Zealanders of European origin). Holmes argues that unlike the Pakeha, Maori narratives are preoccupied with ethnicity and that, due to the Maori women's subordinate status, this group's narratives are also oriented towards issues of power. Deborah Tannen presents an analysis of conflicting conversational styles, focusing in particular on New York Jewish style versus California style. She demonstrates how

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differences in conversational styles result in misunderstanding. Swedish identity is theorized by Åke Daun. According to the author, the Swedish demeanor is perceived by immigrants to Sweden as 'indifferent', 'icy', and 'prejudiced', while Swedes' perceive immigrants as 'loud' and 'emotional'. Unfortunately, this descriptive analysis of identity does not demonstrate how such intercultural negative perceptions emerge. Penelope Harvey's analysis of gendered communication among Quechua–Spanish bilingual male and female speakers in Southern Peru challenges a common view that 'the negative values associated with women's speech reflect women's subordinate position in society' (p. 167). She claims that although bilingualism offers Quechua men and women unequal status in terms of autonomy and authority, women are changing their attitudes toward Spanish, not seeing it as a preserve of male language, but as a language of power through which they are gaining a political voice. H. Samy Alim argues that racial tensions between Black and White American cultures arise from the 'gentrification' both of Blacks' economic conditions and their language by Whites. Just as Blacks are pushed out of their neighborhoods, they are forced to give up their structurally and pragmatically rich language when challenged by 'standard' English. Therefore, scholars must change this mentality to one of 'linguistic equanimity'. Although this is a fair claim, the study to some extent is conducted through a 'Black ideological lens' and so calls into question its own 'linguistic equanimity'. The issue of sociopragmatic change is presented in Christina Bratt Paulston's analysis of the use of the Swedish second person singular pronouns *du* and *ni*. The working-class use of informal *du* has spread throughout the whole society as a marker of solidarity. Competing variables, such as social class, age, and role, are found to determine the use of the two pronouns. Maria Sifianou challenges the cultural universality of the claim within politeness theory that off-record indirectness decreases the level of imposition. She demonstrates that though in familiar contexts Greek and English speakers have a similar frequency of off-record indirectness, the use of indirectness has different primary motivations; in Greek it does not indicate imposition. The culture-specific distribution of power in a particular speech event, a group discussion by Japanese and American students, is reported in Suwako Watanabe's chapter. This paper demonstrates that while Japanese students frame the discussion as a group activity and establish hierarchy within it, U.S. students act as co-present individuals, potentially giving rise to cross-cultural tensions.

Part 3 studies intercultural issues via bicultural and multicultural speakers, rather than different groups of speakers. Karen Ogulnick's work on identity in second language acquisition demonstrates an American student's process of acquiring a socially positioned Japanese identity. The analysis takes the form of an ingenious story told by a naïve foreign language learner, but it reveals an understanding of a self transformed by another language and culture into a bicultural personal identity. Benjamin Bailey analyzes the linguistic construction of multiple identities in Dominican American culture. The author

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discusses how Dominican Americans use African American Vernacular English to resist White cultural and linguistic hegemony, while Spanish is a tool of differentiating this ethnic group from African Americans. In another chapter, Christina Bratt Paulston draws attention to the difference between bilingualism and biculturalism: while a bilingual person can consciously switch from one language to another, a bicultural person actually behaves within one unique 'cultural competence'. The author suggests that the second culture should be exposed to, not imposed on, second language learners.

In Part 4, the focus on the classroom continues in Susan U. Philips' cross-cultural analysis of Anglo and American Indian students' turn-taking. The author reports that in Anglo classroom discourse rules, the teacher controls students' turn-taking, while students compete to draw his/her attention to their ability to answer, while American Indian children are accustomed to determining for themselves whether they are going to take the floor. The author concludes that leadership-oriented interaction in games and in the classroom is consistent with the socialization of Anglo children, but conflictive for American Indian children. Diana Eades examines intercultural communication between Aboriginal and Australian standard English speakers in legal contexts. Throughout analysis of a trial case against police officers who violated the rights of three Aboriginal boys, she demonstrates that an understanding of cultural and linguistic difference does not lead to justice. Defense lawyers' knowledge of Aboriginal cultural assumptions and linguistic strategies was used against the Aboriginal plaintiffs. Sociolinguistic micro-analysis of courtroom interactions therefore needs to be undertaken in conjunction with the analysis of wider power struggles in society.

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Joel Sherzer. *Speech Play and Verbal Art*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press. 2002. 186 pp. Pb (292777698) £17.50.

Reviewed by Carolyn Temple Adger

In *Speech Play and Verbal Art*, Joel Sherzer draws on years of field work in Brazil, Mexico, Panama, the Caribbean, France, Italy, Bali, and the United States. His extensive work with the Kuna is particularly well known. It was in that community that Sherzer came to realize the importance of speech play and verbal art as a crucial window into the nature of a people's thought and action. That insight led him to take that perspective on other cultures: As he explains in the preface to this book, once having seen the world through those glasses, he could never see it otherwise. In this volume, Sherzer categorizes the forms of

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speech play and verbal art that he has identified, provides examples from field work and casual observation, and argues for the study of speech play and verbal art as an important source of insight into some fundamental concerns of linguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, ethnography, and literary study. The theoretical perspective he adopts is 'a sociolinguistically informed, discourse-centered, ethnographic approach to language structure and language use' (p. 9).

The first chapter justifies the serious study of speech play, a theme that threads through the book. Sherzer's central argument is that although speech play has been generally marginalized and trivialized in linguistics, anthropology, and other disciplines, its study ought to be central to these disciplines, both theoretically and methodologically. 'Playfully imaginative and artistically creative language constitutes the richest point of intersection between language, culture, society, and individual expression and therefore the place in which language, cognition, perception, and worldview come together in their more distilled form' (p. 9). Thus speech play and verbal art offer particularly compelling research sites for sociolinguists of all stripes.

Sherzer goes on to define speech play at length, an important step in establishing that this is not a trivial genre and that its study is not a trivial pursuit. He asserts two related notions to which he returns throughout: that speech play serves a number of important functions – psychological, cultural, humorous, and artistic, at least – and that speech play is both conventional and creative. Speech play is a major source of resources for verbal art, such as poetry and performance art.

The short second chapter, 'The grammar of play and the play of grammar' looks at the creative use of language structures. For example, rhyme, assonance, and alliteration are kinds of speech play, in Sherzer's broad definition, based on the signifier; metaphor involves play based on the signified; and puns and onomatopoeia involve play based on the relationship between signifier and signified. The very freedom – play – within the rules of a grammar offers the potential for playfulness.

In the third chapter, 'Forms of speech play in context', Sherzer categorizes, describes, and exemplifies types of speech play and the cultural and social roles they play. Here he dips deep into his own considerable body of field research and that of others. First come play languages – from English (Pig Latin: 'Ivgay ithay ootay iymay', and Op Language: 'Gopive opit topo mope'), Tobago creole, French, Spanish, Kuna, and Balinese – then puns and jokes. Puns operate at different levels of a language – sound patterns, morphology and lexicon, syntax and semantics, pragmatics – and, sometimes, across languages. In Bali, for instance, puns can draw on the rich linguistic resources offered by the complicated system of speech levels in Balinese and Bahasa Indonesia. Patterns of punning differ culturally, some cultures valuing this kind of word play more highly than others. For example, punning appears to be more pervasive in the French-based creole languages of the Caribbean than in French itself.

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Jokes are sorted according to form, content, and interactional properties. Riddle jokes (e.g. 'What's black and white and read [red] all over?') may be associated with children, but adults tell them too ('How many linguists does it take to screw in a lightbulb?'). Narrative jokes, which are often composed of two or three episodes that prefigure the punchline, usually concern contemporary themes – politics, social groups and social issues – and draw on shared presuppositions for their humor. Dirty jokes presuppose knowledge about taboo topics, usually sexual ones. Jewish jokes are an interesting type of social identity narrative jokes that draw on a uniquely Jewish sense of humor, on the history of the oppression of Jews, and on Jewish self-critique. As with other narrative jokes, speaker intention in joke-telling is bound up with speaker identity, and this helps to determine whether the joke is funny or offensive.

The fourth chapter explores speech play in verbal art, seen most clearly in figurative language of all kinds, repetition and parallelism, and the manipulation of grammatical and sociolinguistic processes. Examples in English range from formally constrained word games, such as palindromes and anagrams, to poetry. The example that Sherzer analyzes at length at the end of the chapter is e. e. cummings' 'Anyone Lived in a Pretty How Town' (sic), which exhibits all of the playful strategy types he finds most useful for verbal art. In a case of what he terms grammatical stretching, the indefinite pronoun *anyone* functions as a full noun, which allows the writer to evoke both universality and uniqueness. Figures of speech also involve grammatical stretching (e.g. 'they said their nevers they slept their dream'), as does repetition and parallelism (e.g. 'busy folk buried them side by side, little by little and was by was'). In between the word games and the poetry, the chapter explores the use of the language play resources and practices in a panoply of art forms from a range of cultures.

The final chapter is 'The contexts of speech play'. In the United States and elsewhere, says Sherzer, speech play must be viewed at the intersection of two perspectives (and here he cites Hymes and Goffman, of course): its role in social interactions and its patterning in the broader sociocultural context. With reference to the United States, he demonstrates with examples of spontaneous speech play during games, on the radio, in offices, at the airport and on airplanes, face-to-face and over the phone. He points to the role of speech play in providing time out and easing individual and group tensions in daily interaction, and to its differential roles in dominant and minority groups. For the latter, speech play offers a way to express resistance and construct social identity.

This book is impressive for its erudition and its thoroughness. If there is any passing disappointment, it is only that the serious study of humor necessarily involves explaining and deconstructing it. Some of Sherzer's jokes and other forms of speech play are hilarious. But he seems to recognize the problem, and sometimes strings several together without explication, even offering several linguist jokes. As the (re)animator of speech play authored or animated by others in field work and daily life in his own culture, he displays his own flare for the humorous as well as scholarly discipline. Sherzer more than succeeds

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in proving his point that the study of speech play is central to understanding language in use.

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Jannis K. Androutsopoulos and Alexandra Georgakopoulou (eds.). *Discourse Constructions of Youth Identities* (Pragmatics & Beyond Series, 110). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 2003. 338 pp. Hb (9027253528) $105.00/(1588113558) €105.00.

Reviewed by Crispin Thurlow

You're an adult when they want you to be,
you're a child when they want you to be.[1]

Adolescence is first and foremost an economic and institutional construct, marked less by chronological age and biological stage as it is by the institutional conditions and economic realities imposed by formal education, the law and employment in the marketplace. Beyond that, it is pretty much whatever adults say it is! In fact, it seems that young people are often the last people to conceive of themselves as 'adolescents'. On this basis, and in writing about communication in adolescence myself (e.g. Thurlow 2001), I have been concerned for some time by the current obsession for evaluating young people's 'communication skills' against pre-existing standards imposed by adults. Instead, I believe the baseline ought always to be set by establishing the ways young people express their own experiences and understandings of communication. Thankfully, by its very nature, the volume edited by Jannis Androutsopoulos and Alexandra Georgakopoulou goes a long way towards doing precisely this.

This is an excellent book. It is certainly one of the best contributions to the wider adolescence literature from scholars of language and communication. What is more, and as Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou say themselves, contributors are concerned with language not simply in and of itself – as an idle curiosity or a problematic social index – but rather with the ways language is deployed in the service of identity construction. Indeed, probably the greatest contribution made by this volume is its sophisticated handling of identity throughout. (Developmental researchers and practitioners have for far too long been surprisingly resistant to the social-constructivist paradigm-shift around them.)

