LANGUAGING

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

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publications will mainly be electronic.

- **to Elsebeth**

Contents

Volume 1

Volume 2

Part 3: Code choice in the Køge project

The development of code choice practices

In part 3 I describe the development of code choice practices among the Turkish-Danish grade school students from a pragmatic point of view. I will consider structural aspects of the code-switching only when they shed light on the pragmatic aspects. It is not unimportant for the students' development of their code choice patterns that most of them began their school careers as strongly Turkish-dominant. During the first years of school the students mainly used Danish words from school life, and in this phase they mostly use the words in the basic form with little morphology. At later stages, when Danish words have become integrated with Turkish morphology and syntax, the students have more advanced structural means of using codes for their pragmatic purposes. That might be taken to mean that the students no longer only produce monolingual utterances and code-switched utterances, but also mixed utterances in the sense that there is not really always a shift going on in an utterance which involves both Turkish and Danish words. An integrated grammar could be at play, or a fused lect, in Auer's (1999) terms, as Havgaard (2002) suggests (see part 2). Nevertheless, I do not believe this to be the case. The detailed structural analysis of code-switching is outside the scope of my analysis here. However, it is certainly important for my analysis that inclusion of words from both Turkish and Danish happens smoothly without any flagging, hesitation, or other marking devices. Therefore, it is sometimes possible to categorize each individual feature of an utterance as Turkish or Danish, but difficult or even useless to categorize certain utterances or exchanges as Danish or Turkish. They are neither, or both. They represent the poly-lingualism of the users.

Furthermore, after a few years the students gradually present another aspect of poly-lingualism, as they introduce elements from other languages than Turkish or Danish into their interaction. In

addition to this, what we think of as "Danish" elements may be standard Copenhagen *rigsmål* Danish, but they may also be characteristically Sealand Danish, youth Danish, immigrant Danish, and in other ways bear the mark of a non-standard Copenhagen rigsmål Danish code. It goes without saying that this is equally true for Turkish and the other languages involved. It becomes clear in the analyses of the students' language use at different stages that we can not uphold a definite number of categories, of "languages" (I refer to my discussion in part 1 about languages as ideological constructions). We can not count the number of "varieties" or "codes" used by the speakers. We can still determine code-*switching*. Code-switching happens when interlocutors use features which are ascribed to different sets of features (different "codes"), and the interlocutors are in a position to interpret the use as such. The practical difficulties in distinguishing what is generally thought of as Turkish, and what is generally thought of as Danish, are not overwhelming (see the section in Part 1 about the *%koj* analysis). So we can still work with the concepts of code choice, which is a phenomenon related to the speaker, and code-switching, which is a phenomenon related to both speaker and listener(s).

A speaker may produce an utterance which contains only features about which the interlocutors agree that they belong to one and the same code. In certain cases a speaker may decide to introduce an element which the interlocutors normally ascribe to a different code. Such introduced elements may consist of a single word or some words tied together in a unit which may or may not be a fixed expression. The crucial part is that the introduced part does not involve grammatical features ascribed to the code from which it is taken (except grammatical features which are used to form the word) which are different from the grammatical features ascribed to the code which is otherwise used in the utterance.

The utterances where the introduction of features from another code does not involve grammar contain so-called *loans*. They are different from *code-switches*, which do involve grammatical

features from two codes. There is a long tradition of discussion of the distinction between these two types of simultaneous language use. In one type, elements are "inserted" into an ongoing utterance during the production. In the other type there is no insertion, there is simply a "change" or a "switch" - the speaker stops doing one thing and starts doing another (e.g., Poplack 1980, Myers Scotton 1993a, Backus 1996).

By *loans* the speaker produces an element from one language in an utterance which is otherwise structured in another language. That an utterance is "structured" in one language simply means that the utterance follows the rules of particularly syntax, but also morphology and to a certain extent pronunciation of that language. It is rarely difficult to distinguish between Turkish grammar and Danish grammar, or Turkish grammar and English grammar. It can be more difficult to distinguish between Danish syntax and English syntax, but this has caused only few practical problems in the Køge project.

By *code-switching* the utterance changes grammar, it begins with (typically syntax) grammar from one language, and changes into grammar from another language. This sounds simpler than it is. The question of when we are dealing with "one" language, and when we are dealing with "another" language is difficult enough in itself, as I discuss in part 1. It becomes even harder when we want to determine whether a given utterance is entirely in one language, or partly in another one, because some elements are not unequivocally from one or the other language.

In the long run it is difficult, probably impossible, to maintain the distinction between loan and switch, but that is not crucial at this point of the Køge project, because Turkish and Danish are so different and separate that it is very rarely a problem to determine whether a linguistic element is Turkish or Danish, including syntactical features. There are exceptions. In rapid speech the Danish loanword from English *computer* may be hard to distinguish from the Turkish loanword from French *kompüter*, but

such examples are really very rare.

The distinction between loanword and switch has proven to be useful when we describe the development of bilingual practices among beginning grade school children. This will be clear in the following. After a few years, however, the difference partly dissolves, and the borders between languages become blurred. The young language users do not give up the distinction between two languages as concepts, but they do to an extent in their practices.

Another distinction, that between *ad hoc loans* (Poplack's *nonce borrowings*) and *integrated loans*, will also be relevant. Ad hoc loans are elements, typically words, from one language used in a connection which is otherwise entirely, or almost entirely, in another language, by one speaker in a given situation, but not otherwise. In other words, ad hoc loans are not (yet) conventionalized among the speakers, in the group. It can not be a surprise that the line between these two categories quickly becomes blurred (as it is in real life when first-time loans are gradually being accepted into the speech of a group of speakers).

It is no great discovery that the code choice practices of school age children become refined over their school years, but with the Køge material we are able to describe several steps in this development. In the following I present typical code choice practices from each grade level as the Turkish speaking students pass through a Danish school career. The grade level is a practical unit of time, but it is not meant to explain the development in any way. It goes without saying that this development, just like all other human development, does not happen in neat equidistant steps and regular intervals. For further discussion of the concepts of code-switching, language mixing, and other notions, for instance *fused lects*, see part 1.

The conversations

In the Køge project some 450 conversations have been recorded on sound tape. When we eliminate those with a sound quality too low to be useful for analysis we count the following numbers of conversations:

43 group conversations involving only minority students
38 group conversations involving both minority and majority students
43 group conversations involving only majority students
3 group interviews involving only minority students
2 group interviews involving only majority students
149 face-to-face conversations between an adult and a student, in Turkish (minority students)
132 face-to-face conversations between an adult and a student, in Danish (minority students)
41 face-to-face conversations between an adult and a student, in Danish (majority students)
1 pair conversation (minority students)

The most important part of the Køge project data for the study of code choice practices is the collection of group conversations involving Turkish speaking students at the Ahornengen School. There are altogether 53 such conversations recorded during the nine years, and they provide the majority of examples I have presented this far, and the majority of examples in part 3 also. The group conversations recorded at Ahornengen and Humlestrup schools contain a total of 54.800 utterances, 48.600 of these from the Ahornengen classes.

In this connection I have concentrated particularly on the group conversations which involve Turkish-Danish students, both conversations which involve only minority students and conversations which involve both majority and minority students. The conversations which involve only majority speakers of Danish are one of my two additional data sets. I look at some of the code

choice characteristics of these conversations to shed light on the observations I make in the main data.

There are 38 group conversations involving both minority and majority students. They were recorded in grade 2, and then every year from grade 4 and on. There are 36 group conversations involving only majority students recorded over the nine years of schooling. The number of conversations recorded at each grade level can be seen in table 3,1.

Grade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Conver-sations	14	19	12	16	10	11	10	10	10

Table 3.1. Number of Køge project group conversations recorded at each grade level.

Eskişehir group conversations

A third set of data involves Turkish speaking grade school students in Eskişehir, Turkey. As a parallel study to the Køge project, Fatma Hülya Özcan, İlknur Keçik, and I have collected group conversations between grade school students. The students are sons and daughters of migrants who have migrated to Eskişehir and now live in a working class neighborhood in the town. The students in the area all attend the same school. This group of data is both cross-sectional and longitudinal.

We have a cross-sectional collection of group conversations involving the students who attended grade1, grade 3, grade 5, and grade 8 respectively in the spring of 1997. Those who attended grade 1 in 1997 have participated again in grade 3, grade 5, grade 7, and in grade 8. This means that we also have longitudinal data from Eskişehir to compare with the Køge data.

The conditions under which grade school students work are of

316

course very different in Eskişehir and Køge, but we have strived to set up the data collection as parallel as realistically possible. The students are recorded on sound tape as they are sitting together alone in a room at school which is not a classroom. They have been assigned a new task every year which involved the use of magazines, free postcards, scissors, glue sticks, etc. There are four members in each group.

In this data material there are 24 conversations in the longitudinal study, namely 7 conversations in grade 1, 5 conversations in grade 3, 3 conversations in grade 5, 5 conversations in grade 7, and 4 conversations in grade 8. The difference occurs because the equipment has given difficulties. In the cross-sectional study there are 16 recorded conversations, namely 7 conversations in grade 1 (the same as the grade 1 conversations in the longitudinal study), 3 conversations in grade 3, 3 conversations in grade 5, and 3 conversations in grade 8.

Participants

In the Køge material 102 students have contributed to one or more conversations. Of these, 31 are members of the Turkish-Danish minority in Køge. There are a few more linguistic minority students among the participants, including two Punjabi speakers, a Tamil speaker, and an English speaker. The rest were linguistic majority students.

Our data collection concentrated after the first three years of the project on one group of students, namely the students who began in grade 1 at the Ahornengen School in 1989. During the 6 years after grade 3 there were students who left the school and others who came, so the students have contributed in quite different numbers to our data. The core group of students (see also the section on Køge in Part 2) and their participation in group conversations can be seen in table 3,2. Eight of the students have participated in at least one group conversation each year, and two more have participated in eight out of the nine years of school.

317

Ahmet and Ali left the school after grade 7, so they do not appear in the conversations in grade 8 and 9.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Canan	1	2	1	4	2	2	2	3	2
Erol	1	1	2	1	4	2	2	2	1
Esen	1	1	2	1	4	1	2	2	2
Asiye	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Merva	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	3	2
Selma	1	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	2
Bekir	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	2
Eda	0	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	1
Murat	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2
Hüseyin	1	0	1	2	1	1	2	1	2
Ali	1	1	1	2	2	2	0	0	0
Ahmet	0	0	1	2	2	2	0	0	0

Table 3.2. The core group of students and their participation in group conversations grade 1-9.

Code categories

The utterance is the basis of transcription in the Childes format (see Part 2 about the transcriptions), and I have therefore used the utterance as the unit of code analysis. The utterance which contains only features ascribed to Turkish I have marked with a *t*. In case such an utterance involves a loan from Danish, the mark has been *t1* - in case of loans from elsewhere the mark has been *t2*. Similarly utterances which contain only features from Danish have the mark

d, with loans from Turkish they have the mark *d1*, and with loan from elsewhere they have the mark *d2*. Utterances which only contain features ascribed to English, I have marked *e*, and utterances which contain only features from fourth languages have the mark *a*. At this level of analysis I have not distinguished between sub-categories of the ideological categories of "Turkish", "Danish", "English" etc. The category of *a* covers such languages as German, French, and Spanish - but not Jutland Danish, Trabzon Turkish, or American English. In other words, the marks are cover terms for several sets of features which gradually are used as separate sets by at least some of the speakers. This is of course a problem. When Esen in example 3,1 pronounces the word *galt* with an exaggerated Sealand glottal constriction (stød) the utterance is still in the *d* category. These finer categorizations become increasingly important, the older the participants get. The quantitative analyses of the code choice patterns, I can report, will nevertheless miss these finer distinctions (see below about the quantitative analyses).

A qualitative analysis is necessary to catch the finer points of code choice, simply because there would be too many possible categories for the analysis of the utterances. In addition, as I have discussed in Part 1, it is not possible to distinguish meaningfully between languages, dialects, etc. - except as prototypes. Therefore it makes sense to distinguish between Danish and Turkish, but not to try to count the number of possible Danish codes the students may use and refer to. I will return to the qualitative analysis below.

Example 3,1:
*ESE: Erol den duer altså ikke derinde der er noget galt.
%eng: Erol it does not work in there, something is wrong.
%com: 'galt' pronounced with an exaggerated Sealand stød
%koj: $d

Generally, I have not categorized names as one language or the other. Likewise, I have not categorized expressions such as *mm*.

When there could be doubt, for instance with English-origin words like *cola*, I have taken the different characteristics of the words into consideration: segmental pronunciation, intonation, context, addressee, etc., before I have marked the element in question as Turkish, Danish, or otherwise. I have marked English-origin words as Danish words, if they are integrated into Danish (teenage) language, particularly when there is phonetic evidence to confirm this.

Utterances which contain words from more than one language, but (syntax) grammar from only one, I categorize as based on one language, but including a loan. Example 3,2 is an utterance which is Turkish-based, but includes a loan from Danish. The analysis is *t1*.

Example 3,2:
*ERO: *bilmiyorum orda* land *var mı bilmiyorum.*
%eng: *I don't know I don't know if there is* land *there*.
%koj: $t1

Utterances which involve code-switches, i.e. utterances with grammatical features from more than one language, are marked according to the languages represented and the features used. For this I have used marks such as *td*, *dt*, and *de*, see example 3,3. In this example the first part of the utterance is produced with Danish words and word order, the second part with Turkish syntax, including a pro-drop. It is therefore marked *dt*.

Example 3,3:
*ESE: jamen vi behøver ikke lave overalt *ben Afrika'ya yapıyorum daha iyi.*
%eng: yes but we do not have to make it everywhere *I am going to work on Africa, it's better*.
%koj: $dt

All stretches of features are represented in the mark, and all code-switches cause a new letter to be included in the mark. Therefore

320

there will be strings of categories with marks such as $dtdt and $t1d1, as in example 3,4.

Example 3,4:
*SEL: *bir tane ben gördümya* jeg kan ikke huske ikke den heller ikke xxx her *bu ne Esen* Pusher.
%eng: *I saw one somewhere* I don't remember it, it wasn't xxx here either *what is it, Esen*, Pusher?
%com: 'Pusher' is the title of a Danish movie
%koj: $tdtd

In example 3,2 the whole utterance is Turkish except the one word *land*. The word serves a purpose in the situation, and it does not appear in otherwise Turkish surroundings elsewhere. This is an ad hoc loan. Example 3,2 is straightforward, and other combinations are more complicated. In more complicated cases I have made decisions which could have been made differently. In example 3,5 there are two elements of Danish involved in an utterance which is otherwise in Turkish. The first one is a kind of pre-positioned tag which is a full expression in itself. I have scored it separately (in the section on Sources of error in Part 4 I will explain that we have had an unfortunately inconsequent practice with respect to tags). The *ad* is also a full expression, but here it is used almost as an adjective, and therefore I analyze it as a loan.

Example 3,5:
*SEL: åh ja Erol *xxx gördüğünde benimkini almış* ad *değil mi Esen*.
%eng: oh yeah, Erol *xxx so you have taken mine, it is* yerk, *isn't it, Esen?*
%com: xxx incomprehensible
%koj: $dt1

The integrated elements may, for instance in the case of quotes, add up to more material in the utterance than the grammatical parts. An utterance may have Turkish syntax, even though most of the words are Danish. Example 3,6 includes 4 Danish words which

add up to a cliché among children (*NN is stupid*), but which are framed by the *yaz*. A curse in Danish is also added.

Example 3,6:
*AYL: fjerde b er dum *yaz* for helvede.
%eng: hell, *write* Fourth B is stupid.
%com: Fourth B is another class at the same grade level

A special case is the situation where the speakers combine a Danish infinitive with the Turkish *yapmak* or *etmek*. Both verbs function in combination with nouns in Turkey-Turkish. The construction *yardım etmek* (with an old Turkish noun) means *to help*, *ziyaret etmek* (with a loan from old Arabic) means *to continue*, and *paten etmek* (with a French loan) means *to skate*. In diaspora Turkish such constructions are abundant. Turkish speakers borrow infinitives from the majority language where they live, and combine them with *yapmak* or *etmek*. Türker (2001b, 87) points out that constructions involving *yapmak* are most frequent among the Turkish speaking minorities in the Turkish diaspora in Europe, for instance with Norwegian *fag afslutte yapacağız* (*we finish a school subject*). This seems to be the case at least in the Netherlands and Germany, cf. Backus & Boeschoten 1996, Pfaff 1998. In North America, however, constructions with*etmek* appear to be more frequent, for example *contribute ediyorum* (*I contribute*). In the Køge data both types are represented, se ex. 3,7-3,9.

Example 3,7:
*AHM: åh gokke I må gokke om det.
%eng: oh you must play gokke about it.
%com: gokke is a verb which means to play the stone-scissors-
        paper game
%koj: $t1
*ERO: *ha* gokke *yapalım*.
%eng: *yes let us* play gokke
%koj: $t1
*BEK: *ikinizde* gokke *yaparsınız oldu bitti*.

