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REVIEWS

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PETER GARRETT, NIKOLAS COUPLAND & ANGIE WILLIAMS, *Investigating language attitudes: Social meanings of dialect, ethnicity and performance*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003. x + 251 pp. Hb $79.95.

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As its title suggests, this book focuses on attitudes to language and dialect production, perception, and use, and particularly on attitudes to language variation, dialect, speech style, language preference, and minority languages as well as their speakers. As we know, an important aspect of the complex social psychology of speech communities is the arbitrary and subjective intellectual and emotional response of a society's members to the languages and varieties in their social environment: Different language varieties are often associated with deep-rooted emotional responses – social attitudes, in short – such as thoughts, feelings, stereotypes, and prejudices about people, about social, ethnic and religious groups, and about political entities. These emotional responses and perceptions of language and dialect phenomena are biased by cultural, social, political, economic, or historical facts or other circumstances within the speech community. Sociolinguistically based research may build a more complete and accurate picture of the speaker's linguistic behavior, in the context of its complex social psychology, as well as of the regard for language use within the community, and may further understanding of the dynamics of speech communities as well as of the subjective life of language varieties.

This approach to the area of language attitudes and message effects is not new; other works, such as Shaw & Wright 1967, Triandis 1971, Trudgill 1975, Henderson et al. 1987, Ajzen 1988, Preston 1989, Baker 1992, and Oppenheim 1992, or edited volumes such as Ryan & Giles 1982, Preston 1999, or Long & Preston 2002 have also emphasized its relevance, dealing with aspects such as language boundary perceptions, the aesthetics and prestige of dialects, attitudes toward language, dialect and accent varieties, gender differences, mental maps, dialect imitation, dialect distance, nativeness, difference perceptions, and so on. Yet new initiatives such as the work of Garrett, Coupland & Williams are always laudable, not only from the point of view of contrastive sociolinguistics, but also because of its originality: It provides us with a critical and comparative appraisal

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of the research methods traditionally applied in the study of attitudes, based on the authors' own research experience in Wales.

The authors claim an eclectic multi-method approach and propose three aims of the book: (i) "to provide an overview of approaches to investigating language attitudes"; (ii) "to introduce a range of linked empirical studies, focusing on the Welsh context, demonstrating two broad methodological approaches"; and (iii) "to develop a dialogue between these first two aims, to explore how sociolinguistic interpretations are both guided and constrained by the different empirical approaches" – i.e., "how different research methods produce different insights into language attitudes and sociolinguistic structure, contributing to a multi-faceted account of the 'subjective life' of language varieties" (p. 1).

The book contains 10 chapters of 17 to 32 pages each (along with front matter, references, and index), moving from the broad theoretical and methodological frameworks of language-attitude phenomena to specific research, particularly in Wales. Chap. 1, an introductory section, is concerned with the nature and scope of language attitudes, considering the different definitions given by researchers such as Allport, Hennerson, Morris & Fitz-Gibbon, Oppenheim, Cargile, Giles, Ryan & Bradac, or Sarnoff. They discuss the main approaches applied to their field of study and its site in Wales, the research questions, and the structure of the book. Related terms and concepts such as "habits," "values," "beliefs," "opinion," and "ideology" are also discussed in order to define "attitudes." In this sense, they are ambitious enough to understand that the study of attitudes has to move beyond the definition of the phenomenon itself and its incidence in terms of behavioral and sociolinguistic outcomes to consider it "to understand what it is that determines and defines these attitudes" (13).

Though the three main approaches to researching language attitudes – societal treatment, direct, and indirect approaches – are presented in the introductory section, chaps. 2 and 3 discuss their strengths and weaknesses (ambiguity and inconsistencies), advantages and disadvantages, with an array of traditional methods and procedural techniques for data collection in the process of direct and indirect elicitation of attitudes and attitude-rating scaling: conventional questionnaires and interviews; recent indirect approaches developed in the area of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology; and the matched guise technique as the method par excellence of the direct approach. In the case of direct methods, consisting of hypothetical questions, strongly slanted questions, multiple questions, social-desirability questions, acquiescence bias, and so on, their problems are related to such aspects as the characteristics of the researcher, effects of prior discussion, individual vs. group responses, number of respondents, distance, uniformity, anonymity, the interactive nature and response rates in interviews (word-of-mouth responses) and questionnaires (written responses), their structured/unstructured design, the open/closed-endedness of questions and responses, and format (attitude-rating scales). In the case of indirect methods, once success is reckoned and acknowledged, they underline

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the inconveniences of the matched guise technique, especially its salience, perception, accent-authenticity, mimicking-authenticity, community-authenticity, style-authenticity, and neutrality problems.

Chaps. 4–9 report the authors' own empirical research carried out in Wales, applying the different approaches complementarily in the form of an integrated program. The questionnaire study includes perceptual mapping and labeling tasks, attitude-rating scales, open-ended questions and social advantage items; the narratives study involves analysis of actual dialect performances, responses and evaluations; added to these are keyword responses and study on recognition of dialects. As the authors admit (46–50), perceptual dialectological work in Wales, which would have had much to offer, was almost totally absent. Preston's work (1989, 1999) has emphasized that it is crucially important to compare scientific and folk (i.e., non-linguists') conceptions and perceptions of and responses to dialect phenomena in general and to language differences in particular: "We should be interested not only in what goes on (in language), but also in how people react to what goes on (they are persuaded, put off, etc.), and in what people say goes on (talk concerning language)" (Hoenigswald 1966:20). The present application in Wales is thus almost pioneering; in fact, some of their most solid findings are derived from dialect mapping and labeling (chap. 5).

