LANGUAGING

Nine years of poly-lingual development of young Turkish-Danish grade school students

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- **to Elsebeth**

Contents

Volume 1

Foreword

This volume is an overview of the Køge project (Jørgensen et al. 1991), which was initiated in 1987, began with two years of pilot studies, and collected its data between 1989 and 1998. Quite a few studies have dealt with the Køge data (see the bibliography below). Afficionados can look forward to another round of data collected 2006-2007 (which are being analyzed by Janus Møller, see Møller forthcoming).

The Køge project has studied the linguistic development of a group of Turkish-Danish grade school students. Such a study is of course not possible without the eminent assistance of the grade school students themselves, their teachers, and school personnel. Since we have promised the individuals anonymity I can not mention them here, but they know themselves to whom I am referring. I hope they realize how grateful we are, I and everybody else on the receiving side of the project, for their openness, patience, and tolerance.

The studies which have been carried out in the Køge project involve many people: Danish and international scholars, university students at all levels, and research assistants. They can be named - I suggest the interested reader take a look in the bibliography. I am, together with the hard core of people who have been with the project, happy that so many people have joined forces with us - also temporarily, have taken an interest in our project and data, and have bothered analyzing it, reflect on it, or criticize it.

The hard core involved during the first years of the project Jørgen Gimbel, Anne Holmen, and Inger Nørgaard Nielsen. In the latest years the team has involved Janus Møller, Lian Madsen, and

Sümeyye Talayman. Here in the last phase, Rosalia Fenger has mounted a full-scale acribic proof reading for which I am grateful.

The only ones who have been around from first to last are Mediha Can and myself. Mediha has probably carried out more functions than anybody else in the project. Project planning, data collection, transcription, translation, questionnaire analysis, linguistic analysis, writing papers and book chapters, you name it, she's done it.

As I express my concern for the mental well-being of all those people who have been deeply involved for years in this project, I sincerely thank them for their dedicated work and partnership.

The Køge project is devoted to a principle of scholarly openness. No data, no analysis, no discussion is closed to any serious scholar. The core of the data will be available through the Childes database (MacWhinney 1995), and a selection has been published (with anonymized names, see Turan 1999).

In this book I first introduce the key concepts of my understanding of language and the (sociolinguistic) study of language, including the concepts of languaging and poly-lingualism. This is in Part 1. The first half of Part 2 describes the Køge project, its data, and some of the most important types of analyses. The second half of Part 2 deals with some of the more important studies published about the Køge project data. In Part 3 I analyze the development of languaging among our minority informants from grade 1

through grade 9. Finally I discuss some of the perspectives raised by these analyses, in Part 4.

To an extent I base the description in this book on material that I have already published. Particularly in Part 3, I place individual analyses of group conversations, graphs and code profiles which I have described elsewhere, in the totality of the 9 years of poly-lingual development, and the general concept of language and language use which I define in Part 1. In Part 2 I give a review of a wide range of studies in the Køge project. All of the already published Køge studies can be found in the bibliography which follows the list of references.

Copenhagen July 2008
J. Normann Jørgensen

Part 1: Languaging and poly-lingualism

In this part I present my view of language as a human phenomenon, and I explain a range of concepts which are necessary for the description of the linguistic behavior of the speakers who have produced my data, and particularly for the understanding of the linguistic behavior I analyze in Part 3. I present the concepts of *languaging* and *poly-lingualism* which both represent a view of linguistic behavior which is an alternative to classical sociolinguistics. Along the way I discuss some of the issues, and I refer to the scholars who have inspired the work in the Køge project, including Rampton, Huls, Pfaff, and Steensig. Some of the issues I discuss are household sociolinguistics, e.g. notions such as *speech community*, *native speaker*, and *norms*.

Language as a human phenomenon

Humankind is a languaging species. Human beings share a capacity for language which is unique among living creatures. This capacity enables us to acquire a complex system of symbols, and to use this system for transferring meanings and intentions across great distances in time and space. In fact it enables us to create meaning, situated as well as generalized.

All human beings have access to language. During the first years of our lives we acquire language which is used around us while we grow up. Barred accidents and serious diseases we learn to master language. To "master" is a very vague term which this far should only be taken to mean that we can use language to cover our communicative needs. It does not mean that we ever learn language completely in the sense that we eventually know all the words or grammatical possibilities of our language. It does not mean either that we can specify measures of perfection in language command.

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Language is individual in the sense that each of us possesses a unique combination of skills, competences and knowledge with respect to language. No two of us share exactly the same vocabulary, pronunciation, etc. On the other hand, language is also social in the sense that we share every aspect of our language with others, and in the sense that language would be impossible if it were not something between people.

Not all living creatures have language. The systems of communicative interaction which characterize certain animals are sometimes described as languages, such as patterns of movement by bees, ultrahigh sounds produced by dolphins, or growls by apes. But they are not language in the sense that we consider human language. Human language is a system of arbitrary signs (sounds, gestures, or drawn shapes) which can be combined in countless ways to store, retrieve, convey, and construct meaning in interaction among individuals as well as in groups. No other species has access to such a refined, complicated, and varied combination of symbols, connections, rules of construction, rules for use, and potential for understanding and creating meaning, as human language is. Some species seem to possess a rudimentary system of arbitrary signs. Vervet monkeys have three signals for dangers which probably denote different phenomena in the world. Infant vervet monkeys have to develop their command of these denotations (i.e. the content) whereas the signals themselves (i.e. the form) seem to be innate (Cheney & Seyfarth 1990, 2005), but even the most advanced apes which have been taught continuously for years, do not acquire language to an extent even remotely equivalent to that of humans.

Nevertheless, human language is no more (or less) a divine entity than any other phenomenon on Earth. Language does seem to be the result of a string of developments in social systems among our predecessors. It has been proposed that language is such a complicated phenomenon with so many interwoven and mutually depending features that it must have erupted rather than developed, in a sort of linguistic big bang (Bickerton 1990, later

retracted, e.g., Bickerton 2003). The idea is that all the mechanisms and systems of language are so intricately fitted to each other, that it is impossible to have some of them without the others. If this is the case, then language can not have developed, because development means that at certain stages some of the mechanisms were there, and at other stages they were not, or they were there in shapes that are different from what we can observe now - and that is precisely what this view finds impossible. However, there is plenty of evidence that different mechanisms may very well have developed at different times (for instance, Burling 2005, 164ff). I take it for granted that language has developed. I also take it for granted that language has developed socially. This means that language involves *learning*. Language does not just develop physically in time such as certain anatomical units do. To be sure, we may be pre-determined to have language, there is a good case for that (if nothing else, then the simple observation that children grow up producing utterances they have never heard, following rules they have never been taught). In other words, language is in a way biological. That does not change the fact that language is primarily social. We are a social species, and the best means we have to structure our social relationships is language. Another good argument for the claim that language is the result of development is the fact that human language is distantly related to the rudimentary systems which we can observe among certain apes, which "do attribute states of minds to others, but [...] they do not always recognize the discrepancy between their own minds and the minds of other individuals" (Cheney & Seyfarth 1990, 209). A good argument for the point that we are biologically prepared to have language, is the fact that groups of individual human beings will develop language (with all its intricate mechanisms and systems) within one generation, such as happens when pidgins are creolized. Groups of human beings may as a matter of social fact create language which is systematic, as e.g. the example of sign language users in Nicaragua, which "constitutes one of the few case[s] in which the human bioprogram for language or innate human-language capacities, by virtue of no

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coexisting language input, have been forced to take a singular role in shaping the emergent language" (Kegl et al. 1999, 223).

All this boils down to the observation that language is "natural" to human beings in the sense that we are biologically determined to develop language socially. But we do *not* develop language as individuals independent of our social relations, and therefore language is also "cultural". There is no such thing as "natural" language as opposed to "unnatural" language (more about that later). There is just language. Burling (2005, 5) emphasizes that understanding comes before production. The development of language, both phylogenetically and ontogenetically has understanding as its condition. There is no point in someone trying to communicate a signal if there is no basis for the understanding of signals. In fact, it is impossible for someone to plan to issue a signal without understanding that signals can be read as signals. This points to the fact that language is social. Language as such is inconceivable without the involvement of an understanding part.

Human language is a phenomenon which human beings can use to achieve their goals. Language use is intentional. To some linguists the concept of intention is taboo in linguistic analysis (for instance, some ardent conversation analysts, e.g. Steensig 2001, 25). However, it makes little sense to study language without reference to the intentions with which it is used. Solely describing and analyzing the words and sounds which are produced by language users who happen to be within hearing distance of each other, contributes very little to our understanding of *why* we use language and why we use it the way we do. It amounts to the same as studying the movement patterns of goldfish in a bowl. There are serious pitfalls in the ambition to attribute particular language use to particular intentions, but there is no way around it. Descriptions of language use which neglect intentions, are mere descriptions of behavior. We want as sociolinguists to understand the role that language plays for human beings, and that takes a bit more than descriptions of behavior.

Almost all human beings (not counting victims of accidents and diseases) have access to language, and there is no reason to assume that some kinds of language are better suited for human purposes than others (which is not the same a saying that there is no connection between the development of culture and the development of grammar, see Newmeyer 2003, 73f and Burling 2005, 161). Specifically, it is unlikely that some language is structurally superior to other language. In other words, every human being (again barred accidents and diseases) has access to a tool for achieving her or his goals. What follows is therefore not only relevant for language involved in this study, and certainly not only for speakers who (think they) command just one language (whatever that means, see later). And it is not just relevant for language which is spoken - it is equally relevant for signed language.

We - as sociolinguists, applied linguists, psycholinguists, formal linguists, etc. - would like to know why language is the way it is. To be able to do that we must take our point of departure in the uses of language: what do speakers do with language, and why? We must determine what it means to belong to a community with shared language. For language to function for an individual human being, this individual must share language with at least some of the people around her or him. To a certain extent it is necessary that in most cases the same words are taken to refer to the same objects or concepts, that there is a high degree of agreement among the people how certain grammatical structures are formed, and what they mean, how words are pronounced, and much more. Contrary to what normative gatekeepers sometimes believe, there is, however, no reason why everything should be exactly the same. For instance, there is no relevant linguistic reason to insist on maintaining only one set of rules of punctuation, or only one spelling for every written word in an alphabetic language, or one pronunciation of the word which means *horse*. Reasons for insisting on allowing only one "correct" spelling of a particular word are likely to be the result of power relations more than

anything else, and the purpose of insisting is likely to be political also.

For language to function as a collective means for the exchange of ideas, concepts, wishes, etc. there must be a minimum of shared units, structures, rules, and forms. This is one reason why language is structured and systematic. But there is also another reason. Language must be structured in order to be acquired by new individuals, particularly children. If there were no rules regarding the structure of language, learners would only be able to acquire a few sentences or structures which they had heard and memorized. This would also be true for first language learners, and we would not be able to say anything new. With the system one acquires a set of features, i.e. a set of abstract rules of formation of linguistic products, plus a number of units. These features and rules can be used in new and different situations, and to express new thoughts, ideas, wishes, insights, commands, etc. These rules can also be supplemented and altered and manipulated in what eventually amounts to language change (more about that later). With language we influence others, we negotiate meaning in order to reach a shared understanding, we establish contact and administer our contact with other human beings, we mark our membership of certain groups, for instance such groups as gender, age, and social class, but of course not only these. All these functions give language some qualities which are also relevant.

Humankind is a social species. We are constantly involved with other people, and we are members of social organizations right from birth. The nuclear family is often mentioned as the basic social organization in most human societies, and it is also important in late modern, post-industrial societies such as Denmark. Here it is characteristic of the vast majority of individuals to be members of a range of different groups, sometimes a wide range of groups. Typically even children belong to several groups, i.e. their nuclear family, and sometimes more than one nuclear family, their school class, the gender group of their school class, a group of friends which typically includes

some, but not all of the members of their gender group from the school class, and several others. The older the children become, the more complicated and diverse their social relations will be, and the more conscious the individuals will become about their social relations as social relations.

Language is involved in almost all aspects of these social relations. Language is used to create, maintain, negotiate, or possibly end social relations, including group memberships. Through language all groups of human beings develop standards of behavior, appearance, taste, and much more. Language is the most important means to negotiate and disseminate the values and norms involved in group membership. But language may also become the object of such norms. This means that specific language may be used to mark group membership. At the same time it means that the same specific language may be used to maintain hierarchies and discipline within a group. This is particularly observable among adolescents (but not only there).

The fact that we have language at our disposal enables humankind to create vast and complicated social structures through negotiation. Other species also have big social structures, e.g. ants, but these structures are not negotiated and not negotiable. Ants are born as soldier ants, etc., and they are genetically determined to fill out one and only one function in the anthill. Some species do form groups in which the function of an individual is not necessarily genetically determined, for instance because the males have to fight for their position in the group. But by and large such struggles are determined exactly through physical fights, and they tend to have very concrete physical results. The fights are not fought through an abstract system of symbols, i.e. there is no negotiation (in the sense used here) going on.

Language is used by human beings to form their social relations. As a social species we are at all times involved in groups, and our memberships constitute an important side of our self-understanding. These memberships combine to shape our social

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identity (more about that in the section on Social psychology and language below), and language is there not only to establish groups and group membership, to standardize the behavior of group members, or to signal membership. Language is also to a large extent the means by which the members actively internalize the norms, i.e. come to understand their world. Learning is of course a phenomenon in the individual, but it is also social in the sense that it is most often socially caused and motivated. This also pertains to the learning of language, which happens in the individual as well as it goes on between people.

In conclusion to these remarks we can observe that language is a particular human phenomenon, that it is first and foremost social, and that it is both a tool and an object for construction of social structures. It is, however, also an individual phenomenon, and this leads us to the discussion of language variability.

Difference and similarity

It is an inescapable fact that language varies. Even within what is considered to be one language (we shall later look at the problem whether it is at all possible to delineate such a thing as "one language") there is variation. Speakers pronounce the same word differently, they use different words for the same thing, they convey (what they believe to be) the same meaning with different utterances. But it is probably most important of all - and hardest to handle - that people use very different sets of features; they are said to speak different languages. It is impossible to understand how human beings use language if one does not have a comprehension of language variation. We must understand then what *same* and *different* mean with respect to language.

Traditionally linguistics answers this question from a structural perspective. For example, two sounds are different if the substitution of one sound with the other sound changes the lexical meaning of a linguistic unit (typically a word). It is said that the

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two sounds represent different phonemes. The Danish sound [ﺑ:] belongs to a different phoneme than the Danish sound [ˇ ˉ .:] because the words *lave* (*make*) and *larve* (*caterpillar*) do not refer to the same phenomenon. On the other hand, the observation that *larve* can be pronounced with a retracted vowel [ˇ:] is not considered enough to distinguish between two different sounds [ˇ ˉ .:] and [ˇ:], because the word still refers to same phenomenon (*caterpillar*). The variation is considered "free" and of little importance to our understanding of language, because it does not affect the lexical meaning of any utterance, and therefore - it is assumed - does not cause misunderstandings. So the [ˇ ˉ .:] and the [ˇ:] are considered the "same" sound at an abstract level which represents language as opposed to "speech".

The same understanding of difference and similarity permeates the structuralist perspective on language, including word elements (morphology) and sentence construction (syntax).

The structuralist view is, however, less than enough to explain what language is to humankind. Differences which do not constitute lexical difference among individual words (or constructions) may indeed be just as important, or often more important than differences that do, precisely because language is the object of social norms. In most cases the context of an ongoing interaction between language users will prevent any serious misunderstanding caused by pronunciation of another sound than the one representing the expected phoneme. It is hard to imagine a context in which it is not absolutely clear whether we are talking about *making* something or talking about *caterpillars*. And the vast majority of so-called commutation pairs distinguish words from each other which only very rarely can be mistaken for each other. One advanced way of playing with language exploits this fact, namely certain puns, such as the one calling Jacob a *ladder day saint*, which refers to the difference between [d] and [t]. Such puns are possible and work, precisely because the effect is surprise

at the unexpected introduction of a meaning which is otherwise unrelated to the context. This pun works because the context of *day saint* points to a [t], while the context of *Jacob* points to a [d]. As such there is no obvious risk of misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the pun (regardless of whether one finds such puns entertaining or not). And in addition, not only sounds which represent different so-called phonemes can relay different meanings.

Different forms which are not commutative in the structuralist sense do in fact very often relay different meanings, although not different lexical meanings in the narrow sense of that term. The social interpretation of, say, different pronunciations may lead to serious consequences that the structuralist concept of difference does not take into account. It makes an important difference to some speakers of Danish whether they hear the word *bande* (English: *swear*) pronounced with cardinal 3 or with a slightly lower vowel. The difference in pronunciation does not coincide with a difference in lexical meaning, and therefore it is not interesting to structuralists. Socially cardinal 3 is valued less positively among the upper middle class elite than the slightly lower variant. To many gatekeepers in the media, the educational system, and in the job market this difference is a litmus test of the social standing of a native speaker of Danish. The choice of a-sound in the word *bande* may be more decisive for the speaker's fate than the choice between [چ] and [ﺑ] in the word *tale* (English: *talk*).

Heger (1974) argues that commutation tests are not even necessary to define differences between language sounds. The structuralist procedure requires that the analyst be able to determine whether those sounds of *cat* and *mat* which are not the commutable sounds, are in fact the "same" sounds or not. It is meaningless to claim that *mat* and *cat* form a commutation pair, if one is not ready to claim that the *-at* of *mat* is "the same" as the *-at* of *cat*. But there is no theoretical procedure to determine whether this is the case - we

can rely only on "simple phonetic obviousness", i.e. the sounds are the same, because we do not hear a difference. There is a great leap of faith in the claim that *cat* and *mat* still constitute commutation if pronounced with a-sounds that are perceived as different by listeners. The reasoning would be that the two a-sounds never distinguish words and therefore belong to the same phoneme and do not constitute commutation. Obviously this leads to circular reasoning. As a means of determining what is the same and what is different in language, structuralist procedures only work part of the way. Another means lies in quantitative techniques. We can measure the formants of vowels in spectrographs. This will not solve the problem, because the measures are always different, more or less. Spectrograms can only be interpreted meaningfully when we know the language(s) involved. We need to know *in advance* what is the one vowel, and what is the other vowel. Once we know, this technique may help us describe the differences in fine detail, but it won't help us determine what is different and what is the same.

All of this has implications for our understanding of what *different* means when it is used about sounds. Sounds are different if they are perceived as different by the language users. A particular difference can only convey or create meaning if it is perceived as, understood as, and accepted as a difference by the involved interlocutors. So the difference between cardinal 3 and a slightly lower vowel in the first syllable of *Danmark* (English: *Denmark*) may not interest the structuralist, but it is fascinating to the sociolinguist. Upper middle class speakers and lower middle class speakers, or perhaps older upper middle class speakers and younger middle class speakers of Danish will agree that there is a difference between the two vowels. But they will also evaluate the variants differently, and sometimes they will be able to use the difference to express attitudes, to quote, to act, or in other ways to convey meaning. This meaning is often more important than naked lexical meaning, and therefore this concept of difference is necessary for the sociolinguist: There is a difference between two

linguistic units when language users find and agree that there is a difference.

The question of what the differences stand for is another matter. The language users do not have to agree about the *meaning* of a particular difference. Often they will not, and this is at least one important factor behind language change. Most obviously this can be observed in the language practices of adolescents and other young language users. For a range of reasons I use data from young speakers. One reason is, for instance, the fact that their language is likely to represent the latest stage in whatever development is currently going on. Another reason is the fact that young language users at the same time, at least in late modern society, are involved in ongoing processes of establishing new (and most likely several) group memberships. There are both socio-reasons and linguistic reasons to study youth language.

Young language users

The language use of teenagers and adolescents, often including behavior which involves what is perceived by some speakers as different languages, is interesting to the sociolinguist not only for its linguistic characteristics, but also for its implications for our understanding of linguistic difference. It is not the least reason for its being interesting that it draws so much negative attention from older middle-class members of society. The main Scandinavian work of youth language is Kotsinas (1994). She observes that young speakers have been the target of reprimands for their language use as far back as we can trace.

> The complaints about the language of the youth are not, as it appears, new, and they are not even unique for the 1900s. On the contrary there have always been complaints about the language of the youth. The young people seem never to have spoken as poorly as

"nowadays", regardless of when this time has been (Kotsinas 1994, 11, my translation)

Kunøe (1991) is a popular introduction to the controversies about youth language. Interestingly, it was published in the yearbook of the Danish Mother Tongue Society (a conservative organization). Kunøe opens her introduction with a very old reference which goes back several thousand years.

Already in King Hammurabi's days (Babylon, 1800 BC) there were written complaints that children do not obey their parents, and that their language is terrible (Kunøe 1991, 89, my translation)

Kunøe goes on to describe the nature of language change, particularly sound change. She follows a long-standing sociolinguistic tradition of viewing language as a reflection of changing times, of changing social factors. The differences between adult language use and adolescent language use are seen as reflections of the fact that times (and social structures) are changing and always have been. Kotsinas (1994) shares this view. She distinguishes between two aspects of the language we can hear among young people. On the one hand she counts features which the young people stop using when they mature, so-called *youth language*. On the other hand are the features which become part of the standard language of their generation when the young speakers grow up, and this is *the language of the young*. This language of the young represents language change:

Many scholars are pessimistic about the possibilities for observing the moment of innovation and the first dissemination of that which at a later stage results in a language change [...] There does nevertheless seem to be a chance of combining at least some oral language innovations with not only the prestige or social category of the speaker, but also with the collective language creativity which we find among young people, and the

expressivity which is so prevalent in youth language (Kotsinas 1994, 169-70, my translation).

Kristiansen (1995) presents a different view. He finds that non-adult language use among the adolescents, i.e. what they do which older people do not, including creative expressions, is first and foremost an expression of social identity, and he rejects Kotsinas' notion of young speakers maturing away from the use of youth language. In his review of Kotsinas (1994) he states precisely this.

> As long as expressivity and creativity in language use are seen in the light of their role in group and identity formation processes, these sides of language use are explained by their function: the young people use language expressively and creatively in order to create their own social identity [...] Maturity, on the other hand, seems to me to be a problematic explanatory concept in relation to changes in language use (Kristiansen 1995, 96, my translation)

Kristiansen's general view of language change and language variation as being social psychologically motivated dictates such an understanding of the language behavior of young speakers. Kristiansen has presented this general view in many connections. Kristiansen (1993) is a contribution to a discussion about language awareness as a concept in the educational system of Denmark. Kristiansen describes language change initiated by young language users, in casu the spread of low-SES Copenhagen features into high Copenhagen and the national standard:

> It is not the case that sound change marches along its set path, strikes the innocent young and creates a linguistic generation gap. No, it is the other way round, the generation gap creates the victorious march forward of low Copenhagen speech (Kristiansen 1993, 94, my translation).

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At least in modern industrialized societies there seems to be a pervasive agreement among a noisy part of the upper middle class about the negative evaluation of adolescent language. This of course gives the young generation an easily accessible way to manifest itself as different from the adult generation. Within modern industrialized societies, and all of the Nordic nations belong to them, there seems to be a pervasive agreement among the gatekeepers about the ugliness and sloppiness of youth language. The adolescents who are going to take over society and prevent us from starving and freezing in our old age, not only pronounce sloppily and inarticulately, but they also seem to possess a remarkably small active vocabulary, most of which consists of curses and four-letter words. They show little respect for decency and experience, and their language use is a clear indication of how our societies are rotting from inside, getting us lower and lower on a cultural slide towards the total breakdown of our national cultures. And there are various calls for the schools, the courts, the military, the cultural elite, and others to help shape up our societies.

We all recognize this view of youth language. It is an extreme version of the deficit view of variation (see below about the deficit view). This view is, when it comes to sociolects and dialects, slowly being repealed from educational institutions all over Scandinavia. But the deficit view seems to be alive and kicking, hard, when it comes to teenage language.

Generally sociolinguists describe teenage language in terms of creativity, originality, and identity negotiation, as we have seen. Some sociolinguists, Kotsinas among them, take the *difference* view (see below in the section on Presociolinguistics and sociolinguistics) of the specific linguistic variation that young speakers represent. The young simply talk in a different way, just as people at all times talk differently from the previous generations. If we are lucky, we may see new features being born, or at least being disseminated over a generation of young speakers, but the change more or less happens, and that is how it is.

Kristiansen goes one step further and maintains that changes are deliberately created by young speakers to establish the differences that traditional sociolinguistics observes. Others agree with him that social psychological processes are certainly involved (although perhaps not as the sole determiner of change and variation). But it is obvious that the provocation built into linguistic behavior explicitly and repeatedly denounced by teachers and gatekeepers is valuable to the young generation as a signal of group identity and perhaps solidarity. There is a considerable difference between, on the one hand, observing that difference in language is what language users consider difference, which they may use for social purposes, and on the other hand, maintaining that language users *create* difference in order to negotiate and manipulate social relations. But this is what Kristiansen claims.

In other words sociolinguistics offers two views of the language behavior of adolescents. Both views see youth language as subversive, but in different ways. Firstly, according to the difference view, the language behavior of the youth leads to a change of the specific norms for language use in the young speakers' societies. The teenage language features, or some of them, become household features a generation later. There is no specification of the reason or motivation for change. Secondly, in the social constructionist view, adolescents react to powerlessness in industrialized societies by transgressing a range of cultural norms, thereby taking a particular cultural field in possession for their own. They create social situations through and with language use which is particular, marked, and often condemned by adults around the young language users. And they do so exactly to achieve the effect of drawing borders between themselves and the adults.

In both views, adults - including sociolinguists, even young sociolinguists - have no direct access to the situations in which change originates, and we can only hope to get a glimpse of their unfolding when we are very lucky with our sociolinguistic data collection methods. We may observe teenage language use, both in

in-group interaction and in out-group interaction, and group conversation without the presence of adults and gatekeepers is a particular fruitful field, because forceful societal norms are so clearly against important aspects the young speakers' linguistic behavior.

Precisely by transgressing the norms of the adults, adolescents can take the languages into their own possession and develop them further. As of now, this is only possible when the adolescents do it outside the control of adults. Adolescents are in a position to achieve this because of their position between child life and adult life. Flexible group constellations provide opportunities for experimenting with ingroup and out-group signals, and a growing sense of age identity adds the incentive to develop, or at least use, linguistic signals of group membership.

The study of youth language therefore is an example of a study which must be sociolinguistic. Structural linguists are looking for the *common* features or general rules of language. As we saw, there is a short way from discussing language variation to discussing language change. This can be undertaken in more than one way, involving the intention of the speakers more or less in the study of variation. But this is not all. Like everybody else, children and adolescents play with language, and the simple pleasure of playing, in this case with language, may also have a role in variation and change. Crystal (1998) has described the phenomenon of language play.

> Plainly, there is a lot of ludic linguistic behaviour about; and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that language play is a continuing feature of development, as children progress through school. Dylan Thomas was one who spotted it, commenting on the (tumbling and rhyming) of children as they spill out of their classrooms. It is so obvious there, indeed, when we take the trouble to look, that it is surprising so little mention is made of it and

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that so little research has been done on it (Crystal 1998,178).

Crystal argues that language play is important to development for the same reason that language awareness is. Both presuppose that the speaker mentally steps back one step and observes language or language behavior as an object of study. Therefore language play, including creative and expressive variation of adult language, may also serve purposes which are not strictly social psychological. Playing with language may have cognitively important functions. Just as it is valuable to play in order to learn everything else, playing with language is a good way of learning language. Still language play is also just simple fun, and adolescents may involve themselves in language play because they enjoy it for its own sake.

The fun that teenagers enjoy together may then again of course have social psychological consequences. When people, young or not, realize they enjoy each other's company, they will form groups, small or large. The members are attracted to the in-group members with whom they have already had fun. Like other groups they share norms of behavior, including linguistic behavior. Likewise they have shared memories of incidents which they can refer to - for instance by citing and quoting. This is not the same as saying that people, or not even young people, play with language only or primarily to build social relations with others. Fun can still be a purpose in itself.

Nevertheless, fun can also be used as a tool, for example as a power tool in conflicts. Creative linguistic contributions to group conversations may enjoy the same positive reception as other expressive forms of addressing, so-called performance, in group interactions. There is value in terms of social accept, and perhaps even of enhanced status, of a positive group action to an inventive expression. The purpose of such performance can therefore also be understood as a social psychological phenomenon. R. Bauman defines performance as:

a mode of communication, a way of speaking, the essence of which resides in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative skill, highlighting the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content. From the point of view of the audience, the act of expression on the part of the performer is thus laid open to evaluation for the way it is done, for the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer's display. It is also offered for the enhancement of experience, through the present appreciation of the intrinsic qualities of the act of expression itself. Performance thus calls forth special attention to and heightened awareness of both the act of expression and the performer (R. Bauman 1986, 3).

Performance has been shown to be a relevant concept of the linguistic behavior of grade school students by Rampton (1999). He describes how Inner London school boys' use seemingly unrelated German expressions arbitrarily picked up from German lessons. Firstly, the German material used by (and probably available to) these boys was indeed very limited. Secondly, the identity function of its use involved both a solidarity and a power dimension. Rampton characterizes the use of German as "productively related to ritual, music and performance" (1999, 496), although he also warns that performance as a concept may open a way to understanding routine linguistic production, but "it isn't a free space where cultural materials and social identities are infinitely malleable" (1999, 499).

Whether young language users are primarily creating social identities, or primarily having fun or performing to boost individual identity, they must be both aware of and capable of administering social relations through language variation. Over the past few decades it has become evident that young children, even pre-school children, indeed develop both awareness and competence in this respect. Andersen (1986, 1990) finds that

children develop a sensitivity for styles, i.e. different ways of talking

> even before they begin formal schooling, children have a fairly sophisticated knowledge of the rules governing appropriate language use. By age 5, they make subtle distinctions among types of speech acts, and choose sentence structures, lexical items, and phonological features to "fit" the different roles in their sociolinguistic repertoire (Andersen 1986, 159).

Quite to the contrary of Piagetian assumptions, children at an early age develop skills of negotiating selves and relations, and they often both develop and perform these in peer interaction (Sealey 1996, Goodwin 1990). Peer interaction continues to be a major vehicle for language formation and development, including the growing adjustment to different norms (see for instance Lytra 2007). This does not mean that adults and the surrounding society do not have an effect on the language acquisition and development of children, not at all. Connolly (1998) shows how evaluations in societal discourse about specific social groups have a deep impact on children belonging to these groups. The school is an important factor in this, but there is a limit to what the school can do to counter negative societal discourses. This is highly relevant in the case of the central school of the Køge Project which was at the time of the project start significantly more positive towards the Turkish-speaking minority and its background than the educational system and particularly the political discourse in Denmark at the time. This attitude lasted throughout the years of data collection of the Køge Project, although it was gradually weakened, and today it has been completely swallowed by the common attitude (see below in Part 2). Nevertheless, a good deal of peer-induced development must go on among children in- and outside the classroom - if not for anything else, then because they acquire skills in language activities which are explicitly forbidden in their classrooms, such as swearing and code-switching. They may indeed hear adults commit these violations, but children practice

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them in the company of peers (Paugh 2005) and in this way achieve the productive skills.

Adolescents also contribute to the socialization of each other through teasing. Teasing works to administer the social relations among adolescents, for instance by taking the force out of otherwise volatile or tabooed issues. It is a risky business, as the teasing may at any point in time develop into an unpleasant controversy which follows quite different rules (see for example Pichler 2006, 241, Miller 1986,210, Keim 2007, 254). The teasing may have different functions, among them as Pichler (2006, 232) describes it: "fun and bonding". Teasing may involve language play, and certainly also performance, and in both cases teasing becomes a linguistic means of negotiating social relations among the young speakers. An important discussion point in sociolingiustic studies of adolescent teasing is the role teasing plays in cross-gender relations. Thorne (1993) finds that teasing is a means to discipline those who cross the border between the gender, while for instance Tholander (2002, 334) explicitly argues that teasing may be used as a means to blur the borders between the gender. Lytra (2007, 210) similarly stresses that particular the girls in cross-gender teasing allow themselves to be assertive and even aggressive (but also manipulative in the sense that the girls would be able to both call for help from an adult because they were being teased and at the same time continue teasing others). Rampton (1995) analyzes several examples of what he calls *jocular abuse* (for instance 1996, 171-9), and it is one of his main points to suggest that jocular abuse falls within the so-called *liminoid* (1996, 194) which allows - and to an extent demands - extraordinary linguistic resources, in his study on crossing. Crossing may be ritualized, just as Labov (1972) describes it in what he calls *sounding*, a ritualized exchange of diatribes among adolescents. It is a shared observation among the sociolinguists who have analyzed teasing (whatever term they use for it) that it borders on serious abuse. There is a permanent risk that the border may be transgressed, and the exchange may turn into a fight. This is an important observation (there are also examples in the Køge Project,

see in Part 2 about conversation 702), and it is a good indication of how the young speakers are involved in tricky social negotiations which demand their full attention and all their skills. Lytra (2007), however, finds that teasing only rarely leads to serious conflicts among the ten-year-old Turkish-speakers in Athens whom she studies.

> Although children sometimes complained to adults (e.g. their teacher or me) about this perpetual exchange of taunts, I noticed that teasing very seldom if ever led to real falling out regardless of the potentially explosive taunts being used (Lytra 2007, 121).

It is likely that the difference in age between Lytra's informants and the informants of, say, conversation 702, is a factor that contributes to these different findings. For teasing to develop into a serious fight, somebody must be hurt or feel really insulted. This is not unlikely among teenagers intently busy with their own identities, but more unlikely among ten-year-old children.

With language play, performance, and teasing we have three linguistic activity types which are not restricted to adolescent groups, but which are readily observable in youth groups, and which ultimately prove that there is more to understanding difference in language than what structuralism prescribes. We have no comprehension whatsoever of language change if we do not involve variation, and language variation undeniably involves differences in language that do not live up to the structuralist concept of opposition. The question of difference and variation is important for our understanding of the linguistic material as well as the linguistic practices we observe in sociolinguistic data such as the Køge Project.

Different Languages

I do not claim to have solved the problem of distinguishing between sameness and difference. We still think that an A in one sense is the same as an a, but in another sense it is not. Some Danish speakers will think that [ʨɛ̝ˀ] is the same as [tˢʁɛ̝ˀ] (*træ*, English: *wood*), and others will not. Therefore there is a difference between [ʨɛ̝ˀ] and [tˢʁɛ̝ˀ] when two or more language users are involved in a conversation where they perceive a difference and if asked would agree that there is a difference. This agreement about the difference enables the speakers to attach meaning to the difference. However, in this sense there is no difference if the speakers do not perceive any difference, or they disagree about the existence of a difference. In such cases there is no difference to which the speakers can attach meaning. The similarities and differences are situationally determined.

This does not exclude our attempts to generalize differences. We are perfectly able to establish that certain people make a distinction between two specific words, and others not, and we can find that those who make the distinction tend to have been raised in the western part of Denmark, and those who do not make the distinction tend not to have been raised in the western part of Denmark. We can combine our observations of used, intended, and understood differences into a description of systematic variation between speakers, and even between groups of speakers.

This leads us to the problem of distinguishing between languages. Assuming that we can distinguish between languages at all, when are we dealing with different languages, and when are we dealing with the same language (with or without its internal differences and variation)? It is an old observation in sociolinguistics that we have no language-internal (structural) means to distinguish what is a *dialect* from what is a *language*. The distinction is, at least in some cases, purely political. Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish are considered different languages, although any speaker of one of these

languages with a little effort can understand the other languages - there are namely three different nation states, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden respectively, and since the late 1700's it has been part of societal ideology that to one people belonged one nation state and one language (see the section below about Language and power in Denmark). But South Sami and North Sami are considered different dialects, although speakers of one can not understand speakers of the other without considerable difficulty (according to Mæhlum 2007, 130). The Sami people, North or South, do not have an army and a navy of their own.

In order to avoid the problem of distinguishing between dialects and languages we usually talk about *varieties*. Varieties are understood as sets of linguistic features which belong together. Therefore both languages and dialects are varieties, and we do not have to distinguish between them. Sociolects are also varieties, of course.

This gives us another problem, however. What does it mean that features "belong together"? Firstly, it means that the use of some features accompany the use of specific other features - in a very complicated combination of features. The ultimate systematic search for this combination was the central activity of structuralism. The concepts of structuralism still lie behind the notions of *a language* and *a dialect*. Secondly it means that certain features are not used with certain other features. This is where the concept of *variety*, be it language or dialect, becomes ideological - it does not relate very well to real life.

In real life, i.e. in the way languages work among people, features do not bundle nicely together into sets of features. Some features accompany very different groups of other features (the word *fuck* may appear alongside words such as *regeringen* (Danish for *the government*), and it may appear alongside words such as *le police* (French for *the police*); but very few other words may appear in exactly these two surroundings). On the other hand, there are probably very many words in the world which can be used together with *fuck*, namely any word, whichever language it is ascribed to,

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when it denotes some kind of authority: *fuck sini tole*. In other cases features may appear in certain surroundings, and we will not be able to identify these features as belonging together with specific other features and not others (an adverb frequently used among young language users in Germany is [ondan] which could be identified as the German *und dann*, or as the Turkish *ondan* (Hinnenkamp 2003, 20) both of which can translate into *and then*).

Again we need not give up our ambition to work with the difference between languages. We may statistically determine what features happen to be used together very often. In Jørgensen & Kristensen 1994 (see below in the section on Language variation) we propose exactly that. The borders between two varieties may be determined by statistical means and set where the turnover of a change happens very quickly with many speakers (see figure 1.5 below, see also Jørgensen & Kristensen 1994). The consequence of this, however, is that borders between varieties become fuzzy, to say it mildly. Another important consequence is it that with such a concept of borders between varieties it makes little sense to say that a feature or a word does not "belong" in one of the varieties, but only in the other one. Most of the features we studied in Jørgensen & Kristensen 1994 were represented on both sides, and there was a range of turnovers (see figure 1.5). The turnover chosen as a borderline between two varieties will necessarily be arbitrary. In addition, even when we may say that we have never *found* a particular feature together with particular other features, we must accept that they may happen to appear together (such as an utterance which uses features from both Swahili and West Greenlandic).

Language change and language variation pose insurmountable problems if we want to establish clear definitions of specific languages, and if we want to draw clear lines between them (see also the section on Speech community below). Language users borrow from each other, they substitute and change the features they have regularly used, they use entirely new features, etc. We have no means of establishing the borders of a language by purely linguistic means. This does not mean that we can not work with linguistic

differences and connect them to concepts of languages. It is quite simple, for instance, in most cases to determine what is Swahili, and what is West Greenlandic. Methodologically this is not a problem in the analysis of interaction among young speakers who alternate between Swahili and West Greenlandic (as of now, the data would probably be very hard to come by, however). Similarly, there are only few specific problems in determining what is Turkish, and what is Danish, in the interactions which form the data of the Køge Project. Therefore we are still able to talk about specific "different" languages, and the criterion is as before - when speakers agree that features belong to different languages, the features do so in the particular interaction.

As sociolinguists we can also observe that specific languages are taught, in schools for instance. They are labeled as "German", "Spanish", and so forth. So in real life speakers do have notions about different languages. We can also observe that it is uncontroversial to say things like "*Gesundheit* is German word, and it means *health* in English".

The concept of *a language* (as different from *language*) must be understood with reservations. It follows from the arguments I have just put forward, that there is no clear concept of *a language* which is based on linguistic criteria. There is no form or structure which is impossible in combination with certain other features or phenomena, at least not in the use of human beings. The notion of *a language* is a purely ideological notion. Makoni & Pennycook (2006, 7) as well as Heller (2007, 1) find that languages (in the plural, i.e. as a plurality of unique phenomena which can be counted, one, two, three, four, etc.) are ideological constructs which were invented along with the nation state in Europe of the 1700's. Makoni & Pennycook specifically criticize Anderson's famous concept of imagined communities for its essentialist view of language:

> Thus, while Anderson's notion of imagined community remains important here, it needs to be seen as both a

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dialectic process, with language and nation constructed together, and as located in a different time frame , with ways of thinking about time and language reframed in relation to nation (Makoni & Pennycook 2006, 8)

The Europe-based invention of the nation state and individual languages has indeed been very strong during the past few centuries. It determines the way that educational systems are built, the way the European Union is organized, and in several other ways it has a profound direct effect on everyday lives. Nevertheless, the concept of *a language* is a concept which is an ideological construct with no relevant parallel in language use. This does not mean that we can discard the notion of *a language*, for the very simple reason that it has such an impact on everyday lives even in late modern societies. The idea of a language is very real at the level of norm ideals, but not at the level of language use.

We can still not define *languages* as different from *lects*. The patterns of use are exactly the same for features considered to belong to sets which are called *languages* and for features belonging to sets which are called *lects* (*dialects* or *sociolects*, etc.). In extension of Kotsinas' distinction we can distinguish between several types of features. Firstly, there are the features which young people share with the older generations. Such features have been transmitted from generation to generation, and the sum of these features represent a *variety* (*language* or *lect*). Other features are developed by the young on the basis of the older generation's features, and they will stay with the young speakers when they become older - and they may even be transmitted to a new generation after them. This is Kotsinas' *language of the young*. This is still part and parcel of the *variety*. The third type are the features which the young speakers leave as they grow older, and which they are therefore unlikely to transmit to a new generation. This is Kotsinas' *youth language*. It makes much less sense to consider such a set of features as a *variety*. Firstly, there is no transmission either way. Secondly, we have yet to see *youth language* which can be related to political or social variables as

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languages or *lects*. We have the term *style* for this phenomenon (observing that this is by no means the only way one can style oneself, or others, linguistically, Rampton 1999).

As sociolinguists we are able to talk about *languages* and *lects* as long as we accept that these concepts are abstractions with fuzzy borders between them. Languages and lects are *prototypical* concepts (Hudson 1996, 85f). It is therefore genuinely possible to talk about "different" languages and "several" languages, and at the same time acknowledge that we can not draw precise and clear lines between specific languages, and much less count languages. It makes sense to talk about "multilingualism", but only under very specific circumstances does it make sense to talk about "trilingualism".

Languages are sets of features, i.e. conventions which are believed to somehow belong together, or which are ideologically mandated as belonging together. Regardless of the fact that there is very little agreement of what precise features belong together in any given language, for instance Danish, there is widespread agreement (at least among non-sociolinguists) that such a phenomenon as "the Danish language" exists. Therefore there are intense discussions about what linguistic items belong to this phernomenon, and what features do not. Danish society is a very intolerant one (see below the section about Language and power in Denmark), and there is widespread agreement that there should only be one way to use language, words have "correct" pronunciations, there are "correct" words and "uncorrect" words, there is "correct" grammar and "uncorrect" grammar, etc. The problem is how to determine what does belong to the language, and what does not. This problem can not be solved on any linguistically sound basis. *A language* is an ideological construct believed to comprise a set of features which sets it apart from all other sets of features. This construct has only very weak support in practice. Ideologically, however, the notion of "a language" has been and still is very strong.

> If we understand, organize, and draw on those resources as belonging to whole, bounded systems we call 'languages', it is because that notion makes sense in the context of the ways language has been bound up in ideologies of nation and state since the nineteenth century (Heller 2007, 1)

Makoni & Pennycook (2006, 2) observe that the Europe-based development of national romanticism went hand in hand with the development of a notion of languages as enumerable entities: "Alongside or, rather, in direct relation with the invention of languages, therefore, an ideology of languages as separate and enumerable categories was also created". They point out how this notion of languages (i.e. as opposed to language) was brought to particularly Africa and South Asia with colonialism. The colonizers forced the concept on the colonized, and Makoni & Pennycook point out that the sociolinguists who see themselves as advocates of "endangered languages" or certain versions of "linguistic human rights" work in this European romanticist ideological tradition, and "the metadiscursive regimes that emerged to describe languages are part of a process of epistemic violence visited on the speakers of those languages as they were called into existence" (Makoni & Pennycook 2006, 21).

Once the notion of languages as entities which can be neatly separated and distinguished between was launched and spread, there was no way back. the ideological strength of this notion is so strong that it is almost impossible to challenge, for instance among decision makers, education planners, gatekeepers, etc. throughout the modern world. We must take account of the fact that people, the language users, think of features as belonging to sets of features, and they call these sets of features *languages*.

We will therefore still need terms for these sets of features. Since there is no basis in real life language use for these concepts, we can not distinguish between languages, dialects, except when we consider them as ideological constructions. In this sense it may

make sense to think of Danish and Norwegian as separate languages, but Kurmanci and Surani as different dialects of the same language. In the study of code-switching it still makes sense to distinguish between codes, precisely when we base our analysis on the ascription of features to sets of features (codes). When features are juxtaposed which are ascribed to different ideologically constructed sets of features (and the interlocutors are in a position to interpret the juxtaposition as such), we are dealing with code-switching (see more about this below in the section on Code choice).

The term *monolingualism* covers the phenomenon that an individual knows features which belong to one such set - and only one. The term *bilingualism* is similarly a term for the phenomenon that an individual knows features belonging to two such languages - and only two. The term *multilingualism* describes the phenomenon that an individual human being knows features from more than two languages. These terms all take several things for granted. Firstly, they take it for granted that the linguistic features commanded by the individual are bundled into neat separate packages. As we have seen, this is already in itself a dubious claim. Secondly, and more controversial, these terms usually take it for granted that the individual speaker "knows" the relevant number of languages, that the language user is "able to speak" the languages, or somehow commands more than just a minimum of the relevant languages. The criteria of knowing or commanding languages are very unclear. This fact has led to long discussions about criteria of bilingualism which were supposed to be "real" or "balanced" or in other ways directly measurable, and this activity has by and large been a waste of time and paper. This was probably at its worst with the so-called threshold hypothesis (for instance, Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, 222f.) Thirdly, they take it for granted that the language user at any given time *either* uses features from only one language *or* involves herself or himself in code-switching (or language alternation, or whatever it is called). Exceptions to these types of behavior are called borrowings, and the features borrowed from one language to another are considered alien to the loaning

language until some adjustments have taken place, phonetically, morphologically, or otherwise.

This is precisely where it becomes problematic. We can *not* describe the language behavior of young late modern urban language users along these lines. It is *not* so that they either use one language at a time or code-switch. As with Hinnenkamp's [ondan] example (see above) they may use both languages simultaneously - in one and the same word, in one and the same syllable, in one and the same sound. Secondly, they may also use features which are *not* part and parcel of the neat packages into which features are categorized (as first documented and analyzed by Ramptom 1995). Thirdly, the young language users may use these words without borrowing them in the traditional sense - the words are not alien to their language behavior, but at the same time the words are not adjusted to their mother tongue either. This is a phenomenon which is in fact not restricted to young speakers (as documented by Jacquemet 2005).

Whether speakers also believe that certain features *should* belong together and only be used together, is yet another - sociolinguistically very important - question. There are not only specific concepts about "different" languages in society at large, there are also strong norms for the choice of features among these "different" languages. It goes without saying that we can observe young languages users massively violating these norms (more about this below in the section about Norms of language behavior).

The concepts of difference and similarity can not be avoided when we deal with language. Even if we restrict ourselves to an attempt to understand the processes involved in youth language, we end up with several questions which involve difference and similarity, but which are all related to the young human individuals' being members of a social species. Linguistic difference and similarity are, like language in general, something between human beings. Eventually we will come to the relationship between the young

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speakers' different group memberships, group identities, and their linguistic behavior, and we will look at the relationship between social structure and language variation.

Language variation

The discussion about difference and similarity leads directly to the discussion about linguistic variation. This discussion is indeed the defining asset of sociolinguistics and has been so, particularly since Labov's (1966) ground-breaking studies of language variation in New York City, which gave impetus to a string of sociolinguistic studies which assume a correlational relationship between language variants and certain sociological phenomena to be indications of the effect of societal differences on language variation. Labov writes (1972, ch.4) about "The Reflection of Social Processes in Linguistic Structures". The basis of the description of the sociological groups represent a categorization of families into socioeconomic groups, resting on "occupation (of the breadwinner), education (of the respondent), and income (of the family)" (1972, 112). An alternative categorization uses the education of the breadwinner instead of the respondent, but it makes no difference. A sample of speakers have been interviewed. In these interviews the respondents have participated in conversations, and they have read aloud prepared texts and word lists. Parts of the conversations are identified as formal (or involving "careful speech"), and other parts as casual. The speech of the respondents is then analyzed, particularly certain pronunciation variables, and the results expressed in relative quantitative representation of the variants of each variable. Typically the analysis results in graphs like figure 1.1.

Labov's basic assumption, and one that shapes the understanding of language variation in the long range of studies following Labov, is that language variation reflects social structures.

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> Variation in linguistic behavior does not in itself exert a powerful influence on social development, nor does it affect drastically the life chances of the individual; on the contrary, the shape of linguistic behavior changes rapidly as the speaker's social position changes. This malleability of language underlies its great utility as an indicator of social change (Labov 1972, 111)

The sociological variables are taken to be quite straightforward. Labov's major sociological variable is socioeconomic status: The respondents are divided into ten categories according to the selected criteria. These ten categories are reduced to five, labelled "lower class, working class, lower middle class, middle class, upper middle class" respectively. What figure 1.1 tells us is that there exists a quantitative relationship between these categories and the linguistic variation observed. The higher the category number (i.e. with higher socioeconomic status), the higher the frequency of pronunciation of a postvocalic r-sound in words like *guard, dark*. The relationship is simple and straightforward, except for the fact that the middle class speakers in some situations have a higher frequency of r-pronunciations than the upper middle class. We shall return to that in a little while. In general Labov describes these results as showing that the pronunciation of postvocalic *r* is a marker of social prestige, i.e. it is a sign of social differences. Labov also observes that there is variation in the speech of the individual. He distinguishes between a range of different "styles" defined by the degree of attention which the speaker gives to the linguistic structure under production, ranging from "casual speech" to "minimal pairs". Figure 1.1 shows a difference in pattern of variation between the different styles which resembles that of the difference between the socioeconomic classes. The higher attention paid to form, the higher frequency of r-pronunciations. He furthermore finds that there is an age factor involved, as the r-pronunciation as a prestige marker seems to be a phenomenon developed in the group of speakers under 40 years of age (1972, 116).

Labov relates these relatively complicated findings in the overall understanding of linguistic variation as a reflection of societal differences. Certain features are *markers* of social phenomena, such as high socioeconomic status. The articulation of a postvocalic *r* is a marker of a social characteristic of the speaker, and thus the linguistic markers reflect social structures. Language variation is seen as a reflection of social variation.

Labov's studies gave rise to a range of sociolinguistic studies of language variation which studied language variation as differences between population groups from the same perspective, among them Trudgilll's (1974) Norwich study, and in Denmark Kristensen's (1977) Vinderup study. Most of these studies are based on the same assumption about the relationship between social structure and linguistic variation as Labov's. Based on given social categories and variables (age, gender, housing type, occupation, and more), a more or less representative group of informants is selected, and eventually interviewed. The interviewing method is the so-called sociolinguistic interview, the aim of which is to make the informant feel so relaxed that she (or he) will use her (or his) "real" language or "natural" language or "vernacular". During the structured interviews the sociolinguist attempts to make the interviewee feel at ease, and therefore less attentive to the linguistic forms used. When this succeeds, the sociolinguist will have obtained material as close as possible to the "vernacular" of the interviewee, the vernacular being the set of linguistic forms which the speaker would use when paying no attention to form.
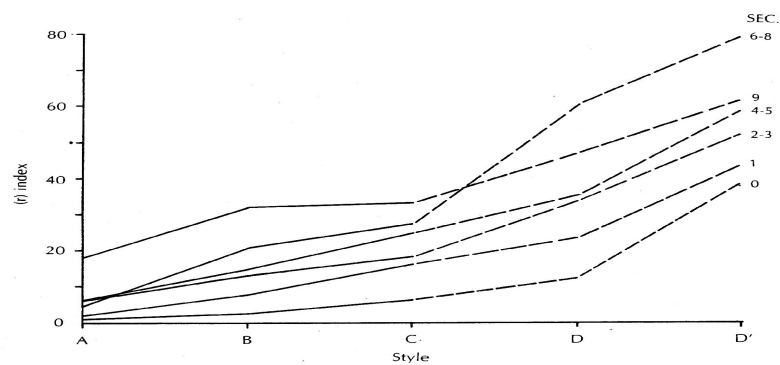
Fig. 4.2. Class stratification of a linguistic variable in process of change: (r) in *guard, car, beer, beard, board*, etc. SEC (Socio-economic class) scale: 0–1, lower class; 2–4, working class; 5–6, 7–8, lower middle class; 9, upper middle class. A, casual speech; B, careful speech; C, reading style; D, word lists; D', minimal pairs.

Figure 1.1. Language variation on the basis of social structure (after Labov 1978, 114).

TABLE 7.1. (*ng*) *index scores by class and style*

	Class	Style			
		WLS	RPS	FS	CS
I	MMC	000	000	003	028
II	LMC	000	010	015	042
III	UWC	005	015	074	087
IV	MWC	023	044	088	095
V	LWC	029	066	098	100
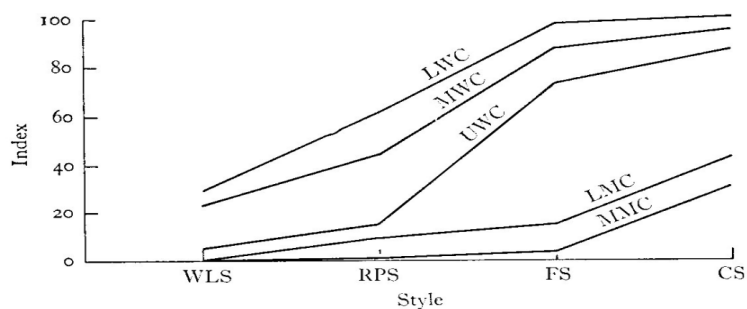
Figure 1.2 Language variation reflects social structures (after Trudgill 1974, 92).

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Trudgill pursues the same line of thinking in his Norwich study. His informants are selected according to social criteria established as an "index" of social class. This involves occupation, income, education, housing, locality, and father's occupation (1974, 36). Each of the six indicators is assigned six values. In the case of income, the top range included annual salaries of 2.000 £ or more, the next range between 1.000 £ and 1.999 £, etc. The top range is assigned a score of 5, and the bottom range a score of 0. Likewise, some quarters of town are assigned high values, and others lower values. The values of each indicator are combined for the individual speaker resulting in a social class index between 0 and 30. Trudgill further divides his informants into five social classes based on this social class index. Social class I are those who have a social class index of 19 or above, class II has an index from 15 to 18, and so forth.