In its coverage, the volume is also impressive. Organized according to what the editors describe as three different 'activity types'[2], it deals with a range of

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linguistic resources and strategies deployed by young people to (per)form and explore their many indentities. While focused on the central role of language/discourse, contributors offer a really interesting diversity of social contexts (e.g. intimate friendships, school cliques, ethnic minorities), institutional settings (e.g. youth centers, prisons, schools), geographical sites (albeit almost exclusively European; e.g. Germany, Britain, Greece), research methodologies (e.g. ethnography, discourse analysis, media studies, corpus linguistics) and communicative modes (e.g. face-to-face interactions, mediatized representations, technologically mediated relations). All but one of the chapters are also empirically grounded.

It almost goes without saying that no book can do everything. Nor is it possible for editors to exercise complete control over the biases and politics of their contributors. As a consequence, Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou's volume does fall into some of the usual – and perhaps unavoidable? – pitfalls of adolescence literature, relying as it does at moments on pathologizing tropes like young offenders and 'street culture', as well as fetishizing topics like hip-hop, gansta rap, graffiti, slang, and taboo words. To be fair, the volume at least avoids many other pitfalls; at least here there's no hackneyed coverage of the usual sex and drugs, in spite of the one bit of 'rock-and-roll'. By the same token, in spite of the editors' own reflexive, critical take on adolescence, some of their contributors still slip into problematic, simplistic characterizations. For example, there is a lot of 'culture' talk in the book as a whole, but only ever in terms of 'street culture', 'subculture', and the notoriously unproblematized 'youth culture'. None of the contributors appear to have really addressed 'culture' or taken 'youth' culture properly to task. Partly for this reason, I was left feeling a little uncomfortable about the extent to which the book thereby perpetuates the same old homogenizing tendencies of so much writing about young people.

> Since teenagers are the typical target of group pressure, their language lends itself more to generalizations than adult's conversational language. It should be kept in mind, however, that teenagers like adults accommodate their language to the speaking situation and the person(s) they are talking to . . . Thus teenagers cannot always be identified by the language they use. (p. 94)

As unfair as it seems to single someone out, these contradictory statements-of-the-obvious from one contributor (Stenström) highlight a related worry I had in reading other contributors' chapters. Throughout the volume there are implicit and explicit assumptions about the particularity (to adolescence) of certain behaviors or practices (e.g. slang; teasing; identity 'formation'; the primacy of the peer group). Another example of this is the implication throughout that identity is somehow a necessarily teen affair rather than a lifelong process (or project) – however openly young people may experiment with identities themselves. In its defense, what this book does do very well is present young people in terms of communities of *situated*, *local* practice. (The valuable

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influence of Penny Eckert is in evidence throughout the volume.) Having said which, it was not always clear to me just how, in Conversation Analytic terms, situated *youth/age* was in participants' talk – i.e. the extent to which it was made explicit or relevant to speakers themselves.

Somewhat unfortunately, the one term which the editors really fail to account for is 'discourse' – mistakenly assuming perhaps that their readers will be limited to (a) those already in the know (e.g. other language scholars) and (b) those who work more specifically with L- ('language')discourse rather than F- ('Foucault')discourse. In fact, most contributors fail to take adequate account of F-discourse altogether; there is little or no discussion, for example, of key notions such as power and ideology or, as I have already suggested, culture.[3] Nor do contributors make much of the politics and economics which undoubtedly shape the lives of most teenagers, something made noticeable by the absence of any proper consideration of globalization, capitalism, consumption, and commodification. In her chapter, Anita Wilson admittedly hints at these kinds of structurating variables in focusing on (but insufficiently theorizing) material culture; macro-forces are certainly given much more credit in the especially strong chapters by Tore Kristiansen and Lilie Chouliaraki.

There is a need always to examine, to bring under academic scrutiny, and to problematize the hegemonic benefactors of 'adolescence' – especially those (professional and academic, amongst others) adults who control the mechanisms of representation. As writers like Erica Burman (1994) and Christine Griffin (1993) remind us, we need always to be wary of merely perpetuating the very category we mean to deconstruct, in the way that the sociolinguistic analysis of gender has, until recently at least, tended to do (e.g. compare the 'two-cultures' and 'performativty' approaches to gender identity).[4] More often than not, we (adults) explain/interpret/frame (or dismiss) young people's behavior and language as 'adolescent'. As Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou point out, however, it is vital that we avoid talking (or publishing) about young people only in terms of their youth; like adults, age is one of any number of identity formations they may perform (e.g. ethnicity, class, nationality, institution, physical ability, sexuality, gender). Although the editors advocate research which explores the interplay of *multiple* (not just one or two) identity resources and which examine relationships between young people and adults, I am not sure that contributors to their volume really achieve this.

My 'issues' with Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou's volume are for the most part at the level of nit-pick. Undoubtedly, there has been a remarkable lack of scholarly interest in researching communication during this period of the lifespan, and this volume represents an important and impressive contribution in redressing the hiatus. Although a fairly Eurocentric collection, what is also exciting about this volume is that it offers such a coherently, substantially 'linguistic' perspective. For me, therefore, the most appealing thing about the volume is not even so much its take on young people, but its singling out of one lifespan domain, one identity position, through which to explore the ways in

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which all people represent themselves in everyday language-use. Once again: an excellent book.

NOTES

1. A comment by a young, male prisoner from Anita Wilson's chapter (p. 175).
2. Defined by the editors as 'conglomerates of social events and genres or types of discourse' (p. 7).
3. Unfortunately, the one mention of *ideology* (by Kristiansen) is indexed only by the names of the academics whose definition is cited rather than the key intellectual concept itself.
4. In working on a book in the same area (see Williams and Thurlow 2005 in press), I am myself only too aware of this pitfall.

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Allyson Julé. *Gender, Participation and Silence in the Language Classroom: Sh-shushing the Girls*. Basingstoke: Palgrave McMillan. 2004. 179 pp. Hb(1403915830) £55.00.

Reviewed by Laura Hill-Bonnet

I am a teacher. I am also an educational researcher. Many of us who share these roles straddle the fence between practice and theory of language in education and are constantly looking for a place to ground one in the other. So, which hat should I wear while reviewing Allyson Julé's *Gender, Participation and Silence in the Language Classroom: Sh-shushing the Girls?* I should probably wear the hats of both teacher and researcher, as this work is an excellent resource for both groups.

In this slim yet comprehensive volume, Julé looks at a group of ethnic-minority (primarily Punjabi Sikhs) students growing up in Canada and explores their participation in an English language classroom in regards to the relationship

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between ethnicity and gender. She uses ethnographic methodology to further examine the participation of the girls in the group and the ways they use and receive language in the classroom. She calls on a theoretical framework made up of gender based approaches to language including female speech strategies, gender roles and gender performance, and cross-cultural studies on gender and language to analyze the talk of a teacher and her female students. Julé notes that although many studies have been done on silencing girls in the classroom, very few of them focus specifically on a *language classroom*, where students are more actively 'engaged with language for most of the day' (p. 21) and the overt agenda is not to silence any student but encourage linguistic participation among all members of the class.

Part 1 (Chapters 1–3) of the book is a thorough discussion of intersubjectivity, language classrooms and gender. Much of Julé's argument hinges on the idea that intersubjectivity is an integral part of an underlying philosophy for participation and identity formation in language classrooms. Using Lacan's theory that intersubjectivity is seen as relationships intersecting with other inner-worlds or self-hoods, Julé reasons that if classroom relationships create both linguistic participation in the classroom and sense of self or individual identity, then participation creates identity. According to the case study, participation (or the lack thereof) has much to do with gender. In particular, Julé demonstrates how the teacher responds to boys' talk and encourages them to take up linguistic space versus how the teacher responds to girls' talk and limits their participation in the language classroom.

Part 2 (Chapters 4–6) of the book provides a detailed account of a case study focusing on one language classroom in a Canadian Punjabi Sikh school. For researchers as well as educators, this is a formidable example of ethnography of the classroom. Julé does an excellent job of contextualizing her study within her own experiences and expectations of growing up in Canada during the debate and after the passage of the 1969 Official Languages Act, proclaiming Canada officially bilingual. She also offers a brief but rich discussion of the role of heritage language education, Punjabi Sikh education in America and Canada and an overview of ESL/language education.

Given the extent of background information that Julé provides about herself and the participants in her study, she is ideally situated as a participant-observer in a purposefully selected group. Her case study methodology is impeccable in her definition of research questions and key terms, data collection and analysis. The transcripts of data are strategically positioned within her analysis to best draw out points of discussion on the teacher's talk and implicit attitudes towards the students to support her assessment that teacher's talk suppresses ethnic minority girls' participation in the classroom.

As a teacher, I am sensitive to criticism of my colleagues and there were missing pieces I found to be necessary in order to get a fuller picture of what was going on in this classroom. I would have liked to have had more background information on Mrs. Smith, the teacher, and her response to some of the classroom management and teaching techniques observed by Julé. No

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doubt Mrs. Smith would not have overtly admitted to marginalizing the girls in her classroom, but throughout the school day a teacher goes through a complicated and intricate intellectual process involving thousands of decisions, and it would have been interesting to hear Mrs. Smith's reasoning for some of the things she is quoted as saying. In addition, as a qualitative researcher, I would have liked more discussion of the *quality* of teacher talk and not just the *quantity*. Some of the quality is made apparent in Julé's excerpts from her data, but she talks at length about the observable difference in ways boys and girls use and receive language and she grounds her discussion in a behaviorist theory that is entirely quantitative, and hence not very useful in a qualitative ethnography. As a suggestion, more focus should be placed on the unobservable process of learning, and the differing process for boys and girls in this class.

Part 3 (Chapter 7) of the book centers around Julé's discussion of her analysis and what she calls the 'double whammy' of being a member of an ethnic minority and a girl. It is in this section of the book where Julé does some of her most insightful work, pulling together all of the elements discussed in the first two sections and bringing home the point that 'language learning classrooms need to be a rich language-filled environment with a comfortable atmosphere and warm relationship with the teacher' (p. 146). It is within such an atmosphere that relationships through participation and thereby intersubjective identity can flourish creating competent, confident, life-long learners. Teachers such as Mrs. Smith must strive to create an environment where all students, boys and girls alike, can feel safe and that their linguistic participation in the class is considered important and valued by all members of the classroom community.

In this third section, Julé acknowledges the agency of the female students in the class noting that the girls did not take up any linguistic freedom in the classroom. Other studies have found that ESL students choose silence over participation as an alternative method of displaying their identities or conforming to normalized local sociolinguistic behaviors. It is important to consider the possibility that students in any classroom retain their agency regardless of the teacher practices.

This book would be a wonderful resource for any Teacher Education Program, as it deeply explores the effects of a well-meaning teacher on the linguistic, intellectual, social, and personal development of her students and how, without realizing it, teachers can inhibit or limit their students' participation through preconceived stereotypes about gender or home culture. After reading *Sh-shushing the Girls*, all teachers should take a second look at the language they themselves use in the classroom and listen for what messages are implicitly being sent.

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Britt-Louise Gunnarsson, Lena Bergström, Gerd Eklund, Staffan Fridell, Lise H. Hansen, Angela Karstadt, Bengt Nordberg, Eva Sundgren and Mats Thelander (eds.). *Language Variation in Europe: Papers from the Second International Conference on Language Variation in Europe, ICLaVE 2, Uppsala University, Sweden, June 12–14, 2003*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet. 2004. 444pp. Pb (9163152142).

Reviewed by Natalie Schilling-Estes

This volume of papers from the Second International Conference on Language Variation in Europe, held at Uppsala University, Sweden, in June 2004, is a valuable addition to the library of any researcher or student in sociolinguistics who has particular interests in variation in European languages or is simply interested in maintaining a breadth of perspective that is too often lacking in these days of specialization and compartmentalization.