The narratives study reported in chap. 7 allowed Garrett, Coupland & Williams to reconceptualize the "speech evaluation" or "accent evaluation" concepts and to relabel them as "speech performance" or "dialect in discourse," entailing a significant realignment of sociolinguistic studies of dialect, in such a way that "dialect sociolinguistics will need to address the encoding and reception of dialect forms as part of individuals' and communities' total 'meaning potential' … Dialects needs to feature as an integrated component of a sociolinguistic theory of language in use, rather than as the focus of an autonomous dialectology" (177–78).

The findings obtained in the research presented in chap. 9 also lead the authors to suggest that "dialect recognition is part of a much more elaborated process of SOCIAL COGNITION, reflecting ideologies and preferences in listeners' communities and strategies in representing them … The recognition item has revealed itself in part to be a further manifestation of evaluative reactions to language use, and not merely a reliability check on language attitudes data" (227).

Their own experience using the different approaches with a wide range of techniques and their findings in the Welsh context allow them to propose the use of an eclectic multi-method approach in order to observe further manifestations of attitudes, thus shedding light on other facets of attitudes and stereotypes: "We need a complex of methods and of response options that is able to match the inherent complexity of language attitudes, as entertained by different individuals and groups" (66). This general point leads them to conclude the book by stating "that language attitudes research can develop with a richly differentiated

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set of techniques and perspectives able to fill out our understanding of the complex subjective worlds in which sociolinguistic varieties exist" (228).

This is a well-documented and critical work, written by practitioners in the long-established research area of language attitudes, and it will be of great interest to a wide multidisciplinary range of readers in the fields of sociolinguistics, the social psychology of language, the sociology of language and education.

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ELINOR OCHS & LISA CAPPS, *Living narrative: Creating lives in everyday storytelling*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001. Pp. xii, 352. Pb. $20.50.

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Imagine a book on conversational narrative that draws from the fields of linguistics, psychology, literary theory, and anthropology. Now, imagine this book as compelling as a favorite novel and as convincing as a well-designed research report. The nexus of these fields and the artful marriage of these vastly varying genres can be found in the profoundly interdisciplinary and genuinely collaborative book *Living narrative*. In this volume, Elinor Ochs, a linguistic anthropologist, and Lisa Capps, a developmental psychologist, speak both to those who come to narrative with literary concerns, and to those discourse-analytic minded

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social scientists who understand spoken, personal narrative as a means to link linguistic phenomena to development of culture and society. Through the course of the book, the authors illustrate how these literary and social concerns need not be dichotomous. *Living narrative* instills a simultaneous appreciation for the aesthetic and the political aspects of everyday conversational narrative.

Ochs & Capps wed these concerns by clarifying in chap. 1, "A dimensional approach to narrative," the unique quality of their subject: spoken, conversational narrative. Two concepts shape their discussion of it and are threaded throughout all the chapters of the book. First, they argue, ALL NARRATIVES orient to five dimensions: (i) Tellership, or who is telling the story; (ii) Tellability, or how interesting the story is; (iii) Embeddedness, or how the narrative is situated within other stretches of text or talk; (iv) Linearity, the sequential and/or temporal ordering of events; and (v) Moral Stance, the moral values being conveyed through the telling. All narratives vary in degree along continua within each of these dimensions. The most canonical (and necessarily hypothetical) narrative artifact we can imagine would be (i) told by a single author, (ii) highly tellable (exciting), (iii) minimally embedded (as a stand-alone storybook on the shelf), (iv) highly linear, and (v) explicit in its moral stance (the moral of the story is *x*).

Even though no narrative would fall into these extremes, Ochs & Capps argue that traditional literary narrative tends toward these prototypical ends of the continua, whereas conversational narrative tends toward the opposite ends. By making these comparisons, the authors bring together conversations that occur within literary theory and those that are critical to social theory. Tellership, for example, is highly contested in both these arenas, in the sense that the "author" of the literary text was declared dead long ago, along with the "intentional fallacy" (Wimsatt & Beardsley 1954). For decades, literary theory has conceptualized literary narratives as always in the process of meaning anew through their embeddedness in dialogue and social context (Barthes 1977). In Ochs & Capps' conceptualization, conversational narratives are even more obviously dialogical. In terms of the dimension of tellership, a conversational narrative is often LITERALLY co-told by a narrator's listeners. As an audience nods, looks confused, interjects, or objects, conversational narrators shape their stories accordingly. Therefore, Ochs & Capps argue, conversational narratives are a critical means to understand not only the nature of narrative more broadly, but also human sociality, and the relationship of everyday talk to human development and the (de)construction of cultural norms.

Although narratives vary along the five dimensions described by Ochs & Capps, all narratives function as "a vernacular, interactional forum for ordering, explaining, and otherwise taking a position on experience" (p. 57). However (and this is the second key concept that infuses the book), narrating is also the enactment of a central paradox, a tension between two human impulses. On one side of this tension, we seek out narrative as a way to provide some order for our

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experiences, to our sense of the puzzling and chaotic unfolding of our lives. On the other side, we are loath to misrepresent the full detail of our own experience, and we resist paring down our stories to fit in neatly ordered narrative sequences, to cater solely to our listeners' (or society's) expectations. This is the critical tension in narrative – it is realized across all the dimensions of narrative, and realized variably, depending on the context of the telling.