The sociological variable is carefully operationalized by Trudgill who takes into account not only the factors of income and education, but also the type of housing and the sector of Norwich in which the informants lived. This of course demands a thorough knowledge of the city - and the social structure as reflected in the distribution of people over the different sectors.

The data have been collected through structured interviews which involve sections intended to relax the interviewees, e.g. with the question "Have you ever been in a situation, recently or some time ago, where you had a good laugh, or something funny or humorous happened to you, or you saw it happen to someone else?" (1974, 51). Included in the interviews are also reading of passages as well as reading of word lists, which is intended to give more formal linguistic reactions from the interviewees. Trudgill and his co-worker, who have both "lived most of our lives in Norwich" (1974, 52), have conducted the interviews in a way that would allow casual speech to flow as freely as possible.

Trudgill studies the use of 16 variables among his informants - at the different style levels of the interview. He finds that speakers

with a high social class index tend to use variants related to formal situations more often than speakers with a low social class index, as can be seen in figure 1.2. The graphs indicate that all speakers produce more [ɹ]-pronunciations (represented by a lower index in the figure) in words ending in *-ing*, the more attention is paid to form (WLS stands for word list style, RPS reading passage style, FS formal style, CS casual style). The graphs also indicate that the use of [ɹ] increases with higher social class index. These results closely resemble those of Labov's, and there seems to be agreement that variation in social (class) background is reflected in differences in linguistic behavior.

The differences in linguistic behavior are not differences of quality. People do not speak different languages in that sense. They do select the variants available according to different criteria, and therefore the variants are quantitatively differently represented among the speakers, but the speakers still choose their variants from the same specter, say between [ɹ] and [ظ At least as far as these studies is concerned, there is little indication that some speakers do things that other speakers are completely unable to do (but of course, the linguistic variables chosen for study were selected because they were expected to show exactly this kind of variation). In this light it may make sense to think of the speakers in these projects as speakers of the same language, or belonging to one speech community. In Trudgill's project, however, some potential speakers are de-selected, because they have spent too much time elsewhere than in Norwich. It would therefore be imprecise to consider Norwich a speech community in this sense - only a part of the language users of Norwich would belong to the speech community whose members would choose their variants from precisely the specters studied by Trudgill.

Milroy (1980, second edition 1987) takes another approach to the study of linguistic variation under different sociological circumstances. Her basic idea is that linguistic variation not so much depends on the speakers belonging to different strata of

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society, but rather on what kind of networks they are involved in. Milroy has developed a method of data collection in which she involves herself in three groups of speakers, three networks with different characteristics, although all are working class districts. She distinguishes between networks of *high density* in which an individual person's contacts will typically know each other, and netwoks of *low density* in which each person has her or his own contacts who do not necessarily know each other. In theory, members of dense networks will share their norms, and control each other, to a higher degree than members of less dense (or open) networks. This would predict that linguistic norms are stronger in dense networks than outside, and that fully integrated members of a close network follow the norms more than members with a looser connection to the particular network. To study this Milroy (1987, 142) has developed a *network score* based on five criteria including having kinship in the neighborhood, working in the same place as others from the area, and spending leisure time with workmates. Milroy finds a complex relationship between age, gender, and area, in which it is clear that the network score indeed is reflected in the language use of the speakers. Milroy has obtained linguistic data both as an interacting member of the networks, and to a certain extent through intervews and reading lists. She argues that the "interview style" and the "word list style" are significantly different from the "spontaneous style" which could not be observed if she had collected her data through sociolinguistic interviews (1987, 102).

In Figure 1.3 we can see that men in Milroy's material tend to have a higher (a) index (meaning more frequent use of the vernacular form). This is particularly evident in the area called Ballymacarrett, but not very much so in the area called the Hammer. However, there is one exception, namely the younger group of women in Clonard who show a higher (a) index than the men of the same age, although the difference is not very big. As it happened, the Ballymacarrett area is characterized by traditional male employment (the men would have high network scores because they typically worked with neighbors etc.), while the other areas

are characterized by high unemployment (so the men would not have higher network scores than the women). So there is a connection between the network scores and the linguistic variation. As is clear, Milroy also treats language variation as a reflection of societal structures, although in a very different way than Labov and Trudgill. In her data collection she involves herself with the groups whose language use interests her, and she bases her conclusions on the network analysis:

> it is possible to infer from the Belfast data some rather more subtle influences. The interpretation of the linguistic facts proposed in this section depends crucially on the significant correlations between language structure and network structure described (Milroy 1987, 191).

It is important to note that Milroy also describes the variation in terms of the speakers' use of linguistic variants as "markers" (e.g. 1987, 191) of background (or identity) such as gender, age, and class.

(a)   Index Score

B = Ballymacarrett
H = Hammer
C = Clonard
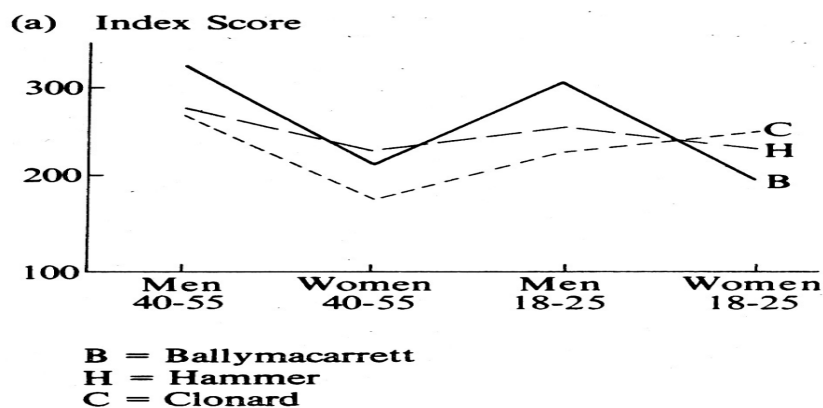
Figure 1.3. Language variation reflects networks (after Milroy 1987, 124).

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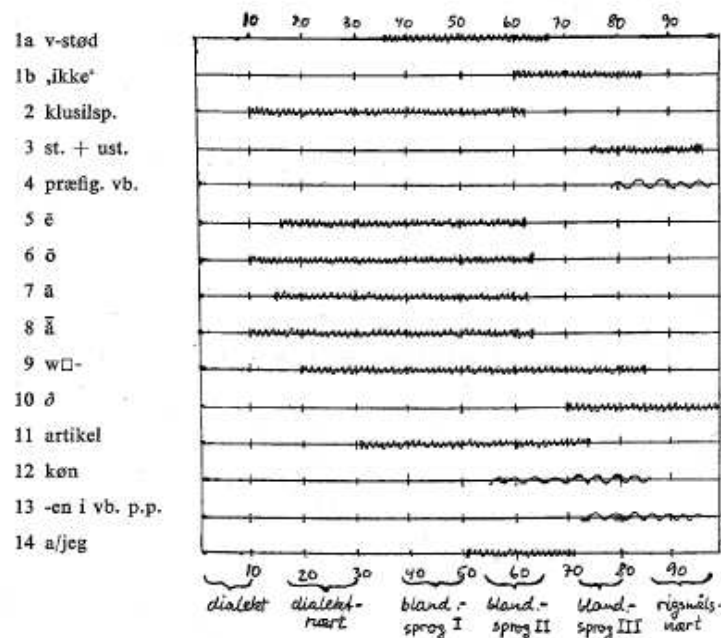
Fig. 7.5.4.2. Den trækvise udtynding. Trækkenes omslagsområder er placeret på en skala 1–98, rækkefølgen af informanter ordnet efter stigende totalindex.

Figure 1.4. Mixed varieties between dialect and standard (after Kristensen 1977,82).

Kristensen (1977) is a study of variation between classical West Jutland dialect and regional (heavily Copenhagen-influenced) variety in a rural community, Vinderup. Kristensen uses traditional sociolinguistic face-to-face interviews with a tape recorder to collect his data. He finds that there is a pattern of variation in which older speakers normally have more dialect features, or more frequent dialect features than young speakers. For each variable he finds a transitional phase in which few speakers would be - i.e. the majority of speakers either have many more dialect features than regional features or vice versa - the two are only rarely balanced. The range within which there are few speakers is labeled the *turnover range* by Kristensen. He also attempts to extract different speech varieties based on purely quantitative differences. He

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establishes six varieties or "steps" between maximal classical dialect and maximal national standard Danish, see figure 1.4 (Kristensen 1977,82). There is no speaker in his material who speaks a national standard Danish without any local features, the standard represented is a regional variety.

As can be seen in figure 1.4, the six varieties are defined by a division of the range of variation. The highlighted parts of each variable denote the turnover range. It is quite obvious that there are very few variables to distinguish between Kristensen's varieties, and he does not really succeed in isolating six distinct varieties. Much less is he able to describe any code-switching. One could perhaps not expect much code-switching anyway, because of the fact that he has recorded each informant in only one situation. It is probably also too ambitious to want to distinguish six varieties between classical dialect and national standard Danish. In an experiment with adolescents from the same area Kristensen (1980) has tried to provide opportunities for code-switching, or at least different code choice, by recording grade school students in a formal situation (an interview with him) and an informal situation (group conversation). He applies the same quantitative analysis to the recordings and finds that the speakers do use classical dialect features a little more in the informal situation, but generally the intrapersonal variation would be much smaller than interpersonal variation among the informants. Only one speaker shows significantly different behavior in the two situations. In Kristensen's understanding the use of first person pronoun is a shibboleth which shows whether the speaker is on the classical dialect side (pronoun *a*), or on the national standard side (pronoun *jeg*).

Kristensen & Thelander (1984) compare Vinderup and a rural community in Sweden and reach the conclusion that the two communities seem to develop linguistically in similar ways. In both places a classical dialect is giving way to a regional variety or national standard, and the change may happen in a similar manner, but the Danish development has gone further than in Sweden.

Kristensen & Thelander refer to Bailey's (1973) theory of linguistic variation which parallels change over time with variation at one time. They suggest that the development observed in both Danish and Swedish may be described with Bailey's wave model, but the development in Sweden has not reached the advanced point of dialect leveling which Kristensen has found in Denmark.

Basically, young speakers of Danish, even when they live in traditional dialect areas, use quite few classical dialect features, especially if they do not live in the countryside. This result has been repeated many times elsewhere in Denmark (see I. L. Pedersen 2003 for an overview), but this does not mean that there is no local speech. The classical dialects have been substituted by so-called regional varieties which are much closer to the *rigsmål*, the Copenhagen-based national standard, than to the classical dialects.

The concept of regional variety (*regionalsprog*) was introduced into Danish sociolinguistics by Ejskjær (1964-65) who suggested that modern Danish society was home not only to national standard Danish (*rigsmål*) and classical dialects (*dialekter*), but also varieties which "we who spoke it felt to be standard Danish" (1964-65, 41). She suggests the terms *regional* or *provincial variety* for these varieties which are characterized by having not only a sizable number of features from the national standard, some features inherited from the local classical dialect, and finally, but most important, features which belong to a "greater regional norm", i.e. which are not local in the very strict sense, but which are not national either. Therefore the regional variety is not just a point on a one-dimensional range of variation between the two extremes of classical dialect and national standard. The regional varieties include variants which can not just be described as compromises between classical dialect and national standard. An example is the word *hammer* (English: *hammer*) which is pronounced without a glottal constriction (the *stød*) by national standard Danish speakers as well as in local Southern Jutland dialect speakers. However, speakers of the regional variety of

Southern Jutland pronounced the word with a glottal constriction, most likely influenced by speakers of other Jutland varieties which apparently have an impact on the local development, so that the local dialect features are not simply substituted by national standard features.

This means that the regional varieties are hard to define by their specific linguistic characteristics, because these specifics relate to several and varying other varieties. It also means that the regional varieties can not mark the border between a classical dialect and the national standard. Kristensen uses quantitative criteria in his attempt to delineate varieties, including regional varieties. Jørgensen & Kristensen (1996) take this line of reasoning a bit further in an attempt to use quantitative criteria to establish a border between classical dialect and regional variety. This study compares Kristensen's (1977) s-shaped graphs with the findings of a study of variation in Næstved which is much closer to the national standard and thus far removed from the corresponding classical dialect (Jørgensen & Kristensen 1994). The difference is explained with inspiration from Bailey's (1973) wave model. Jørgensen & Kristensen 1997 suggest that quantitative analysis may point out turnover ranges feature by feature, but it is inconclusive with respect to distinguishing one entire variety from the other.

Kristiansen (1992) suggests that it is not possible at all to delimit such adjacent varieties linguistically, whether one attempts to define them by features or by quantitative analyses of feature use. He proposes a concept of regional varieties as "norm ideals", and that varieties are in fact nothing but norm ideals. He thus indirectly suggests - like Ejskjær - that regional varieties are in fact sets of ideas that speakers have about how their language should be. It is unclear what kind of relationship he imagines between real-life linguistic features and imagined varieties, but he indicates that "A linguistic variety may of course be a possibility and thus have a future even if it does not have any clear contemporary reality" (1992, 241) and he continues to suggest that the condition for the

growth or maintenance of a variety is that the young speakers have positive subconscious attitudes to the variety, i.e. the norm ideal in question.
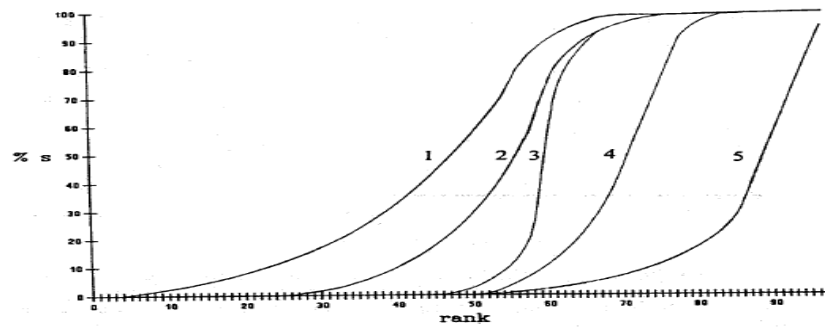
FIGURE 2. Variation profiles of five linguistic variables in Vinderup, Western Jutland. For each variable the speech samples have been ranked according to rising percentage of the standard variant (%s), and the %s of each of the samples has been plotted as a function of its position in the rank. Variable 1: Diphthong [iə] corresponding to Old Danish long *e*. Variable 2: Western Jutland glottal stop (v-stød) in words other than *ikke*. Variable 3: First-person singular pronoun: dialect *a* ~ standard *jeg*. Variable 4: Western Jutland glottal stop (v-stød) in *ikke* (the negation 'not'). Variable 5: Weakened pronunciation of common Danish ð.

Figure 1.5. Quantitatively determined borders between varieties (after Jørgensen & Kristensen 1996, 160).
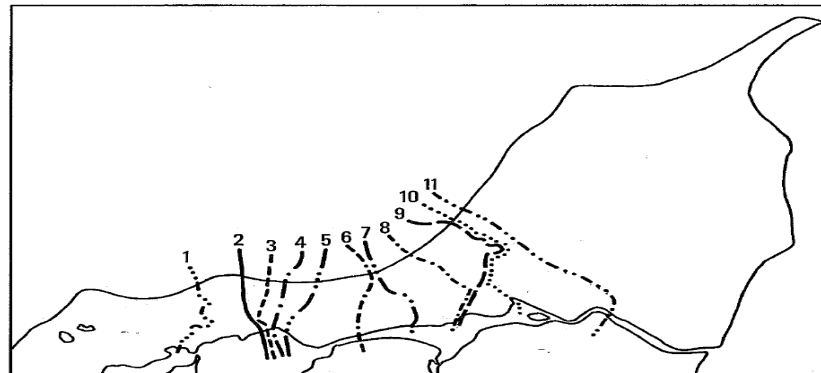
Grænseområdet mellem Vendsyssel og Ty.

1. 1. pers. pron. vestjy. [æ]: østjy. [ɑ]; 2. Artikelgrænse: vestjy. [æ maŋ']: østjy. [maŋ'ən]; 3. Vestjy. [hyw'] høj: østjy. [høw']; 4. Vestjy. [ljøŋ'] lyng: østjy. [løŋ']; 5. Vestjy. genus: østjy. 2 køn; 6. Vestjy. (-yrr->) [-aːr[, fx. [daːr] dør (subst.): østjy. [döːr]; 7. g- foran fortungevokal: vestjy. [gjæs] gæs: østvends [djæs]; 8. -*t* i vestjy. > [ð]: [mað]: i vends. > ÷: [ma]; 9. g- foran fortungevokal mod vest (jf. nr. 7) > [dj-]: [djæs], mod øst vends. > [j-]: [jæs] gæs; 10. patalaliseret [ŋ] (< nn, nd, tn) bevaret i vest: [sbaŋ'] spand, > [-j] med foregående nasal vokal i øst: [sbɑːj]; 11, mod vest 2 køn (jf. nr.5), mod øst i vends. 3 køn.

Figure 1.6. Series of isoglosses between two dialects (after Andersen 1969, løsblad 22).

This leaves us again with the definition of varieties. It suggests three different ways of defining different varieties. One is linguistic - two varieties are different when they contain different linguistic features. But this passes on the problem of determining what is different, to the features. And it quickly leaves us with the real risk that we must accept (at least) one variety for every language user in this world. It seems that it is not possible to maintain a concept of variety based on linguistic features. This is more so when we have realized that we can only determine with certainty what is the same and what is different on the basis of situational behavior among interacting speakers.

Secondly, it is, as we have seen, possible to determine when two varieties are different by statistical means, by analyzing feature use quantitatively, but we will have to accept that the borders thus drawn are arbitrary, and that speakers will tend to use features from both sides of every single border, both together and separately. We have also left it to the analyst to determine which features are the same unless the statistical exercises become very complicated.

Thirdly, I reached the conclusion that features are different when language users find (and agree) that they are different, and I venture to suggest that varieties are different when language users think and agree that they are different. Speakers may, as Kristensen (1980) suggests, distinguish between two varieties on the basis of one word, in casu first person pronoun (as either *a* or *jeg)*. In Maegaard's (2001) study there are more differences than one word, and a certain width in the variation along particular variables, but there are only few variables that present themselves as candidates for differentiation among the classical local dialect and a regional variety. Nevertheless, the young speakers who do use some of the local features, wildly overstate the linguistic differences between local speech and regional speech. They claim that "some of them can not understand at all what we say" (Maegaard 2001, 84) which is very unlikely, when we take the linguistic features in question into consideration (unless of course the local speakers have had the power to convince the non-local speakers that they can not

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understand). However, there is a sense among the language users in the community that this is how it is, and there is little doubt that the use of very local features can be a means to exclude certain individuals in certain contexts. Therefore it is possible to operate with a notion of different languages or varieties which considers two varieties different and separate when the users find and agree that they are. The speakers do not have to overtly agree, the speakers can show through their reactions to each other's contributions that they perceive these contributions as meaningful, relevant, and appropriate.

The Copenhagen Study of Urban Sociolinguistics (Gregersen & Pedersen 1991) has coupled a classical Labovian approach with an attempt to create such different situations that can yield significantly different language use. The project has recorded some 60 persons in a typical sociolinguistic interview. A basic methodological tool applied by the project is a *style* distinction which involves three criteria of conversation-internal features. They are used to categorize stretches of speech in one of three stylistic categories, non-casual, casual, and sentence list (i.e. reading) style. In the non-casual style there are three characteristics:

1. The fieldworker is unquestionably in control of the conversation;
2. Topics of a non-emotional character are being treated in a non-emontional way;
3. The tempo of speech is standard and attention is apparently on the monitoring of speech
       (Gregersen & Pedersen 1991, 63)

In the analysis stretches of speech where all these three criteria are applicable are marked as non-casual, and in a similar fashion the casual stretches have been threshed out. The third style comes from readings of lists, but this of course leaves long stretches of speech as neither-nor. The interest of the project is, among other questions, to shed light on intra-speaker variation, but also inter-

speaker variation. In a quantitative analysis the project finds that there is indeed quite substantial intra-speaker variation. Basically there is variation correlated with age, gender, and socioeconomic status, although some details of Danish variation are different from what other studies have found, but there is also considerable variation in style. The project takes it for granted that this is related to different degrees of attention paid to form. In the non-casual style the speaker will be very attentive to form and pronounce carefully, choose neutral words, etc. In the casual style pronunciation will be laxer, words will be less neutral, etc. Later Heegaard et al. (1995) have used the data from Gregersen & Pedersen and analyzed one interviewer's behavior towards different interviewees in the study as well as the behavior of the interviewees. They find that there is much and important variation which they consider stylistic and which reflects variables that are not controlled in the sociolinguistic interview. These are especially situational variables, but also to a certain extent the interviewer's different behavior towards interviewees of different social backgrounds. Heegaard et al. conclude that the interviewer is not a constant factor, as is usually assumed. Therefore the sociolinguistic interview does not necessarily provide data which is suited for a quantitative analysis of the interviewees' vernacular.

The network approach, however, has proved to be costly and cumbersome compared to the sociolinguistic interview unless the sociolinguist is able to invest considerable time in the data collection (see Boyd et al 1994), and the sociolinguistic interview is a reliable provider of relevant data at a relatively little expense to the sociolinguist. Kristensen (1980) and Jørgensen & Kristensen (1994) have carefully planned two different situations which are designed to be very different in formality and therefore could potentially lead to very casual and very non-casual styles, respectively. However, in both cases there is very little to be found in terms of formal differences, as far as concerns the variables studied (which are all phonetic). This may be the result of a design which has failed to create situations diverse enough to cause very different linguistic behavior. It may also be a result that style

shifting is a correlate of other factors. We shall look into this in more detail when we look at code-switching (see below).

It is characteristic of correlational sociolinguistics that it relies on a number of concepts which have become issues of discussion in younger sociolinguistics. Among these concepts are the *vernacular,* the *interview,* the *speech community,* and *linguistic forms as social markers.*

The sociolinguistic interview is a method to collect data which resemble the so-called vernacular of the involved speakers as much as possible, i.e. while the observation is as unobtrusive as possible. Labov (1972, 61) formulates the *observer's paradox*: "that our goal is to oberserve the way people use language when they are not being observed". In this lies the belief that there is a particularly authentic way that people use language "when they are not observed". Labov and other sociolinguists have speculated much, and ingenious methods have been developed in order for sociolinguists to collect data in a way which did not make speakers aware that they were being observed. Kristensen's (1980) design is one example. The interview is of course capable of getting out different behavior from the speakers if the interviewer is successful. However, as Heegaard et al. (1995) find, it is unclear what causes these differences, and whether they are best described as results of variations in speaker attention to linguistic form. It is furthermore possible to carry out quantitative analysis of data collected in other situations than the sociolinguistic interview. Even Milroy's method, which involves ethnographic lines of thinking at least in its design planning, analyzes data quantitatively.

The interview of sociolinguistics has also come under some criticism from conversation analysts who entertain a similar notion of a "true" or "real" language which people speak when they are not invited by sociolinguists to speak. Conversation analysts (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998, 73, Ten Have 1999, 48, Norrby 2004, 34, Nielsen & Nielsen 2005, 23) routinely use the word *natural* about their own data as opposed to sociolinguistic data. That data

is "natural" in this tradition only means that it was not obtained in a situation in which the participants were invited by the sociolinguist. Absolutely identical situations, including video-recorders, audio-recorders and everything, are "natural" to the conversation analyst if the set-up was not initiatied by the linguist, but "unnatural" or "experimental" if the linguist has taken the initiative to set up the situation.

To me there are several hazy points in the discussion of the observer's paradox. First of all, unless we want to observe how people use language when they believe they are alone, we must accept that when people use language, they are *always* under observation. Language is something which exists and is used between human beings. As sociolinguists we can not think of language as something which exists and should be observed in a "pure" and "real" state. Language is *always* used in specific circumstances, by specific people. And with respect to non-written language, it is always used by someone to someone. From accomodation studies we have solid evidence that speakers also *always adjust to the fact they are under observation.* So in fact we do not at all want to study people who use language while they are not under observation, unless in support of therapy. The problem of the oberserver's paradox is a pseudo-problem in this respect.

Secondly, we might formulate an observation problem in a relevant way, as "we want to observe how people use language when they are observed by somebody else than a sociolinguist", for instance, a spouse, other family members, bosses, employees, patients, students, friends, or workmates. For instance, we may want to study the language behavior of young people when they are not under observation by neither adults nor children. But this problem can in many cases be solved quite simply by inviting friends etc. to observe - e.g. by recording conversations involving peers and friends. Or, with technology that was not available to Labov in 1972, we can provide people with tiny audio-recorders - in which case our observation does not disappear entirely, but it is much less intrusive (see for example Maegaard 2001, 92f, Quist 2000, 146).

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Thirdly, it is unclear to me why some conversation partners are more interesting to the linguist than others. We all vary our language use according to a range of factors, including interlocutors, theme, surroundings, and much more. In contact with other people we work our face (Goffman 1967), regardless of who the others are. We do not do it the same way on all occasions, but we always do it somehow. All kinds of language use are language use, they are all results of intentions, they have purposes, and they meet reactions. They are therefore all interesting. This does of course not mean that we may not want to gain insight into how people use language with particular partners, and that certainly may raise a practical problem - how does one record teenagers inviting each other to sex? But it is just that - a practical problem, it is not a paradox that casts doubt on sociolinguistic data.

Fourthly, the claim that some conversations occur "naturally" is simply incomprehensible. If the word *natural* is to have any meaning here, it must be as opposed to *cultural*. It is of course possible to maintain that it is "natural" to human beings to have and use language - this is part and parcel of the school of universal grammar, for instance. But in this sense, a conversation is natural, whether or not it was initiated by a sociolinguist. It is also possible to define some types of communication as "natural", such as the flying patterns of certain bees, or the ultrahigh sounds produced by some whales. But also in this case our sociolinguist-initiated conversation is just as "natural" as the non-sociolinguist-initiated conversation. We are stuck with the opposition *natural-cultural*, i.e. we would distinguish between biological factors and such factors that are bound to time and place and circumstances - we could define the difference in a number of ways, but it would somehow set the biology of humankind against mind-products. And again it is impossible for me to see how a conversation could become more biological by not being initiated by a sociolinguist.

In other words, all language produced by human beings is natural - or none of it is natural. All language use is authentic, unless specifically prescribed in a given situation (such as in manuscripts

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for the theater), or no language use is authentic. As sociolinguists we are interested in how speakers use language, for what purposes, in what situations. Some situations are hard to access (such as the seduction scene), and others are easy - such as the sociolinguistic interview. Neither of these situations is more natural, more authentic, more real, more true, or better than the other as sources and data.

In short, I find that data obtained from people who are not instructed what to say or how to speak, is perfectly legitimate, interesting, and valid. That people are invited to a situation where they are audio-recorded, does not decrease the value of the data for a linguist the least bit. If they are told to produce language according to a manuscript, it is different, and therefore the linguist can not just go into any theater and record. But people who are in the company of other people with whom they (try to) interact, deliver data which can be used by the linguist.

Aside from the problem of how to achieve sociolinguistic data, we must also consider what precisely we can analyze. Most of the studies we have looked at until now have dealt with pronunciation. There is a good reason for that: Language users grow up experiencing variation. With variation the language users meet evaluations. In time we grow up to contribute to the variation and the evaluations. In the meantime some features have stabilized with the individual language user and do not change. It is probably no coincidence what kinds of features stabilize and what kinds can always be changed. Pronunciation is, as the only aspect of (spoken) language not only cognitive, but also physiological. To learn to pronounce is to learn to control one's speech organs with great precision in distance and timing. No other control of our body is as demanding as pronunciation. Pronunciation is therefore a likely area for early myelination (the details are beside the point here, but see Long 1990). This results in set pronunciations which are very difficult to change later in life. We are simply less likely to completely change our pronunciation than any other aspect of our language, simply for physiological reasons (see also Jørgensen

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1999c). We can - at least until Alzheimer sets in - always learn a new word or expression, and we can change our swearing habits, because these features are under entirely cognitive control. A good argument for this is also the fact that it seems to be more difficult for adults to acquire the pronunciation of a foreign language than for children. Phonetic features fossilize faster than other features.

Therefore pronunciation, phonetic features, is a good candidate for stability in the speech of an individual. What the individual has practiced in the young years, will remain. But, as I said, the individual has grown up with a certain variation in the surroundings. Therefore we all have access to a range of phonetic resources with their attached evaluations. The range of resources available to the individual is to a large extent *determined* by the background against which the individual grew up. This is another way of saying that Austrians speak German phonetically different from Berliners. It would take a tremendous effort on behalf of an adult Austrian to completely and genuinely change her or his pronunciation to be indistinguishable from a Berliner, and we know from second language acquisition research that such achievements very rarely happen (such cases do exist, see Markham 1997).

Having quantitatively described the systematicity of such variation within a social specter is one of the great contributions of Labovian sociolinguistics and the difference view of variation. Another one is the regularity with which different social groups choose what features. In other words, we must accept that there is an effect on language from social structure. However, this is only part of the story. With the variation which the individual internalizes while growing up she or he can use language for different purposes and in different ways. We all have some features which are automatized, and others which we can manipulate. The manipulation of features is a resource which allows us to use language to express different attitudes, signal different identities, create or contribute to the creation of different meanings, etc. This

insight is an achievement of interactional sociolinguistics and the discourse view.

Speech community

Correlational sociolinguistics which studies how certain sociological variables relate to certain linguistic variables relies on a concept of *the speech community*. This is the set of language users who share a language, or certain norms of language. The individual carries the norms of the society (speech community) consisting of the speakers who use the language in question. This concept of a sociologically based unit of language users has come under some criticism.

The discussion about the status of speech community has its roots at least as far back as Bloomfield (1935).

> A speech-community is a group of people who interact by means of speech (§2.5). All the so-called higher activities of man - our specifically human activities - spring from the close adjustment among individuals which we call society, and this adjustment, in turn, is based upon language; the speech-community, therefore, is the most important kind of social group (Bloomfield 1935, 42).

Humankind's most important form of organization is not so easy to describe, however. The term speech community has an immediate and intuitive relevance as a concept, and in sociolinguistics it has not been very controversial that there is a close relationship between on the one hand language as a human phenomenon, and on the other hand social organization as a characteristic phenomenon of our species. The problems arise when want to describe the specific speech communities. It has proven to be very difficult to delimit specific speech communities according to this or other classical definitions. It is unlikely that it

is possible to determine which language users belong, to which speech communities – or to which speech communities what language users belong.

> The difficulty or impossibility of determining in each case exactly what people belong to the same speech-community, is not accidental, but arises from the very nature of speech-communities (Bloomfield 1935, 45).

It is an integral part of our social organization that there are vague borders in the social dimensions. This includes the geographical dimension, although at first sight it may not appear to be so. Physical national borders are very strictly upheld by authorities, and sanctions are imposed on people who transgress them. However, this is so obviously a political construction. Most border areas are characterized by the fact that some people on both sides of the borders feel they belong on the other side, or they have closer ties with people on the other side of the border than with people at the other end of the state they occupy. This is tragically true for Africa, and even in Europe, which invented the nation state, there is no congruence among physical political borders and communities created by people living near these borders.

It is also characteristic of our social linguistic organization that the borderlines are vague, including geographically. Language users who do not speak with each other live in the same neighborhoods, work in the same companies, etc. The definition of *speech community* can not be based on these social criteria. We could suggest that all speakers who share a language constitute a speech community, the French speakers in Brussels, to pick one possible example. The problem with this is that more often than not we can also not determine where one language stops and another one begins. An example which is often mentioned in the literature is the continuum involving Dutch and German (for instance, Romaine 1994, 135 and Hudson 1996, 35).

It is not possible on strictly linguistic criteria to draw a simple and unequivocal border between "Dutch language" and "German language". It is not possible either to draw a clear geographical line between the area where Dutch is primarily spoken and the area where German is spoken - since it is not clear exactly what is German and what is Dutch. It is, however, possible to delimit a geographical area and define whatever language spoken by those who grow up there as the language of the area. The problem with using this criterion for the definition of speech community is of course that in most cases the people within the borders determined may use very different language, but all of it will be labeled as the same language in spite of the fact that the speakers may believe there are several languages involved.

In the case of Brussels, we might be able to distinguish between most of what we would consider French, and most of what we would consider Dutch. But there would be borderline cases, and we still have not determined how to classify those speakers who know a little bit of French, or who know some French, but more Dutch. Often it is even not clear where one language stops, and another one begins. Typical examples are consecutive borders of linguistic features which characterize different geographical areas, as the case of Dutch and German, and such as in figure 1.6. The situation is, of course, not any clearer when it comes to what are considered different dialects of the same language. The same relationship between a range of variation in a sequence of areas has been described in North Western Denmark, see figure 1.6. The figure shows 11 isoglosses neatly separating the area into 12 zones. East of each isogloss the form is traditionally considered unequivocally Vendsyssel Danish, and west of it is considered Thy Danish. The borderlines between Vendsyssel features and Thy features do not form a nice bundle, but instead spread over a certain area. The very fact that the shift from Vendsyssel Danish to Thy Danish is gradual makes it impossible to draw a precise line between the two dialects. If one would want to decide where a border between Vendsysseel and Thy runs, linguistically spoken, it must by necessity be decided arbitrarily.

We may have a concept of *language* as a human phenomenon, but not necessarily any means of delimiting the individual language, neither in terms of linguistic structures (as we have already seen), nor in terms of where it is spoken. The idea of a language being spoken in specific places is also questionable, as we have just seen. It is not easy to give a coherent relevant meaning to statements like "In France they speak French", or "In Brussels they speak French and Dutch". One can of course say that "In France French is spoken". But one could also say that "In Bangladesh French is spoken", and the two statements would be equally true, at least as long as there are people in both places who know and use what is considered French with each other. If we continue this line of thinking and try with a statement like "In France more French is spoken than in Bangladesh" we are back to the observation which we already made with respect to the border between regional variety and standard Danish. We can set a border based on statistical observations, but it is likely to be arbitrary.

Hudson (1996, 29) presents a detailed discussion of the concept of *speech community*, and he concludes that language is in the individual speaker, not in society, and that a speech community can only be understood as the social groups with which the speaker wishes to identify. He refers explicitly to Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) and their notion of language use as acts of identity. The linguistic act which the individual language user performs with the effect of signaling identity is a contribution to an ongoing negotiation of the social relationships surrounding the language user, and which the speaker invites to, enters into, relates to, negotiates, changes, puts on hold, leaves from, evaluates, or otherwise deals with.

When the individual language user becomes the focus of the study of speech communities, the single linguistic production, i.e. the conversation, the utterance, even the single sign of hesitation, become data for the description of the language users' construction and negotiation of social groups. The inclusion of one single Panjabi word in an otherwise English utterance produced by

a young grade school student in a day care center in Britain, directed to a peer or a group of peers, may signal an important load of belonging, membership, opposition to outsiders, and much more.

In this respect it becomes interesting how specific language users use their linguistic resources to position themselves vis-a-vis other language users. The individual is firstly a member of a group of language users. This means that there must be a certain consensus among a number of language users that there is indeed such a group, and that they (perhaps together with others) are members of that group. As long as the language users see themselves as participants in the same community, as members of the same group, they will shape and eventually change the conditions and contents of the community, with every event in the community, and with every act within the frame of the community event. They will *negotiate* the community as a frame of their mutual social relationships.

The delimitation of the group from the outside becomes a central point of these negotiations. The borders are confirmed every time the group distinguishes itself from the outside world, and every time a member, perhaps together with several other members, acts, including linguistically, in a way which the members agree is specific to the group. The delimitation can also become the subject of change, new members can be included, others may leave the group or community.

Apart from that, the individual members will have personal relations to other members. There may be subgroups, hierarchies or other forms of social organization within the group. Likewise all events and acts, including linguistic acts, will shape the mutual relations and their further contents. These are also negotiations, inter-individual negotiations.

In his discussion of the term *speech community* Rampton (1999b) mentions an important change having taken place over the

preceding decades in sociolinguistics' concept of speech community.

> Rather than our actions being seen as mere reflections of our belonging to 'big' communities that pre-exist us, there is now more emphasis on the part that here-and-now social action plays in the production of 'small' but new communities, and rather than just concentrating on behaviour at the core, there is a burst of interest in interaction with 'strangers' inside, outside and at the boundaries (Rampton 1999b, 1).

Here Rampton points out that sociolinguistics, not the least in the way he has practiced it (1995, 1998), has moved away from the study of social structures' importance for linguistic variation. Instead we now see studies of linguistic variation as a means to structure social relations (Rampton 1999, Eckert 2000). The central concept is no longer the speech community, but groups of speakers are viewed as so-called *communities of practice*, a term coined by Wenger (1998, 5): The concept of a community of practice integrates four components, four "ways of talking" about Meaning ("ability...to experience our life and the world as meaningful"), Practice ("shared historical and social resources, frameworks, and perspectives"), Community ("social configurations in which our enterprises are defined as worth pursuing and our participation is recognizable as competence"), and Identity ("personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities").

A community of practice comprises three dimensions of practice (Wenger 1998, 73): Firstly, it is characteristic that the community does not exist in a vacuum, but is born by the participants' *mutual engagement*, which defines the members' belonging to the community. It is not the social category, or the acquaintances, or the location of the individual which determines membership, but engagement in the activity of the community. Secondly, precisely this activity, considered as a *joint enterprise*, is the "result of a

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collective process of negotiation that reflects the full complexity of mutual engagement" (Wenger 1998, 77) - this is in my opinion a particularly useful perspective on language as a social phenomenon, and language as a set of conventions. The third dimension of a community of practice is a *shared repertoire* which on the one hand reflects the mutual engagement, but on the other hand "remains inherently ambiguous" (Wenger 1998, 83).

In this light it is useless to look for a *langue*, or any invariant set of features which would enable us to delimit clearly the members of a category, a speech community. Instead we look for practices which vary, and we understand the variations as elements of learning and development processes which are affected by, and simultaneously affect the language users. Traditional sociolinguistics considers the individual as a member of a speech community with certain social categories, and describes language variation as an effect of the social structures. Later sociolinguistics describes variation as a means to create and negotiate social relations (see below about the discourse view), but it is important to keep in mind that variation both is affected by and affects social reality. The linguistic acts of the individuals are considered as contributions to negotiations about social relations, as contributions to constructions of identities, and to shared constructions of meaning, etc. (Rampton 2001, 276).

Linguistic forms as social markers

It is a basic assumption of Labov, Trudgill, Milroy, etc. that the specific variants of certain linguistic variables are *social markers*. This means that the language variation reflects social structures. The vast number of results of statistical correlation are expressed in terms like "women tend to use variant x much more than men" or "upper middle class speakers use variant y les than working class speakers". In Milroy's case the social structures are not so much classes or gender. She does distinguish between male and female speakers, but that is because they belong to different

networks, and she argues that close networks may preserve linguistic features.

> a close-knit network functions as a conservative force, resisting pressures for change originating from outside the network, those whose ties are weakest approximate least closely to the vernacular norms, and are most exposed to external pressures for change (Milroy 1987, 196-7)

In other words, the relationship between social variation and linguistic variation is seen in the same way: Social structures are reflected in linguistic variation.

It is, however, important to notice that Labov also introduces the thought that speakers may employ knowledge (conscious or subconscious) about the work that certain features can do, in order to manipulate the social reality. This is evident in his discussion of the behavior of the lower middle class in his New York study. As can be seen in figure 1.1, there is a regular pattern for all groups of speakers. They have higher representations of variant r-1 (the prestige variant), the more formal the style they have used. Furthermore, the groups of speakers fall into neat layers with the highest prestige group having most prestige forms, and the lowest group fewest. However, in the most formal styles, i.e. those in which the speakers pay most attention to form, the lower middle class shows a higher percentage of prestige forms than any other group, including the upper middle class. Labov reports similar results with other variables.

> A great deal of evidence shows that lower-middle-class speakers have the greatest tendency towards linguistic insecurity, and therefore tend to adopt, even in middle age, the prestige forms used by the youngest members of the highest-ranking class. This linguistic insecurity is shown by the very wide range of stylistic variation used by lower-middle-class speakers; by their great

fluctuation within a given stylistic context; by their conscious striving for correctness; and by their strongly negative attitudes towards their native speech pattern (Labov 1972, 117).

In this understanding the linguistic variation does indeed reflect social processes, but linguistic variation is also used by the speakers to manipulate social patterns, in casu by lower middle class speakers to present themselves as upper middle class speakers. This reverse view is even more prevalent in Labov's study in Martha's Vineyard (an island off the east coast of the USA), in which Labov refers to the resistance, among certain conservative islanders, to mainlanders and their ways. This resistance is the cause of certain linguistic changes which removes the local variety from the mainland variety:

> This gradual transition to dependence on, and outright ownership by the summer people has produced reactions varying from a fiercely defensive contempt for outsider to enthusiastic plans for furthering the tourist economy. A study of the data shows that high centralization of (ay) and (aw) is closely correlated with expressions of strong resistance to the incursions of the summer people (Labov 1972, 28).

Labov also explains that the specific vocabulary which the islanders once used, has mainly gone with the whaling, and therefore we see "phonetic differences becoming stronger and stronger as the group fights to maintain its identity" (1972, 29). This even more clearly presents the view that social structures are created by language use. Whereas the lower middle class speakers of New York knew the social evaluation of existing variation, the critical islanders on Marta's Vineyard create new variants in order to delimit their social group. This should be kept in mind in the following discussion.

An important criticism of the early variationists came from sociology. Williams (1992) finds that Labov, as well as the other correlationists, did not reflect enough on sociological theory or their own view of societal differences. He analyzes their sociological position as an unmotivated and unreflected inheritance from the structural functionalism of sociology, particularly Parson which he finds "consensual and politically conservative" (1992, 65). He is also critical of the perspective on social structures.

> Given the reflection view of language, in which language is claimed to be a manifestation of society such that social variation is mirrored in language, it is not surprising that the main focus of sociolinguistics is on the manner in which linguistic change, as exemplified in speech patterns, relates to social change. In most of the work this involves treating the speaker as a rational actor employing speech in order to convey an identity. Speech is seen as the product of social convention or norms and the objective of much of the research in this field is descriptive in the sense that its aim is to discover the relevant speech norms [...] the assumptions in this mix of linguistics, sociology and psychology are highly questionable and it should not be taken for granted that behaviour is conscious, let alone rational; that the objective of this rationality is the expression of identity to relevant others; that norms exist as some simple expression of society; nor that language is a reflection of society (Williams 1992, 66)

Especially, he criticizes the variationists for not involving power as an explanatory concept in describing and explaining language differences, and he suggests that perspectives and analyses of what he calls French Discourse Analysis as well as Marxism be involved in theories of the relationship between social and linguistic phenomena.

Romaine (1994) raises the same issue in a call for more specifically sociolinguistic theorizing. She finds that classical variationist sociolinguistics lacks explanatory power. For instance, attempts to explain certain types of variation as lower status class members' strive to climb up the social ladder, assume that all members of society agree in their evaluations of the variants involved in linguistic variation. However, this is not so. Romaine refers to the "persistence of non-standard speech and minority languages" (1994, 225) and finds that a sociolinguistic theory must take these phenomena into account.

> While there are at the moment no ready-made social theories for sociolinguistics to plug all of their data into which will cover all the aspects of language use [...] there is no reason to dismiss the enterprise (Romaine 1994, 227)

Cameron is similarly critical of sociolinguistics' use of certain concepts pertaining to the societal side of their interests. Although there is quite sound knowledge, if not downright expertise, with respect to the linguistic phenomena, there is a lack of theory and interest in what the societal side is or stands for.

> We have seen that sociolinguists make casual but significant use of notions like 'norm' and 'social identity' in order to explain the variation and the attitudes they observe. And I have argued that one of the problems with this is that we are left with no account of where the norms 'come from' and how they 'get into' individual speakers - it is not good enough to simply situate them in some vague and ill-defines 'society', as though society were homogeneous, monolithic and transparent in its workings (Cameron 1997, 65)

Hudson (1996, 228f) contributes to this understanding of the theoretical status of sociolinguistics. He finds that a

comprehensive theory is lacking, while he stresses that there is no lack of theories in sociolinguistics. He points to several well established sociolinguistic theories, such as Goffman's face theory of interaction, Bailey's wave theory of the spread of linguistic change, and the Sapir-Whorf theory of language and thought. We can also mention the threshold hypothesis (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, 222) about bilingual development which is basically thought as a cognitive psychological theory but which also involves sociolinguistic aspects and has had an impact on sociolinguistic understanding of bilingualism and education, particularly in Scandinavia (regardless of the fact that it has been severely criticized by sociolinguists, such as Martin-Jones & Romaine 1986, see also Jørgensen & Quist 2007). Hudson sketches an outline of a comprehensive theory of sociolinguistics based on this basic view that language is an individual phenomenon which is used in social interaction. He suggests a *Word Grammar* (1996, 256) for the understanding of the relationship between individual language users, linguistic items, and social structure seen as part of a larger theory of knowledge.

Coupland (2001, 3) dryly observes that Hudson may say that a comprehensive theory is lacking, but "if we take this definition of 'theory', it is difficult to see precisely what is lacking". Coupland (2001) distinguishes between 3 strands of sociolingiustic theory. The first strand sees linguistic variation as reflections of macro-social structures. Labov is an important representative of this strand. Secondly, there is sociolinguistic theory which emphasizes individual, i.e. micro-level agency, such as accomodation theory and politeness theory. Thirdly, there is sociolinguistic theory which integrates the approaches of the two first strands, such as Critical Discourse Analysis. The distinctions presented by Coupland are closely related to Rampton's distinction between four perspectives on linguistic variation (see the section about Presociolinguistic linguistics and linguistics below).

With respect to sociolinguistics' foundation in sociological theory Bourdieu is still influential (Connolly 1998 and Madsen forthc. are

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good examples), particularly with his concepts of habitus and symbolic capital. Matters of identity have become crucial to sociolinguistics (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985, Rampton 1999, Eckert & Rickford 2001, Meyerhoff 2006, and many more). With the concept of speech community having been at least partly substituted by the concept of community of practice (see the section on Speech community above), and the idea of *an identity* having been replaced by *identities* and *identity work*, theorizing is deeply integrated into empirical sociolinguistics.

Social psychology and language

An alternative to the variationists' correlational studies comes from social psychologically oriented studies of language behavior.

According to social identity theory we as human beings are occupied with categorizing each other. Categorization is not restricted to the way we see other people, we categorize every object, phenomenon, activity, or incident which we encounter. But the categorization of human beings is special in that we, by dealing with categories of human beings, also categorize ourselves. Along with the categorization we evaluate, and we ascribe different values to different categories, including the ones we belong to ourselves. Some categorizations are very important to us, some are less important. Our evaluations reflect this difference to a certain extent.

> As regards social categories, there is abundant evidence that those who place a greater importance on a particular categorization tend to stereotype more extremely than others - perhaps we might call these people 'prejudiced' (Hogg & Abrams 1988, 21).

Evaluation follows a process of social comparison through which we form opinions on different categories' relative characteristics on a wide range of measures and variables, such as how friendly,

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intelligent, aggressive, small, businesslike, dependable, etc. people of a certain category are when compared to people in another category. The crucial effect of social comparison is to let us see ourselves with a range of positively evaluated characteristics. In general we have a desire to see the categories to which we belong, in a positive light. This is so, as "people´s concepts of who they are [...] is largely determined by the groups to which they feel they belong" (Hogg & Abrams 1988, 2). One consequence of the members seeing themselves as members of a category or a group is the development or maintenance of norms which guide the behavior of the members so as to ensure a certain conformity among these members. This does not mean that members of a category or a group act and behave alike in all details. Rather, a set of specific items (acts, behaviors) come to signal the membership of a particular group - such as ways of dressing, hairstyle, drinking habits, or ways of saying things. This conformity prescribes for the members certain acts or behaviors, i.e. norms which can only be violated at the peril of the group membership.

Behavior which follows such norms are also signals of membership, and they are therefore symbolic. Already Mead (1934) found that social symbols were important in the building of social relations, and language was not the least important field of such behavior. Linguistic behavior, i.e. interaction, is symbolic and social. Goffman, along the same line of thinking, finds that language use is social in a very concrete way, and that the linguistic choices we make determine our relationships with others.

The study of language as social behavior has tended to either concentrate on language use in individual person-to-person relationships, or to study language use of and in groups. The former is to a large extent true for Goffman (e.g., 1967, 1981) who studies language use as a means to present ourselves in a positive way. Others study groups. Tajfel (1978a) defines the concept of a minority group, and he distinguishes between several courses of

action which minority groups may choose to take in their relations with other groups, particularly majority groups. One of these courses is the so-called *accomodation*, also referred to by Turner (1975) as *social competition*. In this process the minority, as a group, strives to retain as much as possible of its own specific characteristics, its *identity*, and its being different. At the same time the group works to attain the qualities which are rewarded (and respected) by the majority. The crucial part of this is the decision by individual members of the minority to follow a track together with other minority members, as opposed to following an individual path to career success. Whenever there is a conflicting choice between choosing the group way of behaving, including linguistically, and the way rewarded by the majority, the minority group member can orient to either. By choosing the minority pattern she or he signals group membership at the cost of personal benefit.

One example of such social competition is the demand for educational equality expressed by the Finnish speakers in Sweden in the 1970's and later (Paulston 1982). A concerted effort was undertaken on behalf of the mother tongue speakers of minority languages, in reality with a strong emphasis on Finnish, in Sweden to ensure their access to education through their mother tongue. The eventual outcome of successful social competition is likely to be widespread bilingualism, which is indeed the case among the Finnish-speaking minority in Sweden today, and the regulations have been implemented for several languages (http://www. integrationsverket.se). The use of language choice in social competition can also be observed in Canada, se e.g. Heller (1985, 1992).

The adherence to what is perceived by speakers as a separate language is a strong tool for social cohesion. The maintenance of a minority language, and the use of it in everyday life, can become highly symbolic as a signal of group indentity, of belonging to the minority. A further way in which language can be socially symbolic, and the object of very strong norms, pertains to different

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linguistic forms in what is considered the same language. Group membership may be symbolized by the presence of certain phonetic features, certain vocabulary, or certain expressions. These features can then be used to signal membership of certain groups - and distance to other groups. This mechanism is certainly also strong, and its role in language, particularly language development, debated.

Kristiansen finds that there are ideological factors behind important language changes, and he demonstrates his points of view with the difference between linguistic ideology in Denmark and Norway compared to the very different developments of the dialects of these two nation states (e.g. Kristiansen 1996, 1998). Kristiansen (2003, 295) also finds that the motivation for an individual to pick up a specific linguistic feature and use it is social psychological, involving a strive to present a specific social identity, i.e. language change is intentional (see also Kristiansen & Jørgensen 2005, who discuss methods to test the Kristiansen hypotheses on an ongoing language change).

Brink & Lund (1974, 1979) argue that language development follows a so-called Napoleonic Principle according to which two competing linguistic forms, the users of which come into contact with each other, will meet, mostly on unequal terms with respect to the number of speakers who use the competing forms. The most frequently used form will, all other things being equal, prevail, because the users of the less frequent form will adjust their use in a simple rub-off process. Therefore the variants of a minority may become the shared forms for everybody, if the minority is better organized, or at least organized in more dense units (typically cities as opposed to surrounding rural districts). This is the Napoleonic principle - even when you are numerically inferior to the opposition, make sure you only engage in battle when you have more people present than the enemy. Figure 1.7 illustrates the principle (Brink & Lund 1974, 70).

the provincial speakers can naturally get their egocentric resistance shattered under sufficiently massive bombardment with standard forms (Brink & Lund 1979, 202)

In this understanding, prestige may be involved, but the ongoing language change is the result of more or less automatic rubbing off, not ideological or social psychological processes. Brink & Lund (1974, 79) specifically warn against ascribing individual and personal qualities to speakers of specific varieties, i.e. what they call "endowing a soul" to phonetic features. There is not necessarily a contradiction here. There is a clear difference between warning against the endowment of specific linguistic features with "a soul" and the observation that language users may express identities with their phonetic choices. The warning of Brink & Lund parallels the observation made by Hudson (1996, 208) that social identities are not the same as stereotypes. It is entirely possible to accept that we can express (knowingly or inadvertently) something about our social identity with the way we talk. But this is *not* the same as expressing certain individual qualities such as stupidity, arrogance, and backwardness. Such stereotypes abound, and they are called to the fore in matched-guise studies. But these stereotypes are not the same as social identities.

Social psychological studies of language represents another perspective on variation than the traditional quantitative sociolinguistic studies. Coupland (1988) studies the entire production of one speaker during a whole workday. The speaker is involved in contact with a range of different costumers with different social status background and different linguistic behavior. Coupland is able to determine a correlation between the variation between the costumers, and variation in the speech of his informant.
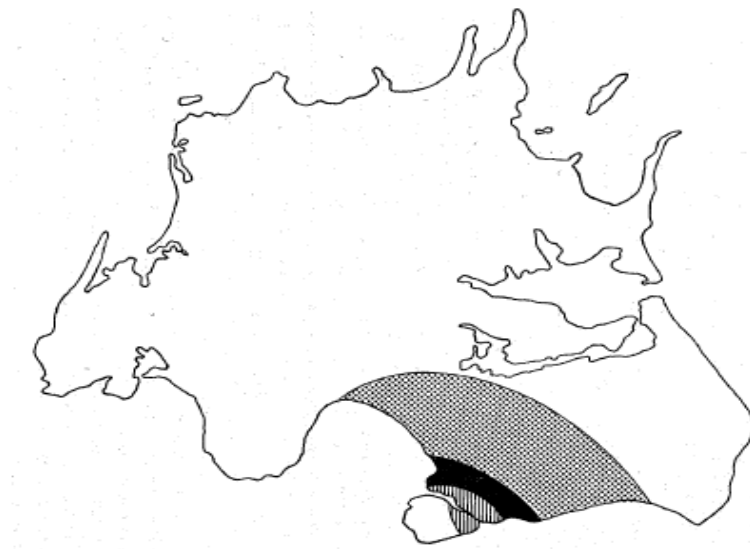
Figure 1.7. The Napoleon Principle (after Brink & Lund 1974, 70).
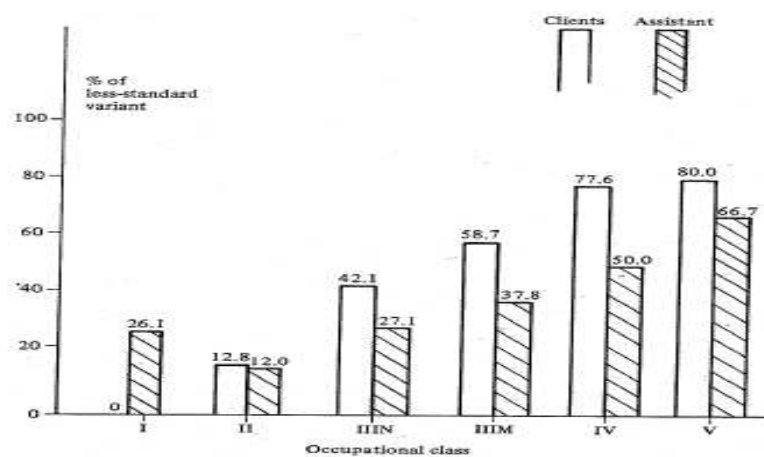
Figure 1.8 . Degrees of standardness in the speech of customers (blank columns) and office workers (filled columns) in interaction with the speakers (after Coupland 1984, 63).