The collection offers a refreshingly wide-ranging view of (a) languages that have been and are currently being studied in the variationist framework and (b) what types of studies constitute studies of language variation. Languages covered range from those of the Nordic countries (e.g. Icelandic, Norwegian, Southern Sámi) to the languages and language varieties of the Iberian peninsula (e.g. Catalan, Spanish), Switzerland (including Swiss English), Germany, Slovenia, and Albania. Also included are English varieties in the U.K. and Azerbaijani and Persian in Iran. In addition to the range of languages covered, we find a range of approaches, including not only studies in the archetypical Labovian tradition (i.e. large-scale studies of variation and change, chiefly in urban settings) but also more micro-level studies focusing on variation in rural dialects or in particular conversational interactions, and studies combining micro- and macro-level approaches. Further, we find studies of a range of types of language features, including not only segmental phonological features and morphosyntactic features but also lexical, intonational, and rhythmic features. Finally, several papers seek to combine sociolinguistic with theoretical linguistic approaches to syntax and phonology.

The volume consists of the three plenary lectures followed by 30 section papers, organized alphabetically by author. The plenary chapters serve as a unifying device for the volume, in that some of their key themes recur throughout the other chapters. Nikolas Coupland's chapter, 'The discursive framing of phonological acts of identity', focuses on variation at the individual level, specifically on how individuals use variation to create, shape and project facets of personal and interpersonal identity in ongoing interaction. Despite his emphasis on the individual, Coupland is careful to note that individuals are not completely free to use any linguistic resources whatsoever but are subject to the constraints (and affordances) of the *discursive frames* (Goffman 1974) that contextualize particular communicative interactions, including the sociocultural frame (how speakers position themselves and others in relation to

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pre-existing socio-political arrangements such as gender and social class groups), the generic frame (the genre of a particular communicative interaction), and the interpersonal frame (how speakers position themselves and others in terms of current and prior interpersonal relations).

The plenary lectures by Barbara Horvath and Helge Sandøy both take a macro-level focus. Horvath's paper, 'Geolinguistics and language change in progress', focuses on a current change in Australian and New Zealand English, /l/ vocalization, with an emphasis on applying concepts from contemporary geography, especially *space*, *place*, and *scale*, to variation study to gain a better understanding of how changes spread across physical space in addition to social space. From a geographic vantage point, we see that determining the point of original for a feature such as /l/ vocalization is by no means a straightforward matter of determining which locale currently has the highest usage rates. Considerations of space indicate that usage rates and patterns may exhibit gradual or discontinuous differentiation over different locales; a focus on place indicates that the vigorousness of a change in a particular locale may differ over time and may be influenced by global as well as local forces; and when we pay attention to scale, we find that usage rates and patterns can look quite different depending on whether our focus is on the local, regional, national, or supranational patterning of change.

In her plenary paper, 'Types of societies and language change in the Nordic countries', Sandøy looks at both historical and current changes and the macro-level societal features that may help account for the different types of language change that characterize different communities, countries, and societies. In particular, size, economic base, migration, and urbanization can all be said to have an impact on different patterns of dialect leveling and use of wider language norms in different Nordic countries or different locales within these counties. For example, different patterns of dialect leveling in different areas of Norway in which new industrial centers were created in the last century are due in part to the different proportions of immigrants from different areas in each location. In addition, the differential size of early settlements in Iceland vis-à-vis the Faroe Islands and Denmark may account for the early and continuing uniformity in the Iceland language vs. the linguistic diversity that long characterized the latter two locales. Despite the impact of demographic and economic factors on patterns of language change, Sandøy notes that sometimes other less tangible factors may play an even more important role in language change or maintenance. For example, the surprising linguistic conservatism of Eskilstuna, Sweden (Sundgren 2002), which has undergone significant economic change over the past several decades (with the primary occupation changing from industry to civil service), may be explained in part by pointing to people's positive attitudes toward the Eskilstuna community. Similarly, the retention of local dialect forms in Ostrobotnia, the northernmost Finland-Swedish region, compared to areas further south, seems to have much to do with residents' sense of their unique cultural and linguistic

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identity. Indeed, a key theme in Sandøy that is echoed throughout the volume is that, despite the widespread assumption that language and dialect differences have been and will continue to level out as the 21st century progresses, in reality, language change takes a number of different courses, including not only, or even usually, leveling of regional differences in the direction of a national or supranational standard (e.g. in Denmark), but also orientation toward, or creation of new regional norms (e.g. in Sweden), the retention of traditional language forms (e.g. in Iceland), or even heightening of regional differences (e.g. Ostrobotnia).

The focus on micro-level variation found in Coupland's plenary lecture is echoed in session papers such as Helena Bani-Shoraka's chapter on 'Code-switching and argumentative talk' in Tehran, Iran; Jannis Androutsopoulous and Evelyn Ziegler's chapter on 'Exploring language variation on the Internet' in the Mannheim area in Germany; and Hanna Lappalainen's chapter on 'Lexicon as a resource in situational variation' in Helsinki Finnish. All three also stress the importance of connecting macro- and micro-level approaches. For example, Androutsopoulous and Ziegler examine the range of regional variation as well as usage levels for particular region features in addition to examining how regional features, including stylized (i.e. exaggerated) regional speech, are used in particular interactions to frame greetings, farewells, and other speech events, as well as to signal topic shifts, emphasis, or shifts from a serious to joking modality. Lappalainen demonstrates that quantitative similarity in terms of phonological and morphosyntactic usages may sometimes obscure idiolectal or situational speech differences, including differences conditioned by such situational factors as topic, setting, participants, and crucially, the nature of the ongoing activity and the pragmatic functions it entails.

Most of the session papers have a more macro-level focus, some taking up Horvath's theme by investigating the geographic distribution of language change. For example, Charlotte Gooskens considers geographical factors in dialect differentiation in Norway, while Ulrike Altendorf examines certain language changes currently affecting a number of English dialects in the U.K. and across the world. She notes that these changes in most instances probably represent cases of parallel independent development rather than geographic diffusion, since the changes are linguistically so natural. Other papers echo Sandøy in their emphasis on the role of social and linguistic ideologies and attitudes on the course of language change. For example, Johanna Vaattovaara demonstrates how people's self-reported usage levels for regional variants correlate with their sense of attachment to the local community of the Tornio Valley, in western Finnish Lapland. In a particularly powerful contribution, Finnur Friðriksson discusses how Icelanders' strong belief in the value of linguistic conservatism may be leading them to believe that certain stigmatized changes are of more widespread occurrence than they really are. Another very strong article by Brit Mæhlum points to the role of the cultural significance of Southern Sámi in its (tenuous) perseverance in the face of increasing

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pressure to assimilate to majority languages such as Norwegian. Mæhlum also raises a number of important points regarding language and dialect endangerment in general. For example, Mæhlum cautions against blindly acquiescing with the presumption that minority languages and cultures are simply doomed to extinction in the post-modern world, since traditional cultural practices may have strong symbolic value even if they are no longer practicable (or are being rendered impracticable by majority cultures). At the same time, one cannot expect a traditional culture to continue to exist in its 'pure' traditional form, since human cultures are dynamic, and cultural and linguistic change are by no means antithetical to the preservation of a longstanding sense of ethnic and cultural uniqueness.

Other studies of note in this collection include those that take advantage of our growing ability to test the validity of the apparent time construct against real time data as more time elapses since the inception of modern sociolinguistic study. For example, Dinah Callou's 'On *ter*/*haver*-existential clauses in Portuguese', and Maria Eugenia Lamoglia Duarte's, 'On the "embedding" of a syntactic change', are both able to fruitfully use data from previous decades to compare apparent and real time change in Brazilian Portuguese. Similarly, in 'Applying the apparent-time method and the real-time method on Finnish', Tommi Kurki presents results of a re-study of the village of Hanhijoki in Southwestern Finland which demonstrate the robustness of the apparent-time construct. In this particular case, apparent- and real-time data line up beautifully even though the chief change investigated; namely, the change from trilled /r/ to plosive /d/) is a change from above rather than below, the number of informants is fairly small, and the social situation in the community has changed dramatically in the time between the original and current study. In addition to taking great care in designing and carrying out this re-study, Kurki is also careful to point out how difficult it is to obtain comparable data from a given community at two different time periods, since matters such as changes in the population (including emigration of original study participants) and inability to hold the interviewer-interviewee relationship constant, can render two data sets less similar than would be ideal.

Finally, it is worth mentioning in a bit more detail the range of types of featured covered in this comprehensive volume. A number of papers move beyond the segmental phonological level and morphosyntactic level to investigate lexical variation and change (e.g. Lappalainen, Škofic, and Swanenberg), while others investigate matters of intonation (Kügler) and rhythm (Siebenhaar). The latter article, 'Comparing timing models of two Swiss German dialects' is particularly noteworthy, since, as the author rightly points out, studies of variation in prosody have tended to focus on intonation, and the few studies of variation in rhythmic organization that have been conducted to date suggest that such variation may play a key role in dialect differentiation.

Again, this volume provides a wealth of information, gleaned from a wide variety of languages, types of linguistic features, and approaches to variation

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study. And where the answers are not yet definitive (since this is, after all, a volume of working papers), we are presented with a plethora of intriguing questions to inspire future studies. Among the very short list of changes I would like to see in the proceedings for ICLaVE 3 would be the addition of abstracts to the beginning of each paper, and perhaps a thematic rather than strictly alphabetical organization. All in all, though, the current volume of excellent papers gives us great reason to look forward to ICLaVE 3 and the next volume of papers.

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Anthony R. Lodge. *A Sociolinguistic History of Parisian French*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2004. 290 pp. Hb (0521821797) £45.00/$70.00.

Reviewed by Bryan Donaldson

There is no dearth of reference works available on the history of the French language, and readers might at first wonder what new light could be shed on a subject that has already received extensive scholarly treatment. Lodge's new book is fundamentally a history of the language, but two aspects of this research distinguish it from previous works. First, the book is tightly focused on the language that developed in and immediately around Paris, whose central place in French culture and dominating linguistic influence on the rest of the country has only increased over the last millennium. Second, this is a *sociolinguistic* history, one whose central assumption is that the development of any given language is intimately tied to the social context of its speakers and to their linguistic contact and interactions. As Lodge notes, social factors are often entirely absent from traditional accounts, but in this volume, they play a primary role in the analysis.

The spoken language is traditionally privileged in sociolinguistic inquiry, and modern investigations proceed from recorded interviews and naturally occurring conversations or other speech that the researchers may have direct access to. As this type of recorded data does not exist for periods before the twentieth century, however, a formidable problem arises for historical sociolinguistic inquiry. The available data are limited to written documents, often

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fragmentary, of which many reveal little to nothing about the spoken language of the time. A dedicated scholar, however, is able to discern the orthographic trace of an innovative pronunciation, a dialectal feature, or an instance of hypercorrection. This is the approach adopted here: On the basis of texts of popular origin or whose subject deals with the vernacular, Lodge reconstructs the evolution of Parisian spoken French from the twelfth century until 1950, always taking into account the social factors of the period. Because we will never have direct access to most of this language, however, Lodge is careful to note the speculative nature of this type of reconstruction. The data shortage is inescapable, and the reader will note that more discussions address social factors (migration patterns, economic developments, demographics, war, etc.) than the language itself. The linguistic analysis consists principally in transposing modern sociolinguistic theories onto the historical data by demonstrating how current findings regarding dialect levelling and mixing, koinéisation, and reallocation of variants (discussed in Chapter 2, 'The analytical frame') can also explain historical change.