After carefully laying out these dimensions and the tension that influences their variation, Ochs & Capps illustrate, with diverse and carefully chosen examples, how conversational narrative influences and is influenced by human development, interactional contingencies, institutions like family and church, and the broadest existential concerns. In chap. 2, "Becoming a narrator," they illustrate how narrative development begins at birth and continues through the lifespan, as humans are both socialized into certain ways of telling narratives, and socialized through narrative into certain normative behaviors across the dimensions of tellership, tellability, linearity, and moral stance. In chap. 3, "Launching a narrative," Ochs & Capps detail the interactional contingencies that can facilitate or derail attempts to launch a narrative in conversation. Again, narrative's central tension influences their discussion. Getting a narrative off the ground is always a delicate balance between "the desire to share life experience and the desire to shield those experiences from public scrutiny" (129). Chap. 4, "The unexpected turn," centers on the feature that most clearly contributes to a narrative's tellability: the unexpected narrative event. Through examples ranging from the retellings of panic attacks at Niagara Falls, to the theft of a watch in Samoa, to dinner-table bickering between tense middle-class adults, Ochs & Capps illustrate how narrators and their co-tellers fuss with story details to shape how the unexpected event is interpreted, and they discuss how narratives provide the medium through which norms for morality and sociality are reworked collaboratively in conversation.

Chap. 5, "Experiential logic," provides an analytic anchor for the second half of the book. Here, Ochs & Capps offer a template for understanding how narrative storylines are constructed through interaction, presenting additional narrative components and discussing structures in terms of temporal and explanatory sequences. Components that facilitate the understanding of the logic of events include setting, unexpected event, psychological/physiological response, object state change, unplanned action, attempt, and consequence. These narrative components play a double role in the construction of narrative, as both tellers and protagonists interact and respond to or recount situations. In developing logics for present and future, the linearity of a narrative establishes a coherent framework for interpreting past and future experiences.

In chap. 6, "Beyond face value," Ochs & Capps discuss how generic story types and traditional representations of human experience influence conversational storylines. Storytellers, to varying degrees, present their story protagonists as representatives of known (stereo)types and their experiences as

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recognizable scenarios that have cultural and historical resonance. Narratives are seen, then, both as rhetorical ploys (disguising genuine selves) and as the very thing that guarantees our ability to have selves. "Beyond face value" means that in many ways "acts of imagination laminate the particular and the general, transporting the telling and the tellers beyond the information given" (224).

In chap. 7, "Narrative as theology," Ochs & Capps analyze the infusion of personal narrative into prayers, and the often prayer-like quality of ordinary narratives as they "actively work out a situational theology" (250). Multiple examples, both sacred and secular, illustrate how narratives probe moral dimensions of human experience and define moral guidelines for overcoming obstacles and achieving goodness in particular communities. Narrative and prayer are portrayed as not clearly separable, but mutually informative and seeking similar ends.

Chap. 8, "Untold stories," brings together four of the five narrative dimensions to conceptualize personal stories that are NOT told, or told only partially. Analyzing personal narratives (or the absence of them) from, for example, war veterans, autistic children, and toddlers articulating their first sentences, the authors frame narrative competence again as the negotiation of the tension between coherence and authenticity. The UNTOLD spaces left in narrative, they argue, are a hallmark of dynamic co-tellership. These moments of indeterminate meaning allow co-tellers to participate in narrative, much as the reader of a literary narrative is conceptualized by reader-response theorists (Iser 1993). Ochs & Capps illustrate, further, that what is left untold is grounded in morality, as teller and co-teller work together to produce not just a coherent story, but a coherent moral frame for personal memories.

Living narrative is beautifully written, balancing a need for analytic clarity with a readable, flowing style. The strengths range widely; the book is clear yet complex, interdisciplinary yet focused. The many well-chosen examples infuse it with international perspectives and a healthy cultural relativism. Summaries at the end of chaps. 1 and 2 highlight the most important concepts and indicate where they will be further discussed, and charts and tables draw relationships among terms and concepts without oversimplifying. Concepts are linked across chapters and always related to the central dimensions of narrative, the paradoxical tension that drives narration. *Living narrative* is itself a highly tellable tale, carefully told. As reviewers, we are pleased to co-tell it here, and to recommend it to any future co-tellers concerned with how conversational narrative functions across all human domains.

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EVE V. CLARK, *First language acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Pp. xvi, 515. Hb $90.

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Eve Clark's comprehensive book makes an important addition to those works already available on first language acquisition. A commendable feature is the inclusion of many non-English examples, although most are from English. In the field of language acquisition there has been an emphasis on cross-language comparisons over the past few years, as shown by the number of journal articles and chapters published, but there has not been a comprehensive single-authored book which has attempted to incorporate the recent cross-language findings. Clark's work goes a long way to filling this gap.

Throughout the volume the emphasis is on the social setting of acquisition, combined with the cognitive foundations on which children build. Language is viewed as the product of social interaction. In adopting a process account of language acquisition, Clark takes account of the dynamic nature of conversation rather than viewing structures in isolation.

The volume is divided into four parts. The first examines conversations between adult and child, segmentation of the speech stream, and the child's early words. The second part focuses on structure – that is, syntax and morphology – as well as the coining of new words by young children. The social dimension is the focus of part 3, while part 4 examines the biological specialization for language. A number of recurring themes link the chapters across the four sections, including the distinction between comprehension and production, the conservative nature of young children's productions, the richness of the input, and the child's contributions to the acquisition process. The chapters cover much of the acquisition research undertaken to date, although Clark only briefly mentions the formal grammar/nativist perspective. Some examples are taken from Clark's diary study of her son's spontaneous speech, and others from comprehension and production data reported by others.

The general introduction (chap. 1) poses numerous questions that face acquisition researchers as well as providing a brief introduction to some of the terminology used in the field. In chap. 2, Clark argues that the four general conditions

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for communication – attending to the same focus (joint attention), establishing common ground, using appropriate speech acts, and listening in order to make appropriate responses – are relevant even in the earliest exchanges between adult and child. These four conditions are revisited throughout the book; for example, chap. 12 elaborates on the conditions pertaining to speech acts and appropriate responses.