An example of this appears in figure 1.8, which shows the different degrees of standardness in the speech of the informant Sue when she is in the company of customers of different social status backgrounds, and the degree of standardness in the customers' speech in her company. The variable is intervocalic t (standard British English [$_{\tilde{t}}$] vs. a Cardiff flap or a short voiced stop). Sue's behavior changes with the variation in speech produced by the interlocutors. She has the highest percentage of standard forms with those customers who have the highest percentage among the customers. She has slightly fewer standard forms with the group of customers who has the second highest percentage of standard forms, and so forth (except for the group which has the fewest standard forms, which also happens to be the group who represents the lowest end of the social status scale). With three other variables Coupland (1984, 60-63) also finds a degree of similarity between the customers' speech and Sue's.

The so-called speech accommodation theory takes such variation into consideration. According to speech accommodation theory (Giles et al. 1973, Giles & Coupland 1991, 62-66), speakers can adjust their linguistic behavior in interaction to be slightly more similar to the speech of their interlocutors, so-called convergence, or they can adjust their linguistic behavior to be slightly less like that of their interlocutors, so-called divergence. A speaker may speak more locally than otherwise when she or he is in company of a very locally speaking interlocutor. This adjustment relates to norms of appropriate language behavior which different speakers with different backgrounds do not necessarily share. The adjustment therefore in some ways may violate the norms of appropriateness of the converging speaker, but this negative effect is balanced by an assumed positive effect on the social relationship to the interlocutor. In other words, speakers can show solidarity or social acceptance through convergence, and the opposite through divergence. On the other hand, speakers may also show respect through divergence. Consider the school child who converges to the teacher's manner of speaking. Or the private

using the style of the sergeant - this may be taken as parody or insubordination and thus not be well received. Convergence and divergence may happen both verbally and non-verbally, as conscious or sub-conscious choices made by the interlocutors. The effect of divergence and convergence depend on the specific situation in which it happens.

Convergence and divergence are micro-processes, but they are not independent of macro-phenomena. A speaker may in a given interaction choose to accommodate, and this can happen both with respect to the interlocutor's characteristics as a member of a specific group, or with respect to the interlocutor's personal, individual characteristics as perceived by the speaker. The point is that the listener infers from the speech of an interlocutor what personality characteristics this individual possesses. Convergence then is an attempt to signal characteristics which are expected by the speaker to be highly valued by the listener. Convergence will be positively perceived by a listener who understands the social situation as a socially integrative one. Divergence will be judged to be negative if the listener perceives the intention of the speaker as dissociative. This does not mean that accommodation is only an inter-individual phenomenon. Social psychological theories of ethnolinguistic identity (e.g., Beebe & Giles 1984) include speech accommodation theory by also involving group level intentions. If a specific interaction is perceived as an intergroup interaction, the speaker as well as the listener may appreciate divergent linguistic behavior. With our example: the teacher and the child, or the sergeant and the private, do not speak alike and do not expect each other to do so.

Speech accommodation theory is also relevant to other social psychological studies involving language variation, especially attitude studies. Ethnolinguistic identity theory also involves the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality, i.e. resources which on a group level are judged to be positive and to yield advantages to the members of the ethnolinguistic group, by the members themselves, or by non-members. The ethnolinguistic vitality of a

group, as perceived by non-members, will influence the non-members' evaluations of the group and its members, and consequently also play a role in interaction between members across groups.

Goffman describes individual behavior, including linguistic behavior, among individuals in a micro-perspective. He sees linguistic behavior as one instance of the interlocutors' work to present themselves with particular characteristics. His notion of *face* covers the desire of an individual to maintain a positive image of herself or himself in her or his relations to others. The nature of social interaction normally is so that people co-operate to maintain each others' face. Goffman is a micro-sociologist who to a certain extent builds on Simmel, an early sociologist. Goffman describes how individuals handle social encounters, including those where one or more interlocutors fail to maintain their face.

> When individuals are in one another's immediate presence, a multitude of words, gestures, acts, and minor events become available, whether desired or not, through which one who is present can intentionally or unintentionally symbolize his character and his attitudes. In our society a system of etiquette obtains that enjoins the individual to handle these expressive events fittingly, projecting through them a proper image of himself, an appropriate respect for the others present, and a suitable regard for the setting. When the individual intentionally or unintentionally breaks a rule of etiquette, others present may mobilize themselves to restore the ceremonial order, somewhat as they do when other types of social order are transgressed (Goffman 1967, 114).

Interactions involve a range of rituals which are used to establish, maintain, or restore the social order among the interactants. Goffman describes a range of routines in everyday conversations,

not only as routines, but as rituals which follow regular patterns and thereby also contribute to the social order.

The way the individual understands the specific situation is the background against which she or he interprets the acts of the interlocutors. People can not avoid giving their interlocutors an impression of themselves and their understanding (and evaluation) of the specific situation. This perception is labelled *line* by Goffman, and it involves the individual's involvement in the interaction and evaluation of her or his relationship to the others, as perceived by these others.

If we understand the processes of accommodation in relation to Goffman's notions of line and face, it makes intuitive sense that speakers will converge who want to establish or negotiate positive relationships, including belonging to the same (positively evaluated) group.

LePage og Tabouret-Keller (1985) deal with similar processes when they describe language use as *acts of identity*. They observe specific linguistic choices made by individuals as signals of group membership, i.e. as (more or less intended) signals of social identity rather than individual identity. People categorize each other, and to a certain extent the categories are related to linguistic phenomena, or taken to be related to linguistic phenomena. This of course means that any given speaker must have a concept of a category to which certain other speakers belong, she or he must have access to members of that category in order to observe their linguistic characteristics - and to eventually accomodate. This is of course relevant in societies with powerful majorities and linguistic minorities.

It goes without saying that identity, social or personal, can be signaled with other means than language. A necktie or a pair of tennis shoes may signal the individual's intent to be perceived in a particular way, just as a code-switch from Danish into Kurdish may. Eckert (1989, 2000) describes language and conversational

style as identity markers on a par with clothing style, smoking habits (or perhaps more precisely: apparent smoking habits), movements, relations to adults, and much, among the students of a USA high school. She finds two polarized patterns of signals which are extremes on a scale between two social categories, the so-called jocks and the so-called burnouts. Members of these two categories do exactly the opposite of each other on a range of variables, linguistic or behavioral. The categories are so important in the everyday life of this high-school community that all students must relate to them, even when they do not belong to either, and they routinely place themselves on a scale between the two extremes. Along the same line of thinking, Quist (2006) has studied a group of Danish high school students. She finds that the pattern of categories is much more complicated than what Eckert describes. She finds that the signals which can be observed among the students, group into clusters. The signals belonging to a cluster will point in the same direction regarding the identity, social or personal, of the student exhibiting the signals. Linguistic signals do not play a very important role in Quist's study, but there are a couple of variables which correlate nicely with certain social characteristics, at least one of which seems to be well below the consciuos control of the speakers.

Maegaard 2007 has combined ethnograhic observations with variationist analyses of recorded interviews among young Copenhageners. She finds that there is indeed social meaning attached to the frequent use of specific linguistic features. However, the social meaning is not to be found in the classical social categories used by early sociolinguistics. Maegaard finds that the young speakers, a ninth grade in a Copenhagen public school, categorize each other into groups and subgroups which are characterized by combinations of *stylistic* features such as how they dress, where they spend their leisure time, what they consume, how they walk (!). This does not mean that classical sociolinguistic background features are unimportant. Among the criteria on which the young speakers categorize each other are gender and ethnicity. The features are not ascribed to the

individuals by Maegaard, however, they are used by the young people about themselves and each other. In some cases the young people categorize each other according to ethnicity in a different way from what an objective, from-the-outside categorization would have done. Maegaard can show that these categories or subgroups of the cohort vary in their linguistic behavior much in the same way as Labov found it against his background of variables. Even more important, Maegaard also finds that young Copenhagen people *not* belonging to this cohort recognize the categories and reproduce them in an open-ended match guise test, a method she has developed in another study (Maegaard 2005). The social categories are not just arbitrary constructions or an artefact of her study and its cohort, but they are shared by a larger group in metropolitan Copenhagen. The categories are very different from classical sociolinguistic categories. Maegaard gives them terms such as *nice Danish girls* and *nerdy boys*. Apparently these categories, so-called *personae*, play a more important role in the linguistic variation among the young speakers, and, by extension, in ongoing language change in Copenhagen Danish than do socioeconomic status or passport color.

Such studies raise the question whether some linguistic signals are intentionally chosen by speakers to signal identities, or whether certain linguistic features arbitrarily come to signal personal or social identities. The development of phonetic features is probably likely to still be within the range of some young speakers, but not all (Long 1990, see also above about pronunciation as a physiological phenomenon in the section on Language variation). We can still not be sure whether the correlations found by Maegaard are the effect of simple rubbing off as described by Brink & Lund's Napoleon principle (perhaps another similar automatic or semi-automatic process), or they are the effect of deliberate identity work. I see little reason to doubt that the choice of *vocabulary* is controlled by the speaker's will in every detail, and that the individual's choice of words is therefore, among other things, an act of identity. The same goes for the individual's choice of *code*, the choice of feature with a specific ascription to

an ideologically determined set of features, a code. The speaker chooses what code ascription to choose among the ones available to her or him. Such choices are undoubtedly to a large extent subject to intention.

The relevance of attitudes to our understanding of linguistic variation is not limited to overt and formulated evaluations. The matched-guise technique developed by Lambert et al. (1960) studies attitudes to speakers of specific varieties and languages. The test builds on the assumption that attitudes to languages and individuals are social psychologically related, i.e. any individual will as a listener tend to form her or his opinion about a speaker's personal characteristics such as social status, intelligence, friendliness, and honesty on the basis of the speaker's speech. The purpose for Lambert et al. (1960) is to determine whether there can be traced any systematic difference in the attitudes to Canadian French speakers and Canadian English speakers. They have recorded a test tape with ten voices, eight of which are in fact the same four speakers delivering in French and English the same message. The only variable is the language used by the speakers. It turns out that the voices are judged systematically differently by Canadian university students when the language is English and French respectively. The students rate the voices (between "very little" and "very much") on several scales, such as leadership skills, sense of humor, and intelligence. The informants have also been asked to rank the voices according to whom they might want to befriend, and they have been asked to complete several incomplete sentences such as "English Canadians think ...". There are more items in the study, but by and large the students, who are members of these two groups of Canadians, prefer their own in-group language, but with a stronger preference for English. The speakers of French also judge the English speakers more positively than vice versa. This result indicates some of the group identity factors which were prevalent, and controversial, in Canada at the time.

The motivation behind the technique is that attitudes are sometimes latent or covert, specifically attitudes which are not politically correct. By asking the informants to judge voice, and conceal the fact that some voices are the same, only speaking different languages, Lambert et al. find attitudes among the informants which are not necessarily expressed openly when people are asked directly about their attitudes to other groups in society.

Many later studies of language attitudes have used the matched-guise technique and adapted it in different ways (see e.g. Ryan et al. 1988). Giles (1970) combines a matched-guise with a direct questionnaire referring to the varieties as such. Giles' results show parallel judgements in the two tests, but with more negative judgements in the matched-guise part. In a way the informants are more politically correct when they know that they are judging linguistic varieties than when they do not know. This of course supports the whole idea that the matched-guise can produce evidence of unmonitored attitudes.

Giles uses the same individual who produces all the text examples for his tape. It is of course a problem that the speaker is not an L1 speaker of the variety he is supposed to represent. It turns out that some language users can correctly judge who is an L1 speaker, also when there is no apparent structural-linguistic characteristics to support such a judgement. In Jørgensen & Quist 2001 and Quist & Jørgensen 2002 we have asked adult L1 speakers of Danish to rate - on the basis of tape recordings - the Danish of 14 young grade school students in the Køge Project (see below about the Køge Project), two of whom are L1 speakers of Danish, the others L1 speakers of Turkish. The two L1 speakers of Danish are *not* rated as the best speakers of Danish. But they *are*, nevertheless, judged to be native speakers of Danish ("har personen dansk som modersmål?") more often than any of the L2 speakers. This means that one way or another some adult language users are able to determine which voices are L1 speakers and which are not - regardless of how well the adult language users think the voices

speak Danish. We have not been able to find any clear features of foreign accent in the speech of the L2 speakers whose Danish is rated higher than that of the native speakers. A consequence of this is that we do not know what it is we measure when we ask people to rate native speakers, and by using non-genuine speakers, such as actors or skilled linguists, to represent certain varieties, we may represent falsely whatever it is that listeners base their evaluations on, see also Cooper & Fishman 1974.

Other techniques have been used to activate covert, or subconscious, attitudes to languages and varieties and their speakers. Bourhis & Giles (1976) measure the reactions of theater audiences to messages delivered in different varieties ranging from RP English to Welsh. Different audiences (Welsh-English bilingual and monolingual English) respond more or less frequently to the different messages, and thereby they show their inclination to provide help asked for (or follow orders) more or less willingly according to the variety used by the speaker, i.e. they show attitudes through their actions. Kristiansen & Giles (1992, see also Kristiansen 1997) have used the same technique in a Danish movie theater. They stress that the use in public (as opposed to private surroundings) of different varieties, in particular low-prestige varieties, offer the scholar a glimpse into covert attitudes when the reactions are also public. When people do as they are told by a standard speaking voice, but not by anybody else, they demonstrate through their actions that they think a standard speaker is entitled to tell them what to do, but others not, and so forth. Kristiansen & Giles' (1992, 30f) conclusion leads us to the understanding that insight into attitudes which guide people's actions in public also contribute to our understanding of language as a power tool. They think of the actions in this case as "compliance", and different degrees of compliance as results of different levels of credibility or authority wielded by speakers using different varieties.

> If we want our research to help strengthen the
> acceptance and vitality of linguistic pluralism, the

unveiling of language-related behaviours at work in public places is of paramount importance (Kristiansen & Giles 1992, 32)

The actions taken by individuals are to an extent determined by their attitudes toward other people as speakers of particular varieties. In other words, knowledge about the attitudes generally held by members of a society towards speakers of varieties used within this society, will help us understand processes of power, and eventual outcomes of power struggles between different groups in society representing, or using, different varieties.

Social psychologically oriented sociolinguistics offers an understanding of how speakers vary their speech, and an understanding of the effects that speech variation has on a given speaker's listeners, both on a more macro level as in the Danish movie theaters, and in personal interaction among individuals, as in the case of the travel agent. Bradac (1990, 387) has further pointed out that most research into language attitudes and their relations to individuals' evaluation of each other has concentrated on empirical work which involved people who did not know each other, or at least not very well. The effect of language variation when interlocutors know each other well, is another matter.

Since persons who are well acquainted have high levels of mutual knowledge regarding dispositions, it seems likely that language cues (or non-verbal cues for that matter) will not stimulate dispositional inferences. Instead, language may be used as an indicator of emotional states and moods. It also seems likely that the language features which are taken to indicate moods and feelings will be somewhat idiosyncratically connected to particular relationships. Such indicators will evolve as the relationship develops. For example, a person may have learned that her partner tends to use especially powerful and intense language when he is feeling insecure and vulnerable; the stereotypical

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inference would be misleading in such a case (Bradac 1990, 407).

Williams (1992) who is highly critical of the sociological position of variationist sociolinguistics, particularly Labov's, extends the same criticism to Giles and his associates. Williams finds that social psychologically oriented sociolinguistics indeed does orient toward the themes of power and dominance. But he finds that "the argument lapses into consensus conceptualizations and a subjective orientation" (1992, 224). Williams generally states that sociolinguistics (by 1992) has not taken sociological theory seriously, and that it is too colored by dated scientific ideals.

> what we encounter time and again within sociolinguistics - evidence of an overriding desire to support the underdog, accompanied by a sociological perspective which reflects the power of the dominant (Williams 1992, 226)

Ng (1990, 278) similarly argues that social psychologists "working in the minimal group tradition", and he specifically mentions Tajfel (1982), tend to take linguistic categories for granted and not consider that social categories are products of language use, and therefore many conflicts between groups relate to struggles about the use of negative and positive terms for each other. Such negative terms and epithets are used by majority members about the languages and varieties of powerless groups, such as post-World War II immigrants in western Europe, teenagers, and low social status urban people - and usually there are also negative terms in the other direction.

The difference is that majority groups usually have the power to decide what is acceptable, for instance and particularly in education. Therefore negative judgements of minority languages etc. will deeply affect the chances of minority languages to become vehicles of social status and success in society at large.

In the study of language use among Turkish-speaking Danish school students, we can learn from structural linguistics that language is systematic. From classical sociolinguistics we know that language variation - in spite of structural linguistics' claim - is also systematic. We also know that language varies with certain non-linguistic variables such as gender, socioeconomic status, age, and geographical background. We do not know what the exact relationship between linguistic variation and the social variation is. The early variationist assumption that societal differences were reflected in linguistic variation has been criticized, both from sociological theory and from empirical sociolinguists. However, any sociolinguistics must take into consideration the insights we have gained from classical quantitative sociolinguistics, i.e. that language varies systematically, and that variation in language is related to social differences in a systematic way.

From social psychologically oriented sociolinguistics we have learned how individual language users employ language to achieve their goals, particularly with respect to their social relations. We distinguish between group-level interaction and individual interaction, and understand the concepts of *social identity* and *personal identity* in relation to this distinction. The concept of identity is controversial and disputed. Goffman presents one way of understanding our personal identity, as we strive to present it ourselves. A criticism raised against sociolinguistics in all its classical branches is that they do not take into account the perspective of the underdog. Theories of power and linguistic power processes need to be involved. This is what we will deal with next.

Power and language use

The concept of power in relation to language is generally dealt with on two levels, often referred to as the macro-level and the micro-level. Broad studies of power relationships in societies, involving political decision making processes, educational

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systems, language laws, official language policies, linguistic rights, etc. study macro-relationships between language and power.

The ongoing debate about the role of minority languages in the educational systems which is very loud in some parts of the western world, does not really have a scholarly or scientific counterpart. Rather, sociolinguists study the reasons why such a debate can take place, and the motivations behind it - particularly behind the motivations that have no background in science. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson have introduced the notion of *linguicism* to describe the tendency among decision makers in society to prefer specific languages for education, official documents, etc. This language is invariably the mother tongue of the (male) upper middle class urban elite. Linguiscism is the conglomerate of ideologies, structures and arguments which lie behind the maintenance and reproduction of linguistic inequality in society (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 1988, Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1991). There is a rich literature on the relationship between language and power. These studies are as much politological studies as they are linguistic, or at least the sociological side (sometimes even a social psychological side) of sociolinguistics plays a more important role than the linguistic side. These studies typically give us insights into the mechanisms that ensure how decision making power is reproduced, and to a certain extent how resistance is planned, sometimes executed, and often conquered (Kalantzis et al. 1989, Padilla et al. 1991, Corson 1991, Crawford 2000 to mention a few examples of this perspective). Mostly these studies do not study the concrete language use employed to exercise power. If they do, it is often the language of the judiciary - i.e. how laws are formulated and manipulated to achieve certain ends. The exercising of power through language is usually not involved in macro-studies. In brief, macro-studies focus on power struggles about languages. There are exceptions. Arnfast (1997) studies the use of inclusive "we" and exclusive "we" in the political discourse in Poland in the 1980's and demonstrates how power was exercised by the

authorities through the careful balance between the different uses. Fairclough's work (for instance, 2001) takes macro-perspectives as their point of departure, but also contain micro-analyses of interviews, statements, etc. in an attempt to understand micro-aspects as results of power structures in society, but also as constitutive of power structures.

We often find a different perspective in micro-studies. Where macro-studies most often deal with struggles about languages, micro-studies deal with struggles through language, i.e. they deal with the linguistic interaction among individuals, or in groups. It is studied how speakers use language to achieve their goals, at the expense of other people's contrasting goals (cf. Dahl 1961, 203). This refers to Weber's classical definition of power.

> Macht bedeutet jede Chance, innerhalb einer sozialen Beziehung den eigenen Willen auch gegen Widerstreben durchzusetzen, gleichviel worauf diese Chance beruht (Weber 1922, § 16).

Linguistic power wielding is a term which covers the processes of using language to achieve goals at the expense of others' contrasting goals. Ng & Bradac (1993) distinguish between the power *to* achieve a goal as different from the power *over* others. Governments have power over people, but may not always succeed in getting people to do what the government wants. And vice versa, people without authority may eventually obtain their goals in certain cases. Ng & Bradac stress the fact that power to a large extent is a relational factor, and that linguistic power wielding should be understood in that light.

The fact that the powerless sometimes get their way leads us to realize that those with power over other people may elect not to exercise their power, for whatever reason. This should not be confused with a possible loss of power, or as a sign of lack of power. Olson & Cromwell (1975) take the consequence of this and suggest a distinction between three aspects of power. The first

and most easily recognizable aspect is potential power (power bases), i.e. the resources to achieve goals. Secondly there are power processes which cover the actual exercising of power resources, possibly in a confrontation between different power bases. The third aspect is the eventual result of power processes, i.e. power outcomes.

Power resources can be many and varied, and they differ from relationship to relationship. In the army a colonel has structural power over the private, but in other spheres of life the relationship between the same two individuals may not be so clear. Power resources can lie in other aspects, such as money, connections, cultural capital, and physical strength. With respect to language, power can lie in access to languages or varieties which are connected to highly positive evaluations in a particular group or relationship - speaking French does not help you very much in a school class of Turkish-speaking minority students in Denmark, but it is very nice to know if you want to get something done in the International Fencing Federation. Similarly, the command of a late modern urban youth style of Danish may win the speaker street credit, and street credit can be exchanged into achieved goals among urban teenagers, but it does not give the speaker any credit when she or he applies for admission into the academic high school. Linguistic power resources may be more than that - the ability to throw out a pun or a quick remark that makes one's interlocutors laugh is also a linguistic power resource. The ability to manipulate concepts, and many other skills, are also linguistic power resources, not to forget traditional eloquence and the ability to shut up at the right time.

The distinction between on the one hand power as a resource and on the other hand power processes, i.e. power wielding, is also maintained by Watts (1991,60). He refers to "the obvious fact that power can only be seen as a product of or inherent to social structure". He suggests a definition of power which has links to Weber.

> An individual A possesses power if s/he has the
> freedom of action to achieve the goals s/he has set
> her/himself, regardless of whether or not this involves
> the potential to impose A's will on others to carry out
> actions that are in A's interest (Watts 1991, 60)

The point is that a person also has power when she or he can achieve something in unison with others. It is still a sign of power that one changes things even if everybody agrees about it. When there are opposite interests, and both - or all - parties attempt to carry our actions that lead to their goals, there will be conflicts. In conflicts we can study the power processes, actions chosen by the interacting individuals, including their linguistic actions.

Watts, as also Ng & Bradac and others, distinguish between power (as a resource) which is institutionalized, and power which is personal. Institutionalized power is the power which an individual possesses because of her or his status in a hierarchical category, i.e. the power which officers have over conscripts, judges over witnesses, teachers over students, etc. The personal power comprises the resources which are individual and would therefore not be owned by another person in the same situation or of the same status.

Institutional power is closely related to status differences and hierarchies. The power resources which one societal group possesses in relation to another, or several other groups, form the *hegemonial* relationship between them. Exercising hegemony is one way of activating power processes, on behalf of an actor's group, or against the background of her or his personal ambition. The exploitation - and in fact also the maintenance - of hegemony is precisely what Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas and others have described in their studies of linguicism and related issues. A somewhat narrower concept of hegemony is suggested by Talbot et al.

Hegemony implies a hidden or covert operation of power. It refers to control through consent; or, more accurately, to the attempt by dominant groups in society to win the consent of subordinate groups and to achieve a 'compromise equilibrium' in ruling over them (Talbot et al. 2003, 2)

Hegemony is thus to a large extent discursive. It implies a struggle about the rights to define issues and stances, including what can be discussed at all and what not. Ng (1980, 1990), see also Ng & Bradac (1993), suggests that power can be viewed in more than one "dimension". In what he calls the one-dimensional view, power is the ability to influence decisions, i.e. decision-making power, not very different from what we just observed. In a two-dimensional view, power can also be the ability to determine what can be made the object of decision-making processes, and in particular to take out of public or shared decision making the potentially controversial issues, or the issues which are of primary importance, and only leave those issues which are of secondary importance.

Both the one-dimensional and the two-dimensional view of power focus on conflicting interests or intentions. A third dimension of power is suggested by Ng, namely the power to influence the goals and the intentions of others. He analyzes linguistic routines and forms which can be used to depoliticize and routinize control, gender-specific words being his primary example. Actively control-masking linguistic features are passivization and substitution of second person pronouns with third person pronouns. Such linguistic control-wielding maneuvers may of course also be used to exercise power in the one-dimensional perspective.

Other linguistically based measures of power wielding have been suggested by Huls (2000) who studies competition in conversations among members of Turkish migrant families in the Netherlands. She defines stretches of speech which coincide with

other stretches of speech on the same floor as competition when one contribution takes the floor at the cost of the other (or others). A set of fine distinctions are employed to weed out back-channel signaling and other "non-disruptive" simultaneous talk. Huls then calculates how often each individual gets involved in competitions, and the winning rates (i.e. how often each participant involved in competition in fact continues talking while the other(s) do not). Between conversations she compares the rate of competition, i.e. how many competitions occur per 100 speaking turns (Huls 2000, 361). In short, she finds that middle class families are more competitive than working class families, and that mothers universally dominate in families.

Van de Mond & Huls (1989) have analyzed the initiation and extension of conversational passages in Turkish families. They calculate how often each participant asks a question per 100 contributions, and how often questions are asked of each participants. Furthermore, they distinguish between different reactions to the questions, either no response, a minimal response, or an extensive response. These measures contribute to determining which individuals initiate and extend topics and issues in family conversations.

An elaborate measure of conversation dominance has been developed by Linell & Gustavsson (1987), for dyads, and later amended for use in analyses of group conversations by Linell (1990a). They distinguish between conversational *initiatives* and conversational *responses*. Initiatives are contributions which point forward in the conversation by leading to reactions. Response point backwards in the conversation by reacting to an earlier contribution:

> we consider initiatives and responses abstract units, moves in a game, and not as concrete utterances. The features of the moves, functioning as initiatives or responses, are different sides, aspects, of utterances or lines. One and the same line may thus simultaneously

contain aspects or characteristics of both response and initiative. The response aspect points back, the initiative aspect points forward (Linell & Gustavsson 1987, 15, my translation)

Some initiatives are explicit demands for responses, such as questions, whereas others implicitly appeal for or at least provide a platform for a response. Linell & Gustavsson have developed a detailed taxonomy of different initiatives and responses, and they award each type a score between 1 (a weak response) and 6 (a strong initiative). Each participant in a given conversation reaches a final score as an average of all turns contributed to the conversation by the speaker. The higher the score, the more dominant a participant. Linell & Gustavsson (1987, 237) emphasize that power and dominance are not the same. Power is a potential, while dominance points to the real division of the floor between the speakers. Dominance is a quantitative notion, and they describe three dimensions of dominance:

- amount of speech produced: the speaker dominates who speaks the most
- content introduced: the speaker dominates who most frequently introduces content which is subsequently dealt with
- interaction: the speaker dominates who directs the others and is least directed

of which the third dimension is the one they analyze with their concepts of initiative and response. They find that there is no strong empirical connection between interactional dominance and the two other dimensions of dominance. Furthermore, they isolate the differences in interactional dominance between partners in a range of dyads, and rank these dyads according to unevenness of dominance. The most equal conversations take place between high school students and between children. The least even conversations, those with the strongest degree of asymmetry, are court proceedings, police interrogations, and language teaching (1987, 246), see also Linell (1990b).

Linell (1990a) adds a level to the initiative-response analysis by involving initiative reception. In conversations involving more than two participants, turns may be taken out of order, indeed "stolen" as he labels it (1990a, 45). Turns may also be split if another contributor throws in a remark in the middle of one speaker's turn. Linell adds a turn-taking aspect to the categories, but stops short of also analyzing to which extent responses in fact receive responses or are neglected by the other speakers.

A famous attempt at quantifying dominance is Zimmermann & West (1975). The authors measure interruptions and silence in inter-gender as well as intra-gender conversations. To Zimmermann & West a speaker's extended or frequent silence is an indication of lack of power, while a large number of interruptions from one speaker by and large is an indication of the speaker's power. They find that the tendency of male interlocutors to exploit the "resource" of interruption more than female interlocutors parallels unequal access to other power resources in society. This finding has come under heavy criticism (e.g. Tannen 1994), but it is nevertheless an attempt to quantify linguistic power wielding.

Madsen (2001b) combines a quantitative analysis of what she calls conflict outcomes with a qualitative analysis of interactional power strategies. Conflicts are defined as exchanges in which opposing interests or values are explicitly expressed, and most conflicts have an outcome which favors one side more than the other. Compromises or evasions do occur, but victories and defeats are more frequent. Madsen calculates how many times each participant (in conversations from the Køge Project) is involved in a conflict, and how many times she or he wins and loses. Her qualitative analysis is inspired by Kjøller (1991) who describes a number of linguistic power wielding strategies based on a content analysis. Like Jørgensen (1993) she uses these concepts analytically to describe the development of the discussions going on between the interlocutors. In short, a power strategy (Kjøller: *manipulation rule*) in this connection is a

linguistic means by which the speakers (attempt to) strengthen their position in the ongoing discussion. For instance, the so-called *winner's strategy* is used to make what necessarily happens appear to the personal success of the speaker.

Example 1,1
*CAN: *siz yapacak mısınız.*
%eng: *are you gonna do that*.
*ESE: så skrid hvis du ikke vil lave vi gider sgu ikke at have dig hvis du snakker.
%eng: then buzz off if you don't want it, we bloody don't want you here if you keep talking.
*CAN: bæbæbæ.
%eng: bah, bah, bah
*ERO: det er rigtigt nok.
%eng: it's true.
*Ayl: skal vi snakke altid dansk hvad.
%eng: must we always speak Danish.
*ERO: nej.
%eng: no.
*ESE: nej men vi skal heller ikke snakke vi skal bare lave.
%eng: no we're not going to talk, we're going to act.
*AYL: jeg snakker altid tyrkisk så.
%eng: in that case I'm gonna speak Turkish.
*ERO: *kırt kırt kırt cart curt curt cart.*
%eng: nonsense words, sounds to simulate a cutting pair of scissors

Esen speaks Danish until it comes out of fashion in the situation. This happens due to an intervention from Emine. But Esen is the first to switch into Turkish - thereby taking the initiative away from Aylin. For further discussion of this excerpt, see the section about grade 4 conversations below. Madsen (2001b) identifies 12 such strategies in 8 conversations. She finds that the same individual students tend to get their way in discussions, whether they take place in grade 2, grade 3, grade 5, or grade 7. They employ a wider range of strategies, and they get the upper hand in

more conflict than the others. The ability to manipulate language well, i.e. convincingly, seems to give a lasting advantage. Madsen speculates that this is also connected to the social relations among the students.

Madsen (2002) applies Olson & Cromwell's (1975) distinction between power as resource, power processes, and power outcomes. She supplements the analysis of power processes carried out in Madsen (2001) with an initiative-response analysis. She compares the conversational dominance which she finds in her analyses of power processes with the power outcomes, particularly as won conflicts. Her result is that those who dominate conversations are not necessarily those who have the strongest power base. There are important differences among the girls and the boys. Contrary to conventional wisdom, she finds that the girls compete more than the boys, particularly when there are only girls present. It seems to be more salient in girls' groups how the hierarchies are composed. The situation among the boys is more vague. Boys can actually get their way without dominating conversationally.

Millar & Rogers (1987) question the definitions of power which are based on Weber, emphasizing that power is relational. Therefore the study of power in conversation must take into account interactional features. They suggest a set of analytical units, i.e. *one-ups* which characterize different moves on behalf of the speakers "to assert their definitional rights", *one-downs* which cover "a request or an acceptance of the other's relational definition", and *one-acrosses* which are non-asserting, non-accepting moves (Millar & Rogers 1987,83). The difference in frequency of one-ups, etc. characterizes the balance of power between the interlocutors, in this case wives and husbands. Millar & Rogers distinguish between, on the one hand, domineeringness which is an individual characteristic of the speaker, and on the other hand, dominance which characterizes the relation. They find that there are correlations between the presence of domineering

and certain linguistc features being used, but no simple relationship between domineering and dominance.

Ng & Bradac (1993) discuss the terms "powerful" and "powerless" styles of linguistic behavior and what linguistic features they cover. Nonstandard speech is among the features that characterize powerless style, or at least it is perceived as such.

> The model here is rather clear: Accent (or other linguistic features) > perception of speaker group membership > judgement of group status > judgment of speaker status. This model becomes more complex and more interesting when other nonlinguistic variables are added to it, for example, communication context (Ng & Bradac 1993, 40)

The situationally dependent features which may be used by individual speakers include *casting*, i.e. the move by which a speaker places one or more other speakers in specific roles as addresses, listeners, etc, cf. Goffman (1981). Attempts to cast listeners into specific roles may result in their non-compliance, i.e. conflicts or negotiations. Such exchanges will not only reveal a lot about their mutual relationships, but also further shape these relationships.

Meyers & Seibold (1990) discuss the factors involved in persuasion in group conversations. They find that attempts to describe the characteristics of effective arguments overlooks one important aspect of group conversations:

> Persuasive Argument theorists are overlooking a significant component of the group decision-making process - interaction. We intimated that interaction plays a mediating, if not moderating, role in the determination of final group outcomes [...] argument functions in both task-related and interpersonal capacities to determine final group outcomes. Finally,

we speculated on how argument links members to specific decision proposals - how it is used strategically to influence final decision outcomes (Meyers & Seibold 1990, 157)

There is a lot to say for the observation that linguistic power wielding in groups is not just a question of eloquence, but also to a very large extent a matter of social relations, even if they are not institutionalized hierarchies. Specific relationships of given individuals who have no institutionalized background to their relation may just as well form the background against which one individual possesses more power resources, including more linguistic power resources, than others. Such resources will be available to the possessor in all or most interactions which are based on this specific relationship. Social relations are not invented every time the same people meet - speakers have memories and experience, and they take along their relationship from interaction to interaction. Speakers will want to change social relations if they are not satisfied with them, of course, and language is a good means to do so. However, social relations also return expectations to the individuals, who all have a face to live up to and maintain. Therefore some linguistic resources may not be available to particular speakers in particular social relations, and changing the relations may be harder.

Linguistic skills such as casting (see for instance the example analyzed by Esdahl 2003, 84), are clearly resources to shape social relations. Social relations involved in power wielding of course may be, and often will be, previously formed. They are not just alliances entered on the spot, but parts of an ongoing struggle. Jacobsen (2003) shows how one girl in the Køge Project takes her power resources with her from conversation to conversation, so that the actual power wielding can be described with a combination of subjective and situational factors.

This does not mean that individuals exercising institutionalized power use completely different linguistic means to exercise their

power. Conley & O'Barr 1998 describe different examples of institutionalized linguistic power wielding, namely in law. For instance, they do so through a careful analysis of interactions in a courtroom in a case involving rape. The analysis which is based on conversation analytical principles shows how institutionalized power patterns shape the linguistic practice (the so-called micro-discourse) of the courtroom interaction analyzed. For instance, hostile lawyers can use quasi-repetitive questioning in which the content is slightly changed from question to question in order to present the witness negatively - in casu whether a rape victim was wearing her pantyhose at different points during the evening of the crime. They can employ silence to embarrass a witness or to other effects, but witnesses can not remain silent - the lawyer has the institutional power to ask the judge to force the witness to speak. In a range of ways, the institutionalized relationships break through to the surface of the interactions, and the powerful part controls a wider range of resources to bring into play. Of course some of these means are the same as individuals use in relationships which are not institutionalized, where power struggles are going on.

Like Madsen, Olesen (2003) compares the analysis of linguistic dominance with observable outcomes of the conflicting interests expressed by the interlocutors in group conversations from the Køge Project. Due to the way the data are collected in the project it is possible to determine the end results of some of the recorded discussions. Olesen finds that there is some connection between linguistic dominance and who get their way (i.e. who succeed in wielding power), but she also finds that it is evident that the strong boys bring their power with them to the conversation and exploit it to get their way during the interaction. Power is not just brought about, it is also brought along, in that knowledge of who is powerful and who is not, is part and parcel of the shared experience of the interlocutors.

What is of particular interest in the Køge Project is the process of establishing linguistic power without reference to societally based

hegemony. Within a community of practice there will also be accepted discourses, and discourses which are not accepted or taken seriously. In a given interaction the interlocutors may of course choose to bring in externally based hegemonies, such as when a grade 1 student, in the middle of an intense discussion with classmates in a group conversation, calls for the adult project worker. Or, less directly as in example 1,2 which is from a group conversation in grade 3 of the pilot project. The students are intensely disagreeing about the furniture they are going to use to furnish a house as part of a group assignment.

Example 1,2 (see the transcription conventions in Part 2)
*FIL: *ben ne yaptım biliyon mu.*
%eng: *[whispering] do you know what I have done?*
*MES.   I må altså ikke snakke tyrkisk.
%eng: you must not speak Turkish.
*LEY: og der er også nogle spejle der.
%eng: and there are also some mirrors there.
*MES: jeg forstår ikke hvad I siger.
%eng: I don't understand what you are saying.
*FIL: åh ja hvor du lyver.
%eng: oh how you are lying.

Mesut, who participates in the discussion in fluent and eloquent Turkish in other parts of the conversation, here refers to an external power. It is a widespread and often quoted understanding among adult Danes who work with linguistic minority children that these children should refrain from using their mother tongue when majority Danes are present. It is part of the hegemonic discourse that it is impolite to speak a language which is not Danish when majority Danes are present, and it is therefore the task of teachers to install in linguistic minority children a sense that it is immoral to speak the minority language. This discourse is what Mesut refers to with his remarks in example 1,2.

Hegemonic discourse of course opens up for all kinds of resistance and oppositional discourse among the powerless. The very

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reference to the hegemonic discourse may in itself function to ridicule it (cf. Hinnenkamp 2003, 32). In example 1,2 Mesut quotes what he and the other have often heard an adult majority Dane, particularly teachers, say - and they may even have heard adult Turkish-Danes say so. It is obvious from the context that the others do not take his remark at face value, and that they are hardly likely to. Mesut articulates the words, but they are the words of another voice - he *double-voices*. This Bakhtin (1984, 199) term refers to "Discourse with an orientation towards someone else's discourse (double-voiced discourse)". It is characteristic of double-voicing that there are two *voices* in play, one belonging to the subject physically producing the words, and one belonging to some other subject. Double-voicing can take different forms, among them stylization and parody.

> The situation is different with parody. Here, as in stylization, the author again speaks in someone else's discourse, but in contrast to stylization parody introduces into that discourse a semantic intention that is directly opposed to the original one (Bakhtin 1984, 193)

Mesut introduces the teachers', the adult Danes' words into the conversation with his peers, but there is not the slightest sign that he does so with the intention of the other voice, in other words his utterance is parodic double-voicing.

In a different terminology, the use of the teachers' words, the powerful discourse, about the minority language, may amount to *mimicry*. To the extent that the interlocutors all know that they are all fluent speakers of Turkish, it must be obvious that *I don't understand what you are saying* is a reference to something or somebody else, and it is untrue. The long-term aim of the powerful discourse is to make the minority students indistinguishable from majority students, at least when they are in majority company. The discourse of the powerful presents and represents the minorities with statements like that. Therefore the reference is a reference to

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the majority discourse, while at the same time the speaker distances himself from the majority discourse. It is *mimicry:* "the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, *as the subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite*" (Bhabha 1994, 122, emphasis in the original).

> The ambivalence of mimicry - almost but not quite - suggests that the fetishized colonial culture is potentially and strategically an insurgent counter-appeal. What I have called its 'identity-effects' are always crucially *split*. Under cover of camouflage, mimicry, like the fetish, is a part-object that radically revalues the normative knowledges of the priority of race, writing, history. For the fetish mimes the forms of authority at the point at which it deauthorizes them (Bhabha 1994, 129-130).

Language and power in Denmark

In each of the Nordic countries the national language has been and is considered a strong marker of national citizenship. This has been so since Herder who in the early 1800's had a strong influence on the thinkers and planners of Norwegian nationhood which was deeply integrated with the development of new linguistic norms. The concept of one nation-one people-one language has been and is strong in Scandinavia. This has implications for the notion of what it is to be a Dane, a Swede, or a Norwegian. It certainly involves mastering the national language. Variation within the national language has been dealt with differently, however (see Kristiansen 1996), in that Norway has a tradition of supporting a wide variation within Norwegian language. With respect to minority languages, on the other hand, Sweden has been standing out as the nation state which accepted and even supported minority languages (Hegelund 2002). This leaves Denmark as by far the least open and least supportive of the

Scandinavian nation states (see Jørgensen 2003g, Kristiansen & Jørgensen 2003).

The struggle in Denmark has had extreme consequences. Kristjánsdóttir (2006) has shown how the bureaucracy of the Education Ministry has systematically - and a few times even against parliament decisions and government policies - maneuvered minority languages out of official educational documents. The concept of Danish as a second language was long denied to be anything but a fashionable expression for something non-existent, and once the concept was accepted into the curriculum, the bureaucracy made sure that no school hours were allotted to it.

> What characterises the Danish discourse and the mother tongue discourse is the fact that neither Danish (as a second language) nor the minority mother tongues are granted the status of school subjects, even though there is the legal authority to do so (Kristjánsdóttir 2006, 426).

This means that linguistic minorities in Denmark struggle against a particularly unfriendly atmosphere, and a majority which is particularly determined to marginalize variation and minorities. There is a strong tendency in the educational system in the pressure against the low-status minorities to assimilate, to disregard their background, and to become as majority-like as possible. It is a widely accepted claim among majority authorities and decision-makers that Turks, Pakistanis, Palestinians, Moroccans, etc. "ghetto" themselves by packing whole neighborhoods with black and brown people. More than once the Danish national political system has realized the failure of the educational system to integrate minorities, and occasionally big sums have been awarded to projects designed to develop the educational system. It is characteristic, however, of all these projects, that any tendency to broaden the linguistic and cultural

base of the school activities, have been either prevented or ignored by authorities (Bugge & Jørgensen 1985, 53-55).

> What was really remarkable about the integration project was the fact that it did not seem to have any educational-political consequences [...] The integration project had cost 200 million Danish Kroner, and documented experiences were available to an extent never before seen in Denmark (Kristjánsdóttir 2006, 425).

This tremendous social and educational pressure on the minorities may succeed in assimilating them to the majority language and the majority culture. This is not going to take place without reservation on the part of the minorities, however. The motivation that Turkish parents give for their children to learn Danish is a good illustration. In Jørgensen & Holmen 1994 we find that Turkish speaking parents in Denmark unanimously want their children to learn Danish. But more often than not (88 % of the parents as opposed to 12 %) the motivation is instrumental rather than integrative. In Bugge & Jørgensen (1995) we further find that the resistance to assimilation is greater among Turkish speakers when they are under greater political and social pressure from the majority. Two groups of parents with similar backgrounds and similar migration stories react differently on a number of variables, including sending their children to Turkey for longer periods and motivating them to maintain Turkish. The only obvious background difference is found in the different measures the two involved Danish communities took to receive the Turkish minorities. The parents who hold on most strongly to Turkishness live in a community whose leadership is (or was at the time) regularly in the media for its immigrant-unfriendly attitudes, while the opposite is the case in the other community (Bugge & Jørgensen 1995, 78-79).

The unfriendly atmosphere has not only been strongly felt by minorities. It has not gone unnoticed by outside observers either.

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The Times' Guide to the Peoples of Europe has a critical remark in which it notices that:

> The Danes have a not altogether deserved reputation for tolerance: immigration from the Third World has sparked some racial tensions and the right wing [... party] adopted a 'send them back' policy (Fernández-Armesto 1997, 33).

Another English-medium observer (The Economist) writes about the growing racial tensions in Scandinavia. As with the Times Guide this is not a scholarly report about an anthropological project, but nevertheless serious contributors to the profile and image of - in this case Danish - society. As sociolinguists we want to understand the atmosphere in which linguistic (and to a certain extent, cultural) changes and variations take place. The Economist observes that:

> Except in the biggest cities of Sweden and Denmark, there are few immigrants, yet those few meet with growing hostility from the indigenous population. Especially in Norway and Denmark, race-tinged populism is growing (The Economist, 23 January 1999)

Both of these sources base their statements on observations of developments in the 1990'es. These were at the time new observations internationally. In most of the 1900's the Nordic countries enjoyed an image of being relatively open, egalitarian, and liberal, and to offer high-quality education for everyone. This may not have been totally untrue with respect to the linguistic majorities, but it is doubtful when we consider the linguistic minorities, especially post-World War II immigrants. The school drop-out rate, the number of individuals not going through further education after grade school, and consequently the unemployment rate, were all higher for the immigrant groups than for the native Scandinavians already in the 1980's (see e.g. for Denmark, Bruun & Hammer 1991). The sociolinguistic climate which these

immigrant groups meet in the Nordic countries, is and was ethno-centric (or "lingua-centric"), and a native-like command of the majority language is often considered a prerequsite for socio-economic success. In many cases non-native Danish is decried by politicians and decision-makers. Even senior Social Democratic politicians with considerable influence on decision making in educational issues will routinely make statements such as "If you are born and raised in Denmark and intend to stay here, then Danish is your mother tongue" or "We have neither time nor space for Danish as a second language in our part of the world" (Holmen & Jørgensen 2000, 81-83), not to mention the openly xenophobic politicians' statements. This has become worse since the young students in the Køge project left grade school before the turn of the millenium.

Bilingualism is sometimes officially accepted and respected, but in reality the majority tongues prevail in almost all public situations, especially in the schools, and that was already the case in the 1980's (for Sweden see Baysan & Bennerstam 1990,81, for Denmark, see Hetmar & Jørgensen 1993). The official policies were different, in the sense that Sweden was the most open and liberal, and Denmark was (and still is) the most closed and least tolerant society (see Hegelund 2002). The public discussions about minority languages in Sweden have been comparatively few and quiet. There has been some discussion in Norway, but also serious attempts at reaching unity (see e.g., Hvenekilde 1994, Brox 1995 , Hyltenstam et al. 1996), whereas the atmosphere in Denmark has been shrill with a harsh and negative treatment of linguistic minorities (Jørgensen 2003g), and government officials intervening to secure the suppression of minority mother tongues in schools (Kristjándóttir 2006)

Native speakers of Danish comprise more than a 90% majority of Denmark proper. In Denmark there is a minority of sign language users with a long tradition of group organization (Widell 1993), and a well-organized German minority in Slesvig with German as its offical language, but often Danish as the everyday language in

the homes (see K.M.Pedersen 2003). By 2007 around 10 % of the population of Denmark belong to the linguistic minorities, of which the sign language users and the German speakers are only relatively small fractions (see for instance the figures in the official statistics http://www.statistikbanken.dk/statbank5a/default. asp?w=1280, November 2007). The largest minority groups are either migrant workers or refugees. The largest groups are speakers of Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, and the South Slavic Languages. Migrant workers have primarily settled in and around Copenhagen and the major towns of Denmark. Refugees are, owing to a deliberate policy, dispersed all over the country. There is consequently no area, no school district, no city quarters, where the ideologically determined set of features called Danish is substituted by another set of features, another language, as the official and public language.

The *Dansk Sprognævn* is an institution which oversees the orthographic dictionary of Danish, but otherwise has no regulartory functions. No Danish language academy sets official standards for the proper usage of Danish. Such an academy is hardly necessary. All other varieties of the Danish language than the Copenhagen high-status standard have been systematically suppressed for decades, if not centuries. This has happened in public discourse as well as in the educational system (Kristiansen 1990, 2003). The classical dialects of Danish have all been eradicated in the second half of the 1900s (I.L.Pedersen 2003). Kristiansen (1990) criticizes Danish linguists for a naive concept of Denmark as a peaceful linguistic society, and thereby for letting the suppression of dialects happen, or even contributing to it.

Danish educators and scholars are also criticized from a different angle (Haberland et al. 1991) for being naive and complacent when it comes to the status of Danish against the more powerful European languages. Until the early 1990s, there was very little open discussion of language policies in Denmark, publicly or scholarly.

Since 1955 Denmark and Germany have had a bilateral agreement about language minority rights in the border area. Apart from that Denmark had no formulated policy for the Danish language until 2003. Until the 1990s it was taken for granted that everyone spoke and understood standard Danish by school age, and compensatory measures were taken when this was not the case. During the 1990s, the notion of *Danish as a second language* gradually was established in the grade school, against tough opposition (see above). Minority languages other than German and Danish Sign Language also became an issue of language politics in the 1990s. The policy supported by almost the entire political spectrum is assimilationist: The government and bureaucracy discourse is careful not to be racist, but the central administration has worked actively to abolish the teaching of minority mother tongues and also achieved its abolition in 2001. Kristjánsdóttir (2006) finds that this is in many ways just an extension of the narrowly nationalist educational policies which have been typical of the administration at least since 1970.

When the 2003 government language policy was written, the text was prepared by a commission of bureaucrats and linguists. Among the linguists was the president of the *Dansk Sprognævn* who had proposed a language policy on behalf of his institution a few months earlier. In this proposal the following was said about minority languages:

> it is important that immigrant languages such as Turkish, Arabic, Farsi, and Urdu be taught in Denmark. Knowledge of these languages is an important resource, and in a time where strong forces lead us in the direction of less linguistic and cultural variation, it is important to be aware of the value of linguistic multiplicity and to try to maintain this multiplicity (Dansk Sprognævn 2003, 5, my translation)

However, in the final text proposed by the commission, this reference to the minority languages and the advantages related to

teaching them in the educational system was downplayed strongly. Instead a range of political and ideological arguments against minority languages and against the idea of teaching them was promoted. One linguist member of the commission has later publicly wondered how this could happen (Togeby 2003,15). He suggests that the bureaucrats representing the Education Ministry forced through the commission the policy that the final text could not mention minority language teaching. He was a member of the commission himself, and the fact that he has not fully grasped how this came about tells us quite a bit about the determination on the side of the bureaucracy to relegate minority languages from the educational system. The government language policy (Kulturministeriet 2003) is consequently a cornucopia of nationalist clichés of the narrowest ideological sort. In passing, lip service is paid to internationalism and globalization, but English is first and foremost seen as a threat, and minority languages are a nuisance. Such documents shaping the official Danish attitude to linguistic variation do little to promote the integration of linguistic minority children.

There are also voices in the debate who urge the minorities to give up their cultural legacy and become "modern". Arguments in favor of this view are sometimes camouflaged as linguistic evidence (for instance, a cultural sociologist has described the use of Danish loanwords among Turkish speaking immigrants as primitive pidgin-language unsuited for a modern society (Necef 1993), or as the result of sociolinguistic studies, most of which are nowhere near meeting the standards of scientific credibility, but such studies nevertheless attract enormous media attention (examples are Vesselbo 1990, 1992).

The notion of Danish as a second language is a relatively new one in Denmark, at least in the public debate. It has been part of the discourse of linguists and educators since the early 1980s (Gimbel 1991, Holmen & Jørgensen 2000b), but it did not enter school regulations or curriculum descriptions until the mid-1990s. There has been a good deal of controversy over the concept. Politicians

have voiced concerns about the inappropriateness of Danish being a "second" language in Denmark - where it should be the first language (sic). Second language speakers of Danish are subjected to the same uniformation as the native speakers. The school system as well as the public being very unfavorable towards dialectal variation within Danish, there is not much accept to be expected for speakers of Danish with a foreign accent. Immigrants and refugees are typically described as "poor" speakers of Danish, and they are frequently considered unwilling or unable to learn "proper" Danish. This downgrading of people who speak Danish with an accent happens to people across the social spectrum, including the Royal family who happens to (have to) find spouses for the young family members outside Denmark. After more than 40 years in Denmark, the queen's husband (who by most professional standards would be evaluated as a very good speaker of Danish, accent or no accent) is routinely ridiculed and downgraded with reference to his French accent. The young crown princess who has been married to the crown prince for about four years, is already the target of systematic smearing on a similar basis and with a similar self-aggrandizing tone.

There is - even among linguists - a tendency to think of Danish as an especially hard and difficult language to learn. One of the first publications to deal with adult education in Danish as a second language was titled (in translation) "Why is it so hard to learn Danish?" (Skovholm 1996), as if the task of teaching or learning Danish gave worse results than other languages, and there is a widespread feeling among teachers of Danish as a second language (especially teachers of adult immigrants) that their task is a particularly hard one (see also Grønnum 2003 who finds that the pronunciation of Danish is more difficult to learn than for instance the pronunciation of Swedish). To be sure, Danish may be very hard to learn - harder than other languages - but is self-evident that this has nothing to do with the features of the Danish language. The reason rests solely and completely with the speakers of Danish who are intolerant of every deviation and "foreign" accent.

In this rather harsh climate of monodialectalism, monolingualism, and monoculturalism, a third issue which appears regularly in the public and political debate about language variation, is the relationship between on the one hand English as a global language, and on the other hand Danish. There are people who warn against the invasion of English into almost all spheres of society (cf. Haberland et al. 1991, Davidsen-Nielsen et al. 1999, Preisler 1999, 2003). Tempers really rise when the discussion touches upon the adolescent generation's use of English loans, which is considered extensive and overwhelming. The idea of bilingualism is also referred to in negative terms, and bilingual education is rejected - even by some linguists (see the discussion about language policy above). This siege mentality of the public debate has led to demands for a political initiative to protect the Danish language from foreign influence, and the result has been the 2003 language policy (Kulturministeriet 2003). A serious attempt to block external influence on Danish would be a break with tradition, however. Danish has only in relatively brief periods been subjected to purism: in the 1700's and in the years before World War II.

