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BOOK REVIEWS

SIÂN PREECE. *Posh Talk: Language and Identity in Higher Education*. Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave McMillan. 2009. 214 pp. Hb (9780230573987) £47.50 / $85.00.

Reviewed by MAYA KHEMLANI DAVID

Posh Talk, by Siân Preece, examines the use of language in constructing multiple identities of students in higher education in the U.K., and investigates how Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) students in a London University construct their identities in an academic community. Ninety-three undergraduates (45 women and 48 men) were the subject of the study. The study also examines gender which is constructed discursively. The analysis centers on students' interaction and focuses on three questions:

1. How is gender evoked as a dimension of identity in spoken interaction?
2. How does the students' positioning among peers and in the institution orient them to the norms and practices of an academic community?
3. What may this suggest about developing inclusive practices with multilingual students from widening participation backgrounds?

The strength of the book is evident from the title itself – *Posh Talk: Language and Identity in Higher Education* includes three major areas: language, identity, and higher education. With the emergence of multilingualism and the negotiation of multiple identities and mixed cultures in higher education, this book provides a comprehensive discussion on the realities of students' experiences in the academic community and how they construct their identities through interactions with other students from various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds.

Chapter 1 provides a clear introduction to orient the readers to the background of the study conducted. To briefly illustrate, the first chapter discusses Widening Participation (WP) as a practice of universities in recruiting students from various social, cultural and economic backgrounds. It has been noted that there has been an increase of tertiary students from 68 million in 1991 to 132 million in 2004 (UNESCO 2006). Despite this, accessing tertiary education is still dominated by people from the middle and upper classes. The percentage of working class remains low. With the WP programme, Black and minority students from the U.K. are given an opportunity to further their education. This in turn has led to linguistic and cultural diversity resulting in a 'posh/slang' dichotomy. Using either posh or slang may create an ethnolinguistic identity which signals that the speaker belongs to a specific language community/ethnic community (Blommaert 2005).

To augment the readers' knowledge on the notion of identity, Chapter 2 focuses on theories and concepts on notions of identity. Focault's concept of discourse and the discoursing subjects which lead to the creation of multiple positions in discourses

is discussed. The use of Community of Practice (CofP) helps in contextualizing the interactions of students from the WP programme in an academic setting. According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992: 464), Community of Practice is defined as an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. This means that people who are part of such a community would develop similar ways of doing things, ways of talking and have similar beliefs, and values.

As the focus of the study is the interactions of multilingual students of WP background in an academic setting, Chapter 3 explores their common discourses such as 'study skills, academic socialization and academic literacies'. The current approaches used to analyze student academic writing, which are informed by skills and socialization, have not taken into account the students' ability to express themselves as multilingual and multicultural speakers. Preece argues that conformity in a traditional approach, where students try to develop such an identity, may not help to widen their learning experience.

The data is analyzed in Chapters 4–7. The discussion is categorized according to the gender of the students. Chapter 4, based on the interactions of the male students, reveals that the masculinity of such students in the academic setting is portrayed as being cool, funny, less academic, and tough. Using 'slang' negotiates their identity as less academic and cool and represents their 'laddishness' in the academic community. The recordings and transcripts disclose that avoidance from the academic community of practice appears to be common among male students in the university.

Chapter 5 moves on to discuss multilingual femininities in classroom interactions. Female students in peer interaction reveal their identity of 'girl power' – influenced by popular culture which dictates that female university students should be 'sassy, glamorous, and individualistic'. However, they tend to conform to the norms and practices of the academic community in order to be perceived positively. It is evident that in some societies, females are required to be role models and so they are expected to conform with the trends and practices of the larger community (Holmes 2008).

Lecturer/student interactions and multilingual masculinities based on students' self-report in questionnaire and interview data are discussed in Chapter 6. Most male students show a high level of proficiency in English but a low level of proficiency in their heritage language, and the English language is preferred in such interactions. However, despite being multilingual, they do not use much code-switching (CS) because CS is viewed by the male subjects as indicating a lack of linguistic proficiency in both languages.

Lecturer/student interactions and multilingual femininities are in turn discussed in Chapter 7. Female students display a feminine identity choosing reading materials about romance, fashion and gossip but are willing to get involved in any activity that is perceived to be 'posh'. In terms of language use among multilingual female students, the study shows that they prefer CS in interactions in the home domain and with friends.

The last chapter provides a summary of the findings and concluding remarks which is reader-friendly as it provides an easy way of recapitulating what has been discussed in previous chapters. Basically, Preece successfully shows how the students countered their positioning in the academic institution studied by adopting 'powerful

positions of expert speaker from discourses associated with their peer groups' (p. 31).

Posh Talk can be generalized as a representation of the actual use of language among university multilingual speakers and how they negotiate their identities in an academic community. In general, *Posh Talk* successfully describes how negotiated identities of male and female students are constructed both in peer talk and in talk with the lecturer. In fact, the importance of having a mixed methodology which encompasses recording of conversations, interviews and the use of a questionnaire is made clear by the resulting data. The result is comprehensive, if at times the information provided by the subjects is contradictory, and this necessitates vigorous analysis and explanation.

Preece explains that the purpose of the study was to argue in favour of using the linguistic repertoires of multilingual students as a resource. The complexities of identity and code choice and use are made clear in the voices of the students. What the book does is to make readers aware that such students have a wide repertoire of codes (standard English, slang, heritage languages) and literary practices which they choose to use/reveal respectively not only in different domains, but with/to different interlocutors ranging from parents, siblings, peers or teachers, to achieve different ends and to negotiate, reproduce, adapt and resist existing discursive practices in academia. In short, the identity of such students is fluid, multifaceted and is discursively constituted. I stop here with a question: as academia, how aware are we of this and how often do we tap on these resources to enhance our teaching?

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Alyssa Ayres. *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. 217 pp. Hb (9780521519311) £55.00 / $99.00.

Reviewed by Elena Bashir

The title of this book echoes that of Scott (1998), *Seeing Like a State*, and can be seen as inspired by Scott's thesis that the 'high modernist impulses of the twentieth century – the imperatives to shape, mold, and "improve the human condition" by changing what existed naturally – produced state practices of simplification which in many

cases resulted in catastrophic outcomes' (p. 7). The book explores the relationships of language, nationalism, and the concept of the 'national language' by comparing the national language projects in three new nation-states: Pakistan, India and Indonesia.

The bulk of the book is devoted to discussing the language policy and planning situation in Pakistan. Chapters 1, 'Articulating a new nation', and 2, 'Urdu and the nation' trace the philosophical and historical roots of the 'national language' idea for Pakistan, and discuss the unintended consequence that 'the state project to forge a Pakistani ethnicity through the cultural heritage of the Urdu language created antipathies where it sought unity' (p. 6). Throughout the book, Ayres explores the idea of the 'language paradox', that is, the perplexing circularity of locating the 'national genius' of a people in a language, and then facing the necessity of *creating* a national language as the vehicle of national unity for a new nation-state.

Chapter 3, 'The nation and its margins', discusses the situation of Sindhi and the (new) category of *mohajir,* the Siraiki movement in southern Punjab, and Pashto and Pashtunistan. The original demand for Pashtunistan/Pakhtunistan has faded, perhaps as a result of increasing integration of the population of former-NWFP into the 'state structure and market economy' of Pakistan. The recent (15 April 2010) renaming of the North West Frontier Province as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Province realizes the 1997 demand of the Awami National Party for the renaming of the province.

Chapters 4 and 5, 'The Case of Punjab, Parts I and II', on elite efforts and popular culture, respectively, contain treatment of the 'Panjabiat movement', and are one of the central foci of the book. This discussion of the position of Panjabi, and the movement to revalorize Panjabi language and culture takes up the question posed by Rahman, when he said,

> Indeed, most Punjabis of the upper and the middle classes do favour Urdu, and submerge their Punjabi identity in the Pakistani one. What is difficult to explain is why the activists of the Punjabi movement do not do so . . . It appears then that this is a question that should be addressed in an account of the movement. (1996: 190–191)

Ironically, Punjab is seen by most people within Pakistan as politically and economically dominant, even hegemonic. The pejorative term 'Punjabistan' reflects this widespread resentment of Punjab's numerical superiority in population and its perceived greed. And yet, the Punjabi language has been devalorized – first by the British in selecting Urdu as the official language of Punjab, and later by the further institutionalization of Urdu in Pakistan and the continuing rise of English and Urdu as prestige languages. Tragically, the absence of Panjabi in the elementary and secondary educational systems means that increasing literacy, a desirable end in itself, further marginalizes Punjabi. Thus, it 'is truly doubly marginal, despite being the first language of the majority of the country's population' (p. 73). Sociolinguistic discussions, like Mansoor (1993), focus on the social stigma and internalized inferiority complex felt by many urban Panjabi speakers in connection with use of Panjabi.

In Chapter 4, on the movement by some intellectual elites to revalorize Punjabi, Ayres reflects on the paradoxical juxtaposition of the idea of a hegemonic

'Punjabistan' and the sense among Punjabi intellectuals of a 'lost self'. She discusses the works of Punjabi writers like Fakhar Zaman and his book *Bewatna* ('Stateless') and the late Mohammad Hanif Ramay's *Panjāb kā muqaddmah* ('The Case of Punjab'), and the move to revive and revalorize local Panjabi-language classics like *Hīr Rānjhā, Mirza Sāhibā̃, Sohnī Mahinwal* and *Sassī Punnu*. These efforts can be seen as attempts to craft a 'high' literature in Punjabi 'to give it a voice in culturally prestigious arenas' (p. 87). Simultaneously, however, there is the remarkable persistence of Punjabi popular culture, treated in Chapter 5 (Farina Mir's 2001 PhD dissertation on Punjabi popular narrative discusses some of these phenomena in their historical context). Though Punjabi is weakly represented in mainstream print culture (newspapers, magazines, books), it has a higher proportion of representation in chapbooks, small stapled booklets on topics of popular interest like poetry, romance stories, magical spells and household hints, film songs and lives of religious figures (p. 92). The rise in the 1980s of the popular Punjabi film hero Maula Jat, an 'iconic revenge-seeking peasant-warrior' (p. 93), is extensively discussed as meeting the unexpressed need of Punjabis for a Punjabi hero.

Discussing the theoretical significance of the Punjabiat movement, Ayres concludes (p. 190) that it 'inverts the generally-held assumption that language politics are instrumental proxies for the pursuit of formal *power* ... The Punjab case demonstrates that a language nationalism can be motivated by the pursuit of symbolic capital accumulation as an end in itself.'