The book is composed of twelve chapters grouped into four parts: Part 1 presents an overview of the book, relating it to and distinguishing it from previous works, exposing key sociolinguistic notions, and discussing the available data. Parts 2, 3, and 4 correspond to successive historical periods, treating pre-industrial Paris (until the fourteenth century), the proto-industrial city (1350–1750), and the industrial city (1750–1950), respectively. The three parts all follow the same organizational plan: discussion of the social context (*socio* . . .), discussion and observation of linguistic change (. . . *linguistics*), and finally *rapprochement* of the relevant social and linguistic facts (*sociolinguistics*). Readers expecting a purely linguistic analysis should be aware that some of the sections deal entirely with external history (e.g. the demographic boom in the tenth to twelfth centuries and the factors that facilitated it, discussed in Chapter 3), while readers with little knowledge of formal linguistics may find the detailed discussions of sound changes (e.g. in Chapter 4) challenging. But even if one could wish for a slightly more seamless integration of *socio-* and *-linguistics*, Lodge insightfully traces the close ties between changes in Parisian French and its contemporary social context, and he has succeeded in producing a book that will be of equal interest to the specialist and non-specialist.

Today, when one speaks of 'Standard French', 'Reference French', or an international or prestige variety of French, it is typically in reference to Parisian French, but in reality, the French of Paris is as diverse as any other variety of French and has never been homogeneous. During the Middle Ages, the city was an important crossroads that drew rural peasants for commercial reasons. During times of famine or economic crisis, the city attracted rural populations (a phenomenon Lodge calls *in-migration*), but in more prosperous times, these same populations, having settled only temporarily in the city, could regain the countryside. For the language, this shifting demography meant a constant

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influx of diverse dialectal forms. The influence of Paris and its *arrière-pays* was already important enough in the Middle Ages that it had a visible influence on at least five major isoglosses ([wa]∼[wɛ] in words like *poire*, [jo]∼[o] in words like *manteau*, -ent∼-ont for the third-person plural present ending, -ions∼-eins for the first-person plural imperfect ending, and [ɛ]∼[Ẽ] for the third-person plural imperfect ending). In each case, Paris and its hinterland had the effect of pushing back the isoglosses such that they curve to avoid the capital.

In the course of the sixteenth century and later, Parisian society became increasingly stratified, and the language reflected this stratification. The differences that developed between the language of the bourgeoisie and the language of the common people were exacerbated by the notion of bon usage that developed at almost the same period. Prescriptivism, as manifested in the growing number of dictionaries and grammars, contributed to these differences as well, and the vernacular came to be seen as inferior to the written language, which was glorified as the epitomy of clarity and logic.

The language and attitudes regarding it continued to evolve and were subsequently strongly influenced by the French Revolution and mandatory education, among other factors. The population of Paris mushroomed in the nineteenth century from around 500,000 to 2,500,000, swelled by large migrations from surrounding regions, especially the Parisian hinterland itself, Picardy, Normandy, and Burgundy. In the early twentieth century, significant foreign populations (Italian, German, and Eastern European, among others) established themselves in Paris, and this trend continued throughout the century, especially after the French colonies gained independence. The language of Paris has been and will continue to be influenced by these new populations.

Readers already familiar with Lodge's work will not be surprised by the clarity of style and the quality of research, and praise is also due to Cambridge University Press for a well-produced volume, with a useful appendix (a sample of texts representing popular speech) and a thorough index. I noted only one minor typographic error (*-ien* for *-ian*, p. 95), and those without a good reading knowledge of French will find English translations for almost all the passages or examples in French. Despite the thorny problems of working with historical data, the sociolinguistic history that Lodge presents is impressive, and this book will be read with pleasure by sociolinguists, dialectologists, philologists, and advanced students as well as non-specialists who wish to expand their knowledge of Parisian French and its development.

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JONATHAN MARSHALL. *Language Change and Sociolinguistics: Rethinking Social Networks* (Palgrave Studies in Language Variation). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004. 246 pp. Hb (1403914877) £50.00.

Reviewed by ROBIN DODSWORTH and ELIZABETH HUME

Some of the most influential studies of language variation and change have shown affinity for a particular group to be strongly correlated with the use of linguistic forms associated with that group (see, e.g. Labov 1963; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Eckert 2000). However, little work has been devoted to finding ways to systematize the study of subjective orientations and attitudes to facilitate their use in quantitative analysis. In *Language Change and Sociolinguistics*, Jonathan Marshall takes a step toward correcting this gap.

Marshall shows that in Huntly, a rural village in northern Scotland, the local Scots dialect – the Doric – is waning in the face of urban influence. Linguistic data from 64 speakers from Huntly and nearby Kennethmont are evaluated with respect to phonological, morphological, and lexical variables. Age is easily the best predictor of linguistic performance: younger speakers use the conservative (Doric) variants less often than older speakers, and this is, reasonably, taken to indicate that the conservative dialect is fading. The question, therefore, is how the change can be explained in sociological terms. The main thrust of the book is that an index of 'mental urbanization' – the extent to which one remains loyal to local (rural) culture – accounts for considerably more of the variation than the social class and social network indices. The social network index was purposely constructed to resemble Milroy's (1980) index for Belfast to facilitate comparison between the two studies. The lack of correlation between social network scores and linguistic performance is emphasized. Marshall argues that the social networks framework is of limited use not only for the Huntly data but for the study of language change generally.

The strategy of employing a subjective factor, i.e. one having to do with state of mind, as an independent variable is a welcome development. What Eckert (2002) calls 'third-wave studies' of linguistic variation have demonstrated that speaker intentionality cannot be ignored. In the rubric of community of practice theorists, speakers use linguistic variation to actively construct and negotiate personal and group identities. Therefore, variation – and, by extension, change – must in part be a function of speakers' desires to be like or unlike social groups they recognize. Indices such as Marshall's 'mental urbanization' scale have the potential to systematize the study of states of mind, possibly making them as useful as 'objective' factors (age, income, etc.) in quantitative analysis.

The Pearson's Correlation and linear regression tests (cf. Chapters 5 and 6, especially Table 28, p. 190) leave no doubt that 'mental urbanization' accounts for significantly more of the Huntly linguistic variation than social network. Marshall claims, therefore, that '. . . a strong sense of local identity will be tied

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to use of the local vernacular', and 'a rural person's degree of integration in local social networks does not *necessarily* indicate that person's maintenance of local vernacular norms' (p. 191, italics in original). The latter conclusion is further supported by reanalysis of Milroy's Belfast data, showing that the social network framework fails to account for the vast majority of the variation. These facts cannot, however, be taken as conclusive evidence that the social networks framework has failed in the Belfast and Huntly studies because neither Milroy nor Marshall has exploited all the possibilities for quantitative network analysis. Even Murray's (1993) rather caustic critique of Milroy's approach to social networks stops short of discussing the largely untouched potential of social network analysis. Papers in the journal *Social Network Research* begin to illustrate this potential. Without undertaking the (nearly impossible) task of charting speakers' complete social networks, linguists could construct more useful measures of network integration and investigate many more qualities, both quantitative and qualitative, of social network data. (Arguably the most productive use of networks by a sociolinguist is found in Lane's 1998 dissertation. See Dodsworth (2005) for network metrics other than familiar ones such as density and multiplexity.) Of greater concern is Marshall's claim that 'a more complex [network] measure . . . could not have been achieved without spending an extremely lengthy period of time in the fieldwork area, living among, and interacting with local people, and was in any case unnecessary' (p. 109). Yet it is exactly this kind of familiarity with the local community that recent variationist work has shown to be valuable in understanding the social factors contributing to linguistic variation. A more complex measure of social network position may very well have accounted for more of the variation. This is not to say that social network analysis will manage to directly *explain* linguistic patterns, as Cameron (1997) and Romaine (1984) observe. Yet the book's subtitle, *Rethinking Social Networks*, refers to a goal that merits further attention.

Marshall clearly favors the view that speakers' attitudes toward local communities and norms have a stronger influence on linguistic performance than speaker-external factors such as class. The proposed update to the social networks framework (p. 229) adds speaker intentionality: a person's positive mental orientation to the community may or may not lead the person to choose to be well-integrated. Either way, in Marshall's framework, the person signals positive orientation to the community by following local linguistic norms. Thus the role of social networks becomes optional, and norms may be perpetuated in the absence of dense networks because speakers, rather than networks, are the agents. Højrup's (1983) notion of life modes, as well as Pedersen's (1994) 'composite' life modes, are discussed, but instead of assuming that life modes lead to specific types of social network structures as in Milroy and Milroy (1992), Marshall proposes that life modes be viewed as *attitudinal* factors. He explains:

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> If, as Life Mode Theory has it, one is 'placed' into a certain life mode by macro-level social and economic factors, but has opinions on (orientations to) these categories, which are pivotal to social behaviour patterns, then the latter are surely more influential than the large-scale categories over which the individual has no choice. (p. 218)

Marshall offers a framework for a 'composite dialect maintenance index' (p. 233), arguing that a sufficient approach to dialect maintenance 'would need to consider all of the potential social factors involved in language change'. The proposed framework includes the social factors used in the Huntly study: attitudes toward the local community and dialect, social network, age, sex, location, and social class. Unlike the Huntly study, however, it requires both structural and interactional social network indices, and it leaves room for other relevant social factors. The emphasis on the complexity and diversity of the sociological phenomena underlying language maintenance and change echoes Labov's observation that 'a complete account of sociolinguistic patterns must display the effects of speakers' gender, age, ethnicity, race, social class, urban/rural status, and position in social networks' (2001: 84). Thus Marshall's proposed framework steps beyond previous work by emphasizing speaker attitudes but is otherwise familiar. It should be noted that although Marshall suggests using multiple regression analysis to measure the effects of all social factors together (p. 233) and generally relies on quantitative methods, recent work suggests that qualitative methods are essential to understanding how the factors *interact* in a given community.

Although Marshall's statistical findings cannot be ignored, the bias toward subjectivity is perhaps too strong. The general claim that orientations to social categories 'are surely more influential than the large-scale categories' is premature. One reason is that the struggle to operationalize certain dimensions of social identity, especially class, continues, and linguists have yet to capitalize on many insights from sociology. Another reason is that it is not entirely clear which aspects of social identity are those 'over which the individual has no choice'. Presumably Marshall is referring to dimensions such as age, sex, ethnicity, class, and gender, but only the first three of those are clearly beyond individual choice (and even sex and ethnicity may be considered negotiable). Moreover, the phenomena that we explain as matters of 'choice' – e.g. some people prefer local culture while others with similar backgrounds gravitate toward non-local norms – are generally those for which we lack other explanation. There are undoubtedly large-scale social forces that sociolinguists have not identified. The division between (chosen) social orientations and intrinsic, non-chosen characteristics may therefore be fuzzy.

Further, Marshall's implementation of the strategy leaves room for future work. The mental urbanization index, for instance, is based on yes/no answers to 10 questions about the desirability of urban vs. rural culture. Marshall notes that although readers may find fault with the individual questions, 'interviewees are sensitive to the "message" contained in the line of questioning.

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They very soon seem to realize what the interviewer is driving at, and answer the questions in a way that demonstrates their feelings on the matter' (p. 113). Even so, the questionnaire does not directly capture speaker intentionality, or purposeful adherence to conservative cultural and linguistic norms, despite Marshall's emphasis throughout the book on speaker autonomy (particularly in sections 2.7 and 7.4). The questions deal exclusively with preferences and perceptions, rather than focusing on speakers' intentions in making cultural choices. The difference may seem trivial, but asking speakers directly about their intentions with respect to preserving local culture would boost the index's validity.

Another potential flaw is that Marshall's transcription is (apparently) impressionistic and may therefore be less consistent than acoustic analysis. Impressionistic transcription also precludes recognition of relatively subtle differences among tokens of the same variant, thereby potentially hiding patterns of variation (cf. Kerswill and Wright 1991; Pitt et al. 2005).