The atmosphere in which changes and variations can be observed in Denmark is hierarchical and intolerant. In the public discussions about issues in education, language planning, and politics on different levels in Denmark we can observe a considerable difference in attitude to the languages represented by native speakers in the country. The major opinion makers seem to share a view of languages which can be compared to a hierarchy, with English on top, followed by French, German, and perhaps Spanish. The Scandinavian languages follow soon after that, and at the bottom we find languages such as Turkish, Urdu, Arabic, Berber, Punjabi, Tagalog, and Swahili. This hierarchy is the hidden foundation of much argumentation in the public debates, in official documents, in educational practices, and elsewhere. Although it is rarely expressed openly, it is nonetheless often evident. In 1992 the Ministry of Education issued a report on the quality of language teaching in the educational system, focussing

on language awareness and knowledge of language. In this report a "language view" was defined which emphasized the importance of language to humanity, stating i.a. that:

> linguistic insight increases the students' understanding of mankind as a linguistic creature with a need to express itself, means of expression, and with the language as an important personal basis for experience, thinking, and other mental processes (Undervisningsministeriet 1992, 19, my translation).

This statement emphasizes the nature of language as a human phenomenon. Without openly shifting the perspective of language as a human phenomenon, the report gradually begins to make statements about the generalities of language learning. It is stated that [first a child hears the language of its immediate surroundings], and then the report continues with the following description:

> later the child meets and perceives language from surroundings a little further away. The child hears the shared language - regional Danish and standard Danish - through the media and in the contact with people outside the home and the institution.... New perspectives are added when the child is ready to perceive and take an interest in other langauges than the mother tongue. Through the media the child will, at a young age, meet English, German and the neighbor languages [i.e. Swedish and Norwegian], just as most of the children will have opportunities to hear more distant languages, e.g. immigrant languages" (Undervisningsministeriet 1992, 19-20, my translation).

In this view, it is an integrated part of life as a human being to grow up with a variety of Danish, then to meet English and German, later the other Scandinavian languages, and finally the (exotic) post-world war II immigrant languages such as Turkish,

Urdu, Arabic, Mandarin. The very fact that by 1992 around 10 % of the school beginners in the country had such languages as their primary means of communication has not made any impression here.

Another 1992 report (Bacher et al. 1992) describing the Danes' foreign language knowledge documents that English, German, and French dominate the Danes' thinking about foreign languages. No other language is mentioned in numbers large enough to make a significant registration in the statistical data of the report. Bilingualism is often considered an asset when the languages involved are Danish and English (Karker 1993,73), but not when immigrant minority languages are involved (Hetmar & Jørgensen 1993), and the more radical purists even refuse to recognize bilingualism with English.

> I do not believe that children without costs by school start can develop a set of associations for two significantly different languages at a time when their vocabulary grows rapidly, and when they are about to make the great leap connected to understanding the mysteries of literacy (Lund 1993, 95-96).

The "significantly different" languages mentioned are English and Danish which by almost all other means are very similar languages, leaving us in serious doubt whether this profound misunderstanding of bilingualism is at all seriously meant. But it is, the author is a highly esteemed former professor of Danish language, an influential opinion maker in educational circles, and the main author of the above-mentioned report (Undervisningsministeriet 1992) about language awareness as well as the official language policy (Kulturministeriet 2003). The remark is indeed seriously meant - the author has repeated it almost verbatim in other connections. In conclusion: English is very important, to some maybe too important. The English language, even in bilingual coexistence with Danish, is considered a threat to the Danish children. There is nowhere any mention of

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a possible threat, posed by the Danish language, to minority languages. Or any mention of bilingualism with these languages. They are only cited as exotic phenomena occasionally encountered by increasingly aware Danish speaking children.

English is also valued as a prestigous language by many language users. Compared to the other Nordic countries English enjoys a relatively high overt prestige in Denmark (Kristiansen & Vikør 2006). The English language has high overt prestige in all of the subsections of the population of Denmark studied by Kristiansen & Vikør. On the other hand, the suppression of most other minority languages has been evident for at least 15 years, especially in school contexts (for further references, see Skutnabb-Kangas et al. 1993, Holmen & Jørgensen 1993, Jeppesen 1993, Kristjánsdóttir 2006). This hierarchy of languages is no secret to the linguistic minorities, including the immigrant groups (see Boyd et al. 1994a,b and Bugge & Jørgensen 1995).

It is quite remarkable that Kristiansen (2006) finds a covert attitude to English revealed in semi-matched guise tests among the Danish which is different from the overt attitudes reported in direct interviews. Whereas the Danes are the most positive towards English influence among the Nordic populations, they are at the same time the most negative when it comes to covert attitudes. This is probably another indication of the strength of the almost monolithic public discourse about the necessity of learning English. This is emphasized so aggressively that all other languages suffer, in particular the low-prestige minority languages represented among school children whose parents or grandparents came as immigrants after World War II.

Pre-sociolinguistic linguistics and sociolinguistics

We will now return to the development of sociolinguistic lines of thinking about the relationship between social variation and linguistic variation. The emergence of sociolinguistic studies such

as Labov's and Trudgill's were a clear break away from traditional structural linguistics. It was characteristic of pre-sociolinguistic linguistics, even when it was more or less applied, that it considered variation from a normative standpoint, if at all. The goal of the structuralists was to determine the invariable behind the variation, which was considered meaningless at best, and in any case unsystematic. At worst, working class language was poor or dirty, women spoke in a cute, but not very serious manner, etc. The norm of linguists was the middle-aged, middle-class, urban male, and their concept of the main language was what this man spoke. This is even true for linguists who did not particularly seek the *langue* behind the *parole*, for instance Jespersen. In pre-sociolinguistic approaches the language behavior of women as well as bilinguals were considered deviant from, in some cases even inferior to, *proper* language or *normal* language use. Jespersen's (1941) description of women's language is now a famous example - or perhaps infamous:

> In the woman the words pass quite rapidly into one ear and out again - perhaps not straight out of the other ear, but out of the mouth. She listens fast and she replies fast (Jespersen 1941, 166, my translation)

In the introduction to her section on "Talking gender" Cameron (1998, 216) presents Jespersen as standing "for a whole tradition of patronizing and sexist commentary by male linguists before feminism" and as a prime example of those who describe women's language use as deviant from the normal or real language. The disregard for variation which was typical of these linguists (Jespersen was by no means alone) is critically refuted by sociolinguistics which considers variation a crucial element of language. This is true not only for the difference between female and male language use, but also differences between sociolects, and as we shall see, between monolingualism and multilingualism. This threshold between pre-sociolinguistics and sociolinguistics is crucial in the development of our understanding of the role of language for individual human beings. The understanding that

variation is not arbitrary, that it is systematic, and that it is somehow related to societal structures, brought back language from the spheres of spirits and (in some of Hjelmslev's writings) mysticism to the real world and to humanity.

The pre-sociolinguistic attitude to the language use of non-powerful groups has come to be known as the *deficit* view of language variation. Rampton (2001, 263) has described four positions, or "orientations" to cultural diversity. The first of these, i.e. the deficit view, is pre-sociolinguistic, but Rampton (2001, 273) describes three opposed "notions of ethnicity in sociolinguistics". The pre-sociolinguistic orientation is certainly also possible as a notion of linguistic variation. This is the position that invents "canons" of culture to preserve and maintain existing hierarchies of values ascribed to cultures. This is also the position which regards *non*-standard sociolects, dialects, etc. as *sub*-standard. According to the deficit view, linguistics should be prescriptive and with respect to behavior prescribe assimilation. This is precisely the view which Jespersen has presented with respect to women's language and, as we shall see (in the section on Bilingual behavior below) also presents with respect to bilingualism. This deficit view of variation is incompatible with sociolinguistics. This does in no way mean that it is not an influential view in society. It casts a long and deep, deep black shadow on the educational system, not to mention the general and public debate (see the sections on Scandinavia and Hierarchies of language above).

With sociolinguistics the perspective changed dramatically away from the deficit view. To sociolinguistics variation is an important aspect of language as a human phenomenon: "we have come to the realization in recent years that this is the normal situation - that heterogeneity is not only common, it is the natural result of basic linguistic factors" (Labov 1972, 203). Particularly quantitative studies such as Labov's, Trudgill's and Milroy's were a fruitful addition to our understanding of language as a human phenomenon. They showed a range of correlations between

societal structures and differences in language behavior. Variation is an essential quality of language that we can not ignore if we want to understand what and how language is. In classical, particularly quantitative, sociolinguistics variation was considered an effect of social structures. It determined the way someone would use language, where she or he had grown up, how old she or he was, to which socioeconomic status level she or he belonged - and indeed it was also important whether the person in question was a she or a he. Labov (e.g. 1966) established a new way of describing language when he correlated sociological variables with specific linguistic variables (see further in the section on Linguistic variation above).

In this perspective variation and diversity coincide with social structures. Some groups do it one way, and others do it their way. This is the so-called *difference* view of cultural diversity as described by Rampton (2001, 263). In this view, language represents and presents ethnicity, and language specifics have been developed over time inside, for instance, ethnic groups. To each group belong its own, deserved characteristics, and they should be respected.

This variationist branch of the study of language has come under some criticism. Other students of variation have criticized the early variationists for naivety, and for obscuring the fact that linguistic differences were also part and parcel of an ongoing struggle for power in society. Some varieties of languages, and some sets of cultural characteristics, led to better positions in society, more access to resources, to more power. Possessors of these qualities would often use their resources and power to make access to power and resources dependent on the command of their own particular varieties and cultural characteristics. It is no coincidence that few speakers of local dialects become national bank directors in Denmark, France, or Sweden. Similarly, it is no coincidence that the standard Danish *rigsmål* is the middle class Copenhagen variety of Danish (Kristiansen 1990), and it is no coincidence that the minority languages of German and Danish

Sign Language enjoy a protected status in the educational system, but Mandarin Chinese and Arabic do not.

In this view, the *dominance* view, the task of the scholar is to point out the processes of power in society, to unmask the power games played by the ruling classes (Kristiansen 1990, 213-14). The difference view and the dominance view have been competing since the 1970's. For instance, the struggle has determined much work with gender and language variation. An exemplary study in the dominance strand is West & Zimmerman (1975) which finds that men interrupt women more than vice versa in two-party conversations. West & Zimmenman takes this as an indication of male dominance. Swann (1988) considers this simplistic, but nevertheless herself takes male dominance (in casu student talk in classrooms) for granted. Maltz & Borker (1982), on the other hand, suggest that men and women have developed different conversational norms as children, mainly because conversational socialization to a large extent takes place in same-sex groups. Boys and girls develop in different subcultures influenced by the fact that boys tend to organize in large, inclusive, hierarchical networks, whereas girls tend to organize in smaller groups, even pairs. The linguistic differences are thus explained as precisely caused by cultural differences and not as results of power struggles.

In the 1970's the theories about language differences put forward by Bernstein (1971-1972) became widely accepted in large parts of Scandinavia, particularly in the school system. Bernstein suggests that middle class children and working class children produce language according to two difference sets of principles, so-called codes. One code is called the *elaborated* code, and Bernstein describes it in terms of linguistic structures - with relatively complicated syntax, specified vocabulary, etc. This code is characteristic of the middle class. The other code is called *restricted*. Bernstein characterizes this code linguistically by less complicated syntax, less linguistic subordination, less specified vocabulary, etc. The two codes are the different results of different

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principles of socialization in middle class families and working class families. To Bernstein the codes are different, but in principle equal. He criticizes the educational systems for not taking account of the working class code. The schools take the middle class code for granted and consider the working class children inferior in their language development. The schools are said to create educational losers in this way. Although Bernstein insists that the two codes are equal, it is evident from the linguistic characterization of the codes (not to mention the terms) that he also thinks of one as more advanced than the other. Particularly in this respect the code concept has had important influence on the thinking of educators.

Sociolinguists, on the other hand, have energetically argued against Bernstein's code concept (Gimbel 1977, Projekt Skolesprog 1979). The negative influence of the code theory has confirmed and supported the threshold hypothesis (see the section on Bilingualism below). Together the two have contributed to a linguistic teaching environment which constantly strives for language use which is *correct* (sometimes spoken about as *native-like*). They have also led to a very rigoristic atmosphere in non-scholarly discussions about language and education and contributed to Danish linguistic intolerance (se Jørgensen 2003a).

During the latest decades we have seen a change in sociolinguistic perspective. The dual, and perhaps mutually dependent dominance and difference views of language use gave way to a social constructionist-inspired concept of language use as identity work on behalf of the language user. With respect to language and gender, Johnson and Meinhof (1997) find that linguistic differences between men and women are not as much a question of mirrored identities as a question of created identities. We constitute our gender by the way we use language, or we *perform* gender - men as well as women. It is the crucial point made by Johnson that not only women draw on a range of discourses (Coates 1986) to constitute their gender identity, but men do it just

as much, and they do it by means of the same linguistic parameters:

> There is no such thing as a 'men's language'. This does not mean that the notion of 'difference' has no part to play in the study of language and gender. But it would undoubtedly be more appropriate [...] to shift the emphasis from 'gender difference' to 'the difference gender makes' (Johnson 1997,25)

The focus of sociolinguistics in this view, the *discourse* view, thus is linguistic variation understood as language users' different exploitation of the linguistic resources at their disposal. The behavior of language users is viewed as social, and it is considered to be systematic. Furthermore, the behavior of language users is goal-oriented, it is driven by intentions. Language use is best studied in concrete situations, but still with the understanding that the situated language use is not independent of the macro-discourses. Situated language use may invoke macro-discourses, such as the stereotype of the Scottish mizer. On the other hand, language users may also in given situations, in their micro-behavior, distance themselves from the macro-discourses, such as it happens in minority *mimicry*.

In the discourse view, the relationship between social structures and language variation is the opposite of that of traditional sociolinguistics. As we observed, Labov, Trudgill, Milroy, Kristensen, and others consider language variation an effect of different social structures. They have different views of social structures, but all of them study pronunciation variables as dependent variables, and use social categories as independent variables. Studies applying the discourse view do not take social categories for granted. Some, such as Maegaard 2007 (see above) and Lytra 2007, apply ethnographic methods in an attempt to establish what concepts (and terms) of categories are at play among the members of a given community of practice, and subsequently they study the linguistic variation in light of these

categories. As we notice, neither approach reveals anything near an uneqiuvocal relationship between category and linguistic variant. In all cases there are statistical correlations, but not one-on-one mappings of features and categories. This can be explained by the discourse view with the assumption that speakers *use* the variants to achieve social purposes.

These four perspectives on variation are highly relevant when it comes to the sociolinguists' description of bilingualism, and bilingual behavior.

The study of bilingualism often builds on an understanding of the bilingual speakers as individuals who command two separate (or even separated) and different languages. Similarly, code-switching is often understood as the simultaneous use of different languages with an emphasis on the difference and the plurality. In this light, bilingualism is different from monolingualism, and the interesting side of bilingual behavior is the code-switching (or patterns of code-choice), because this is how bilingual behavior differs from monolingual behavior. Furthermore, code-switching is frequently described with an emphasis on the existence of a difference between two languages. Code-switching is a communicative tool that is mainly interesting because it involves two or more different languages. The pragmatic functions of specific bilingual expressions are sometimes described in one-dimensional terms, with the focus only on how they differ from monolingual expressions. The use of linguistic material from different languages (i.e. what some language users think of as different languages) may in itself be intricate and complicated, but still be considered interesting mainly because it differs from monolingual language use. In other words, code-switching has traditionally been regarded as a typically bilingual (or multilingual) behavior, something which was related to the use of two (or more) different and separate languages. The judgement of bilingual behavior has for a long time been based on this view of bilingualism as an exceptional case which is somehow not the normal situation for human beings, an aberration.

The view of bilingual, or multilingual, behavior has changed radically over the past decades, as Rampton (2001) makes clear. Prior to the development of sociolinguistics, bilingual behavior was regarded as other kinds of non-standard language, and bilingualism was negatively rated by mainstream linguists such as Jespersen who wrote that:

> [The bilingual] probably does not learn any of the two languages as perfectly as if he had limited himself to one. May it superficially appear as if he spoke exactly like the native speakers, then he does undoubtedly miss the finest command of the language - I doubt that one has ever seen a child, who had been brought up in two languages, really become an excellent language artist (poet, or orator) in any of them. Secondly, the brain work which has been spent on learning two languages instead of one has probably taken away some of the power with which other things could and should have been learnt. There is perhaps not one single individual out of those to whom mankind looks up as the most excellent in really valuable areas who has been a two-language child (Jespersen 1941, 132, my translation).

Jespersen's two arguments are still used in many political and peddagogical discussions about bilingualism. The first argument considers how "well" the bilingual learns each of the two involved languages. Jespersen finds that the bilingual individual never learns any of the language to the same extent, with the same level of sophistication, as the highest qualified monolingual users. In this view it is possible to achieve "perfect" learning of a language, but only one language. The second argument says that brainwork has been wasted on learning two languages, and that this brainwork should have been used for better purposes. The bilingual individual consequently is a deficient individual who should have been different. The bilingual person can not become worthy of admiration by fellow human beings.

The same attitude can be met with linguists who study bilingualism, most notably and systematically articulated by Hansegård (1968) who describes the language use of a Finnish-Swedish population in Tornedalen in northern Sweden. He finds that bilingualism as a societal and psychological phenomenon involves the risk of *double semilingualism*, which means that the bilinguals do not know either of the two languages enough to be able to function without the other. Hansegård's observations of bilingual behavior in Tornedalen leads him to conclude that the demands involved in commanding two sets of structures at the same time, are too high for many people. He descibes the process of bilingual language production in negative terms:

> The thought concept (the intellectual preparation) [...] in principle precedes the individual languages, even though a certain linguistic influence can take place even in this phase. When later the "language internal formulation" (diction) is going to take place, the constellation of impulses defined by the situation etc., decides from which of the two languages the necessary linguistic material is chosen. As the impulses within the bilingual can go in two directions, disturbance and blocking may happen (contradictory impulses). The words (the linguistic concepts) from the two languages disturb and block each other (Hansegård 1968, 85, my translation)

This idea of the mind as a container with limited space or limited resources for language is repeated in the so-called threshold hypothesis (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas 1981) or the concept of double semi-lingualism (Hansegård 1968). According to this line of thinking, languages are separate entities, each consisting of a number of items. The mind is designed to contain one of these systems, and if there are items from two different systems, there will not be room enough for one whole set of items - one whole language. Both languages will therefore be incomplete and not learnt well enough. Such a (pre-sociolinguistic) view of

bilingualism and of bilingual individuals is an example of the deficit view.

The concept of double semilingualism and negative mutual influence between the languages, has had tremendous impact on educational thinking, not the least in Scandinavia. The so-called threshold hypothesis about bilingualism and cognitive development is the best indication of this. In short it predicts that many bilingual children will develop with cognitive inferiority because of their bilingualism, namely typically linguistic minority children attending majority medium schools. This is, according to the hypothesis, due to the fact that their second language becomes a threat to their development, if their first language has not developed beyond a certain level, the so-called lower threshold: "In conclusion one can say that bilingualism can have positive or negative consequences for the cognitive development, or have no consequences at all" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981, 239, my translation). The idea about the limited learning capacity of bilingual children appears in several studies of school practice and school achievement. B. Pedersen (1980, 145, in my translation) thus finds that "If the student has not reached the lower threshold we will find semilingualism with negative cognitive consequences".

It is by and large characteristic of the so-called deficit view of bilingualism that bilingualism in itself is considered negative, a burden on the individual's mental resources and creativity, a cognitive threat. Bilingual behavior is considered, if not improper, then an indication of incomplete development and incomplete language skills. The concept of semi-lingualism and the corresponding threshold hypothesis leave the speakers who (may) use two languages in the same stretch of conversation as incomplete human beings, as double semilinguals. This whole line of thinking has been heavily criticized by sociolinguists such as Martin-Jones & Romaine (1986) and Edelsky (1986), and they have largely been abandoned, also by Skutnabb-Kangas.

With the growing importance of sociolinguistics in the 1960's an important change in the view on bilingualism and bilingual behavior takes place. In a major study of the linguistic practices among Spanish-English bilingual speakers in a major metropolitan area in North America, a team led by Joshua Fishman found that there is plenty of systematicity in the shifts between the two languages involved in bilingual behavior, and that this systematicity makes social sense. The choice between English and Spanish is determined by a set of factors such as who are present, what the conversation is about, where it takes place, and under what circumstances:

> It seems clear, however, that habitual language choice is far from being a random matter of momentary inclination, even under those circumstances when it could very well function as such from a purely probabilistic point of view. "Proper" usage, or common usage, or both, dictate that only one of the theoretically co-available languages will be chosen by particular classes of interlocutors on particular occasions (Fishman 1965,67).

The early sociolinguistic views of linguistic variation, the dichotomy of dominance versus difference, were frequently highlighted in sociolinguistic discussions in the 1970's and 1980's (see also Rampton 2001). In the dominance view some language forms are closely related to powerful groups in society, for instance by being the varieties they learn from their parents in childhood. Other varieties are related to much less powerful people (e.g. by being what they learn in childhood), and this uneven relationship is reflected in the perceived importance of knowing each of the involved varieties. Knowing the variety of the powerful is important for the speakers' access to desired positions in society, including powerful and well-paid jobs. Children are expected to learn the varieties of the powerful in school, also when they do not use them as their mother tongue, while the opposite is not the case.

In the difference view some language forms belong together with others and form a group of language forms: a variety, a dialect etc. Some speakers use one variety, and this probably has to do with the history and the needs of the language users. Others use another variety, and they have another background which corresponds to their variety. And this is how it should be. In this view the speakers who have access to two languages will at any given time use one and only one of them - they will be double monolinguals (see below).

It is easy to see how these two perceptions of language variation are relevant also for the observation of bilingual behavior. The difference view follows the realization that bilingualism with its alternating use of more than one language is frequent in everyday communication. Fishman's (1971) observation of the everyday use of Spanish and English by the speakers in a community study leads to his description of a regularity. He finds a stable relationship between on one side the circumstances under which language is used, the so-called situational factors, and on the other side the choice of language for the particular interaction or contribution.

Fishman's view rests on the classical notion of diglossia, i.e. the phenomenon that two varieties in a given society divide the functions, according to so-called domains. The usual example is that of Classical Arabic which is used for solemn and formal tasks, while the different Arabic vernaculars in Egypt, Morocco, the Lebanon, etc. are used for everyday functions. Fishman developed the notion of domains, i.e. spheres in life in general and on an everyday basis. For each domain the speakers prefer one of the two languages involved in a particular bilingual society. In the society studied by Fishman, Spanish is used for instance in local business, in the church, and in private parties. English is used for contact with the authorities, in schools, and in non-local business.

A similar view of bilingualism is represented by Petersen (1975), a study of multilingual behavior in Agtrup, Southern Schleswig.

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Petersen formulates a set of principles according to which the language users select among the languages (or varieties) available to them.The basic principle is that the language choice of a particular speaker depends on who the other participants in the conversation are. Petersen describes different combinations of speakers of the four varieties involved in the community and continues: language formation and language use follow very specific rules and laws which can not be violated without the feeling that an error has been committed (Petersen 1975, 11, my translation). Language use is determined by outer circumstances, particularly who are present and participate in the conversation. In some cases (for some combinations of interlocutors) one variety is chosen, in other cases another variety. Petersen does not make variation the object of evaluation, it is simply there, and he views it as a function of social circumstances. In particular he does not judge multilingualism as a handicap, and he does not describe the bilingual as an incomplete monolingual times two. The difference view of bilingualism is explicitly expressed by Petersen (1975) in his remarks about the choice patterns in his South Schleswig community.

> It has been important to show that being multilingual does not mean that one mixes up the languages, or that one speaks one language one day and the other language the next day, but that language formation and language use follow very specific rules which can not be violated without a feeling of an error having been committed (Petersen 197, 11, my translation)

Boyd (1985) criticizes Fishman's concept of diglossia. She finds that it becomes an unclear cover term for a range of different phenomena. Otherwise it becomes an empty term because it can cover anything involving more than one language. In particular she finds that the concept of diglossia does not take into account the pressure that minority language are subjected to by majority languages. She stresses the fact that code-switching is a common practice in very different speech communities, and she formulates

a set of rules for bilingual behavior, a set of principles of language choice among bilinguals (Boyd 1985, 190-1). Her list includes principles of "appropriateness", "consistency", "least effort", "skill", "reference group", "power", and "mutual ethnic consideration". By and large language choice is ascribed to situational factors, although they have been refined considerably. Linguists like Fishman and Boyd share the difference view of bilingual behavior. Language choice is determined by situational factors, i.e. factors not involving the speakers' specific intentions with individual utterances. The speaker's wish in some cases to align with reference groups through convergence and divergence of language choice is of course related to intentions, but the relevant principles are not of primary concern to Boyd's hierarchy of principles. By and large bilingual speakers choose language according to outer factors.

A nuanced view of the importance of the situational factors is Gumperz' (1982). He also studies the choice of code by the bilingual speakers addressing other bilinguals, but he is concerned with the switching between varieties (codes). Gumperz distinguishes between situational code-switches and metaphorical code-switches. Situational switches happen when a conversation changes from one language (or code) into another because situational factors makes it appropriate. For instance, a new participant can join the conversation in whose presence another language than the one used until then is appropriate. Or the subject of the conversation may change into one which the interlocutors automatically handle in another language. Metaphorical or conversational code-switches take place when an interlocutor signals to her or his conversation partners how she or he wants the utterance to be interpreted.

The basis for this distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switches is the difference in status between typical majority languages and typical minority languages, as we see it in the industrialized world:

The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the 'we code' and become associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the 'they code' associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations. But it must be emphasized that, in situations such as those discussed here, this association between communicative style and group identity is a symbolic one: it does not directly predict actual usage (Gumperz 1982,66)

By metaphorical code-switches the speakers choose to switch into another language (or code) although the situational factors do not lead to any change. By doing this the speakers invoke the status difference between the we-code and the they-code. If our 12-year-old Turkish-Danish boy switches from Turkish into Danish, he invokes the status of Danish as the language of power. To the utterance is thus added an extra dimension, a signal of the context into which the speaker places his utterance, in casu the power of Danish as a majority language and the language of schooling of Turkish-Danish boys in Denmark. On the other hand, the speaker can similarly switch from Danish into Turkish without any specific changes in the situational factors characterizing the conversation. In this case he invokes the staus of the Turkish language as a signal of solidarity and intimacy.

Such code-switches are metaphorical, sometimes called conversational. To illustrate with an example: The English utterance *there is no pen, hand me a pen*, say, from one grade school student to another, while they are working with a task in a classroom, will, translated into Danish and Turkish including a code-switch, carry quite different connotations. As *kalem yok, giv mig en pen* its first part may set or reflect an atmosphere of co-operation and being together, while the second part will (be an attempt to) convey the attitude of the powerful, and cold, who can command. On the other hand, as *der er ikke nogen pen, kalem ver*, the first part comes across as reflecting the mood of students dutily

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working with their assignment, and the second part as a reference to their being in the same situation, to their solidarity. This means that the speaker in both cases refers to the students' shared norms, in casu the values ascribed to the languages in society at large. These values are introduced into the conversation and highlighted by the switches. This is possible because the speakers as members of society know these values and routinely refer to them. Gumperz' concept of code-switching was a step forward for the study of bilingualism, because code-switches now were understood as meaningful, as linguistic means by which it was possible to express intent.

Gumperz' distinction relates to the dominance view of language variation which ascribes power, status, and efficiency to the typical majority language and powerlessness to the minority language. From the point of view of the minorities the powerful language also represents coldness and arrogance, whereas the minority language represents solidarity, warmth, and intimacy. A code-switch into the majority language may signify that the speaker invokes, or attempts to invoke, the characteristics ascribed to the majority language, i.e. power and status, etc. A shift into the minority language may signify the opposite, namely that the speaker appeals to the solidarity of the interlocutors. In this view the bilingual is not a double monolingual, but an *integrating bilingual*.

In real life code-switching is probably even more complicated. As we shall see, the linguistic behavior of Turkish-Danish grade school students indicate that they may administer several different we-codes for different social groupings. Different linguistic behavior may even signify different attitudes in different situations. Younger sociolinguists have criticized Gumperz' view of bilingualism for being static and for not taking into consideration the language users' conscious manipulation with the values ascribed to languages. It is no longer considered to be very interesting how the social structures are reflected in the linguistic behavior of bilinguals. It is more interesting to try to understand

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how the speakers use different codes to negotiate their social relations. Auer (1984) and Rampton (1995) are important examples of this discourse perspective on code-switching. Rampton studies the linguistic behavior of adolescents in a daytime club and finds that the young speakers occasionally use features from languages which they do not know very well, a phenomenon which Rampton labels *crossing*. There are indications that similar phenomena are developing elsewhere, at least in Europe (Kotsinas 1988, Quist 2000, Nortier 2001, Christensen 2004)

Myers-Scotton formulates the principles of possible code-switches in terms of rights and obligations involved in a given conversation, but defined by social relations outside the specific situation and conversation. These rights and obligations exist, and they can be introduced into the conversation or not. Being introduced into the conversation they can be subjected to opposition, criticism, and negotiation.

> Exchanges themselves are realized as speech events consisting of specific participants, a code choice and a rights and obligations balance between the participants. The rights and obligations balance for a speech event is derived from whatever situational features are salient to the exchange, such as status of participants, topic, etc. The salient features will not be the same across all types of exchanges; they are, however, relatively constant across speech events under a single type of exchange (Myers-Scotton 1988, 153)

Domination and power differences among languages have also attracted the interest of sociolinguists. Theories of the relationships between language differences and powerful groups in society are typically formulated on a macro-level (Phillipson 1992, Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1994). There are not so many studies of bilingual behavior from a dominance perspective (Madsen 2003 is one example). Heller (1992) looks at the

relationship between the micro-level and the macro-level and finds that the behavior of bilinguals in specific situations can be related to a societal pattern of power distribution and resources. The speakers can (attempt to) rearrange this pattern of power distribution through their conscious linguistic behavior:

> codeswitching must be understood in terms of individual communicative repertoires and community speech economics, particularly as these are tied to a political economic analysis of the relationship between the availability and use of linguistic varieties, on the one hand, and the production and distribution of symbolic and material resources on the other (Heller 1992, 123)

This has contributed to the development of an understanding of code-switching as a feature of language use which - just like any other feature of language use - serves a purpose. Code-switching is employed to signal content, message, needs, attitudes, and everything else. The code-switches are consequently one of a range of linguistic means used in the development of the social relations between the speakers - just like any other aspect of a conversation. This view of code-switching is described in detail by, for instance, Sebba (1993). In particular Rampton has descibed the use of code-switching into languages which the speakers were not familiar with, much less command. This is the phenomenon he labels *crossing* (see above):

> the speakers moved outside the language varieties they normally used, and they briefly adopted codes which they didn't have full and easy access to....[in] moments and events in which the hold of routine assumptions about social reality was temporarily loosened (Rampton 1998, 298)

In other words, the social relations are negotiated as part of an agenda which has been formulated with respect to different

varieties or codes, and these codes are referred to in a practice which follows certain regularities.

Norms of language behavior

Until the rise of sociolinguistics in the 1960's code-switching was only described as deviant linguistic behavior, and bilingual individuals were generally thought of, and described as, imperfect language users. Even Jespersen had very little to say for bilingual persons, as we have seen. To him the norm is strictly monolingual. The corresponding characterization of a bilingual person often applied in educational discussions is that of a *double semi-lingual*.

This leads us to the norms of bilingual behavior, as we can observe them in society, including schools. In public debates, and definitely in the schools' teaching, particularly language teaching, one meets a specific and strong norm of bilingual behavior, the so-called double monolingualism norm. This is the basic normative idea about bilingual individuals, i.e. *double mono-linguals*. It is impossible to disentangle this view from the ideologically constructed view of *a language* as a unique and separate set of features. Only with this concept is it possible to maintain the double (or multiple) monolingualism norm.

> persons who command two (or more) languages should at any given time use one and only one language, and they should use each of their languages in a way that does not in principle differ from the way in which monolinguals use that same language (see also Jørgensen 2001d, 121).

Evidence of the double monolingualism norm abounds, especially in public debates about youth language, but also among bilinguals. In the NISU study (Boyd et al. 1994a,b) parents of language minority school beginners express quite precise expectations that their children learn to speak a "pure" mother tongue unpolluted by the majority language. According to the double monolingualism

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norm, any language should be spoken "purely", i.e. without being mixed with another language. This is obviously a notion which can be met not only among the general public, but also some linguists. Nevertheless, in the NISU study several parents realize that this is not how the real world is, and they admit to mixing languages themselves. The same view of double monolingualism is prevalent among teachers, even teachers who fully accept that the students' mother tongues have a place in the majority school.

But minority students are not the only ones who are subjected to the (single, double, or multiple) monolingualism normativity. The mother tongue speakers of the majority languages at least in the Nordic countries are to a large extent bilingual in the traditional sense from perhaps the age of 10-12. They meet a vast number of features with ascriptions to their mother tongue, and other features ascribed to English. In traditional terms: they meet their mother tongue as well as English every single day, also outside the classroom. Many children at that age also write English, for instance in interactive computer programs. In other words: for very practical reasons the monolingual adolescent is obsolete, at least in Scandinavia.

Among teenagers there are two frequently observed ways of simultaneously using features ascribed to different ideologically constructed sets of features, different languages, one of which is what is called Danish. Firstly we can observe the use involving features ascribed to (the ideologically constructed set of features called) Danish as well as features ascribed to (the ideologically constructed set of features called) English, i.e. English words and phrases interwoven into the everyday conversation of L1-Danish speaking teenagers. This phenomenon is not very well described, but it has attracted quite a bit of attention, and animosity, and it is regularly attacked in the public debate (Andersen 2004, Davidsen-Nielsen et al. 1999). Secondly, there is the simultaneous use of features ascribed to Danish and features ascribed to a range of other languages which have the status of mother tongue of the speakers, e.g. Turkish among Turkish-speaking bilingual grade

school students. This is regularly presented as "double semi-lingualism" in the public debate. This exists as a practice among minority teenagers, much to the concern of the guardians of true Danish culture. Not only do these guardians consider it a nuisance in itself that it is possible to grow up in Denmark and have Danish as a "second" language (often misconstrued as a "second rate" language, see Holmen & Jørgensen 2001), but they also reject the idea that Danish can be spoken properly without being exactly the rigsmål standard version of Danish.

In many real life situations we can observe how teenagers (and others) follow a completely different norm of bilingual behavior. They may code-switch between utterances, in the middle of utterances, sometimes in the middle of a single word, and they may switch back again. They use features belonging to the different languages they "know" (i.e. which are ideologically constructed and normatively considered to be different languages or possibly dialects) without paying attention to any of the monolingualism norms. The norm followed by such speakers is the integrated bilingualism (or multilingualism) norm.

> Persons who command two (or more) languages will employ their full linguistic competence at any given time adjusted to the needs and the possibilities of the conversation, including the linguistic skills of the interlocutors (Holmen & Jørgensen 1997,13)

In this understanding bilingualism becomes a resource which involves more than the skills of using one languages in some situations, and other languages in other situations. Bilingualism is more than the sum of competence in one language plus competence in one more language. It also involves competence in switching between the languages. An important consequence of this understanding of bilingualism is that most demands for *sprachliche Reinheit* are seen as meaningless and harmful. Instead it becomes interesting to study how, when, and with what effects speakers can use features ascribed to different languages in the same production.

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Multilingualism is similarly considered integrated when speakers in their linguistic behavior uses the codes which they somehow "know". The systematic introduction of features from languages which the speakers do not know was first described by Rampton (1995). With this we move one step further away from the *Reinheitsgebot* and on to even closer integration of linguistic features.

The speaker who uses a Scottish-English accent for his refusal to lend his friend money similarly acts to shape the interlocutor's understanding of the situation and the message. The concept of metaphorical code-switching, and the idea that code-switches relate to intentions by the speaker and are therefore subject to interpretations by interlocutors, makes it possible to take the simultaneous use of features ascribed to more than one language seriously. In other words, the use of features from languages one does not "know" is not restricted to urban late modern youth. In this case it is unlikely that the English speaker is very competent in Scottish English. At least the exchange is possible without very much Scottish competence on either side. We can all refer to stereotypes by adding just a bit of dialect, sociolect, style, etc. to any utterance of ours. We can also invoke values ascribed to languages without stereotyping, such as the status of Latin as the language of the learned.

The behavior follows the *poly-lingualism norm* which is different from the multilingualism norm. The multilingualism norms take it for granted that the speakers have a minimum of command of the involved languages. With the multilingualism norm follows the concept of "a language" which assumes that languages can be separated also in use, and in this view it is also possible to determine whether an individual "knows" a language or "has" a language. The term multilingual covers the (more or less "full") command of several langauges, whereas the term polylingual also allows for the integration of features ascribed to other languages, such as described by Rampton.

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Hewitt (1992, 30) suggests a similar distinction with respect to the understanding of combinations of cultures. In one instance we have *multiculturalism*, which is "a pluralist order of discrete patches of culture, all, somehow, 'equally valid' within the polity". In another instance we have *polyculture*, which is "a collection of cultural entities that are not (a) discrete and complete in themselves; (b) that are not in any sense 'intrinsically' equal; and (c) are active together and hence bound up with change". Hewitt uses pre-historical cave paintings with their many layers of additions and superimposed features as a metaphor for poly-cultural phenomena. He points out that we are unable to determine which layers of paint and shapes belong together, "in this fluid chaos" (Hewitt 1992, 29). We may identify each individual phenomenon in bricolage culture, but not be able to define its totality in terms of their relationships to separate identifiable cultures (in the plural).

We may similarly be unable to identify how features employed in polylingual language use combine, and they certainly do not combine into nice packages of recognizable features, i.e. to which linguistic set of features the individual features "really" belongs is immaterial. The point is that language users may know what sets of features their own behavior dips into - or they may not know. A word usually ascribed to a Kurdish language, when used in an Oslo youth conversation, may - to some young speakers - be a signal of specifically Kurdish minority status. To others - who do not know that the particular word is considered Kurdish - the word may signal membership of a particular youth group, and just that.

Poly-lingual behavior can be analyzed more directly as combinations of features than as combinations of languages. Speakers employ side by side different features which are separated by some other speakers, and according to older norms should be separated. As I have noticed, this type of behavior is not restricted to late modern urban youth. The Englishman may use both the Scottish accent and a single word from German (for instance *heraus*) in the same utterance. Behavior like that is much more frequent than textbooks let us know.

Let us return to the speaker who uses a Scottish-English accent for his refusal to lend his friend money. In the dominance perspective, such interlocutors are integrated bilinguals. This understanding has given rise to much research, and also some criticism. Auer (1984) argues that code-switches must be understood in their specific conversational context rather than in the wider sociolinguistic framework that Gumperz suggests. Auer proposes a sequential approach to the study of the meaning of code-switches (see also Auer 1988, 1995). It is crucial for Auer's understanding of code-switching that the interlocutors treat the juxtaposition of items from different sets of linguistic items (varieties, languages, etc) as such. In the case of code-mixing the individual switches from one code to the other are not significant (not all of them at least). The very fact that a mixed code is used may be highly significant, also to the interlocutors, but that is another matter (Auer 1998, 16). It does not necessarily have a special meaning every time a speaker switches from one code to the other. Mixed code as a term may thus denote yet another set of linguistic items on a par with language, dialect, variety, etc. Speakers can switch between codes, some of which may be mixed. Auer (1999) develops this into a typology of bilingual speech, a continuum of terms ranging from code-switching to fused lects.

In this perspective code-switching is an integrated part of conversation, it is a means just like a range of other means available to the speakers with which they can create and negotiate meaning. Gumperz describes code-switching as one of the ways in which

> speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity
> is, how semantic content is to be understood and how
> each sentence relates to what precedes or follows. These
> features are referred to as contextualization cues
> (Gumperz 1982, 131)

Phenomena such as speaking volume, rate of speech, emphasis can be used as contextualization cues. The switch is thus understood as

a signal from the speaker that there is a new or another frame for the understanding of the current contribution to the interaction. For example, a speaker may turn down a proposal from a friend with the words *zat I vil not akzept* in heavily Hollywood-German accented English. Thereby the speaker invokes the Hollywood stereotype of an inflexible, humorless, power-obsessed German. In this particular example, the speaker does it while directing the stereotype against herself or himself, and may thereby achieve a self-deprecating excuse for the rejection contained in the words (a case of face-work in Goffman's terms). In the case of the Hollywood German, the speaker introduces a vaguely self-deprecating perspective on his act, but also invokes the shared background and attitudes of the interlocutors. The speaker presents not only his denotational meaning - i.e. in this case how he wants the transport to happen, but he also presents a framework for getting the content into a perspective. A code-switch is therefore also a change in footing in Goffman's (1981) terms, because it changes the frame of understanding of the utterances, the meaning they create.

> A change in footing implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. A change in our footing is another way of talking about a change in our frame for events. This paper is largely concerned with pointing out that participants over the course of their speaking constantly change their footing, these changes being a persistent feature of natural talk (Goffman 1981, 128).

My point is that there is nothing humanly unique about the code-switching of people who are widely described as (and consider themselves) bilinguals, e.g. the switching between Turkish and Dutch among young second generation Turkish-speakers in a Dutch university, or Zairians in Belgium (see Meeuwis & Blommaert 1998). The juxtaposition of features ascribed to two different ideologically determined sets of features

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(codes) is similar to the contextualization practices among people who are normally considered monolingual. The simultaneous use of such features may even be considered a code in itself (Auer 1999) and may therefore bear exactly the same significance for the creation of meaning as any other code.

the monolingualism norm
persons with access to more than one language should be sure to master one of them before getting into contact with the other

the double monolingualism norm
persons who command two languages will at any given time use one and only one language, and they use each of their languages in a way that does not in principle differ from the way monolinguals use the same language

the integrated bilingualism norm
persons who command two languages will employ their full linguistic competence in two different languages at any given time adjusted to the needs and the possibilities of the conversation, including the linguistic skills of the interlocutors

the poly-lingualism norm
language users employ whatever linguistic features are at their disposal to achieve their communicative aims as best they can, regardless of how well they know the involved languages; this entails that the language users may know - and use - the fact that some of the features are perceived by some speakers as not belonging together

Table 1.1. Norms of linguistic behavior

In the same vein, there is nothing particular or outstanding about code-switching. It is a resource which can be used as a contextualization cue, and in other ways. It is probably a quite advanced resource, but it is not an exception to human linguistic behavior. We do not use language in order to respect norms. We use language to achieve our purposes, we are *languagers*, and we perform *languaging*. García (2007, xi) describes "the discursive field that constitutes acts of *languaging*", and she even mentions the concept of "translanguaging", i.e. "an arrangement that normalizes bilingualism" (García 2007, xiii). Linguistic behavior which is poly-lingual, and more widespread than what I describe here, has also been observed by Jacquemet (2005) who uses the term *transidiomatic practices*.

Rampton (1995) has described, as we have seen, how adolescents in a multilingual environment use features ascribed to a range of different codes with very different status in society at large. In the youth club studied by Rampton the adolescents use features ascribed to different languages, ranging from mother tongues such as London English to a stylized variety which Rampton calls Stylized Asian English. In Rampton's understanding each of these codes belongs to somebody, to a subgroup of the adolescents attending the center. A Creole variety spoken there belongs to a group of Carribeans, Bengali to the Bangladeshi-English, etc. The speakers can use items from codes which do not belong to them.

> The term 'language crossing' (or 'code-crossing') refers to the use of a language which isn't generally throught to 'belong' to the speaker. Language crossing involves a sense of movement across quite sharply felt social or ethnic boundaries, and it raises issues of legitimacy that participants need to reckon with in the course of their encounter (Rampton 1998, 291)

Thereby the speakers transcend the borders (or perceived borders) between them, they oppose the value system attached to languages

in society at large, and in a host of other ways the young people negotiate both meanings and social relationships. Rampton's perspective on the multilingual behavior of these speakers is the discourse view. In this view speakers with access to more than one code use the switching between codes to create and negotiate their identities, their memberships of groups, their relations to other individuals, group members or not, and to other groups.

It is a crucial aspect of crossing that the speakers use features ascribed to codes they do not usually employ: "they briefly adopted codes which they didn't have full and easy access to" (Rampton 1998, 298). Rampton's formulations, "belong to", "have full and easy access to", refer to the fact that speakers have widely different relationships to the ideologically constructed norm ideals of languages, or codes. As we have already seen, the multilingualism norm takes it for granted that it is meaningful to think of languages as countable sets of features, and that the speakers involved (i.e. multilingual speakers) have a minimum of command of several languages, that they "have" or "know" these languages. What Rampton here makes clear is that speakers may use features which are ascribed to codes which the speaker do *not* have to "know" in the sense that they can produce more than a very few items of features ascribed to it. Speakers use features normally ascribed to codes to which the speakers have no "full and easy access", but in certain cases also features ascribed to codes to which the speakers have no "rights". Rampton (1998, 298) observes in his study of language use among peers in a youth club, that "Panjabi youngsters generally avoided Creole in the company of black peers, while white and black peers hardly ever used SAE [Stylized Asian English] to target Panjabis".

As speakers we can negotiate and manipulate our relationships to the ideologically determined sets of features which are languages, codes. Speakers may "have" and "own" languages. Speakers may "know" and "command" languages. Speakers may also (attempt to) appropriate languages, and they may reject languages. Example

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1,3, from conversation 415 of the Køge project is an example of this.

Example 1,3:
*FRA:	*domosensik.*
%eng:	*you are a pig*
%com:	in a heavily accented Turkish
*EDA:	hvad.
%eng:	what?
*FRA:	*domosensik.*
%eng:	you are a pig
*EDA:	*eşek domuz salak <pis.>[>]*
%dan:	*ass, pig, idiot, disgusting*
*FRA:	<det skal>[<] nok være rigtigt *pis domuzsensik.*
%eng:	that is probably true, *you are a disgusting pig*
*EDA:	*manyak aptal geri zekâlı.*
%dan:	*idiot fool idiot*
*KEN:	hold lige kæft.
%eng:	shut up now
*EDA:	ja jeg xxx.
%koj:	yes I xxx.
%com:	xxx incomprehensible
*KEN:	du kan gå ned og snakke med tyrkerne.
%eng:	you can go down and talk to the Turks.
*FRA:	eller også <kan du gå ud og snakke med ham.>[>]
%eng:	or you can go out and talk to him.
*EDA:	<du kan gå og snakke og+/.>[<]
%eng:	you can go and talk and+/.
*FRA:	du kan gå ned og snakke med <u>Deutschland alles bis schwein</u>.
%eng:	you can go down and talk with <u>Germany, all are pigs</u>.

In example 1,3 Frank tries out with a term in Turkish. Turkish is not by any means "normally used" by Frank, but he must have encountered the word *domuz* in some form at some time. Eda

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reacts in surprise, her hesitation may be due to her not expecting to hear this word being used on this occasion, or perhaps she does not recognize the word the first time because of the accent. Frank repeats the utterance, and Eda fires back with a salvo of derogatory Turkish words. Frank reacts with a bland remark and a repetition of the first insult. Eda continues her cross-fire. Now Kenny asks her to shut up (in an impolite manner) and follows this up with a remark referring negatively to her ethnicity. Frank adds a (Danish-accented) German derogatory expression, which happens to mean the same as the first Turkish expression, although it is unclear whether the participants are aware of this. This excerpt shows us a rare case of crossing into Turkish by a majority student. It turns out negatively, not as an attempt to create a bond between interlocutors. Frank may attempt to appropriate Turkish in his first two utterances, but Kenny and he soon turn this around and reject Turkish very demonstratively. They ostracize Eda, see above in part 2 about teasing. Since Danish grade school students do not have German on their schedule until grade 7, Frank's use of German is also an instance of crossing, although much less dangerous than his crossing into Turkish.

O'Rourke & Ní Bheacháin (forthc.) describe an ongoing struggle and widespread uneasiness in the interaction between first language speakers and second language speakers of Irish who are all undergraduate students of Irish at the University of Galway. Even the declared intention to achieve competence in Irish (by studying it at university level) is not enough to obtain the accept of one's full access and rights with respect to using Irish and particular kinds of Irish. Language *ownership* may indeed be a very valuable asset, particularly in a state where the particular language is officially part of the national identity.

Since we can all use linguistic items ascribed to more than one set (language, variety, dialect, register, style, argot, code, etc.), those who are referred to as bilinguals can not be distinguished from those who are referred to as monolinguals. As Rampton's study shows, speakers do not need to have any significant command of

a language or a variety in order to be able to use its items for their purposes. The use of a single Latin phrase which is not an already old and integrated Danish word by a speaker of Danish with no further knowledge of Latin can serve a range of functions, such as identity signal, reference to a shared academic background, reference to a shared background of comic book reading, or as sarcasm, possibly all of it at once. The 14-year-old boy who happens to know the phrase *Ave Caesar, morituri te salutant* and uses it to address the female teacher as he enters the classroom late for the third time that week, refers to the value as the language of learning, which is ascribed to Latin. This 14-year old student is acting rather much like some of Rampton's adolescents do with codes belonging to their peers.

Modern sociolinguistics leads us to the conclusion that the demand for *Reinheit* is diffcult to see as anything but the wielding of social power. To strive for language purity, and to insist that learners, particularly adult learners, should acquire language so they can not be distinguished from mother tongue users, is counterproductive in education (Arnfast & Jørgensen 2003) and leads to much waste of time.

Views	Pre-socio-linguistics	Classical socio-linguistics	Critical socio-linguistics	Post-modern socio-linguistics
Use	deficit	difference	dominance	discourse
User	double semi-lingual	double mono-lingual	integrated bilingual	poly-lingual languager
	Hansegaard Jespersen	Fishman	Heller	Rampton

Table 1.2. Views of bilingual or multi-variety language use and the users. Row four cites scholars who have specifically dealt with such use.

Minority students are not the only ones who are subjected to the double monolingualism normativity. The mother tongue speakers of majority languages in North Western Europe are to a large extent bilingual from perhaps the age of 10-12. They hear and read English every single day, also outside their classrooms. Many children at that age also write English in interactive computer programs. In short the notion of a monolingual adolescent is fast becoming obsolete. There seem to be two typical combinations of language use among adolescents. Firstly we witness the relatively frequent interweaving of English words and phrases into the everyday conversation of majority teenagers. This phenomenon is not very well described, but it has attracted quite a bit of attention (and animosity). Secondly we can observe the simultaneous use of majority languages (including as L2) and a range of minority languages, including Turkish among Turkish-speaking bilingual grade school students

The negative attitudes toward both of the types of language combinations involved in teenage language use rely on the concept of a "pure" language as an ideal. This ideal is frequently formulated by gatekeepers, be they teachers, parents, or self-styled linguistic purists in the public debate. The ideal again rests on the concept of languages as entities which can be, and should be, neatly separated from each other. By transgressing the norms of the gate-keepers, adolescents take languages into their own possession and use them to develop their social relations. In the process they also develop the languages.

Adolescents are in transition from child life to adult life, and flexible group constellations provide opportunities to negotiate group membership criteria, including linguistic ones. Furthermore, adolescents play with language, like other languagers do - but

again they make for good observations because their language play often is experimental and social.

There is nothing to indicate that the bilingual adolescents in any deeper sense are different from non-bilingual adolescents. They just happen to have a wider range of linguistic resources at their disposal. It would be next to impossible to maintain that there is something relevant of which "mono-lingual" kids have one, and "bi-lingual" kids have two. These "bi-lingual" Turkish-Danes use several languages and varieties, and they cross into even more. Whether there are five, six, seven, or eight varieties is irrelevant. And if a "mono-lingual" adolescent has six such varieties, and a "bi-lingual" adolescent has eight, what is the point then in distinguishing between "mono-" and "bi"-lingual". There is no point. We are all first and foremost "lingual", we are *languagers* (a term proposed by Kanavilil Rajagopalan, personal communication) who possess the uniquely human quality of language, a species-specific phenomenon that we use to maintain mankind as a social species. What we do when we use the uniquely human phenomenon of language to grasp the world, change the world, and shape the world, is languaging.

Native speaker

Native Speaker is getting old as a concept integrated into applied linguistics. Already Bloomfield (1933, 43) defines the term: "The first language a human being learns to speak is his native language; he is a native speaker of this language". The set of persons who are native speakers of a particular language is a speech community, and the children growing up in this speech community acquire the same native language, each in her or his turn as a new native speaker. In this understanding it is implied that the linguist must seek out our native speaker and by studying her or his linguistic behavior acquire insight into and understanding of the speech community's language.

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This has also been the practice of much structuralist linguistics, including classical Danish dialectology. The linguist finds one or a few informants who are native speakers, and asks them lists of questions, makes them describe artifacts from a culture related to the speech community, etc. The native speaker delivers data in the shape of *parole* which enable the linguistic to postulate the *langue* behind it, the abstract system which the language user is assumed to follow intuitively.

The concept of native speaker is also important for the heir to structuralism, universal grammar. It is its basic idea that human beings are born with an ability to develop language, and that this innate ability by necessity develops an ability to distinguish between what is "grammatical", i.e. follows the rules of the native language of the individual. This ability we all develop, and we therefore have access to competence in our language - as native speakers. It is a task of the linguistic to describe the grammar which reflects the competence, and against which we judge linguistic production (performance). The basic qualities of this grammar must be universal, but the observable rules are language specific, or perhaps specific to the individual language user.

A complete scientific description of a language must pursue one aim above all: to make precise and explicit the ability of a native speaker to produce utterances in that language (Halle 1962, 64).

In this line of thinking there is no distinction between language and dialect, or between group language and national standard. This is a point for Chomsky who refers to the innate language capability and the ensuing ability to distinguish between what is possible in language, and what is not

> Again, we see that the question of what are the "languages" or "dialects" attained, and what is the difference between "native" or "non-native" acquisition, is just pointless (a comment by Chomsky in Paikeday 1985, 56-7)

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This ability to distinguish between grammatical and ungrammatical is the decisive test for the linguist. For a linguistic description to be successful it must be accepted by the language user's, the native language user's intuition.