The view that emerges throughout the work is that learning a language is part of learning to communicate. The nature of early interactions between babies and adults, Clark argues, represents the turn-taking of adult conversation. Thus, even a young child is shown how to be a partner in interaction. With examples from English, Clark discusses how infants learn to get an adult's attention, and proposes that by the age of 2 years infants can focus on communicating their intentions, are able to clarify what they want when there is misunderstanding on the part of the adult, and consider the knowledge state of the adult when making a request. In sections covering the structure and functions of "Child Directed Speech," Clark discusses the fact that not all cultures modify their speech to infants in the same way. However, given the emphasis on the social context of acquisition, it would have been appropriate to focus a little more on the fact that in many cultures infants grow up in multiparty contexts; thus, research findings that focus on joint attention between mother and child will be more relevant to some cultures than to others. Clark suggests that we focus on the similarities rather than the differences, but it is only by documenting and interpreting the socialization patterns of children in different cultures that we identify how infants and toddlers DO attend to the language around them. Just as language typology influences acquisition, so do socialization patterns.

The main focus of chap. 3 is how infants analyze the speech stream. The research on babies' early perceptions and the reorganization of perceptual biases is well covered. Infants need to recognize recurring patterns so they can attach meaning, and the view presented in this chapter is that infants discover the sound system in trying to work out the communicative significance of different utterances. The clear mismatch between a child's production and how the form is represented in memory is discussed; this topic is expanded in chap. 5. The gradual emergence of words from early communicative exchanges and gestures is discussed in chap. 4. Clark argues that adults direct infants' attention while talking about objects and events in the here-and-now; infants bring conceptual categories to the task of word learning. Drawing on research from various contexts, Clark raises the issue of whether it is possible to classify the infant's early words as nouns or verbs based on the adult system. Categorization, she decides, is better identified by the child's use of words.

The development of sounds is the topic of chap. 5. What is critical for the process of acquisition is the asymmetry between comprehension and production, according to Clark; this point is taken up again in the concluding chapter of the book. She suggests that the retention in memory of representations starting

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at around 9–10 months allows infants to recognize words, starting with familiar chunks in the speech stream. Gradually infants are able to fill in more about meaning and form. Infants' representations also serve as targets for their productions, something against which to check their outputs. In the final chapter of part 1, Clark evaluates the constraints approach to acquisition. She raises questions about where constraints would come from, where they would start, how long they would last, and why they would be abandoned. The alternative, which Clark prefers, is that children build on conceptual categories in combination with pragmatic information.

Part 2 elaborates on the continuity of language acquisition. In chap. 7, Clark argues that sequences of single words are planned together and so mark the emergence of structural relations. She also discusses, among other things, evidence for categories and evidence for productivity. In chap. 8, which looks at the modulation of word meaning, language typology is discussed in relation to acquisition. A section of the chapter elaborates on rule vs. schema approaches to past tense acquisition; Clark points out that while it is difficult to distinguish between the two approaches at the end point (i.e., when past tense verb forms have been acquired), the issue is whether children rely on rules or schemata in acquiring the forms. The dual encoding hypothesis is also discussed, but, using a number of examples to illustrate the problems it raises, Clark argues that while it is convincing for English it is not for other languages.

Chap. 9 includes discussion on a number of topics, including linking rules, preferred argument structure, questions, negatives, locative and causative alternations, and passives. Chap. 10 focuses on clause combining. Clark proposes that complement clauses of verbs such as *think* and *know* actually function as evidentials for young children; in support of this view is that their distribution is restricted to first and second person subjects. In chap. 11, Clark draws on her previously published work reporting on compounding and derivation, and also discusses other aspects of word formation. The topic of asymmetry between production and comprehension is revisited.

Evidence and arguments to support the view that learning a language is part of learning to communicate are drawn together in part 3. The four conditions needed for communication which were introduced in chap. 2 are again taken up, in particular the two conditions "using appropriate speech acts" and "listening in order to make appropriate responses." Social roles, register, resolving conflict, and related issues are some of the topics covered, as is "stage direction." Clark illustrates (from English) that by 3; 6 to 4 years, children can direct each other and role-play; that is, they distinguish play from the real world. Chap. 15 looks at the early language development of children raised with input from two languages. Differences in input across social classes and the effect on the child's vocabulary development is another topic discussed.

Part 4 is quite short, and the topics are not as well developed as those in other chapters. Chap. 15 contains an overview of the specialization for language, with

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discussion of sensitive periods and methods of studying brain activity (PET, ERP and fMRI). As is typical in mentions of critical periods, there is a brief discussion of feral and isolated children. The final chapter takes up a very crucial aspect of any account of language acquisition: the mechanisms that cause change in the system. The child's internal representations – for understanding others and as targets for production – change over time. From the early detection of sounds and patterns in the input, the child develops a language system and knowledge of appropriate use, gradually drawing closer to the adult target. Children start small and build up their knowledge; what influences change seems to be the child's developing ability to take up what is offered in the input. Clark introduces models of learning here, and issues such as the poverty of the stimulus, but there is limited discussion of these topics.

No one volume could do justice to the field of language acquisition. In this book of over 500 pages, Clark argues convincingly that language acquisition starts very early in a social context, and that social context cannot be separated from language acquisition. The issues raised in the early chapters are elaborated through the volume, with a few of the examples repeated. It is a difficult task to cover the material without some overlap since there are numerous strands to be woven together: different aspects of the learning environment, the child's development, the language features that emerge at different stages, and possible explanations. In fact, having some overlap across the chapters helps them stand alone. For example, as readings for an advanced undergraduate group without any background in acquisition research or theory, I selected just four chapters from different sections of the book. The students found the chapters easy to follow. Most technical terms were explained appropriately. However, we did note that *semantic bootstrapping* was mentioned on p. 189 but not explained until p. 201 (and the index erroneously lists page 199 for 189).