322

%eng: *if you both* play gokke *it's over and done with.*
%koj: $t1
*MUR: *he hani* gokke *yapacağız.*
%eng: *yeah, come on, we will* play gokke.
%koj: $t1

Example 3,8:
*AHM: tåle tabe *o* tåle tabe *yapabiliyor da* Mogens *gibi değil işte anla.*
%eng: take losing *he* can *also* take losing *he is not like* Mogens *if you see what I mean.*
%koj: $dtdt

Example 3, 9:
*BEK: *len* lim*inizi* låne *edeyim benimki olmuyor.*
%dan: *man can I borrow your* glue *mine doesn't.*
%koj: $t1dt

In example 3,10 we have three finite verbs, two of them in the imperative. The construction *ağlama ne olur gør* is complex. The first three words are Turkish, the last one Danish. The verb *gøre* may in Danish function as a kind of pro-verb, substituting another verb or a whole verbal phrase, such as in *Jeg bryder mig vældig meget om hash, jeg gør* (meaning *I like hash very much, I do*), but in case of a negative phrase the negation must also follow the form of *gøre*, as in *Jeg bryder mig ikke ret meget om svinekød, jeg gør ikke* (meaning *I do not like pork very much, I do not*). In example 3,10 the form of *gøre* substitues a negative, but is not accompanied by a negation. Even if the first imperative had been positive, it would have been difficult to determine which language is the matrix here. The *ne olur* literally means *what will it be*, but here it functions as an appeal, Eda says something like an emotional *please*.

Example 3,10:
*EDA: *ay Asiye* undskyld *ağlama ne olur* gør.
%eng: aj Asiye undskyld græd ikke vel gør.

%koj: $tdtd.

Passages of the conversations may use several languages among each other as in Example 3,11. The individual utterance does not always employ more than one language, but three languages, Turkish, Danish, and English are present throughout. Esen's first utterance is Danish-based with an English loan. The following utterance by Erol (his first) is Turkish with a Danish loan. Esen's second utterance begins in Danish and continues in Turkish. Selma's first utterance is in Danish, as is Erol's second utterance. Selma's second utterance begins in English and continues in Turkish.

Example 3,11:

*ESE:	er det ik [/] det er sgu ikke Afrika i Afrika er der ikke så grønt # og smukt # og <u>beautiful</u> eller [/] næh.
%eng:	is this no [/] this is bloody not Africa in Arfica it is not so green # and beautiful # and <u>beautiful</u> or [/] no.
%koj:	$d2
*ERO:	*Afrika ne kadar çirkin* add.
%eng:	*how ugly* yerk *Africa is.*
%koj:	$t1
*ESE:	se lige her *bu Afrika mı.*
%eng:	look here, *is this Africa?*
%koj:	$dt
*SEL:	åh ja.
%eng:	oh yes.
%koj:	$d
*ERO:	åh ja.
%eng:	oh yes.
%koj:	$d
*SEL:	<u>yes I am</u> *xxx değil mi bu*.
%eng:	<u>yes I am</u> *this is xxx, isn't it?*
%koj:	$et

Quantitative analyses 1: Code profiles

Janus Møller and I have developed a way to illustrate the variation in code choice in the course of a conversation, a so-called code profile see Jørgensen (2004d). A code profile illustrates the choice of code in each utterance as a function of the number of the utterance in the course of the conversation. The graphic illustration is based on a simplified set of code categories, namely 1 for Danish utterances with no loan (the category *d*), 2 for Danish-based utterances with loans (categories *d1* and *d2*), 3 for code-switching utterances and other utterances (categories *dt*, *td*, etc., plus categories *e* and *a*), 4 for Turkish-based utterances with loans (categories *t1* and *t2*), and 5 for Turkish utterances (the category *t*). (In some cases we have omitted the utterances without Danish and Turkish. The resulting illustrations give a clear picture of the relationship between the use of Danish and the use of Turkish). The utterances are ordered according to the sequence of the conversation. In the graphs the first utterances are on the left hand side, the last ones on the right hand side, see figure 3.3.

In figure 3.3 the utterances are registered horizontally in the order they have appeared in the conversations, regardless of who the speaker might have been. The graph thus draws a profile of the course of the conversation as a whole. The illustration is not without its weaknesses, of course. Simultaneous utterances will have to be registered separately (I have done so by following the order in which they appear in the transcripts). Sometimes a group conversation involving four participants temporarily dissolves into two conversations involving two persons each. In case one of these sub-conversations is in Turkish, and the other in Danish, this will appear in the graph as constant switching from Turkish into Danish and back again with each new utterance. In such stretches of speech each utterance is not a response to the immediately preceding utterance, but to an utterance one step further back. This situation is quite rare in the data, although it does appear.

The code profiles tell us quite a bit about the difference between

conversations. In figure 3.3 it is obvious that most of conversation 122 goes on in Turkish. There are some 600 utterances (see the lower right hand corner of the figure). Most of the graph runs along level 5 in the figure, i.e. it represents Turkish with no loans. There are a few occasions where an utterance is in Turkish with a loan. These appear as spikes from line 5 to line 4 in the figure. The spikes reaching line 4 are fewer, i.e. utterances with both Danish and Turkish (or perhaps a rare occurrence of a third language - which is highly unlikely in a grade 1 conversation). There are very few instances of utterances at level 1 or 2, i.e. there is very little Danish. This graph is quite typical for grade 1 conversations among minority students.

Conversation 408 shows a change after the first half of the conversation, see figure 3.4. Until utterance no. 390 (ca.) of the conversation, Turkish dominates. Next, between utterance no. 390 and utterance no. 450, we observe a series of rapid switches between Danish and Turkish. Between utterance no. 450 and utterance no. 480 the conversation is entirely in Turkish, but it turns upside down after utterance no. 480. The last part of the conversation runs primarily in the lower part of the graph, i.e. in Danish. Roughly expressed, the participants primarily speak Turkish in the first part of the conversation, and then primarily Danish.

Conversation 901 shows the extreme opposite of conversation 122, see figure 3.5.. There is not one Turkish-based utterance in the whole conversation, and only few loans. Except for a couple of spikes into level 3, there is only Danish to be heard in this conversation (which by the way does not contain very many utterances at all). This is not an indication of a language shift, but a matter of choice. I discuss this below in the section about grade 9.
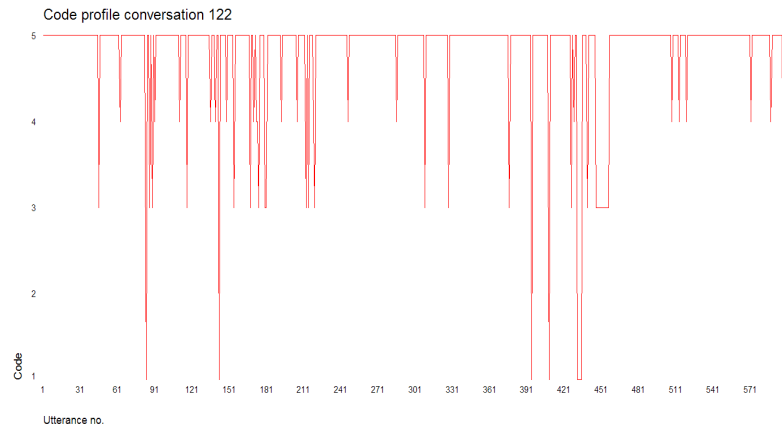
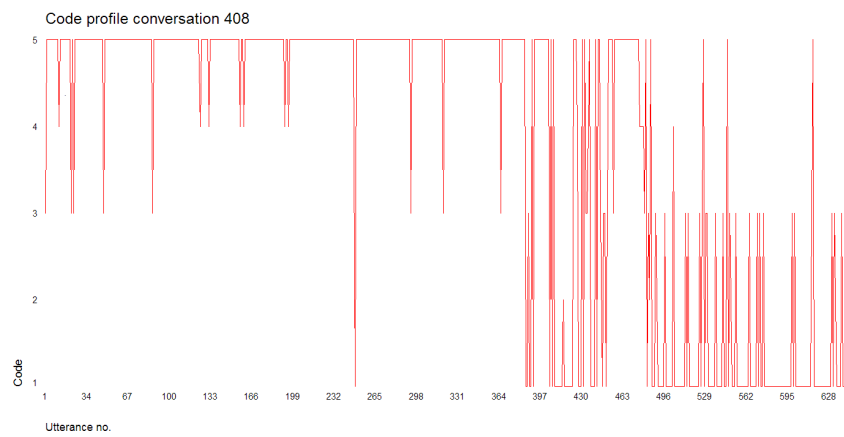Figure 3.3. Code profile of conversation 122.

Figure 3.4. Code profile of conversation 408.
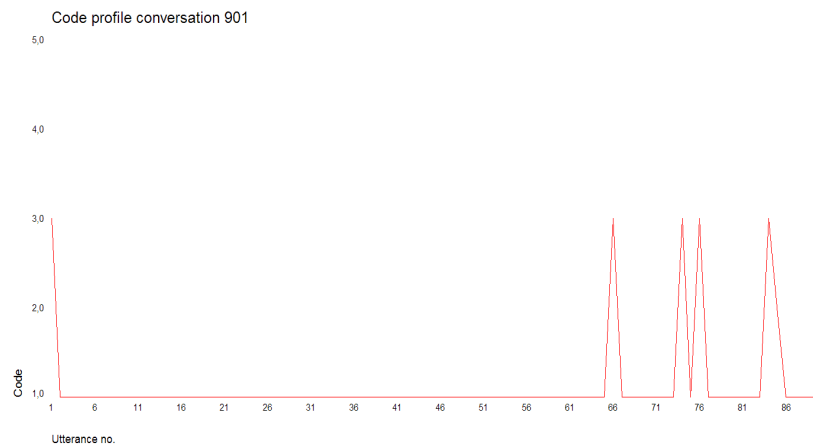
Figure 3.5. Code profile of conversation 901.
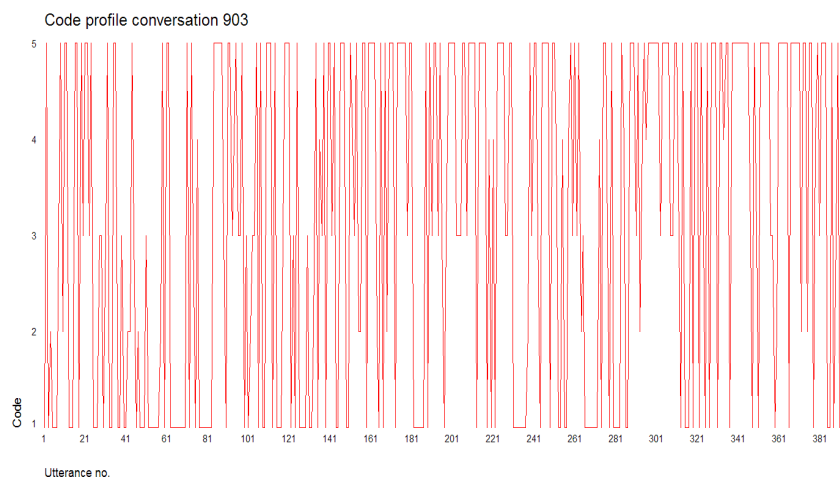
Figure 3.6. Code profile of conversation 903.

328

An entirely different conversation is no. 903, see figure 3.6. This profile is a good example of the most frequent pattern we observe among the students in the higher grades. The talking is intense, with more than 4 times the number of utterances compared to conversation 901 (in the same amount of time), and there is rapid switching going on. Furthermore, several utterances in succession are at level 3 (in casu: they are mixed). We also observe that the least frequently used level is level 2. This means that Danish-based utterances with Turkish loans are rather rare (or, to be sure, any other loans). Level 4, on the other hand, is not avoided by the speakers to the same extent. Finally, we can see that the rapid switching leads to a profile with no stretches of speech at the same level. It does not happen in this conversation that a code is chosen and then the speakers stick with that for while until another code is selected. The switching is constant.

The code profiles illustrate the development of the students' code choice patterns. These four examples show that the students develop not only skills in Danish, but also in manipulating the balance between Danish and Turkish. They can choose different combinations of features, and they obviously do so regardless of the traditional ascription of features to sets of features, "languages" such as Danish and Turkish. In the following analyses of the young speakers' code choice patterns and their development I will refer to such code profiles of the individual group conversations.

Qualitative analysis: Sequential analysis

The qualitative analyses I present in this part are methodologically inspired by conversation analysis, with important modifications, particularly regarding my understanding of the process. I will now discuss the aspects of conversation analysis which have been valuable to the Køge project, and also why the self understanding of conversation analysis is incompatible with the dimensions of the Køge project. Conversation analysis of spoken language data has gained prominence over the past decades, also in the study of bilingual interaction, cf. for instance Auer (1995, 1998) and Li

329

Wei (2002, 2005), see more about this below. Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998:14), in one of the key textbooks of conversation analysis, define the school as "the study of recorded, naturally occurring talk-in-interaction". There are several key concepts in this definition. Firstly, the recording is important. Conversation analysis needs data which is accessible for many repeated rounds of transcription and observation. This would of course be impossible without audio- or video-recordings. Secondly, conversation analysts emphasize that their data derive from what they call "natural" conversation. Sometimes conversation analysts use the word "authentic" or "authentically occurring" about their data. They see it as opposed to (i.e., better than) e.g. sociolinguistic settings such as role playing games and group conversations.

> The conversation analyst collects authentic data on audio- or video-tapes. One does not use laboratory data, where for example a group of people is asked to play a role play, and one does not use research interviews unless it is the structure of this particular form of conversation one wants to study (Nielsen 1999,12, my translation).

Steensig stresses that conversation analysis in its data collection has its focus on interaction which appears in people's daily lives and which has not been produced under any special conditions or experimental control (see also Huchby &Wooffitt 1998:6 on experimental settings).

> Conversation analysis stresses the importance of "naturally occurring" talk, meaning that the data stem from recordings of situations in people's daily lives where nothing has been done to favor certain types of behavior or otherwise "experimentally control" what is going on (Steensig 2001, 56, my translation).

Conversation analysts believe that their data represent what people "really" do with language, and such data can open a path to

understanding the order of language use in what is also called talk-in-interaction. This is a view of language data I can not follow. The use of the word "natural" about some language as opposed to other language is sheer nonsense (see in part 1 my discussion of this issue). The belief that some data types are more valuable because they were produced in a situation to which the participants were not invited by the linguist is also less than convincing. There is nothing more "authentic" about a job interview to which the applicant has been invited by the employer, than there is about a group conversation among friends who have been invited by a sociolinguist.

The third crucial element of Hutchby & Wooffitt's definition is the concept of sequentiality, i.e. how the participants' contributions to a conversation are sequentially organized.

> a key notion in CA is that those turns are not just serially ordered (that is, coming one after the other); they are sequentially ordered, which is to say that there are describable ways in which turns are linked together into definite sequences (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998, 38).

It is important to the self-understanding of conversation analysis that its method is inductive, that it carries with it no pre-conceived theories about what is going on in the conversations studied. Nielsen calls this method "a type of grounded theory" (1999:11, my translation), see also Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998:116). Conversation analysts have developed concepts about the activities that go on in verbal interaction, particularly with respect to the administration of turns. It is an important point that the analyst reveal what the speakers do, considered as acts.

> the aim is actually to come to an understanding of what the participants themselves take it they are doing; but in order to do that, we need to have some access to the interpretive and inferential resources which the participants are relying on. In other words, it is

331

absolutely necessary that conversation analysts are either members of, or have a sound understanding of, the culture from which their data have been drawn (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998, 113).

The concept of context in conversation analysis is narrow. It relates to the concept of turn and usually covers only the turns adjacent to the specific turn being analyzed. Thus the sequential turn-by-turn unfolding of a conversation guides the analyst, who aims to unfold the way in which the interlocutors produce understanding - and most importantly: show each other how they understand the development of the conversation. Broader contexts are only allowed into the analysis, if they are specifically introduced by the interlocutors themselves. Conversation analysis rejects what Hutchby & Wooffitt label the "container" view of contexts of interaction, i.e. contexts as empty units which people can walk into or out of. Instead they emphasize the "special character of speech exchange systems that participants can be found to orient to" (1998:147). The analyst knows that there is a world out there, and that it may have a relevance to any particular interaction. We may even have "intuition" about this wider context.

> But for conversation analysis, this intuitive view is inadequate. By relying on the private realm of individual awareness, it fails to account for the essentially public means by which participants display for one another their orientation to context (Hucthby & Wooffitt 1998,148)

In the self-understanding of conversation analysis the analyst approaches the data without pre-conceived of what is in it. There must be no pre-conceived hypothesis to be tested against the data. Instead data leads the analysis and the analyst. Particularly, the analyst does not take into consideration typical sociolinguistic information such as the speakers' socioeconomic status, gender, age, or ethnicity (Steensig 2001, 23). Nevertheless, the analyst relies on her or his own so-called "member's intuition", i.e.

332

linguistic and conversational knowledge and experience, which enables the analyst to understand what goes on in the data. The glaring discrepancy between these two claims is sapringly discussed in the literature.