> One way to test the adequacy of a grammar proposed for L is to determine whether or not the sequences that it generates are actually grammatical, i.e., accceptable to a native speaker (Chomsky 1957, 13)

Native speaker is the ultimate referee of linguistics, and we are all native speakers. If our native speaker can not acknowledge and accept the results of linguistics, those results must be discarded. In structural linguistics the native speaker is highly estimated. Native Speaker is important, and a sine qua non for the kind of linguistics which does not always take too great an interest in what it is that native speaker in fact does do with langauge. As pointed our by Mey (1981) linguists have a tendency to extrapolate their own language to Native Speaker. It is tempting to find in this an unavoidable consequence of concepts such as langue and competence. Structural linguists look for a "real", abstract language in data which are produced by their native speakers, but which are by definition not recognized as the real language by the linguists. Nevertheless, the native speaker is still the point of reference for the eventual success or failure of this type of linguistics. The term native speaker then covers two quite distinct meanings, one as the language users of real life, the other one as an idealized character with complete insight, full competence, in her or his langauge (see also Davies 2003).

Paikeday presents a sharp criticism of the concept of native. He finds the use of the term unreflected and untenable. References to abstract competence, special intuition, etc. in mother tongue speakers or first language users are neither necessary nor useful.

> ... "native speaker" in the sense of sole arbiter of grammaticality or one who has intuitions of a

proprietary nature about his or her mother tongue and which are shared only by others of his own tribe is a myth propagated by linguists, that the true meaning of the lexeme "native speaker" is "proficient user of a specified language", and that this meaning satisfies all contexts in which linguists, anthropologists, psychologists, educators, and others use it, except when it directly refers to the speaker's mother tongue or first-acquired language without any assumptions about the speaker's linguistic competence (Paikeday 1985, 87).

In this understanding the native speaker is a native speaker of a specific language, and only a specific language. The native element has nothing to do with origin, but it has to do with skills in using the particular language. Consequently an advanced second language user is a native speaker, but not a first langauge user whose first language development has been interrupted, perhaps because connections to other users of that language have been cut or severed. Paikeday's definition is probably the most clearly articulated and detailed definition of the term.

But there is also a Native Speaker in second language acquiisition studies. It may very well be the same one as in theoretical linguistics. In any case the language use of a native speaker is the standard against which the success of learners is measured. In a widely used textbook such as Mitchell & Myles (1998) the authors discuss, under the headline Sociolinguistic perspectives, the variability in second langauge use among learners, or perhaps more precisely, the authors dicuss how to determine the border between what has been acquired and what has not been acquired in relation to a goal which is never really specified: the target language as it is spoken by mother tongue users. Mitchell & Myles do not use the term native speaker, but their line of thinking involves the same concept. Berggreen & Tenfjord (1999, 54) refer directly to *innfødt kompetanse* (English *native competence*) which adult learners rarely achieve, and *innfødt taler* (English *native speaker*) (1999,

30). A range of works in second langauge acquisition take the concept of native speaker for granted, and they accept without further ado the norms of mother tongue speakers as the goals for second language acquisition, and empirical studies compare native speakers with learners (Markham 1997, Blum-Kulka 1991, Færch et al. 1984, to arbitrarily mention a few). In the long discussion about second language learners' acquisition of pronunciation, concepts such as native-like or near-native proficiency are particularly frequent. They are highly profiled concepts, both in second language acquisition studies and in practitioners' understanding of their own professional successes or failures. But it is not only pronunciation studies that employ the concept of native proficiency.

A classic in second language acquisition studies, Corder (1967) carefully distinguishes between two types of deviations from grammatical language use. One type consists of occasional slips of the tongue, and they are described as deviations of performance. We all know and produce such deviations, whether we speak our first language or another language. Corder labels these deviations *mistakes*. The other type are only found with learners, and they are described as deviations in competence, the abstract language skill. These deviations are called *errors* by Corder. This difference between two types of deviations shows the importance of the concept of native speaker in the sense of first language user to the theory behind cognitively oriented language acquisition studies, of which Corder is a pioneer.

The vast majority of second langauge acquisition studies employ a concept of faults, be they mistakes or errors, meaning linguistic production which deviates from the norms of the native speaker. Per definition Native Speaker does not commit errrors, only mistakes, and errors are the problems of second language learners (and Corder is a pioneer exactly because he points out that errors are necessary steps in second language acquisition).

According to tradition, linguistic as well as applied linguistic, native speaker is an ideal, a super-figure whose heights we can never reach but must always aspire to approach. It is probably no coincidence that Native Speaker has been presented a festschrift (Coulmas 1981).

On the other hand, Native Speaker has also been the target of criticism. Mey (1981) presents the idea that native speaker is the result of linguists' self-projection into an ideal figure. He points out that native speaker almost never fails to be a middle-aged man with a background in the elite of his society (in Mey's terms: a Burger King). Mey criticizes the way most linguists employ the concept of Native Speaker - the variation of the real world is simply not taken into account: "Let's get rid of royalty and come down to reality. Kick out the decrepit Burger King from Native Speaker country, and let the speaking workers of all nations unite!" (Mey 1981, 82).

Native Speaker's obituary has also been written, edited by Paikeday (1985) - after the expansion of sociolinguistics she (he?) may indeed have passed. If so, she is nevertheless fondly remembered by structural linguists and second language learning students.

As pointed out by Dasgupta (1998) classical dialectology's description of dialects in the most "pure" form can be interpreted as an extension of romanticism's idealization of the rural way of life. This continues into the Western colonization of Asia and Africa, including a great tradition of linguists who seek out a native-native speaker and through questioning techniques etc. retrieve material which forms the basis for a description of the native-native language.

Another criticism has been formulated from a different side of sociolinguistics. For instance, Phillipson (1992), and perhaps most markedly Singh, D'Souza & Prabhu (1995) have pointed out a discrepancy in the application of the term "native" in combination

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with English. English as spoken by millions of inhabitants in India is routinely labeled and treated as non-native, while at the same time English spoken in South Africa, New Zealand, and the USA is considered native. This makes little sense, but it is nevertheless tradition in many corners of applied linguistics which thereby unabashedly continue the colonial discourse about "them" and "us", particularly with respect to languages and their value. Native Speaker is still alive in this tradition and well at ease at home in Britain. Out there in India live all the many people whose English does not really provide valuable data for the description of English - the people who are expected to be like the Briton - almost, but not quite.

> ...colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite. Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an ambivalence; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference (Bhabha 1994, 86)

English in India is in Western post-colonial discourse regarded as almost English, but not quite. In this connection we do not regard the meaning of the term *native* applied to the populations of former colonies, as primitive savages (noble or not)

Paikeday avoids the discussions about nativity because his criterium of a native speaker is language skill, not whether the language in question is the first one acquired. In this way he ducks out of important sociolinguistic discussions, Kandiah (1998) maintains.

> ...having pronounced the 'native speaker' a myth, he declares that the meaning of the term is 'proficient user of a specified language' (Paikeday 1985: 87). As it stands, there is not much to object to in this definition, if we must go in search of definitions. But, in the

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context of the wider debate it belongs within, it leaves
entirely untouched all of the issues which raised the
problem in the first place (Kandiah 1998, 91).

As so often it is easy being in Scandinavia and observe how
arrogant the British are and have been in India, and how vulgar and
arrogant the U.S. Americans are in the Middle East today. But
post-colonial perspectives are also relevant in the relationship
between majority Scandinavians and the recently immigrated
minority groups, particularly those from the Middle East. The term
de fremmede (the strangers) which is often used, especially in the
political discourse, is a good indication of that. In spite of this term
and the accompanying attitude it is often described as a problem
that the minorities do not speak a "proper" Danish, Norwegian, etc.
Especially in Denmark it is a main issue in the political discourse
from left to right that the minorities do not know Danish well
enough.

Bilingualism and poly-lingualism

In applied linguistics bilingualism is traditionally defined on at
least two different levels, the individual and the societal. This
means that we work with a concept of bilingual persons and a
concept of bilingual societies. There are several problems involved
in this, notwithstanding the difficulties in distinguishing the two
levels from other levels. Some of these problems are highlighted
by the issues I discuss in the following.

First of all, we must take account of the fact that language is not an
unequivocal concept. Some definitions of bilingualism take for
granted the presence of one language plus another language. That
means that these definitions also take for granted that we can count
languages – and that we can determine the borders of languages,
i.e. when one language stops and the next one begins, so to say.
But things are not that simple. We can not determine the border

between languages with such a precision that it makes sense to count the languages.

Counts of languages are difficult and depend on borders which must be drawn arbitrarily. Distinguishing linguistically between what is a language and what is a dialect has been given up by sociolinguistics long ago. Measured by mutual comprehensibility and structural differences the Scandinavian languages are (cf. the section on Different languages above) closer to each other than what are usually called different dialects of Kurdish. Nevertheless we call Swedish and Danish different languages.

Behind this is the 200 years old European national romanticist ideology which connects the concept of one nation (one national state) with one language and one people. The Kurds do not have a national state at all – and all varieties spoken by Kurds are thus dialects.

On the other hand, we can just as little use the borders between political nation states as a criterion for distinguishing between languages. English is an official language of several nation states spread around the globe, i.e. in Great Britain, South Africa, and Australia, but yet we do not think of English in Australia and English in South Africa as different languages. Neither can we draw clear boundaries between neighbor languages using structural differences as criteria. During the centuries, Bergen Norwegian and Uppsala Swedish have developed in quite different directions, but in the border areas of Norway and Sweden it is unclear where Swedish stops and Norwegian begins.

Let us just consider the situation of an average 12-year-old boy in Køge. Just in what we normally call Danish, he will every day hear several different types: Sealand Danish, Copenhagen Standard Danish, etc. Typically he will also hear English every day, and if he is not very isolated, he will in Køge also hear at least Turkish and Arabic. Most 12-year-old boys in Denmark today need to be able to function with at least Danish and English. A great many of

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them need yet more languages in their everyday lives. The relationships which the young people have to these languages are quite complicated. We can not just ignore the variation between Sealand Danish and Copenhagen standard Danish. It is true that today the differences between these two varieties are so small that they are immediately mutually comprehensible. And it is also true that this is not the case for Danish and Turkish. But there is no clear boundary between on the one hand cases where two (or more) varieties are mutually comprehensible, and on the other hand cases where two language are not mutually comprehensible. When we take into account the fact that a portion of the 12-year-old boys in Denmark do not have Danish as their mother tongue, it is also possible, if not likely, that some Danish varieties are not immediately accessible to them, e.g. classical Bornholm dialect or the classical Vendelbomål. And in any case, it seems that the other Scandinavian languages present more problems to speakers who have Danish as their second language than to speakers with a Danish mother tongue. All this only goes to show that mutual comprehensibility is not a criterion for distinguishing between (groups of or pairs of) varieties or languages.

We have not solved the problem by introducing a technical term (like *variety*). It does indeed solve the problem of distinguishing between language and dialect, because it is a cover term for both (and sociolects, etc.). But it will not serve as an analytical term which enables us to distinguish sharply between individual languages (or varieties). Since we can not determine with certainty where one language ends, and the other one begins, it follows that we can not count languages either. We can not determine, exactly which languages an individual knows, and consequently we can not tell how many languages this person or any other person knows. We can, however, observe that there is a wide specter of variation available to any individual, and we can also observe that this specter is different from person to person. Furthermore we can observe that mutual comprehensibility is not a quality unmistakenly connected to a pair or a set of languages, dialects, or varieties. It is just as much connected to the individual features.

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Speakers who use the features may therefore understand each other, they may understand each other under certain circumstances and not understand each other under different cicrcumstances, or they may not understand each other at all. Comprehensibility lies with the given combination of speakers and situation, not with the languages or varieties.

This does not mean that we can not tell one language from the other at all. It is quite easy to observe that Turkish and Danish are different varieties with a long list of differences in structures, vocabulary, etc. But we can not with the same degree of certainty tell the difference between Copenhagen standard Danish, Western Sealand Danish, Eastern Sealand Danish, or between Ankara standard Turkish, Black Sea Turkish, or Taurus-Turkish. It may therefore make sense to talk about different varieties although we may be unable to determine exactly which varieties we are dealing with. Therefore it also makes sense to use cover terms like Turkish and Danish, even if each of these may comprise several varieties which are used by individual speakers. We use a *prototypical* (Hudson 1996, 75f) concept of the languages.

It follows from this that description of multilingual behavior can not be based on a concept of bilingualism which is defined by any number of languages being spoken. We can not in any simple or straightforward way count the number of varieties or languages which are in use in a given society. We can not determine the borderlines between the varieties, and therefore it makes no sense to try to count them. Likewise we find variation in the individual speakers' behavior who have access to and use several varieties of their mother tongue, and we can not count the number of varieties or languages known used by the individual speaker. Multilingualism is therefore a concept of complexity.

Even if we often can determine whether two varieties are different, it does not follow that we can determine the (linguistic or geographical!) border between them. This further leads to the fact that we can not determine the total number of varieties in this

world, or even the total number of varieties commanded by every single individual language user. The precision of the term *bilingualism* must take account of these facts, but there is more to say.

Thirdly, namely, it is also difficult to maintain a concept of community which makes it feasible to work with a notion of speech community, a classical term in linguistics. It is just as difficult to attribute to real life as the terms language, dialect, etc. (se the discussion of the term speech community above).

Bilingualism is sometimes described as the command of two separate languages. In some cases this view of bilingualism sets certain requirements for the speaker's command of two languages. A typical example we find in this linguistics dictionary definition:

> bilingualism is used about complete command of two languages. Bilingualism can be acquired through growing up in a bilingual environment where normally one language (the mother tongue) dominates over the other, or it can be acquired by moving from one place to another or (more rarely) through teaching (Cramer m.fl. 1996, 162, my translation)

On top of the somewhat unsatisfactory knowledge of bilingualism research this formulation reveals a very rough understanding of bilingualism as the presence of one language together with the presence of another language - and that is it.

Second language acquisition research often deals with the influence one language is believed to have on another language, or more precisely, on the production in the target language by the learner. This is described as interference, meaning negative influence by one language on another. Bilingualism, particularly so-called "successful" or "balanced" bilingualism (a good example of the use of such terminology is Skutnabb-Kangas 1981) is understood as the sum of the command of one language plus the

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command of another language with no mutual influence between the languages. The bilingual person so to say knows the two languages separately. In second language acquisition research there is very little discussion about learners' use of features *not* generally taken to belong to the target language. When educational systems teach "English", they emphasize linguistic behavior which strictly involves only features ascribed to the ideological construct called English. Learners may, nevertheless, involve features generally ascribed to other codes than the one they are supposed to be learning. This aberration from conservative norms of language learning behavior may be very fruitful (Arnfast & Jørgensen 2003). Still, such behavior is usually disallowed. At best it is considered a necessary nuisance in language classes. It is taken for granted that speakers should keep their linguistic skills separated.

Similarly, linguistic production is understood as a continuum of processes which in the bilingual person at some point is separated into language specific sub-processes. These sub-processes run independently of each other if they are tied to each of the two different languages of the bilingual perso. One example of this view of language processes in the bilingual is Verhoeven (1987) who - in the course of a discussion about literacy and linguistic minority children - present a model of the bilingual languages user, see figure 1.9. The model is characteristic of a whole range of models by juxtaposing two languages and keeping them separate in the language production processes and specific language-cognitive processes. The whole production process happens in one of the two chains - if there is an integration it happens outside the scope of the model. Although there is a certain spillover effect from one string of processes to the other, there is no doubt that we are dealing with two strictly separated systems and strings of processes.

Likewise, in discussions involving interference, transfer, or other obvious signs of mutuality in bilingualism, the majority of models tend to separate the two languages entirely or almost entirely. One

example is Green's (1986) model, see figure 1.10. Such models rest on the assumption that most linguistic elements involved in a particular piece of production can be described as belonging to one or the other of the two languages involved in the model. Of course, some (a few) features can not unequivocally be ascribed to one or the other language, but that is because they belong to both languages, i.e. they are also used by so-called monolingual speakers of each language. Examples are words such as *Kajak* in Norwegian and Swedish, *Libero* in German and Danish. In this view, the languages in principle exist completely independently of each other. One could take one full language entirely away from the speaker, and the other one would be there, complete and unaffected.

For such a view of bilingualism, alternation between the languages becomes a problem which needs explanation. It is no secret that bilingual language users, regardless of their two languages being considered separate, alternate between the two through code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, or in other ways. Kolers (1966) (!) found that code-switching had to involve a cost, and he argued for this with the measurements of the time it takes a bilingual person to read aloud a bilingual text, compared to the time it takes a monolingual person to read aloud a monolingual text. Other experiments have concluded with support for the hypothesis that bilingual persons metaphorically turn a switch between the two languages by which they activate one or the other language, but not both at the same time. This switch, and the use of it, is supposed to cause the cost of alternating between languages.

There is probably a difference between on the one hand de-coding a message including a code-switch, and on the other hand producing messages with code-switches. Especially with respect to certain productive tasks which bilinguals appear to produce in shorter time than monolinguals (Wakefield et al. 1976). This has led to a hypothesis about an output-switch and an input-switch. The output-switch is controlled by the bilingual language user who

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(under everyday circumstances) decides to set it at one or the other point in order to use one or the other language. The input-switch, on the other hand, is set by a stream of linguistic data which is received by the individual person (Macnamara & Kushnir 1971). In both cases, however, it is assumed that the two involved languages are separated in the bilingual.

Other models of the presence of two languages in the bilingual person assume that the languages exist (and perhaps are stored) together. But they are connected with each other in an associative network where connections within the "same" languages by and large are tighter and stronger than connections between "different" languages. Thus there is but one system of linguistic connections. Paradis (Paradis 1981, 1987, see also von Studnitz & Green 1997) suggests a combined model in which the bilingual individual employs as well a set of features from one of the languages as a set of features from the other language as a superimposed set of common (or universal?) set of features. Paradis (2004) specifically maintains that the connectionist line of thinking necessarily also involves "modules" of functions.

In connectionist so-called neural networks, learning is said to result in the adjustment of the weight of connections between units, thereby in effect establishing dedicated pathways, the hallmark of neurofunctional modules. Dedicated weighted connections for a particular task constitute the connectionist equivalent of a module, a different metaphor for a modular system (Paradis 2004, 122). Paradis (2004, 227) also draws a model in which the languages are neatly separated in little boxes. However metaphorically we understand them, such models invite the thought that languages are somehow distinguishable from each other, both in the linguistic behavior of speakers and in the neurocognitive representation.

From this point of view a model of the bilingual language user must be able to describe both (intended) monolingual production and poly-lingual production by the language user. The individual

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elements and features must therefore be marked as elements and features which can be employed in intended monolingual language production (and in which of the involved languages). In principle this is not different from the marking of all other qualities which characterize linguistic features. Acquiring a language involves acquiring knowledge (or whatever term we use for internalization) about the marking of features as belonging to specific languages. Acquisition of new language features involves the acquisition of knowledge about both structural aspects and the marking of the features' ascription to a specific language. Acquiring language is hardly completely independent of the structural relationships within each language, and the result of acquisition probably depends to a certain extent on typological and other conditions. Learning new features ascribed to the language called Turkish is probably facilitated by the presence and use of other features with the same ascription. But it is also more than conceivable that the acquisition and development of features ascribed to Turkish may be influenced by the presence of features ascribed to another language, for instance non-agglutinating flection.

Pfaff (1993) has studied language use and acquisition among children belonging to the Turkish-speaking minority in Berlin. She has found:

> that actual errors are relatively infrequent even in German-dominant children's speech, but that there are clear differences in the inventory of structures used and in the frequencies with which the various alternatives are employed (Pfaff 1993, 142)

This does not mean that the Turkish features used by so-called German-dominant pre-school children in Berlin include many constructions which could not be heard in the language use of so-called monolingual Turkish speakers. On the contrary, such constructions, i.e. what sometimes is labeled "interference", are quite rare. But Turkish constructions (language use with features that are all ascribed to Turkish) which are structurally more

similar than their alternatives to monolingual German constructions, seem to be overrepresented among the minority pre-school children. They are more frequent in the language use of this group than they are among the monolingual Turkish speakers. Pro-dropping is a feature which is a member of the set of features called the Turkish language. Nevertheless utterances like *Peter, sen bana topu verir misin?* (English *Peter, do you give me the ball?*) are common among Pfaff' informants. The utterance contains the following features:

Peter + you + me-dative + ball-accusative + give-present tense question-2. person singular

Two pronouns are used which are not obligatory or even normal in monolingual Turkish, but they are possible. In monolingual German they are obligatory. Pfaff observes that bilingual Turkish-German children choose the Turkish constructions which are most similar to German, when they can choose between different Turkish structures - regardless of how frequent these structures are in Turkish. This is particularly true for the so-called German-dominant children. Pfaff emphasizes that we are not here seeing confusion or grammar mixing. The languages develop side by side, and the Turkish-dominant children acquire the morphology of Turkish similarly to Turkish speaking children in Turkey.
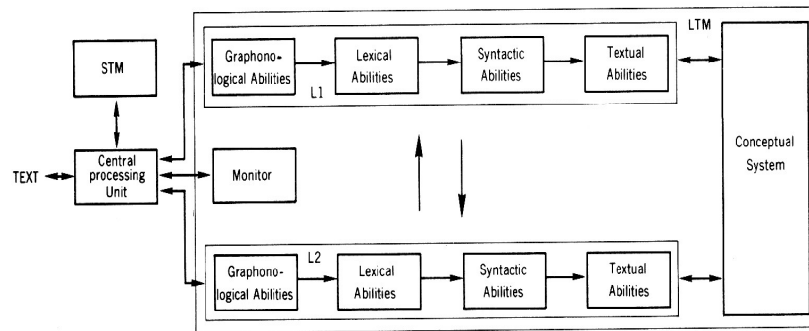
Figure 2.2: Model of the bilingual language user

Figure 1.9. Verhoeven's (1987, 44) model of the bilingual language user (inspired by Levelt & Kempen 1976).
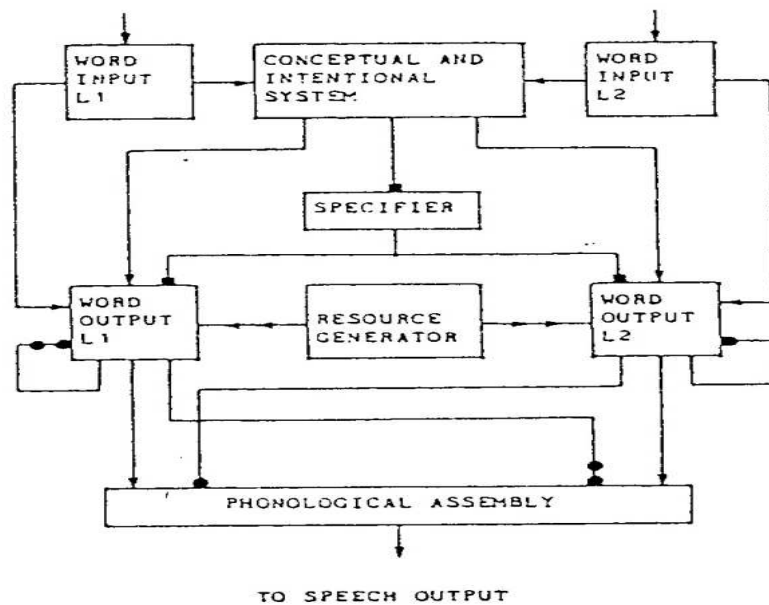
Figur 1.10. Green's (1986,216) model of the bilingual language user (see Green 1986, 219).

PSYCHOLOGICAL COGNITIVE AND SOCIAL FACTORS IN BILINGUAL LANGUAGE

ACQUISITION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN
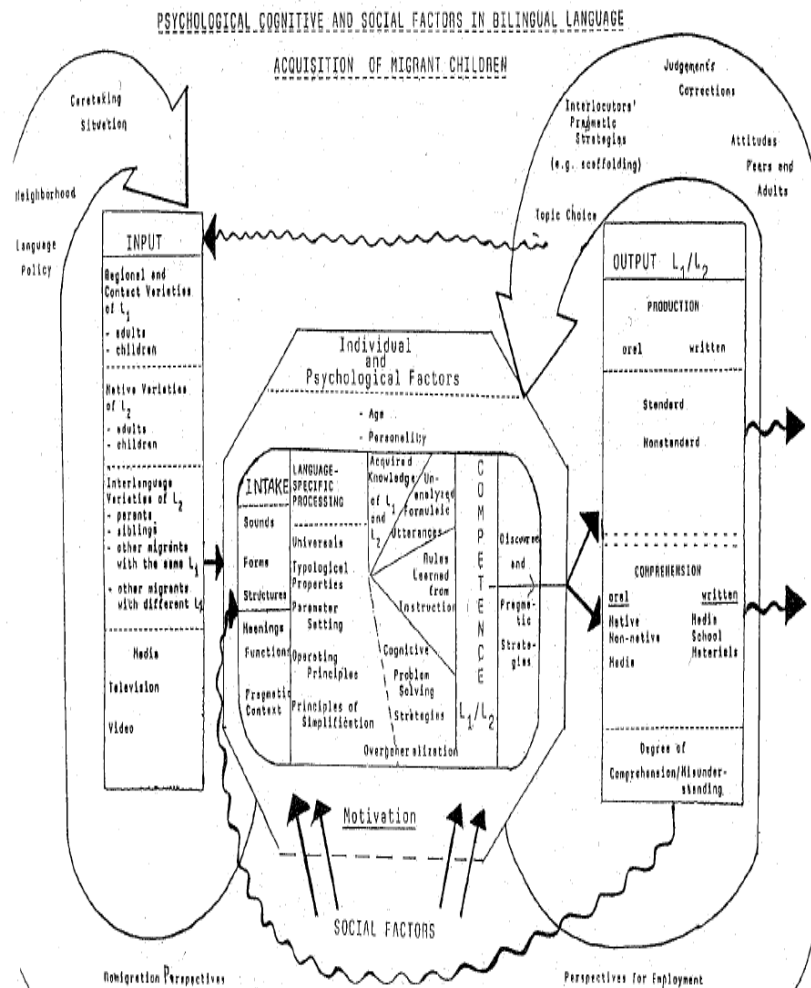
Figure 1.11. Pfaff's model of bilingual competence (1993, 121).

Pfaff's results raise the question whether the bilingual individual really separates her or his competences into two systems. Her own tentative model of acquisition of bilingual competences appears in figure 1.11.

Pfaff distinguishes between two languages at the input level. Here both an L1 and an L2 appear in different varieties. It is not clear whether the model covers poly-language use under "Contact varieties of L1" or perhaps under "Interlanguage varieties of L2". It is my point that part of the language use to which these children are exposed will not be categorizable as L1 or L2. At the input level, Turkish-German children will meet code-switching and code-mixing at all levels. However, her model captures much better than the other models the necessary integration of features which are usually ascribed to different languages. It is indeed a very complicated model, but in this respect it is probably much closer to reality than simple models, and it is certainly a much more precise representation of language use as we can observe it.

Code choice and code-switching

Auer (1995, 116) points out that in order for a code-switch to function interactionally the interlocutors must be "in a position to interpret" the code-switch as such. This means that the intention of producing a code-switch is not enough to make it work as a code-switch. It must also be perceived as one. Burling (2005) stresses, along the same line of thinking, that understanding precedes production, even in humankind's initial development of language.

> The only innovations in signal production that can be successful, and so consolidated by natural selection, are those that conform to the pre-exisitng receptive competence of other individuals (2005, 20)

We must understand code-switching as an interactional phenomenon. Code-switching is possible when interlocutors agree on specific features' ascription to different sets of features, different "codes". Speakers do share concepts of "languages", and they use this shared knowledge in poly-lingual production. This understanding of code-switching is not shared by all sociolinguistics. Code-switching has indeed been the focus of much sociolinguistic work during several decennia, but usually with another perspective.

With Poplack (1980) began one of two major strands in the study of code-switching. This strand describes code-switching as a grammatical phenomenon, looking for grammatically based rules of code-switching possibilities and limitations. Poplack's point of departure was a linear sentence grammatical description of constraints on code-switching. She postulated two basic constraints on code-switching. One was the so-called *free morpheme constraint*, which prevents a code-switch between a free morpheme and its bound morphemes. The other one was the *equivalence constraint*, which prevents code-switching at a place in the utterance where the shift would cause a violation of the syntax of either of the involved languages. Pfaff (1979) formulates a similar rule of code-switching. Both Romaine and Poplack, however, use material with bilingual speakers who use American English and Spanish.

This perspective on bilingualism has suffered some criticism. Some of this is related to the fact that languages which are further apart than English and Spanish present many counterexamples, or violations of the constraints. Myers-Scotton (1993b) (with examples from English and Swahili) and Boyd et al. (1991) (with examples from Swedish and Finnish, French and Sango) reject Poplack's constraints. Also Turkish and Danish can provide examples which do not follow the constraints, see example 1,4.

Example 1,4:
*BEK: *len* lim*inizi* låne *edeyim benimki olmuyor*.

%eng: *man, may I* borrow *your* glue, *mine doesn't work*

liminizi contains the Danish root morpheme *lim* plus a Turkish possessive morpheme (*i*), a plural morpheme *(iz)*, and an accusative morpheme (*i*). There are several such constructions in our data (see below), and in the literature they are quite common. Poplack et al. (1988) argue that these constructions are ad-hoc loans (nonce borrowings) and not code switches. In principle there is a distinction between 1) integrated loans which are morphologically or phonetically adapted to the borrowing language; 2) ad-hoc-loans which are not adapted, but may still combine with morphemes of the borrowing language, and 3) code-switches. The two constraints are only valid for code-switches.

Nevertheless, it is not very obvious that the construction *låne edeyim* respects the equivalence constraint. Turkish forms constructions with nouns plus the verb *etmek* (see below about grade 1), for instance *ziyaret etmek* (*to visit*) and *devam etmek* (*to continue*). The equivalent form in Danish would thus be **lån etmek*, but we have never come across such a construction in the Køge Project. Examples are all combinations with verbs, and they are common.

Another grammatically based model for the description of code-switching is Myers Scotton's (1995) Matrix Language Frame Model. This model assumes that a so-called base language can be identified in a stretch of speech. The base language forms the grammatical frame of the stretch of speech. The model distinguishes between the base language and the so-called embedded language. These two are in a hierarchical relationship in which the base language contributes the (morpho-) syntactical frame of the construction, while the embedded language may provide (some of) the vocabulary. Analytically the matrix language can be determined according to several criteria, such as sociolinguistic un-markedness. A more detailed distinction is morpheme-based, either as a quantitative determination of the language which provides the majority of morphemes, or as a

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qualitative distinction between certain types of morphemes (see also the discussion below in the section about grade 4).

One of the problems of this model is the obligatory assumption of a hierarchy among the languages involved. This has also led to criticism, such as Maegaard & Møller (1999, 260) who find that the code-switching practices among the students in the Køge Project can not always be described in terms of hierarchies, see example 1,5.

Example 1,5:
*ASI: koncentrere *yaparsan* så kan du godt se det.
%eng: *if you* concentrate, then you can see it.

It is unclear whether Turkish is the matrix language of the subordinate clause, or Danish is the matrix language of the whole utterance. Maegaard & Møller form a conclusion which expresses this criticism.

> We find that the MLF [Matrix Language Frame] model to a certain extent is well suited as a set of terms for analytical work. However, we thoroughly disagree with the idea that at all times only one language forms the base of bilingual conversations (Maegaard & Møller 1999, 267, my translation)

Hansen (2001) has analyzed a selection of the code-switches in the Køge Project data. He finds similar problems with the identification of a matrix language. He concludes that the MLF model can describe many aspects of code-switching. In particular he finds that it analyzes bilingual language use precisely as involving features from different languages. Nevertheless, he concludes:

> As we have seen, there are parts of data which the MLF has more difficulties accounting for than other models have. The data of the Køge Project are characterized by

the fact that there is no unmarked language of the interaction type, and the frequency criterion of the ML often fails, as sentences with a Turkish ML form a part of interaction types which by the frequency criterion would be Danish-based, and vice versa. The ML categorization is too static and rigid (Hansen 2001, 25, my translation).

Phillip (2002) has analyzed the Køge data material which has been published in Turan (1999). He distinguishes between matrix language and embedded language, and compares his findings with data from Turkish speakers elsewhere in Western Europe. He, like Hansen and Maegaard & Møller, encounters difficulties with specific utterances, such as

Example 1,6:
*SEL: ja men det bliver du altså nødt til *içine girmek*.
%eng: yes but you will have to *to go in*

If this had been a construction entirely inTurkish, its grammar would here expect a form *girme*. An tirely Danish construction would have the *go* (corresponding to *girmek*) before the *in* (corresponding to *içine*) So we are confronted with a expression which uses partly Danish, partly Turkish grammar. Phillip concludes that the borders between the languages, in Denmark as elsewhere in Europe, are slowly dissolving.

Beispiele aus dem türkisch-niederländischen, -norwegischen und -englischen zeigen Ähnlichkeiten mit den Beispielen aus dem türkisch-dänischen Textkorpus. Auch in diesen Beispielen scheinen sich die Grenzen zwischen den Sprachen langsam aufzuheben und eine Unterscheidung zwischen ML und EL schwieriger zu machen (Phillip 2002, 60).

Karrebæk (2005) has analyzed the code-switching in the Køge Project from a different grammatical angle. She has studied code-

switches performed by the students during the three last years of grade school, concentrating on iconicity phenomena. She describes her own analysis as "a purely language analytical angle on multilingualism and multilingual language use", that is, as a study in functional grammar and information structure. Ikonicity, "the phenomenon that a linguistic expression shares qualities with the expressed content" (Karrebæk 2005, 40, my translation). For instance, it is no coincidence that the verbs follow each other in an order as they do in *Bob was born and raised in Copenhagen*. Karrebæk concentrates on information structural issues, as concepts of topic and focus. Topic is "the referent which the proposition in a given situation is taken to deal with or relate to" (Karrebæk 2005, 50, my translation), while focus is the part of the sentence "by which presupposition and assertion are distinguished from each other, and it is not identical with, but just a part of the pragmatic assertion" (Karrebæk 2005, 52, my translation).

Karrebæk categorizes the code-switches in her data into three groups. The first group comprises switches based on ikonicity, and it includes quotations, changes of theme, changes of addressee, and other constructions where the code-switch and the shift in content go hand in hand. Information structural phenomena can also be highlighted by code-switches. Secondly Karrebæk finds code-switches in which the iconical aspect in a sense is in oposition to the code-switch. But precisely this fact achieves a pragmatic effect which allows an inference from the iconicity to the meaning of the code-switch. The third group covers structurally motivated code-switches which relate to either the information structure or the surface structure of the code-switching utterances. All three types are documented by Karrebæk and illustrated with examples from the Køge data.

The other major trend in the study of code-switching concentrates on the pragmatic function of code-switching in conversations. The first attempts to systematize code-switching build on Ferguson's (1959) concept of diglossia between Classical Arabic and local Arabic varieties. Fishman (1965) adjusts this notion to everyday

life in a modern industrialized urban society with linguistic minorities. He links code-choice with a concept of domains, so that variables such as place, situation, and interlocutors will determine which one out of two or more languages would be chosen by the language users. Gumperz (1982) developed a distinction between situational code-switches and metaphorical code-switches (see more about this above). Metaphorical code-switches are characterized by the fact that the producer, the speaker, intends to convey a meaning with the switch. With this, code-switching is included in the arsenal of linguistic means which are at the disposal of language users who aim to express a content. The concepts suggested by Gumperz has led to a considerable mass of code-switching studies. A leading scholar is Auer (1984, 1988, 1998, 1999) who has critisized Gumperz' notions of situational and metaphorical code-switches. He finds that they are both too simple, and too difficult to distinguish between in real life. Auer suggests that a detailed sequential analysis is the best basis for theorizing about the interlocutors' own understanding of code-choice and code-switching. Auer's term for this activity is conversation analysis. This term has been more or less monopolized by a radical analytical school (e.g., Steensig 2001) which presents very specific demands to the analytical method applied to conversations, including the collection of data, the transcription, and the observations allowed. (Some of the analyses of the Køge data are conversation analytic in this narrow sense, see for instance Steensig 2000a, 2000b, 2001a, 2003, Cromdal 2000, 2001, 2003). Auer is less radical both with respect to the analysis and with respect to conversation external observations. His method closely resembles that of Li Wei (e.g., 1998) and a string of analyses of the Køge data (such as Hansen 2004, Jørgensen 1998, 2001a, 2002a).

A crucial point in Auer's method is the sequentiality of turns in a bilingual conversation. He defines different patterns, depending on the distribution of choices of code on participants and utterances. What distinguishes the different code-switching patterns from each other is the sequence of the choice of codes.

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Pattern Ia runs as A1 A2 A1 A2 // B1 B2 B1 B2, where "A" marks one language, "B" the other language, the figure "1" denotes one speaker, and the figure "2" denotes the other speaker. The code-switch happens at the point of the "//". In pattern Ia the interlocutors use language a, until person 1 switches into language B, after which also person 2 switches into language B, and subsequently they both use langauge B. The code-switch happens between two utterances. In pattern Ib the langauges are distributed similarly, but the switch happens within an utterance: A1 A2 A1 A2 A1//B1 B2 B1 B2.

A completely different way occurs in pattern IIa, where the interlocutors speak different languages: A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 B2. One of the speakers may adapt, for instance person 2, and we get pattern IIb: A1 B2 A1 B2 A1 // A2 A1 A2 A1.

It is further possible to employ both language in the same utterance, i.e. in so-called intersentential code-switching, as in pattern IIIa: AB1 AB2 AB1 AB2. This pattern can be adjusted to the other patterns, as in IIIb: AB1 // A2 A1 A2.

Auer's fourth pattern is found when a speaker in the middle of an utterance switches languages with an inserted remark that does not affect the code choice in the rest of the exchange, pattern IV: A1 [B1] A1. he labels this pattern *transfer* (with a term which is somewhat unlucky, considering its frequent use in the literature for something qiute different).

Hansen (2004) is a study of code-switches in the Køge data based on Auer's categories. Hansen traces the development of code-shoice practices among a group of students throughout their school years. He finds that the students follow the same path, beginning with pattern I-switches (most of the students in grade 1, and all of them by grade 3) . Next he finds pattern IV-switches (also by grade 3), followed by pattern III which the students all have developed by grade 6. Pattern II does not appear with all the students. In addition to this result Hansen observes that there is a

clear similarity between the ranking of the students in his study and in Quist's (1998) ranking based on the students' acquisition of Danish as a second language. The students who acquire Danish early are also the ones who develop code-switching patterns first, etc. There are exceptions, but in general, the developments are parallel.

Myers-Scotton is interested not only in the structural description of code-switching. It is part of the Matrix Language Frame model that sociolinguistic criteria can influence the categorization of utterance parts as the matrix. Myers-Scotton also distinguishes between marked and unmarked code-switches. With marked code-switching the speaker opens negotiations of the social relationship between the interlocutors (alters the balance of obligations and rights in the social relations, as they have been linguistically negotiated). With unmarked code-switching the speaker behaves as expected in consideration of the balance of rights and obligations. The distinction between unmarked and marked code-switching is not very different from Gumperz' distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching.

Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai (2001) present a model for the intentionally determined code choice made by the individual speaker in specific situations. Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai accept that social macro-structures may play a role in specific code choices, but personal and strategic motivations are also involved. The language user's choice is considered *rational* - it is not automatic, it serves (or is assumed by the speaker to serve) a purpose.

Auer (1999, 319) assumes that "there is a tendency to move from CS [code-switching] to LM [language mixing], but not in the opposite direction". The central distinction between Auer's concepts of code-switching and language mixing in interaction is that code-switching creates meaning locally. Code-switching works in the given situation, under the given circumstances, and involving the given speakers and subjects, etc. Code-switching

highlights the juxtaposition of features with different code assignments, while language mixing approaches the characteristics of a code by itself, i.e. a set of features which belong together. This development is completed in what Auer (1999, 321) calls *fused lects*, where the distinction between features from one set and features from the other set is suspended. We have not observed this phenomenon anywhere in the Køge data. Hinnenkamp (2005, 19) labels one type of language use among his Turkish-German adolescents as "speaking mixed" (*gemischt sprechen*, *karışık konuşmak*) and describes it as a "blurred genre in its own right". He observes that the speakers themselves do not mention this type of language use with a noun, but always with "*verba dicendi*-formulations", in other words they think of this as something involving action on their side. The distinction between locally meaningful juxtaposition of features which are believed to belong to different codes, and the locally non-meaningful use of the same features has also been observed by Hinnenkamp (2003, 26) as he describes switches which "do not respect any phrase structure constraints and also create new and autonomous language forms?".

The conversation analysis inspired analytical method which characterizes the works of Li Wei (for instance 1998), Auer (1995), and Sebba (1993), is also Rampton's (1995). Rampton reaches the insight that code choice to a very large extent is a question about the social relations among the interlocutors. The interlocutors *negotiate* their mutual relations, and their shared relations to the rest of the world, and code choice is one of the tools of negotiation. As the social psychologists also observe, Rampton's young speakers can present a view of themselves and their relationship to interlocutors by the way they use language. They may, for instance by choosing a feature which is not normally considered to "belong" to them, align themselves with certain groups or subgroups.

On the basis of results such as Rampton's it becomes evident that "code-switching" is not an exotic phenomenon reserved for

linguistic dissidents. It is a linguistic tool on a par with all other tools. We can even take one step further and observe that code-switching in no way is restricted to the language use of those people whom tradition calls "bilingual". We all do it.

Conclusions

Humankind is a languaging species. As individuals human beings use language to change the world. People can not change the world directly through language, but through their social exchange of language production they can. Language is social. Therefore language is also humankind's primary means to build, maintain, and negotiate social relations, and language similarly has tremendous importance for the individuals' establishing of identities.

As structure, language is based in the individual. There are no two adults who share exactly the same features. On the other hand, we share every linguistic feature of ours with at least some others (at the least when we involve their comprehension potential), otherwise the features would not be features of language. The use of specific features is a result of the speaker's choice, and intentions are important factors in the choosing process. However, meaning is social, and it is not only created by the speaker. Meaning occurs in the interaction when the interlocutors are "in a position to" (Auer 1995, 116) interpret the language used in the situation as meaningful (and do so).

Descriptions of language must focus on features. Ideologically, features are considered to belong together in sets of features which are called "langauges" or "codes" (or "lects", etc.). But this is a purely ideological ascription of features to separate categories. It does not reflect the language use we can observe among humans, particularly not in late modern urban societies.

With the ideological norm ideals of separate "languages" follow norms prescribing the language use of human beings. In education, media, and the vast majority of public arenas we can observe very strong monolingualism norms being aggressively upheld. These norms are, however, not based on the nature of human language, or even the practices in many places.

In private or semi-private interactions we can observe a much more elaborate virtuosity in people's language use patterns. Humans use whatever linguistic features are at their disposal, regardless of their ideological ascription to separate categories (but not disregarding these ascriptions which may be important for the creation of meaning in the situation).

Any sociolinguistic theory must take this reality into consideration. Therefore we must base our description of "language" as a human phenomenon on linguistic *practices*. There is no relevance in distinctions such as langue-parole and competence-performance. This is not to say that it does not matter what people think is "correct" language, or what the word for *evinde* is "in English". Such beliefs are indeed important, but they are important *as beliefs*, not as evidence for the nature of language. Sociolinguistic theory thus must involve the *ascription* of language categories as well as the accompanying values.

Sociolinguistic theory, including theory of variation and change, must take into account the constant processes of interplay between on the one hand social categories and evaluations, and on the other hand language features. Traditional sociolinguistics considers linguistic variation as reflections of social structures, whereas dicourse oriented sosiolinguistics think of language variation as a tool in social negotiations. Both are of course possible. The statistical evidence behind Labov's conclusions is very strong. Social structures in New York must contribute to the distribution of post-vocalic r-pronunciations. There is a decent chance of predicting the occurence of postvocalic r in given situations. On the other hand, the evidence is precisely one of statistical

differences. This must also mean that the speakers *sometimes* choose forms in a way that can not be predicted. Since language use is intention-driven, such choices can be used by speakers to achieve certain meanings in interaction.

In the study of poly-lingual languaging we must analyze the choice of features, words, morphemes, sounds, syntactic structures, etc. We must also analyze the ascription of features to categories of language, such as they are assumed and known by the involved speakers. Further we must assign the features employed by the speakers to their respective categories, languages, lects, etc. With these data analyzed thus we can describe the languaging patterns, including those of late modern minority youth. An argument for describing the representation of features ascribed to different languages in an integrated model is the phenomenon of accent, or so-called foreign-accented speech. Accent is the phenomenon that a speaker may intend to produce a feature representing a particular language, but in her or his practical behavior shows clear indications of features ascribed to another language influencing the production process (Romaine 1995, 88). However, accent may also be considered an effect of acquisition, and only that. In this perspective a second language is governed by a set of rules which in second language acquisition research would be described as an interlanguage. That means that the set of rules are formed, developed, and stored by the speaker - in a process which is not independent of the first language. But once stored, the rules may in principle work completely independent of the first language which is also stored - but separately from the interlanguage. So the observation of accent is not an indubitable sign of integrated language *stores*.

The psycholinguistically oriented models are to a certain extent based on experimentation. It is of course not very simple to experimentally create circumstances to represent the situations in which so-called bilingual persons code-switch, or use their access to the full range of their linguistic resources. There is quite a way to go, before the psycholinguistically oriented models can describe

the competence of a languager who has extensive access to features representing two different languages. Much less is available on bilingual practice (not to mention bilingual development).

There are nevertheless many examples of language use in which we can not categorize every single element as belonging to one or the other of two particular languages, or even both of them. We must see the language use of the bilingual speaker as an integration of elements ascribed to each of the involved languages, without ambitions of being able to label every single feature as one or the other (or both). There are features of bilingual behavior which do not belong to either or both the languages, but only to their combination - to the poly-lingual practice.

The view of bilingualism as represented by Verhoeven or Green has problems with these practices. If the languages involved are neatly separated and stored by the individual speaker, the frequent and smooth code-switches observed by Sebba and Rampton are unlikely. They would at least assume a set of language production processes which very rapidly moved between the stores - the whole idea of the separating models is that production in what they present as one language is facilitated compared to production which involves more than one language.

It becomes difficult to insist on distinguishing sharply between the languages involved. It becomes even more difficult to think of every single linguistic element (sound, morph, word...) as belonging to either one or the other of the languages involved in a particular person's bilingualism. This holds, even if we think of (a few) elements as belonging to both language for historical reasons. It does not seem reasonable to maintain that every single part of a bilingual production can and should be ascribed to one of the two languages. We may as well consider bilingual language practice as an integration of elements (and perhaps even skills) from each of the involved languages - without insisting that each element belongs to one or the other of the two. Features of such

language practice may be exactly that - features which are specific of poly-lingual language use.

Language users have concepts of features belonging together and tied in a network of marked items - the items which belong together are marked as such, but they are not necessarily stored separately. The obviously free access some of our young language users have to items which otherwise are considered to belong to different languages, is incompatible with the idea that they should be stored separately.

Part 2: The Køge project

In this part I present the Køge project. I describe the population of our project, the Turkish speaking minority, and its relations to Køge and Denmark. The participants in our study were children of this minority, and their majority peers in the school of Køge. I explain the project itself and the data, including our main analyses.

In addition to this I present the range of studies which have been carried out by linguists and sociolinguists who have dealt with the Køge data. The project has attracted the interest not only of the scholars who were by virtue of their employment involved in it, but also a wide range of international scholars.

I deal with these studies under three different headings, namely educational perspectives, social perspectives, and linguistic perspectives. These were the lines of study that we laid out in the beginning of the project, and some of the studies which have subsequently been carried out, fit into the categories. Of course many studies do not fit in, and I therefore mention them in several connections.

Beside the results of the studies, I also discuss some of the methodological issues which inevitably have occurred along the way. The necessary development of concepts and terms also led to discussions in the project, and I briefly mention some of them.

Køge

In the Køge project (see Jørgensen 2004b) we have followed a group of minority grade school students from grade 1 through grade 9 of the Danish public school system. The students developed their language skills tremendously during those nine years. By school start they were characterized as minority language-dominant (in some cases even considered monolingual).

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When they were in grade 9 they had become highly proficient young language users. By teenage the students would involve a range of different features ascribed to very different codes in their language practices, as we shall see. It is hardly a coincidence that we can see this develop rapidly in adolescence. The language use of adolescents, including of course particularly poly-lingual behavior, is interesting to the sociolinguist not only for its linguistic characteristics, but also for its social implications within teenage groups. It is also particularly interesting because it draws so much negative attention from adult middle-class speakers.

Within all of the North Western European societies there seems to be a pervasive agreement among the gatekeepers about the ugliness and sloppiness of youth language. To this we can add the hostile majority attitude to non-prestigious minority languages such as Arabic and Turkish. We found the particular combination of adolescence and linguistic minority not only interesting, but also important, not the least because it was already at the time of our project planning evident to us that the public school system in Denmark was a near-complete failure with respect to offering an education to these minority students. This impression has been confirmed many times since. How, then, do the involved young inhabitants cope linguistically with the reality that meets them, together and in the company of others? This was our most basic question.

So the Køge project is a longitudinal study of the linguistic development of bilingual children in Danish grade schools. A more precisely targeted purpose of the project is to provide an understanding of the development of a limited number of individuals, but with some depth.

> The purpose of the study is to achieve insight into some of the qualitative characteristics of bilingual development [...] and to study its relation to school socialisation and learning. We are interested in the

effect of bilingualism on school work, and the effect of the school on bilingualism (Jørgensen et al. 1991, 215).

From the beginning the perspectives included second language acquisition theory, mainly cognitivist oriented, cf. for instance Holmen 1990, Holmen & Jørgensen 2001, and sociolinguistic theory such as network theory, cf. for instance Boyd & Jørgensen 1994. Gradually a constructionist inspired post-modern sociolinguistic theory has made its influence on the project (cf. Jørgensen 2003). As will be clear in the following, the project does not aim at any high generalizability of the specific results, but rather an understanding of the patterns of development in general terms.

Turkish-Danish grade school students form the largest linguistic minority of students in the Danish public school system. Most Turkish-Danes live in neighborhoods characterized by a (for Danish society) relatively high concentration of linguistic minorities. The Køge project has collected its data in a community whose schools at the time of the planning of the project had almost no linguistic minority students except Turkish-Danes. We could therefore study a (possibly) bilingual community without having to take the possibility of influence from a lot of other locally spoken minority languages into consideration. The study began with a series of pilot projects in the town of Køge in the years 1987-89, and the main project has followed all Turkish-Danish students in Køge who began in grade one in 1989, for the first three years of their schooling. The two classes with the highest number of Turkish-Danish students were followed for another six years, i.e. until the end of their school years. Out of these students, ten (six girls and four boys, see table 2.4 below) participated in all or almost all of the data collection activities throughout their nine years of grade school, and two more boys participated through grade 7. These ten (twelve) students form the core group of the Køge project. They all went to the same school.

During these nine years, some students from other linguistic minorities arrived in Køge and entered the classes, but this had comparatively little effect on the school everyday or the educational activities. The students in our study belong to the second generation of the labor migration wave which most of North Western Europe experienced around 1970. Køge is situated about 50 km south of Copenhagen, within reach of Copenhagen by commuter train, but far enough away to not be taken to be a suburb of Copenhagen. In the (traditional) linguistic geography of Denmark, Køge still belongs to the local Sealand area, i.e. not the metropolitan area of Copenhagen. One can still trace a few classical Sealand features in the speech of young people in Køge, including our students, such as the intonational pattern of Southern Sealand and the local afterbeat of the glottal constriction (the so-called *stødefterslag*).

The majority of the Turkish speaking families in Køge moved to Denmark from the area between Kayseri and Sivas in Central Anatolia, in particular from villages around the provincial town of Şarkışla, some from the Uşak area, and a third group from different places in Turkey. All of the families have moved to Køge from a small town or a village in Turkey, and all are Moslems. Many Turkish-speaking inhabitants in Køge live in the area's two younger social housing districts which are both of a relatively high standard, Ahornengen and Humlestrup. A tiny group lives dispersed elsewehere in Køge (Can 1995).

In Køge the Turkish speaking students mainly attend the two district schools of Ahornengen and Humlestrup. A few students are scattered over the remaining community schools. By the time of our data collection, the teaching of Turkish was an integrated element of the students' everyday. At least Turkish was presented at the class schedule (see below, table 2.3) as a regular subject. In one of the schools the Turkish classes were, at the time, also in reality an integrated part of the students' weekly schedules. The same was true for the youngest four grade levels at the other school, but for all other Turkish-speaking students in town the

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mother tongue classes were held outside the regular school schedule, almost always on a different school from the one where the students had most of their classes, and always with different teachers. All the students in our project have received teaching in Turkish as a mother tongue, although not equally much, and with differing status in their schools. Nowadays there is no Turkish teaching at all.

The immigration from Turkey to Køge was part of a chain migration. The men were the first to arrive. Many of them moved to Køge to join other Turkish men who had already been here for a while and were able to help, practically as well as socially, in practice and with information about employment, housing, etc. The group of Turkish-speaking citizens in Køge maintains contacts with their relatives and acquaintances in Turkey. Many visit Turkey regularly, every second summer or so. The family structure is quite homogenous with Turkish-speaking parents and a number of children, the younger the parents, the fewer children. Measured according to a Danish standard, the families do not deviate very much from the average household size of about 5 individuals. Employment has almost uniquely been in unskilled functions in the job-market, in the industry or in office cleaning, in both cases with a certainty to be the first to go if workers were laid off. Unemployment is and has most of the time since the 1970's been high. During the course of our data collection, several parents opened small businesses, typically retail shops. More than half of the parents have the obligatory Turkish İlkokul, at the time five years of schooling, and no other education behind them, while a minority have the three supplementary years of Ortaokul (nowadays the mandatory schooling is eight years). Some women had even less education than the İlkokul.