Chapter 6, 'History and local absence', discusses the contradiction that 'Pakistan was created ... as the expression of a nation, but that very nation self-consciously lacked a "national" culture well after its founding' (p. 105). This has continued to be of concern to Pakistani intellectuals long after 1947, e.g. in the writings of Dr. Jamil Jalibi in his 1964 book *Pākistānī kalcar* ('Pakistani culture'). This felt contradiction has led to efforts at imagining Pakistani antiquity (p. 106 ff.) and shaping national history in state-approved ways (p. 123 ff.).

As a result of the situations and problems discussed in Chapters 1–6, a movement toward 'bringing back the local past', the topic of Chapter 7, began to emerge in the 1980s. Such efforts include books which offer regional perspectives on Pakistan's history and newly-written accounts of local heroes like Bhagat Singh, a Sikh who was executed for revolting against the British. Ayres sees such developments as movements toward undoing a period of forgetting of regional pasts (p. 147). Perhaps the April 2010 renaming of NWFP as Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Province can be seen as one result of this development to recuperate a local past.

Chapters 8 and 9 – 'Speaking like a state: Language planning' and 'Religion, nation, language' – offer the comparative perspectives of India and Indonesia, respectively. India began its national existence in 1947 with complexly multilingual populations and with the same assumption of the necessity of a single national language and fear of local and regional languages as destabilizing forces that Pakistan had. It, however, has turned toward a different path.

> India chose to abandon the project [of having Hindi as a single national language] in favor of giving linguistic autonomy to its various regions through the Linguistic

> Provinces Reorganization. Contrary to early fear, the reorganization did not lead to the collapse of India's union but rather made it stronger. (p. 192)

The case of Indonesia is strikingly different, and instructive. Indonesia, too, began its national life with a multilingual population and linguistic situation even more complex than India's, but from the beginning, its newly-created national language, Bahasa Indonesia, has faced none of the problems of acceptance found in India or Pakistan. Examining the reasons for this remarkable difference, Ayres finds that Bahasa Indonesia was conceptualized as *new* and explicitly linked to concepts of secular modernity; it gave Indonesian citizens access to the benefits of modernity, without requiring any cultural group to 'forget' its local cultural history, and thus did not compete with any of the already-existent languages. It occupied a completely separate, newly-created niche in the linguistic ecology of Indonesia.

This book is an incisive, scholarly and eminently clear account of the dilemma that has faced Pakistan because of the clash between the idea that being a united 'nation' required that there be a single 'national language', and the historical reality that the boundaries of Pakistan demarcated in 1947 included a vigorously multilingual region, the first languages of the vast majority of whose people were not Urdu, the language selected to be the national language of the new state. In Ayres' own words, the book tells two stories (p. 6): 'the politics of the paradox of making a nation against a backdrop in which that nation has been assumed to exist already' and 'the case of Pakistan as a point of departure to think more carefully about what role language plans in nationalism'. Anyone interested in Pakistan or questions of nationalism and language planning will find this gripping reading.

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MICHAEL CLYNE, CATRIN NORRBY AND JANE WARREN. *Language and Human Relations: Styles of Address in Contemporary Language*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press. 2009. 183 pp. Hb (9780521870627) £52.25.

Reviewed by GRIT LIEBSCHER

The focus of this research monograph is best captured by the second part of the title: *Styles of Address.* It explores pronominal and nominal address of three Western European languages: French, German, and Swedish. Two varieties of European English, British and Irish, are covered to a smaller extent and mainly as a point of reference. The address systems studied here using focus groups, interviews, participant observation and chat groups as data include T/V pronoun usage (on its own or as implicit in verbal forms) as well as the use of honorifics and titles.

The goals of *Styles of Address* are twofold. Chapters 3 through 5 in particular offer those interested in any or all of the three languages and European varieties (rather than, e.g., Quebecois French) an up-to-date look at their address usage. In Chapters 2 and 6 (as well as in the other chapters to a lesser extent), the aim is to build a theoretical model of address usage as a successor to Brown and Gilman's (1960) seminal yet contested work. Those interested in the theoretical underpinnings of address usage across languages are well-advised to include *Styles of Address* on their reading list.

The comparison of the different languages in Chapters 3 through 5 certainly has advantages over focusing on one language only. Chapter 3 sets up the context by showing how similar grammatical resources offered by these languages are, in fact, used very differently by the users of these three languages. Swedish is a particularly interesting case because of a 'cyclical movement' (p. 9), i.e. a general present-day shift towards T use combines with the re-introduction of the previously out-of-use V form with new functions. Using results from questionnaires and interview data, the chapter discusses the impact of traditional variables, such as age and status, on address usage. Age figures differently among the languages under investigation: the turning points at which V rather than T is used is the transition towards adulthood for French and German in contrast to the transition towards retirement age for Swedish and, to some extent, English. The possibility of status construction through address choice is greater in German and French as compared to English and, to an even lesser extent, Swedish. *Perceived commonality* is then introduced as a major factor affecting choice of address in all four languages. The telling interview comment 'at 2000 above sea level, anyone can use [the T form]' (p. 70) nicely sums up this factor: address choice may be determined on the basis of situated commonality (or lack thereof) so much so that a choice is made that would not be the preferred choice with the same person in a different situation. Lastly, and certainly new with any discussion of address choice, the *individual* is discussed as a variable: the analyzed interview data show that people may perceive themselves as well as others as T types or as V types, and that this, in effect, may influence their address choice.

Chapter 4 discusses address usage according to different institutions, domains and medium: family, school, university, workplace, service encounters, letter writing, and computer-mediated communication. The analysis here relies on the analytic

notion of three contexts: two relatively stable contexts of T and V, respectively, and a fuzzy-edged context. The latter applies to situations in which the forms of address are less fixed and need to be negotiated. For German and French, for example, a relatively stable T context is noted with family and close friends and a relatively stable V context for official interactions with strangers above a certain age. However, the fuzzy-edged context already penetrates the family domain with regard to more marginal family members (e.g. children's partners and partners' parents). In addition, the analysis of the interplay between pronominal and nominal use also shows a somewhat more complex pattern. This interplay becomes especially important for Swedish, where 'the predominance of T puts more pressure on the [first name/last name] choice to express social distance, as is the case in English with its single pronoun of address' (p. 126). The issue of group pressure is especially prevalent in the chat room data where mostly T is used despite individual preference for V.

Chapter 5 explores differences of address usage among the national varieties in the case of German, Swedish and, to some extent, English. In addition, the effect of language contact on address usage is discussed, especially concerning contact with English. The impact of recent sociopolitical changes and events on address usage is especially evident in this chapter. Perceptions, attitudes and awareness of the use of forms of address, as well as actual use in letter writing is explored in corresponding national varieties: German in East and West Germany and in Austria; Swedish in Sweden and in Finland; and English in Britain and Ireland. It is striking but maybe not surprising that speakers of a dominant variety have little knowledge about the use of forms of address in a corresponding non-dominant variety. As far as language contact is concerned, one main issue discussed is the impact of globalisation on the speakers' first languages, e.g. travel to English-speaking countries may lead to avoiding certain forms when returning to the home country. The chapter concludes with a small section on address usage in multinational companies (e.g. IKEA) and the conflicts that arise from tailoring to the address system of both the country of origin and the international market.

In exploring a new theoretical model in Chapter 6 based on the discussion in Chapter 2, Clyne, Norrby and Warren show that traditional social variables, such as age and status, are not sufficient to explain address usage. While age and status do play some role, these 'are not stable entities, and their relative importance is negotiated in the particular situation at hand' (p. 79). They consider the complexities but also the flexibilities of address usage by suggesting a model based on different contexts and a combination of certain scales, principles and factors. The model comprises three scales (grammatical resource, V-ness, and sameness), a set of principles (familiarity, maturity, relative age, membership, social identification, and accommodation) and several contextual factors such as the online environment. 'The tripartite model is dynamic in the sense that grammatical resources in a language interact with principles of use – which in turn are contextually sensitive (the factors)' (p. 156).

The most intriguing insight to explain choice with regard to address forms comes from connecting this use with 'expressing a common ground and a sense of common identity' (p. 79). This perceived commonality links to the concept

of social distance, which involves degrees of affect, solidarity, and familiarity. It includes both the personal and communal levels, and refers to interests, attitudes, and group memberships such as common interests, sociopolitical views, or outward appearance. The authors go so far as to conclude that the 'choice of address mode . . . is a spontaneous or a reasoned response to how much of themselves speakers discover in their interlocutor, or, to put it another way, the extent to which speakers share common ground with their interlocutor' (p. 155). This *sameness* (and its counterpart *difference*) arises more or less spontaneously in the situation at hand, and relies on an understanding that human relations are negotiated in interactions. One such framework the authors draw on is that of Svennevig (1999) who studies initial contact interactions between strangers, a pertinent situation for address usage considering the impending need to decide for and negotiate address choice in such contexts. Following Watts (2003), this framework further regards politeness as locally determined in the interaction. This means that 'politeness is not seen as a pre-existing, static concept or list of strategies but as something which is discursively constructed by interlocutors' (p. 25).

The few shortcomings of *Styles of Address* are methodological, and related to the data used and its analysis. Interviewees' comments are somewhat taken for granted and presented as common sense. In analysing language use in the former GDR, the unreflected belief in interviewees' comments is especially problematic (p. 130). In addition, the use of conversational data for analysis in addition to the chat room data may have provided more insights about the actual language in use rather than perceptions about it. However, the breadth of data covers enough ground to design a model, as the authors convincingly do, that can serve as a backdrop for research analyzing the use of forms of address in the interaction itself (cf. Liebscher et al. to appear). Such research could then investigate aspects that *Styles of Address* could only touch upon: compromise forms such as German *ihr* ('you', pl.) used to a group that includes both individuals with which one uses T as well as V; substitute forms such as 'on' in French and 'man' in German; the avoidance of forms of address; and an analysis of *how* negotiation of address usage takes place.

Overall, *Styles of Address* is excellent reading for anyone interested in how language and human relations intersect on the level of address usage. It will be useful as a textbook in undergraduate sociolinguistics courses where the focus is on address use as shaping and constructing human relations. In addition, and as pointed out above, the contribution of *Styles of Address* can also be seen in its theoretical exploration of finding an appropriate model encompassing systems of address. With this book, we are one step closer to understanding the complexities and factors for variation in the use of forms of address.