In conclusion, the book provides remarkable coverage of the acquisition process from a social/pragmatic perspective. It is a valuable resource for students and researchers of language acquisition.

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MYRA MACDONALD, *Exploring media discourse*. London: Arnold, 2003. Pp. vi, 213. Pb $24.95.

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This book makes for fascinating but challenging reading. It is fascinating in that it covers wide-ranging and controversial topics such as racism; politicians, and

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their private and public spheres; and risks, covering those associated with children, food, Islam, and September 11.

The book is also challenging in that it introduces readers to a daunting number of social theorists. It starts with Foucault, on whose framework the author claims to have based her argument. It then continues with references to Eagleton, Gramsci, Hall, van Dijk, and Thompson, in discussing the importance of ideological bases to her book; Habermas, in dealing with private and public spheres; Butler and Goffman, in relation to the aspect of performance in the media; Beck and Giddens, in discussing risks; and Saïd and Hall, on Islam, Orientalism, and racism. Finally, it makes very brief reference to critical linguists such as Fowler and Fairclough in connection with the construction of discourses. The citation of all these commentators and thinkers is impressive and shows Macdonald's serious commitment to social theories as bases for her discussion. However, the connection between each of these theories and the analyses of specific cases is not always made clear.

The book starts with an overall introduction, in which Macdonald defines the term "discourse" on the basis of Foucault as "a system of communicative practices that are integrally related to wider social and cultural practices, and that help to construct specific frameworks of thinking" (p. 1). She makes clear that her use of the term "discourse" is different from what is called "discourse analysis." However, she does not elaborate on the difference between "discourse" and "discourse analysis," but instead spends more time comparing her approach to discourse with that of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), admitting that CDA shares the same objective of "relating discourse to power" as her approach. The difference, according to Macdonald, is that while CDA focuses on "the detailed structuring of individual texts" (3), her approach focuses on "the evolving patterns of discourse traceable across the contemporary media." Her definition of discourse, however, is too abstract, and it is not clear how she can identify "evolving patterns." In fact, this impression persists throughout the book, even after ample examples from actual discourses are presented. This seems to originate partly in the lack of systematic linguistic analysis, from which Macdonald keeps distancing herself.

Another point to be raised here is although Macdonald states that her "approach to discourse includes consideration of visual as well as verbal signification" (3), there is very little systematic analysis of visual significance in the book. Visual images are discussed when illustrating some examples. However, in total these amount to brief references to five photos, three cartoons, and a copy of a newspaper article. Macdonald clearly distinguishes her approach from the "micro-analysis" conducted by critical linguists such as Kress & van Leeuwen 2001, in that she "attempt[s] to map broader trends and changes over time and across genres" (4), and this is the strength and attraction of her study. However, the result is a lack of structure for the overall analysis because of its wide coverage of topics.

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Chap. 1 starts with the description of the operation of "discourse." Here, Macdonald gives some examples to illustrate her claim that cultural assumptions affect meaning interpretation, and restates the definition of "discourse" to emphasize its relationship with "wider social and cultural practices" (10). In discussing the media's role, she introduces the notion of "construction," which, on the basis of Foucault, "emphasize[s] the provisional and contested nature of forms of knowing" (14). Macdonald, however, points out a need to go beyond the Foucauldian approach and emphasizes the necessity for a "sharper set of criteria" (21) for the evaluation of discourses as well as the study of audience responses, including cross-cultural comparison. This takes us to chap. 2, where Macdonald asserts the importance of employing "ideological investigation" in addition to the Foucauldian approach. After reviewing various definitions of ideology, including those offered by Eagleton, Thompson, and Gramsci, Macdonald concludes that Eagleton's model of "competing ideologies," which defines ideology as "the effect of a variety of discourses" (42), is most relevant to her approach. She further quotes Eagleton, who asserts that for the "revealing of macro-structure of power, analysis needs to move beyond the particular discursive content to an evaluation of the thinking and behaviour that constitute an ideology of racism" (43). Thus, Macdonald emphasizes the potential of Eagleton's model to assist evaluation, which the Foucauldian approach lacks. However, she does not clearly state how this is possible. Since the concept of ideology is even more abstract than that of discourse, it is still not clear how it operates as a framework for analysis, nor do the examples given in this chapter satisfactorily illustrate the importance of retaining it in addition to the concept of discourse.

The introduction to section 2, which consists of chaps. 3 and 4, deals with the media's recent shift of attention to "the private and the personal" from "public concerns" (55). The connection between sections 1 and 2, however, is unclear at this stage. Chap. 3 deals with the media's recent trend of "personalization" (61). Here, Macdonald's employment of the feminist perspective is interesting; however, a sudden introduction of this new perspective in addition to the conceptual frameworks of discourse and ideology makes it difficult to find a connection with the preceding discussion. Chap. 4 discusses the recent trend of publicizing the "private" from two perspectives: publicizing public figures' privacy; and making ordinary people's life public (89), on the basis of Habermas's (1989) notion of "public space," and Goffman's (1972) and Butler's (1990) notion of "performance." Here again, Macdonald claims that feminist theory is more influential in challenging the definition of the "public sphere." However, readers will again face difficulty in verifying this claim because the book is written primarily from the perspective of media discourse, but not from that of feminism; thus, systematic explication of the latter is lacking except for occasional brief references. Macdonald's introduction of yet another perspective, therefore, makes understanding her assertions more challenging.