As elsewhere these immigrants to Denmark have suffered low prestige, high unemployment, low educational success, etc. (Jørgensen 2000, 2003d). In the public debate about their education there has been a strong pressure on the minorities to give up their mother tongues and replace it with Danish. This

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pressure has come from politicians, teachers, administrators, and even from the Ministry of Education (Kristjándóttir 2006). All this has not been wasted on the minorities, who are well aware of their status in Denmark. The parents of school age children feel the pressure very much, a fact which has important consequences for their language attitudes and their expectations of their children, see below about the NISU study (Boyd et al. 1994a,b). Our studies found that Turkish-speaking parents are generally pessimistic about the future possibilities of their children with respect to education. As it happens, the parents would like their children to maintain Turkish. However, they do not think that Danish society will allow it to happen if the children also want to pursue further education beyond the grade school (Holmen et al 1995, Holmen & Jørgensen 1994). Even the attitudes of some of the mother tongue teachers of Turkey that were employed by schools until the abolition of mother tongue teaching in 2002 were negative towards the children's Turkish. It is described as inadequate, rural, and unfit for academic purposes. This attitude reflects a view of language which has been held among many voices in a debate in Turkey itself. It is sometimes claimed that Turkish as a language is not "modern" (Dil Öğretimi Dergisi 1991). This attitude may of course also reflect the teachers' conservative education in the Turkish educational system, as the majority of them by the early 1990's were educated in Turkey. Thirdly, this description of the children's Turkish skills may also reflect a possible tendency among the teachers' to overstate their own usefulness to the schools. In any case, it means that most Turkish-speaking children are met with a negative attitude to their mother tongue from many sides. This, however, was markedly less the case in Køge when our project began in 1987.

Figure 2.1. Map of Turkey marked with the most important sites of emigration to Denmark, and the major cities (after Jørgensen & Holmen 1994).

On the national level, the difference in power and status attached to the Danish and the Turkish language is enormous. Although every individual in principle has the right to be addressed in a

language he or she understands, there is no doubt that Danish is the stronger language in almost every conceivable way. This was the case when the Køge project began, and it has become even more pronounced since then. By 1987 there were provisions for mother tongue teaching of minority languages, but they were abolished by the national government in 2002.

The presence of the Turkish speaking minority families in Køge is evident in the supermarkets, the gardens, and elsewhere. Turkish speaking immigrants are by far the largest minority in the community. Can (1995) studies the leisure time practices of the Turkish-Danish minority adolescents in Køge. She finds that there are three distinct groups of young Turkish-Danes in the community. In one of the districts (as it happens, the Ahornengen social housing district) the young second generation of Turkish-Danes seem to be at ease with their majority peers, and satisfied with their living. Can found that in this district the Turkish-Danish boys spend a lot of time together, but also quite a bit of time in community leisure time facilities. The boys sometimes take on small jobs distributing newspapers or hauling boxes at the supermarket. The girls in general spend less time with majority peers than the boys do, and more time in their homes. On the other

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hand the girls are in a process of adopting an urban life-style quite different from their mothers' traditional lifestyle, as they attend a girls' club and sometimes participate in sports. The girls also seem to be ambitious with their school work (the girls spend 1-4 hours every day on school work, whereas the boys spend less than an hour).

In the second district (the Humlestrup social housing district) the situation is quite different. The young Turkish-Danes are unhappy and not on good terms with their majority neighbors. The boys, for instance, complain that they can not get jobs, and that the majority Danes do not treat them well. They do not think they are offered a chance to develop a sense of belonging. The girls report less inclination towards an urban lifestyle than in the Ahornengen district. In other words the majority and the minority do not seem as integrated in Humlestrup as in Ahornengen.

A third group of Turkish-Danes, those who live in middle class neigborhoods, of primarily detached private homes, are spread across a relatively large area. This group is smaller than the others, and its young members spend most of their time with majority Danes. They say they often miss the opportunity to be in the company of other young Turkish-Danes. On some weekends they may seek the company of one of the groups mentioned above, typically by seeking towards the Ahornengen district to meet the local minority members there.

Although there are differences between the way the subgroups of Turkish-Danes in Køge are being treated (and correspondingly react), it can be argued that the similarities are more important. In particular, the degree of oppression which has been the norm elsewhere in Denmark is much milder in Køge as described by Can's informants. On the community level, it thus seems that the difference in power and status between Danishness and Turkishness is (or was) not quite as large as it is nationally, considering the place the two occupy for the young Turkish-Danish speakers in the Ahornengen district. Turkish-Danish

parents in Køge are (or were at the time) not as pessimistic or defensive about their Turkishness as Turkish-Danish parents elsewhere in Denmark (Jørgensen 1995a).

The young speakers who participated throughout the nine years of the Køge project's data collection are all from the Ahornengen district, and they have attended a school in which the pressure to shift language has been mild compared to the rest of Denmark. The children have been offered Turkish classes. They have all accepted the offer and attended Turkish classes. These classes have been an integrated part of their school day. Their Turkish teachers also have performed other duties at the school, and there has typically been pictures on the walls of the school which could clearly be identified as signaling Turkishness - beside pictures signaling Danishness. Thus the children's Turkishness has been allowed some room, and signals of Turkish-Danish identity have had a certain profile. About one-third of the children in this school are speakers of Turkish, the rest of the students were at the time of the data collection almost exclusively native Danish speakers. The student body has later changed to involve also other minorities, and the official school attitude to the minorities has become much harsher. For instance, Turkish classes are abolished, and the Turkish speaking teachers have left the schools, and they do therefore no longer have the non-teaching function they used to have.

In Danish schools there is a wide-ranging freedom for the teacher to choose methods and materials, and classes can be very different. Usually there is a mixture of teacher-centered teaching, group work, and individual work. Generally minority children in Denmark's schools are expected by their teachers to speak Danish, sometimes even when they are working on their own, if it happens in the classroom. The Køge students were also, at the time the Køge project began collecting data, expected to speak Danish, at least when they were not working on their own in the classroom, but there were no strict rules (Gimbel 1994).

So at the school level the power difference between Turkishness and Danishness seems to have been even smaller than it was at the community level, at least for the first five or six school years. To be clear, there is absolutely no doubt about the power difference between the two. There has been an incessant and strong pressure on the minority students to learn Danish (although not a strong pressure to give up Turkish), but there was no pressure to learn Turkish and never has been in Køge's schools. For the Turkish-Danes, although there were opportunities for using Turkish without offending anybody, and there were both adults and other children to discuss problems with using Turkish, it was always still easier to find opportunities to communicate by use of Danish. For more detailed observations, see Gimbel 1994. The pressure against Turkish has without any doubt increased in the meantime, as the national government policy of oppression has reached the local level.

We see that the relationship between Turkishness and Danishness can be determined on (at least) three different public levels. The further away from the children's everyday we come, the more we find hostility towards the minority, the less Turkish is considered useful or even appropriate to use. Closer to the children's everyday life, there is less overt suppression or downgrading of Turkishness, and especially there was less at the time of data collection in the Køge project. It is not even certain that the children were aware at the time that the pressure against Turkishness is so strong on the national level. They do for sure know now.

It goes without saying that societal factors influence children's linguistic development. The trickling down of the national attitude through local administrators, teachers, or even parents, is bound to have had an effect on the Køge children's choice of language in different situations, and it is bound to have an effect on the motivation to develop each of the languages. With relatively young children we can perhaps expect the home to have more effect on the children's linguistic development, especially if the

children do not attend day care outside the home. Turkish-Danish parents maintain the minority language more than other recently immigrated groups (Jørgensen & Holmen 1994, 127, see also below about the NISU study, Boyd et al. 1994a,b). The Turkish-speaking parents express strong wishes that their children become bilingual. Generally they argue for the children's acquisition of Danish to take place in school, and their motivations are instrumental. Contrary to this, the parents' motivations for maintaining Turkish with their children are affective. The parents are not impressed by their children's skills in Turkish, as opposed to Danish, so by and large we can assume that the home environment of the children in our study favors Turkish, or at least did at the time of the data collection of the Køge study. The parents will accept the children's acquisition and use of Danish unchallenged outside the home, but also expect them to use Turkish at home with their families. This is not unique for the Køge Turkish-speaking parents. It is even more evident in Stendal, a community in the Copenhagen periphery. In 1991 parent groups in the two communities were interviewed about the same issues (Bugge & Jørgensen 1995, 66). The Stendal community was at the time controversial for its negative treatment of minorities. This is probably reflected in the results of the interviews. We found that the Turkish-Danish parents in Stendal were even more pessimistic, but on the other hand less inclined to use Danish in interaction with each other and with their children.

The project

The Køge project has three different perspectives on the development of the involved students. One aspect is educational (or pedagogical, *pædagogisk* in Danish) in a very broad sense and deals with the education offered to the students, the teaching, the curricula, the schools, the classrooms, the activities, the subjects, and almost everything that has to do with the official and public side of the students' lives. Their acquisition of Danish as a second language has been in focus in some aspects of the project, as we

shall see, but data and analyses include much more than this one perspective.

A second perspective is social (or sociolinguistic) and deals with the relationship between the individual students and their families, other students, the local community, etc. This aspect is less concerned with the official side of the students' lives as grade school students, although it is of course also involved.

The third perspective relates to language and concentrates on the students' use of language in a range of situations, all of which are situations they are more or less familiar with. They know these situations mainly from their school lives. It has not been part of the project to collect linguistic data in their homes, or during their leisure time activities.

See table 2.2 for an overview of the project. The columns show the three different perspectives, and the rows show the years of the project, numbered according to the grade of the students. Each cell shows the primary data pertaining to that particular aspect of the Køge project.

The linguistic material includes transcribed tape-recordings of the bilingual students' group conversations with peers, both in groups with three-four bilingual students and in groups with two monolingual and two bilingual students. Further the linguistic material includes face-to-face conversations between the bilingual students and adult, monolingual Danish speakers, as well as Turkish speakers. These types of material were collected in each of the students' nine years of grade school.

There are three groups of conversations from each of the years, i.e. group conversations, face-to-face conversations with an adult majority Dane, and face-to-face conversations with an adult Turkish-speaker. In grade 8 there was also a series of group interviews with the bilingual students and some of their classmates. For the group conversations and the face-to-face

conversations there are data from majority control group members, and similar data have been collected from a Turkish control group in a provincial town in Turkey (Eskişehir, in cooperation with the Anadolu Üniversitesi, see Özcan et. al. 2000). The Eskişehir data include a cross-sectional group of data with group conversations among students in grade 1, grade 3, grade 5, grade 7, and grade 8 respectively, collected at the same time. The students who were in grade 1, were recorded again when they were in grade 3, grade 5, grade 7, and grade 8, so the Eskişehir data also have a longitudinal aspect.

Grade\Data	Linguistic		Socio-linguistic	Educational
1	Group conver-sations, Turkish-Danish students; group conver-sations, mixed groups; face-to-face conver-sations with adult Turkish speaker; with adult Danish speaker		Parent interview	Teacher diaries, question-naires, interviews
2		Listening comprehension		
3				
4		(Reading)		
5		(Vocabulary)		
6			(Youth interview)	
7				
8		Mask study	Group interview	
9		Cloze		Exam grades

Table 2.2 Overview of data types in the Køge project, main phase 1989-1998. Data types in brackets have not been collected with the core group.

The conversations are numbered according to the transcription files of the project. The first digit of an identification number represents the school grade of the students at the time of the recording, so a reference to "conversation 901" deals with conversation no. 1 from grade 9, and so on.

Group conversations

For the group conversations the students were seated around a table (or two classroom tables put together) and left alone in a room at the school. Except for a few cases the room was smaller than the classrooms and furnished differently, giving the situation a slightly less school-like atmosphere. On the table we placed a large sheet of white cardboard (A1) plus scissors and glue sticks. There was one pair of scissors, and one glue stick, fewer than the number of participants in the conversation so the participants would have to share. Further there were materials for the task given to the students. Some years it would be travel catalogs or furniture catalogs, in other years it would be advertising post cards, or other materials with illustrations. The students were then asked, in Danish and in Turkish or a mixture, to cut and paste pictures on the cardboard in order to create a picture. Some years the students were provided with LEGO blocks, or clay, and asked to create figures or sculptures. The group conversations usually lasted about as long as one school lesson, i.e. 45 minutes, including set-up and instructions.

The students wore small microphones while working. These microphones were connected by light, but long (10 m) cables to a Fostex 460 mixing board placed outside the room. The microphones, Sony ECM 44, were changed from balanced into unbalanced status, and the recorder of the Fostex was changed to record all four tracks in the same direction. This enabled us to pick up four different recordings of the same conversation, one for each microphone, one for each participant in the conversation. The tape

recorded by the mixing board was then copied, each track separately.

In grade one, the children were asked to furnish a house. The cardboard showed a picture of a house without one of its walls, so that the inside could be viewed. The students were encouraged to decide together which rooms were for what purposes, and then cut out pictures of furniture from the furniture catalogs provided, and glue them on the house.

In grade two, the cardboard sheet had pictures of a nuclear family with four children who were supposed to go on a summer vacation to Turkey. The task was to equip this family with clothes etc. for a summer vacation, using pictures from catalogs and magazines.

In grade three, the task was to construct a town with roads, houses, constructions etc. with the help of pictures from travel catalogs and magazines.

In grade four the materials were supplemented with an atlas and pens. The groups with only minority children were given cardboard sheets with maps of Turkey, the mixed groups with maps of Denmark. Their task was to find the most important place-names (preferrably in agreement) and write them on to the large map.

In grade five the students had travel catalogs to use, and the cardboard held a map of the world. Their task was to identify some of the places from which the travel catalogs had pictures, cut out the pictures and glue them on the map and connect them to the right place (very local or not so local: Kuşadası was as much of a solution as China).

In grade six we provided the students with 3 buckets of LEGO blocks and asked them to build a piece of art. They could build one from fantasy or copy one which they knew. After the conversation the product was photographed.

In grade seven we gave the students a roll of clay (for art classes) and asked them to form a sculpture (*heykeltıraş* in Turkish, *skulptur* in Danish). This was supposed to relate to a theme about sculptures which the classes had just been through in class. However, although most of the students did produce sculptures, a few (boys) instead rolles small balls of clay and threw them around in the room (this made for great data, but also presented a tricky problem of explanation to the school).

In grade eight the students were asked to create a cartoon strip or a collage with pictures from teenage magazines or advertising post cards. They were supplied with scissors, gluesticks, and marking pens, and the plain sheet of cardboard.

In grade nine the students were again asked to create a cartoon strip or a collage, this time over the theme *A boring day in Køge* (mixed groups) or *My worst nightmare* (groups with only minority students).

Face-to-face conversations (adult conversations)

The adults participating in the face-to-face conversations in grade one were the children's teachers, but after the first year project workers conducted the conversations. For most of the years, the project workers doing this changed from year to year.

The conversations between an adult Turkish speaker and our students, as well as between an adult Danish speaker and our students, in grade one was prepared as a conversation about a specific topic, namely a video movie, parts of which the teacher watched with the children before the conversation. The teachers were instructed to ask, not specific questions, but about specific topics, because we wanted to study the children's competence in retelling events they had watched in the movie, plus their competence in expressing ideas about what could happen, and their skills in talking about language and bilingualism. The

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teachers were provided with a form, so that they could make sure they would touch upon all the basic issues we wanted discussed.

This detailed planning was abandoned in grade two, but the format with a video movie was continued another couple of years. From grade four a general theme for the conversations was set up and discussed between the adult majority Dane and the adult Turk before the data collection. In grade five the theme was spare time and holidays, but aside from that few specifics were given.

In grade eight the face-to-face conversations built on the themes of a series of group interviews conducted by the same project workers before the face-to-face conversations. The issues were related to choice of identity and signals of identity, be it gender, generation, or ethnicity.

Transcription conventions

The conversations have been transcribed in accordance with an adjusted version of the Childes conventions (MacWhinney 1995), by a range of transcribers. The majority of conversations, particularly group conversations, have been transcribed by Mediha Can. All transcriptions have been checked by another transcriber than the one who provided the first transcription. Originally the project used WordPerfect 5.1. We started transcribing already in the pilot years of the study (1987-1989), and we have therefore followed the same conventions, also after the LIDES manual (2000) was published. Later the files were transferred into the Childes format. A macro was created for the word processor which enabled us to type both Danish and Turkish characters without changing the keyboard specifications. A simplified set of conventions for transciption of exclamations, hesitation signals, etc. was laid out, and only a few specific symbols are used in the main tier.

#	denotes a short pause (see below)
[//]	denotes self-interruption with correction
[/]	denotes self-interruption without correction
.	denotes the end of an utterance
+...	marks the phasing out of an unfinished utterance
+/.	marks the end of an utterance which has been interrupted and thereby broken off by another speaker.

Parts of utterances marked with '<' and ' >' mark simultaneous utterances or parts of utterances. [>] and [<] are simultaneous:

*XXX:	<blabla.> [>]
*YYY:	<grumple whine yell yerk.> [<>]
*ZZZ:	<gobble gobble.> [<]

In case of more than one case of simultaneity, the cases are numbered:

*XXX:	<bla bla bla> [>1] and bla bla <bla bla> [>2] whine complain.
*YYY:	<shut up.> [<1]
*ZZZ:	<yeah, shut up.> [<2]

The Childes conventions foresee that all contributions are transcribed as utterances. This means that the basic unit of transcription (a line, or a "tier" in the Childes terminology) is an utterance. The transcribers must determine the borders between utterances in the process of transcribing. We defined an utterance as a stretch of speech which is not broken by a final intonation contour and a subsequent pause in the speech of one particular speaker. This means that there are three criteria for delimiting utterances, one related to content, one related to pauses, and one related to intonation.

Firstly, when a speaker in one and the same turn addresses the same issue, or continues along the same line of thought, or otherwise speaks about the "same", we have considered the turn

as one utterance. This includes the cases where a speaker takes off in one issue and with an overt discourse marker changes the subject, i.e. *this reminds me of ...* or *that is just like ...* and similar expressions. This is also upheld when a speaker uses the contribution of another speaker to change the subject, as in *yes, okay, maybe so, but we must turn our attention to...* and other phrases which may work to redirect the attention of the interlocutors. If, however, a speaker in one turn (i.e. from the moment she or he starts speaking, and until she or he stops again) addresses two issues, or even participates in two simultaneously ongoing conversations, we have not considered the turn as one utterance.

In example 2,1 Merva comments on an issue which has been raised in the course of the conversation, and after a short pause she continues by addressing Canan (and after Canan's brief acknowledgment of the addressing turn, Merva continues with another subject). So there are two utterances in this example.

Example 2,1:
*MER: det var lige den jeg havde set på før.
%eng: that was exactly the one I was looking at before.
*MER: # Canan.
%eng: # Canan.

Secondly, if a speaker stops speaking, and there is a pause, it marks the end of the turn, and we consider the utterance finished, unless there is an immediate pick up of the turn, such as *...eh, oh, and I forgot ...* If the speaker after a pause resumes, we have considered her or him to have begun a new utterance (and we have considered the first utterance to have received no response from the interlocutors). The pause must be long enough for the transcriber to notice the absence of speech, i.e. short pauses for breath or the similar do not suffice to delimit an utterance.

Thirdly, if the speaker produces a final intonation contour, possibly a question contour, plus a pause, we have considered this contour an utterance-final mark.

It goes without saying that there will be borderline cases, and indeed there have been some. In general we have taken the presence of a pause as the primary criterion in the cases where such a pause gave the impression (to the transcriber) of being more than just a moment of hesitation, or breathing, or being otherwise momentary.

This means that we have not measured the length of pauses in msec or any exact standard, among other reasons because the impression that a pause gives depends quite a lot on the speech rate of the speaker and the conversation as a whole, so the length of a pause in msec is not enough to determine its interactional function. From this follows that we have considered as two utterances the cases where a speaker continues speaking about the "same" subject after a break which is, by the transcriber, taking into consideration the rate of speech and the number of interlocutors, perceived as long enough to signal to the interlocutors that the floor is open (see also Crookes 1990).

Each utterance has its own line, its own tier, marked with an asterisk and an inquit. Assigned to each utterance are a number of dependent lines, dependent tiers. Firstly they may contain comments, translations, and other text-administrative information. Secondly, and more important, the dependent tiers may contain the categorizations which result from analyses of the conversation and the utterances.

The main tiers are marked with and asterisk, *, and a three-letter code for the speaker (followed by a colon, as prescribed by the Childes conventions). For instance, a tier beginning with '*ESE:' will contain the transcribed utterance produced by the speaker ESE (in casu Esen). The transcriptions use standard orthographic forms. This is for Danish the *Retskrivningsordbog* (at all times the

latest edition, Dansk Sprognævn 2001). For Turkish the corresponding source is the *Türkçe Sözlük* issued by the Türk Dil Kurumu (1988). A number of conventions were established for specific cases, such as laughter, singing, hesitation, etc. The Childes transcription conventions did not at the time we chose our conventions allow any interpunctuation in the main tier of the transcript files. All text lines proper comply with this - which makes the reading of the transcripts more complicated, of course.

Dependent tiers are marked with the symbol % and a three-letter code for the type of information provided in the individual tier, plus a colon. The dependent tiers all refer to specific main tiers, i.e. the analyses will be based on utterances as they are registered in the main tiers.

%eng:

In the excerpts presented in this volume all main tiers are translated into English in the *%eng*-tier which follows the main tiers in the texts. Translation is of course not without its problems. It has proven to be particularly difficult to be consistent with respect to the choice between literal and stylistically congruent translations. Often a compromise has been chosen, in order for the reading of the translation to be easier. Still, translations of spoken child language, especially in group conversations, are not always easy to decipher. This is not made any easier by the Childes punctuation conventions which were used in the late 1980's. However, the rules that forbid the use of interpunctuation have not been enforced strictly in the translation tiers, to allow for easier reading of the English version of the transcripts. Likewise, question marks and semicolons are sometimes, although inconsistently, used to ease the reading of the translations.

%com:

Further comments regarding the situation, the quality of the recording, and other circumstances are given in a separate

comment line, another dependent tier, marked *%com*. In this volume, however, most such lines have been omitted. Some have been included, in the group conversations particularly with reference to reduced forms and to disturbing noise etc., in the face-to-face conversations particularly with reference to apparent non-verbal reactions from the students. Incomprehensible material has been transcribed with 'xxx' in the main tier and a comment in the '%com' line. Back-channeling signals that do not take the form of words have been transcribed as 'mm' in the main tier, and a comment line has been added in which it has been marked with '+', or '-', or '?', whether the signal is a sign of positive confirmation, negative confirmation, or whether it signals surprise or perhaps even is meant as a question.

%koj:

In a dependent tier marked *%koj:* I have analyzed each utterance with the respect to code choice. The categories are *t*, *t1*, *t2, d, d1, d2, e, a, o, z*. The descriptions of the categories and procedures are as follows:

$t:	Turkish with no elements from other languages
$t1:	Turkish with Danish loan
$t2:	Turkish with other loan
$d:	Danish with no elements from other languages
$d1:	Danish with Turkish loan
$d2:	Danish with other loan
$e:	English
$a:	Other
$o:	Can not be categorized
$z:	Not to be categorized (because an outsider is present in the room at the moment the utterance is produced)

We decided to use these categories quite early in the project. They have been used in several studies beside mine (for instance, Andersen 1994, Maegaard 1998, Maegaard & Møller 1999, and

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Esdahl 2001b). The categorization of individual utterances in special cases has followed a set of conventions which we gradually developed while working with the conversations, see examples in notes 0-3 below.

In the excerpts I present here, Danish features are typed in recte, while *Turkish features are typed in italics*. <u>Features belonging to other codes are underlined</u>. Elements which can not be scored (such as humming) are ususally marked as neutrally as possible relative to the immediate surroundings.

Note 0) The borrowing language (the matrix language) is the one which provides the grammar (morphology and syntax) utterances with elements from two languages; if both languages provide grammar, we are not dealing with borrowing, but with code-switching.

Note 1) Code-switching utterances are categorized part by part, and the categories from the list are combined into the *%koj*-tier, such as in example 2,2.

Example 2,2:
*XXX: *Eray aptal, ama* han kan nu godt være flink.
%eng: *Eray is stupid, but* he can be nice.
%koj: $td

Note 2) Tag switches have been analyzed as code-switching, as in example 2,3.

Example 2,3:
*YYY: nej *Eray çok akıllı*.
%eng: no, *Eray is very bright*.
%koj: $dt

Note 3) Complicated constructions involving several switches are scored with consecutive categories, see example 2,4.

Example 2,4:
*ZZZ: *boşver* det er lige meget *güzel olsun yeter*.
%eng: *never mind*, it does not matter, *it is enough when it is pretty*
%koj: $tdt

Several people have been involved in code choice analysis, but I have analyzed all the conversations, and I am responsible for the analyses I refer to here. By and large it is not very often difficult to distinguish between what is considered Turkish, and what is considered Danish. The two languages are related to very different features of syntax, morphology, and vocabulary. There are very few cognates, and although the segmental pronunciation is not that different, the intonation is quite often clearly different. The problem of sorting ad hoc loans (*nonce loans* in Poplack 's terms) from code-switches does therefore not lead to much difficulty in determining what is considered Turkish, and what is considered Danish.

With respect to inter-scorer reliability, Trine Esdahl and I analyzed six conversations independently (after having scored a number of conversations together), and we reached a very high level of agreement - more than 95 % in every single conversation. The disagreements were mainly in cases where Esdahl was not willing to determine which language was used in an utterance which was otherwise incomprehensible, and I was willing to score it as a Turkish utterance. We find that it is generally quite simple to identify the set of features ("language") from which the young speakers choose the features they use.

The code choice patterns vary tremendously in the speech of the students, as will be clear in Part 3 below.

%ira:

The dependent tier *%ira:* has been used to analyze the utterances of some of the conversation with respect to initiatives and

responses (Linell & Gustavsson 1987), for instance by Holmen 1993, Madsen & Nielsen 2001, and Jørgensen 1993. The basic categories of *initiative* and *response* as suggested by Linell & Gustavsson are quite elaborate, and we have simplified the set of categories. We distinguish between *initiatives,* which point forwards in the conversation and *responses*, which point backwards (Linell & Gustavsson 1987, 15). As explained by Linell & Gustavsson, the same utterance may indeed have both the character of an initiative and the character of a response.

We further distinguish between strong initiatives which explicitly demand a response (such as questions or appeals for comments), and other initiatives, which are labeled as weak. Other categories of initiatives are repairs, and initiatives which are given up. The latter category is necessary and important in group conversations where initiatives compete more regularly than is the case of dyads. Linell & Gustavsson originally developed the analysis for dyads, but Linell has later (1990a) noted some of the neccessary additions for group conversations, including the reception which an initiative meets.

Responses can be minimal in that they produce a minimum of response to an initiative, and not any more. Such responses are different from feedback signals which indicate that the listener is still tuned on to the conversation. In addition all utterances which are responses have a relationship to a previous utterance, and this relationship is also categorized in three different ways.

The initiative-response categories we have used are:

$11:	Strong new initiative
$12:	Weak new initiative
$13:	Response plus strong initiative
$14:	Response plus weak initiative
$15:	Inadequate response (without initiative)
$16:	Repair initiative
$17:	Minimal response

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$18:	Feedback signal
$19:	Monologue
$20:	Can not be analyzed
$21:	Nonsense, shouting, singing
$22:	Initiative which is given up
$99:	Not to be analyzed (because an outsider is present in the room at the moment the utterance is produced)

The responses "point backwards" in the interaction, i.e. they refer - directly or indirectly - to something which has been said. With the term of Linell, Gustavsson & Juvonen (1988, 418), the responses "link" to a previous turn. This turn can be an immediately preceding turn (including all of the latest turns by the present speakers, unless somebody has entered two turns) in which case we analyze it as *local*, or it can be a more "distant" previous turn in which case we analyze it as *non-local*. This distinction is not the same in the analysis of group conversations analysis as it is in the analysis of dyads, precisely because several participants may contribute, and the "immediately preceding turn" may be further away. With Linell & Gustavsson we also distinguish between responses which focus on the same content as the link, and responses which do not. Example 2,5 includes an initiative (from speaker XXX) and a non-focal response (from speaker YYY).

Example 2,5:
*XXX: Where is Peter today?
*YYY: Do you call him Peter? I call him Petter.

The categories of response linking appear in three sets, three variables (A-B, C-D, and E-F), and all three must be analyzed.

The response linking categories are:

A: Local
B: Non-local

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C:	Focal
D:	Non-focal
E:	The speaker herself or himself
F:	Another participant

In addition to this, we have categorized the initiatives offered in the conversations with respect to the reception they meet, and whether they receive any response at all, as it is also suggested by Linell 1990. Some initiatives may receive a reaction which is not verbal (such as *Hand me the gun, please*), and it is not always possible to determine whether this is the case or not.

Our initiative reception categories are:

+:	Initiative receives local response
-:	Initiative does not receive local response
0:	It can not be determined whether the initiative receives local response
I:	Initiative is not intended for response

A further aspect of this analysis is the turn taking patterns. Although it is by no means not always possible to determine with any assurance whose turn it is to speak at a given point in a group conversation, it is often enough - and we have categorized the individual turns as interrupted, stolen, open, or taken by the appointed speaker. The default value is the open turn, and there must be clear indications for any other categorization.

Our turn categories are:

S:	Stopped turn (interruption)
T:	Stolen turn
U:	Undefined turn (open turn)
V:	Own turn

The analysis turned out to demand a long list of conventions. For instance: The task at hand is always present as a possible topic. It

would be counterproductive to analyze it as a new initiative, whenever a participant refers to the task as an aside in a stretch of conversation which otherwise deals with something else. In other cases the participants sing or shout or play with sounds *in interaction*, i.e. exchanging turns which tie up to each other. Such cases are not be analyzed as 21, but instead as series of initiatives and responses.

A range of conventions on how to analyze specific situations were developed by Madsen, Bøll (then Nielsen), and me, see Madsen & Nielsen 2001, 84-94, and Jørgensen 1993. Altogether 18 conversations have been analyzed according to these conventions, all of them by two analysts, altogether 12 by Jane Bøll, 12 by Lian Madsen, and 12 by me. All discrepancies were then discussed between the two involved analysts and a decision reached. With respect to inter-scorer reliability we measured a sample of 3 conversations. Unfortunately the original categorizations have been lost, so we can not repeat the measure, which reached beyond 80 %.

% fok:

A dependent tier *%fok:* contains the categorization of utterances of some of the conversations (to a large extent the same as the conversations analyzed in the tier dealing with initiatives and responses). The concept of *focus* covers "the locally strongest, most salient meaning or function of an utterance", in the words of H. Laursen (1992, 53, my translation). Esdahl (2001a, 43, my translation) defines the focus as "the primary field of content which is taken into the field of attention by the utterance". In a way the focus categorization is intended to capture what the utterance "is about" (Andersen 1994, 27), which is of course a difficult task which necessitates sometimes brutal categorizations.

The inspiration for this analysis was Ellis' (1988) concepts of "goals" in classroom interaction, and Brown & Fraser's (1979) "components of a situation". Ellis distinguishes between different

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"goals" of actions in the classroom: 'Medium-oriented goals' (1988, 103), 'Message-oriented goals" (1988, 107), and 'Activity-oriented goals' (1988, 112). He further illustrates with examples from classroom interaction how contributions to the conversations may be analyzed as goal-oriented. We planned to analyze the conversations among the students in the same perspective, as focus categories. We amended and adjusted the set of concepts proposed by Ellis to cover 7 types of focus (plus terms for non-categorizable turns), as can be seen on the list below.

Brown & Fraser (1979, 35) suggest that a "situation" is composed of a 'scene' and a number of 'participants'. The 'scene' again comprises 'setting' and ' purpose'. The 'participants' contribute to the 'situation' as 'individual participants' and with the 'relationships between participants'. Against this background we analyze the group conversations in focus with respect to the physical situation, the task at hand, the relationships between the participants, and add the very important factor of the world *outside* the situation.

Our focus categories are:

$S:	The (physical) situation, the room, surroundings, etc.
$H:	The participatns, i.e. the social game
$O:	The task
$A:	Other content-related matters
$R:	Games, acting, performance
$L:	Nonsense
$P:	Language
$U:	Can not be categorized
$Z:	Not to be categorized (because an outsider is present in the room at the moment the utterance is produced)

Example 2,6:
*ERO: *hani tuvalet.*

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%eng:	*where is the toilet?*
%com:	question related to the house of the task
%fok:	$O

Example 2,7:

*MUR:	*o ne Porsche var ne güzel çarpışan arabalar var.*
%eng:	*ah what Porsche is that, cars that run into accidents.*
%fok:	$A

Example 2,8:

*ERO:	*salak kandırdım* hold din kæft ti stille.
%eng:	*fool, I tricked you,* shut your mouth, shut up.
%fok:	$H

Example 2,9:

*ALI:	*a a o da ne sesimizi aldırıyor .*
%eng:	*a a what is that he is recording our voices*
%fok:	$S

Example 2,10:

*ERO:	*danimarkacada konuşun danimarkaca tamam aa bakayım.*
%eng:	*speak also Danish, Danish, okay, let me see.*
%fok:	$PH

Example 2,11:

*BEK:	*he sonra birisi de birisi gelecek boka basacak.*
%eng:	*yeah and then somebody else comes around and steps on the shit.*
%fok:	$R

Example 2,12:

*BEK:	dutdutdududu
%fok	$L

The most thorough application has been undertaken by Esdahl who has analyzed 21 group conversation involving minority students. Neither H. Laursen (1992) nor Andersen (1994) analyze the focus categories quantitatively. In light of all the equivocal utterances produced by speakers, not the least in group conversations, we decided to use double categorizations such as $HO (the order of the categories does not matter), for instance in cases where one participant orders another participant to do a specific subtask related to the general task. We also developed a set of conventions for the use of the focus categorizations:

Note 1) When the participants address or mention each other by name, a $H will normally be used.

Note 2) By imperatives a $H is normally used (excluding remarks such as *look here*), for example $OH. The same goes for commands. By proposals formed as questions (such as *should we not...*) a $H is used when the social relations are drawn into the field of attention (i.e. not necessarily so in constructions such as *we could ...*).

Note 3) Expressions such as *we must...* are normally analyzed with a $H, for instance $OH.

Note 4) In arguments and verbal fights a $H will normally be used.

Note 5) With factual questions, a $H will not normally be used.

Note 6) A $S is used whenever there is a reference to whatever is present in the situation, or the fact that the participants are present (such as *we are here while the others are in the German class*). This $S can go together with a $A.

Note 7) When a conversation changes from a focus on content to a $H the continuation can be double (as in $HS) or a complete change of focus ($H).

Note 8) When a participant calls the project worker, the utterance is categorized as $S, unless it happens fictitiously as an attempt to control the situation, in which case it is categorized as $H.

Note 9) Utterances produced when someone who is not one of the participants is present in the room, will not be categorized (instead they will be marked with $Z).

Note 10) Critical questions or comments because one of the participants shouts or talks too much will not be categorized as $P. Critical questions or comments to pronunciation, vocabulary, etc. may be categorized as $P.

Note 11) When something which is physically present in the situation becomes the subject of an utterance which reaches beyond the physical situation, the category is $A and not $S.

Note 12) The category $R includes any form of play, not only role play (for instance *I will draw a moustache on this guy*).

Categorization of focus remained a difficult way of analyzing the utterances content-wise. Esdahl and I compared our scores on a number of files which we had analyzed independently after having analyzed a number of files together. For the younger classes we were able to maintain some interpersonal consistency in our analyses with roughly 10 % of the utterances being analyzed differently by us. However, for the older classes it proved much more difficult to agree on a simple system of analysis which could be upheld across analyst and conversation. By grade 7 the share of utterances which were analyzed differently by us approached 20 %.

Consequently there is some reason to be careful with the conclusions of the focus analysis, especially with respect to the older classes. Esdahl finds that there is not the expected difference between the focus of boys' conversations and the focus of girls' conversations. This is of course a somewhat cautious conclusion, and other types of analysis modify it (see the discussion about conversations 701 and 702 later in the section about Linguistic aspects below).

In Jørgensen (1993) I analyze some of the group conversations which were recorded by 1992. It appears that there is a difference in focus choice between the groups depending on the composition of minority and majority students. In groups of minority students the tendency to focus on other matters than the task or the social relations is much greater than in mixed minority-majority groups. These latter groups focus much more on the task at hand (given by us). The reason could be that the minority students share among themselves more of a frame of reference and experience which they are more inclined to talk about than the task, but they do not share a similar frame of reference and experience with the majority students. Another possible background could be the fact that the minority students already early developed the necessary skills in Danish to talk about school-like matters, and therefore preferred the task as their focus when they were in the company of majority Danish speakers, but not when they were in the company of other students who also shared Turkish.

Nevertheless, this difference did not seem to be maintained into the older grades (and it would also be more difficult to detect, since focus analysis became more difficult, the older the students became).

Focus analysis has proven to be a less than perfect tool for analyzing the contents of the sometimes very sophisticated group conversations of adolescents. The categories are too few and too rigid. A soft, i.e. non-rigorous conversation analysis inspired

sequential approach has substituted the focus analysis (see below and in Part 3).

Transcripts

All transcripts have been entered into a database at the Royal Danish School of Educational Studies at Copenhagen, now Denmark's University of Education. To ensure anonymity we have given the participating students and their classmates pseudonyms which we use in all published works, including transcripts.

A brief introduction to the Køge project and a selection of transcribed conversations with a short description of the applied Childes conventions has been published as Turan (1999). Analyses based on these transcripts appear in several publications, see the bibliography.

Educational aspects

The pedagogical data include teachers' diaries from the class teachers of all involved students. These diaries describe in detail the teaching in the Danish classes during a two-week period in year 1 and 3, and a one-week period in year 2. The diaries were built up around a questionnaire dealing with the teacher's planning and goals, the execution of the class including activities, organization, etc., and subsequent evaluation. In particular Gimbel asked about the level of activity of specific students in class, and he asked about the extent of Turkish being used during class. The teachers knew that the project primarily studied the Turkish-speaking students, and accordingly the diaries often focused on this group. By and large the teachers were aware of the minority students in their planning. The teachers would primarily plan for the students to achieve skills etc. to live and function in Denmark, in particular literacy skills, and secondarily - but absolutely not disregarded - being able to maintain contact with the parents'

roots. This result confirms the observation that the students were going to school under more positive circumstances than most minority students in Denmark. Gimbel also carried out detailed oral interviews with teachers. An important issue in several of these interviews was the pedagogical challenge of teaching a class, a fourth of which does not share any language with the teacher. Danish as a second language was at the time still a new concept - and in addition a controversial one. This was by teachers described as a problem that still had not seen its solution. The attempts to teach and develop the school subject of Danish as a second language were not very co-ordinated, and we can not say that the Turkish speaking children arriving in school were met with a streamlined and tested arsenal of Danish teaching.

A third set of data collected by Gimbel was evaluations, by teachers, of the individual Turkish-speaking students. The evaluations also covered the relations between the student's home and the class teacher. Both the teachers of Danish and the teachers of Turkish filled out evaluation questionnaires. Gimbel (1994, 106) finds that the teachers describe parents as in fact more positive and more active towards the school than was the general impression among majority school personnel at the time. Interestingly, he also finds that a range of different points of complaint often raised by majority teachers elsewhere (the minority children can not concentrate long enough to understand a message given to the whole class together, they lack in cognitive development, etc.) could not be upheld when he compared the evaluations of the Turkish teachers with the evaluations of the Danish teachers. If a child can understand a class message given in Turkish, but not in Danish, this is not an indication of a lack of concentration, but probably an indication of a lack of Danish skills (Gimbel 1994, 109).

It is characteristic that the teachers throughout evaluate the Turkish-speaking children's skills more negatively than the parents do (this comparison is possible when we combine the data from Boyd et al. (1994a,b) with Gimbel's data). Gimbel stresses

that this result is hard to explain fully. Both the teachers and the parents may be prejudiced, and they may evaluate on the basis of very different yardsticks. Nevertheless, it shows us that the students (at least at the time) could expect to be rated higher at home than at school. Gimbel also describes the mutual social relations of the Turkish-speaking students and their relations with majority students, as described by their teachers. Especially in grade 1 there is a tendency for the majority students and the minority students to organize separately when they are outside the classroom, but also when the students can choose their own workmates during class work. This tendency becomes less strong during the three first years, but is still prevalent by grade 3 (1994, 108).

In his data of lengthy interviews Gimbel studies the attitudes and arguments of the teachers regarding the minority students' mother tongue and special needs. Gimbel finds that there is (or was at the time) a widespread intention among the majority teachers to accept and respect the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the children, but that such statements were often accompanied by statements about the necessity to find a balance. Gimbel, as does also de Jong (1997) finds, however, that there is very little concrete preparation to involve the minority students' backgrounds in the classroom practices except for the classes in Turkish. There is no suppression of the minority background in the mainstream classes, but there is also little attention paid to it.

Gimbel further describes the development of the pedagogical practices in the schools which have more than just one or two minority students per class. He finds that it has been characteristic of Køge, like the rest of Denmark, that the schools developed ad-hoc solutions to the new challenges created by the arrival of migrant workers' families in the 1970's. No systematic or theoretically based attempts to adjust pedagogical practice to the new situations were seen until the 1980's. When the schools in Køge did get started, however, they went further than most schools in the country, by offering the minority students classes in their

mother tongue (which was obligatory from 1976 until 2002) as part of their regular schedule and taught by teachers who also had other duties, i.e. carefully integrated into the rest of their school activities (which happened only in very few places in Denmark).

The school with the most Turkish speaking children (Ahornengen School) furthermore at the time emphasized being a school with a Turkish-speaking minority. On entering school, nobody could fail to notice in the hallway a map of Turkey with marks on the places where the students' parents had grown up, to mention just one example. A unique feature (for Danish grade schools at least) was the fact that Turkish as a subject was marked on the regular class schedules, cf. Table 2.3. The Turkish classes were taught by teachers who could also teach other subjects, and Turkish was in no particular way ostracized in the organization of the school. The Turkish classes were registered on the schedules for all classes until grade 4. From grade 4 through grade 7 there would be only one Turkish class per grade level, and very few students attended Turkish classes after grade 7.

This does not mean that Turkish and Danish were equal in the school everyday, particularly not in the instruction. The vast majority of teachers had no knowledge of Turkish, and they used no Turkish whatsoever in their classes. It was also obvious that there was comparatively little practical co-operation among the teachers, and that the students experienced a school day fractured into subjects. The teaching of Turkish was not very well co-ordinated with other subjects, although subject co-ordination was high on the general educational agenda in the public school debates in those years. Worse still, a few teachers were less than happy to accept that the students would sometimes speak Turkish to each other in class, during pair and group activities.

There was, as it appears on table 2.3, some teaching of Danish to the minority students which was specifically planned to be second-language teaching, but not much. At the time there was a very active and highly qualified community school counsel

specialized in Danish as a second language, who was based at Ahornengen School, and that fact undoubtedly contributed to the quality of the teaching. By and large the teaching of Danish was nevertheless very similar in materials and activities to Danish for majority children. There was in no way any attempt to develop a truly bilingual teaching (see also de Jong 1997) - this has even worsened since then, as we have already seen.

Lesson\ Day	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	Math	Religion	Math	Music	Danish
2	Art	Math	Danish	Danish	Danish
3	Art	Class hour	Danish	Danish	Phys.ed.
4	Danish	Music	Danish	Math	Phys.ed.
5	Turkish	Turkish	Danish L2	Turkish	Turkish

Table 2.3. The weekly schedule of a second grade class at Ahornengen School 1991.

As a whole we can conclude that the Turkish-Danish students who were involved for all of the nine years of the project have met a much more open-minded Danish institution than most minority children did then in Denmark, and now do in Køge as well. They have been subjected to less pressure to hide their Turkish skills than most Turkish-Danes living in the increasingly intolerant society of Denmark (see Jørgensen 2003d). In particular, Turkish has not been generally banned or stigmatized, but considered a legitimate means of communication and learning. On the other hand, Turkish was never in any important way considered or treated as equal to Danish.

In addition to the data provided by the teachers in grades 1-3, the students' school leaving grades are also part of the data. They

include the teachers' evaluations of the students' achievements in the individual subjects ranging from Danish. They include one grade for oral work and one grade for written expression, and one grade for orthography (yes, seriously). The math grades include a grade for written math and a grade for oral math. In addition there are grades for English, German, and science. The grade school finishes with a oral examinations in a selection of the subjects. The students' examination grades are also included on their school leaving diplomas.

The total grade point average of the Turkish-speaking students by the end of grade school was slightly lower than that of the rest of the classes, 7.4 and 7.7 respectively. The grade point average of the L1-Danish-speakers was 7.9 (a very small group of non-Turkish-speaking minority students reached a grade point average of 7.0). Since the L1-speakers of Danish are hugely favored by the organization of the Danish school, this difference is no surprise. In fact, it is probably a surprise that it is not larger. There are all kinds of questions one could ask of this result, for instance if the criteria used by the evaluating teachers were exactly the same for all the students. Nevertheless these grades may to an important extent determine the future educational options of the students.

Although the grade point average of the two groups may not seem very different, the distribution of the Turkish-speaking students across the range of grade point averages is very uneven. Two of the top three students, and four of the top seven are Turkish-speakers. These students appear again and again on the top of all kinds of rankings (see table 2.4 below), and they are the main factor behind the minority group reaching a grade point average which more or less equals that of the rest of the classes. As it happens, four out of five, and five out of seven, of the lowest ranked students are also Turkish-speakers. These individuals also repeatedly appear lowly in other rankings (see table 2.4). In between the top and the bottom there are very few minority students. It is evident that the young people in this minority group

either achieve substantial school success or risk to fail quite miserably.

The distribution of the high grades is also specific for the Turkish-speakers. Their average grade in foreign language classes (English, German, and occasionally French) is 7.5, while for the rest of the students it is 7.0. On the other hand, the Turkish-speakers score considerably lower than that of the L1 Danish speakers with respect to the grades in the school subject of Danish (7.2 and 8.2, respectively).

The conclusion to this is that the lack of adjustment of the subject of Danish to the minority students' presence in class, sets a clear mark on the school success of these students, at least when school success is measured in school leaving grades. The fact that the same students do well in foreign language classes adds a serious dimension to this conclusion. It is out of the question that this could be a result of negligence, and much less xenophobia, among the teachers. This came to the community much later. It is probably rather the result of the total lack of higher-level acceptance and respect for the pedagogical task involved in integrating linguistic minority students into classrooms (as documented in horrifying detail by Kristjánsdóttir 2006).

Several other measures are possible when we want to follow the achievements of the Turkish-speaking students. Quist (1998a) uses the concepts of language development suggested by Holmen (1990, see also Holmen 1993a, Holmen & Jørgensen 2001). Holmen divides the development of interactional Danish by young minority speakers into five levels on the basis of both morpho-syntactic and functional criteria. Quist (1998a) is an attempt to apply the same criteria to the ten core students in the Køge Project. Quist's results appear in table 2.4, column Da5. As can be seen, one of the students (Esen) has attained level 5 (the most advanced level) already in grade 1, while another student (Eda) still has not reached it by grade 8. Madsen (2001a) criticizes the operationalization of Holmen's stages which Quist uses. Madsen

finds that the criterion of main clause inversion, which Quist uses to indicate the highest stage, in fact represents two different stages of development, at least with L2 Danish learning children. One type of inversion involves chunks or very light prepositioned adverbs, and this type is not characteristic of a very advanced stage. This would explain fully one of Quist's exceptions (Hüseyin who has low social standing in Quist's analysis, but is categorized by Quist as an early achiever in Danish as a second language) satisfactorily and thus support Quist's main finding, namely that successful second language acquisition is related to successful social standing. This has been taken into account in the relevant column in table 2.4.

Table 2.4 gives a variety of rankings of the 10 core Turkish-speaking informants, altogether 16 different rankings. The first column contains the names of the students.

The following 6 columns represent evaluations on a scale from 1 (very good) to 5 (poor), cf. Boyd et al. (1994a,b), Gimbel (1994). FD: Parent's evaluation of the student's Danish (grade 1). FT: Parent's evaluation of the student's Turkish (grade 1). 1LD: Teacher's evaluation of the student's Danish (grade 1). 1LT: Teacher's evaluation of the student's Turkish (grade 1). 3LD: Teacher's evaluation of the student's Danish (grade 3). 3LT: Teacher's evaluation of the student's Turkish (grade 3).

The next two columns represent rankings according to a comprehension test, 2UT in Turkish, and 2UD in Danish, cf. Can et al. (1999), Jørgensen & Holmen (1995).

Da5 is an account of when (in which grade, 1-10) the students arrive at Holmen's level 5, cf. Quist (1998a), Hüseyin, line 11, is adjusted according to Madsen (2001a, 35).

8DD shows the ranking of the students in a guise experiment, in grade 8, involving adult mother tongue speakers of Danish, cf. Jørgensen & Quist (2001).

Four columns show the rankings of the students in two cloze tests in grade 9, one in Danish and one in Turkish, cf. Holmen (2001), Holmen & Jørgensen (2001, 133). 9CAd gives the ranking according to how many of the solutions offered by the students in the Danish cloze test were acceptable. 9CPd ranks the students according to the number of solutions in the Danish cloze test they offered which were precisely the ones expected. 9CAt ranks the students according to the number of acceptable solutions offered in the Turkish cloze test. 9CPt gives a ranking according to the number of acceptable solutions suggested in the Turkish cloze test.

The last two columns rank the students according to their school leaving grades in oral Danish and written Danish, respectively.

Such rankings taken one by one of course tell us very little about any student. The results of an experiment with a comprehension test in grade 2 may be arbitrary and very superficial with respect to the comprehensive skills of particular students. Similarly, a number of factors may influence the ultimate school leaving grade of a class of students. So taken ranking by ranking we should not emphasize these results too much. Nevertheless, there is a striking similarity between all of the rankings. Esen is never ranked lower than more than two other students, and she is top ranked in 12 out of the 16 columns. Asiye is the opposite, she ranks near the bottom or at the bottom of most of the columns. There is a striking similarity throughout these various rankings which stretch across 9 years and several languages, involving comprehension, fluency, etc. The four students Esen, Canan, Bekir, and Murat appear in most of the cases on the top of the list. They are also the four who scored well by the end of grade school. They have achieved a range of successes, and it is tempting to look for a factor or several factors which may explain this.

An interesting similarity appears when we compare the scores (particularly the evaluations by adult native speakers of Danish) with the frequency of code-mixing, see below, table 3.8.2. This table shows a correspondence between Danish skills and code-

switching behavior. The code-switchers are also judged by mother tongue speakers of Danish to be the speakers who are most eloquent in Danish. Those whose Danish is judged to be the least eloquent, code-switch very little, if at all (see a more detailed description in part 3 below).

Another interesting aspect is the fact that resources seem to be accumulated during the students' nine years of grade school. For instance, in Jørgensen (1993) I trace the development of linguistic power wielding during the first four years and finds that certain individuals develop their skills earlier than others. The students who do so, happen to be the same as the top scorers. Hansen (2004) finds that the development of bilingual skills go hand in hand with the development of second language skills, and the two support each other. This will of course work to the benefit of some, and not others. This raises the question of the starting levels. What qualities do those individuals have at school start who succeed. We can see in the table that a good command of Turkish certainly helped. But what about Danish?

At first sight it seems not to matter too much. According to their parents very few of our students knew very much Danish before they started in school (see table 2.4, column FD). The teacher questionnaires confirm this picture (table 2.4, column 1LD). By the school leaving exams at the end of grade 9, however, all the students speak Danish, although with widely different degrees of eloquence. During the years we have used several measures of achievement in Danish as a second language compared with the Turkish, including comprehension tests in grade 2 (see below, Jørgensen & Holmen 1995, and Can et al. 1999), cloze tests in grade 9 (see below, Holmen & Jørgensen 2001, 132, and Holmen 2001), and of course the school leaving grades. The successful ones are not those who were ranked highest for their Danish skills.

Already in Holmen & Jørgensen (2001) we found the remarkable, although perhaps not too surprising, similarity between almost all of the different ratings and evaluations carried out at different

times of the data collection. The 10 students who have participated all the way through are ranked according to the teachers' evaluations, according to Quist's measures with Madsen's adjustment, their results in comprehension tests, cloze tests, and school leaving exams. There is a bit of an exception in Canan who seems to move from a low ranking to a high one with respect to her skills in Danish as a second language in the course of 3-4 years. In fact, when we include her scores in grade 8 and grade 9 measures, for instance cloze tests and school leaving exam grades, she, Bekir, and Esen are the three top scorers. Another student who moves up the ranks during the school years is Murat. Interestingly, both Canan and Murat were highly ranked for their Turkish skills by their teachers of Turkish in grade 1. It makes little sense to draw dramatic conclusions from this, but it is interesting that the only really common denominator for these two by school start is their comparatively good command of their mother tongue.

First of all, we must conclude that the school years have had very little impact on the ranking of the students. By and large, those students who are ranked highly, remain on top throughout their school career, apparently regardless of the school's effort to provide equality. This is not the same as saying that the school has had no effect. The eventual attainment of the students is of course also a result of the school's contributions. Nevertheless, the school has failed in one respect. It is often claimed that the public educational system should contribute to neutralizing the so-called negative social legacy of its students. This has not been achieved with the specific group I study here. There is very little to indicate any specific reason why some of the students do well, and others do not. Perhaps one can see a tendency in the fact that all of the achievers were rated high in Turkish in grade 1, but this is also the case for some students who did not do so well. The closest we can come to a result here is that the *consistently* high rating in Turkish may be necessary to maintain a level of success.

	FD	FT	1L	1LT	3LD	3LT	2UT	2UD	Da5	8DD	9CA	9CPd	9CAt	9CP	9dm	9ds
Esen	2	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	1,2
Bekir	5	3	4	1	2	1	1	3	2	2	3	2,3	6,7	4	2	3,4
Canan	3	2	4	1	2	1	4-8	8	4	3	2	2,3	2	2	21	1,2
Murat	4	1	4	1	3	1	2	4	4	4	4	4	2	1	4	3,4
Selma	-	-	4	1	4	2	4-8	2	2	8	5	5	4	6	5-6	5,6
Merva	3	2	5	2	4	1	10	6	6	5	9	8	8	8	7	8,9
Eda	-	-	5	2	5	2	4-8	10	10?	10	7	6	6,7	5	8-9	7
Asiye	4	3	5	2	5	2	4-8	9	8	9	8	9	9	9	8-9	5,6
Erol	5	2	5	2	5	2	9	7	6	6	6	7	5	7	5-6	8,9
Hüseyin	-	-	4	1	4	1	4-8	5	6	7	10	10	10	10	10	10

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Table 2.4. Rankings of the ten core Turkish speaking informants.

One thing is certain, however - namely that a high ranking in Danish is not prerequisite for later success. There are a couple of students who move a little bit on the scale, for instance Selma, who slides a bit (and her ranking in Danish by grade 1 equals that of the more successful students).