This book productively summarizes previous thinking on attitudes and speaker intentionality as factors in language change. Marshall does a nice job of explaining, in simple terms, why each statistical technique was chosen and what it measures, making the book accessible to readers with little statistical training. He also steps through some basic issues in the study of language change and provides a useful introduction to social networks and life modes as they are employed in sociolinguistics.

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John C. Paolillo. *Analyzing Linguistic Variation: Statistical Models and Methods* (CSLI Lecture Notes 114). Stanford, California: CSLI Publications. 2002. 268 pp. Hb (1575862751) $65,00/€60,50/Pb (157586276X) $25.00/€23.50.

Reviewed by Thomas Hoffmann

Ever since the first version of the program (Cedegren and Sankoff 1974), many linguists working on linguistic variation have turned to VARBRUL as a means of statistically quantifying the effect of independent variables on the realization of a dependent variable (Labov 1969). Until recently, however, anyone interested in using VARBRUL was faced with two problems.[1]

First of all, there was no single textbook which provided an introduction to the statistical background of the programs as well as pragmatic how-to guidelines. Therefore, one either had to track down hard-to-find publications (e.g. Chapter 7 of Sigley 1997, an enlightening introduction to the mathematical background but so far unpublished) or articles which, concentrating on the practical application of the program, assumed at least some statistical background (Young and Bailey 1996 probably being one of the most accessible).

The lack of accessible introductions seems to have contributed to a second problem: the fact that some researchers use VARBRUL without being aware of the program's limitations or without really understanding the significance of the numerous parameters which are reported by recent versions of the program such as GOLDVARB.[2]

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John C. Paolillo's introduction to variationalist analysis aims at providing 'the statistical bases of VARBRUL' (p. ix) for 'researchers and graduate students looking for answers about how to conduct variationalist linguistic analyses' as well as 'new and experienced researchers who are dissatisfied with the information currently available' (p. 20). In addition, Paolillo tries 'to explain and support a broader view of variationalist linguistic analysis which emphases its relationship to similar approaches in the social sciences' (p. 1).

Assuming a readership without prior knowledge of either statistics or variationalist linguistics, Chapter 1, 'What is variationist analysis?', gives a succinct introduction to the fundamental concepts of both fields. After introducing the notions of variable rule, hypothesis testing, and modeling, Paolillo shows how the logistic regression model underlying the latest VARBRUL programs (VARBRUL 2, GOLDVARB) compares with other statistical analyses (e.g. bivariate ANOVA or multivariate linear regression analysis).

Chapter 2, 'Linguistic variation', is then concerned with 'how variationist research frames questions about linguistic variation, so that empirical observations may be related to subsequent interpretations' (p. 24). The chapter gives numerous examples of the various types of linguistic variables that have been analyzed so far (ranging from phonological variables like vowel laxing in pronouns in Guyanese Creole English (Rickford 1981) to syntactic ones like the relativizer choice in New Zealand English (Sigley 1997), and introduces the notions of dependent and independent variables (linguistic and social factors).

The conversion of raw data into token files, and the subsequent steps needed for a VARBRUL analysis, i.e. cell file and conditions file creation, coding and recoding the data, are dealt with in Chapter 3, 'Variable linguistic data'. The most important aspect of this chapter is that Paolillo does not only provide an in-depth explanation of how to recode the data (i.e. the LISP syntax commands demanded by VARBRUL), but he also illustrates the various types of interactions (social and linguistic) which might distort an analysis (cf. e.g. Table 3.5, p. 66).

In Chapter 4, 'Conducting variationist analyses', Paolillo presents VARBRUL's descriptive statistics, i.e. result files and cross-tabulations, and then goes on to explain the program's inferential outputs, i.e. the 'one-level analysis' and the 'step-up/step-down analysis' with their significance parameters (e.g. 'Error' per cell, 'Total Chi-square', 'Scatterplots' and 'Significance', respectively). Now, while virtually all introductions give reference points for 'Error' values indicating potential interaction effects (e.g. values above 2.0, e.g. Young and Bayley 1996), none I am aware of – including Paolillo – explains how 'Error' values are actually calculated. Considering the aims and scope of the book, this is somewhat disappointing. Robert Sigley (personal communication) has pointed out to me that since the 'Error' values of all cells add up to give the 'Total Chi-square' these must simply be chi-square tests conducted for each single cell. So, if you have a 'one-level analysis' which reports the following parameters for a cell (example taken from Paolillo, p. 80):

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Cell	Total	Applications	Expected	Error
SF	82	52	49.716	0.267

then the Error is the sum of the chi-square for applications [($\text{Observed}_{\text{Applications}} - \text{Expected}_{\text{Applications}})^2/\text{Expected}_{\text{Applications}}$] **and chi-square for non-applications** $\text{Observed}_{\text{Non-Applications}} - \text{Expected}_{\text{Non-Applications}})^2/\text{Expected}_{\text{Non-Applications}}$]: $[52-49.716]^2/49.716+[(82-52)-(82-49.716)]^2/(82-49.716)]=0.2665$. Since VARBRUL only gives the observed and expected values for the application value, but not for the non-applications (which for binomial factors is of course simply the 'residue'), I suspect that I am not the only one who was unable to make sense of 'Error' values. This, however, explains why Paolillo gives a threshold value of 3.84 for 'Error' values: this is the 'chi-square at one degree of freedom at a p-value of 0.05' (fn. 3, p. 82). Nevertheless, being aimed at a readership without prior statistical knowledge, one would expect an explanation like the one I have just outlined, instead of just providing this footnote as a clue to the formula.

Finally, note that chi-square tests can only be considered reliable, if the expected frequency for a cell is above 5 (if a cell has a lower expected frequency, chi-square tests almost always result in extremely high, i.e. significant results; cf. Woods, Fletcher and Hughes 1986: 144f.). Thus, high 'Error' values need not always be due to interaction effects but can also be caused by 'Expected' values <5.

Furthermore, rather disappointingly, the 'Fit: X-square' parameter offered by newer VARBRUL programs, which is an important indicator of how well a model describes the data, i.e. the model fit, is not mentioned in Paolillo's book either. On the positive side of the chapter, the advantages and disadvantages of the various solution strategies to interaction effects (notably data set partitioning, recoding with a complete or 'dummy coding' cross-product factor group) introduced in the preceding chapter are now illustrated by an exemplary comparison of the relevant model parameters (pp. 89–93). A complete cross-product recode, for example, yields a new factor group which contains all possible pairings of the factors of the two interacting factor groups. If, for example, factor group 1 had the factors 'older' and 'younger' speakers, and group 2 'working', 'middle' and 'upper' class, then the cross-product group 1*2 would contain the factors 'older and working class', 'older and middle class', etc. However, since a complete cross-product recode yields a factor group with many factors, not all of which might have a significant effect on the dependent variable, the cross-product factors are treated as individual factor groups in a 'dummy coding'. Then, e.g. 'older and working class' would be 'a distinct *factor group*, with a binary value (the combination of factors is present or not)' (p. 68), allowing a more precise detection of significant interaction effects.

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Whereas Paolillo intends Chapters 2–4 to give a more practical how-to guide to VARBRUL, Chapters 5–8 present 'the statistical basis of variationist methodology' (p. 21).

Chapter 5, 'Analyzing contingency tables', is an in-depth illustration of chi-square statistics and the notion of degrees of freedom followed by a presentation of the odds ratio model of factor association.

This information constitutes the statistical basis for Chapter 6, 'Models and parameters', which sets out to explain how degrees of freedom are calculated for models (model df vs. residual df). Using reference cell parametrization, Paolillo calculates the degrees of freedom by the formula 'number of factors minus number of factor groups *plus one [i.e. the consumed reference cell]*' (p. 127; my emphasis – T.H.). Other introductions to VARBRUL (e.g. Young and Bayley 1996: 273) define the model df without taking into account the reference cell, yielding the formula: Number of factor groups – Number of factors. Since model comparison always involves taking the difference of 2 sets of dfs ($df_{complex\ model} - df_{simpler\ model}$), however, it should be noted that both formulas yield the same result (since 'the "+1"s cancel out'; see Robert Sigley, Linguist List 9.1461, 20.10.1998).

Chapter 7, 'Variance and model comparison', then deals with measure of variance for logistic regression models, i.e. log-likelihood, and the G^2 likelihood ratio test for comparing the log-likelihoods of two competing models. Unfortunately, while Paolillo points out that the G^2 likelihood ratio test is used by VARBRUL in the step-up/step-downs run to select the best model, he again omits VARBRUL's Fit: X-square value, which also employs a G^2 to compare the likelihood of a model and the likelihood of the actual data. Researchers, however, need to be aware of the asymmetry between a good 'Fit: X-square' model-fit G^2 and a good step-up/step-down G^2 'significance' result: the 'Fit: X-square' G^2 will be satisfactory if it yields a $p >> 0.05$ (maximum possible, i.e. the log-likelihood of the data, and model log-likelihood can be said to approximate each other); G^2 'significance' test can be considered good if $p < 0.05$ (the log-likelihood of the complex model containing a factor group is statistically better than the log-likelihood of the simpler one without the factor group).

Next, Chapter 8, 'The logistic regression model', 'explains the nature of the logistic regression model, the processes by which it is estimated, and its measures of fit' (p. 153). In this chapter Paolillo compares linear and logistic regression models, discusses the problem posed by knockout factors and shows how the VARBRUL programs parameterize models and why and how maximum likelihood estimation is used to estimate VARBRUL factor weights.

The topics dealt with in Chapters 5–8 are complex by nature, but Paolillo manages to provide a clear and insightful presentation of all the relevant detail. As in the entire book, he does not construct examples but uses actual linguist analyses illustrating the various points in question (frequently drawing on VARBRUL analyses of the data from Labov's 1972 classic study of the (r) variable in the three New York department stores).

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Chapter 9, 'Generalized linear models', then shows how VARBRUL's logistic regression models compares with 'two general families of statistical models: **log-linear models** and **generalized linear models**', while the last chapter, 'Formal models of variation', demonstrates how their status as probabilistic context-sensitive rules enables variable rules to be incorporated into any probabilistic formal model of grammar (by showing that variable rules can model implicational scaling and that even constraint-based theories like Optimality Theory can be modeled via variable rules).

Finally, the appendix section provides a list of internet resources for the VARBRUL software, Appendix 1, 'Finding software', the estimation algorithm of VARBRUL2's maximum-likelihood logistic regression; Appendix 2, 'The VARBRUL estimation algorithm', and a chi-square table; Appendix 3, 'Values of the chi-square statistic'.

As has been pointed out above, the book does not explain the crucial 'Fit: X-square' parameter of the latest VARBRUL programs, while other aspects of the programs, e.g. the calculation of the 'Error' values per cell, should have received a more detailed explanation. Nevertheless, the book is a seminal achievement which provides linguists with the first in-depth introduction on how to use VARBRUL while at the same time explaining the importance of the mathematical basis of the programs. Although the statistical aspects dealt with in the book do not normally constitute an easy read, Paolillo manages to give a clear and insightful presentation of all the relevant topics. Furthermore, he only uses actual linguistic studies to illustrate all his points, so the reader will also be introduced to the various potential applications of VARBRUL in variationist linguistics. Therefore, *Analyzing Linguistic Variation* can be fully recommanded to any researcher considering working with VARBRUL, ideally supplemented by Sigley's (1997) Chapter 7 for information on the 'FIT: X-square' parameter.