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JENNY CARL AND PATRICK STEVENSON (eds.). *Language, Discourse and Identity in Central Europe: The German Language in a Multilingual Space*. Hampshire, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. 288 pp. Hb (9780230224353) £55.00 / $90.00.

Reviewed by JANET M. FULLER

This volume is a timely contribution to the scholarship on the German language and its place in a changing Europe. The contributions analyze 'discourses' in both senses of the word, that is, both conversational interactions and ideologies, from a variety of methodological and theoretical perspectives.

This volume is divided into four parts, labeled 'Language and European Identities: Centre and Periphery', 'Border Crossings', 'Migrations Past and Present' and 'Language and European Identities: Periphery and Center'. Perhaps fittingly, the two parts in the center of the book are longer, including four and five chapters each, while the parts on the periphery are a single chapter each. As is laid out in the introductory chapter, all of the contributions look at changing discourses about languages, including but not limited to the German language, and how they play a role in national and European Union policies and the construction of identities from the supra-national to the individual level. The Part 1 and Part 4 chapters, 'Discourses about enlarged and multilingual Europe: Perspectives from German and Polish national publish spheres', by Michal Krzyżanowski, and 'Revisiting history: The 2007 European capital of culture and the integration of fractal Europe', by Kristine Horner, both look at published writings about the European Union and note the tension between a 'unity in diversity' ideology and a competition model for languages in this socio-political entity. On the one hand, the European Union is positively portrayed as a multilingual cultural space, while, on the other hand, English, German and French are seen as dominant languages which are competing with each other and potentially oppressing other languages. Both chapters, although they analyzed different European Union events, showed that a salient theme in European Union discourses is the German language as cultural capital. The data in Krzyżanowski's analysis show how German is alternatively perceived as a means

to an end (i.e. proficiency in German can lead to better employment opportunities for Poles) and a threat to Polish independence and unity. In Horner's work, the cultural capital of German is more abstract; the presence of a dialect of German in Romania is used to tie this new European Union country into the so-called *Grande Region* of Germany, Luxemburg and Belgium, where similar dialects are allegedly spoken.

Within Part II, two of the chapters deal with the German-Polish border and relations and two address Czech-German interactions. In both of the chapters investigating discourses and linguistic practices on the Germany-Poland frontier ('The German language in Poland: The eternal foe and the wars on words', by Sylvia Jaworski and '"Die härteste Sprachgrenze Europas?" Negotiating the linguistic divide in theatres on the German-Polish border', by Jane Wilkinson), a recurring theme is the dominance of the German language and its negative impact on political and cultural contact with Poles. This theme of German dominance is echoed in one of the two chapters on Czech-German relations, although the data for these two chapters differ from the others discussed up to this point as they are based on conversational data, not data from public media or events. In Kateřina Černá's chapter, 'Czech-German relationships and identity in a cross-border region', the dominance of German in the interactions between children and teachers in bilingual schools from both sides of the border was apparent in her data, although a significant finding was that use of Czech by Germans went a long way toward creating more positive relationships. Contrasting sharply with this depiction of German dominance are the findings in Jiří Nekvapil and Tamah Sherman's chapter, 'Czech, German and English: Finding their place in multinational companies in the Czech Republic'. In the business context examined in this study, the official language of meetings was English and the dominance of German was minimized. Although German employees did speak German among themselves, an act which excluded the non-German speaking Czechs, the Czech employees also spoke Czech among themselves, and in both cases this behavior seemed limited to brief interactions relevant only to those who spoke the language. Thus, the introduction of English as a lingua franca appeared to neutralize the German language's otherwise hegemonic position in central Europe.

Part III of this volume deals with migration out of, into, and within Germany, and the linguistic consequences of these moves for individuals and groups. 'Changes in the linguistic marketplace: The case of German in Hungary', by Péter Maitz and Klára Sándor, traces the history of German as a minority language in Hungary by looking at social history and census data. Because the urban bourgeoisie speakers of Standard German shifted to Hungarian by the 20th century, the only presence of German as a native language after that point was in rural, non-Standard varieties which did not carry the prestige or cultural capital of Standard German. Additionally, in post World War II Hungary, German identity was stigmatized, which also detracted from the value of the German language. Although attitudes toward Germany improved post-1989, leading to increased teaching of German as a Foreign Language, this did not foster the maintenance of the native German non-Standard dialects spoken in Hungary and language shift to Hungarian continued in those

communities. Currently, English is the most popular foreign language, which has decreased the importance and popularity of German as a foreign language and lingua franca.

Chapter 8, by Jenny Carl and Patrick Stevenson, is titled 'Central European time: Memories of language – lost and found – in the life stories of German speakers'. Narrative is conceptualized as a reinterpretation of self in this analysis, in which past events are placed in the context of subsequent consequences. Language loss is an integral part of the narratives told by the speakers in this study and contributes to the shape of their life trajectories. This study positions language as a central aspect of social identity, a theme which is continued in the next chapter. 'Dialect use and discursive identities of migrants from the west in eastern Germany', by Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain and Grit Liebscher, looks at the other side of language use over the lifetime – the acquisition of new forms, in this case features of a different dialect of the speaker's native language. Their study, based on interview data with Germans from western states who had moved to eastern Germany, uses both quantitative and qualitative means to look at how individuals create social categories and position themselves in terms of their membership in them. Significantly, they note that it is not merely the quantity of use of features of the Saxon dialect which matter, but also if the speaker uses them as an 'author', as opposed to an 'animator' (e.g. in quoted speech).

'*¿Hablemos el mismo idioma?* Salsa, multilingualism and national monolingual ideology', by Britta Schneider, also shares this theme of adopting a code originally associated with others (i.e. crossing). This chapter combines an ethnographic study of Salsa dancers in Frankfurt with examination of public discourses about multilingualism in Germany. Use of Spanish is portrayed as a way of indexing membership in the Salsa music and dance community of practice. Even more interesting, however, are the attitudes displayed in these circles about how Latin Americans, and other ethnic and linguistic minorities, fit into urban German culture. While it is seen as possible to be part of contemporary Germany if one is not of German heritage if one is a cosmopolitan multilingual, this identity is generally only available for those who are not members of the poor, uneducated working class in addition to being of foreign background.

Finally, Thomas Cooper's contribution, 'Towards a multinational concept of culture: Romanian German literature in Romanian and Hungarian literature', is distinct from the other chapters in that it looks at literature and categorizations thereof for discourses about language, culture and identity. Cooper argues that German language literature in Romania challenges nationalist ideas about literature; it is neither 'German' nor 'Romanian' by essentialist standards. He portrays the need to avoid reifying national identities and to recognize the multinational character of the German language literature of Romania as part of a larger trend toward the de-essentialization of nation identities and literary traditions.

This volume covers a wide range of topics dealing with the German language and how it positions both speakers and non-speakers of German in a variety of communities in Central Europe. It clearly fulfills its goal of offering illustrative studies of the diversity of issues involved in this topic, while also pinpointing major

themes in the study of not just Central Europe but also language, discourse and identity.

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LEE YEOUNSUK. *The Ideology of Kokugo: Nationalizing Language in Modern Japan.* Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press. 2010. 261 pp. Hb (9780824833053) $58.00.

Reviewed by JAMES STANLAW

If I had to summarize this fascinating new book in the proverbial 25-words-or-less, I would say it is concerned with what turn-of-the-twentieth-century Japanese linguists, educators, and politicians called *kokugo kokuji mondai* – that is, the problem (*mondai*) of instituting and promoting the national language (*kokugo*) and script (*kokuji*) in Japan. The first thing to notice in such a summary is the constituencies. Academic scholars, language teachers, and government policy makers all had their own agendas and vested linguistic interests to advance as Japan modernized. The second thing to notice is how even translating this little phrase shows in essence some of the difficulties these constituencies faced. Does one translate *kokugo* as 'the' national language, 'a' national language, the language of the Japanese people, the language of the Japanese state, or (during the Second World War) the language of the Japanese Empire? It is these kinds of problems that Lee Yeonsuk tackles as she traces the development of the idea of a national language in Japan from the mid-nineteenth century through World War II. But, indeed, many of these issues have hardly disappeared, in spite of a post-war American occupation, an 'Economic Miracle' and stagnation, and a global Japanese presence in techno-media and popular culture.

For many Westerners, as well as most Japanese people today, the notion of 'the Japanese language' is probably uncontested and self-evident. That is, Japanese is simply the language spoken by the people living in Japan. Japanese, then, is just one of the many languages in the world, with its own well-established literature and orthography. This notion, however, is a little simplistic, especially at the time of the start of Japan's modernization in the 1850s.

The concerns of having a 'national' language are often dictated by political events, and Japan was no exception. In the mid-nineteenth century, the country was feeling tremendous pressure from the United States and the European powers as they expanded their economic and military might. After some 250 years of relatively successful self-imposed isolation, Japan was increasingly being forced to confront

foreigners, and not always on favorable terms. Eventually, the door to the country was opened, precipitating the fall of the Tokugawa shogunate and the restoration of the Meiji emperor as the constitutional monarch in 1868.

Japan saw how the Western powers decimated mainland Asia, and decided the best way to meet the threat was to beat the West at its own game. Japan sought to instantly modernize, and within two decades went from an agrarian to an industrial economy. The Meiji Restoration, however, caused great changes and upheavals as the government sought to develop a new consciousness among the people as it re-evaluated all social and political institutions. The samurai class was abolished, replaced by universal military conscription. Schooling, previously relegated to the elite, became compulsory. This last act forced Japanese teachers and government officials to confront linguistic issues in ways they had not had to do previously. Simply put, the Japanese language posed many barriers to education and mass literacy.

First, the Japanese language in the mid-nineteenth century was hardly uniform. For example, finally uniting the country after centuries of internecine civil wars, the subsequent Tokugawa shoguns had done everything they could to keep the local warlords of the various domains (*han*) from conspiring against the central government. Economic exchange, political contact, and travel among the *han*s was limited, the isolation contributing to the already substantial geographic dialect diversity in the country (often to the point of mutual unintelligibility). In addition, the Japanese language – then as now – had a plethora of polite forms and a complex respect language reflecting esteem for the listener and/or referent (and/or humility for the speaker). These varied greatly by class, dialect, and location.