Conversation analysis in other words does not take "context" in the wider sense of this word into consideration, unless it is brought into the conversation by the participants. The argument is partly that it is not relevant if the participants do not make it relevant in the situation through their (linguistic) actions, partly that we can not analyze a context in any relevant measure. In conversation analysis "context" is primarily a sequentially determined concept of the adjacency of turns, or it is a cover term for different institutional settings. "Context" in the sense of who are there, what they are like, how well they know each other, etc., is at best secondary.

The strength of conversation analysis is the detailed analysis of conversational sequencing. The results of conversation analyses typically present regular patterns of interactional contributions, particularly with respect to turn-taking patterns. Excellent examples of such analyses of Køge data are Steensig's and Cromdal's contributions (see about these in Part 2).

Conversation analysis emphatically rejects concepts like social status and power. Power is only relevant if it is made relevant in the conversation by the participants through their contributions. Otherwise it is rejected as an issue by conversation analysis.

> Rather than seeing contexts as abstract social forces which impose themselves on participants, conversation analysts argue that we need to begin from the other direction and see participants as knowledgeable social agents who actively display for one another (and hence also for observers and analysts) their orientation to the relevance of contexts (Hutchby & Woffitt 1998,147).

On the one hand it is assumed that with our knowledge of culture we know that adults are allowed to talk at will in the company of children, but not the other way round. But we have to observe this in conversations among children and adults in order to establish people's "orientation" to such a rule. However, we are in principle expected not to know or "have the pre-conceived theory" that some participants are children and others adults. We can only invoke such factors when the contributors do so themselves. To determine when interlocutors actually do invoke factors of a wider context the conversation analyst relies on her or his "member's intuition", i.e. the experience with language and conversation that enables the analyst to understand and determine what goes on. How it is possible to do so without also invoking one's knowledge of the surrounding world, i.e. the wider context, is not explained by conversation analysis linguists.

Conversation analysis has an ambivalent relationship with quantitative studies which I will leave aside here, but we still have to wonder what happens when people meet and produce their contributions to a conversation in a similar fashion as adults and children. If they do not themselves demonstrate to or explicitly show each other that there is a power difference between them, we may have difficulties in realizing what goes on. For instance, a speaker may not say very much, but nevertheless get her way throughout a discussion. There may not be any point in the conversation where the interlocutors "show" each other that they are "oriented" towards brought-along power differences, but the power differences are nevertheless there, and the eventual outcome of a discussion may be heavily influenced by them (as Olesen (2003) finds in her analysis of a grade 8 conversation among four boys, see also the section below about Murat's contributions to conversation 903). To understand that, an analyst would have to involve more than knowledge about the words being produced during the conversation, the gazes being thrown, the hands being moved, etc. An analysis which deals with conversations between interlocutors who know each other well before the conversation, and who have known each others for years, must accept that the

speakers will also bring shared histories into the conversation. Consequently the data accepted by conversation analysis is not all that is present and relevant for the interlocutors. This is particularly obvious for bilingualism studies.

Conversation analysis and bilingualism studies

Code-switching creates social meaning in the specific contexts in which it is used. Bilingual speakers do not only invoke values from a wider context, they also create, negotiate, and rearrange the values ascribed to the sets of features which provide the linguistic items in the course of interaction. The linguistic items involved may even stretch far beyond the two (as we remember, ideologically constructed) languages of the proto-typical bilingual conversation. Among poly-linguals there is no limit to where the speakers can get the features they use. Language users may use items from languages which they do not command, to which they do not have "access", etc. (see in Part 1 the discussion about poly-lingualism). Majority language speakers in conversation with speakers of minority languages, for instance youth groups in multilingual settings, will be aware of the minority languages and the values ascribed to them. If a majority member uses items from this range of languages, the borderline between "my" language and "your" language becomes blurred, and the values ascribed to the languages may be challenged:

> Crossing [...] focuses on code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ. It is concerned with switching into languages that are not generally thought to belong to you. This kind of switching, in which there is a distinct sense of movement across social or ethnic boundaries, raises issues of social legitimacy that participants need to negotiate, and that analysts could usefully devote more attention to (Rampton 1995, 280).

To reach this sociolinguistic understanding of multilingual

335

conversations the analyst not only relies on a "member's intuition" about the meaning (denotation or connotation) of the words and phrases used, but also on knowledge of the wider context, including the relations between the languages involved. There is a tradition in sociolinguistics, e.g. Rampton (1995), Sebba (1993), and Li Wei (1998, 2002), of employing a method of analysis which is indebted to conversation analysis. This approach has been systematically described by Auer (1984, 1995), who describes bilingualism

> from the perspective of the conversationalist. For him or her, it has its foremost reality in the interactive exchanges between the members of a bilingual speech community (as well as between them and monolingual outsiders), by which they display to each other, and ascribe to each other, their bilingualism. According to this perspective, it is the task of the linguist not to discover by tests or other methods something which is basically concealed from the naive language user, but to reconstruct the social processes of displaying and ascribing bilingualism (Auer 1995,115)

Auer argues that "The most important of all the definitional criteria for code-alternation is that of its interpretative reality. It is the users of the signs who decide on their status" (1995:117). Several terms and points in Auer's proposition rely directly to conversation analysis in its radical forms. But Auer does not take the radical position of conversation analysis.

> Its autonomy is only relative, however, particularly with regard to the social meaning of code-alternation, because in a given bilingual speech community, the conversational patterns of code-alternation and indeed the local meaning given to an instance of code-alternation in a particular context will vary as a function of the status of the codes in the repertoire of the community (Auer 1995,132).

Several of the contributions in Auer (1998a) discuss the relationship between specific code-switches and social relations outside the given conversation. Li Wei (1998, 2002, 2005) has also argued that conversation analysis may indeed help us understand code-switches, but that it is not enough. The knowledge of values, role expectations, norms, and other societal phenomena is necessary to fully understand the meaning of code-switches. Although he specifically states that his main purpose is "to make a case for the conversational-analytic approach to code-switching" he also concludes that

> Thus, the fact that a bilingual speaker has chosen to code-switch invites a more detailed, perhaps multi-layered analysis which can demonstrate that in addition to its capacity of highlighting the status of the ongoing talk, code-switching as a contextualisation cue has the capacity to 'bring about' higher-level social meanings such as the speakers' language attitudes, preferences, and community norms and values. While the need to avoid the wider contexts overshadowing the participants' procedures is apparent, it is equally important to prevent entanglement in over-detailed description of conversation structures without making any sensible inference (Li Wei 1998, 173).

Two concrete examples will illustrate these points. The first example in the following, example 3,12 is Steensig's (2000b, 2001a) conversation analysis-based description of one crucial excerpt from a conversation among four Køge grade 8 students. His analysis shows us what radical conversation analysis can offer. The examples following Steensig's, also from the Køge project, may serve to illustrate what radical conversation analysis can not provide.

Steensig finds that lines 1-4 of example 3,12 form a forerunner of a more important project (the layout of Esen's great idea), a quite common phenomenon when speakers introduce a story or an

announcement. The forerunner calls for the interlocutors to signal their willingness to listen. Formally the story can not go on unless there is a signal of acceptance from the other speakers. However, Selma flatly refuses to go along, and Asiye does not offer the acceptance Esen needs. So in line 8 Esen addresses the proposal to Erol, and he accepts it, and Esen can go ahead. Steensig argues that the course of events is very dense in lines 6 and the following lines, and that the conversation analysis approach can show us how and what happens:

> Line 6 consists of two parts, a "*Nej*" ('no') plus an explicit rejection, "*vi vil ikk' høre det*" ('we don't want to hear it'). The *nej* does not seem to be constructed to stand alone, it has no independent stress and the string, "*nej vi vil ikk'*", is spoken as one unit. The rejection is constructed by reusing Esen's words from line 1, "*Vil I gerne høre det*"", with only the syntactic changes needed to turn it into a declarative clause and to change the subject of the clause, plus a replacement of the softening adverbial "*gerne*" (literally, 'willingly') with the negation, "*ikk'*" (Steensig 2001a, 60).

> Asiye speaks in line 7. Her utterance starts after the beginning of Selma's turn, and by that time Selma has uttered enough for the listeners (including Asiye) to realize that she is going to say *nej* (English *no*). Although Selma is still in the process of uttering her contribution, Asiye is - by the analyst - considered to have information enough to be able to form, adjust, or redress her own reaction to Esen's original question. Line 7 begins with *det kommer an* (English *it depends*). In Danish this can not be a clause on its own but projects a complement stating the condition on which "it depends", where *på* (English *on*) is the required preposition and *hva' det er* (English *what it is*) is a more or less predictable complement, given the situation (Steensig 2001a, 60).

This means that Esen, when she sets out to talk again, has still more information on which to base her reaction to Selma's and Asiye's reactions. Both have produced so much that Esen is in a position to predict the general gist of their reactions - they will be negative. This gives her the opportunity to address yet another member of the group, namely Erol. She can also design her proposal to solivit his expectance. Steensig finds that she uses a switch into Turkish to achieve Erol's acceptance. Addressing her request directly to Erol is, according to Steensig, a means to achieve the same end. Steensig also observes that Esen forms her utterance to be heard not only while the others are in the process of uttering theirs, but also for a little while after they have finished.Example 3,12:

Conversation 801 in Steensig's CA transcription [retr.11/01:8 - 2.20 min]