NOTES

1. This review was simultaneously submitted to and accepted by the journal *Historical Sociolinguistics and Sociohistorical Linguistics* (http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/hsl.shl/). I am grateful to the editors of *HSSL* for allowing me to withdraw this review from their journal.
2. McCafferty (1998), for example, used GOLDVARB to analyze the realization of the FACE-vowel in Derry/Londenderry English. His data clearly included an interaction effect (cf. his Figure 1, p. 19) for his oldest informants, in which the graph lines of male working class and male middle class Protestants intersect, while no such effect is found for the corresponding Catholic speakers. Now any interaction effect clearly diminishes the reliability of the factor weights reported by GOLDVARB and several parameters of the program will usually indicate that a model containing interaction effects is a bad fit for the data (e.g. 'Total Chi-square', 'Fit: X-square' or the 'Error' values for the cells affected by the interaction effect; cf. Sigley 1997; Young and Bayley 1996), yet McCafferty does not report any of these parameters. Even if the

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model he presented yielded a good model-fit, the standard scientific code of conduct would have demanded that he provided at least the model's 'Total Chi-square' and/or 'Fit: X-square'.

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Selma K. Sonntag. *The Local Politics of Global English: Case Studies in Linguistic Globalization*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books. 2003. Pb (0739105981) $17.95.

Reviewed by Satoko Kobayashi

How can the global English phenomenon be understood at the local level? This book attempts to answer this question by inquiring into the local politics of global English in a variety of nations around the world. The author mainly analyzes the local actors, both advocates and opponents of global English, their understandings of linguistic globalization, and the power relations between them. She tries to explore ways in which hegemony and resistance,

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elites and subalterns, and liberalization and democratization figure in each case. By using these analytic concepts, she recognizes two types of globalization: from 'above' and from 'below'. Because the book covers a wide range of political movements and conflicts over language ideology in selected countries at a macro level, it helps the reader to gain a general idea of the linguistic dominance of English and its multidimensional role around the world.

In Chapter 1, Sonntag explains the study's key analytic concepts, listed above. In the following chapters, the author illustrates the role of English in the local politics of five selected countries: the United States (Chapter 2), France (Chapter 3), India (Chapter 4), and South Africa and Nepal (Chapter 5). In the case of the United States, where English is the dominant language, Sonntag mainly describes the controversy over the conflict surrounding the English dominancy and the language rights of new immigrants, discussing the issues with regard to democratization and diversity. English is a significant tool for people with diverse backgrounds in democratization, while individual language rights should be also fostered. In Chapter 3, the author discusses conflicts of linguistic ideology in France noting that this country's constitutional challenge to the English language invites French language domination of other minority languages. In this way, the French state is 'both defender of linguistic pluralism and propagator of linguistic homogenization' (p. 48). In Chapter 4, Sonntag describes the linguistic conflict between 'elites', a politically dominant group, and the 'masses', subordinate groups, in India. This conflict involves an ideological clash concerning the maintenance of the caste structure; elites avoid the dispersion of English language capital among the masses as it would empower subordinate groups through acquisition of the language of global power, and the subordinate groups try to acquire English language in order for them to obtain better social positions. In Chapter 5, the author contrasts South Africa and Nepal, both of which are multilingual countries which underwent democratization at around the same time, and English played a significant role in the transition process in both countries. However, as far as 'English is the language of liberation and democracy' (p. 81) in both countries, its political implications are perceived differently. In the current post-apartheid period in South Africa, the White Afrikaans speakers who are the politically dominant group advocate mother-tongue instruction and multilingualism in order to resist English hegemony, to preserve the rights of their minority language, and to keep Blacks in a subordinate class. Blacks also insist on upholding their language rights, but in the hopes of democratization, while they demand access to English so that they can fully access to linguistic capital in South African society. Similarly, English plays an important role in democratizing a post-absolute-monarchy multilingual country, Nepal. However, as Nepal does not have a history of colonization by an English-speaking country like South Africa, English is seen more as a democratic force than as a cause of cultural hegemony. In the last chapter, summarizing the role of English commonly shown in the five countries reviewed in the previous chapters, the

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author concludes that globalization and local language politics of global English are correlated, and global English is a significant element of linguistic globalization.

Throughout the book, Sonntag demonstrates how English is used by dominant groups to control the economy and social structure of the nations under consideration, while at the same time she is able to show that English can also be used as a tool for the empowerment of minority groups helping them to have their voices heard, to gain equal rights, and to access resources. In her analysis, the author insightfully points out that minority groups who appeal to language rights in order to resist global English hegemony 'may actually be reinforcing the ideological premises underlying that hegemony' (p. 25). Furthermore, the dominant group's liberal principles seem to 'foster individual choice, autonomy, and integrity in politics', while at the same time they also seem to 'foster economic inequality and class division' (p. 30). Whichever political position is supported, it reinforces the myth of English hegemony and unequal economic distribution as long as the debate is framed as 'either language A or language B'.

Sonntag's effort to exemplify complicated issues of global English and local politics is very valuable and timely. However, the author's approach to the local politics of global English may leave some readers with additional questions. For instance, while the author successfully describes how different ideologies of English emerge in the five countries with different historical and political backgrounds, her conclusion that the local linguistic politics of global English and globalization are correlated seems to be overtly generalized as there is not enough discussion about what she means by 'global'. In any case, this book offers a wonderful resource to anyone who wants to grasp a broad idea of the controversy over global English at the level of local politics and it will be especially useful to students in undergraduate courses in political science, global studies and linguistics.

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Alison Sealey and Bob Carter Sealey. *Applied Linguistics as a Social Science*. London and New York: Continuum. 2004. 239 pp. Pb (0826455204) £25.00.

Reviewed by Alan Davies

Academic disciplines inhabit second, perhaps third order reality: the objects, categories, processes they study (poems, conversations, cultural behaviours, quantums, minerals, diseases, rights) are all themselves constructions and when theorised about, analysed, compared and interpreted become second

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order. Then the collapsing of these features into areas of study which claim or assume a commonality is surely a third order fiction. How easy then were the relativist attacks on anthropology and the postmodern challenge to literary and social studies? But a wider view helps us realise that such paradigm shifts are inherent in the ways we understand and analyse the physical and social worlds. The very nascence of the social sciences and of the natural sciences out of philosophy and religion is itself indicative of the febrility of all attempts at stable coherences. Such permeable boundaries are especially evident in the social sciences. It is understandable, therefore, that there should be rival attempts to define Applied Linguistics, the subject of the book under review. Like the elephant in the story, Applied Linguistics is open to a variety of approaches: in this, as we have suggested, it is not all that different from any other field of enquiry.

But there is a particular problem with the nature, indeed with the label, Applied Linguistics. One view, now perhaps the dominant one, is that Applied Linguistics is whatever Linguistics is (and this, of course, itself changes over time) applied to language in use. The other approach turns this on its head, fronting up to language in use and its problems and needs and then drawing on Linguistics and other disciplines to try to understand and perhaps meet those needs.

Let us concentrate on the first view: 'whatever Linguistics is' can be considered diachronically and synchronically. The diachronic approach sees Linguistics at one time as historical, another as structural, and most recently as cognitive. These approaches each has its own view of what 'applied' means. The synchronic approach emphasises one major aspect of Linguistics, locating it either in its social or its psychological setting. Both are of course right, in that language is both social and psychological: it should not be necessary to choose.

The book under review, *Applied Linguistics as Social Science* by Alison Sealey and Bob Carter maintains that language is primarily social; indeed the authors appear on occasion near to claiming it is only social. Since the book is an argument for the importance of the social, such a one-sided view may perhaps be forgiven.

Sealey and Carter set out to 'make a case for regarding the discipline of Applied Linguistics as a Social Science' (p. 1). Given that Applied Linguistics has its origin in Psychology, Sociology, Anthropology, Education, as well as in Language(s) and Linguistics (plus the attempts by Linguistics itself to be reclassified as a Social Science, partly no doubt for funding purposes), this is hardly innovative. Sealey and Carter continue: 'Applied Linguistics is construed here . . . to refer to those areas of language description and analysis which locate language within the social world, and which understand language use as a form of social practice.' (p. 1) It is not clear whether Sealey and Carter are laying claim to all Applied Linguistics or whether they are suggesting only those areas of Applied Linguistics which concern 'language within

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the social world'. What seems clear is that they are primarily concerned with their own take on social theory, namely social realism. Neither positivist nor relativist, social realism proposes that 'the social world consists of different kinds of things, namely human beings and the products of their interactions' (p. 1). 'While we do wish to defend a modest notion of objectivity in social research' they tell us 'we also recognise the limitations of empirical research based on correlations of variables.' (p. 108). All well and good for a theoretical approach perhaps but how adequate for applied linguistic enterprises which must lead to a resolution? Applied Linguistics simply cannot remain at the stage of observing: it has to come to a conclusion, however inadequate and flawed. The danger of the Sealey and Carter approach is that it leads to inaction.

Sociolinguistics, unlike Applied Linguistics, may well be satisfied with analysis and not attempt either intervention or a solution to the language problem(s) it examines. It seems possible then that the book is really about Sociolinguistics rather than Applied Linguistics. Sealey and Carter come close to admitting that this is the case:

> [T]here is . . . a great deal of potential common ground between this broader interpretation of 'Sociolinguistics' and the broader interpretation of 'Applied Linguistics'. The most inclusive definitions of either discipline may make the distinction between the two effectively redundant, and indeed in the chapters which follow, some of the issues we discuss might equally well be considered 'sociolinguistic' as 'applied linguistic'. (pp. 29, 30)

One example of this blurring of the Sociolinguistics–Applied Linguistics distinction occurs in the discussion of culture:

> If culture is an emergent and necessarily open-ended realm, then claims that nation-states can be founded on a singular or unique cultural heritage or that language can function as a simple badge of ethnicity, are highly problematic. (p. 154)

True enough, we might say. But surely this is a sociolinguistic view. Applied Linguistics has to recognise that nationalism, however bullying and tawdry, is an ideology and operates as a social fact. Sealey and Carter are just not taking into account the commitment of Applied Linguistics to the pragmatics of the practical. Even though they claim to be following Brumfit's definition of Applied Linguistics: 'the theoretical and empirical investigation of real-world problems in which language is a central issue' (Brumfit 2001: 169) they remain inert, locked in theory: 'we have suggested that some of the key concepts used in mainstream studies of intercultural communication are vulnerable to theoretical critique' (p. 153).

Sealey and Carter recognise that in their advocacy for a social realist approach to Applied Linguistics they have no research studies to draw on to illustrate their thesis. They do, it is true, refer to one such study (apparently the only one which takes a social realist approach), that of Belz 2002, but they neither describe nor discuss it. Instead, they consider how their theoretical

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position could influence 'the kind of studies often undertaken in Applied Linguistics' (p. 184). Their approach to such research is very thick, so thick indeed that it would be difficult to set up hypotheses, let alone determine whether they hold up.

Take for example two of the research questions they cite:

> What works to make English schoolchildren learn foreign languages better?
> What challenges face bilingual speakers who are called on to interpret between the police and minority language speaker detainees? (p. 187)

Interesting issues, no doubt, but are they research questions?

We must, of course, remember that Sealey and Carter are not positivist, but on their own admission they are not relativist either. We also note their assertion that: 'Social Realism is not a research method nor yet a methodology' (p. 202). Yet it is difficult to accept such a claim when with the next breath they are explaining just what research Applied Linguistics informed by Social Realism should investigate; the net is cast very wide and the catch turns out to be: 'not a master theory of the key causal mechanism, not a catalogue of inconsistent results, but a typology of broadly based configurations' (p. 208). Hello! Does this mean that at some future date it will be possible to use these broadly based configurations in research which is somehow more robust?

Sealey and Carter conclude with the claims that their social realist approach offers an indirect approach to reality: facts, they say, never speak for themselves; and that research should be case driven and at the same time not idiosyncratic. We might, in parenthesis, note that the long-established nominalist tradition which informed the enlightenment and empirical research has never suggested that facts have a reality in themselves, rather that they are merely convenient and transient ways of viewing and handling the world.