The second problem was orthography. The Japanese borrowed the Chinese writing system when they imported Buddhism in the sixth century. However, no two languages were ever so mismatched. The Chinese ideographs work well for a language that is uninflected, has a word-order-based syntax, and uses morphemes and lexemes that are fairly monosyllabic. For Japanese – a highly agglutinative, case-marked, language with honorific and tense-based verbs – using Chinese characters (*kanji*) could only be done with great difficulty. Over the course of many centuries, a patchwork system was developed using most Sino-Japanese characters for their semantic intent, and abbreviating about hundred *kanji* for use in two sets of syllabaries. These syllabaries allowed the Japanese to phonetically write things like adverbs, case-markers, and verb conjugations – for which Chinese had no characters to offer. However, none of this was completely standardized, and was a continuing work-in-progress up to the nineteenth century (and even today, though to a much lesser extent).

The third problem also relates to script. There were thousands of *kanji* extant in Japanese and Chinese, and it wasn't at all clear which ones were the most important and which should be eliminated. But, more importantly, even if a basic restricted set of characters could somehow be decided upon, they still remained difficult to read. A millennium ago, when a *kanji* for a Japanese term was borrowed, usually the Chinese way of pronouncing that character was also taken in. This has left a legacy where almost every *kanji* currently used in Japanese has at least two readings: one based on

the Japanese way of saying the referent; and one (or more) based on Chinese. This meant that reading in Japanese can be rather complex, as there is often some degree of uncertainty as to how a *kanji* should be read – even for one encountered before – as they can sometimes change depending on context.

The fourth problem was the vast discrepancy between the spoken and written forms of the Japanese language. The Japanese written language was highly Sinified, with both vocabulary and standards based on Chinese literary styles. Actually, since the beginning of the fledging Japanese state, the written language of governmental power and the male aristocracy was Chinese or a Japanized form of Chinese (*kanbun*). And though since medieval times a wonderful creative literature flourished (e.g. Lady Murasaki's *The Tale of Genji*) using something closer to the Japanese spoken vernacular (*wabun*), these classical forms became ossified. People wrote to approximate good *wabun* rather than to the use the written language to depict how people were speaking. By the start of the Meiji Period the spoken and written languages were quite disparate, and for the most part only the well-educated could actually read – or more importantly, actually interpret and understand – written Japanese. Even the new modernized so-called Classical Standard of written Japanese, developed in the Meiji, was incomprehensible to those who knew only the spoken language.

This was the linguistic situation facing Japan in the 1870s. It was obvious that if the country was going to modernize, the educational system and the Japanese language itself were going to have to change. But reforming the language had more import for the new Meiji government than just spreading literacy or creating an informed populace. A national language (*kokugo*) became instrumental to the building of a modern nation, supporting the national identity of the people (*kokutai*). '*Kokugo* was the ultimate representation of the idea of connecting the Japanese language to the Japanese spirit' (p. 4).

Lee carefully outlines how the *kokugo* idea – a notion largely absent before the Meiji Restoration – grew simultaneously with modernization and language reform. The reason for this was, if there was no such monolithic linguistic entity as the 'Japanese language', a key factor in the unification of the county would be absent. But as mentioned above, Japanese did not *appear* to the average person to be particularly homogeneous. Thus, *kokugo* was created to dispel this uncertainty, in spite of the actual variations which were to be relegated to secondary importance. 'Obviously, in order to institutionalize *kokugo*, these variants had to be extinguished politically through a standardization of the language' (p. 3).

Standardization came about through debates for several decades over how to reform the writing system and reconcile the disparities between the spoken and written language. Many radical and intriguing ideas were seriously proposed by important players, such as abolishing Japanese in favor of English, French, or Esperanto. Some advocated eliminating the use of *kanji* characters while keeping the spoken language intact. In 1885 the Rōmaji Kai association was formed to promote the use of *rōmaji* ('Roman' letters, or the Latin alphabet). Others wanted to use only one of the Japanese phonetic syllabary systems. In the end, the Ministry of Education became the final arbiter, and decided to drastically reduce the number of

kanji, make the use of the phonetic syllabaries consistent, and continually monitor the situation (which it still pretty much does today).

Kanda Takahira first used the term *genbun itchi* – the unification of the spoken and written language – in 1885. After much discussion, it was generally decided that the Tokyo dialect would become the de facto Colloquial Standard, and the basis of written Japanese. Futabatei Shimei wrote the first novel in the colloquial style in 1887, and by the turn of the century, most textbooks, novels, newspapers and magazines had adopted some form of the Colloquial Standard. (It should be mentioned, however, that even now there are still marked differences between spoken and written Japanese).

Problems with the *kokugo* idea became more pronounced when Japan became an imperial power during the Second World War. Schooling in *kokugo* – and not *nihongo* ('Japanese') – became the 'basis of every assimilation policy in Japan's colonies through World War II' (p. 4). In particular, language education policies in Japan's colonies – Korea, Manchukuo (Manchuria), and the so-called Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (mainland and insular Southeast Asia and the South Pacific) – showed the poverty and internal contradictions of *kokugo*. In her colonies, the promotion and dissemination of the Japanese language was always of primary importance for economic, military, and cultural reasons. And it was thought that Japanese could act as a kind of good-will lingua franca – *kyōeiken-go*, or Co-Prosperity Language – uniting everyone from Chamarro speakers from Guam to Dayak speakers on Borneo. But this again opened questions that had hardly been settled back in Japan: what kind of Japanese was to be taught, which accent or dialect was to be used, how many *kanji* would students be exposed to, and what kind of word usage and style would be found in these overseas classrooms? And here was the dilemma: if *kokogo* truly reflected the Japanese spirit, and was contained in the hearts of those of the 'Japanese race', how could it be taught as an artificial language to foreigners? These problems were never solved.

Though the story Lee tells is detailed, and at times complex, it is well written and offers something absorbing on every page. Her device of conveying her narrative primarily through the work of two key figures – the well-known Ueda Kazutoshi and his little-known student Hoshina Kōichi – works well. (Those wishing for a complementary view of Ueda might want to consult Paul Clark's 2009 *The Kokugo Revolution: Education, Identity, and Language Policy in Imperial Japan*, Berkeley, California: Institute of East Asian Studies). It is also excellently translated, and the included chronology of events, books, and personalities is of great help (though the index is much less so).

Finally, to those who are not Japanese linguists or who might be reluctant to delve into this book, I would just say this: there is no better exegesis of *Nihonjinron* (the theory of the alleged uniqueness of the Japanese), and how it came to dominate much of Japanese intellectual discourse throughout the twentieth century, than here. How these pre-war Japanese scholars conflated notions of race, language, and culture often to their own disadvantage is a story that is not only of great interest, it is one we need to read today. The idea of *kokugo* is still sensitive to many Japanese. This is especially true of someone writing about it who is of Korean descent. As translator Maki Hirano Hubbard points out (p. xiv), Lee Yeonsuk was

the subject of harsh right-wing attacks on the Internet by Japanese nationalists. She has clearly struck some nerves (which is perhaps why this book won the 1997 Prize for Literary and Art Criticism in the Social Sciences and Humanities by the Suntory Foundation).

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Eva Ogiermann. *On Apologising in Negative and Positive Politeness Cultures.* Amsterdam, The Netherlands/Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: John Benjamins. 2009. 296 pp. Hb (9789027254351) €99.00 / $149.00.

Reviewed by J. César Félix-Brasdefer

Apologising in Negative and Positive Politeness Cultures is a welcome addition to the field of cross-cultural pragmatics. The book describes culture-specific differences in the production of (written) apologies between two Slavic languages, Polish and Russian (positive politeness orientation), and British English (negative politeness orientation). The book, which originated as the author's PhD thesis, includes a preface (with an overview of the book), 11 chapters, an appendix with the production questionnaire used for each language, 11 notes, 290 references, and a two-page index. The main goal of the book is presented clearly, namely, to carry out

> a cross-cultural comparison [of what constitutes polite behavior in two Slavic and one Anglo-Saxon culture] and it is based on Brown and Levinson's theory, while taking a critical approach to and introducing a new perspective on some of their concepts. (p. 1)

The book is well written, contains examples of apology strategies, offers a discussion of the main findings, and analyzes the data mainly quantitatively.

Chapter 1 outlines the main tenets of speech act theory (Austin and Searle), Grice's theory of conversational implicature, and Brown and Levinson's (1987) universal model of linguistic (im)politeness, followed by a critical appraisal of their model (using views from the postmodern discursive approach on politeness, Arundale 2006; Eelen 2001; Watts 2003). For the present investigation the author adopts a revised version of Brown and Levinson's model, which according to the author, is the most appropriate for investigating cross-cultural differences in the speech act of apologizing in British English, Polish, and Russian. Specifically, '[c]ross-cultural analysis requires parameters along which cultures can be measured, and Brown and Levinson's distinction between positive and negative face is one such parameter' (p. 20).

In chapter 2 the author reviews (in some detail) various definitions of culture and focuses on the four layers of culture proposed by Ting-Toomey and Chung (2005). After a lengthy discussion of the notion of positive and negative politeness cultures, the author concludes that 'Russian and, to a lesser extent, Polish culture can be

classified as collectivistic cultures [. . .]' (p. 32) or positive politeness cultures. This section offers a fine review of the notions of social distance and social power in light of Brown and Levinson's (1987) model, in particular how these variables are perceived by Russians and Poles. This section ends with an informative discussion of the relationship between in-directness and im-politeness with reference to Wierzbicka's (2003) work in cross-cultural pragmatics.

Chapters 3 and 4 review existing research on apologies. Chapter 3 focuses on proposed definitions and classifications on the speech act of apologies (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Brown and Levinson 1987; Cohen and Olshtain 1981; Goffman 1971). The analysis of face considerations involved in the production of an apology (p. 54) is followed by the author's proposed classification of the components that comprise the speech act set of apologies, namely, Illocutionary Force Indicating Devices (IFIDs), positive politeness strategies, and accounts (p. 59). Chapter 4, the shortest of the book (six pages), offers a general description of previous research on apologies in English, Polish, and Russian. Following the framework in the *Cross-Cultural-Speech Act Realization Project* (CCSARP) (and the Austin/Searle speech act tradition), apologies in English have been the most researched, and to a lesser degree Polish apologies. Apologies in Russian, on the other hand, have been influenced by Bachtin's (1996) theory on the dialogic structure of language.

Chapters 5 and 6 describe the methodology on which the study is based. Chapter 5 describes the advantages and disadvantages of various methods of data collection in pragmatics research. It presents the limitations of written (simulated) data and highlights the benefits of Discourse Completion Tests (DCTs), the instrument used in the present study. Chapter 6 outlines the rationale for the design of the DCTs. The current study, which was piloted and later revised, included eight DCT situations with various degrees of social distance and power (Appendix 1a–c). There were 300 participants in the study (100 for each language and a total of 2,400 responses that were analyzed). The participants were selected from various universities including: The University of Wroclaw (Poland); the Moscow State Regional University (Russia); and three universities in U.K. (Middlesex University in London, Cardiff University, and University of Swansea in Wales).