(Steensig 2000b, 40).

```
1 ESEN:    Jeg [har en] ide,=Vil I gerne hø:re det.
  eng:     I   [have an] idea,=Would you(PWR) like to hear it.
2 EROL:        [(nu,) ]
  eng:           (now)
  com:     ((first 4 words spoken enthusiastically))

3 pause: (0.8)

4 ESEN:    Altså en ide:.
  eng:     you know an idea
  com:     ((distinct, calm voice))

5 pause: (0.3)

6 SELMA: Ne[j vi vil ikk'[ hø:re] det,   ]
  eng:     N[o we will not [ hear] it,   ]
           N[o we don't want[ to hear] it,   ]
7 ASIYE:    [Det kommer an[ på   ]hva' det]er]
  eng:       It depends   [ on   ]what it ]is ]
8 ESEN:                         [   Di]nle    E]r ]ol,Dinle.=
  eng:                                Listen(SING) Erol, Listen
  com:     ((all three talk calmly))

9 EROL:    =Tamam Bakıyorum.
  eng:      Right  I'm-looking
  com:     ((calm, friendly voice))
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Thus Steensig analyzes this excerpt as a struggle for control which is won by Esen. After this she is entitled to present her idea. And he argues:

Her entitlement can, of course, be assumed to be effective as a result of the setting; the participants are gathered to glue pictures onto a poster and make a story. But conversation analysts want to be able to show in the data what kind of entitlements, rights, obligations and relations are at work (Steensig 2001a, 64).

Through the conversation analysis presented by Steensig we realize how Esen wins her verbal fights, how she gets her way in this excerpt. Steensig's analysis with its care for detail and substantial observations is certainly very convincing. And Steensig is right in claiming that he has been able to show in his data (or what he accepts as his data) how Esen wins. What we do not know, and can not see through conversation analysis, is how, not to say why, Erol bows to her wishes immediately without any attempt to align with the two other girls. But if we involve more data, we may get a clue. Madsen (2001b, 2002) has analyzed the open conflicts occurring in a number of group conversations in the Køge Project. The conflicts do not always end in a discernable result, but those who do have been analyzed by Madsen with respect to their outcome. Madsen has found cases where one party in a conflict turns out the winner and another party loses. She has also found conflicts that have ended in compromise. The total results she has calculated for each speaker. The figures for some of these speakers appear in table 3.7.

Esen is a strong participant in discussions, as Jacobsen (2002, 2003) has also demonstrated. In the grade 7 conversation she wins 9 out of the 10 conflicts in which she involves herself. Her success rate is the exact opposite Asiye's who loses all her 8 conflicts. The results are very unevenly distributed among the girls. The results are more evenly distributed among the boys.

Grade	2	2	2	2	7	7	7	7
Turns	Total	Won	Lost	Compromise	Total	Won	Lost	Compromise
Esen	11	10	1	0	10	9	1	0
Selma	11	7	4	0	6	3	3	0
Asiye	9	7	2	0	8	0	8	0
Murat	9	7	1	1	19	13	4	2
Bekir	15	7	6	2	20	9	7	4
Erol	15	5	8	2	20	5	12	3

Table 3.7. Conflict outcomes in group conversations in grade 2 and 7, results for three girls (Esen, Selma, and Asiye), and three boys (Murat, Bekir, and Erol).

At other grade levels the results Madsen finds are similar or even more pronounced. Esen always wins most of the open conflicts in which she is a part, while Asiye will lose most of the ones in which

she is a part (and she is not even the weakest girl of the Køge project). For the boys there is less of a consistent pattern. It is noteworthy that compromises are more frequent among the boys than among the girls. How this is played out in the conversations can be observed in example 3,13, which is from a conversation in grade 2. The transcription follows the Childes conventions (MacWhinney 1995).

Example 3,13:
*CAN: *yapmayı verin sizde siz yapacak mısınız.*
%eng: *then don't make it will you make it*
*ESE: så skrid hvis du ikke vil lave vi gider sgu ikke at have dig hvis du snakker.
%eng: then fuck off if you don't want to work we bloody do not want you here if you talk
*CAN: bebebe.
%com: nonsense
*ERO: det er rigtigt nok.
%eng: it is so
%com: Emine hums
*EMI: ej skal vi snakke altid [//] dansk hvad.
%eng: hey must we always speak Danish
*ERO: nej.
%eng: no
*ESE: nej men vi skal heller ikke snakke vi skal bare lave.
%eng: no but we must not talk we are going to work
*EMI: jeg snakker altid tyrkisk <så.> [>]
%eng: then I will speak Turkish
*ERO: *<kırt>* [<] *kırt kırt cart curt curt cart <cart cart.>* [>]
%com: (Turkish) sounds for cutting with a pair of scissors

Canan in the first line asks with a bit of criticism whether Esen is (really) going to do some (unidentifiable) part of the task. Canan asks in Turkish. Esen is obviously annoyed by this question, she seems to take it as an insult, perhaps an attack on her. So she reprimands with a very strong (colloquial, but not tabooed) expression in Danish. Canan, apparently unable to meet this level

342

of sharpness, resorts to meaningless sounds. Erol hastens to back Esen, in Danish, sensing which way the wind is blowing. Emine then throws in a diversifier: she asks - in Danish - if it is really necessary to speak Danish. Erol joins her, again seconding the last strong girl who has spoken. Esen then also says it is not necessary to speak Danish, but with the qualifying statement that it is not necessary to talk at all. Emine follows up her success by stating, in Danish again, that from now on she will speak Turkish. Erol again reacts, this time with a clear demonstration of how actively he is working with their task (cutting and pasting). Seen in this light, Erol's behavior in the grade 8 conversation becomes a matter of habit - or perhaps self-defence. If he has observed often enough what happens to attempts like the one Canan launches in the beginning of example 3,13, he has a good motivation to stay on the side of the strong part, as he certainly does here, or of course he can keep a low profile.

The conversation analysis can show us the means by which Esen gets her way under certain circumstances, but not in others. As we can see that Esen almost never does not get her way, we have a good indication that she may get her way even in circumstances where there are no observable signs of it (at least no signs that the conversation analyst will accept). There is good reason to believe that her strength is part of the wider context of any conversation involving these students. And there is good reason to believe that this is a crucial element in the evaluation of the situation as it is formed by the interlocutors participating in the situation. It is hard to think of Erol entering the situation of the grade 8 conversation of example 3,12 entirely oblivious of the many times he has witnessed - or felt - Esen's strength. The sociolinguistically oriented analysis thus gives us a frame of reference for understanding Erol's behavior in example 3,12 which is totally absent from the conversation analysis. Esen may have achieved (or been ascribed by Erol and others) an identity as a tough bitch. Such identities abound everywhere, but they are not very often brought into conversations involving people to whom they have been ascribed. Blommaert (2005, 205) dryly remarks that very few

people "self-qualify as 'arrogant bastards', 'liars', or 'cowards'". There is a difference between such identities and the ones people inhabit, but all of them involve semiotic processes.

> Such processes are semiotic, of course, but they need not be interpersonal, and this invalidates the claim of Conversation Analysis that identities are not relevant until interactionally oriented towards by immediate participants in conversations. Identities can be there long before the interaction starts and thus condition what can happen in such interaction (Blommaert 2005, 206).

This is of course also a question of different data. The comparison of a large body of text is precisely what characterized classical sociolinguistics, and this is an advantage of that approach. The advantage of the conversation analysis-inspired approach is that it can go into close detail with the individual small text bit. The advantage of conversation analysis is on the micro-level (see also Steensig 2001b), why the advantage of traditional sociolinguistics is at the macro-level. I see no reason not to employ both perspectives in studies of language use.

Conversation analysis provides us with an excellent tool for managing the sequential analysis of interaction (in general, and not to forget, in particular convincing analyses of some of the Køge data). However, it offers absolutely nothing with respect to understanding what goes on among interactants beyond a very superficial level of linguistic structure. There is not much *why* to the *why that now?*.

Quantitative analysis 2: Development of code choice practices

By means of the Childes program *freq* and the SPSS package of statistical programs I have calculated the distribution of utterances over the categories of code choice. This can be done conversation by conversation, person by person, year by year, and in many other

344

ways. The figures give us an overview of the development of code choice practices throughout the school career of the involved students. Figure 3.8 shows the Danish-based utterances as a percentage of all utterances in group conversations involving Turkish-Danish students from grade 1 through grade 9. The figure shows that the percentage of Danish-based utterances is very close to zero by grade 1, and it increases to about 80 % during the nine years. The development is not even, however. The share of Danish-based utterances is low during the first four years. Between grade 4 and grade 5 the percentage of Danish-based utterances increases, but between grade 5 and grade 6 it decreases again. From grade 6 to grade 8 there is a considerable increase, again followed by a small decrease between grade 8 and grade 9. This uneven development does not change the fact that the major change between grade 1 and grade 9 is the vastly increased share of Danish-based utterances. In group conversation among Turkish-Danish grade school students attending school in Denmark, it would be theoretically possible to speak Turkish and only Turkish throughout (and this is in fact a frequently used argument among educational decision makers against allowing the use of non-prestigious minority languages in classrooms), but it is far from the reality we can observe here.

It is obvious that the amount of Danish spoken by these students was much larger in grade 9 than what it was in grade 1. Furthermore there is a general tendency to speak more Danish as time goes, although this is not an unbroken development. For this to be true, firstly there would have to be less Danish in grade 5 or more Danish in grade 6, and secondly there would have to be less Danish in grade 8 or more Danish in grade 9.

The uneven development of the share of Danish-based utterances between grade 4 and grade 8 which appears from figure 3.8 can to a large extent be explained by the combination of students in the group conversations year by year. This becomes obvious in figure 3.9. In figure 3.9 the conversations each year are categorized as either girls-only conversations, boys-only conversations or gender-

mixed conversations. Figure 6 shows how the boys in boys-only groups begin using more than just the occasional Danish-based utterance earlier than the girls, but the boys in boys-only group never reach a point where Danish-based utterances amount to more than half of the utterances they produce, not even by grade 9. The girls in girls-only groups practically only use Turkish-based utterances except for an occasional Danish-based structure, until and including grade 6. Between grade 6 and grade 7 there is a major change in the code choice of the girls involved in girls-only group conversations. By grade 7, and through grade 9, Danish-based utterances are the vast majority of all utterances they produce. This change can not be explained by the girls suddenly learning Danish. We can see in the gender-mixed conversations that the girls use as many Danish-based utterances there as the boys do. This is evident in grade 5 where we coincidentally only have gender-mixed conversations.

This does not mean that the girls learn Danish later than the boys. As we can observe from the graph for the gender-mixed conversations, the girls do use Danish when they are in the company of boys. By coincidence we have only gender-mixed conversations in grade 5, and this year the proportion of Danish-based utterances is relatively high for both gender, but particularly for the girls. At this age the girls typically speak Turkish when they are among girls, but Danish together with Turkish when they are among boys also. This may add another dimension to the concepts of we-code and they-code (Gumperz 1982). If these concepts have a meaning for the speakers here, it may be that the girls reserve Turkish as a we-code for the situations which they really think of as a "we"-situation, i.e. excluding boys. The boys' we-code is neither Danish not Turkish, but rather the use of both. Another possibility is that the girls reserve one we-code for one type of we-situation, namely in a group with only girls, and this code is Turkish. For another we-situation, with another type of group, in casu with both boys and girls from their school (or perhaps young male and female minority members), the girls use another we-code, namely both Danish and Turkish. If so, the girls have developed

skills in handling different types of social groups with different linguistic means. The girls choose to express themselves in a way which shows them as members of the group in whose company they are at a given time. In other words, they construct a girl-group in one way, and a youth-group in another way.

In the older grades the girls use a higher percentage of Danish than the boys do. In grade 8 there are no boys only groups, and we see that the percentage of Danish rises in the gender-mixed conversations compared to the boys-only conversations. The boys and the girls use roughly the same amount of Danish in the gender-mixed conversations. This means that the boys now choose more Danish in gender-mixed conversations than in boys-only conversations. This may mean, as was possible among the girls in grade 5, that the boys with their language choice construct their relation to and belonging to different groups with different linguistic means. By grade 8 the boys have developed the skills which we observed among the girls in grade 5, cf. figure 3.9.

We can make an observation which is trivial among sociolinguists, but often comes as a surprise to decision makers, educators, and minoritiesed themselves. The use of mixed language, in casu the use of Turkish features together with Danish (and English, etc.) features is not a result of lack of linguistic competence. We have further evidence for this. Figure 3.10 shows the percentage of Danish-based utterances in the minority students' contributions to group conversations involving both minority and majority students. In grade 2 about one-third of the contributions are non-Danish-based (in fact Turkish-based). By grade 4-5 this share has dropped to about one-tenth, a good part of which are English-based (see figure 3.12). After grade 5 the percentage of non-Danish-based utterances remains low, 5 % or lower. In other words, the minority students have at a relatively early time developed linguistic skills enough to participate in Danish. They have also developed social skills enough to adjust their code choice according to the situation, in particular the other participants, whether this be the other participants' skills, or the other particpants' expectations, or both.

347

Figure 3.11 is an overview over the intersentential code-switches in the minority students' group conversations. It shows the percentage of all utterance which are based on a different code than the immediately preceding utterance. Again the Childes program does not allow for an exact illustration of the course of the conversation. I have used the *kwal* program of the Childes package. *Kwal* analyzes the utterances in the sequence they have been transcribed. The outcome will therefore show what utterances are based on another code than the immediately preceding utterance in the transcription. The utterances must be ordered consecutively by the Childes transcription, also when they are simultaneous. Therefore there may be instances where an utterance is categorized by the program as an intersentential code-switch when it is in fact only different in base language from a simultaneously produced utterance which just happens to be transcribed as the first one of the two. The problem is not serious, as there are not too many instances of such simultaneity with different codes, but we must be aware that figure 3.11 is not absolutely exact.

With this said it is still quite obvious that the grade 5 conversations differ considerably from the other years. Until grade 5 the intersentential code-switching never gets above 10 %, but in grade 5 it is about 40 %. After that it decreases again and hovers around 20-25 % during the remaining years. This indicates that grade 5 is a crucial point in the development of languaging practices among the minority students. The observation I have made in figure 3.9 supports this interpretation. There are quite intense negotiations of code in grade 5, and after grade 5 the students find a level of code-switching which they maintain throughout their school years.
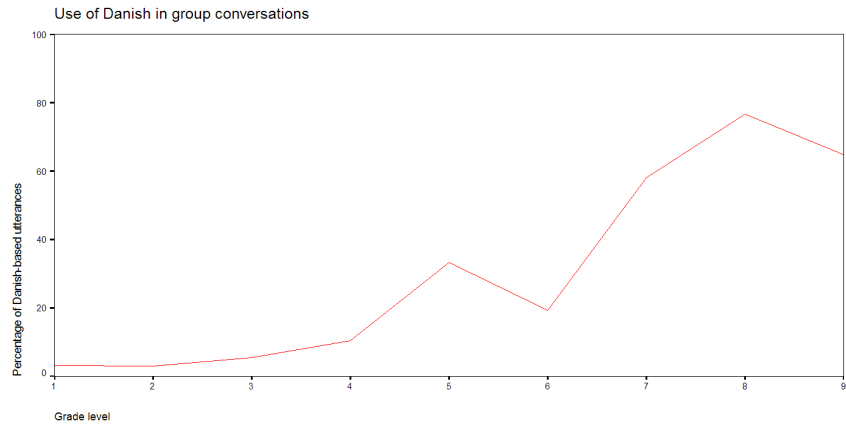
Figure 3.8. Danish-based utterances as a percentage of all utterances in the minority students' group conversations, grade 1-9.
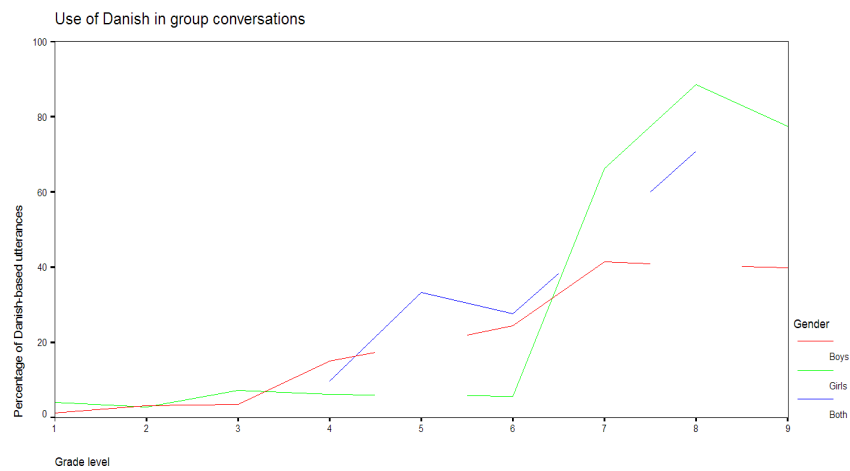
Figure 3.9. Danish-based utterances as a percentage of all utterances in the minority students' group conversations, grade 1-9, different group compositions.

349
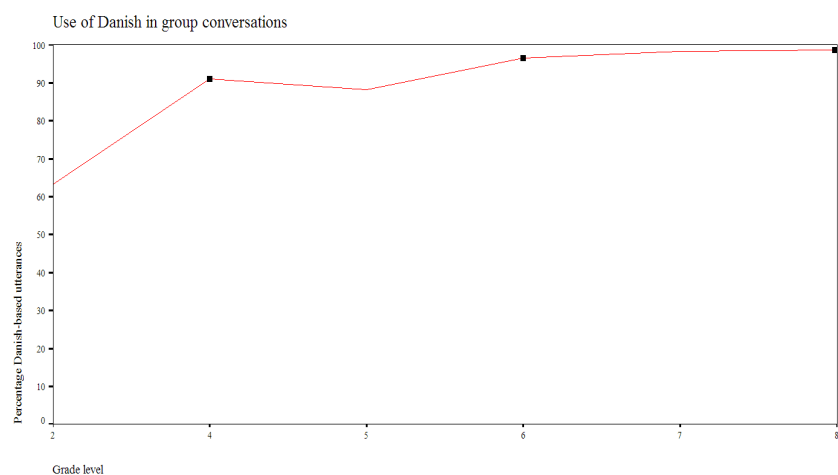
Figure 3.10. Danish-based utterances as a percentage of all utterances produced by minority students in group conversations with majority students, grade 2-8.
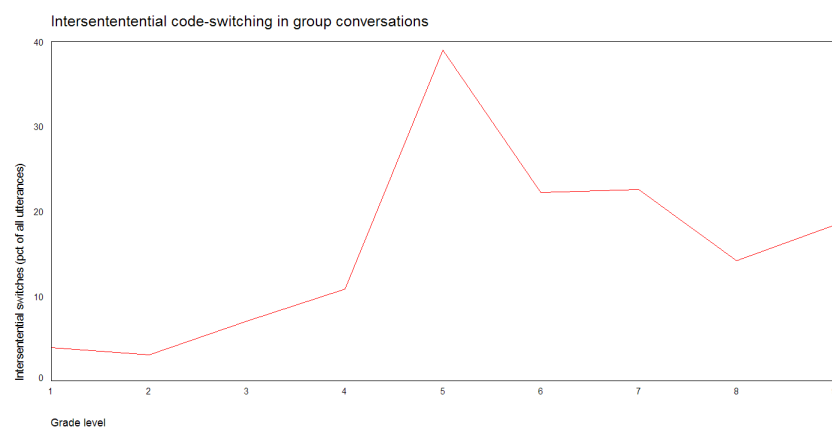
Figure 3.11. Utterances involving intersentential code-switching, as a percentage of all utterances in minority students' group conversations, grade 1-9.

350
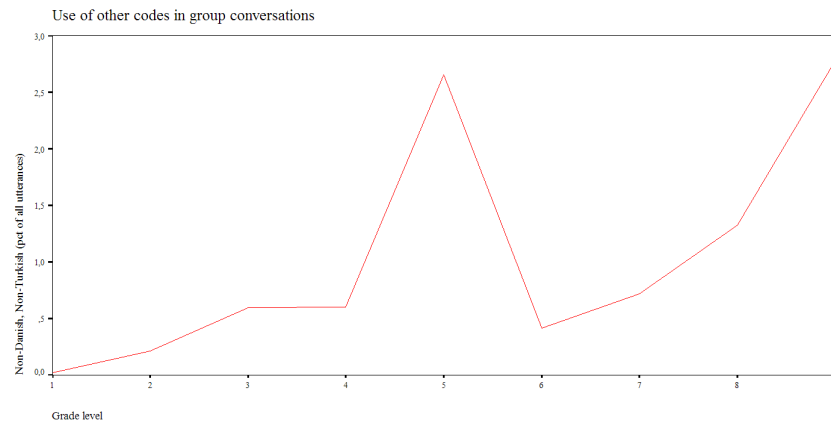
Figure 3.12. Utterances based on other languages than Turkish and Danish, as a percentage of all utterances in minority students' group conversations.
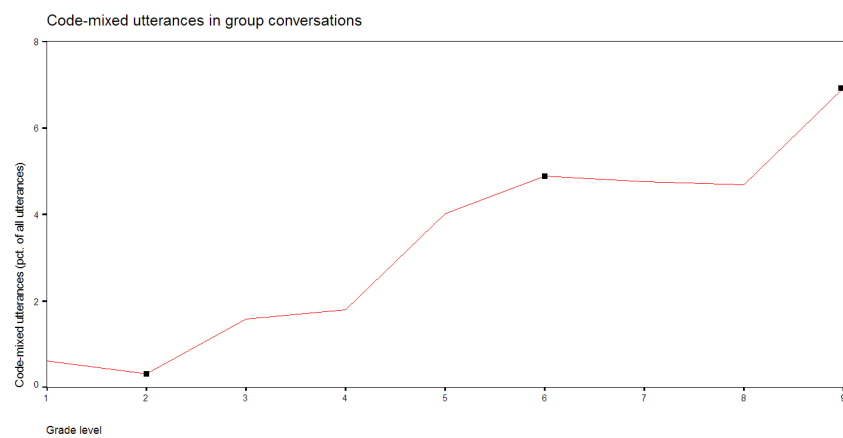
Figure 3.13. Utterances involving elements from more than one code, as a percentage of all utterances in minority students' group conversations, grade 1-9.

351
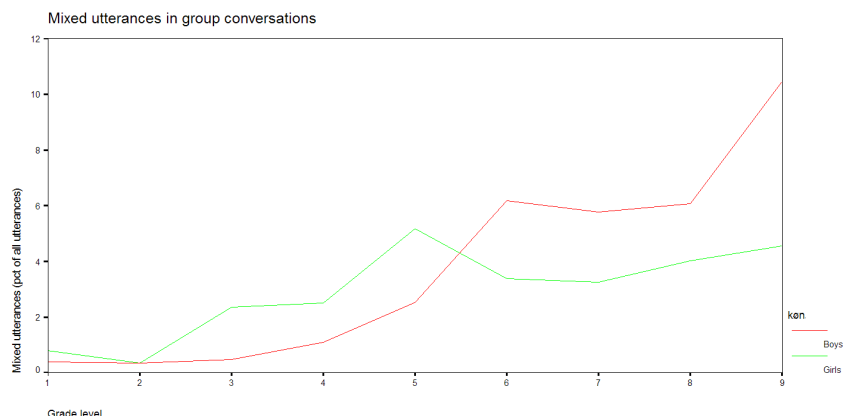
Figure 3.14. Utterances involving elements from more than one code, as a percentage of all utterances in minority students' group conversations, grade 1-9, girls and boys respectively.

Figure 3.12. points in the same direction. It shows the percentage of utterances which involve other languages than Turkish and Danish, most frequently English. "Other languages" is in this connection a crude term which covers traditional ideologically constructed "languages", not varities such as Sealand Danish. The graph in figure 3.12 represents utterances based on other languages than Turkish and Danish *plus* utterances based on Turkish or Danish with loans from third languages. In other words, some of the utterances represented in figure 3.9 are also represented in figure 3.12, etc. The percentage of utterances involving third languages is very low until grade 5, increasing from nothing in grade 1 to about 0.5 % in grade 4. In grade 5 the percentage increases to 2 %. After grade 5 it decreases again to roughly 0.5 %. In the following years it gradually increases again until it reaches its highest level, at 2.5 % in grade 9. This is a further indication that there is something special going on in grade 5. A possible interpretation could be that this is the year when the students as a group discover the many and varied uses of code-switching. There will be more about that below in the section about the grade 5 conversations.

I have also calculated the percentage of utterances which are "mixed", i.e. they involve intrasentential code-switches. Figure 3.13 shows that the share of intrasentential code-switches in the minorty students' group conversations increases gradually from almost nothing in the first years to about 8 % in grade 9. This graph does not include utterances with loans. Figure 3.14 is based on the same calculations, but separately for girls and boys. The development does not follow the same pattern for the two gender. Until grade 5 there is little mixing to be found among the boys, and more among the girls. After grade 5 the boys use more mixed utterances than the girls, and increasingly so through grade 9. The girls' use of mixed utterances is more stable, and with a short increase in grade 5 stays around 3-4 %. When we combine the observations in figure 3.9 and figure 3.14 we get an impression of the girls as much more frequent users of Danish than the boys, and the boys as users of both languages, Turkish slightly more than Danish.

These quantitative analyses show an important and pervasive development of the students' relationship to language over their nine years of grade school. Their relationships to the individual ideological constructed languages of Turkish and Danish are dramatically altered. In addition, features ascribed to other sets of features than Turkish and Danish enter into the students' language use.

There are some general tendencies. Danish is rare in the first few years, but becomes increasingly more frequently used, and among the girls becomes the dominant language. At one point, other languages, i.e. other ideological constructedd sets of features, appear in the language use of the students, first and foremost English. Code-switching, both intersententially and intrasententially, becomes increasingly common throughout the nine years. Some of the phenomena related to code choice seem to peak in grade 5, which also appears to mark the beginning of the differences in the development of girls and boys.

353

The use of other languages as well as the simultaneous use of features from more than one language increase, indicating that the students integrate the linguistic features they access, more and more through the years.

In order to take a closer look at these developmental phenomena I analyze the code choice practices of the students grade level by grade level in the following. Most of my analysis concerns the languaging of the students in group conversations among minority students. Occasionally I include material from conversations which involve both majority and minority students. I also briefly compare with these conversations, and conversations among majority students.

Code-choice in grade 1

In grade 1 only few Danish-based utterances appear in the conversations between the Turkish-speaking children, and only few code-switches. In the altogether 10 group conversations involving Turkish-speakers, there are only few instances, and few types, of simultaneous use of features ascribed to different languages. There are some intra-sentential code-switches. They are to a large extent either tag switches or borrowed words and expressions. Almost all the students use tag switches such as in excerpt 1,1.

Excerpt 1,1:
*MUR: nej *seni bekleyip duruyorum deminden beri.*
%eng: no, *I have been waiting for you ever since.*

Among the borrowed units are several types. A part are derogatory words and other expressions which are regularly used in verbal fights, for example *hold din kæft, dumme, ti stille* (English: *shut your mouth, fool, shut up*). They are heard especially among the boys, see excerpt 1,2.

Excerpt 1,2:
*ERO: hold din kæft hold din kæft *olur şimdilik olur birde bizim sesimizi essah oraya çekti mi.*
%eng: shut your mouth, *it will be okay, it will be okay now, has he really recorded our voices there?*

We can observe that loans are sometimes used without syntactical integration, see excerpt 1,3.

Excerpt 1,3:
*BEK: *he manyak.*
%eng: *yes fool.*
*ERO: *manyak* <dumme *manyak*> [>] *manyak* dumme *manyak.*
%eng: *fool* stupid *fool fool* stupid *fool.*
*ALI: <*sensin manyak.*> [<]

355

%eng: *you are a fool yourself.*

The intonation of Erol's utterance shows us that the Danish adjective *dumme* is not here an adjective subordinated to *manyak,* but rather an independent epithet. *Manyak* is by the way not necessarily a noun in Turkish.This utterance of Erol's is a series of six derogatory words addressed to a classmate. This classmate, Ali, is not very pertubed by the exclamation, he returns the compliment with no nonsense. In addition to the epithets the students loan Danish words for objects and phenomena which belong to the everyday of a Danish grade school: *saks, lim, computer* (English: *scissors, glue, computer).* Some of these loans are used by several of the students and on more than one occasion. They are so to say in the process of being established as Danish loanwords in the mother tongue Turkish of these students. One loan is particularly interesting, see excerpt 1,4.

Excerpt 1,4:
*BEK: *len* lim*inizi* låne *edeyim benimki olmuyor.*
%eng: *man can I* borrow *your* glue, *mine is no good.*

It is a widespread practice among Turkish speaking minorities in the western world to borrow words, especially nouns and verb in the infinitive, from the local majority language, and use these words in combination with the Turkish verb *etmek* or the verb *yapmak,* see above in the section about Code categories. What we can observe in Bekir's appeal for a *gluestick* is a construction which seems to go against the tendency among Turkish speaking minorities in Europe (see the section on Code choice and code-switching in Part 1), as he uses a form of   *etmek,* not a form of *yapmak.* However, loans with *yapmak* also appear, such as in excerpt 1,5.

Excerpt 1,5:
*SEL: *tam* prøve *yaptın mı.*
%eng: *have you really* tri*ed.*

Some of the expressions in Danish are formed as sentences, as *jeg ved det godt* (English *I know it*). This expression may have been borrowed as an entity (in acquisition studies terminology: a *chunk*). But it may of course also be constructed as a sentence with Danish syntax and all. The boys seem to produce very little which is not most likely borrowed as a chunk. This is not the case among the girls, however. Girls do construct utterances with Danish syntax which can not have been acquired as unanalyzed entities, i.e. which have been designed and constructed by the speaker in the interaction.

Excerpt 1,6:
*CAN:	*çok pis Emine çok pis o kız bütün bize okullara anlatım.*
%eng:	*she is very silly, Emine, that girl, very silly, you have told all of us, you have told the (whole) school.*
*AYL:	Canan er spastiker hun gør.
%eng:	Canan is a spastic, she does.
%com:	Aylin, Nevin, and Merva laugh
*CAN:	Aylin er syg.
%eng:	Aylin is sick.
%com:	Canan, Aylin, and Nevin laugh.
*AYL:	Nevin er spastiker hun kan ikke snakke dansk hun er [//] hun er spasser dum hun er svin.
%eng:	Nevin is a spastic she can not speak Danish she is [//] she is a spastic stupid she is swine
*NEV:	Aylin er stor ej *Aylin büyük diyorum* Aylin dum <og svin.> [>]
%eng:	Aylin is big, oh *I am saying that Aylın is big*, Aylin is stupid and swine.
*CAN:	*<Aylin ben> [<] bunu aldım vıy vıy vıy vay ay.*
%eng:	*Aylin I have taken this vıy vıy vıy vay oh.*

The construction *Canan er spastiker, hun gør* has not been copied from a mother tongue speaker. Aylin here generalizes the rule that allows the use of the verb to be replaced by a form of *gøre*. Aylin

does not, however, take into consideration, or perhaps she does not know, the fact that this replacement specifically is not possible with the verb *være*. Such a generalization is typical of interlangauge, and generally it is considered an indication that the learner has acquired a higher level of acquisition than the level indicated by chunks. The sequence we are looking at here is characterized by stereotypical constructions of the type NAME + *er* + epithet, but that does not change the fact that the utterances are actively produced in this situation. The girls do produce the utterances independently on the spot.

It is further clear that the situation involves a power struggle. Aylin comes out of it strongest - the struggle is no success for Nevin. Aylin's success is not least helped by the fact that she can deliver more epithets, and she has the little point *hun kan ikke snakke dansk*. Whether or not the girls generally think of Danish as somebody else's language and not theirs, it is certainly placed as such by Aylin in this conversation. In Gumperz' terms Danish is here placed as a *they*-code with the according status attached to such a function. Included in this is that Danish can be used as a resource in an ongoing power struggle.

This exchange between the girls is also language play with the Danish epithets as the focus of the play. The reactions to the two first utterances in the exchange show that they are precisely taken to be play. But Nevin's last contribution fails, however. She does not contribute by building further on top of the previous contribution and add new epithets, and the play stops. This little exchange bears a certain similarity to the phenomenon which Labov (1972) has labeled sounding, a kind of language play in which the participants subject each other to increasingly insulting remarks. Teasing as such is not at all unknown in studies of language use among grade school students, and contrary to conventional wisdom, it is as prevalent among girls as among boys (Lytra (2007), Pichler (2006), Tholander (2002), Madsen (2002) to mention a few examples).

Danish elements are regularly subjected to language play, among the boys mainly as loans or chunks, see excerpt 1,7.

Excerpt 1,7:
*MEH: <Ole Bole> [<] da la la.
%eng: [a character from a children's rhyme] da la la

The girls construct complete sentences which are Danish, as we have seen, but also in other ways, as in excerpt 1,8.

Excerpt 1,8:
*CAN: der er nogen der græder.
%eng: there is someone who is crying.
*MER: *kim* græder.
%eng: *who* is crying?

Merva's reaction to Canan's utterance shows us that she can analyze it syntactically. For Merva it is therefore not a chunk, although in this exchange it might be for Canan. Excerpt 1,9 also contains a construction which can not be an unanalyzed unit.

Excerpt 1,9:
*CAN: *ay ben var ya mutfak odasını aldım bak mutkakı*
               aldım şurdan da odaya salona çıkılıyor.
%eng: *ay I have taken the kitchen room, I have taken*
               the kitchen, from there one can walk into the
               room, into the living room.
*MER: kom lige jeg har ikke nogen saks.
%eng: come here, I don't have any scissors.
*NEV: oh.
%eng: oh.
*AYL: *mutkak değil mut, mutfak.*
%eng: *it is not called mutkak, it is called mutfak*
               (kitchen).

In excerpt 1,9 we also observe that the utterance addressed to the project worker is in Danish. In Gumperz' terms this is a situational

code-switch. There are only few examples in grade one where a Danish utterance is met with another Danish utterance. The series of epithets in excerpt 1,6 is the most elaborate one.

In excerpt 1,10 most of the utterances may be unanalyzed chunks which are repeated, but Aylın's reply to Canan's question *hvad er der nu* is not.

Excerpt 1,10:
*AYL:	hej.
%com:	speaks directly into the microphone, as if addressing the project worker.
%eng:	hi.
*CAN:	hvad er der nu
%eng:	what is it now.
*AYL:	der var noget galt kom lige engang # der var noget galt.
%eng:	there was something wrong, come here # there was something wrong.
*CAN:	ja kom nu.
%eng:	yes, come now.
*AYL:	kom lige <engang.> [>]
%eng:	come here.
*NEV:	<ja kom> [<>] nu
%eng:	yes, come now.
*MER:	*<ne oldu.> [<]*
%eng:	*what has happened?*
*CAN:	der er nogen der græder.
%eng:	there is someone who is crying.
*MER:	*kim* græder.
%eng:	*who* is crying?
*CAN:	kom nu.
%eng:	come now.
*NEV:	*kim ağlıyor kız.*
%eng:	*who is crying, girl*?
*AYL:	der var galt.
%eng:	there was wrong.

360

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*MER:          la la la.
*CAN:          ja kom nu <for helvede.> [>]
%eng:          yes, hell, come now.
*NEV:          <kom nu.> [<]
%eng:          come now.
*AYL:          kom nu for helvede din lille ko.
%eng:          hell, come now, you little cow.
```