Finally, Sealey and Carter summarise their book thus:

> We have provided here a first indication of how a distinctively social realist orientation might have a role in steering applied linguistic research away from the kinds of impasse which seem to threaten Social Science disciplines as policy-makers grow increasingly impatient for answers to the question 'what works?' (p. 210).

But of course the policy makers and the answers they are impatient for and the question 'what works?' are all part of the equation, all data which applied linguists must take into account, beset as they are on all sides by the demands of Brumfit's real-world problems. In so doing, they seek to collect thin rather than thick data which can illuminate one small corner of the mush of general goings-on.

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Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola and Heli Pitkänen (eds.). *The Celtic Roots of English* (Studies in English, 37). Joensuu: University of Joensuu. 2002. 330 pp. Pb (9524581647).

Reviewed by Piotr Stalmaszczyk

Recent interest in Celtic Englishes has resulted in a number of scholarly publications, research projects and conferences (most notably the four colloquia on 'The Celtic Englishes' organized by Hildegard Tristram at Potsdam University, and the 'English and Celtic in Contact' project at Joensuu coordinated by the editors of this volume). The book under review includes papers presented at 'An International Colloquium on Early Contacts between English and the Celtic Languages', held at the University of Joensuu Research Station in Mekrijärvi, Finland, August 2001. The main aim of the Colloquium was to bring together scholars with 'an active interest in the historical and linguistic contacts between speakers of Celtic languages and speakers of Germanic languages and their impact on the development of the English language' (p. v). The book comprises a short preface, an introduction, and 13 papers arranged into four parts. Unfortunately, though, there is no index.

The editors provide in their Introduction a comprehensive overview of studies on early contacts between English and the Celtic languages. They start with presenting the widely held view on the minimal role played by the Celtic languages in the development of English. This is the 'received view', typical of textbooks on the history of English and shared by such authorities as Otto Jespersen, A. C. Baugh and T. Cable, T. Pyles and J. Algeo, B. Strang, B. Fennell, D. Kastovsky, to name only the authors of the most influential publications. The view expressed by Baugh and Cable (1993: 85) is typical of this approach: 'outside of place-names the influence of Celtic upon the English language is almost negligible'. Filppula, Klemola and Pitkänen comment that 'the limited number of Celtic loan-words is often taken as definitive proof against the possibility of Celtic influence on English on other levels of language, especially syntax and phonology' (p. 3). Several contributions to the volume show the shortcomings of such reasoning and their authors provide new perspectives on Celtic influence in English syntax and phonology, and additional evidence

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for influence on English vocabulary and place-names. The Introduction also discusses the historical and archeological evidence pertaining to the English settlement in the British Isles, and the interpretations (or rather misinterpretations) of this evidence by nineteenth century historians. The editors conclude their overview with an appeal for 'a more balanced approach to the Celtic–English contacts and their linguistic outcomes than has hitherto been the case' (p. 23). The following contributions definitely present a balanced approach and consider new evidence enabling a better understanding of Celtic–English contacts. The evidence comes from a variety of disciplines, such as linguistics (including comparative and historical grammar, etymology and onomastics), history and archeology.

Four papers in Part 1 deal with historical and linguistic perspectives on the earliest Anglo-Saxon/British contacts. Nicholas Higham writes on 'The Anglo-Saxon/British interface: History and ideology', where he focuses on who was considered 'British' and who 'Anglo-Saxon', and how 'Otherness' was constructed. He observes that both 'Britishness' and 'Englishness' were post-Roman constructs and explores the insular texts from the period (especially Gildas, Aldhelm, and Bede). In 'The significances of Celtic place-names in England', Richard Coates acknowledges the 'original Celtic presence by observing the marks of it in the landscape, and affirming that there are more such marks than has generally been recognized' (p. 47). He offers a comprehensive review of existing scholarship followed by a detailed discussion of numerous place-names.

Peter Schrijver's contribution, 'The rise and fall of British Latin: Evidence from English and Brittonic' discusses the considerable influence British Latin has had on Brittonic (British Celtic) and Old English around the middle of the first millennium A.D. The author provides ample phonological evidence matched by morphosyntactic influence and demonstrates that British Latin was a mediator of certain Brittonic features that occur in Old English. Schrijver's observations have consequences for the substrate theory, not only in the context of language contact in the British Isles but also beyond.

Hildegard L. C. Tristram explores the problem of 'Attrition of inflections in English and Welsh'. She discusses the shift from syntheticity to analyticity in Welsh and English, and compares the two languages, at different stages, regarding this typological feature. The discussion is based on a careful analysis of the earliest documents in Old Welsh and Old English. The earliest vernacular documents of Britain show beyond doubt that the attrition of inflections in English and Welsh is unlikely to be due to either coincidence or only one cause. Out of the possible factors involved, Tristram stresses the importance of the contact situation with the native (i.e. Celtic) population.

Four papers in Part 2 are devoted to linguistic outcomes of Medieval and Early Modern contacts. David L. White is concerned with 'Explaining the innovations of Middle English: What, where, and why'. This is another article which challenges the conventional wisdom that there is no significant Celtic

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influence in Standard English. White discusses the drift of English toward Brittonic and illustrates it with examples of several innovations (such as nominal case loss, participle loss, gerundial progressive, etc). In the appendix, he lists 52 possible phonological, morphological and syntactic Brittonicisms in English, some of which had already been discussed by J. R. R. Tolkien, Walther Preusler, Gerard Visser, others still waiting for further elaboration and proper explanation.

Andrew Breeze gives an overview of 'Seven types of Celtic loanwords'. He classifies the Celtic loanwords in early English (from the Anglo-Saxon settlements till the Tudors) into seven categories: 'Brittonic words in Old English; Irish words in Old English; Welsh words in Middle English; Irish in the same; and Welsh, Irish, Scottish Gaelic in Early Modern English' (p. 175). He furnishes the classification with a discussion of appropriate lexical items from each category. The analyses put forward by Breeze show that the contribution of Celtic to English is far more substantial than traditionally assumed, and yet 'it is merely a small sample of what awaits discovery by future scholars' (p. 179).

Stephen Laker provides 'An explanation for the changes *kw-*, *hw-* > χ*w-* in the English dialects'. The author observes that though recent typological studies have revealed several syntactic parallels between Welsh and Middle and Modern English, no clear cases of Celtic phonological inference appear to have been found. Laker demonstrates that the spirantisation *kw-* > χ*w-* and Northumbrian Old English fricativisation *hw-* > χ*w-* are representative of such influence. He concludes that 'the history of English language cannot successfully be studied without consideration of early and continuing contacts with British Celtic, and thus specifically by paying attention to the structure and developments of Welsh' (p. 196). Juhani Klemola discusses 'Periphrastic DO: Dialectal distribution and origins'. He observes that the origins of English periphrastic DO is one of the perennial problems in English historical linguistics, and provides a comprehensive review of earlier and more recent literature. Different factors must have been involved in the formation of this construction, and 'there is enough evidence to conclude that Brythonic influence on the origin of English periphrastic DO is a likely contributory fact' (p. 208).

Part 3 discusses the early Irish input. Patricia Ronan investigates 'Subordinating *ocus* "and" in Old Irish'. Ronan discusses in detail the evolution of this construction in Irish. She analyses the distribution and semantics of structures with *ocus/os* in Old and Middle Irish texts and convincingly suggests that the original deictic marker became re-interpreted as a subordinating conjunction. Erich Poppe's contribution deals with 'The "expanded form" in Insular Celtic and English: Some historical and comparative considerations, with special emphasis on Middle Irish'. Poppe focuses on a small corpus of Middle and Early Modern Irish sermons and homilies from the fifteenth century *Leabhar Breac*. He compares the Irish data with appropriate equivalents from Middle Welsh, Middle Breton and Middle Cornish, and suggests the

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possibility of long-term reinforcing influence of Celtic Englishes upon English, especially the influence of Celtic imperfective progressives on the development of the English progressive. In 'Cleft sentences in Irish and other languages', Anders Ahlqvist demonstrates how the development of the construction from Old Irish to Modern Irish is connected with the VSO word order. He also observes that the origin and development of cleft sentences in English cannot be so readily explained.

Finally, two papers in Part 4 provide pre-historical perspectives. Kalevi Wiik focuses 'On the origins of the Celts' and discusses the problems connected with establishing the place and time of the emergence of the Celts and the genetic relationship of the Celtic languages. Theo Vennemann's article 'Semitic → Celtic → English: The transitivity of language contact' investigates contact transitivity which would 'link English back via Insular Celtic to Semitidic (Mediterranean Hamito-Semitic)' (p. 322). Vennemann discusses the subordinating *and* construction, and compares Irish and Irish English data with similar instances in Modern Arabic and old Semitic languages. He also discusses the answers to *yes*/*no*-questions in Irish English, and points to the underlying process of double creolization.

All contributions are very well researched, furnished with ample references, and, where necessary, amended with the discussed texts. The multidisciplinary approach offered by the articles makes *The Celtic Roots of English* attractive not only to Celticists and Anglicists, but also to researchers interested in language (and culture) contact in general.

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Miklós Kontra (ed.). *Nyelv és társadalom a rendszerváltáskori Magyarországon* [Language and Society in Hungary at the Fall of Communism]. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó. 2003. 371 pp. Pb (9633894190) HUF 3480.

Reviewed by László Cseresnyési

Language and Society in Hungary at the Fall of Communism is a significant contribution to sociolinguistics (in Hungarian) which is, in terms of methodology, comparable to the work of William Labov and Peter Trudgill. At present, it also

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happens to be the only major sociolinguistic description of the Hungarian language. About 80% of the book was written by Miklós Kontra, Head of the Department of Sociolinguistics in the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, while Chapter 8 of the book is the work of four other renowned scholars: Róbert Angelusz, Csaba Pléh, Róbert Tardos and Tamás Terestyéni.

The material analyzed by Kontra and his collaborators comes from the *Hungarian National Sociolinguistic Survey* conducted between 1988–1989. This survey used a random sample of Hungarians living in Hungary. The questionnaire compiled by Kontra, Pléh and Terestyéni investigated the stratification of ten types of linguistic variables of Hungarian based on the responses of 832 informants. The respondents were 364 men and 468 women in seven age groups of adult speakers coming from various communities (Budapest, other urban centers, minor cities, and villages) representing virtually all strata of Hungarian society ('managers', 'intellectuals', 'skilled workers', 'blue-collar workers', 'old age pensioners', etc.) classified in four categories according to educational background. Overall, all the informants were identified in terms of the following categories: gender, age, education, profession, community (i.e. type of settlement), commuter status, ethnicity (i.e. member of the Gypsy minority or not), and social mobility. The questionnaire also included inquiries about the 'consumption' of prescriptive radio/television programs and publications by 'language cultivators', as 'language cultivation' (*nyelvmüvelés*), i.e. force-feeding prescriptive grammar through the media, seems to have more influence on the linguistic behavior of people in Hungary than in Western countries. Hence the findings of the study can be generalized to the entire (literate) adult population of Hungary at the fall of communism.

The tasks in the survey questionnaire were of the following four types: (1) grammaticality judgement; (2) oral sentence completion; (3) choosing among alternative written forms; (4) correcting text by underlining and providing an alternative form. The bulk of the book consists of an elaborate analysis of several linguistic variables covarying with the above-mentioned social variables. In these chapters (i.e. Chapters 4–6), Kontra manages to demonstrate that the Hungarian speech community is very much divided, and that in some cases both the dimensions and the stratification of linguistic variation are different from what one may expect on the basis of native intuitions (e.g. the case of variables 6 and 9, below). This evaluation is also supported by the fact that the findings of the book came under verbal attack in the circles of Hungarian traditional grammarians and language cultivators. For example, during the 7th International Conference of Hungarian Linguistics in Budapest (August, 2004), I overheard one of our learned colleagues saying that 'no one in his right mind could believe that this many educated speakers use all those ridiculous forms conjured up by Kontra.'