Again I must emphasize that we can not conclude very much from the rankings one by one. There are problems involved with several of them. The crystal clear overall picture is nevertheless convincing. We can draw several conclusions from the consistency of these figures: Some of the students have done very well in school and in other ways (including their social status among peers, see Quist 1998a, 129), but most of them have not. The school has had little influence on the selection of the successful students, but it has managed its task regarding these students with considerable achievements. This is particularly true with respect to foreign language teaching, but not to the school subject of Danish.

H. Laursen (1992) compares the contributions of four of the students in different situations, with adults in face-to-face conversation and with peers in group conversation. She measures how large a proportion of the conversations the students contribute, and in which language. She also carries out an initiative-response analysis, and a so-called focus analysis (aiming at categorizing the contents of the conversations). H. Laursen finds that group conversations and adult conversations provide very different opportunities for learning to the students. For instance, Erol is considerably more active with the group than with the adult. He also covers a wider range of conversational features. On the other hand, the adult conversations are not a fixed and stable phenomenon. The young Turkish-speakers show

remarkably different behavior according to whom they are speaking. Some adults appear to have a gift for getting the students to talk, others do not. H. Laursen finds that the conversational qualities demonstrated by the former type of adult interlocutor also offer pedagogical qualities. Her variables have later been taken up by for instance Esdahl (2001a, 2003a), see below.

H. Laursen finds it important for the second language development (and by implication, the overall linguistic development) of the bilingual students that they are involved in several different types of communication on a daily basis in the school. Both face-to-face conversations and group conversations involving only students contribute to the acquisition of language. She concludes that a range of conversational situations should be provided to the students in their school acquisition of Danish as a second language. Furthermore she finds that the different conversational styles among the adults (teachers) yield surprisingly different results with respect to the students' possibilities for using (and thereby learning) language.

A further result of H. Laursen's is that the development of Turkish seems to be important for the development of Danish as a second language with these students, at least in the first three years of school. She finds that "the children's linguistic development in Turkish in several cases preceded the development of the same linguistic skills in Danish" (H. Laursen 1992, 121, my translation). She also finds that the students use Turkish to discuss problems in Danish.

The result of H. Laursen (1992) at the most general level is the need for the school to provide a range of different linguistic opportunities and situation for the students. The efforts of at least some of the adults around our core students went in that direction. Let us now turn to some of the effects.

Social aspects

The sociological background of our students can be described by data obtained by a parent interview which we used in connection with the NISU project, a Nordic study of different migrant groups' language use and language attitudes (Boyd et al. 1994a,b, Boyd et al. 1995) and to a certain extent by a small comparison study from a Danish community (Bugge & Jørgensen 1995). The Turkish (interview) part of the NISU study was carried out in Køge during the summer of 1989, among the parents of the school beginners who would start school in August of that year. The Køge group was compared to the group of Turkish-speaking immigrants in Gothenburg, Sweden. A random selection of parents of school beginners were interviewed according to an interview guide which was also used with North American English-speaking immigrants in Denmark, Finland, and Sweden, with Finnish-speaking immigrants in Norway and Sweden, and with Vietnamese-speaking immigrants in Finland and Norway. The interview concerned language use patterns in the minority groups, including intergenerational language choice patterns. In addition the respondents were asked about their attitudes to and expectations of education, language skills, etc.

	Adult > Child	Child > Adult	Child > Child
Turkish	87	77	54
Vietnamese	85	73	24
Finnish	44	33	29
English	16	19	21

Table 2.5. Percentages of immigrant parents who respond that *only* the minority language is used in conversations in the home, in three types of addressing (N = 291).

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It was evident (Jørgensen & Holmen 1994, 127) that the Turkish-speakers maintained the mother tongue to a higher degree than the other groups studied, see table 2.5 (Backus 2004, 694 reports the same tendency Europe-wide). The parent generation overwhelmingly speaks Turkish, among themselves as well as when addressing the child generation. This is more or less the same among the Vietnamese-speakers, but the Turkish-speaking children also prefer Turkish to the national language of the host country, as opposed to the children of the Vietnamese-speakers. Both the Finnish-speakers and the English-speakers used their second language more frequently than the Turkish-speakers.

Likewise the parents within each of the groups expressed different attitudes and expectations, see table 2.6. The English-speakers and the Finnish-speakers seem to find their children's L1-development more important than the Turkish-speakers do. Now if we compare this to the actual language use reported by the parents, see table 2.5, we find an interesting contrast. In Turkish families adults report to speak only Turkish in 87 % of the cases. The remaining 13 % speak some Danish, maybe very little. The dominance of Turkish is therefore very strong. The same is true for the children, although Turkish is not quite so strong. For the Vietnamese, the parent use is the same, but the child use of the majority language is much more common. The Finns seem to represent a relatively stable use of the mother tongue, whereas the North Americans only in a few cases use only English. In other words, precisely those parents who put the strongest emphasis on the maintenance of the minority language use it the least, and those parents who find their mother tongue least important use it the most.

Origin\Attitude	Very Important	Somewhat important	Not very important
English	43	42	14

Finnish	53	23	23
Turkish	26	48	26
Vietnamese	35	34	31
Total	41	37	23

Table 2.6. Parent attitudes to the importance of their children's maintenance of the parents' mother tongue. The upper figures are percentages (N = 281).

This discrepancy is of course not only due to the differences the parents bring along from their background, but also to the very different conditions they have been given by the host societies. Legislation and school traditions, as well as the prestige ascribed to the languages by society at large, offered a much wider range of potions to the English-speaking parents than to the Turkish-speaking parents who had (and still have) few opportunities to play an active role in support of their children's education and maintenance of the parents' L1. The parents accordingly react in different ways. Parents with few opportunities may take on a more active role privately, such as Vietnamese-speaking parents who teach Vietnamese to their children in their homes. Parents with few opportunities may also simply give up and forfeit their hopes on behalf of their children's language - this is particularly the case with the Turkish-speakers in Denmark (and as we have seen, this was even more pronounced in Stendal than in Køge, see Bugge & Jørgensen 1995). Thus, while the Turkish-speaking parents maintained the use of their mother tongue more than other groups, they were nevertheless pessimistic about the children's maintenance: the parents were also more pessimistic about their children's opportunities in (particularly Danish) society than other parents. This is reflected in the fact that their arguments for wanting their children to learn Danish were strictly instrumental (in Gardner's 1985 terms), while their arguments for maintaining Turkish were affective.

North American English-speakers meet a Denmark which is very different from the one that Turkish-speakers meet. We found that while the Turkish-speakers assess their group's skills higher than Danes do, they tend to give up changing the conditions imposed on them, and they adjust their expectations on behalf of their children accordingly. The North Americans assess themselves very positively, and they put high demands on the receiving society. These demands are accepted by at least parts of the educational system in Denmark.

The three groups, i.e. the receiving society (and its educational system), the North American parents, and the Turkish-speaking parents fit themselves into a hierarchy in which English takes the top position, and Turkish the bottom position (for a more detailed analysis of this and the following issues, see Jørgensen 1997a, 2000).

We asked all the parents how well their children knew their parents' mother tongue, and how well they knew the majority language, in case of the Turkish speakers either Swedish or Danish. We further asked the parents how satisfied they were with their children's skills (as they in their capacity of parents perceived these skills). The parents were offered five categories, i.e. five possible levels of skill and five degrees of satisfaction. The results can be seen in table 2.7 and table 2.8. In addition the parents were invited to elaborate and explain their attitude verbally, and their remarks were written down.

	Very sat.	Relatively s.	Satisfied	Less sat.	Dissatisf.	Total
No problems	94	4	2	0	0	56

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Good	24	57	10	8	2	20
Okay	8	30	48	11	4	11
Not good	3	7	18	55	17	11
Not at all	17	0	0	17	67	2
Total	59	18	10	9	4	100

Table 2.7. Minority parents' assessment of their children's skills in the majority language (rows) by the parents' satisfaction with these skills (columns). The cells give percentages (N = 257).

It is characteristic of both table 2.7 and table 2.8 that most of the parents seem to answer the skill question and the satisfaction question in the same way. People who believe their children speak the majority language without problems (i.e. row 1) are generally also very satisfied (i.e. column 1). There are also many respondents in cells (1,1), (2,2), etc. There are nevertheless a few parents who do not belong in these cells, such as one parent whose child does not speak the majority tongue at all, to the great satisfaction of a parent (this parent appears in table 2.7, cell 5,1). We interpreted a distance of (at least) two levels with a higher skill score than satisfaction score as an indication of (unfulfilled) ambition on the side of the parent. We do not similarly assume that a distance of (at least) two levels with a higher satisfaction score than skill score is an indication of lack of ambition by the parent. Such a difference could indicate the low status of the language in comparison to the other language.

When we look closer at the parents who show such discrepancies in their responses we find some startling regularities. Denmark has relatively many minority parents who are dissatisfied with the linguistic skills of their children, as it is interpreted by us on the basis of these figures. In the Nordic area as a whole there are many dissatisfied English speaking parents, and only few who are satisfied. It is characteristic of the North American English

speaking parents that they seem to be ambitious on behalf of their children in a traditional way - they want their children to achieve with respect to mainstream social ideals. One dissatisfied parent subscribes very strictly to the *Reinheits*-ideology when he says that his "own English has been too mixed up to teach" his own kids. He wants them to "learn English from someone who can teach them standard, proper, correct English". He also mentions in passing that he speaks Danish to his dog. He wants his children to learn "as many languages as possible". This is a frequently occurring theme among North American parents, "as much as possible, everything".

	Very sat.	Relatively s.	Satisfied	Less sat.	Dissatisf.	Total
No problems	83	10	5	1	1	47
Good	25	53	9	13	0	24
Okay	10	27	35	25	2	18
Not good	0	16	12	44	28	9
Not at all	0	0	0	50	50	2
Total	47	24	12	13	4	100

Table 2.8. Minority parents' assessment of their children's skills in the minority language (rows) by the parents' satisfaction with these skills (columns). The figures are percentages.

Among the Turkish speaking immigrants there are only few dissatisfied parents. Those who are dissatisfied worry about their children's skills not as a matter of unfulfilled ambitions, but more as a general concern about the future. Some Turkish speakers in Denmark are "not satisfied" with their children's "okay" skills and simultaneously express fear for the children's educational

prospects. One parent remarks that "one has to adapt to the country in which one lives", and an "okay" language command is simply not good enough for that. Another parent is quite pessimistic: "I want her to get a good education here, but when I judge her level I lose faith". Denmark seems to be the target of particular dissatisfaction. The English speakers in Denmark do not find their ambitions on behalf of their children fulfilled. The Turkish speakers find that Danish society does not provide opportunities for their children. We can now see a possible explanation to the discrepancy between the attitudes and the behavior of immigrant parents with respect to their mother tongue. The North American English speakers indeed think that the English language is very important, but they do not have to worry about it in Danish society or in the Danish schools. English being highest in the language hierarchy, it is unlikely the English speaking children will have a chance to forget it. Danish society is furthermore willing to take the claims of the parents on behalf of the English language seriously.

The Turkish speaking parents also find their language important, but they realize that it is at the bottom of the hierarchy. This group is generally at the bottom of the social hierarchy in Denmark, and being there one has more urgent problems than one's children's maintenance of the minority tongue. The discrepancy between the parents' attitude and behavior is sometimes ascribed to the Turkish-speaking parents' lack of experience with western educational systems, and in such light the fault will be entirely on the side of the immigrants. Some of our data point in another direction. In one of the items we asked the parents whether they would prefer the majority tongue or the minority tongue on behalf of their children. The question was: "If your child in the near future - regardless of the reason - would have to choose between learning more Turkish and learning more [Danish or Swedish], which would you prefer?" There was no third possible answer, such as "both" or "neither". In table 2.9 we can see that close to half of the parents refused to accept this. This is an indication that the parents know what is at stake with respect to their children's

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language skills. There are other similar indications (see for instance Hetmar 1991).

More L_1	29
More L_2	23
Both	38
Other	10

Table 2.9. Turkish speaking parents' preferences regarding their children's language acquisition. Percentages (N=69).

Parents\ Teachers	no problems	good	okay	not good	not at all	total
no problems	0	0	1	1	1	3
good	3	3	1	2	1	10
okay	0	0	3	4	0	7
not good	0	0	2	6	5	13
not at all	0	1	0	1	4	6
total	3	4	7	14	11	39

Table 2.10. Turkish-speaking parents' self-assessment of skills in Danish (rows) by their children's teachers' evaluation of the communication in Danish between the parents and the school (columns). Figures are only available for part of the population.

The difficulties in the relationship between minority and majority is further illuminated by the very different assessments of language skills as they are given by Turkish speaking parents and

majority teachers. Table 2.10 compares the parents' self-assessment of their skills in Danish with their children's teachers' evaluation of the communication between parents and school (Gimbel 1994, see above). About half of the parents assess their Danish proficiency to be "not good" or "not at all". The teachers judge sixteen of these, plus nine additional parents to be "not good" or "not at all" speakers of Danish (when communicating with the school). If we assume that parents and teachers respond to the same question about the parents' skills in Danish, it appears that the Turkish speakers more often rate themselves higher than they rate themselves lower compared to the teachers' ratings. There are 16 parents whose self assessment is higher than the assessment of the teacher, but there are only 7 whose self assessment is lower than the assessment of the teacher.

The tendency for the teachers to rate the minorities lower than the minorities themselves do, also applies to the evaluation of the children. The children's teachers were asked (Gimbel 1994, see above) to assess the same children's listening comprehension, pronunciation, vocabulary, conversational competence, and narrative competence in Danish. For each evaluation part the teacher used a five-point scale. The five ratings taken together are either at the same level of that of the parents of each child, or, in several cases, lower. In tables 2.11 and 2.12 the teachers' evaluations with respect to two of these parts are compared to the parents' evaluation.

Teachers: Parents:	Very well	Above	Average	A little below average	Much below average	Total
No problems	0	0	1	1	0	2
Good	1	1	0	3	0	5
Okay	0	0	0	3	1	4
Not good	0	0	0	3	7	10

Almost not at all	0	0	0	1	3	4
Total	1	1	1	11	11	25

Table 2.11. Teacher and parent assessment of Turkish-speaking children's skills. The teachers have evaluated the children's conversational competence, the parents have evaluated how well the children speak the majority language. Absolute figures. Figures are only available for a part of the population.

Teachers: Parents:	Very well	Above	Average	A little below average	Much below average	Total
No problems	0	0	0	2	0	2
Good	1	0	1	3	0	5
Okay	0	0	0	2	2	4
Not good	0	0	0	2	8	10
Almost not at all	0	0	0	0	4	4
Total	1	1	1	9	14	25

Table 2.12. Teacher and parent assessment of Turkish-speaking children's skills. The teachers have evaluated the children's vocabulary, the parents have evaluated how well the children speak the majority language. Absolute figures. Figures are only available for a part of the population.

The difference may indicate that minority parents are in reality ignorant of the demands placed on their children in school. It may also be an indication that teachers are prejudiced against minority children. The parents and teachers may in fact, however, have different situations in mind when they report their evaluations. The parents' impression will typically be based on the children's performance at home, in shops, and at play. The teachers are more

likely to be concerned with school and literacy-related language use. Anyway there seems to be a mismatch. One may fear that this mismatch will develop as the children grow older, and the intellectual and social demands they face in school will increase. Or it may develop as the teachers' positive or negative expectations for the minority children lead to the effect suggested by Rosenthal in the 1960s (Rosenthal & Jacobson 1968).

The impression of a difficult relationship is confirmed by a comparison of the teachers' impression of the parents' attitudes to the school as such with the parents' own words about this. Sixty-two per cent of the parents follow the general pattern of parents in the Danish schools. The majority of parents express satisfaction with the school, and these parents are seen by the teachers as interested and cooperative, whereas other parents who express some dissatisfaction are viewed as uninterested. None of the Turkish parents are seen as hostile or explicitly negative, as some Danish parents are. But 38 % of the Turkish parents do not fit into this pattern, e.g. some say they are "very satisfied" or "satisfied" with their children's school, but are seen by the teachers as uninterested. Parents in Turkey traditionally do not interfere with their children's schools, and it is therefore possible that these parents express their respect for the school by *not* appearing at the school every now and then, by *not* making telephone calls to the teachers, as Danish teachers expect parents to do. This confirms the picture we saw earlier of the Turkish group being better described as pessimistic about the general prospects of their children than as concerned with the maintenance of their mother tongue. We find that there is a clear connection between the social reality of the Turkish-speaking minority group in Køge and the children's educational opportunities. As we have seen, the Ahornengen school and its teachers seemed more open than elsewhere in Denmark, and the Ahornengen district provided social opportunities for the young Turkish-speakers. This is not to say that their conditions came any way near the opportunities offered to young speakers of North American English, a fact which can be read in the parent attitudes.

The Køge Project focuses on a cohort among the Turkish-speaking minority in Køge. The sociological background of the Turkish-speaking students in the Køge Project is remarkably similar. The vast majority have grown up in the two social housing projects in Køge and gone to the neighborhood schools (the two first groups of Can's 1995 study). A few minority students were scattered around in the middle class quarters which typically consist of private homes (Can's third group). The parents in the social housing areas are representative of the Turkish-speaking minority in Køge at the time of data collection. The majority were unemployed, and quite a few of them had very little education. The parents are links in a chain migration from Anatolian villages to Denmark. The fathers arrived first, and the families later. Almost all of the children in our study were raised in Denmark, however. The core group belonged to Can's first group, the Ahornengen group which was the one that expressed the most positive experience in Køge. We can see that the group of Turkish-speaking students who has been involved in our project for all nine years, is not typical. They have met greater acceptance than is normal in Denmark, to the extent where they become attractive as social contacts for other, even middle-class-oriented, Turkish-Danes (i.e. Can's third group).

As we have seen, Gimbel (1994) reports that there was comparatively little social integration between the majority students and the minority students in grade 1, according to the teachers, and only some integration in grade 3. When the students were in grade 8, Byrjalsen (2004), Møller (2001), and Quist (1998a) conducted group interviews. Part of the purpose was to get an impression of the social relationships among the students, including the degree of integration. After the group interviews the usual face-to-face conversations (see below about the conversations recorded) picked up the issues which were raised during the group conversations. This resulted in many statements from the individual students about relationships and group formations in the grade 8 cohort at Ahornengen school. Quist

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(1998a, 109) draws a diagram of the relations among the students, see figure 2.13. This sociogram is based on statements made by the young students about friendships, connections, and other relations among the individuals in the classes.

Figure 2.13, Sociogram of the grade 8 students at Ahornengen school (after Quist 1998a, 113). The Turkish-speaking minority students are marked with filled circles, other minority students with two lines in a circle, and the majority students with open circles. The zoned-in 7 students form the so-called Club of the Cool (Møller 2002).
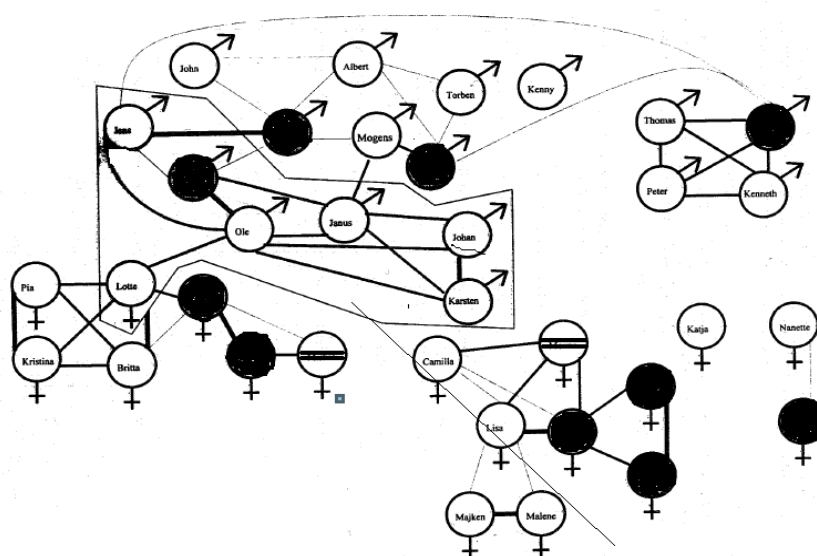
The first observation one can make in figure 2.13 is that the relations are highly gender-dependent. Girls are connected to girls, and boys to boys. There is only one exception (which is by the way not an early romantic relationship), namely the girl who is included in the Club of the Cool (more about that below). With respect to the Turkish-speaking adolescents it is strikingly clear that the majority and minority boys are integrated to a much larger extent than the majority and minority girls are. The boys as a whole form one large network in which every boy has his place.

The network is hierarchical, as some boys are obviously more centrally placed and better connected than others, and some are more peripheral. In this extensive and inclusive network one can not predict the place of any minority boy. He may be central, or he may be peripheral.

The girls organize in smaller friendship groups where there are few connections from one group to the other. The girls organize in exclusive, intensive networks. The minority girls have two small groups, both of which depend on one particular girl to have a connection to majority girls. As it happens, these two gap-bridging girls are the two girls who appear among the top in the rankings of table 2.4. These two girls do not conform to the ethnically specific group formation among the girls, but apart from that the minority girls are not nearly as well socially integrated among the peers as the minority boys are.

The Club of the Cool is a theme all of its own. It is a self-proclaimed group of boys (plus one girl) who think of themselves as class leaders. The concept of *cool* (Danish *sej*) covers a range of stylistic features such as clothing, music taste, and consumption. Møller 2002 analyzes the statements made by several of the members in the group interviews as demonstrative signals of a youth identity. The members distance themselves from the somewhat more academically ambitious students who are described in terms as if they were adults, and they also distance themselves from the "boys", who are described in terms as if they were children. Møller's point is that this deliberately chosen youth identity is not only observable in a range of non-linguistic phenomena, but also in linguistic creativity and a certain level of provocation. His prime example is the term *DSB* which refers mockingly to the Danish state railways, i.e. an extremely boring and adult institution, but in this context it means a special contraption for drinking beer, i.e. *De Sejes Bælla*, an expression which also plays on the verb *bælle* (English *to swill*) as well as the name *Bella*. Møller quotes more examples to show the linguistic creativity of the members of the Club of the Cool, all of them in

Danish. The club is not ethnically marked, but there is no indication of any use or function of Turkish in the club.

M. Laursen (2001) has studied the young peoples's conversations and concentrated on statements about boy-friends and girl-friends and romantic relationships. She shows that there is status in being attractive to the opposite sex, or to even have some experience with romantic relationships. The theme is frequent in the conversations among girls, and some of the Turkish-speaking girls openly state that if a girl does not talk primarily about boys, she is not normal. In fact one of the Turkish-speaking girls is the target of not too well-intended teasing which constructs her as a lesbian. Several classmates argue that this is because she is shy and awkward in the company of boys. M. Laursen also finds that boys spend much less time talking about girls, but they do occasionally turn their attention away from activities and towards girls. The development of pragmatic skills is different among the girls than among the boys. Furthermore, there is a difference between the majority girls and the minority girls.

The Turkish-speaking girls have formed their own groups, as we have seen, and they have quite different experiences than the majority girls, most of whom have partied, consumed alcohol, and hung out with boys. The issue of romantic relationships therefore is quite different among the Turkish-speaking girls from what it is among the majority girls. The issue is shared and important, but it does not contribute to any integration, and the girls remain organized in more or less separated groups throughout the rest of their school careers.

Several works have addressed the young students' expression of identities, both social and personal identities. Beside the Møller (2002), M. Laursen (2001), and Quist (1998a) contributions, Møller (2001) and Bøll (2002) focus on social identities, while Jacobsen (2003) also involves issues of personal identity. Bøll (2002) analyzes the same material as we have seen analyzed by Quist (1998a) and Møller (2002), namely the grade 8

conversations, including group interviews with Danish interviewers and face-to-face conversations with Danish-speaking adults. Bøll analyzes statements made by the young students about ethnicity (including religion), language, gender and generation. Bøll's qualitative analysis confirms Quist's sociogram, as she finds that ethnicity appears more frequent as an issue mentioned by girls, or about girls, by the young students, both majority and minority members. The two minority girls who are members of both a group of Turkish-speaking girls, and a group of majority girls, both express an integrative motivation for learning Danish while at the same time they like going to Turkey. Esen in particular says that she can be free in Ankara, because no one will check her and gossip about her. Canan is the only girl who is enthusiastic about her religion, and at the same time she participates in activities which are forbidden for many of the minority girls (by their parents).

An often expressed opinion by the young informants, minority as well as majority, male as well as female, is that the Turkish-speaking girls who are not allowed to participate in certain activities, are at a clear disadvantage, both academically and socially. The Turkish-speaking boys say that they will not do so to the daughters they may have later. The fact that several girls do not participate in these activities is not the only reason for the lack of integration among the girls. Firstly, Canan does also not participate in the partying among the majority youth, and she does not drink alcohol, but she is nevertheless an achiever. The minority boys do not party or drink alcohol, either, and they are nevertheless well integrated with the majority boys, as we have seen.

Apparently the majority boys are less inclined to reject a classmate because he speaks Danish with an accent ("does not speak good Danish", as it is usually formulated), than the girls are. It seems to be a theme which the girls are keenly aware of. Ethnicity is in general more often mentioned by the girls, both majority and minority, than among the boys. The central positions of Esen and

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Canan are explicitly connected to their high competence in Danish, and the peripheral position of Eda to her much less eloquent Danish.

As a whole the statements about identity revolve less around ethnicity than around age and gender. It is important for the young students that they are young. A "we" as opposed to a "they" is more often established about young people than about Turkish-speakers. This of course also includes young Turkish-speakers vis-a-vis older Turkish-speakers. Gender identity is also frequently established as an important theme. Ethnicity, however, is clearly a secondary issue to gender. Except for Canan they all express a preference for "here", i.e. Denmark, as opposed to "there" (i.e. Turkey). "The closest we can come to a shared identity for the Turkish-Danish young is the self-concept of being young and belonging to a gender group in Denmark" (Bøll 2002, 72, my translation).

Møller (2001) is also based on the grade 8 material. Møller compares two types of data. Firstly, he studies expressions of identity as they appear in the face-to-face conversations among the minority students and a Danish-speaking adult. Secondly he studies code-choice patterns in three peer group conversations involving Turkish-Danish speakers. On the basis of the face-to-face conversations he finds two types of identity establishment among the young Turkish-speakers. One is the type also described by Bøll, i.e. the self-presentation as a young, male or female, in Denmark. This identity presentation occasionally leads the young people to distance themselves from certain aspects of the Turkish side of their background. The other type does not present themselves as primarily young, but rather as family members.

In the comparison with the young Turkish-speakers linguistic behavior in the group conversations Møller finds a pattern related to these two types. Those Turkish-speaking students who primarily present themselves as young people code-switch much more frequently and rapidly in the group conversations than the

others, even when they participate in the same conversation. The speakers of the second group also code-switch, but less frequently, and apparently more topic-related. Møller concludes that code-switching behavior is a linguistic means of presenting identity on a par with other means.

Jacobsen (2003) uses three types of conversational data, namely the group interviews carried out in grade 8, the face-to-face conversations between a Turkish-speaking student and an adult Dane, and the peer group conversations. She sets out to determine two questions:

1. Do the positionings and interactive linguistic behavior of the young depend solely on the situation, or do subjective factors also wield an influence?
2. What consequences does the answer to this have for social constructionist theory?

Jacobsen (2003) uses Halliday's systemic functional grammatical concepts to analyze in detail the positionings of two of the students in the three situations. One is Esen, and the other one Erol. She finds that Esen is skillful and powerful. For instance, Esen can see past the questions, asked by the adult Dane, to the intention behind it:

Example 2,13 (from Jacobsen 2003, 64, my translation):
*DAN: some of the others told that eh they sometimes
             go to the mosque.
*ESE: oh.
*DAN: do you?
*ESE: -
*DAN: have you gone?
*ESE: it # is not part of my family, so, we are not such
             [//] we are not religious
*DAN: no.

*ESE: almost all the people I know everyone in my family they do not wear scarves and such or go to the mosque or fast and so.

Esen in this way establishes herself as Danish-oriented and modern, she reads the intention of the adult Dane's question and answers the underlying question. In the same way she is able to direct the attention of the other participants in the group conversation. She distributes tasks connected to the activity of the group, and she commands the others, frequently using the first person singular pronoun. "By inserting herself as subject of the sentence Esen positions herself in the role of the one who makes the decisions in the group. The others do not oppose this positioning" (Jacobsen 2003, 91-92, my translation). In all of the conversations Esen appears as active, dominant, and skilled. She is also willing to take the conversations further than others (for instance when the talk concerns sex). She is consistently powerful in her linguistic behavior (as also analyzed by Jacobsen 2002).

Erol behaves in two different ways under differing circumstances. In the conversation with the adult he is vague, passive, and almost shy. He is reluctant to provide any specificities in his utterances, and he takes no initiatives. In the peer group conversation he is active, takes initiatives, and occasionally behaves provocatively. The third conversation, i.e. the group interview conducted in grade 8, involves both types of behavior from Erol. When the participating Danish-speaking interviewer asks specific questions, Erol acts like he does in the face-to-face conversation with the adult Dane. When the conversation among the interviewees flows, he produces the same behavior as in the peer group conversation.

Jacobsen concludes that both situational and subjective factors influence the positionings and linguistic behavior of the young speakers. Among the situational factors are the issues raised in the interview, the gender of the interviewer, and the specific persons who participate in the conversation. These are not enough to explain the consistency in Esen's behavior, and the fact that Erol

vacillates between two stable positions. Furthermore, the situational factors are the same for Erol and Esen, and they can therefore not explain the huge difference between the two.

With respect to the second question Jacobsen (2003, 144) concludes that social constructionist theory is insufficient to explain the consistency in the behavior of the young speakers. For the Køge project this is an important result. With data material from the same individual over a span of nine years we would be at a loss to describe and explain the development of individual competencies, styles, and roles if we would have to base them on specific situational factors every time. Jacobsen has shown us that the students have (developed) subjects with characteristics, i.e. it does make sense to involve individual identities in our analyses of the data.

Linguistic aspects

The Turkish-speaking students' development of Danish as a second language has been studied from several angles. Based on Holmen's five levels of morpho-syntactic development (Holmen 1990), Holmen & Jørgensen (1997) explore the syntactic development of four Turkish-speaking boys between grade 1 and grade 6 to find that there is a balance between the students' development of second language skills and their development of bilingual skills. Holmen's categories were also used by Quist (1998a) and Madsen (2001a) as we have already seen. Holmen (1995) follows the acquisition of pronominal reference in Danish as a second language by one of the girls between grade 1 and grade 3. Holmen finds a very clear and rapid development over that period. She asks the question whether the girl's Danish in grade 1 could be described as pre-syntactic, but leaves the question open. It is nevertheless clear that the development goes hand in hand with syntactic and functional developments in the second language of the girl (Holmen 1995, 263). The grammatical development of the students of the core group can at least be

described as following the same path and direction, but at different speed. However, Holmen's concepts have been taken as the basis of the study of the development of morphology and syntax in Danish as a second language by our Turkish-speaking students, so we do not know whether this holds, or whether there are very deviant tracks somewhere in the material.

The acquisition of fluency has been studied by Quist (1998a), Jørgensen & Quist (2001), and Quist & Jørgensen (2002) in a quasi-matched guise test. We used recordings from the face-to-face conversations between a student and an adult Danish-speaker to select approximately 60 seconds of continuing talk by the students and copied these selections to a master tape. Altogether there were 12 voices in this material, 10 representing second language users, and 2 representing majority Danish-speakers. We arranged the data in two different orders, so that we had two different tapes to play for the 127 adult majority Danish-speakers whom we asked to rate the individual speakers on a scale from eloquent to cumbersome. We also asked the respondents whether the voices represented mother tongue speakers of Danish or not.

The resulting ranking of the voices placed Esen on top by a statistically significant margin to Bekir who was next, followed by the first majority speaker, Thomas, and then Canan (see figure 3.8.2). There was no significant difference between Bekir, Thomas, and Canan. First then the second majority speaker came, namely Pia. The surprise came when we calculated the categorizations, by the respondents, of the voices as representing mother tongue speakers. The two majority speakers, Thomas and Pia, were categorized as mother tongue speakers more often than all the Turkish-speakers. Somehow a good portion of the respondents must have been able to *both* find the Danish-competence of Esen and Bekir very high *and* determine that they were not mother tongue speakers. Nobody has as yet been able to pinpoint what it is in the behavior of Esen and Bekir that leads to this.

One attempt is Jørgensen (1997c) in which I follow the word choice patterns of the students in grade 2, grade 4, and grade 6. The vocabulary type-token ratios of the group conversations are different depending on the composition of the groups. The type-token ratio is lowest in conversations which only involve majority Danish-speakers, and it is highest in conversations among Turkish-speakers. This is in no way a surprising result. Turkish is an agglutinating language in which many grammatical functions are served by inflection, while the same functions are served by particles or small adverbs in Danish. These small words are very frequent, and that will give a lower type-token ratio in conversations where only Danish is used than in conversations where Turkish is used.

The type-token ratio also falls, as the students grow older, and that is no surprise, either. The number of tokens grow, simply because the students talk more, and that decreases the type-token ratio. If we take a closer look at the specific words used by the young speakers, a difference appears, see figure 2.14. The figure shows the frequency graphs of conversations, in Turkish, in Danish as produced by majority speakers, and in Danish produced by minority speakers. As expected, the graph for Turkish is lower than the graphs for Danish. This is another consequence of the fact that Turkish is agglutinating and Danish not. The striking difference is that the graph for Danish as spoken by the minority students is lower than the graph for Danish spoken by majority students. This means that the most frequently used words are not quite as frequent in the Danish of minority students as in the Danish of majority students, or perhaps that the Danish of Turkish-speakers is influenced by the fact that the speakers know Turkish, but at the comparatively deep level of word choice. A comparison of the use of top frequent words (in casu defined as the top 1000 words on Ruus & Maegaard's (1981) frequency list of vocabulary in children's books) by majority students and minority students showed that the majority students used fewer words outside this list in their conversations, the older they became. The minority students did not show the same

development, and their share of non-frequent words was constantly higher than that of the majority students. The minority students apparently used fewer high-frequency function words than the majority students.

In principle this could be the factor that enables adult mother tongue speakers of Danish to determine who are non-mother tongue speakers of Danish at a very high level (higher than some mother tongue speakers). However, there is little else to support this hypothesis, and later frequency counts have not led to results that were as clear as these. By grade 5 there still seems to be a similar difference, at least in the face-to-face conversations with an adult, see figure 2.15. The Turkish conversations again yield a graph which is lower than the Danish ones, and most importantly, the Danish graph of the Turkish-speaking students lies between the Turkish graph and the graph for Danish spoken by majority students.

However, by grade 5 there is no difference between the minority students' and the majority students' word choice patterns in Danish, at least with respect to frequency in the group conversations. This we can see in figure 2.16, where the three graphs are practically the same, i.e. there is no reason to believe that there is any deep-rooted different word selection mechanism in the two types of grade school students. By grade 8 there are not even differences between the word choice patterns in Danish to be measured in the adult conversations, see figure 2.17.

Duncker (2003) has carried out a thorough analysis of the vocabulary produced by the students in six grade 4 conversations each involving a majority girl, a minority girl, a majority boy, and a minority boy. Duncker focuses on the lemmas used by the students. She finds that my finding - that the minority student use fewer high frequency words than majority students - only holds if the minority students are compared to the majority girls. When majority boys are used for comparison, there is no difference. Duncker observes in several different ways that the difference in

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vocabulary use between the gender is more pronounced than the difference between the ethnic groups. The majority boys say most and use more different words than the other group. However, when she compares the rate of different types (lemmas) to the number of tokens, Duncker finds that the girls show a relatively larger vocabulary. The minority boys say the least, and their contributions are the least varied. They have a hard time just to get heard, and a considerable portion of their words are attention getters and interjections. Duncker (2003, 106) suggests that "the bilingual boys have no say, and the monolingual girls do not say very much" (my translation). Both groups of girls use more content words than the respective boys. She concludes that "although the girls quantitatively speak less than the boys they nevertheless manage to say more when they do speak" (Duncker 2003, 122, my translation). She describes both girls' groups as linguistically more mature than the boys' groups.

Gimbel (1998) has taken a look at the Danish vocabulary of the Turkish-speaking students who went to a class one year younger than our core group. He has tested their knowledge of Danish words which he carefully selected to represent the words that were common in text books at the grade 5 level. A crucial point was that he only selected words which teachers said they would not explain, because they would expect the students to know them in advance. It appeared that there was - among the minority students - an extensive lack of knowledge of this *pre-subject matter vocabulary*, as Gimbel calls it. Gimbel sees in this an explanation of a phenomenon which has regularly been described in connection with the education of minority students. According to these descriptions the minority students do well with their L2 Danish until grade 5, at which time they suddenly and irreparably fall behind.
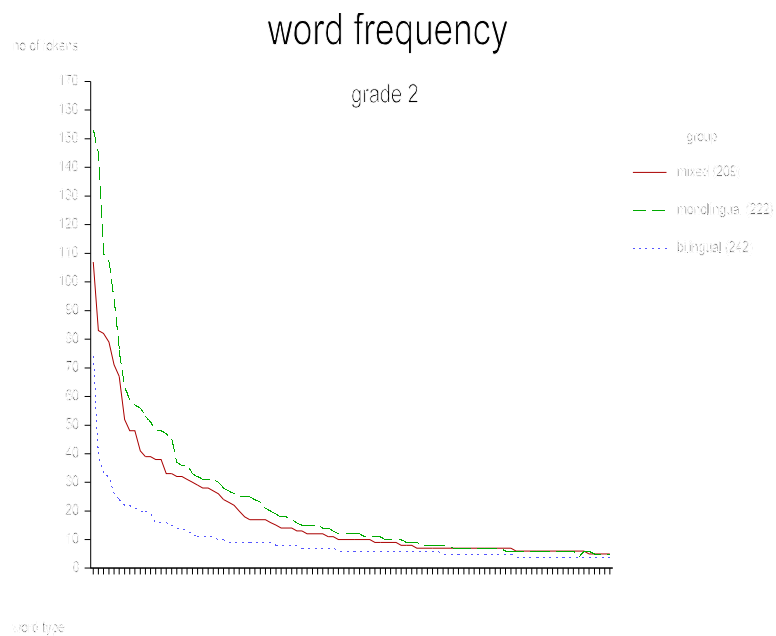
Figure 2.14. Vocabulary in group conversations among grade 2 students (Jørgensen 1997c, 213).
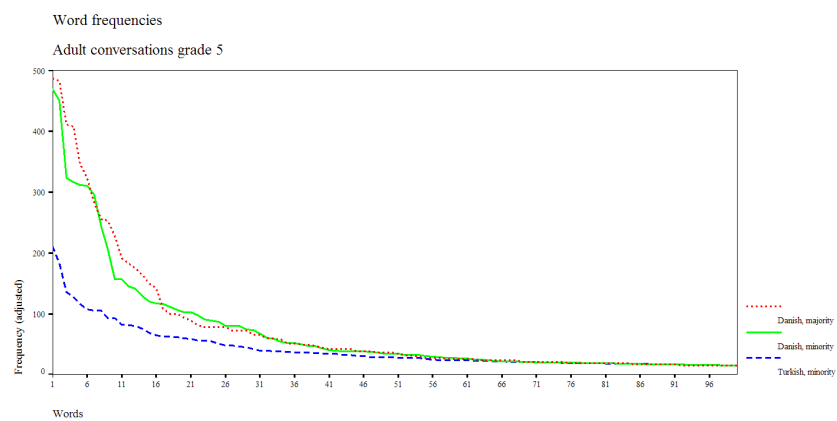
Figure 2.15. Word frequencies in face-to-face conversations with adults, grade 5.

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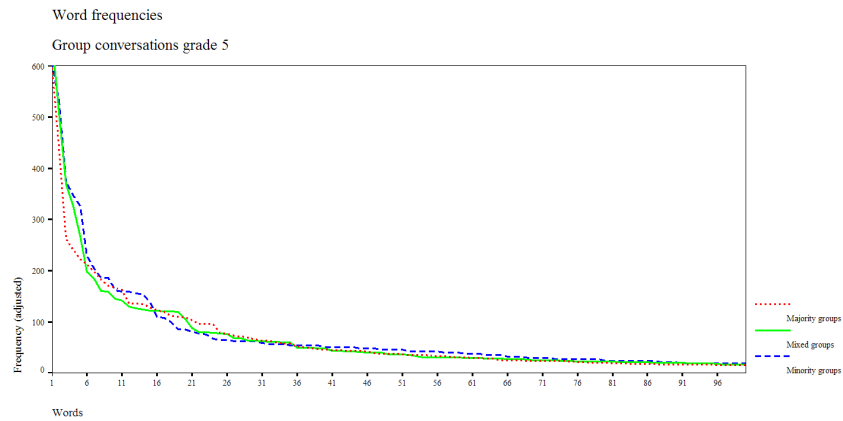
Figure 2.16. Word frequencies in group conversations, grade 5.
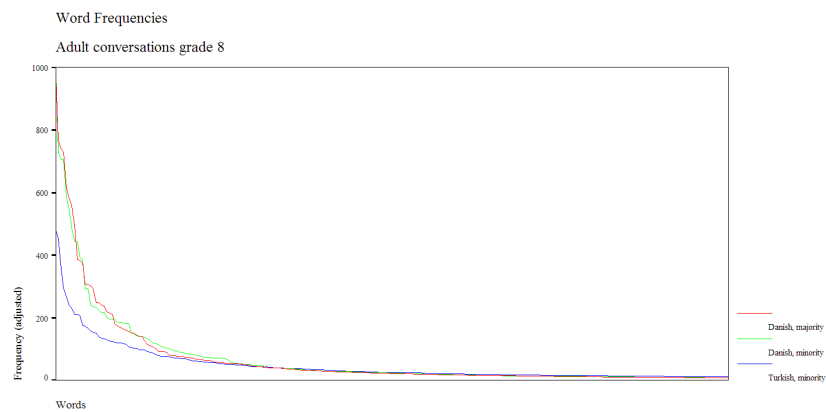
Figure 2.17. Word frequencies in face-to-face conversations with adults, grade 8.

In additon to the different vocabulary studies and Gimbel's test, other tests have been tried, including a reading test (also in a younger class than our core group), and cloze tests. Kristjánsdóttir administered a reading test in grade 4 in a younger class than our group (Jørgensen & Kristjánsdóttir 1998) as an experiment. Two texts which were at the time commonly used in Danish schools were translated into Turkish and a reading comprehension questionnaire was given to the students in both languages. Half of

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the students read one text in Danish, and the other one in Turkish, and the other half read the opposite. The result was that the texts were culturally biased, and they did not appeal to the Turkish-speaking minority students who answered summarily. They were more enthusiastic when the test was in Turkish, and they were also less bottom-up-oriented in their reading in Turkish, but the test was never developed further. The results probably say more about the Danish school system than they say about the students and their reading skills.

> So, by and large, the circumstances under which the bilingual children are taught literacy skills are unfavorable for them. Their mother-tongue classes are not integrated into the mainstream curriculum, and there are only three weekly lessons. The Danish classes more often than not treat Danish as if it were the mother tongue of all children, and the texts assume first-hand experience with a typical middle-class Danish culture. The tests provided for the assessment of the children's skills have the same weaknesses (Jørgensen & Kristjánsdóttir 1998, 196-197).

With the explicit purpose of testing the students' listening comprehension skills under realistic and authentic circumstances we developed a test based on a type of toys, the so-called uni-set plates (Jørgensen & Holmen 1995, Can et al.1999, Nielsen 1995). A uni-set plate consists of a plastic board about size A3 with a detailed colored drawing. In addition there are adhesive, re-usable figures which can be attached to the board and change the picture. We used, among other uni-set packages, one with a picture of a playground and figures of children, a ball, a sandbox, an adult, and many others. The test was set up as a face-to-face encounter between the student and the tester (who had to be an adult known to the student). The tester would then show the uni-set and ask the student to act. The student did not have to say anything at all.

Section	Item type	Example	No. of items
1, A	*where is* [noun]	*a sandbox*	14
1, B	*where is* [+adj]	*a yellow house*	9
2, A	*can you find* [noun phrase]	*the girl who wears glasses*	11
2, B	*place it* [prepostitional phrase]	*on top of the black boxes*	9
3	*where is* [complex]	*a girl who has*	25

Table 2.18. Danish-language uni-set listening comprehension test items.

There were two types of acts the student would be asked to perform in this test, namely identifications (*where is the sandbox?*), and placing figures on the board (*can you put the girl to the left of the bike?*). Linguistically the descriptions became continuously more complicated, and they covered five different types, see table 2.18, but all of the structures we chose for the test were common in everyday spoken Danish.

	K-Danish	K-Turkish	2-Danish	2-Turkish
Word	0,25	0,04	0,35	0,04
Compound, adjective + noun	0,4	0,27	0,34	0,12
Subordination	0,44	0,44	0,25	0,09
Object + relation	0,89	0,73	0,25	0,06

Table 2.19. Results of uni-set listening comprehension test with four different tests. For the Danish tests the table gives the proportion of items which were solved significantly more often by majority students than by minority students. For the Turkish items the table gives the proportion of items solved by less than 75 % of the students.

We carried out tests in both Turkish and Danish. With the core group we used the two tests designed for grade 2 students. In addition we used tests designed for kindergarten class on a younger group of students, and we used the Danish tests with a control group of mother tongue speakers of Danish from the same classes. We calculated the difference between majority students and minority students with respect to four groups of Danish structures, namely 1) individual words, 2) compound nouns or adjective + noun, 3) phrase involving subordination, 4) phrase involving object + relation. The results appear for those students who were tested in both grade K and grade 2 appear in table 2.19. The core group is not involved in these figures.

It is clear from table 2.19 that the differences between the majority students and the minority students in the kindergarten class increase with increasing structural complexity. The Turkish-speakers who are in the process of acquiring Danish experience greater difficulty with greater complexity. This is no surprise, the same is probably the case for the majority students. But the minority students also suffer relatively greater difficulties, i.e. the gap between the two groups grow with increasing complexity of the structures. The kindergarten class results of the Turkish test also show that the students have difficulty with complex structures in Turkish (although at quite a different level).

The picture is quite different by grade 2. Apparently the students in the meantime have acquired skills which enable them to understand the structures which are common in spoken language, both in Turkish and in Danish. It is noteworthy that the structure type which gives the highest proportion of difference between the

majority students and the minority students, is the word. While the minority students do to a large extent acquire skills in understanding the Danish syntactical structures, their Danish vocabulary does not develop at the same speed relative to the majority students. We may here see a warning of what Gimbel 1998 (see above) has found in grade 5 where the difference in vocabulary is critical.

Between grade K and grade 2 the minority students also acquire command of certain specifics which traditionally have high symbolic meaning when school beginners are evaluated in Denmark. By grade K only a few of the minority students named the colors or distinguished between left and right. Not doing so is dramatically stigmatized in Danish schools, but apparently unimportant to the Turkish minority. When the school beginners realize the importance they seem to have no difficulty in acquiring these units. By grade 2 they are on the same level with respect to these, as the majority students are.

Nielsen (1995, 255) also observes that between grade K and grade 2 there is a positive development in the sense that by grade 2 there are no bottom scores on either test. She also finds that the test type is well suited for evaluations. To my knowledge nobody has developed the test type further, however.

The core group also participated in the tests in grade 2. Their relative scores appear in table 2.4., columns 2UT (Turkish) and 2UD (Danish).

	Non-successful	Unacceptable	Grammatical	Lexical
Majority (total)	204	180	69 %	31 %
Esen	6	6	33 %	67 %
Canan	14	14	78 %	22 %

Bekir	18	11	55 %	45 %
Murat	19	16	56 %	44 %
Selma	31	26	58 %	42 %
Erol	35	20	60 %	40 %
Eda	36	33	81 %	19 %
Asiye	41	32	71 %	29 %
Merva	43	41	76 %	24 %
Hüseyin	47	10	67 %	33 %

Table 2.20. Distribution of unsuccessful items in the Danish cloze-test, grade 9. Column 2 shows the total number of items which were not filled with an acceptable solution, out of 59 items. Column 3 only counts the actually suggested, unacceptable answers. Columns 4 and 5 give percentages of solutions which were grammatically and lexically (content-wise) unacceptable, respectively.

We carried out another pair of tests later in the school careers of the core group (Holmen 1998, 2001, Holmen & Jørgensen 2001). These tests were used in grade 9, but they were also used on the class which was one year younger, i.e. at the time grade 8. The purpose was to achieve a comprehensive impression of the students' competencies in the two languages. To this end we developed two cloze tests, one in Turkish and one in Danish and combined both with an open-ended task in which the students were supposed to finish the text of the cloze items. The Danish cloze text was based on an excerpt from *På broen*, the memoirs of Benny Andersen. The Turkish cloze text was based on *Ne oldu o çocuk*, a short story. For the Danish cloze every 7th word was replaced with an empty line on which the student were supposed to write a suggestion as to what could have been the original word. As Turkish is an agglutinating language, a higher percentage of the words will be content words, and a cloze test must therefore leave

out fewer words. We decided to eliminate every 9th word from the original text for the cloze test.

In the Danish cloze text there are 59 items to fill out with one word each, in the Turkish test there are 53 items. In the analysis of the students' solutions we have distinguished between degrees of precision. The students have in some cases given a word which is the exact same one as in the original text. We have categorized such answers as one group (p). Words which are perfectly reasonable in the context, but happen not to be the same as in the original text, are another category (a). Words which are grammatically unacceptable according to standard norms for written Danish or Turkish formed yet another category (g). In categorizing of such answers we have followed as far as possible the recommendations of standard works, in the case of Turkish including the recommendations of the Türk Dil Kurumu. We have also categorized suggestions which consist of more than one word as (g). Some suggestions are not reasonable or acceptable because of the content , and we have categorized them separately (i). Suggestions which make no sense at all we have categorized on their own (t). Items which are left empty, we have categorized as (o).

	Non-successful	Unacceptable	Grammatical	Lexical
Esen	16	12	58 %	42 %
Canan	10	7	86 %	14 %
Bekir	20	11	45 %	55 %
Murat	10	7	71 %	29 %
Selma	17	9	78 %	22 %
Erol	19	8	63 %	37 %
Eda	20	17	65 %	35 %
Asiye	32	26	46 %	54 %

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Merva	29	17	88 %	12 %
Hüseyin	37	7	86 %	14 %

Table 2.21. Distribution of unsuccessful items in the Turkish cloze-test, grade 9. Column 2 shows the total number of items which were not filled with an acceptable solution, out of 59 items. Column 3 only counts the actually suggested, unacceptable answers. Columns 4 and 5 give percentages of solutions which were grammatically and lexically (content-wise) unacceptable, respectively.

The Turkish-speaking students perform in an order much like the one that resulted from the guise experiment (see about this above, Jørgensen & Quist 2001). The two girls Esen and Canan, and the two boys Murat and Bekir, rank in the upper part of all the students including the majority students, Esen in the very top. The remaining Turkish-speaking students (together with one student from another linguistic minority) form the very bottom of the ranking. A pattern appears when we take a closer look at unacceptable suggestions offered by the students, see table 2.20. For almost all of the students, including the majority students as a group, there are more grammatically based unsuccessful items than lexically based unsuccessful items. The exception is Esen. We can also see that most of the Turkish-speaking students who do well or relatively well, have considerably more lexically based difficulties than the majority students. Hüseyin has filled out only 22 items, 10 of which were unsuccessful, apparently he has given up altogether quite early in the test. He can therefore not be compared with the others in this aspect.

Canan is an exception in the sense that she has a lower share of lexical difficulties than the majority students. She achieves a high ranking in total, but unlike the other minority students who do so, she has considerably more grammatically based difficulties than lexically based difficulties. These relative distributions of difficulties may indicate a hierarchy of development as suggested

by Holmen (2001, 65). The difficulties may reflect three stages of or levels of achievement in Danish as a second language.

At stage 1 difficulties with sentence syntax form the most prominent type of difficulties encountered by the adolescent learner. At stage 2 difficulties with vocabulary are the most prominent difficulties, and when the students reach level 3, text linguistic difficulties are the most prominent problems. These stages are possible stages of development, or possible levels of a hierarchy of difficulties.

- Stage 1: sentence grammatical problems
- Stage 2: vocabulary problems
- Stage 3: text problems

We can not compare the Danish test and the Turkish test directly, as we can not know whether they are equally demanding. We planned to compare the Køge students' cloze tests in Turkish with a similar experiment in Turkey. The Turkish test was administered in two grade 8 classes in Eskişehir, but the students there were very unfamiliar with the concept of testing and the whole procedure. The resulting contributions from the students can not be used for a meaningful comparison with the Turkish-Danish students.

Table 2.21 shows the distribution of unsuccessful solutions in the Turkish cloze test. We observe how remarkably similarly the students are ranked in the two tests. Instead of comparing with Turkish students we can compare the order of ranking of the two tests, se table 2.4, columns 9CAd, 9CPd, 9CAt, 9CPt. In the A columns the students are ranked according to the number of acceptable solutions they have offered. In the P columns the students are ranked according to the number of solutions they have given, which were exactly the same as in the original text of the cloze test. The similarity is obvious. There is not one student about whom we can say that she or he is strong in one language, but weak in the other language, compared to the other students. If one is strong in Turkish, one is also strong in Danish. The nearest

to an exception is Bekir's ranking with respect to acceptable solutions in the Turkish test, where he is several ranks lower than usually, including his rank with respect to precise solutions in the Turkish test. He can find the precise answers, but he has only relatively few successful guesses to items he can not answer with the precise word.

From table 2.21 we also learn that all the students have considerably more grammatically based difficulties than lexically based difficulties - except for Bekir. As the only student in the core group he has more difficulties with lexicon than grammar.

All of this could perhaps indicate that Bekir is an individual with slightly less linguistic creativity and imagination than the rest of the group. However, there is nothing else in the data to support this conclusion (and there is much to indicate the opposite), so it is unlikely that such is the case. It may also indicate that his Turkish vocabulary is comparatively small, but again we have nothing to support such a conclusion. In table 2.22 we see the same scores for the Turkish-speaking students in the class which is one year younger than the core group. Again there is a large majority of those who have more grammatically based difficulties than lexically based difficulties. Only Tansu has it the other way round.