A part of the Danish utterances are obviously addressed to the project worker, who can not hear them. The students speak straight into the microphone at short distance, or they address the project worker by name, or they call, with *kom nu* or *kom lige*. There are also more equivocal examples, for instance when the participants comment what is happening in the situation, perhaps with a fake address out of the room. In excerpt 1,11 Esen shows that she is aware of the tape recording going on, and she comments on the previous passage of the conversation. She has finished a story with the addition *Esen told this story* in Turkish. The others tell her that she should not tell stories, because the project worker is going to listen to the tape, and she reacts with a remark in Danish which is (fictitiously) addressed to me.

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Excerpt 1,11:
*ESE:          Normann jeg sagde en historie da na na hi.
%eng:          Normann I said a story da na na hi.
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In the same way the addressee of Aylın's last remark in the example above is not clear (*hell, come now, you little cow*). It ends a series of attempts to draw the attention of the project worker, and this happens with a broken taboo. This accelerates Canan's *yes, hell, come now*. There is not one example in the material, or other observations made during the project, that students address adults directly in this way. Therefore this example indicates that they have become aware that the project worker can not hear them, and they play with transgressing this linguistic norm.

It is characteristic of the conversations in grade 1 that they are

heavily dominated by Turkish. Danish does appear in all of them, but primarily as borrowed individual words or expressions, or as (perhaps faked) addresses to an adult Dane. In several cases the participants play with the Danish, including when they transgress borders. This is probably the most general observation to be made in the grade 1 conversations that Turkish is used for every purpose, and Danish is used for playing. This play is involved in the way, in which the participants build their social relations with each other. The only exception is that Danish is used in interaction with an adult Dane. There are indications that the students can exploit the status of the Danish language as a *they*-code, but by and large we witness Turkish-medium conversations with a few inserted Danish units. The code-switches can be characterized as language play or, when the interaction turns to an adult Dane, as situational code-switches.

The code profile of conversation 122 shows a typical picture of the grade 1 conversations. On the vertical axis are marked the students' code-choice at the level of utterance. 1 denotes entirely Danish utterances, 2 Danish utterances with Turkish loans, 3 utterances which include a code-switch, 4 denoted Turkish-based utterances with Danish loans, and 5 denotes entirely Turkish utterances. On the horizontal axis are marked the utterances from the first to the last utterance in the conversation, regardless of who has made them. This axis is therefore a time axis. Thus the profile gives a picture of how the conversation develops in terms of language choice. The illustration has some weaknesses, the most important one being that it can not show when utterances are completely or partly simultaneous. Nevertheless we can learn quite a bit about differences between conversations from profiles of this type, as we shall see. The most obvious characteristic of the code profile of conversation 122 is that almost the entire conversation is in Turkish, i.e. the graph stays on level 5 of the vertical axis, with a few utterances at level 4. In this way it is typical of the grade 1 conversations.

Code profile conversation 122

Code profile conversation 125

Code profile conversation 133

363
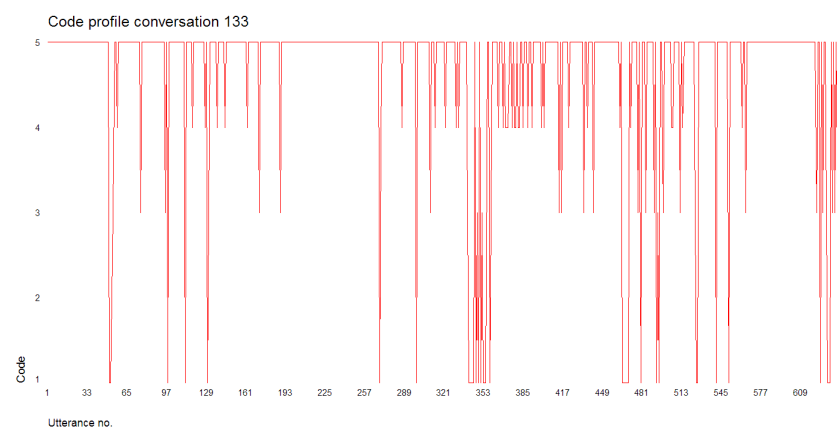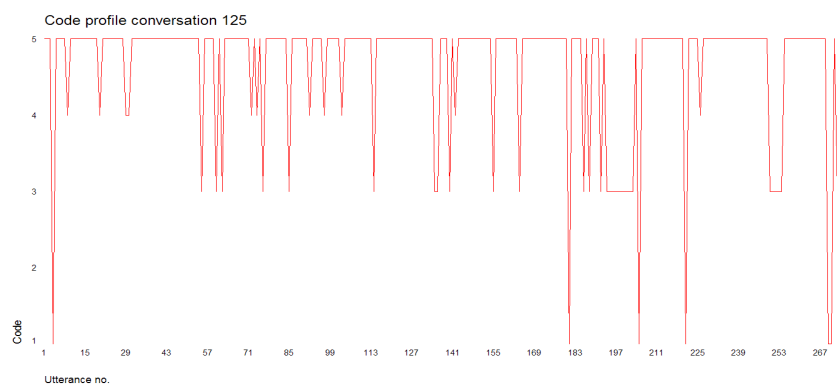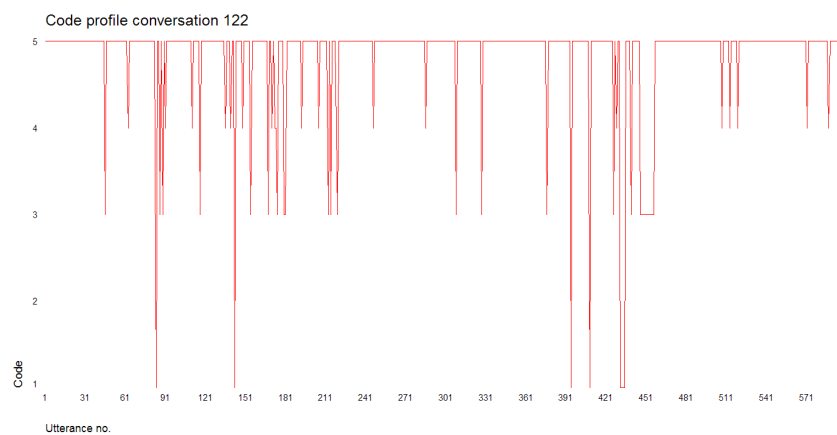
The code profile of conversation 125 is not very different from the profile of conversation122. In conversation 125 there is a string of utterances at level 3 around utterance 200, mainly utterances which can not be categorized as either Danish or Turkish. But long stretches of talk are held only in Turkish, while there is very little Danish.