Chapters 7–9 provide the results of the study. Chapter 7 presents the analysis and discussion of the results with regard to 'the most conventionalized apology strategy' (p. 93), namely, the IFID across the three languages as realized in the DCT data. In addition to the IFIDs, syntactic modification (or intensifiers) of the IFIDs is also presented quantitatively (p. 123). Chapter 8 provides the results regarding the analysis of account types when apologizing across the three languages. The author's classification of account types consists of 11 strategies. The data are mainly presented quantitatively for all situations (p. 146), followed by a detailed description of the frequency of strategies across the eight DCT scenarios and across the three languages (with examples for each strategy). Finally, Chapter 9 provides the results for three apology strategies with an orientation to positive politeness, offer of repair, promise of forbearance, and concern for the hearer. The results are presented quantitatively for each strategy, in each language, and across the eight DCT scenarios. Overall, no major differences were shown among the groups with regard to the frequencies of these strategies.

Chapter 10 (53 pages long) provides a lengthy discussion of the results presented in Chapters 7–9 with an emphasis on the culture-specificity of apologies. Here the author compares the quantitative results for each of the main apology strategies across the three languages and each strategy is discussed in detail, including examples of these strategies (IFIDs, intensifiers, accounts, offer of repair, promise of forbearance, concern for hearer). The chapter ends with a general discussion on the pragmatic function of diminutives and forms of address (both with small frequencies) identified across the three languages.

Chapter 11 summarizes the main conclusions of the study and identifies some areas for future research. The second section reviews the main assumptions of postmodern views of (im)politeness and suggests how 'culture specific, first order politeness concepts can be integrated into Brown and Levinson's theory of second order politeness, thus accounting for culture-specificity within a universal framework' (p. 268).

In my view, this volume has the following strengths:

- it adds to the body of literature on the pragmatics of Slavic languages from a cross-cultural perspective;
- it offers a detailed analysis of apology strategies across three languages (in particular, account types);
- it evaluates Brown and Levinson's (1987) dichotomy of positive and negative politeness and emphasizes their usefulness for cross-cultural pragmatics research;
- it reviews the social variables of social distance and social power; and
- it offers a general review of the postmodern views of (im)politeness (the discursive approach), which have heavily criticized Brown and Levinson's universal model of linguistics politeness in favor of a discursive approach to (im)politeness (Arundale 2006; Haugh 2007; Watts 2003).

However, as someone who researches cross-cultural pragmatics, I also have the following observations. Ogiermann employed a similar version of the DCT instrument as in Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper's (1989) seminal volume on cross-cultural pragmatics (but without a rejoinder), now twenty-one years after its publication. In this book I would have liked to see a cross-cultural analysis of apologies using interactional data or using natural or experimental data such as role plays. Despite the author's observations on the difficulties of utilizing DCT and role-play data (pp. 67–79), role-play data can add an additional perspective of how apology strategies are distributed within and across multiple turns. It is true that administration of role plays and transcription of role-play data are time consuming (as I have experienced myself in my own research), but this should not prevent researchers from examining sequential aspects of speech acts in face-to-face interaction and focusing on the hearer's response, too. Also, I would have liked to see a more contextualized description of each of the DCT situations (pp. 269–274), including information on gender differences (given the equal distribution between genders [50/50], p. 90), general information on individual variation, and a more rigorous discussion of issues of internal validity of the DCT instrument.

Nevertheless, my personal observations do not invalidate the originality of the book and its contribution to research on cross-cultural pragmatics. The theoretical discussion of culture-specific differences, the discussion on theories of (im)politeness, and the analytical sections of the book further advance our understanding of differences in speech act performance in cultures with a positive and negative politeness orientation. The book is well organized and will be useful for graduate students and researchers in cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics alike.

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Analisa Taylor. *Indigeneity in the Mexican Cultural Imagination: Thresholds of Belonging*. Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press. 2009. 143 pp. Pb (9780816527182) $45.00.

Reviewed by Isabel Velázquez

It is perhaps the fact that I, a Mexican middle-class *mestiza*, am reviewing a book written by an American middle-class academic about what it means to be indigenous in Mexico, that is the best illustration of the central point in Analisa Taylor's

Indigeneity in the Mexican Cultural Imagination. This central point being that for the past two hundred years Indians in Mexico have been *narrated as the other*: represented through ideological constructions that have allowed *mestizos* to objectify them as cultural icons of national identity on one hand, and marginalize them from political and social spaces on the other. This argument has been made in the past. To name but one eloquent example, Guillermo Bonfil Batalla's *México profundo: una civilización negada* (1989). The value in Taylor's reformulation, however, is that she provides the reader with two additional layers of analysis. The first is the examination of how Mexican national discourse about what it means to be indigenous (constructed by and for urban, middle-class audiences) is an exercise in violence against indigenous populations because it denies them agency. The second is the exploration of how race, ethnicity, class and gender coalesce to make indigenous women's bodies the target of this violence. Taylor analyzes a group of narratives written in post-revolutionary Mexico within the paradigm of *indigenismo*, which she defines as 'a social scientific paradigm wedded to a set of government institutions and policies as well as an aesthetic sensibility that has shaped a great deal of twentieth century Mexican art and literature' (p. 2). The author attempts to show that during most of the twentieth century this paradigm was the main instrument with which the state (namely, the Party of the Revolution, or *Partido Revolucionario Institucional*), constructed the concept of 'Indian' as both a national ideal and a national problem. *Indigenismo*, as the author argues, positioned Indigenous Mexicans as children of a paternal state that would take them on as full citizens if (and only if) they assimilated into national culture. The second part of this book examines how *indigenismo* has lost hold of the national imagination in the aftermath of neoliberal reforms, subsequent economic crises and two right-of-center administrations. In this part of the book Taylor describes how, starting in the 90s, new modes of representation and social organization created by and for indigenous communities subvert hegemonic notions of what it means to be indigenous and to be Mexican.

Chapter one, 'Applied anthropology and post-revolutionary state consolidation', describes *indigenismo* from the 1940s to the 1980s. *Indigenismo* understood as the matrix for government policies of ethnic assimilation, made possible through the production (by non-indigenous intellectuals), of state-sponsored cultural projects. Chapter two, 'Narrating the Indian as Other', presents *indigenismo* as a literary genre en vogue from the 1930s to the 1950s, and analyzes the plot and characters of *El Indio* (1935) by Gregorio López y Fuentes, *El resplandor* (1937) by Mauricio Magdaleno, and *Lola Casanova* (1943) by Francisco Rojas González – three novels which the author identifies as foundational *indigenista* narratives. These novels, the author argues, bolster hegemonic ideology because they position the present-day Indian as a passive object of pity and lament (p. 38). Chapter three, 'The ethnographic coming-of-age story', analyzes *Juan Pérez Jolote* (1952) by Ricardo Pozas, *Los hombres verdaderos* (1959) by Carlo Antonio Castro, and *Oficio de Tinieblas* (1962) by Rosario Castellanos, as a new chapter in the history of the discourse on race in post-revolutionary Mexico because they address the problems associated with indigenous assimilation to the mainstream; and also, because in these texts agency is partially

and conditionally transferred to indigenous interlocutors. Chapter four, 'Testimonio and indigenous struggles for autonomy', compares the previously mentioned works with the narrative form of *testimonios*, 'created through collaboration between a speaker who chronicles his or her experience as a member of a subaltern group and a publishing author who transcribes and shapes the speaker's oral account'. A narrative form that, as the author points out, has been used in Latin America since the 1960s. Three works (one of them a collection) are presented in this chapter as examples of this transformation: *Memorial del tiempo o vía de las conversaciones* (1987) by Jesús Morales Bermúdez; *Entre anhelos y recuerdos* (1997) by Marie-Odile Marion; and the communiqués and correspondence of Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos, spokesman for the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) (1994 to 2003). Here, Taylor argues that testimonies deconstruct literary and ethnographic conventions as they move away from the preoccupation with *exoticizing* indigenous people, but are not yet a fully autonomous form of expression because they involve the mediation of a non-indigenous author, and are produced mainly for a non-indigenous audience. Chapter 5, 'From Malinche to matriarchal utopia', juxtaposes two dominant metaphors of national identity constructed upon indigenous female sexuality. The first is the representation in art and popular culture of Zapotec women from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, Oaxaca, celebrated as matriarchal and powerful. The second is Malinche, Hernán Cortés' translator and consort, commonly represented as subjugated and manipulative at the same time. 'Ironically', Taylor writes,

> the notion of a powerful and erotic feminine essence in the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and that of Malinche, raped and humiliated mother of the Mexican people, both have their roots in post-revolutionary nationalist culture. By juxtaposing these two myths, we can begin to see the fissure between indigenous identities and how they are fabricated in the indigenista cultural imagination. (p. 91)

In the last part of this chapter Taylor describes current challenges by indigenous and non-indigenous women to this objectification.

What is the cultural imagination of a nation? In many ways, it is the collection of stories that we tell each other so that we may keep calling ourselves a 'we'. *Indigeneity in the Mexican Cultural Imagination* is an attempt to understand the discursive and ideological mechanisms that allow us to decide who is included in this 'we', who is the citizen imaginer and who is the imagined outsider. As the author rightly points out, Mexico's 'Indian problem' is not 'Indian' but a national problem of discrimination and disenfranchisement. This book should be of interest to anthropologists, linguists, sociologists, and any other readers interested in these, the central questions of 21st-century nation states: what does it mean to be a citizen in a modern, democratic society? Can plurilingual, pluricultural societies be the basis of a strong national state? Examining these questions and these modes of representation is important because, to paraphrase the old idiom, for almost 10 million indigenous Mexicans (Navarrete Linares 2008), as for other marginalized populations in many regions of the world, it turns out that words do indeed perform the work of sticks and stones.

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Christina Higgins and Bonny Norton (eds.). *Language and HIV/AIDS*. Bristol. U.K.: Multilingual Matters. 2010. 278 pp. Pb (9781847692191) $44.95.