	Non-successful	Unacceptable	Grammatical	Lexical
Emin	11	8	63 %	37 %
Adnan	18	13	69 %	31 %
Tansu	19	16	38 %	62 %
İlknur	20	18	78 %	22 %
Hatice	21	15	73 %	27 %
Emine	21	13	69 %	31 %

Nurhan	32	11	100 %	0 %

Table 2.22. Distribution of unsuccessful items in the Turkish cloze-test, a class one year younger than the core group, grade 8. Column 2 shows the total number of items which were not filled with an acceptable solution, out of 53 items. Column 3 omits the empty items and only counts the actually suggested, unacceptable answers. Column 4 and 5 give the percentage of solutions which were grammatically and lexically (content-wise) unacceptable, respectively.

The two cloze tests confirm the observation we have done several times now - linguistic skills accompany each other regardless of language. Furthermore they confirm that at least half of the minority students are left more or less on their own with respect to Danish. The top half do very well on almost all measures, but the lowest ranked group of minority students are almost left out. On the individual measure the difference between the members of the strong group and the members of the weak group may not give cause for alarm, but the consistency does. We have looked at vocabulary, text skills, and listening comprehension. Although we have done so at different times of the students' school careers, the results have every time confirmed the teachers' evaluations.

	Eskişehir	Køge
Full NP	23	20
Pronominal	76	77
Other	1	3

Table 2.23. Percentages of different lexical realizations of subjects by 5th graders (after Özcan et al. 2000, 125).

We shall now look at the language use of the young Turkish-speakers. In Özcan et al. (2000) the Køge group is compared to a

control group in Eskişehir with respect to the use of pronouns which can be dropped. Turkish as a pro-drop language allows null subjects in a number of cases, and Özcan et al. analyze the interaction of grade 5 students in group conversations. They find that there is little difference between the two groups with respect to this grammatical phenomenon, see table 2.23. When Özcan et al. compare the distribution of pronominal representations, there is equally little difference (both groups use about 2/3 null subject, 1/4 overt pronouns, and the rest are demonstratives). Going even closer to the detail, they compare the functions of null subjects as used by the two groups and find no differences. This is one of the few studies which has gone into detail with the Turkish development of the Køge group. There are indications elsewhere in Europe that the Turkish of recently immigrated populations may change, and a diaspora Turkish may be under development (for instance, see Pfaff 1993, Türker 2000, 2001, Doğruöz & Backus 2007; see also in Part 1), but we have few indications of this in Køge as yet. As we shall see in Part 3, there is no doubt, however, that the reality of constantly meeting more than one language has its effect on the Turkish-speaking minority students of Køge.

Huls has developed a questionnaire to study the politeness strategies of young people in different societies. The basis for the questionnaire is the variation of formulations of requests. In one case the respondent is supposed to ask to borrow a pen using formulations ranging from the very polite *I wonder if I could borrow your pen for a minute?* over some ten versions to the least polite *A pen!* (Huls et al. 2003, 110, see also the main work, Huls 1991). The young speakers were asked to judge whether they would themselves be able to use each formulation, and to rate the possible formulations on a scale from most careful to least careful speech. Furthermore the respondents were asked to evaluate a number of different social situations in which they were supposed to ask for a pen, at one end with *Your tutor in his or her office* over for instance *A fellow student with whom you are doing homework at home* to *Your mother with whom you are talking at home*.

In Huls' cross-tabulations of the situations with the selected utterances, with both dimensions ranked according to the degree of carefulness with respect to behavior, patterns appear. For instance, there may be a clear co-occurrence of careful situations and certain formulations, while less careful situations are paired with a different set of formulations. This would mean that the respondents have two sets of formulations, one for polite talk, and one for everyday talk. Another possibility is that there is a gradual shift in the pairing of formulations and situations. In such cases the speakers will have the option of adjusting their polite speech gradually, as a social tool in talk. A third possibility is that there is no clear connection between the two dimensions, i.e. that the respondents would use the same formulations in all the situations. This was in fact to a certain extent the observation among young Danish speakers in the study reported in Huls 1991, and in 2003 Huls et al. found that majority adolescents in Køge react the same way with respect to Danish.

> The language behaviour of the Turkish adolescents in Køge [...] is also oriented towards the construction of equality. They differ from their compatriots who have no migration background in three respects: they do construct a social hierarchy, they do try to differentiate language forms as to their social meanings, and they do not show an exclusive preference for one or a few request forms (Huls et al. 2003, 121)

In a comparison with youths in the Netherlands Huls et al. find that the majority adolescents in Rotterdam are in a process of leveling which is similar to the one found in Denmark ten years earlier. The Turkish-speaking minority adolescents in Køge are also moving in that direction. Huls et al. suggest that linguistic change precedes social change with specific reference to the fact that linguistic leveling was almost complete in the majority Danish group, while there was still some social categorization in hierarchical terms. The minority students have begun the same development, with the linguistic leveling coming first.

In addition to the active use of politeness features the young speakers in the Køge Project of course also use derogatory terms, curses, and taboo words. M. Laursen (2002) has studied the use of tabooed words, primarily among majority speakers in the youngest grades. She shows that the students are aware of the adult norms. This they show when they use the tabooed words, by giggling, whispering, overtly commenting or otherwise marking the use. Through their use of tabooed words the students experiment with language norms, but the use is also a form of performance which may enhance their status among peers. M. Laursen (2002, 287) concludes that the behavior of the young students demonstrates their nuanced pragmatic skills. These skills are even more pronounced when a few years later the students (at least the girls) begin to discuss romantic relationships, as also studied by M. Laursen (2001), see above. Reiff (2002a) shows how the practice of teasing is maintained both among and between minority students and majority students up to grade 9. When the teasing is not intended to be harmful, the students will throw outrageous and completely unrealistic insults at each other, and the same insults may be used in the same conversation against several others. This is quite different from certain struggles which seem to be power struggles or even fights. In such cases insults are more relevant, and openly directed against one and only one person, particularly when two participants ally against a third person (see for instance in Part 3 about conversation 415 or below about the conversations 701 and 702).

The patterns of interaction between students have been studied in a couple of strands. One strand applies the Linell & Gustavsson (1987) terms of initiative and response (see also Linell 1990a), as described above in the section about our dependent transcript tiers. We have already looked at H. Laursen's (1992) analysis, which uses a simplified set of categories, see above in this part. Holmen 1993b also uses a similarly simplified set of categories to analyze the contributions of one Turkish-speaking boy in two different situations in grade 2, namely in the face-to-face conversation with an adult, and in a group conversation involving two other minority

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boys. Holmen finds that there is such an overwhelming difference in the boy's behavior in the two situations that studies of proficiency will have to distinguish between the two types of data.

When we take a look at his contributions to all the four conversations he took part in during grade 2, we get the results seen in table 2.24. We can see that he is interactively passive to a very high extent, especially in the company of a Danish speaking adult. This is no indication of a lack of Danish skills, as we can see in the mixed-group conversation. This conversation is entirely in Danish, and he has no difficulties with taking initiatives or contributing actively to the continuation of the conversation. His level of activity differs along a dimension determined by the interlocutors. An adult Danish speaker gets very little out of him. In the company of an adult Turkish speaker he produces somewhat more. In the company of majority boys he equals their contributions, and in the conversation with other minority boys he outright dominates the conversation. Such results may lead to intense discussions of the status brought along to conversations. It is obvious that there are very different social relations on display here, and it is hard not to see a hierarchy involved.

	Adult (Danish)	Adult (Turkish)	Group (mix)	Group (minority)
Initiatives	0	13	44	50
Responses	9	11	19	40
Minimal responses	74	73	18	5
Other	17	4	19	5

Table 2.24. Initiatives and responses produced by one Turkish-speaking grade 1 boy in four different conversations (percentages of all his utterances in the conversation) (includes data from Holmen 1993b, 345).

This brings us to the question of linguistic power management, to which we shall return . But before that, we can compare this result with Jacobsen's (2003) analysis of Esen's and Erol's contributions to three types of conversations in grade 8. Jacobsen finds that the consistency of their behavior in different conversations, and especially Esen's awareness of this, indicates that not only situational, but also subjective factors are involved in the identities that the speakers project during the conversations. The finding in table 2.24 is that this boy projects at least two different personae in the company of adults and peers, respectively. This is also to a certain extent, although it is there more sophisticated, what Jacobsen finds with Erol. It indicates that we must look at peer group interaction to find active socialization. And we do find it, there is a lot of peer socialization, as we can see (see also in part 3 about the group conversations).

Madsen & Nielsen 2001 apply the set of initiative-response categories which eventually were decided for the Køge Project (see above in this part) to group conversations among Turkish-speakers from grade 1 through grade 8. They have analyzed one conversation among boys, one conversations among girls, and one conversation which involves both boys and girls, from each year, except in grade 5 (when there were only gender-mixed conversations) and grade 8 (when there were no boys' conversations). Madsen & Nielsen obtain several results, see table 2.25

Variable	Boys	Girls	Mixed
Response + initiative	76.5 % **	71.1 % **	76.9 %
New initiative	10.5 %	13.0 %	8.4 %
Minimal response	5.4 %	6.7 %	4.3 %

Focal connection	76.5 %**	71.0 %**	76.0 %
Non-focal connection	8.9 %*	11.9 %*	8.5 %
Stolen turn	3.7 %*	5.8 %	4.6 %
Open turn	73.5 %**	65.9 %**	74.0 %
Own turn	15.0 %	18.5 %**	11.5 %

Table 2.25. Initiatives, responses and turns (rows) in group conversations among Turkish-speaking students, percentages of all utterances produced in conversations with three different combinations of participants (colums). ** marks a statistical significance ($p < .01$), while * marks a tendency ($p < .05$). Asterisks in the boys' column refer to the difference between boys' and girls' groups, asterisks in the girls' column refer to the difference between the girls' groups and the mixed groups (Madsen & Nielsen 2001, 107).

Madsen & Nielsen find that boys' conversations are more coherent and less competitive than the girls' conversation. The girls have more new initiatives, i.e. abrupt changes of subject, and they have fewer utterances which are both responses and initiatives, i.e. the girls' conversations do not flow as steadily as the boys' conversations. Furthermore, the boys connect their utterances to the focus of the contributions of their interlocutors more often than the girls do. This means that the girls are more likely to set off in the utterance of another interlocutor, but without addressing the focus of this utterance, again an indication that girls' conversation are less smooth, content-wise, than the boys'. The girls also steal the turn more often than the boys, which indicates that there is more competition among the girls.

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All these differences are statistically significant, but nevertheless not very large. Most utterances are both initiatives and responses, between girls as well as between boys. In gender-mixed groups there is no difference in behavior between boys and girls. By and large, both boys and girls in gender-mixed groups behave like the boys do in boys' groups. In gender-mixed groups we find the same flow of contributions which connect to earlier contributions by other speakers and simultaneously point forward. The outstanding conversations are the ones among the girls. The girls compete more, and they pay less attention to each other than the boys do. Madsen & Nielsen illustrate this with a closer comparison of conversation 701 (boys) and conversation 702 (girls) in which they find that particularly Esen's conversational strategies are powerful (see also about Jacobsen 2002 below). Among Esen's strategies are interruptions, stolen turns, abrupt changes of subject, and forming an alliance against one of the other participants in the conversation (see more about these conversations below). The hierarchy among the girls is very clear with Esen on top and Asiye lowest, while the boys are much more on equal terms. This is the hierarchy which comes out in the initiative-response analysis, too.

Byrjalsen (2002) has refined some of the concepts of the Linell & Gustavsson (1987) model of initiatives and responses, with references to Johansson-Hidén (1998). Byrjalsen distinguishes between the two main utterance types, and further develops a range of secondary categories which are carefully defined on the basis of her empirical evidence, adult conversations and group interviews from grade 8. Paticularly the group interviews produce utterances which lead to specific categories. She ranks the contributions according to their degree of domination (initiatives dominate more then responses do), and, like Linell & Gustavsson, she reaches a so-called IR index. This index indicates, for instance, how much the individual participants (attempt to) dominate. In addition to the IR index, Byrjalsen calculates coefficients for different variables, such as an F-coefficient (fragmentation) which indicates how many free and non-locally linked initiatives and responses a speaker produces, and an I-

coefficient (inadequate) which indicates "how often the participants ignore or treat each others' utterances as inadequate" (Byrjalsen 2002, 57, my translation). This set of coefficient are the basis of Byrjalsen's model of empirical analysis of the interaction. Comparing with Quist's (1998a) social hierarchy, she finds that "the social relation between the young are established, re-established, and altered through participant roles in different concrete interactions" (Byrjalsen 2002, 100, my translation).

The young speakers' development and use of power strategies is another strand of interaction analysis. Power struggle has been the subject of several studies in the Køge Project. In Jørgensen (1993) I compare the focus distribution, initiative-response patterns, and code choice of four of the students in grade 1 through 4. There is a difference between the Turkish-speaking groups and the mixed groups in that there is much more orientation towards other matters than the situation or the task of the group in the conversations involving only minority students than in the conversations involving both minority and majority students. This could mean a couple of things. Firstly it is likely that the Turkish-speaking students master their Turkish with confidence enough to talk about other matters than what they think they are supposed to, before they acquire a similar confidence with Danish. Secondly it is possible that the Turkish-speaking students share a wider non-school-related frame of reference among themselves than they share with their majority classmates, and therefore the Turkish-speakers have more non-school business to discuss than they have with majority students. It is also clear that between grade 1 and grade 4 the tendency to talk about other matters than the task grows.

Figure 2.26 shows the development of some initiative-response patterns in the group conversations between grade 1 and grade 4. The decreasing percentage of new initiatives is an indication of the growing sophistication of the children's language use, as is the increasing percentage of responses which also include an initiative. In grade 1 the children are active participants in the

conversations, but their activity is to a certain extent limited to introducing new topics or perspectives without notice of what the other participants say. In grade 4 the students are still active, but now they are more likely to tie their contributions to that of the former speaker. The conversations become more cohesive - they flow more like adult conversations.

Initiatives and responses
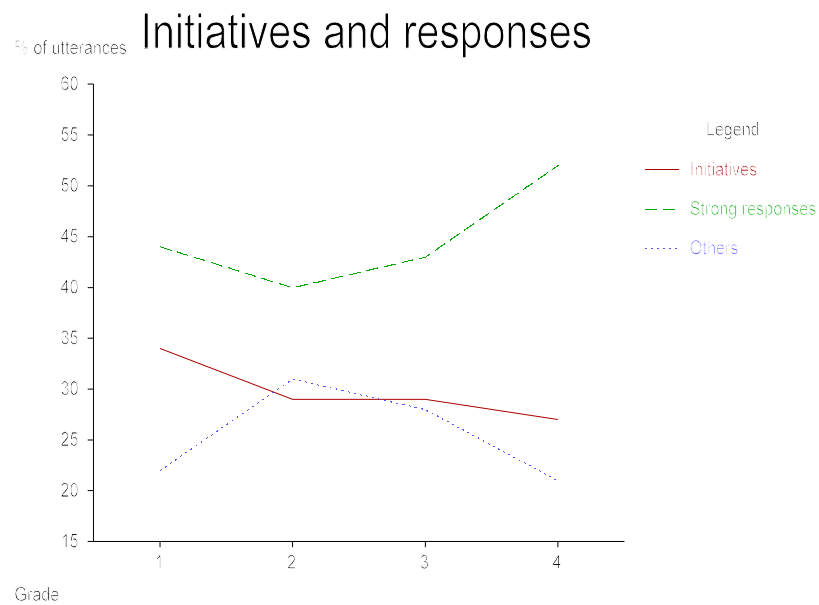
Fig.4

Figure 2.26. Initiatives and responses in group conversations grade 1 through 4 (after Jørgensen 1993, 1729). Percentages of all utterances produced.
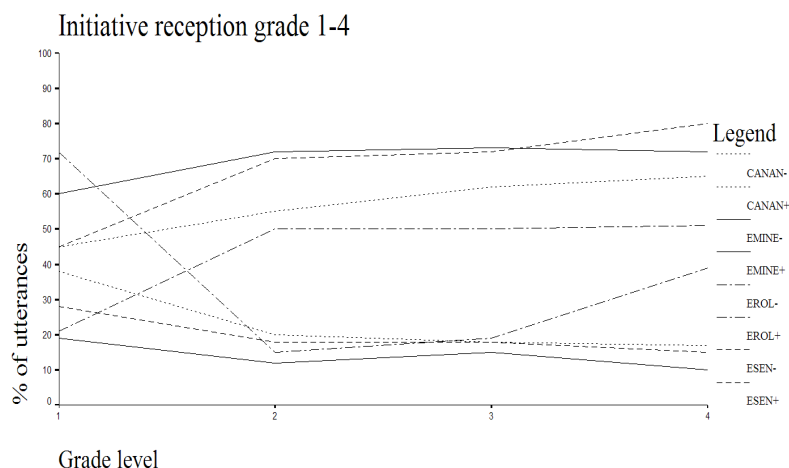
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Figure 2.27. Initiatives which receive response and initiatives which do not receive response, for four Turkish-speaking students, grade 1 through 4. Percentages of all initiatives produced by the speakers.

Figure 2.27 shows the reception of the initiatives which are produced by each of four Turkish-speaking students in group conversations. The line marked "Erol+" indicates that in grade 1 20 % of Erol's initiatives are taken up and responded to by at least one of the other interlocutors. The figure for Erol+ in the grades 2-4 is slightly lower than 50 %. All the three others receive a higher percentage of responses to their initiatives. Esen receives increasingly more responses. She receives 45 % reactions in grade 1, but 80 % in grade 4. The percentages of initiatives which receive responses increase over the years for all the students. This indicates - again - that the speakers develop their skills in coherent conversation. While this happens, Erol apparently becomes somewhat marginalized. The figures for the initiatives which do not receive any response underline this finding. From grade 1 to grade 4 there is a fall except for Erol who is being left out in grade 4. If this picture holds, it seems that during the first year of schooling the young speakers achieve a social sense of each other's

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linguistic contributions (cf. the clear fall in non-received initiatives between grade 1 and grade 2) which includes all of them, but a couple of years later a difference in status shows up in the systematic marginalization of (in this case) one student.

Another crude measure of the difference in conversational power is the number of times each person is addressed directly by the other speakers, at least if this person is addressed positively or neutrally. Table 2.28 shows the number of times each of the same four students' names are used by other participants in the group conversations. The number of times a name is mentioned is, however, not the same as the number of times this person is addressed. And one may also be addressed for reproach. Therefore this measure is only a rough indication of power status. But again it is obvious that Erol is a less central person than the others, especially because several of the 18 times his name is mentioned in the grade 4 conversation are in fact calls for him to shut up or stop doing what he is doing.

Child	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4
Esen	19	21	18	11
Erol	0	0	0	18
Emine	129	31	62	0
Canan	16	14	11	6

Table 2.28. Number of times names are mentioned (in addressing, mentioning, word play, etc.) in group conversations among Turkish-speaking students grade 1-4.

A qualitative analysis confirms these observations. Based on Kjøller's (1991) concept of manipulation strategies I have analyzed the group conversations with respect to the ongoing jockeying and positioning which the students involve in to get their way. In this connection such a strategy designs the linguistic

behavior with which an interlocutor achieves a specific result regarding how she or he is positioned vis-a-vis the other participants in the conversation. One example is the so-called *Queen Margrethe Principle* by which the speaker explicitly hails the values she or he shares with the others. This will keep the conversation on neutral territory and allow the speaker to duck unpleasant issues. Another example is the *Winner's Principle* by which the speaker makes whatever happens seem to be what she or he wanted in the first place. There are several more strategies proposed by Kjøller (1991). When we observe the students in the Køge Project, it is quite obvious that Esen commands a wider range of strategies and linguistic means than the others (Jørgensen 1993, 176), and that Erol does not have the same status as her.

During the pilot phase of the Køge Project we hypothesized (Jørgensen 1993, 169) that the code choice patterns of the students would develop such that the Turkish language would be dominant in the first phase, and Danish only used for communicating with Danes. Our preliminary data indicated that as the students began to acquire Danish, it would be strongly connected to school tasks and public communication, while Turkish would be used for private and affection-related matters. In a third phase we expected the students to develop conversationally determined code-switching not governed by the content. We distinguished between "globally" (or conversation-externally) and "locally" (or conversation-internally) determined switches. Globally determined switches are determined by factors outside the conversation, such as norms of appropriate language choice. This notion is similar to, but not quite the same as Gumperz' (1982) situational code-switches (see also the section about code-switching in part 1). Locally determined code-switches are governed by the intentions of the speaker, such as precisely the wish to control a situation. The code-switching practices of Esen during the first four years of group conversations were more varied and more frequent than the others'.

The development of code choice proved to be more complicated than we had expected. Firstly, the students developed at quite different speeds. Secondly, the concepts of we-code and they-code became blurred at an early time, and this makes the distinction between globally and locally determined switches difficult to maintain. Thirdly, the jockeying for power among the students - or perhaps more generally the social negotiations - proved to be more important than anything else.

Madsen (2001b, 2002) has gone further with the concept of manipulation strategies. She distingiushes between power as a ressource, power processes, and power outcomes (see also in Part 1 about Olson & Cromwell 1975, and Huls 2000). Based on Kjøller's definition and categories she analyzes group conversation among Turkish-speaking students in grade 2, grade 3, grade 5, and grade 7. She finds 11 different strategies are applied in the conversations. Her analysis of the power struggles between the students does not rest solely on this concept, but is based primarily on a number of quantitative analyses. She measures how many explicit disagreements each student participates in (power process), and how often the individual person wins her or his conflicts, i.e. how often the individual gets their way, or somebody else does, or a compromise is reached (power outcome). She also carries out an initiative-response analysis with the categories used by most of the Køge Project (see above in this part), and observes whether new initiatives receive response or not (i.e. a measure of how well each person succeeds in determining what the topic of conversation may be). Madsen also counts the number of times each participant's name is mentioned by the other participants, and she distingiushes between face-strengthening uses and face-threatening uses.

Table 2.29 gives an example of the distribution of conflict solutions for the individual participants, in casu conversation 501. We can see that Esen is involved in 12 disagreements, and 11 times out of those 12 she gets her way. In contrast, Erol, who is involved in 13 disagreements, gets his way in only 2 cases. The

figures in each column do not add up to the same total, because more than two speakers can be involved in the same disagreement.

	Total conflicts	Won	Lost	Compromise
Esen	12	11	1	0
Selma	4	3	1	0
Erol	13	2	11	0
Ali	7	3	4	0

Table 2.29. Explicit disagreements in conversation 501 and their outcome (after Madsen 2002, 100).

The quantitative measures combine to show us a quite clear hierarchy among the involved girls, while the relations among the boys are more complex (Madsen 2002, 144). The quantitative measures of powerful language in general confirm what we already found in table 2.4. Madsen relates these findings to the range of different power strategies employed by the speakers. Particularly Esen demonstrates command of a range of strategies. Madsen (2002, 146) also finds that it is hard to explain the consistency over the years of the hierarchies if we do not accept that power is not only brought about, it is also brought along. Some exchanges can not be fully understood, if we do not take into account the relationship between the interlocutors which exist prior to a given interaction.

Olesen (2003) combines three types of analyses on a group conversation between four majority boys in grade 8. Firstly she carries out a conversation analysis. She particularly analyzes the interactants' turn taking behavior. The competition for dominance in the conversation is sharp, the turns are short, and new turns regularly begin in the middle of unfinished turns by others. At least one of the boys has a habit of not paying attention when he

and someone else happen to begin talking simultaneously. Also through selective reference to the different sub-themes which are discussed during the conversation, do the boys gain or lose control of the interaction.

Olesen's second measure is quantitative. She counts the number of word types and word tokens as well as the number of utterances per participant, and she calculates the average utterance length of each member of the group. The most productive speaker, Karsten, is also the one who most frequently violates the turn taking norms, and he is in several ways a dominant participant in the conversation. Ole does not say as much as Jens, and he does not exhibit as liberal a relationship with conversational norms, as Jens does, but he is quantitatively nevertheless the second most dominant participant.

The third measure of Olesen's is interesting, because it gives a new perspective to the hierarchy. Olesen has counted all the proposals each participant has made regarding the task which the group is working to solve. Again Karsten and Ole are the dominating ones with 27 and 32 detail proposals, respectively. However, out of Karsten's 27 proposals, only 5 become reality during the work. In Ole's case, 22 of his 32 proposals turn out to become reality. Of all the participants, Karsten has the lowest success rate (Olesen 2003, 102). In other words, dominance is not the same as power, at least not the same as power outcome. Olesen also compares her results with Quists's (1998a) sociogram and concludes that there is a striking similarity between their findings. This leads Olesen (2003, 106, my translation) to conclude that that it is "evident that brought-along social relationships play a role".

Olesen's application of conversation analysis is quite strict. The analyses carried out by Madsen are inspired by some of the principles of conversation analysis, but are less rigid. In the Køge Project there has been a fruitful exchange between conversation analysis hardliners and less rigid sociolinguists. Steensig who is a hardliner (Steensig 2001a) has provided a full-blown

conversation analysis transcript of an important part of conversation 801, the most extensively studied conversation in the project (Steensig 2000b). In connection with this he has analyzed Esen's contributions to the ongoing discussion in conversation 801 (Steensig 2000a). He finds that she demonstrates superior skills in adjusting to the situation, for instance by understanding quickly when resistance is going to appear. She employs code-switches and she directs her attention strategically and achieves that the conversation most often turns in the direction she appears to want. Steensig also shows that Esen and Selma drive the conversation more than Erol and Asiye who are more prone to reacting than to trying to shape what goes on.

Steensig (2001a) is an exercise in conversation analysis applied to the Køge data. Conversation analysis demands more detailed transcriptions than the transcriptions we have produced in the Køge Project. By involving a number of ignored features such as micro-timing, conversation analysis is able to point out techniques and strategies in the flow of conversation to which the more crude transcriptions must be oblivious. The analysis of Esen's behavior in an excerpt from conversation 801, as presented in Steensig 2000a, is such an example, see also in Part 3 the section about Conversation analysis and bilingualism. Steensig (2001a) takes his observations even further in a step-by-step analysis of the same excerpt. He first characterizes the actions going on in the exchange, as speech acts in general (proposal, accept, etc.). In the next step Steensig analyzes the construction of the contributions of the participants, both in terms of structure, including grammar, pronunciation, delivery, and in terms of interaction, i.e. how the individual turn relates to preceding turns. This leads to Steensig's third step, in which he characterizes the sequentiality of the contributions. At the most general level the exchange involves a proposal followed by a rejection, a renewed proposal, and an accept. On the way, however, there is a lot going on in smaller parts of the interaction, such as "two different ways of making a preface to a presentation" (Steensig 2001a, 63). By accounting for these details, Steensig can describe Esen's techniques in more

detail, including how she manages to come out so strongly. This is the fourth step in Steensig's analysis, which concentrates on the social relations among the involved students. Steensig (2001a, 66) concludes that Esen is not automatically the leader in every situation, and that she has to fight to obtain control.

Cromdal (2000, 2001, 2003) has also based his analyses on careful transcriptions intended for conversation, slightly simplified compared to Steensig's. Cromdal has studied code choice patterns in conversation 801 intensively, both on the basis of the original transcription, on the basis of Steensig's transcription, and on the basis of his own re-transcription (Cromdal 2000, 68-75). In Cromdal 2000 he suggests that there is an overarching division of labor between the two most frequently used languages in the conversation, Turkish and Danish. The division results from the students' administration of their task, which is to create a cartoon strip. Quite early in the conversation a pattern emerges by which the storyline of the strip is formulated in Danish, while negotiations about the task more often are in Turkish. Cromdal discusses an aberration from this pattern, a remark "og så frisør*ya gitsin*" (English: and then *she goes to the* hair dresser), in which Turkish is used for the narration. By including the details which the conversation analysis transcript provides, Cromdal is able to understand this utterance as a humorous mixture of languages which has been prepared by the speaker, Selma, and which is provided with post-hoc backup (Cromdal 2000, 64).

Eskildsen (2002) carries out a conversation analysis of the code-switching patterns in conversation 801. She confirms Cromdal's finding that Danish was selected for most of the narrative sequences. However, she also disagrees with Cromdal at a crucial point. Cromdal suggests that Danish becomes the language which governs the narrative because Danish is a school language, a they-code, for the students. Eskildsen finds that this does not hold. If there is anything which can be characterized as a we-code, it is the practice of producing utterances with frequent code-switching.

With this Eskildsen confirms the findings of Jørgensen (1993) and Møller (1998).

Cromdal (2001) takes a closer look at some of the code-switches in conversation 801. He finds that they serve quite diverse uses, all of which are related to the management of social relations between the interlocutors. For instance, a code-switch into Turkish accomplishes the "disruption of an unfolding narration", and in another case a code-switch repeats an unanswered remark, a non-first first (Cromdal 2001, 20) and serves to highlight the unanswered utterance. Cromdal also shows how the bilingual administration of the task is used as a ressource, in casu by Esen, to control the others. In Cromdal 2003 this analysis is taken deeper. Cromdal finds that Esen succeeds in monopolizing the main narration of the storyline, while the others more or less obediently orient their contributions to that, although not without interruptions. Esen manages to ignore or reject alternatives, and regularly the others seek her approval of their contributions, such as the tag at the end of the utterance "og bagefter skal hun til museum, ikke?" (English: and afterwards she is going to the museum, isn't she?).

Ritzau (2003) also applies the conversation analysis technique, and she combines it with code-switching theory, in particular Auer (1998a). She considers the code-choice behavior in conversation 501 which she analyzes on the basis of a conversation analysis transcription. Ritzau reaches the conclusion that the speakers employ two languages, Danish and Turkish, and not a mixed code or fused lect or any unified code.

> The code-switches which the children perform in this conversation are used in many complex ways. The conversation could have been in one language only, and the participants might have reached the same decisions and with the same role structure between them, but they would have had other or perhaps fewer linguistic means

to joggle with. I consider code-switching a systematic
linguistic resource (Ritzau 2003, 15, my translation)

These results point to the most fruitful view on the relationship
between the different perspectives on the Køge data. The
interpretive sociolinguistic view which includes the notion of
language use as intentional provides insights into personalities,
hierarchies, and relationships beyond the individual exchange.
This view provides results which can be interpreted in educational
and developmental terms. The conversation analytic view provides
a detailed account of some of the techniques which the
interlocutors use to achieve their goals. Although hard-core
conversation analysis rejects intentionality as an analytical term,
it makes sense to combine the insights provided by the two
approaches.

The analyses of Steensig and Cromdal explicitly refer to the
analytic method of conversation analysis. They reach the same
conclusion as other analysts with respect to the centrality of social
negotiations in these conversations, and also with respect to the
hierarchies that are established. Steensig claims that Esen's
conversational power is something she has to achieve, it is not a
given thing. On the other hand, Jacobsen (2003), Madsen (2002),
and Olesen (2003) all reach the conclusion that there are factors
which are brought along to the conversations and not raised or
"achieved" every time, even though they may play an important
role in the conversations. In Part 3 I discuss the relationship
between conversation analysis and the softer approach we, and I,
have taken to sequential analysis of interaction - an approach
which in its technique is indebted to conversation analysis, but
which in its theoretical approach is much stronger, see for instance
Olesen's (2003) analysis of a grade conversation. She carries out
a stringent conversation analysis, but concludes that a softer
interaction analysis captures the social negotiations among the
participants better.

The social negotiations among the students, particularly as they are shaped in power struggles, also figure in the analyses of Esdahl (2001a, 2001b, 2003a, 2003b). Esdahl studies how the focus of the utterances varies over time and between groups of students. In the outset of the project we expected boys and girls to differ in the focus of their conversations. According to tradition in sociolinguistics, female speakers concentrate more on social relations and perhaps on school tasks, while boys focus more on activities. Esdahl (2001a, 72) finds no such distribution. There is nothing to indicate that boys do not focus on social relations, and in fact the very youngest boys apparently focus more on the task than the girls do (but this difference is not maintained). Esdahl further concludes that there are differences in focus choice over time, but there is no linear development of any single focus type. In particular, there is surprisingly little focus on language.

Two of the most studied conversations in the Køge Project are conversation 701 and conversation 702. The difference between the boys' conversation 701 and the girls' conversation 702 is striking in many ways. The conversations are good examples of the linguistic differences between boys and girls mentioned by Madsen & Nielsen 2001. The boys engage in a more coherent conversation (or at least cohesive, when we look at the development utterance by utterance). The boys obviously have more fun, and there is a more relaxed atmosphere, even when they fight. Their fights seem to be more play than real conflict, and there is a lot of laughing. The girls on the other hand seem more manipulative, they fight more intensely, and there is quite a bit of covert aggression, and possibly doubletalk. Both groups are working with a figure they are supposed to form in clay. The boys express conflicting views on what to do. Part of the time they throw clay around the room, and at other times they work. Murat is generally more oriented towards the task than the others, and regularly he calls them to order, especially Erol who is not particularly focused on the task. The boys, however, shift positions in the course of the conversation, and apparently they all throw clay at least at some point (which is of course a gross violation of

the adults' expectations, including the project workers'). All the boys participate actively in the conversation, and through long stretches there is laughing, in which all of them participate. At one point Erol discusses the figure they are going to form, see example 1.

Example 2,14:
*ERO: det skal bare ikke være en det skal ikke ligne en pik mand kom nu hvad skal det ligne.
%eng: it is not going to be a it is not going to look like a dick, man, come on, what is it going to look like?

A whole theme develops around the idea of forming a penis of the clay, and at least three of the boys contribute actively to developing the theme, such as in the remark by Bekir from a later point in the conversation, example 2 from conversation 701.

Example 2,15:
*BEK: hvad hvad skal jeg så lave en pik ligesom dig okay # jeg vil lave en pik # sådan.
%eng: what what am I then going to make, a dick? okay # I will make a dick # like this.

The boys continue to build on themes, and they develop them while playing with language in a way they obviously enjoy. Further on in the conversation, in example 3 from conversation 701, Bekir produces a pun on the *pik mand - pacman* similarity which causes laughter.

Example 2,16:
*BEK: det kan også det kan også være pik mand eller <u>pacman</u>.
%eng: it may also be it may also be dick man or <u>pacman</u>

In general the boys are noisy, and they cause trouble for the project, but their conversation flows continuously. They are all included and active, and they all contribute in ways that receive appreciative responses from the others. The girls also get into conflict, but not about the activity. The conflict is more personal, and it is directed towards Asiye. Esen and Selma ally against Asiye, claiming that they know that she has a boyfriend, or at least has a weakness for a boy (or young man). The attack launched by Selma and Esen is rejected by Asiye, but the two return to the issue several times during the conversation. By again and again referring to the issue they maintain their alliance. This is reflected, among other things, in the girls' conversation being apparently less coherent. The measure of focal association does not take into account that the issue of boyfriends is never entirely out of focus in the conversation. Neither is the topic of sex, as it is evident in example 2,17.

Example 2,17:
*ESE: åh *ablası tam önümdeydi biz yan yana duruyorduk böyle* åh jeg kunne mærke hans pik åh ja åh jeg kan ikke lide ham.
%eng: oh *his sister was right in front of me, we were standing next to each other like this* oh I could feel his dick oh yes oh I do not like him.

Just like the boys in conversation 701 these girls can not resist the temptation to roll the clay into a penis-like shape. It is also commented on, although the girls clearly mark the occasion as a violation of a taboo, in example 2,18, in which Esen asks the other girls to cover the microphone while she points out that she has made a dick out of clay.

Example 2,18:

*ESE:	ha ja hvad forestiller det en øh [/] hold lige for jeres mikrofoner ikke # hold det var godt en øh [/] det er en pik.
%eng:	ha yes what does it look like eh [/] cover your microphones # cover that is okay an eh [/] it is a dick.

It happens more than once that a penis-shaped figure somehow appears on the table. In example 2,19 it is there again. Esen comments on it, by asking what it is supposed to be and asks Asiye to hold it up. Selma then asks if Esen can see what it is, and Asiye's reaction shows that they do know. Asiye's reproaching attitude causes Esen to ask her teasingly whether her fiancé (still the imaginary one) will be angry with her (for holding a clay penis). There is no direct association between the clay penis and the imaginary fiancé, but on the other hand both are never entirely out of fouces at any time during the conversation. This shows us that although the boys lead a more coherent conversation, the girls are involved in a more complex one in which the social negotiations are much more tricky, and more is at stake. This is an advanced conversational game which the girls leave aside when they are in the company of boys, as we have seen.

Example 2,19:

*ESE:	hvad skal det være *tutuyor musun*.
%eng:	what is this supposed to be *can you hold it.*
*ASI:	mm.
*SEL:	Esen kan du godt se hvad det er.
%eng:	Esen, can you see what it is.
*ASI:	åh Esen.
%eng:	oh Esen.
*ESE:	åh nej *nısanlın kızar mı şimdi.*
%eng:	oh no, *is your fiancé going to be angry now?*

Esdahl (2001b, 2003a) takes a closer look at conversations 701 and 702 in order to study the language choice patterns as tools in social negotiations. The boys in conversation 701 signal opposition to each other for instance by choosing the opposite language of the other, regardless of which language the other boy is currently speaking. Esen, in the other conversation, frequently oscillates between the two codes, and with different effects. She is particularly successful in brushing off an attack from Asiye partly through her oscillation between codes, partly because of her superior handling of the introduction and elimination of subjects for the conversation.

Petersen (2000) has also studied the grade 7 conversations. Her analysis leads her to criticism of received wisdom concerning the relationship between language and gender. Petersen asks whether men really do dominate in inter-gender conversations, and to answer that question she has undertaken an analysis of the conversations with methods borrowed from conversation analysis, including turn taking strategies. She emphasizes the traditional ways in which the boys compete for dominance, when they are together, by cursing, shouting, and teasing. The girls, on the other hand, when they are among only girls, employ a range of more sophisticated interactional means, including the alliance which Esen establishes with Selma.

> Esen uses communicative strategies which do not belong to traditional female linguistc behavior. She seeks the conflicts and use them to maintain her own status in the group, and quantitatively she dominates by speaking longer and more often than the other girls (Petersen 2000, 91, my translation)

Petersen sees the behavior shown in the gender-mixed group "as a barometer of current social and cultural change" (Petersen 2000, 91, my translation), on the one hand because the girls adjust to the ways the boys behave - instead of falling back to stereotypical female behavior, and because the boys do not show any attempts

to bully. Petersen concludes that the girls wield at least as much power as the boys. Petersen also concludes that ongoing societal changes (in casu in Denmark), with respect to the place which women can expect to have in public discourse, are reflected in the behavior of these students.

Sørup (2000) uses Kjøller's (1991) role categories. She analyzes each of the participants in conversation 701 and 702 as a representative of a role category. For instance, Esen is a so-called careerist, while Asiye is a security addict. Each role category is characterized by Kjøller as preferring certain social-interactional language behaviors. Sørup stresses that these categorizations are fluid, as the young speakers move in and out of them and may act in ways that characterize other roles. Nevertheless she finds that the categories are useful, and that they enable her to see a difference in patterns between the boys' conversational style and the girls' conversational style. Sørup carries out a turn taking analysis and an initiative-response analysis. She finds that there are constantly power struggles going on. Among the boys, however, the struggle is cruder, more direct, and also more obvious. The girls behave in more intricate and manipulative ways. For instance, the girls may address each other indirectly or explicitly avoid to address one of the others. Sørup also observes the repeated re-introduction of the theme of Asiye's boy-friend. Such techniques make the girls' conversation unpredictable and complex compared to the boys' conversation.

In her analyses Esdahl (2001a, 2001b, 2003) also compares code choice with the focus of the interlocutors' attention in their utterances (cf. H. Laursen 1992). Although she finds that there is little difference between the girls and the boys when she views the data over all the nine years, she also reaches the conclusion that mostly the girls lead in the development of linguistic skills.

Madsen & Nielsen (2001) compare patterns of competition and coherence in the speech of girls and boys, as we have seen. Madsen & Nielsen use the same conversations as Esdahl, and they

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find that the girls as a whole are much more competitive than the boys and also less coherent in their conversations when measured with the responses' connections backwards in the conversation. On the other hand, the very fact that the girls can put a theme on hold and return to it several times at crucial points in the conversation speaks for the girls' skills in maintaining coherence in a more complex manner than the boys. It also paves the way for the most flexible girl to position herself solidly at the top of the hierarchy. This holds when the girls are among each other, but in company with boys the girls adjust considerably towards the more egalitarian conversational style of the boys. The boys, on the other hand, do not change very much.

Madsen (2001, 2002) has also studied other measures of power wielding, see above. She reaches the same result. The girls are more oriented towards verbal fighting than the boys, and in combination with this, the girls are much more uneven in status than the boys. The very strongest in our core group are girls, and the very weakest are also girls.

Jacobsen (2002) has traced the ways in which Esen establishes her power and maintains it throughout the nine years of grade school, as it comes out in our data. Jacobsen follows the code choice practices of Esen through the years, and she concentrates on Esen's power wielding in group conversation in grade 2, grade 5, and grade 7. Jacobsen finds that Esen from the beginning of her school career speaks more Danish than her minority peers. This accelerates from grade 5, and with the exception of grade 6 there is a steady increase in her use of Danish (see a discussion of these grade 6 figures in part 3). Jacobsen observes that Esen is capable of using code-switching as a casting strategy already in grade 2, and that she has so much control of situations that she can keep the other interlocutors in and out of the conversations through her language choice. In grade 5 Esen often uses Danish in critical phases of the social negotiations, and she regularly succeeds in controlling the attention of the others when she uses Danish. In other situations she uses frequent intra-sentential code-switches to

repeat arguments or draw attention. Her superior command of Danish, and her more flexible code-switches gives her a range of linguistic means which the others have not yet developed. By grade 7 Esen's code-switching can in most cases best be understood as locally determined. She uses the opposite language of the interlocutor, she marks a resolute change of subject by switching codes, etc. Jacobsen (2002, 170) describes Esen's development of code-switching competence as a result of her high competence in both involved languages.

Code choice and code-switching

More than anything else, code choice patterns and code-switching have been the focus of the Køge project. Many of the Køge studies have dealt with code choice and code-switching patterns one way or another, but particularly in pragmatic perspectives. Several of the studies we have already looked at also deal with code choice and code-switching. All of the code-switching studies get their data from the group conversations.

Jacobsen 2002 and Ritzau 2003 have both described code-switching as a linguistic resource (see above), Esdahl's works, and Madsen's works combine code choice analyses with other measures in order to study power wielding patterns among the individual students. In Jørgensen 1993 (see above) I find that the students over the first four years develop skills of manipulation and persuasion through code-switching, but in very different degrees. The most advanced language users apply a range of different strategies to get their way, including advanced code-switching strategies, while there are others who hardly code-switch at all. In combination with initiative-response analyses these observations give the background of our understanding of some of the social negotiations, including struggles about hierarchies, which have also been described in the Køge project. Andersen (1994) supplements these findings. She finds three major mechanisms in the code-switching practices

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shared by the students, 1) person-related code-switches (particularly when addressing majority Danes), 2) switches during discussions of language, 3) code-switching as power wielding.

In Jørgensen 1998 I describe closer the development of code-switching as a power wielding tool. The development is related to the changing status of the codes among the students. In the younger grades the students may deal with their mother tongue and second language according to the norms of their (adult) surroundings, but after a few years they use the codes, and switches between them, for a range of purposes regardless of their status in the surrounding world. Jacobsen (2002) finds that Esen leads in this development. With this finding Jacobsen supports the observations by others, that girls in general lead in the development of linguistic skills. Esdahl 2001, Madsen & Nielsen 2001, Petersen 2000, Sørup 2000, and others agree that girls seem to lead in the development of advanced code-switching. Duncker 2003 and M. Laursen 2002 support the finding that the girls lead in the linguistic development, although with respect to other variables.

Esdahl (2001a, 2001b, 2003a) has also compared her focus analysis with a code choice analysis. She finds that there is little to indicate that code choice is an effect of the content of discussion. Code choice may be, as Andersen 1994 finds, person-related, but more than anything else code-switching is situationally strategic.

Other Køge project works which we have already looked at, are Cromdal (2000, 2001, 2003), Eskildsen (2002), Ritzau (2003), and Steensig (2000a, 2000b, 2001a, 2003). They all study code-switching among the Turkish-Danish students, and they discuss the ways code-switching is used by the young speakers as pragmatic tools, in negotiating social relations, to organize interaction. Steensig and Cromdal both work with conversation analysis of the group conversations in the Køge Project. Steensig shows how the linguistic skills of the strongest girls reach into the

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finest details, including code-switches at critical points in conversations, and he also finds that these skills are used as power wielding tools. Cromdal describes how the bilingual students can define an ad-hoc division of labor between the involved languages. They maintain this distribution of tasks between Danish and Turkish throughout their conversation as a backdrop against which code-switches can be highlighted, and understood. Eskildsen agrees, but she finds that it is probably unrelated to any notions of we-code and they-code. Cromdal, Eskildsen, and Steensig use conversation analytic methods with the Køge data. Møller (1998, 2001, 2002) likewise focusses on social relations and social negotiations, using a softer analytic approach, which partly involves grounded theory, partly interactional sociolinguistics.He finds that there is a connection between the self presented by the young speakers, and their code-switching patterns. The speakers who present an identity as young, are more frequent code-switchers, and particularly more strategic code-switchers, than the other speakers in the data.

Havgaard uses "an inductive CA-inspired method" (Havgaard 2002, 172) to study the pragmatic functions of code-switches performed by the four boys in Conversation 903. She documents their use of more than just simply "Turkish" and "Danish". For instance there are also features from a stylized immigrant Danish. Havgaard concludes that at this level of their linguistic development, code-switching is a complicated and advanced tool with many uses. She even speculates that there is a development in the direction of a fused lect.

> The material also shows that the individual code-switch may contain several meanings and functions so that one and the same switch refers to both local and global factors. It is therefore not a question of whether a code-switch has one or the other function. At this age it is most frequently both. In this group code-switching in itself may have a general meaning independently of the individual switches. There are in certain examples an

> indication that the group's style is slowly on the road to a so-called fused lect (Havgaard 2002,200, my translation)

Reiff (2002) is a study of the use of languages other than Danish and Turkish, among the minority students in the Køge project, in particular English. Reiff also uses a soft interactional analysis, inspired by Rampton. She finds that there are many, and very different uses of English among the young Turkish-Danes, and particularly from grade 5 and up. Sometimes the adolescents use English for no other apparent purpose than to have fun. There are also instances of performance in which the speaker who uses English more or less successfully entertains the others involved in the group conversations. Through code-switching into English the young speakers were also able to take on and display different personae in the interaction, and English therefore is a tool for identity negotiation and social negotiation like Turkish and Danish, but of course with its own values ascribed to it. The concept of performance is also the subject of Kohl's (2002) study of "Ritual, music, and performance". Kohl's findings support Reiff's in that there is a variety of factors at play - and a variety of languages.

In Jørgensen (2004) I extend the results from Jørgensen (1993), (see above in this part). I find that over the years of school, there is an accelerating development of steadily more refined uses and types of code-switching among our speakers. First the students use Danish ad hoc loans in their Turkish. Later the loans become integrated. Gradually Danish non-chunks, i.e. potentially analyzed stretches of speech become integrated into otherwise Turkish production. By grade 5 the use of code-switching - in the sense that both grammers are applied in the same stretch of speech - grows. At the same time the range of uses is widened. We observe negotiations of social relations in which code-switching is central. In the older grades, yet more refined uses of language choice appear, including for instance entirely non-mixed language used

by participants in a group conversation to isolate one of the other participants.

In almost all aspects the girls spearhead the development of code-switching. Furthermore, at all times the girls seem to employ a wider range of code choice patterns than the boys. This is not without effect on their social relations, including the hierarchies. The strongest individuals are undoubtedly girls, and particularly girls who show great flexibility and creativity in the code-switching. The girls also seem to behave linguistically more aggressively towards each others than boys do, while both gender seem to take it easy on each other. This could very well indicate that code choice patterns is a means to signal (and maintain) specific group memberships. An individual boy will have one kind of group relation when he is involved with a group of boys, and this is marked linguistically. He has another kind of membership when there are also girls present, and this calls for different linguistic marking.

Hansen 2004 also deals with the development of code-switching skills, but in a more specific way. Hansen applies Auer's (1995) code-switching types to the group conversations. He observes when the different types appear first with each speaker, and when they become stable. This leads to an implicational scale of acquisition of code-switching as a continuously more advanced skill. It is no surprise that the students progress along this scale at very different speeds, and that the fast ones are the usual achievers from all the other measures. One exception is the boy Erol who seems to be a more eloquent code-switcher than successful at other measures.

There are also code-switching studies which have not primarily concentrated on pragmatic issues. In part 1 I have discussed different concepts of code choice and code-switching, including the ones represented by Phillip (2002), Hansen (2001) and Maegaard & Møller (1999) who scrutinize Myers Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model of code-switching. They

acknowledge the usefulness of the model, but they are also sceptical of its universality.

In a very different perspective, Karrebæk (2004, 2005) has analyzed the code-switching as instances of iconicity. She finds three types of code-switches which can relate code-switching to different phenomena of iconicity. Code-switches are taken to represent (or manifest) linguistic structure, and through e.g. a group of functional grammatical principles, she can show that a large number of code-switches, among two such unrelated languages as Danish and Turkish, represent iconic principles. The two languages refer to different functions of the utterance, or part of utterance, or code-switches may serve to ensure coherence where this is not encoded in a strict sense. There are of course code-switches which seem not to represent iconicity in Karrebæk's sense, and she also discusses them (see more about this in Part 1).

Reviews of the Køge project

Kulbrandstad 2004 is an extensive review of two volumes in the series of publications about the Køge Project, the Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism Køge Series, volumes 10 and 11 (see the Copenhagen Studies bibliography below). Kulbrandstad compares the contributions by Cromdal (2001), Esdahl (2001a, 2001b), Madsen & Nielsen (2001), Madsen (2001), Steensig (2001), and Jørgensen (2001d) with other Scandinavian studies, such as Boyd (1985), and Boyd et al. (1994a, 1994b). He stresses both the sociolingiustic problems which the Køge papers address, and the importance of the enhanced insight into the lived lives of minority youth in Scandinavia.

Johnson (2003) reviews the Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism as a whole, including the Køge Series (Johnson 2003, 170-171). She also emphasizes the sociocultural as well as the linguistic aspects of the publications (although she would have liked to see more about Denmark's role in the European Community!).

A number of individual volumes in the Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism Køge Series have been reviewed in Danish professional magazines, etc. No extensive review of any of these has yet been published.

Conclusions

In this part I have presented the Køge project as well as the body of Køge studies, which are quite numerous. I have described the Turkish-speaking population in Køge and its relations to Denmark in general and Køge in particular. I have also described the school where most of our data was collected, the Ahornengen School. And I have presented the core group of participants in the Køge project, the individuals who have provided data throughout the longitudinal perspective. There are 12 students, of which 6 are male, and 6 are female.

I presented the data types of the Køge project as well as our main lines of analyses, with utterance-based categorizations of (group) conversations as the most frequently reported type of analysis. The data involve both questionnaires, interviews, and recorded conversations. These are either group conversations or face-to-face conversations between the individual students and an adult, either Danish-speaking or Turkish-speaking.

The Køge project was designed to follow three lines of study, an educational one, a social one, and a linguistic one. With respect to the educational aspects, led by Gimbel's studies, we have found that the pedagogical practices administered in the Køge classrooms, particularly in the Ahornengen School, were appreciative of the minority language and culture represented by the Turkish speaking minority. This did not lead to much practical involvement of the minority students' background in the mainstream classes, however. There was not much coordination between the Turkish teaching and the rest of the teaching. Nevertheless, the students were received much more openly than

the average linguistic minority student group could - and can - expect to be treated in Danish grade schools. The very fact that there were Turkish-speaking adults with several school function around them in their everyday, make our students stand out as untypical of minority children and adolescents in Denmark. This is even more so in the present conditions.

Gimbel (1994) also found that there was a marked difference between the parents' understanding and the teachers' understanding of the children and what should be expected from the school. The combination of the NISU study's data and Gimbel's data allows us to see regularities in the evaluations of teachers and parents. Turkish speaking parents seem to be generally pessimistic about their children's chances, and there is skepticism toward the majority authorities.

Holmen has led the study of L2 Danish acquisition. The project has used different methods, such as a uni-set-based comprehension test, a cloze test, and a reading test. Neither of these were used extensively, so the majority of L2 acquisition studies have used the (transcriptions of the) conversations as data. We have found that a range of different ways of ranking the core group of the students yielded practically the same order, regardless of the criterion of ranking or the time the ranking was carried out. It seems that the school has little effect on the hierarchies between the students, at least with these relatively crude social and academic criteria.

In the social perspective the Køge project has studied parent attitudes and found widespread pessimism and skepticism toward Danish authorities, although less so than in other Danish communities. The young generation of Turkish speakers in Køge falls into three groups, as Can has described - with very different relationships to the majority and the local authorities.

Micro-studies of the participants in the Køge project have found extensive social negotiations going on in the peer interactions.

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Apparently the most commonly presented self-understanding of the young participants when they are recorded together - or converse with adults - is that of being young, followed by the gender. This particular group seems not to stress ethnicity specifically, the boys less than the girls.

There is power jockeying going on among the students in their group conversations, and usually with girls as the toughest and most sophisticated language users - and the most powerful individuals. The results of the Køge project contradict - in several ways - traditional sociolinguistic views on the linguistic differences between males and females. However, apparently the weakest individuals in this group are also female.

Besides a couple of studies which focus on vocabulary, the linguistic perspective has first and foremost produced a number of studies which concentrate on the speakers' code choice patterns and code-switching, especially in the group conversations. Most of these studies have dealt with the pragmatic aspects of code choice and code-switching, but the crucial studies by Karrebæk and Hansen have been oriented to the structure of code-switching, with an emphasis on the Matrix Language Frame model, and iconicity in code-switching, respectively.

The pragmatic code-switching studies have gone into detail with group formation and the social negotiations, identity presentation including performance and language play, the creation of meaning in interaction, etc. Several studies have concluded that girls develop their code-switching skills first, and boys follow later, but there are important individual differences. Hansen has traced the uccurrence of Auer's switching types with each of the students, and he reaches this conclusion. Duncker in her study of vocabulary comes to the same conclusion. This difference in development is probably part of the explanation why some of the girls dominate so strongly and consistently among the members of this group of young speakers.

In part 3 I will take a close look at the code choice practices which we can observe from grade 1 through grade 9.