The code profile of conversation 133 is very similar to that of conversations 122 and 125. The code profiles, the figures, and the analysis of the exchanges all confirm that the students in grade 1 rely heavily on their Turkish.

Altogether in grade 1 the Turkish-speaking students in the whole project produce 4051 utterances, out of which 3891 are Turkish-based, 115 of them with Danish loans. There are 126 Danish-based utterances, not one of them with a Turkish loan. There are 34 utterances with intrasentential code-switching. In addition there are 1055 utterances which have been disregarded, mainly because someone not participating in the conversation was present, for instance a project worker.

In grade 1 we have not recorded group conversations involving both minority and majority students. We do have conversations between majority students. The percentage of purely Danish-based utterances in these conversations is close to 100. Out of a total of 1449 utterances, the 1445 are Danish-based, 2 of them with loans. There are 2 English-based utterances, and 2 intrasentential code-switches. The very few exceptions give a total of 6 utterances altogether in 4 conversations. The exceptions 5 times involve single English words (*no* and *please* and *fuck*) and one time German (*ja doch*).

By grade 1 we find two groups of students, the majority and the minority, who are learning to know each other. This happens *only* in the way that the Turkish-speaking kids also acquire Danish, not the opposite, and not by everybody learning something else, such as German.

Code-choice in grade 2

Also in grade 2 there are only few Danish-based utterances and few code-switches in the conversations between the Turkish-speaking children. In grade 2 we have collected 7 group conversations with minority students. In these conversations there are a few passages in Danish, as in excerpt 2,1. The use of Danish here has a very concrete and context-bound content, as is evident.

Excerpt 2,1:
*ESE:	hvor er min saks henne.
%eng:	where are my scissors?
*HAV:	her.
%eng:	here.
*ESE:	hvor.
%eng:	where?
*HAV:	der.
%eng:	there.
*ESE:	her er den den gemmer+...
%eng:	here it is, it is hiding.

In excerpt 2,2 we see an intersentential code-switch which is more than play, and not a situational code-switch either.

Excerpt 2,2
*ERO:	*bakın* pik.
%eng:	*look*, a dick.
%com:	Erol, Ali, and Bekir laugh
*MUR:	aha jeg har fundet en.
%eng:	aha, I have found one.
*BEK:	jeg har <også fundet en.> [>]
%eng:	I have also found one
*ALI:	<hvad fundet du.> [<]
%eng:	what finded you?
%com:	non-standard past tense

In several turns Murat has argued that the four boys ought to work

with their task while the others one by one lose their concentration. Here Erol has found something which looks like a male reproduction organ, a *pik*, and he shows it to the others. Everybody except Murat laugh, and he changes subject, focus, and language all in one. The code-switch is not situationally motivated, rather it is a change of footing or mode (Goffman 1981, Auer 1995), or at least an attempt at it. A change of the conversations's subject and footing, i.e. the position from which the speaker is addressing the others, and his relations to the other participants, is marked by the switch from Turkish into Danish. The change is not situationally motivated, but on the other hand neither can we claim that the languages are drawn into the conversation as we-code and they-code. Only the fact that the languages used are not the same, marks the change.

In grade 2 there are also tag switches, and there are loans of individual words, as in the (unrelated) constructions of excerpt 2,3.

Excerpt 2,3:
*CAN: *inşallah* kristendom*da da burda dururuz değil mi.*
%eng: *we hope we can stay here also during the* Christian studies class*, don't we?*

*MUR: frikvarter *bitti*.
%eng: the recess *is over*.

Also words such as *bamse* (English *teddy bear*), *lim* (English *glue*), *Mester Jakob* (English *Brother Jack*), and *gymnastik* (English *physical education*) appear as loans in the Turkish-based utterances. As in grade 1 most of the borrowed material from the Danish language belongs to the school everyday. In addition to such loans there are instances where taboos are broken and borders tested, see excerpt 2,4.

Excerpt 2,4:
*ERO: Normann *konuşuyor*.

%eng:	Normann *is talking*.
*BEK:	Normann kan du høre mig.
%eng:	Normann can you hear me?
*ERO:	Normann jeg skal sige noget til dig hurtigt kom her svinepisse.
%eng:	Normann I want to tell you something swine piss.

Erol's addition to his call for the project worker looks similar to the one we observed in grade 1. We have no reason to believe that this utterance is a genuine expression of anger against an adult, intended for the adult to hear. In the situation the students are not quite certain whether the project worker can actually hear them while the recordings are going on. In school they are used to working in similar situations, but usually the teacher or an aide will be within earshot. This is not the case here, as they have been told, but they seem not to be quite convinced. Under these circumstances, throwing an epithet at an adult is - to put it gently - socially experimenting. An utterance which pretends to be addressed to the adult may thus rather be intended for the other students to hear as audience.

When we understand Erol's line in this light, the code-switch is superficially situational. The official addressee is an adult Danish speaker. But the point is that he is not going to say anything to the official addressee. Firstly, with the form of his utterance he can show resistance, opposition - to the adult world, the school world, the Danish world. His use of *svine pisse* is subversive, and it would not have been received mildly by (most of) his teachers. Secondly, by overtly stepping over the borders, Erol also presents a piece of performance (Bauman 1986, see in Part 1 the section about youth language), and Erol involves the others in the subversion of adult power.

Excerpt 2,5 shows us an exclamation which is Danish (pronounced corresponding to the orthographical form *ædd*) and tagged to an utterance otherwise in Turkish. The utterance by Canan is

367

interesting, because it starts a discussion about female decency and swimsuits during which Canan represents the conservative view, and Aylın the liberal one. Aylın draws the attention of the others to the pictures of swimsuits, and this leads to Canan's condemnation of pretty, but cut-down swimsuits, and the women who wear them. Aylın's reaction is to divert the accusation of indecency away from children who wear such swimsuits (and she tells that she in fact has one herself). The exchange has become a struggle between Canan and Aylın in which both argue through norms about which they pretend to agree. Canan is not going to let Aylın off - she claims it is sinful for big children to wear cut-down swimsuits. The utterances the two girls produce, especially Canan, have the form of rules: *büyük çocuklara günah*. These utterances are here produced as the girls' own as can be seen from Canan's utterance about not liking that kind of women, but they are references to norms outside their group. The words are, in Bakhtin's terms, the words of the other. This contribution by Canan echoes a norm they all know and which is by the way controversial in Denmark (although it was less so at the time). Canan voices a norm in known words (see a similar example in the section on Power and language use in Part 1). Such double-voiced discourse can, as we have seen, be observed among grade school students at least as early as grade 2.

Canan utters the words of a conservative norm regulating the behavior of Turkish females, and there is no reservation on her part. Much to the contrary, she openly expresses her disgust for women who violate those norms. Her doublevoicing is uni-directional.

Excerpt 2.5
*AYL: *oh bunun içinde de hep mayolar var bak simdi.*
%eng: *oh, in this one there are only swim suits, look.*
*MER: *he.*
%eng: *yes.*
*CAN: ædd # ædd *bu nasil iyimis ama açik.*
%eng: yerk # yerk *this one is pretty, but cut-down.*

*AYL: *oh mayoya bak ne güzel.*
%eng: *oh look at the swim suit, how pretty.*
*CAN: *hiç sevmem böyle kadinlari.*
%eng: *I don't like such women.*
*AYL: *kadinlara günah ama çocuklara günah degil degil mi.*
%eng: *it is indecent for women, but it is not indecent for children, is it?*
*CAN: *ama büyük çocuklara günah   <su güzelmis ya aman sey>[<].*
%eng: *but it is indecent for big children, this one is pretty.*
*AYL: *<biliyorum büyük çocuklara>[<].*
%eng: *I know, for big children.*
*CAN: *böyle giyinmesi iyi olmaz degil mi.*
%eng: *to be dressed like that is not nice, is it.*
*AYL: *küçük çocuklara birsey olmaz.*
%eng: *to little children nothing happens.*
*MER: *ben şeye +/.*
%eng: *I eh +/.*
*CAN: *ihi anne [//] annelere fazla günah olur suna bak nasıl açık giyinmiş.*
%eng: no it is more indecent for mothers, look at this one, how cut-down she is.
*AYL: *oh benim bundan var ama aynısı değil.*
%eng: *oh I have one like this, but it is not the same.*

Other Danish words are used in grade 2 as epithets or in conflicts. The expression *åh ja* with an insulted, complaining intonational pattern appears several times. In excerpt 2,6 it serves to attract the attention of the other participants. Eda has just used this expression, and Selma comments on it, accusing Eda of overusing the insulted *åh ja*. Selma says Eda says it *hergün*, the implication of which is that Eda's Danish is not very varied. Already in grade 1 we observed how this could be a powerful accusation.

Excerpt 2,6:
*SEL: *oh # oh Eda hergün* åh ja *diyorsun değil mi.*
%eng: *oh # oh Eda all the time you say* åh ja, *don't*

369

you?
%com: åh ja pronounced mockingly

The social negotiations among the students can also be played bilingually while involving separate code choices. The code-switching need not have a pragmatic function which all the participants realize and understand, or much less accept, see the analysis of excerpt 2, 10 below. The excerpt shows how the social relationships are being skillfully manipulated through language choice, to the benefit of Esen.

There are a few examples of Danish with Turkish loans in grade 2 involving the word *vallaha* and the word *len*. The use of Turkish loans in otherwise Danish utterances is not nearly as frequent as the opposite - Danish loans in Turkish surroundings. An example of a Turkish loan in a Danish-based utterance appears in excerpt 2,7. This excerpt also has a combination of a Danish expression *kom så*   (English *come on*, literally *come then*) and a Turkish ending *-sAnA* which indicates an imperative. The equivocal structure leaves us with a second syllable which can be both a Danish word and a Turkish ending.

Excerpt 2,7
*ISM: kom lige komso*na len* kom *len* kom hej kom ind hej hvor er du.
%eng: come here *you* come now *man* come *man* come here hey come in hey where are you?
%com: whistles before he calls, then laughs

The language awareness and creativity of the students is not limited to the Danish language or the code-switches. The speakers create new words and expressions, including ad hoc expressions, as in excerpt 2,8. In this excerpt Selma plays with the word *kırtçen* which imitates the sound of paper being cut by a pair of scissors.

Excerpt 2,8:
*SEL: *sen hepsini kırtçen mi*.

370

%com: *kırt* imitates the sound of a pair of scissors cutting in paper
%eng: *are you going to kırt them all*?
*ASI: *kırtçen mi*.
%eng: *do you mean kırt*?
*SEL: *kırtçen mi*.
%eng: *do you mean kırt*?

Language play involving nonsense words and sounds appears now and then, see in the following example (see also excerpt 2, 11 below).

An example of language play:
*ERO: wauv må ikke <cykel *bini ini pirçi piçi porçı pirçi porçı porçı pok pok.*>[>]
%eng: wow, must not bicycle *bini ini pirçi piçi porçıpirçi porçı porçı pok pok*

In grade 2 we have so far been able to observe how the students continue to loan Danish words into their Turkish, and particularly school-related words. There are hardly any Turkish loanwords in their Danish at all. Danish-based utterances are in general rare, and they are often addresse-related. The students have developed, or are in the process of developing, skills in using both languages simultaneously, and we have seen a clear example of code-switching as a power tool. Code-switching is also becoming an object of language play. The students still play with the Danish language, but code-switches, rare as they are, have become more advanced than we observed in grade 1.

The conversations among the Turkish-speaking students are by and large Turkish-dominated with some Danish loans and a few Danish-based utterances. The code-switches are not just situational, but they also appear with a certain distance to the status generally ascribed to the languages in society at large.

The use of other languages than Turkish and Danish is still

negligible in these conversations. There are altogether two instances of Turkish with English loans in grade 2, and one English-based utterance. The English-based utterance is produced by the only boy participating in the conversation in excerpt 2,9. As can be seen in excerpt 2,9, His utterance is completely unrelated to the matters which the others discuss. The boy has been singing and humming for a while without contributing to the ongoing conversation. At this point he then utters the names of two characters from TV series, still without becoming involved in the discussion going on among the others.

Excerpt 2,9
*MEH: dididididi.
%com: sings for a while
*NEV: *oh yırtıldı bu da # ben de elbiseyi alıyım mı şurdan
       keseriz biz de # olmadı be.*
%eng: oh that one also broke #*should I also take the dress from
       there, we can cut out that one # no it didn't, man.*
*HAT: *belki bunларın şunların hepsini ben kestim Nevin
       herhalde.*
%eng: *perhaps I have cut out all these Nevin, perhaps*
*MEH: Michael Knight Knight Rider.
*MEH: <*Kit Kontur.*>[>]
*NEV: <bence değil.>[<]
%eng: I don't think so
*HAT: *bak şunu ben kestim şunu ben kestim şunu ben kestim
       şimdi+/.*
%eng: look I have cut out that one, I have cut out that one, I have
       cut out that one now +/.

Other Turkish-based utterances with English loans in grade 2 are the following:

*SEL: *oh oh pantolonunu çıkartıyor # xxx <u>short</u> kilot kilot.*
%eng: *oh oh she is taking off her pants # xxx <u>short</u> panties
       panties.*

372

*BEK: <u>oh no</u> *o kadar çocuklar dersini yapacak biz +...*
%eng: <u>oh no</u> *then all those children are going to do their homework, we+...*

Code profile 246.

The code profile of conversation 246 is similar to the code profiles in grade 1. The majority of utterances are in Turkish, and the graph runs mainly along level 5. The instances where the conversation moves away from level 5 are slightly more frequent, but the difference is not remarkable. We see a few spikes to level 3, and around utterance no. 260 there is a stretch of speech which runs along level 3. The difference to conversations in grade 1 is that Danish takes little more space.

Conversations 242 and 243 have profiles which are even more similar to the grade 1 profiles. Especially in conversation 243 there is very little Danish. In all of the three profiles there is very little going on at level 2. The tendency among the young students not to loan Turkish words into their Danish shows in these graphs.

The grade 2 conversations among the Turkish-speaking students produce 2835 utterances, 2719 of which are Turkish-based, of which 79 contain Danish loans, and 4 contain loans from other languages (English). There are 96 Danish-based utterances, 3 of them involving Turkish. Finally, there is 1 English-based utterance and 19 intrasentential switches.

In grade 2 we have collected 4 group conversations which involve both Turkish-speaking and majority children. In addition we have 8 group conversations with only majority students participating.

Excerpt 2,10 is from conversation involving a majority boy, Peter, and a majority girl, Pia, plus a minority boy, Erol, and a minority girl, Esen. Esen is in control of the conversation. She maintains two simultaneous conversations, or sub-conversations, to a large

extent by using two different languages. One conversation takes place between Pia, Peter, and Esen. This sub-conversation is entirely in Danish. The other sub-conversation is between Erol and Esen, and it is mainly in Turkish. The students have been asked to do a task in which they decide what a nuclear family will need when it lives in Denmark, but is going to Turkey on a summer vacation. They are then supposed to cut out from magazines pictures of whatever they find necessary, and glue the pictures on a large piece of cardboard which lies on the table between them. On this cardboard is a picture of a nuclear family.

The Danish conversation begins in the first four lines of the extract. Peter addresses Esen and asks for her advice or permission to do a bit of the task with which they are working. Esen answers uncommittedly, but Pia breaks in and tells Peter to go ahead which he accepts. The next part of this conversation is again Peter asking Esen for permission to cut out something, apparently a picture of a dog, and Esen grants the permission, provided that *that is,if it may come over*, i.e. that the authorities will allow dogs into Turkey without a quarantine. Peter again gleefully accepts this. As before Pia intervenes with a practical remark, but Peter continues with his joy over the little dog. Pia insists on looking at the task practically: *he must also take shirts with him*, and Peter accepts this, too. At this point Esen intervenes to direct Pia and Peter to cut off the heads of the models wearing the shirts.

In between these utterances falls the exchange between Erol and Esen. It begins with Erol who, like Peter, appeals to Esen. He does not have a pair of scissors, and complains. But Esen turns him down, saying that Peter is using the scissors. Interestingly, there were three pairs of scissors on the table (deliberately), so the girls must have taken one each, and Esen here takes it for granted that the boys will have to share the third pair - or she (and Pia) simply have decided so much. Esen clearly answers Erol's request as a request, not for the pair of scissors that she is using herself, but the one Peter is using.