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Section 3 differs from the preceding two sections in that it is compiled under the overarching topic of risks. It starts by examining the difference between two questions of "ontological and epistemological" nature: "What is risk?" and "What do we mean by risk?" (105). The latter, according to Macdonald, regards risk as "constructed primarily through discourse" (105), and thus is in line with the Foucauldian approach. Chap. 5 deals with the risks faced by children. In discussing the role of the media in this regard, Macdonald repeatedly points out how the "child's voice" is often missing (113), and that in talking about child abuse, for example, there is a tendency for parental abuse to remain "private," while pedophiles' abuse is overemphasized. Here, Macdonald offers revealing observations based on different perspectives, and these are again in line with her advocacy of the Foucauldian approach. Chap. 6 deals with "discourses about food safety" (129). Here, Macdonald claims that despite the global nature of the issue, it is often discussed from a "Western" but not an "international" perspective (129), giving examples of cases such as *E. coli* and genetically modified (GM) food. There is, however, often no evidence to determine whether her interpretation is the right one in explicating these cases. In the examination of "mad cow" disease, Macdonald makes a rare detailed reference to the use of vocabulary and modals (137), which is welcome since more attention to these aspects is needed to convince readers of Macdonald's claims.

Chap. 7 deals with "Western fears of Islam". Referring to Saïd 1991 and Hall 1996, Macdonald describes how "the negative construction of the Arab" has been achieved (151) and how "Islamic fundamentalism" is associated with "terror" (157), giving examples ranging from Rushdie, the Okalahoma City bombing, and how Arabs are negatively stereotyped in American films (163–65). Macdonald also deals with the issue of "women in Islam" and illustrates, for example, how "the veil" is represented as a "key symbol of the silencing and depersonalizing of women" (167). She shows how "reductive" "a discourse of risk" could be by giving contradictory photo images of the veiled and unveiled woman. This is the only occasion where Macdonald utilizes a visual comparison, despite her initial proposal to discuss visual images.

The final chapter, chap. 8, focuses specifically on the September 11 attack. The difference of this case from the others involving Islam presented in chap. 7, according to Macdonald, is that in the case of September 11, "discourses of Islamophobia" and their "denial" coexisted (174); that is, although there was a tendency toward "inclusivity" on the surface, there also existed the construction of "the Muslim as 'Other'" (179). Here again, Macdonald states the importance of including differing or "other" perspectives (183).

The book comes to an abrupt halt in this chapter, since the brief conclusion to chap. 8 also serves as the conclusion to the whole book. This ending appears to be unbalanced in terms of the overall organization, since the book starts

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with a separate introductory section. Readers who are expecting a proper conclusion may be taken by surprise. Macdonald, however, attempts to make this section coherent and links it to the rest of the book by seeking to demonstrate that the discourses of risk are related to section 2: While they can be regarded as belonging to a "public sphere," "they are repeatedly portrayed as *invading* territories that were once thought of as 'safe', or at least 'protected'" (189). She also tries to connect this section to section 1 by claiming that ideological perspectives as well as the Foucauldian approach to discourse are necessary because "discourses of risk become especially ideological" (189).

To conclude, the book is full of opportunities to discover possible alternative interpretations, and it will be stimulating for students and scholars with varying disciplinary backgrounds, including, for example, media, culture, communication, sociology, linguistics with its various hyphenated subdisciplines, and language teaching. As Macdonald repeatedly claims, the different perspectives she has employed in analyzing media discourse are revealing. Although there is very little detailed, especially linguistic, analysis of texts, and the wide-ranging coverage of social theories is not always directly connected to the analyses, the book is a welcome addition to the field of media discourse. It is recommended to specialists and nonspecialists alike.

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Language in Society **34** (2005). Printed in the United States of America
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KAY MCCORMICK, *Language in Cape Town's District Six*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. xv + 253 pp.

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Kay McCormick's book is a multifaceted analysis of language norms and language practices in the bilingual District Six of Cape Town (South Africa). District Six is probably the best-known inner city neighborhood of Cape Town: In the 1980s the eyes of the world witnessed the forced removal of many of its inhabitants and the brutal demolition of homes in yet another attempt by the apartheid government to get rid of a cosmopolitan and ethnically mixed area. The area is relatively well defined, and its language contact situation makes it an excellent site for the study of language alternation and code-switching.

McCormick's study is an in-depth approach to the norms and practices of language choice in Chapel Street, the only remaining sector of District Six. Chapel Street houses a linguistically mixed (Afrikaans-English) working-class population. The area was researched twice by McCormick with a 20-year interval (in the 1980s and in 1999–2000). During the first study the apartheid system was still in place; the second phase occurred after the transition to majority rule. McCormick's research involved an impressive proportion of Chapel Street's inhabitants, well spread out over the entire neighborhood. In addition to the functional patterns of language switching, McCormick also describes the local varieties of English and Afrikaans as well as the patterns of language switching within conversational turns.

The author starts off with a broad picture of the historical context of Cape Town's language situation and with an assessment of the (historical and social) context of District Six. This external description is followed by an analysis of the way District Six was perceived by its own inhabitants. This complex background (the actual situation as well as the perceived context) is then used as an explanatory basis for the language norms and practices (especially code-switching) which are dealt with in the main body of the book.

McCormick's original interest was in children's code-switching ability, but she soon realized that she had to look at language attitudes and practices on a much wider scale. She decided to combine meticulous analysis of excerpts (mostly recorded during conversations with children and adults) with interviews and with a close look at the context in which the interaction among institutions, language ideologies, and language practices takes place.

Language in Cape Town's District Six opens with an introduction that sets the tone: The author takes the social constructivist approach, implying a focus on the language user as someone who uses code-switching to create a localized

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identity and social meaning. Code-switching itself is seen as unproblematic and common (cf. Auer 1998, Dirim & Hieronymus 2003).