Reviewed by Vineeta Chand

Thematically focused on language and HIV/AIDS, this edited volume presents a marriage of several critical applied linguistic paths which contribute to understanding the discursive construction and dissemination of HIV/AIDS knowledge. While methodologically and topically representing a pastiche of ideas, concerns, data and methods, it successfully links politics to health knowledge construction and distribution, and highlights tensions between official health education discourse and localized, culturally situated frameworks. These are complemented by a focus on diachronic convergences and divergences between official and local HIV/AIDS knowledge in the context of the changing political agendas of funding agencies and governments and local culturally situated transformations of knowledge made by governments and Non-Governmental Agencies (NGOs) working towards HIV/AIDS prevention in specific settings.

Contributions (an introduction and 12 chapters) are organized within four thematic sections:

- constructions of lived experiences with and around HIV/AIDS;
- gender and HIV/AIDS prevention;
- the role of local cultures in HIV/AIDS awareness programs; and
- institutional approaches to HIV/AIDS.

Christina Higgins and Bonny Norton's introduction frames the following chapters within research on language and public health, emphasizing that a critical applied linguistics approach can improve HIV/AIDS education, illuminate locally grounded constructions of health knowledge and expose the role of language and semiotics on such localized knowledge construction.

Introducing the first section on local constructions of HIV/AIDS knowledge, Chapter 1 is by organizational and community development facilitator and HIV+ William Savage, who presents an autobiographical narrative weaving between professional and personal experiences to underscore the importance of lived personal positionalities towards HIV/AIDS as both contesting public discourse framings and contributing to successful HIV/AIDS outreach and prevention efforts. Contrastively, the remaining chapters present empirical data analyzed through various qualitative methods. Chapter 2, by Harriet Mutonyi and Maureen E. Kendrick, taps Ugandan youth understandings of HIV/AIDS through a visual and social semiotics analysis of cartoons, demonstrating that HIV/AIDS safety knowledge is gendered and rooted in lived experiences. Chapter 3, by Ángeles Clemente and Michael J. Higgins, examines how Mexican students, in training as English teachers, perform their understanding of HIV/AIDS in Spanish and imagine incorporating HIV/AIDS topics in their English classrooms differently based on their personal degree of contact with HIV/AIDS. In Chapter 4, Henrike Körner uses an appraisal analysis of stance and dialogism to show that a gay Sydney populations' understandings of HIV risk are extremely heteroglossic, draw on several types of knowledge, and negotiate HIV safety in a manner ignored by health educators.

Section two, on gender, begins with Noushin Khushrushahi's exploration (Chapter 5) of why Indian sex workers practice different levels of safety with regular versus infrequent clients, drawing on interactions with government awareness and safety pamphlets to highlight locally gendered positionalities as malleable based on individual's perceived dichotomous roles as sex workers and as women/wives. Highlighting the need to measure the success of educational outreach, in Chapter 6 Christina Higgins demonstrates how a pedagogical framework encouraging HIV/AIDS risk awareness and responsibility through life skills training is unsuccessful at getting Tanzanian participants to re-entextualize their understanding of risk and responsibility as shared within a gender and development framework. The ownership and success of HIV/AIDS safety discourse is exposed as political, contentious, and unequally responding to gender-specific realities in the next chapter, by Shelley Jones and Bonny Norton. They document how US-based funding during the Bush regime, prioritizing abstinence over condoms, impacts what African NGOs and governments portray as legitimate HIV/AIDS safety, and is increasingly disconnected from local womens' lived experiences, where abstinence is less possible and/or desirable.

The next section focuses on the role of local knowledge in HIV/AIDS education. Framing HIV/AIDS awareness learning as happening through concrete social practices, Rodney H. Jones, in Chapter 8, compares how AIDS discourse is constructed and taken up by different actors within two Hong Kong gay internet forums, suggesting that educators must take into account the significant role real-time interactions about concrete lived experiences have for AIDS education and prevention. Chapter 9, by Martina Drescher, explores how, in Burkina Faso, the transfer of HIV/AIDS biomedical knowledge from French-based training to African language medium awareness fieldwork is complicated by localized ideals and moral values which are often indicated through specific intertexual reformulations.

Chapter 10 (Claudia Mitchell, Jean Stuart, Naydene de Lange, Relebohile Moletsane, Thabisile Buthelezi, June Larkin and Sarah Flicker) approaches South African youth as knowledge producers in the HIV/AIDS awareness movement, demonstrating through an interactive photojournalistic program how youth knowledge of HIV/AIDS risk both authenticate their own experiences through active engagement, and can significantly contribute by highlighting and producing locally relevant messages of safety and risk.

The final section reorients us towards institutional responses to HIV/AIDS. In Chapter 11, Mark Finn and Srikant Sarangi document how Indian HIV-related NGOs perceive information-based strategies for HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention as ineffective, and instead follow a neo-liberal agenda to advocate knowledge-based decision making, prioritizing individual choice and responsibility. Problematically, this approach implicitly devalues the local social context as a structuring and potentially limiting force on individuals' ability to maintain HIV safety. Finally, in Chapter 12, Annabelle Mooney explores how and why HIV risk is minimal – and minimized – in the Indian Andaman Islands through an analysis of the linguistic landscape as a measure of local HIV knowledge, demonstrating strong linkages between prevention ideologies and practices.

While many of the contributions would benefit from a heavier editorial hand to focus arguments (e.g. the titles of several chapters are catchy, but misleading given their research questions and analytic approach), as a topically focused volume, they collectively showcase the complexity of HIV/AIDS discourse by those infected or affected, and contrarily, those to whom HIV is merely an abstract danger, in addition to voices which are economically or socially invested in increased public awareness and particular moral positions *vis-à-vis* HIV/AIDS prevention. With a critical applied linguistics focus, data from around the world, and attention to both institutional and local knowledge construction, this volume sets the stage for future multidisciplinary contributions through its illumination of a vast array of real-world issues surrounding HIV discourse and knowledge negotiation.

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ELSA SIMÕES LUCAS FREITAS. *Taboo in Advertising*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: John Benjamins. 2008. 214 pp. Hb (9789027254238) $143.00.

Reviewed by ELIZABETH MARTIN

This insightful volume provides a rare glimpse into the complex world of controversial and taboo topics in advertising, analyzing ads from the U.K., Portugal and Brazil.

Highlighting the multimodal design of advertisements, the author reveals how different channels of communication utilized in billboard, magazine and television advertising combine to form various layers of meaning, guiding audiences to a preferred interpretation. These multimodal interfaces create the framework of the book and are described in relation to both taboo-related products and services (such as AIDS awareness campaigns or feminine sanitary products) and those that are not normally associated with taboos (such as beer or automobiles).

Prefaced with a foreword by Greg Myers (author of *Words in Ads* and *Ad Worlds: Brands, Media, Audiences*), the volume begins with an introduction defining taboo from an historical perspective and summarizing the transcription methods and data. The six chapters that follow discuss the functioning of taboos in advertising from different media, outlining the specific strategies used to foreground or disguise taboos in advertising for a wide range of products. A number of useful tables and illustrations supplement these analyses. A short concluding chapter highlights the major findings of the book and discusses promising avenues for future research.

Drawing on psychoanalytic theories and anthropology, Chapter 1 focuses in more detail on the concept of taboo, exploring its link to both spirituality and social order. This section includes a discussion on how advertisements exploiting societal taboos encourage positive associations with the product by tapping into 'hidden desires,' whereas products or services that evoke negative connotations may be promoted by mitigating the taboo charge, diverting audiences' attention from situations that normally trigger embarrassment, guilt and other self-conscious emotions.

Chapter 2 presents a critical review of the literature, exploring the different rhetorical strategies used to reference taboos while emphasizing the multimodality of advertising discourse. Noting that certain media (such as television) offer more extensive use of metaphors, the author discusses how the combination of auditory elements, visual images and text contribute to audiences' interpretations of the ads. This chapter also includes industry guidelines and laws regulating the content of advertising in the U.K. and Portugal, dealing specifically with issues of decency.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed analysis of verbal and pictorial metaphors used in magazine ads for softening and foregrounding taboos, including a rather striking anti-smoking campaign that parodies beauty product advertisements, fictitiously claiming that cigarettes are 'clinically proven to give you grottier looking skin.' Other ads analyzed in this section exploit sexuality-related taboos, using strategies such as pop-up visuals to imitate male erection, close-up shots of phallic-shaped product features, and textual cues (including Portuguese slang expressions) that sexualize otherwise innocuous images.

Chapter 4 explores the sexual humor and innuendos featured in billboard advertisements for a Portuguese brand of beer (Super Bock), illustrating the remarkable potential of interplay between text and image in this media. Subliminal messages conveyed through condensation on bottles and glasses of beer, torn bottle labels, and other visual metaphors are reinforced by homophonic puns on the brand likely to appeal to the targeted audience. Reminiscent of Absolut Vodka's

iconic advertising campaign, these ads use as little text as possible (highlighted by leading copywriters and marketing consultants as one of the best practices for effective outdoor advertising) and are likely to be intelligible to an international audience.

Chapter 5 illustrates how taboos are conveyed through several channels in television commercials, demonstrating both taboo-disguising and taboo-enhancing strategies that involve different modes of communication. A storyboard for each TV commercial offers additional insight into how visual, textual and auditory elements, combined with camera movement and special effects (such as the use of silence, style of background music, or black-and-white footage), trace a preferred reading path through the advertisement. The examples provided also illustrate the neutralization of taboos through the use of cartoon images, children, and animals in commercials for certain products (such as toilet paper), as well as the introduction of taboo connotations through sexual innuendo, Portuguese puns, joke formats and other means.

Chapter 6 deals with the portrayal of menstruation by the media, examining how feminine hygiene products are advertised using a variety of techniques to downplay the secrecy and stigma surrounding a woman's menstrual cycle. These taboo-evading strategies include casting computerized virtual characters in lieu of physical actors, infusing ads with humor, using blue liquid to depict menstrual flow on sanitary pads, along with other techniques involving voice-overs, music and pictorial metaphors. Although the ads analyzed display different degrees of indirectness, this analysis of menstrual product advertising convincingly illustrates that discussing a woman's period in ads is basically 'tiptoeing through a minefield', and that menstrual taboos must be carefully packaged in advertising discourse.

Written in a clear and engaging style, *Taboo in Advertising* will appeal to many audiences, including graduate students and scholars in media studies, linguistics, and anthropology. This research provides undisputable evidence that taboo words and images can be very seductive tools in advertising, attaching emotional value to brands through a surprisingly complex system of iconic messages. Indeed, the old adage 'sex sells' has never seemed so apt. At the same time, evasive techniques being deployed to draw the audience's attention away from taboos such as disease, dirtiness, or bodily secretions are much more intricate than one might assume. The masterful mixing of multimodal metaphors highlighted in this book reminds us that copywriters have found ingenious ways to trigger specific emotional responses from consumers and continue to stretch the boundaries of advertising design.