The ten linguistic variables (with a few subvariables) selected for this empirical study were mainly those which have traditionally been stigmatized/

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ostracized by purists and professional language cultivators. The first section of the book outlines some differences in the assumptions about language between sociolinguistics and (Chomskyan) theoretical linguistics, and points out general problems with the prescriptive approach to language. The relatively extensive discussion of language cultivation and prescriptivism in the book may strike the Western reader as unnecessary. In Hungary, however, members of the powerful political lobby known as 'language cultivators' essentially rule the majority of academic bodies, the education system, and also most of the mass media. In November 2001, language cultivators arrogantly demonstrated their influence on legislation by passing the so-called *Advertisement Law* (No. T/4899), an otherwise insignificant legal measure restricting the use of foreign words in advertisements (comparable to French laws). If we consider that the default meaning of *linguist* (*nyelvész*) in Hungarian is 'language cultivator', and that Hungarian parents must apply to a body of language cultivators if they wish to give some unlisted name to their child (the official list consists of 1827 names), Kontra's calm reasoning against academic prescriptivism and unreliable statements in the 2587-page *Handbook of Language Cultivation*, as well as his analysis of the (non-)effects of language cultivation are of considerable importance. Furthermore, by analyzing the data of the assumed connection between the consumption of printed or broadcast items on language cultivation and 'correct language use', Kontra concludes that there is little correlation, i.e. language cultivation is, in fact, quite inefficient. It must be emphasized, however, that *Language and Society in Hungary* is not some polemic tract against prescriptivism, but a sociolinguistic study which incidentally denies every word of the traditional prescriptivist lore.

Now, let us consider the linguistic variables surveyed by Kontra and his colleagues, and summarize some of their findings. The numbering of the variables is my own. The arrows indicate decrease (↓) or increase (↑), e.g. ↑AGE stands for 'with the increase of age' or 'older speakers'.

Variable 1 is the merger of two case forms corresponding to the English preposition + noun combinations *within* + N (Hungarian N-*ban* or N-*ben* depending on vowel harmony) versus *into* + N (Hungarian N-*ba* or N-*be*), which tend to coincide in N-*ba*/-*be* in informal speech styles. The data show that some 60% of this sample of Hungarian speakers accept the merger in grammaticality judgements and left stigmatized forms unchanged in correction tasks. On the other hand, many of them (32.3% and 45.6%) changed the (prescriptively) 'incorrect' N-*ba*/-*be* forms to the codified standard N-*ban*/-*ben* when asked to do so in a text correction task. Gender and several other variables have little influence on the choice of -*ba*/-*be*∼-*ban*/-*ben* variants, though younger, more educated people from larger urban communities conform to the prescriptive norm more than older, less educated people from villages. In other words, in this case, standardness correlates with ↓AGE, ↑EDUCATION, ↑PROFESSION, ↑URBAN COMMUNITY. As the case merger is

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very much under way, most speakers do not even know when they are supposed to use the respectable N-*ban*/-*ben* case form, which explains the abundance of hypercorrect variants. Hypercorrect sentences, resembling English? *Poisonous gas got* within *the air*, were accepted or left unchanged in text correction tasks by about half of the respondents. Hypercorrection correlates with older age, less education, coming from smaller towns or village communities, working in the local community (versus commuting to work), and not moving higher on the social scale than one's father, i.e. hypercorrection depends on ↑AGE, ↓EDUCATION, ↓URBAN COMMUNITY, NON-COMMUTING, NON-MOBILITY.

Variable 2 concerns the levelling of forms in the indefinite conjugation in verbs with or without the -*ik* formative (in 3rd person singular present indicative). In (more recent) colloquial Hungarian, verbs of the -*ik*-class tend to conform to the general conjugation pattern. While in the indicative the distinction is not yet obsolete, cf. *iszom* (by the codified norm) ~*iszok* 'I drink', the 'correct' conditional forms, e.g. *innám [egyet]* 'I would drink [one]', have generally been replaced by the general conditional forms (e.g. *innék*). If we consider indicative forms, standardness correlates with FEMALE GENDER, ↓AGE, ↑EDUCATION, ↑PROFESSION, ↑MOBILITY, ↑URBAN COMMUNITY more or less in all four types of tasks.

Variable 3 is the choice between the relative pronouns *ami* and *amely*, which is to some extent comparable to the choice between *that* and *which* in English. Standard usage appears to be maintained by younger rural speakers and male speakers. The hypercorrect use of *amely* (with a literary flavor) is found in one-fourth of the cases, and hypercorrection correlates with ↑EDUCATION and GYPSY ETHNICITY.

Variable 4 is the first person singular present conditional form of the indefinite conjugation, i.e. -*nék* in standard and -*nák* in non-standard Hungarian. However, the stigmatized -*nák* form is accepted by almost half of the respondents, and used by some 15% of the respondents in completion tasks. Standardness correlates with FEMALE GENDER, ↑EDUCATION, ↑URBAN COMMUNITY and ↓AGE (but standardness in oral sentence completion tasks does not correlate with AGE).

Variable 5 is the choice between indicative versus imperative-conjunctive verb forms in verbs ending in -*t* or -*szt*. In the past, linguists proposed various explanations about the social and/or regional stratification of these verb forms. Using the imperative-conjunctive form in the indicative is stigmatized by prescriptive grammar, but, with verbs ending in -*t*, about 30% of the respondents accepted the merger in grammaticality judgements, 6–7% even produced it in oral sentence completion tasks, and 37.8% left it unchanged in a written correction task. Stigmatized usage with verbs ending in -*szt* was accepted by 56.5% in grammaticality judgements, and produced by about 18% in oral sentence completion tasks. The data show that the degree of stigmatization is not identical with verbs ending in -*t*

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and *-szt*. The major factors affecting standardness are ↑EDUCATION and ↑URBAN COMMUNITY, but FEMALE GENDER and NON-GYPSY ETHNICITY were also significant. The hypercorrect use of indicative forms for imperative-conjunctive in written sentence corrections and oral sentence completions is high both with verbs ending in *-t* (24.3% and 12.2%) and verbs ending in *-szt* (13.5% and 18.6%).

Variable 6 is the rapidly spreading syntactic structure of {adverb + that-clause}, as in *Temészetesen, hogy beteg*. The mixed structure is usually conceived as a combination of *Természetes, hogy beteg* 'It is natural that s/he is ill' and *Természetesen beteg* 'Naturally, s/he is ill'. The mixed structure was accepted in a grammaticality judgement task by 55.4%, it was left unchanged in a correction task by 78.8% of the respondents, it was chosen as the preferred alternative by 6.6%, and it was added in completion tasks by 6.6% (inserting *természetesen, hogy* 'naturally that')and 23.5% (inserting *természetesen* 'naturally' into a sentence frame which already had *hogy* 'that'). Among other factors, the use or acceptance of the mixed structure depends on ↓EDUCATION and ↓URBAN COMMUNITY. In grammaticality judgements, written sentence corrections, and in choosing between alternatives, the acceptance or occurrence of the mixed structure correlates with ↑AGE, but in oral completion tasks with ↓AGE.

Variable 7 is the placement of the clitic particle *-e* in embedded alternative questions (cf. English 'I wonder whether S' or 'I wish I knew if S'). In the embedded (subordinate) sentence the clitic should be attached to the predicate, while attaching it to some other constituent (e.g. the negation marker) is stigmatized by prescriptive grammar. However, 37.7% of the respondents accepted the stigmatized form in a grammaticality judgement, and 50.5% left it unchanged in a sentence correction task. The acceptance of the stigmatized form depends on ↓EDUCATION, ↓PROFESSION, ↓URBAN COMMUNITY and ↑AGE.

In variable 8, *miatt* ∼ *az miatt* 'because of that', the latter is non-standard, although it was accepted by 30.9% of the respondents in a grammaticality judgement. Its acceptence depends on ↓EDUCATION, ↓PROFESSION, ↓URBAN COMMUNITY, ↑AGE and to some extent ↑MALE GENDER.

Variable 9 is the choice between the postpositions *miatt* and *végett* corresponding to 'because of' and 'in order to'. Many Budapest speakers would choose *miatt* in both senses (i.e. neutralizing the distinction between cause and purpose), as *végett* sounds 'pompous' and 'formal' to them, and they avoid it even in writing. However, the data of the survey indicate that the situation is far more complex. According to the survey, 90.4% of the respondents accepted the standard use of *miatt*, and 63.9% even accepted (prescriptively) 'incorrect' *miatt* (in the sense 'in order to'), while one-third of them (36.4%) rejected (prescriptively) 'correct' *végett* in this sense. At the same time, quite contrary to my expectations, *végett* in the sense 'because of' was considered correct by 43.3% of the respondents (and 9.6% would not

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even accept *miatt*, i.e. the standard form). This enigma can only be explained by the fact that this use of *végett* is common in regional dialects, while otherwise the division of labor between the two postpositions is due to the interaction of half a dozen social variables.

Variable 10 consists of several orthographic variables (of which I mention only one). Most inconsistencies between spelling and pronunciation in Hungarian are not due to language change, but to an intellectual coup d'état, i.e. the sudden imposition and enforcement of an inconsistent orthographic norm by the Ministry of Education in 1922 (the Hungarian Academy of Sciences had proposed several *recommendations* about spelling since 1832). Academic orthography (which has been modified ten times in minor ways) requires, for example, vowel letters with the length diacritic (*í*, *ó*, *ú*, *ü*, etc.) in words which, based on the evidence of spellings in books predating the academic norm, never had a long vowel. One of these words, *útitárs* 'travelling companion', was included in the present survey (as *utitárs*). Kontra and his colleagues found that only a rather unimpressive fraction of Hungarian speakers, i.e. just 2.4% of their country-wide representative sample, were able to figure out that the first vowel of this word should be a long *ú* in writing. In this case, as well as in several others, Hungarian usage is quite uniform and different from the language cultivators' quixotic ideal. The first vowel is pronounced short, except by radio or television announcers who can keep their microphone permit only if they conform to the norm enforced by their speech trainer-supervisors. As orthographic length marking in Hungarian is inconsistent with the phonology of any particular language variety, there will always be a chance for trained linguistic horticulturists to discipline the unruly.

While Chapter 4 presents the data, Chapters 5 and 6 contain an excellent and clear discussion of the interrelation among the social variables and methodology. Here, beyond popularizing or, in some cases, even creating the Hungarian technical terms of modern sociolinguistics, one of Kontra's aims is to introduce and disseminate the work of leading scholars in the field to Hungarian readers.

Chapter 7 deals with the formation of linguistic attitudes concerning 'beautiful' and 'ugly' Hungarian speech and regional dialects. The survey included two questions about the 'most beautiful' and the 'ugliest' dialects of Hungarian. Budapest speech qualified as the 'most beautiful', while the northern dialect of Nógrád county (i.e. the Palóc dialect) was considered the 'ugliest'.

Chapter 8 contains four sections on hypercorrection and stigmatization, styles of knowledge, communicative habits, and Hungarian terms of address and the greeting system.

Chapter 9 is a brief discussion of three areas which should have received a more extensive treatment: language and law, language and education, language and human rights.

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This reviewer's job was to report to specialists who, for some odd reason, still do not read Hungarian that the first large-scale, methodologically sophisticated empirical study of Hungarian sociolinguistics is now available. And even if another book of a similar standing is published in the future, this one will remains a classic: *sefer ha-sfarim*, the mother of all books in the field.

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