The second chapter covers the linguistic history of South Africa, concluding with a section that brings together the factors in the political and economic background that had an impact on the position (and the fate) of District Six. The perception of District Six is described in chap. 3. It includes a description of District Six's development as well as an appraisal of the area as a community with specific characteristics (in terms of employment, households, religion, education, and leisure). In the fourth chapter McCormick documents her approach and the data collection techniques used in both data-gathering rounds. Chap. 5 concentrates on the Chapel Street neighborhood, with a focus on its linguistic codes. The codes as such are covered, as well as their development. The author concludes with a summary of the changes to be taken into account when comparing her 1980s research with her more recent data.

In the next three chapters (6–8) the specific role of standard English, standard Afrikaans, and the local vernacular in individuals' language norms and use is approached from various angles. Chap. 6 deals with perceived norms and code choices in the family, the neighborhood, and the workplace. Chap. 7 deals with schools, a domain that obviously plays a major role in shaping the overall development of norms and practices. Chap. 8 goes into code-switching in bilingual dialogue. The brief chap. 9 links together the findings of the study as a whole.

The book has eight appendices, with information on the sources used, an annotated list of representations of District Six, an inventory of homes in the area in 1912, details on the corpus used, a discussion of the term *Afrikaner*, a linguistic characterization of the language varieties in the area, and examples of intraclause code-switches.

Data from the 1980s research include written records and observations by the author herself and by others who were trained to observe types of interaction that were not accessible to the author (in the 1980s, contacts with whites were a possible hazard for many members of the target group). In 1999–2000, the author was again helped by assistant researchers.

By diligently combining various methods, McCormick was able to produce a multifaceted approach that makes possible a very thorough and insightful analysis. In the 1980s research period, for instance, she collected a corpus of 25 hours of interviews with children, supplemented by observations of school interaction, interviews with adults (to tap language ideologies and observe language practices), and interaction in meetings. The 1999–2000 research focused on a limited number of issues: the influence of wider political changes on language attitudes, the effect on the local vernacular of the shift toward English, and longitudinal changes in language proficiencies and preferences of children observed in the 1980s. The data for the second observation period comprise a total of 68 hours of tape-recorded interaction of 158 speakers (covering 38% of homes).

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McCormick makes an important contribution on several levels. Definitely, her exploration of the factors that have shaped the community under consideration and have led to the local language ideologies is very insightful. It elucidates the puzzling and conflicting positions of languages (Afrikaans, English, and the local vernacular) in people's repertoires. McCormick's ethnographic description is an impressive example of the way various sources can be brought together to produce an encompassing picture of the system of code-switching norms and practices.

In her analysis of bilingual conversations, McCormick convincingly shows that an appropriate description of language alternation and code-switching requires clear distinctions (e.g., between language alternation and code-switching). Code-switching implies awareness of (symbolic) difference. In Chapel Street it almost always serves an identifiable purpose, but the author leaves room for macro factors as well, and she explicitly identifies a certain amount of "bilingual code in operation" that is not guided by social factors or discourse functions.

The chapter on language policies and practices in schools goes well beyond the role of education in language shift. As a matter of fact, the chapter demonstrates clearly that code choices have an institutional side (groups are formed on the basis of parents' official language choice). But other systems of code-switching and code selection take effect as well. Within school groups children are continuously busy constructing systems of symbolic values for various codes in particular situations. The latter is a pattern that can also be observed in the analysis of code-switching by adults at "formally constituted meetings." Finally, the book provides a carefully composed and encompassing picture of the development of a situation of language contact, for an identifiable community, over a sizable time period.

As a whole, *Language in Cape Town's District Six* shows how a community of individual people at a particular time in history use language(s) as a resource, not only to construct an identity of their own (cf. Rampton 1995), but also to create, maintain, and manage their interpersonal relations. The book provides detailed insight into the complexity of the obvious shift toward English, which has apparently taken place between the 1980s and the end of the century.

As a detailed and thorough analysis of language norms and practices, the book definitely addresses a specialized audience. However, McCormick consistently sets her code-switching research in the wider context of social and political developments in South Africa. As such, the book will also appeal to a more general readership and to those with sociological interests.

The book's diachronic slant is a valuable asset because it allows a better view of patterns of development that take place over a long time. As such, it provides insight into the interconnections between high-level political and social developments on the one hand, and low-level social and linguistic practices on the other.

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ESMA GREGOR, *Russian-English code-switching in New York City*. Frankfurt/M. & Berlin: Peter Lang. Pp. 195. Hb $32.95

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This doctoral dissertation focuses on Russian-English bilingualism and code-switching in New York City, applying the main functional models in code-switching research to data gathered in a field study the author conducted between 1998 and 2000. The data are quantified, and an attempt is made to correlate the linguistic competence of the speakers with their code-switching behavior.

The book consists of seven chapters. Chap. 1 deals with the history and recent developments in research on code-switching, the most visible form of bilingualism. "Code-switching" (CS) as the alternation of languages in conversation was first coined by Haugen 1956, but Weinreich 1953 had earlier written about a "switch" in language depending on the situation. CS research differentiated into a structural approach that analyzes the grammatical features and a functional approach. The latter is taken by Blom & Gumperz 1972, who describe the contextualization function of CS. Auer's (1984, 1995) sequential and Myers-Scotton's (1999) Marked/Unmarked Model are also used. Since the late 1980s, CS has been established as an independent field of study with its own publications and the founding of the European Science Foundation on Code-switching and Language Contact.

In chap. 2, the field study that provided the empirical basis is introduced. After first contacts and questionnaires, 50 half-structured and 50 unstructured interviews were conducted. Since code-switching is an in-group form of communication, a network-based study was essential, followed by informal "kitchen sessions." The author observed three networks: a group of Russian-English adolescents who were rehearsing a Pushkin production in a theater; a group of 10 friends (including the author), all but one of them students, who met often on weekends and during school holidays; and a network consisting of 8 young adults. Because of problems of recording, only the second network was the object of further analysis. The transcriptions were made in a mixture of Russian and En-

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glish alphabets following conversation analytic conventions of representation with everyday orthography. The majority of the conversation recorded was in Russian. Almost all of the speakers spoke English with a Russian accent. When English words were inserted into Russian speech, verbs carried Russian prefixes and/or suffixes so they fitted into the Russian verb system (e.g., пушать for 'push', катать for 'cut').