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JAMES N. STANFORD AND DENNIS R. PRESTON (eds.). *Variation in Indigenous Minority Languages*. Impact Studies in Language and Society 25. Amsterdam, The Netherlands / Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 2009. 519 pp. Hb (9789027218643) €105.00 / $158.00.

Reviewed by JENANNE FERGUSON

The editors of this volume begin their introduction by noting how indigenous minority languages, while studied thoroughly by linguists and anthropologists researching everything from phonological theory to ethnographies of communication, have appeared much more rarely in studies focusing on language variation and change in the Labovian tradition. With this book, Stanford and Preston endeavour to fill this gap within the field of sociolinguistics, calling upon Hymes' (1980) urging that the quantitative variationist approach is necessary to fully analyse the 'social life of a language'. As the editors observe, 'in an era of globalization and increasing cross-cultural contact, the time is ripe for more variationist sociolinguistic exploration of indigenous minority languages and the new insights they may bring' (p. 1).

In this anthology, Stanford and Preston aim to enrich understandings of variation and change by presenting examples that contrast with the 'more commonly studied communities', which arose from the tradition of research beginning with William Labov's analyses of English variants in urban communities in the United States, and Peter Trudgill's among English dialectal differences in the United Kingdom. As well as filling in this identified gap within the subfield, the authors stress that indigenous minority languages are also important in that

> when [a language] dies and its visible community vanishes, we lose opportunities for grammatical knowledge and ethnographic, anthropological linguistic understanding. But for variationist sociolinguistics, we also lose invaluable opportunities to observe language variation and change in situations that are starkly different from those commonly studied. (p. 4)

The details of social stratification for both majority and minority language speakers are particularly relevant in understanding why change and variation in the minority languages evolve as they do; however, Stanford and Preston also suggest that the effects of social class can differ quite widely amongst minority language speakers. Thus, categories used by Labov and others to assess language variation among urban, majority language speakers may not be salient in other societies. The papers that the authors have compiled here do fulfill their goal in presenting a wide variety of situations that illustrate how indigenous minority languages are shaped by cultural context, and how these languages may also change as a result of contact with other groups.

The authors point out that the articles in this volume are not fully developed ethnographies of communication or anthropological analyses of language and social structure, nor are they dedicated to explaining processes of language endangerment or revitalization in the communities they describe; however, all of the studies presented do draw upon essential ethnographic insights – to varying degrees – to

augment their analyses of the change and variation in areas where minority language speakers have come into intense or extensive contact with speakers of dominant languages. The linguistic focus of the book appears to be slightly biased toward phonological analysis – of 21 chapters, thirteen discuss phonetic and phonological issues, whereas just eight cover the broad fields of morphophonology, morphology, and syntax. However, this is not necessarily a shortcoming; there simply just may be more here to interest phonology aficionados. Nevertheless, this book would be suitable for students of upper-level courses focusing on both sociolinguistics and descriptive linguistics; this resource has much to offer in terms of detailed case studies as well as the presentation of general trends for all those interested in minority language usage, language contact and change, and language shift in both linguistic and anthropological fields of research.

Instead of simply assessing socio-economic differences and their effects on language usage as in most urban language variationist studies, papers in this book – such as Clarke's work among Labrador Innu, and Babel's in Northern Paiute communities in the western United States – delve into the covert social hierarchies that influence language usage in less stratified societies. Stanford's discussion of Sui speakers in Guizhou, China, elaborates upon how clan and kinship can be important determiners in social organization and the marking of identity, and also influence language usage. As Stanford asserts, exogamic practices can also lead to an increased diversity in ways of speaking even within a single family unit. Clarke also discusses the problem of assessing close-knit communities wherein the tight and dense ties between residents are often too difficult to meaningfully disentangle for a fruitful analysis of networks. As Clarke writes,

> an approach in terms of social networks [. . .] proved too difficult to implement in any systematic fashion. In Sheshatshiu [. . .] almost every resident has ties (often dense and multiplex) with almost every other resident, through such factors as kinship, marriage, adoption and co-participation in a range of activities, both within the community and outside. (p. 113)

Grammatical features often index certain kinds of belonging; for example, in the Indian language Bishnupriya Manipuri, clitic usage is considered by Satyanath and Laskar as being a salient marker of linguistic and ethnic identity.

Migration and movement, especially in terms of urbanization, also play a role as these processes very often lead to increased contact with the majority language. Noglo examines language urbanization among Ewe speakers in Togo, which results in phonological simplification, and van Bezooijen chronicles contact between urban and rural Frisian speakers in the Netherlands as an explanation for phonological variation. Clarke shows how migration by speakers of different dialects to a central community in Labrador shows convergence of phonological dialectal difference.

Other submissions consider how the lack of written standards for some minority languages impact spoken variations. As Stanford and Preston comment, 'many indigenous languages exist in situations of extensive multidialectal or multilingual contact with ambiguous boundaries and no established single standard for the

researcher to use as a reference point' (p. 8). Along with Clarke's work (with Innu), Léonard and Sucuc (with Kaqchikel Mayan in Guatemala) and Nagy (with Faetar in Italy) also take into account situations in which these types of standards don't exist. Nagy's paper is particularly innovative, as she critically examines the challenges of writing a descriptive grammar of an unwritten language. She proposes that instead of creating traditional descriptive linguistic grammar for indigenous minority languages, researchers and language speakers would both benefit from a 'sociogrammar' which would 'provide a picture of Faetar that is faithful to the variable, ever-changing and socially-situated grammar (meaning "mental model") of the actual speakers, as one example of the convergence between descriptive and variationist efforts' (p. 415).

Gender, sex, and age categories also play into the amount of contact the speakers of indigenous minority languages have with speakers of majority languages. In regard to gender and sex, many researchers have been examining the linking of gender and language change; Clarke discusses the attention that Innu-speaking women pay to the social significance of linguistic features, and Rau et al. similarly note how changes in the language of young Yami-speaking women in Taiwan are becoming associated with positive social affect. Romero's look at K'iche' Mayan speakers in Guatemala is especially useful in highlighting the links between gender and both literal and social mobility; women K'iche' speakers continue to use a stigmatized phonological variant more than men, and Romero connects this with the amount of travel that men do to other communities that hold a negative view of this variant. In another case, that of Eastern Cham speakers in Vietnam, Brunelle discusses how the near-impossibility for women to gain prestige within their community shapes their attitude towards their language variant; as they believe they have no hope in achieving certain positions in society, they do not bother to use more formal or highly regarded linguistic forms.

Nearly half of the papers in the volume address the issue of age categories and speech variation, with many linking age differences to the amount of contact with outside communities and majority languages. Thiering's morphosyntax- and semantics-focused work among Dene Sliné speakers in northern Canada, Lastra's research on both the merging of phonemes and innovative classifier use within the Mexican language Chichimeco Jonaz, O'Shannessy' analysis with the shifting syntax in Warlpiri in Australia's Northern Territory, and Brunelle's study of monosyllabization in Eastern Cham in Vietnam all address intergenerational shifts and the tendency for younger speakers to be more influenced by the language practices of majority language speakers. Brunelle's work is especially nuanced in its consideration of how age also affects the way that speakers attempt to gain prestige through the use of specific language variants. Carrera-Sabaté and Montoya-Abat both examine the factor of age in regard to phonological changes among Catalan speakers in different areas of Spain, and Maori men's phonological variation is discussed by Harlow et al. in terms of contact with New Zealand English speakers, and Pasquale examines the shift toward Spanish among younger Quechua-Spanish bilinguals in Peru, as expressed through phonological variation as well. Other papers touch upon diachronic changes in language. Bíró and Sipőcz take a morphosyntactical approach, and compare loanwords and

grammatical constructions from two different time periods among the Mansi in north western Siberia. Bosch and Scobbie present an analysis of 40 to 60-year-old morphophonological data from Scottish Gaelic in order to reveal new perspectives on contemporary variation in the language.

Finally, the authors do not neglect the importance that internal linguistic factors may play on variation among indigenous minority language speakers, just as they do for speakers of majority languages. Romero (with Ki'che' Mayan), O'Shannessy (with Warlpiri), Brunelle (with Eastern Cham), and Satyanath and Laskar (with Bishnupriya Manipuri) all identify phonological or morphological variables that act as key social markers among speakers. As Stanford and Preston comment (p. 12), Rau et al.'s work on Yami diphthongs on Orchid Island, Taiwan, in particular provides an illuminating contrast with Labov's own work in Martha's Vineyard (1963).

Geographically speaking, there is at least one paper on a language from each of the six inhabited continents, with the bulk of the studies centering on Western Europe and North/Central America. The studies presented are well-chosen and illuminate the diversity of situations faced by minority language speakers in different jurisdictions within the same region; however, it is unfortunate that Africa and South America only have one paper each when both continents are home to areas of high linguistic diversity and thus possess rich zones of linguistic contact. For example, it would have been interesting to include more work from Amazonia, particularly the Vaupès basin, where the rules of linguistic exogamy (see Aikhenvald 2002) play a critical role in languages learned and used in a situation of high language contact; more than one paper could have addressed multilingualism in western Africa, as according to some estimates, there are 550 languages spoken in the country of Nigeria alone (Blench n.d.). However, Stanford and Preston do not state how the papers in this volume were selected, i.e., whether they were solicited specifically, part of a call for papers, or the results of a conference or workshop. Thus, it is difficult to comment further on the regional balance or the bias towards phonetic and phonological issues, as referred to previously. These are not major inadequacies; rather, they point to both geographical and linguistic areas that may be worth elaborating on in future anthologies.

On a final note, the references to ongoing or impending language shift for indigenous minority languages throughout this collection alludes to some possible areas for future quantitative variationist inquiry. As people stop speaking an indigenous minority language and shift to the dominant majority language of an area, perhaps similar studies could be conducted regarding how speakers' knowledge of the minority language, be it partial or fluent, influences their usage of the majority language. Just as studies in this volume – such as Montoya-Abat's in regard to how Alicante Catalan is converging with Castilian Spanish, Pasquale's work on Quechua sound changes due to Spanish contact in Peru, and Meyerhoff's work on Bislama and Tamambo contact in Vanuatu – discuss the effects of majority languages on minority languages, minority languages may also be having an impact on variants and dialects of majority languages as their speakers transition to these other ways of speaking.

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J. Marshall Unger. *The Role of Contact in the Origins of the Japanese and Korean Languages*. Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press. 2009. 207 pp. Pb (9780824832797) $46.00.