Code profile conversation 246

Code profile conversation 242

Code profile conversation 243

375
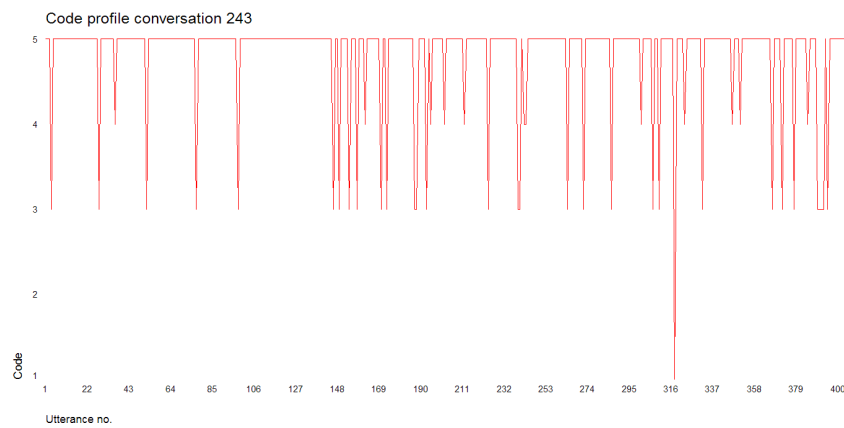
Erol's reaction is to invite Esen to join him in competition against the two others. He suggests (in Turkish) a conspiracy to work faster than them, but Esen again rejects his proposal and tells him to wait. In the meantime he finds a pair of scissors, and says so (in Danish), but Esen is not finished yet - she again tells him to wait and not be like Asiye, *Asiye gibi olma* , an attack on his identity which causes an indignant denial from Erol. Most of this sub-conversation is in Turkish, in this excerpt initiated by Erol. Esen and Erol can not be in doubt that the two other participants do not understand any Turkish at all. This sub-conservation is therefore only intended for the two of them. Thus Esen plays both of her linguistic hands, keeping the two conversations apart, and being in complete control of both of them, divide et impera.

In both sub-conversations we see the others, at least the two boys, appealing for Esen's attention and support. Peter asks for her permission to do the simplest things in their task, and Erol suggests an alliance between himself and Esen against the others. Esen uses several Turkish utterances to keep him in line, and through this, she controls the conversation without intervention from any of the others who know no Turkish. All the while Esen also directs the others in Danish. She uses two languages, she conducts two simultaneous conversations, and she dominates both. She controls Erol by accepting his choice of language, and then attacking him on his identity (*don't be like Asiye*), an attack that apparently hurts. She controls the other sub-conversation, which is entirely in Danish, by directing the two other participants, and by correcting them. All the other participants seem to accept her controlling position. At least they address her specifically, and not each others, with their contributions. Esen's code choices in this excerpt may be addressee related, but not simply in the narrow sense that she chooses the code which the interlocutors prefer. She makes code choices which place her in a controlling position. Her code choice is not just co-operative, it is also serves to enable her to control the situation.

376

Excerpt 2,10:

*PET:	Esen skal vi ikke have sådan en lille hund med på ferie.
%eng:	Esen, aren't we going to take such a little dog on vacation?
*ESE:	åh.
%eng:	oh.
*PIA:	så klip [//] så klip den ud.
%eng:	just cut, just cut it out.
*PET:	hej søde lille hund.
%eng:	hello, sweet little doggie.
*ERO:	hvad skal jeg så [//] si [//] skal også bruge saks.
%eng:	what am I then, sa, I also need a pair of scissors.
*ESE:	jamen han må jo gerne få det.
%eng:	yes, but he can have it.
*ERO:	*<xxx daha kesmiyor. gel bunları geçelim [//] bunları geçelim.>[>]*
%eng:	*xxx it can't cut any more, come let us be faster than them, let us be faster than them.*
*PET:	<skal jeg klippe det her ud [//] skal jeg klippe det ud Esen.>[<]
%eng:	do I cut this out, do I cut it out, Esen?
*ESE:	hvis den altså må komme over og rens den.
%eng:	that is, if it may come over and clean it.
*PET:	jeg tror jeg godt du må # søde lille hund.
%eng:	I think you may # sweet little doggie.
*PIA:	åh hvor den søde hund <skal han [//] skal han +...>[>]
%eng:	oh where the nice little dog, is he, is he +...
*ERO:	<jeg fundet den xxx.>[<]
%eng:	I finded it xxx.
%com:	xxx incomprehensible
*ESE:	*<beklicen bizi Erol.>[<]*
%eng:	*you will wait for us, Erol*
*PET:	<puddelhunden må gerne komme med over.>[<]
%eng:	the poodle may come over.
*ERO:	saks.

%eng: scissors.
*PIA: han skal også have skjorter med.
%eng: he will also need to take shirts with him.
*ESE: *bekle sen de Asiye gibi olma.*
%eng: *wait, don't be like Asiye.*
*PET: han skal også have skjorter med <og Daniel skal
                også+...> [>]
%eng: he must also take shirts with him, and Daniel
                must, too
*ERO: *<Asiye gibi değilim.>[<]*
%eng: *I am not like Asiye.*
*ESE: I skal klippe deres øh hoved af fordi de skal jo
                ikke+...
%eng: you must cut off their heads, because they are
                not +...

Esen controls this conversation by keeping the others occupied in different conversations. She has the skills to conduct two simultaneous conversations without losing the connection, and one of the skills is her linguistic agility. Of course she does not just control the conversation because she knows two languages - so does Erol, as we can see, but he is absolutely not in control. On the other hand, there is no doubt that Esen's language choice skills contribute to her control of the situation.

Turkish appears in one more conversation involving minority and majority children, namely conversation 210. This conversation involves four girls, two minority girls and two majority girls. Most of the Turkish is a children's song in Turkish which one of the majority girls joins a couple of times. Apart from that there are short exchanges involving the two Turkish-speaking girls commenting on pictures they see in the magazines which are included in the task.

The conclusion to these figures must be that already by grade 2, the Turkish-speaking children have realized that their Turkish is less welcome than Danish. There are many attempts by the minority

children to address the issues at hand in Danish, some of them obviously learner language with deviations in grammar and pronunciation. The use of Turkish is largely confined to very specific purposes which become quite clear when we observe the conversations at a distance. It is not that Turkish has completely disappeared. There are still exchanges between the minority children which are in Turkish, and they must be aware that the other parties in the conversations do not understand Turkish. Nevertheless, Turkish plays a much less important role in these conversations than Danish.

The conversations involving only majority children show a few examples of code choice involving non-Danish items. Conversation 202 involves two majority girls and two majority boys. In this conversation there are 19 utterances where English is somehow involved. Except one, they are all on the theme of *oh my darling*, and almost also verbatim in that form, which the children say, hum, or sing, alone or together. The last example is the word *shit*. A rare use of a Turkish word also appears in a conversation among two majority girls and two majority boys, see excerpt 2,11. It involves language play also, as it is followed by the meaningless *monuz* which rhymes with *domuz* and sounds Turkish, but is not recognizable as a Turkish word otherwise. There is one more use of the word *domuz* in conversation 222, but that is also all there is.

Excerpt 2,11:
*KAR: men de store rev jeg altså i stykker # her pik *domuz*.
%eng: but the big ones I tore up # cock *pig*
*MAR: åh du kan være en idiot *domuz* du kan være en *domuz* og
         en *monuz*.
%eng: oh you are an idiot yourself, *pig*, you are a *pig* and a *mig*.
%com: *monuz* is nonsense, but rhymes with *domuz*

There is perhaps one more attempt from one of the majority children to use Turkish in this conversation. Markus, a boy, says, as he apparently assumes that I am on my way out of the room at the beginning of the session: *gula gula.* This is possibly intended

as the Turkish farewell greeting *güle güle*. However, there are no apparent attempts among any of the speakers to address minority students in Turkish or with the use of Turkish features.

English appears a few times scattered over the conversations. In conversation 230 there are 7 utterances involving English, most of them the words *we have companies* apparently used without connection to the rest of the conversation, see excerpt 2,12. This excerpt shows the first time in the conversation a participant uses the phrase *we have companies*. The expression has no obvious relationship to what is being discussed in the conversation, it sounds more as an instance of performance. This is supported by the fact that the two boys laugh, and by the fact that the words appear again several times without any direct relation to the content of the ongoing conversation.

Excerpt 2, 12 (conversation 230)
*LOT: jeg skal <klippe+/.>[>]
%eng: I am going to cut+/.
*MOG: <jeg har>[<] en stol er den ikke flot.
%eng: I have a chair, isn't it nice?
*OLE: we have companies.
%com: Mogens and Ole laugh
*LOT: jeg skulle klippe denne her ud.
%eng: I was going to cut this one out
*OLE: nej jeg mangler <bare>[>] et spejl.
%eng: no I just need a mirror
*MOG: <så.>[<]
%eng: so.

The grade 2 conversations which involve both minority students and majority students produce 1156 utterances, of which 1034 are Danish-based, 81 are Turkish-based, 25 are English-based, and 16 are intrasentential switches. In the conversation between majority children there are 3805 utterances, 3773 of which are Danish-based, and 2 are Turkish-based. In addition there are 19 English-based utterances (and a single one-word utterance in which a girl

380

says *Italia* with something approaching Italian pronunciation), and there are 10 intrasentential code-switches.

In grade 2 we have found beginning signs of sophistication in the code choice patterns of the minority children, particularly Esen. We have also seen that the minority children to a large extent avoid using Turkish in the presence of majority children. No such inhibition seems to work when the conversations involve only minority children. The majority children exhibit a few, very few, signs of awareness or attention to Turkish, and a few more signs of attention to English.

Code-choice in grade 3

The conversations between Turkish speakers in grade 3 are, as in grade 1 and 2, strongly characterized by the Turkish. There are some tag switches, and there are Turkish utterances with Danish loans. Compared to the two previous years there are now also loans which do not refer to the school everyday of the students. They are integrated into the speech of the students without any specific markings (they are not flagged, in Poplack's 1988 terms). The conversation flows rapidly and without hesitation, just like an prototypical monolingual production. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the words are Danish, among other reasons because the form is most often Danish. The loans are ad hoc loans (nonce loans, Poplack et al. 1988), the loans only appear once (at least at this time - ad hoc loans may of course be on their way to become integrated). On the list of (unrelated) utterances in the examples below, the relevant Danish loanwords are *skov*, *TV2*, *hyggelig*, *rutschebane*, *sommerland*, *fjernsyn* (English *forest, TV2, cozy, roller coaster, summer amusement park, television*).

Examples of grade 3 Danish loans not related to school:
*ESE: *oh* skov *bura*.
%eng: *oh here is* a forest.

*SEL: *ben* [//] *kim bu üç adama bakıyor ben bakıyorum bunu* tvto'*da*.
%eng: *I, who sees the three men here, I see them on* TV2.
%com: TV2 is a semi-publicly financed TV station

*CAN: *bura okul olsaydı birde karneyi alsaydı çok xxx olurdu* hyggelig *yani çok iyi*.
%eng: *if this was school and we got a report card, this would be very xxx, so to say* cosy, *very good*.

*ESE: en rutschebane *bu tju* sommerland*da bir tanesi şöyle gidiyor bak hele* tjum dum fjernsyn *su da bir metre gidiyor ölürmezsin*.

382

%eng: a roller-coaster *here in the* summer amusement park, *one goes like this, look here* , tjum dum, television, *and the water goes one meter, don't let it die*.
%com: *ölürmezsin* is a non-standard form perhaps created on the spot

The school world loans which are so important in the first two years, are still used by the students. This is evident from excerpt 3,1 in which we observe the word *talleg* and the following examples which include the loans *klip, teaterstykke, dansk* , and *lim*. In addition to these the word *matematik* appears. It is pronounced in Danish and therefore a loan word, although Turkish also has such a word.

Excerpt 3,1:
*ESE: ne numarası kız.
%eng: what number, girl?
*CAN: *talleg* numarası kız.
%eng: the numbers game number, girl.
*ESE: bir *talleg* olunca ne olacak da.
%eng: and what happens in a numbers game?

Further examples of grade 3 Danish loans related to school life:

*CAN: *ben* Karen *[//]* matematik *dersinden olarak* Maria *oh* dansk*den şimdilikte* Karen *ile* Maria*'yi istiyorum dahada değil o ikisi öğretmenimiz olacaktı*.
%eng: *I* Karen [//] *I want* Maria *in* math *eh in* Danish Karen *and* Maria *like now*, *it should be no one else but those teachers.*

*BEK: teaterstykke *yapıyoruz ayin yirmi altısında gelen gelsin gelen gelsin gelsin gele gele gelsin.*
%eng: *we will perform* a drama *on the twenty-sixth of this month, those who want can come those who want can come come come come come.*

*ESE: *onu da kes* klip også den *kız hep bunları kes hep kes kes bak hele dolu hep kes onları.*

%eng: *cut also that one out* cut also that one out, *girl, cut out all these, cut out them all, cut, look here, there are lots, cut out them all.*

Because of the situation in which we arrange the group conversations the students can hardly avoid talking about glue, glueing, and glue sticks. The Danish words *lim* (English *glue*) and *lime* (English *to glue*) appear frequently, and almost all the students use one or another form of *lim*, as in the two (unrelated) utterances in excerpt 3,3. The form *limleyim* is a first person singular of a Turkish verbal derivative *-lemek* of the Danish noun and indicates a certain integration.

Excerpt 3,3:

*BEK: *şimdi şu uçağı* lim*leyim.*

%eng: *now I am going to* glue *this airplane on.*

...

*CAN: lim*e bak kız* lim*e Allah.*

%eng: *look at the* glue, *girl, at the* glue, *God.*

This does not mean that the students do not know the Turkish word for glue. They also use yap ıştır- in different forms and word classes. The following extract contains exactly that word. It is not the case that Bekir has chosen the Turkish word for situational reasons which would prevent a Danish word. In the same context he uses the Danish word *tøj* (English *clothes*) without hesitation or marking, see excerpt 3,4.

Excerpt 3,4:

*BEK: tøj *yapıştırıyım mı* tøj.

%eng: clothes *do I glue* clothes.

As in grade 1and grade 2 the Danish language provides a number of taboo words, words for protests, epithets, and other emphatic words and expressions which the students use, as it seems,

particularly in company with each other. The (unrelated) utterances in excerpts 3,5 and 3,6 contain words like *hold jeres kæft* (English *shut your mouth*) and *lort* (English *shit*).

Excerpt 3,5:
*AYL:	nu holder I jeres kæft ben *bir şarkı söyleyeceğim susun şimdi*.
%eng:	now shut up, *I am going to sing a song, shut up now*.
*CAN:	åh mand.
%eng:	oh, man.

Excerpt 3,6:
*MUR:	*Hüseyin* lort *boklu Hüseyin Ikea'ya gidiyor*.
%eng:	*Hüseyin* shit *shitty Hüseyin goes to Ikea*.

In grade 3 the students construct the more complex loan constructions of which we saw a single example in grade 1. They combine a Danish verb in the infinitive with a Turkish verb which carries the morphology. The Turkish verb is either *etmek* or *yapmak*, the latter of which is the most commonly used verb for such combinations in diaspora Turkish elsewhere in Europe (Türker 2000, 2001, see also the section Code categories above). The interesting aspect is that the words borrowed from the majority languages are borrowed in the infinitive. The type of construction is known from Turkey-Turkish, but with nouns. Regardless of the structural discussion one could lead over this issue, the construction in itself is relatively complex. To use it creatively, one must possess a minimum of grammatical command of both languages. See the different (unrelated) utterances in excerpt 3,5.

Excerpt 3,7:
*ERO:	*sonra* pakke sammen *edeceğiz bunları bakalım*.
%eng:	*then we are going to* pack up, *let us look at these.*

Other examples of (ad hoc) constructions with a Danish infinitive

and a form of the Turkish verb *yapmak* (see the discussion of the use of borrowed verbs with *yapmak* or *etmek* in Part 1 in the section about Code choice and code-switching):

*HAS: *iyi istediğin yere yap sen* bestemme *yap.*
%eng: *okay make it in a place you want, you* decide.

*YUS: *kapatıyım özür dilerim* forstyrre *yaptım.*
%eng: *I will close it, I am sorry I* disturbed.

In some cases, although still not very many, Danish words and expressions are used as quotes or pseudo-quotes, and such uses can be marked with a code-switch. In other cases we can observe Danish set phrases, clichés, advertising slogans, child game routines, or similar expressions. Sometimes they are taken over verbatim, in other cases creatively. In excerpt 3,8 Canan uses a line which is typically used by children and young people to stylize, to portray someone as spineless or childish, *I wanna go home to my mama*.

Excerpt 3,8:
*CAN: jeg vil xxx *ben mahsustan ben bağıracağım* uhu
                     jeg vil hjem til min mor *öyle diyeceğim orda çok korkuyorum.*
%eng: jeg vil xxx *I am going to shout with intention* I wanna go home to my mama, *that is how I will say I am very scared there*.
%com: xxx incomprehensible

In excerpt 3.9 Esen creatively uses a journalism kliché, changing the usual life around 50 (or 60, etc.) to an age a few years more than her own age. The effect is humorous, because she applies a typical adult phenomenon on her own childhood.

Excerpt 3,9:
*ESE: livet omkring de tolv # *serseri mi*.
%eng: life around twelve # *is he crazy*.