The third chapter describes the sociolinguistic background of the Russian-English bilingual community, involving a long and complex history of immigration to the U.S. In 1994, approximately 13,000 Russian speakers lived in New York, primarily in Brighton Beach and the bordering districts. Of these, 92% came with refugee visas, the majority being Jewish. The strong and rapid upward mobility of the last wave of Russians is a striking fact, with good knowledge of English being one of its main conditions.

The fourth chapter gives an overview of theoretical concepts of bilingualism research. The author concludes that the observed speakers have not been in the U.S. long enough to develop diglossia, but there was a certain possibility of English emerging as the High language and Russian as the Low language The Russian-speaking community in NYC is described as a bilingual community in a society dominated by a monolingual mainstream. The community in itself is very heterogeneous, with many members from non-Russian-speaking parts of the former Soviet Union (e.g. Ukraine, Belarus) and thus bilingual even before entering the U.S.

The fifth chapter examines the most influential theoretical constructs in the functional branch of CS research and applies them to the data of the text corpus. For instance, Auer 1999 describes four types of CS: discourse-related alternational CS, discourse-related insertional CS, participant-related alternational CS, and participant-related insertional CS. Borrowings of single lexemes occur with CS in the speech of monolinguals, but CS is a constraint on bilingual speech. The author decides to consider all single lexemes transferred from one language to the other as "insertions" and codes them as CS in the text. Participant-related insertional CS concerns the participant's competence; discourse-related insertional CS is used because the speaker intends to make the utterance coherent with the context. In the corpus, more participant-related insertions than discourse-related ones are counted. According to the "Triggering model," insertions of single lexemes are "triggers" for the switching of longer stretches of discourse.

The sixth chapter analyzes structural and discourse features of Russian-English CS. The individual choice of language of the 10 Russian-English bilingual speakers is examined using conversation analysis. The quantification of the data shows tendencies of the CS behavior of the speakers in relation to their linguistic competence. Under the mostly English insertions into the Russian Matrix Language, the author differentiates between Cultural Borrowings that represent objects or concepts new to the Matrix Language culture (e.g., Манхетен 'Manhattan') and Core Borrowings that have viable equivalents in the Matrix Language (e.g.,

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проджект 'project'). The data show cultural borrowings and a few insertions on the way to become core borrowings. Thus, the Russian lexicon takes on more and more lexemes from the dominant English language, starting with the semantic fields to which the speakers have the greatest exposure (e.g. university). The speakers displayed differences in linguistic behavior according to their linguistic competence and language preference: The speakers whose dominant language was Russian but who were almost equally competent in both Russian and English tended to use more participant-related alternation in the English-Russian direction. Speakers who were equally competent in both languages with no specific preference for Russian tended to use more discourse-related CS in the Russian-English direction. Speakers with dominance in Russian or preference for Russian tended to use more insertional CS than alternational CS; that is, the more balanced the bilinguals, the more they preferred alternational CS and avoided insertions. When the two parts of the group were mixed, the more balanced speakers tended to accommodate to the speakers who were Russian-dominant or preferred Russian; they used more insertional CS, generally alternated less, and used Russian almost exclusively. Drawing on Auer's language-alternation phenomena (1999), the group was described as being at a very early stage of code-switching. Chap. 7 gives a detailed summary and draws conclusions.

Although this work fills a big gap with its detailed empirical approach to CS and appropriate use of a network study, I do have some critical remarks. Regarding the theory, in contrast to Myers-Scotton's markedness/relational choice model (1999; Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai 2001), which is said to rely on a large amount of sociolinguistic background, Auer's approach to conversation analysis is seen as starting with the text and thus to be based on more solid ground. Thus, Auer's sequential model is given preference over Myers-Scotton's relational choice model. But then it is unclear why Gregor predominantly uses Myers-Scotton's concept of a "Matrix Language" that refers to the notion of "competence" in generative linguistics and argues psycholinguistically. The theoretical mixture of a conversation analytic approach based on empirical and observable data concerning the "performance" of the speaker, and a psycholinguistic approach based on background knowledge about the speaker and his competence, is difficult to apply to the empirical base.

A less important point of my critique concerns the transcription. After a discussion of the use of the Russian or English alphabet, the author decides to use both mixed together to make the switching point more visible. In CA the transcription is essential, but one of the main rules is – and should remain – that interpretation should be avoided at the stage of transcription. The decision to categorize a word as belonging to one or the other language should have been made later. Since even Russians often use the roman orthography RUSLIT for e-mailing, transcribing the Russian language with the roman alphabet here would have worked pretty well, and the decision for English would have been less problematic. Also questionable is the transcription of spoken forms that do not closely

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correspond to the written form: Whereas in the English parts these spoken forms are reflected in the transcript, the author decided in the Russian parts to exclude forms that were not prominent.

The most important result of this linguistic research concerns the connection between the different kinds of CS and the linguistic competence of the different speakers. It is very interesting to see the effect of mixing the balanced with the unbalanced speakers. The speakers most competent in both languages used more participant-related CS in the Russian-English direction to accommodate to the interlocutor, and the others used a more discourse-related CS in the Russian-English direction. Speakers with a preference for Russian tended to use more insertional CS, whereas the more balanced bilinguals preferred alternational CS and even avoided using insertions. This knowledge helps to explain the function of CS and thus advances its study.

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