Reviewed by Nicholas Ostler

Japanese and Korean have been neighbouring languages since the dawn of recorded history, and they are in many ways alike in their structures. Nevertheless, they are phonetically and substantively rather divergent, and comparative philology of the two has given only scant results, so that the hypothesis of a common origin for the languages has remained controversial. It is a puzzle to explain the mix of similarity and disparity; and this book offers to apply the relatively fresh approach of contact linguistics to seek a solution. Despite this potentially fascinating theme, this is a dense, difficult and unsatisfactory work. As a result, it will be very hard for sociolinguists to derive much profit from it unless they are already committed to research in Japanese and Korean prehistory.

It is dense, because it is evidently written only for a knowledgeable côterie, already well versed in the minutiae of Japanese and Korean philology, and of some theories that have recently been proposed to explain them. It is difficult, because it has no clear structural architecture, either as a sustained argument, or as a historical narrative: the chapters give off the feel of a series of loosely related essays, which have not been integrated, or even introduced in advance, to build a new structure of knowledge for the reader, although there is an attempt in the first chapter to raise most of the major themes. It is unsatisfactory, because it does not provide cogent, or even strongly suggestive, evidence for any particular conclusion, even if it does clearly favour one, namely that Japanese and Korean had their common origin in the south-east of the Korean peninsula, in a language which spread to Japan with the Yayoi in migrations between the third centuries BC–AD. Thereafter, the languages

split apart, but they continued to sustain mutual influence, periodically, in later centuries.

The book begins with a dispiriting first chapter, which discusses why the data cannot be expected to betoken any clear single explanation. The truth, then, must lie in some degree of mess – but which mess? Unger then reviews past systematic attempts to reconstruct proto-Korean-Japanese, largely due to Samuel Martin but supplemented more recently by John B. Whitman. Alexander Vovin is cited as having a range of refutations still to be published, so the discussion is left tentative and programmatic. After a quick canter through the eight major syntactic features which Korean and Japanese share, Unger attempts to apply some new concepts of diachronic contact linguistics (notably Malcolm Ross's *metatypy*, *creolization*, *creoloid* and *imperfect shift* – though none are defined or even really explained here). Unger ends up suggesting that the absence of calques (lexical or grammatical) argues that the syntactic similarities are unlikely to have arisen through contact.

Chapter 3 is devoted to criticism of two theories which see the relation as based on convergence, rather than genesis – those of Christopher Beckwith and Alexander Vovin. Beckwith appeals to a little-known language, Koguryŏ, largely inferred from place names, spoken in the south-east of Korea which would have been the ancestor of Japanese but unrelated to Korean. Vovin does not argue for a specific source for Japanese, but simply keeps its origin separate from Korean's, attempting to explain all the apparent proto-Korean-Japanese comparisons as borrowings or convergences due to (later) contact. All of the evidence adduced (both for and against these theories) is extremely indirect (e.g. dependent on whether the dialects of Ryukyuan can be classed under a single node in the pedigree of Japanese origins), and involves generalization from very few examples.

Chapter 4 concerns the interpretation of possible loans from Korean into Japanese, identified by Unger in cases where an apparent cognate pair between Korean and Japanese has an unrelated synonym in Japanese. By analogy, the words *beast*, *air* and *spirit*, borrowed into English from French, pushed *deer*, *loft* and *ghost* into more specialized meanings. To this reviewer, the possible loans cited seem to have no probative value whatever, since – with no sound-changes arguing for relative dates – they could, in principle, have been borrowed at any time. Chapter 5 goes on to try to identify some of them in Japanese myths that refer implicitly to volcanoes. Since Korea is without volcanoes, the argument is that these myths must be relatively late; the *susa* in the name of the errant god Susa-no-Wo is one such, purportedly derived from Korean *sos-ta* 'soar, flare, spurt'. The argument in this section slips from philology to the even vaguer field of comparative mythology, with conjectures on how story-lines have been re-combined; although some sections are promisingly entitled 'Identification of chronological strata' and 'Dating the syncretism', nothing concrete like this actually emerges.

Chapters 6 and 7 bring on some more historical and cultural evidence. The former attempts to find effects of Korean immigration in the Kofun period of Japanese history (say fourth to six centuries AD) which followed Yayoi. But again, titles that promise discussions of mounted archery and the advent of literacy disappoint when

they label only indeterminate comments on previous theorists' pronouncements. The latter claims to look for the linguistic effects of the major cultural shifts pre-Yayoi, such as the introduction of wet-field rice, bronze and access to maritime trade. But nothing transpires. Unger merely takes a chance to opine very briefly on other possible denizens of the linguistic environment – Yi, Yue and Wu peoples on the Chinese mainland, Nusantao merchants plying between Japan and Dravidian-speaking southern India, marauding Mongols and Manchu further north – all of whom have been favoured as linguistic relatives of Japanese by some noted scholars.

The book stops suddenly here, with no conclusion. No one can find it easy to derive anything firm from the comparison of linguistic data in this region of East Asia, even within the light of evidence from archaeology, mythology and currents of world pre-history. But this book, for all its scholarship, only really argues the difficulties.

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Gabrielle Hogan-Brun, Clare Mar-Molinero and Patrick Stevenson (eds.). *Discourses on Language and Integration: Critical Perspectives on Language Testing Regimes in Europe.* Amsterdam, The Netherlands/Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 2009. 170 pp. Hb (9789027206237) €90.00 / $135.00.

Reviewed by Jeff Millar

The proliferation of language testing practices for purposes of immigration and citizenship across a growing number of European Union states comes under critical scrutiny in *Discourses on Language and Integration*, the first of two edited volumes to come out of the 'Testing Regimes' research project at the University of Southampton (the second volume is Extra, Spotti and Van Avermaet 2009). These practices are best understood as a response on the part of the nation-states of Western Europe to a perceived challenge to their linguistic and cultural homogeneity by growing multilingualism and multiculturalism resulting from increased migration. As a shift has occurred towards imposing stricter conditions on migrants, language proficiency, along with knowledge of the norms and values of the host society, has emerged as the key criterion for residency and citizenship.

The aim of the volume is to problematize the assumptions about language and citizenship that underlie immigration language testing regimes and, in their introduction, the editors provide a conceptual and theoretical framework based on insights from research on language ideology and the field of critical language testing (CLT). Language tests are used as gate-keeping mechanisms based on a

'dogma of homogeneity,' the mistaken notion of European nation-states as essentially monolingual and of linguistic and cultural differences as dangerous and centrifugal. Language requirements for citizenship are motivated by a national language ideology which 'attempt[s] to defend the myth of the "nation" as a stable monolingual norm which is constantly challenged by multilingual realities' resulting from migration (p. 5). While citizenship language tests can be seen as a rejection of multiculturalism and a return to assimilationist policies, they are invariably legitimated through ostensibly liberal and inclusive discourses of integration and social cohesion. Nevertheless, as the contributions to the volume show, this discourse still serves 'to re-assert an idea of the integrity of the nation rooted in stable monolingualism' (p. 11).

This framework is borne out by Van Avermaet's cross-national overview of current (as of 2007) language testing practices in 19 countries related to immigrant integration and citizenship, based on an Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE) survey. The data confirm the central role of language proficiency tests within the increasingly stricter conditions being imposed on migrants, as well as their covert agenda as instruments of exclusionary gate-keeping rather than promoting social cohesion. The 'critical perspectives' of the volume are most forcefully presented by Shohamy, who engages in a radical critique of 'false assumptions and beliefs' underlying citizenship language testing. These include dominant national language ideologies, as well as the symbolic power of scientifically objective tests, and narrow notions of national citizenship ill-suited to increasingly transnational societies. Using proficiency in a/the standard national language as the main criterion for citizenship, she argues, results in a violation of rights and the marginalization of immigrant linguistic minorities as second-class citizens.

The editors point out that while the ideology of a national language is hegemonic within European nation-states, there is a need to 'take into account the historicity of discourses on language and citizenship' within specific national contexts (p. 5). Such an analytical focus on the discourses of language, culture and national belonging, in which national language testing regimes are embedded, is taken by the four case studies in the volume.

Extra and Spotti show how the complex Dutch testing regime is the result of a dominant discourse of integration, or *inburgering*, based on a 'jargon of "othering"' (p. 65), which, originally applied to newcomers, has subsequently been applied recursively to 'oldcomers,' and been extended as a condition for admission through an 'integration abroad' test. The chapter by Blackledge analyses how the misrecognition of the value of standard English and the equation of lack of English language proficiency with social disorder, family breakdown and threats to social cohesion is produced as an authoritative discourse within chains of political and media discourse, culminating in changes to citizenship legislation and the extension of immigration language testing in the U.K. Horner's chapter explains how the Luxembourg government's introduction of a language requirement in Luxembourgish as the national language was enabled by a national and supranational discourse of integration, whose semantic vagueness alternately foregrounds tropes of social cohesion in a monolingual nation-state and of unity in diversity in an image of the European Union as multilingual mosaic. Busch's contribution gives an indication

of the possibilities of challenging dominant monolingual national language regimes through her topological analysis of the Vienna public library. Such local institutions, as nodes within globalised nexuses of practice, provide a space for the negotiation of alternative multilingual language regimes. These kinds of discourse analytic case studies are important for identifying the specific mechanisms through which dominant ideologies of language are objectified in policies and practices, and the interdiscursive processes by which they are legitimated (or challenged).

The volume also takes a critical perspective on issues of validity and ethics of the use of language testing for immigration. These issues, raised by Van Avermaet, Shohamy, and Extra and Spotti, are the focus of the commentary by McNamara. The key insight is that the covert construct being measured by immigration testing regimes is 'conformity to a national linguistic ideology' (p. 160), rather than functional language proficiency. This poses a dilemma for language testing practitioners involved in test development: their expertise can address issues of test validity, but the use of the test is in the hands of external actors and determined by political rationalities.

Discourses on Language and Integration represents the cutting edge of research on the use of language testing for purposes of immigration, which, given the current socio-political context, looks likely to be a key feature of immigration policy across the European Union for the foreseeable future. The volume is an invaluable resource for language testing practitioners, as well as applied linguistics researchers on societal multilingualism engaged in or confronted by on-going developments in language in immigration policy, both in Europe and beyond.

REFERENCE

Extra, Guus, Massimiliano Spotti and Piet Van Avermaet (eds.). 2009. *Language Testing, Migration and Citizenship: Cross-National Perspectives on Integration Regimes*. London: Continuum.

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