In grade 3 we find more passages than we did in the earlier grade where more than one utterance is entirely in Danish, or utterances with more than one loan word or loan expression. Simultaneous use of features from two languages is still to a certain extent triggered by one of the project workers being the addressee (or the theme) of one or more of the utterances. In both excerpt 3,10 and excerpt 3,11 there are references to the project worker. The word *kylling* appears in an utterance which pretends to be addressed to the project worker. But it is unlikely to be anything but a piece of performance intended for the participants in the conversation. Ali's reaction shows us that he has interpreted it the same way.

Excerpt 3,10:
*ERO: jeg skriver mit navn.
%eng: I'll write my name
*ALI: nej ikke nu.
%eng: no, not now.
*ERO: jo <jeg skriver det.>[>]
%eng: yes, I will write it.
*ALI: <Normann *sonradan*>[<] *yazdırıyor*.
%eng: Normann *will make us write later*.

Excerpt 3,11:
*AHM: *adam nerde*.
%eng: *where is the man?*
%com: the man, i.e. the project worker
*ERO: *adam gitti* ha hej kylling.
%eng: *the man left*, ha hi chicken.
%com: the last words said straight into the microphone at a short distance
*ALI: kylling *deme*.
%eng: *don't say* chicken.

Contrary to what one might expect, we have not see very many discussions about language, or comments on language (including attempts at correcting). We have seen an example in grade 1 in which Aylin corrects Canan's *mutkak*, and in grade 2 we noted

some language play and the discussion about the creative verb *kırtçen*, but there have been no elaborated discussions. In the next extract we have such a discussion. It is a discussion which involves both languages as media, although the topic of the discussion is the Danish language, or more precisely, a verbal form in the Danish langauge. Again the Danish has probably been triggered by an address to me.

Excerpt 3,12:
*ERO:	*gemi kesilir mi manyak.*
%eng:	*can a ship be cut out, fool.*
*ALI:	Normann kom lige.
%com:	Normann pronounced as Normal.
%eng:	Normann, please come.
*ERO:	du skal ikke komme Normann han løgner.
%eng:	don't come, Normann, he liers
*AHM:	<ha løgner.>[>]
%eng:	ha liers.
*ALI:	<løgner løgner.>[<]
%eng:	liers liers.
*ERO:	bvadr løgner *yalan+...*
%eng:	yerk liers *lie+...*
*AHM:	*bunu kim istiyorsa alsın.*
%eng:	*who wants this one may take it.*
*ALI:	lyver lyver.
%eng:	lies, lies.
*ERO:	lyver løgner *da denilir* lyver *da denilir*.
%eng:	lyver *one can say both* løgner *and* lyver.
*ALI:	lyver *da* <denilir>[>] løgner *da den+...*
%eng:	*one can say both* lyver *and* løgner.
%com:	singing
*AHM:	<*oh gidiyor.*>[<]
%eng:	*oh it is running*.

The discussion in excerpt 3,10 evolves around the Danish verb *lyve* (English *to lie*, i.e. tell untruths). The boys call for the project worker to come, well aware of the fact that he can not hear them.

As we have observed before this move can be used as a tactical tool in the jockeying for positions among the students. It is Ali who calls, but Erol rejects his call. Both speak Danish - it is part of the game that addresses to adult Danes are in Danish.

Erol uses the form *løgner* to characterize Ali's activities, an impossible verbal form in mother tongue Danish. *Løgner* is in standard Danish the nomen agentis corresponding to *lyve*, the verb which means *to lie* (in the sense *tell untruths*). Erol says *han løgner*, an interlanguage present tense which respects the flexive morphology of Danish. It is a deviation, however, from standard Danish which has *han lyver*. It is therefore another instance of creative language use, but Ahmet immediately reacts teasingly by repeating the form *løgner* condescendingly. Ali follows up and repeats, but Erol does not give up. With an expression of disgust he starts to explain that *løgner* means *lies* (present tense). However, Ahmet changes the subject and starts talking about their task, and he changes the language back into Turkish, but Ali continues to insist on the form *lyver*. Still Erol maintains - in Turkish - that one can say both *lyver* and *løgner* in Danish. Ali follows up and repeats Erol's words (once again the last honored speaker is right by Ali), after which Ahmet again changes the subject, this time drawing attention to the fact that the tape recorder must be running and therefore has recorded what they said.

This discussion demonstrates that the students are linguistically conscious, and that they do sometimes direct their attention to form. It also shows a great respect (or anxiety?) in front of Danish normativity. The disagreement relates to what is said (*denilir*), understood as what the Danes say, or perhaps what the Danes say they say. It is worth noticing that the discussion is conducted in Turkish with Danish as the theme. The students effortlessly employ one of their languages in order to discuss the other. This does not only happen in serious discussions as this one. It also causes language play across languages.

We can note also that Erol seen from the point of view of the linguist is wrong. The Danes do not say, and they do not say that they say, *løgner* as a verb in the present tense. In mother tongue Danish *løgner* is a noun and only a noun. Nevertheless, the discussion ends with him being right and the others accepting that. He gets out of this discussion as a winner, after all he is the one who most effortlessly moves from one language to the other.

This brings us to the language play. The extract in excerpt 3,13 is from the end of the same conversation. In the first line Erol addresses the project worker (me) as *Aksel* which is probably in itself testing the border. Ali firstly reacts surprised, he has not understood Erol's joke. Erol continues in mock self-correction, showing that he was well aware that Aksel was not my right name. Both Ahmet and Ali find it necessary to stress the fact that the adult's name is Normann, and this sets Erol off on a rambling tour of words, on which he plays with the name and its similarity to the Turkish word *orman*. Even after he has begun on this, Ali still tries to correct him.

Excerpt 3,13:
*ERO: vi er ikke færdige Aksel.
%eng: we are not finished, Aksel.
*ALI: *ne Akselı.*
%eng: *what Aksel?*
*ERO: nej Normann.
%eng: oh no, Normann.
%com: wildly exaggerated intonation implying self-correction.
*AHM: vi er ikke færdige Normann.
%eng: we are not finished, Normann.
*ALI: Normann.
*ERO: *orman orman <orman>[>] orman ne diyorsun orman orman adını unuttum neydi orman orman neydi adı orman orman adı neydi orman.*
%eng: *forest forest forest forest what dop you say forest forest I have forgotten your [or his] name forest*

390

	forest what was your name forest forest what
	was your name forest.
*ALI:	\<Normann.\>[\<]
*NOR:	*bittiniz mi.*
%eng:	*have you finished now*?

In the last part, Erol's rambling remark may be addressed to the project worker (me) as I enter the room. In the Turkish sentence *adını unuttum* the first word may be the accusative of both second person singular possessive and third person singular possessive, and thus refer to both *your name* and *his name*. But in the last part of Erol's utterance there is no doubt that the first word in *adın neydi* is in the second person singular possessive and therefore overtly addressed to Normann. His voice is not very loud, however, and it is possible that he either has not noticed, or that he is again playing up to the other boys. He gets no reaction either, and the session ends.

Both of these extracts show an awareness of language which is part and parcel of the students' linguistic activities. They turn to, go through, and leave many issues, and language is one of them. But language is also the object of some of their more playful activities. There are quite substantial differences between the students. It is obvious that Erol's language play does resound very well with Ali and Ahmet. Likewise, the phenomenon we have described among the boys, or at least with Erol here, first came up among the girls already in grade 2. The girls develop these skills earlier then the boys, as we also noted in the grade 1 examples.

In conclusion we have found that the Turkish-speaking students in grade 3 have developed and are developing their code choice practices. The mechanisms which we observed in grade 1 and grade 2 are still in operation, but the vocabulary on which they operate, has been extended considerably. School-related words still appear as loans, and gradually they assume a character of non-ad hoc loans, i.e. as integrated words. But many other words are used as ad hoc-loan. It is possible to introduce Danish words and

391

expressions into Turkish all the time, but very little goes in the other direction. The students usually do not introduce Turkish loans into their Danish. Intrasentential code-switches are also used, and passages with several utterances in Danish appear. Language choice becomes a source of play and joy, and it is also involved in more serious business, including discussions about language, and power struggles. It seems that new developments can be noticed among the girls before the boys, and that there are quite big individual differences among the students in their relation to and use of code-switching.

In grade 3 conversations among Turkish-speaking students other languages than Turkish and Danish appear here and there, although not with any consistency. Most of the cases involve English, and they either are in English because the participants sing an English pop song (*badabab badab get up get up*), or they are standard phrases: *I love you* and *thank you*). There is an utterance involving German:

Excerpt 3,14:
*AYL: <u>was ist das meine</u> blyanter skrive min navn
            yazacağım hepimizin adını.>[<]
%eng: <u>what is that my</u> pencils write mine name *I want
            to write all our names*.

In excerpt 3,15 Aylin has been playing the part of a television announcer mixed with an airline hostess for a while, in Turkish. She has had some response from the others, but it is waning off. In the excerpt Asiye reacts to her line by singing a tune which she for her part has been singing off and on during the conversation. Both types of activities, the singing of popular tunes and the imitation of media figures, appear quite a bit among the girls in grade 3, and mainly in Turkish. In excerpt 3,15 Aylin interrupts her own act and declares that she does not want to play any more. She emphasizes her statement by switching into Danish, but Asiye is not particularly affected. The girls again and again overtly use the word of the other, and in one case the word of the other is in English

(*thank you*). The fact that Asiye declares *jeg gider ikke* shows us
that the girls are aware that they are playing, or acting out the word
of the other.

Excerpt 3,15
*AYL: *susun simdi <evet sayın seyirciler>*[<].
%eng: *be quiet, yes, dear viewers.*
*ASI: *<yerimiz mi dar yoksa>*[<].
%eng: *is it too narrow here*?
%com: singing
*EDA: obidibi.
%com: nonsense
*AYL: *oynamıyorum oynamıyorum* jeg gider ikke.
%eng: *I don't want to play I don't want to play* I don't
               want to.
*ASI: *ama tabi tabi oynama oynama.*
%eng: *but of course, of course*, don't play, don't play.

The code profile of conversation 311 shows us a picture which is
slightly different from what we observed in conversation 122 and
246. There is still most utterances which are Turkish, and most of
the graph runs along level 5. But things are changing. There are
even utterances at level 1, which occasionally fall in groups, for
instance around utterance 180 and 210. The graph does not indicate
a lengthy exchange in Danish, just that there is more Danish here
than before. There are also more spikes into level 3 than in the
earlier grades. These two observations add up to a pattern of
increasing alternation in the speakers' code choice. There are both
intersentential and intrasentential code-switches, not many, but
they occur. This could also be described as a beginning integration
between the two sets of features - or an increasing rejection of the
separation of the two sets of features.

The profiles of conversations 308, 309, and 310 are very similar to
code profile 311. The use of Danish is less frequent in conversation
310 and also to an extent in conversation 309, than we see in the
profile of conversation 311, but generally there is an increase of

utterances at the middle levels, indicating increasing linguistic integration.

In the grade 3 conversations between the Turkish-speaking children the students produce 2282 utterances, of which 2141 are Turkish-based, 106 of them with a Danish loan, and 2 with an English loan. There are 106 Danish-based utterances, none of them with a Turkish loan. Altogether 7 utterances include other languages than Turkish and Danish, and 28 utterances contain intrasentential code-switches.

Code profile conversation 311

Code profile conversation 308

Code profile conversation 309

Code profile conversation 310
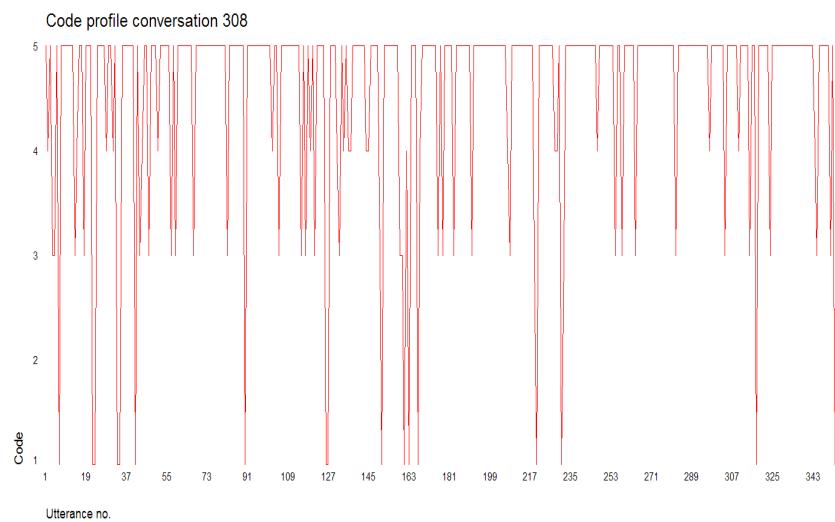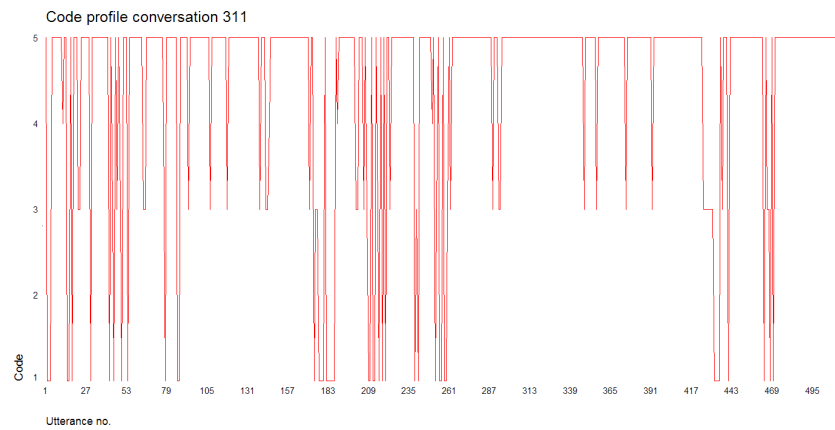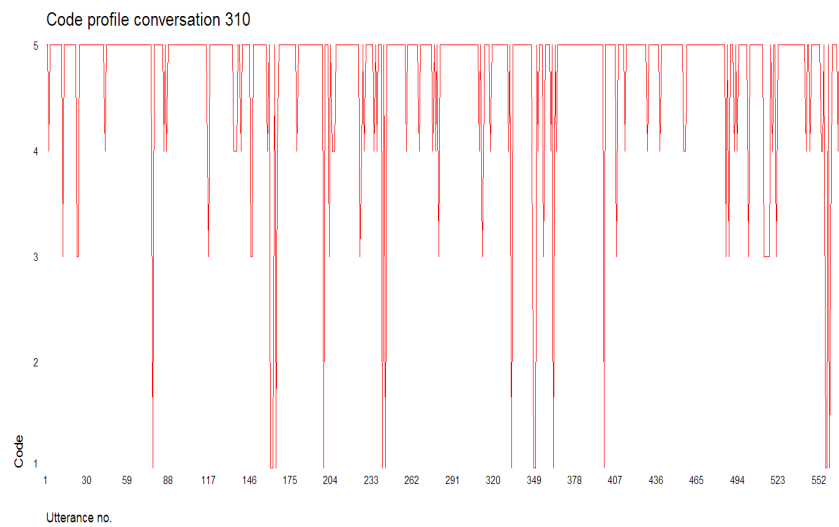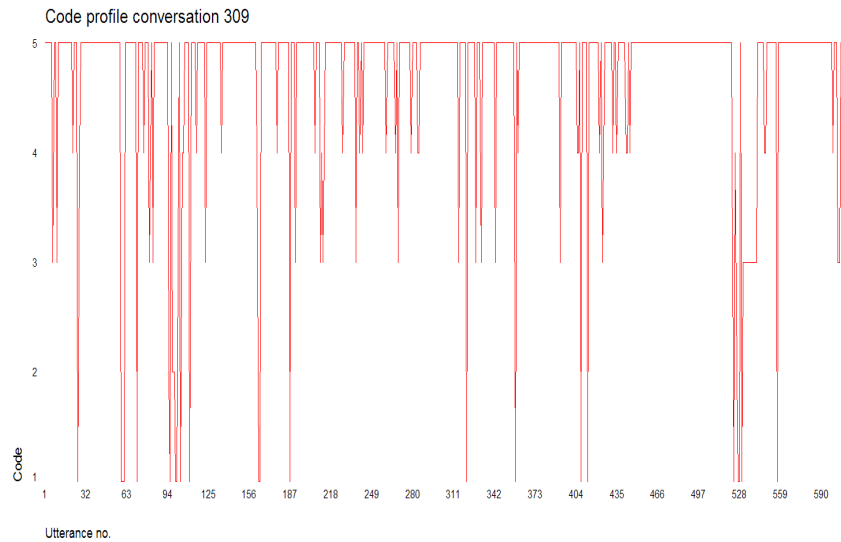
In grade 3 no conversations were recorded which involved both minority and majority children. There were 6 conversations between majority children. In these conversations there were 2166 utterances produced, 2150 of them are Danish-based, and not one is Turkish-based. There are 13 English-based utterances and 3

395

intrasentential switches involving Danish and English. Most of the English material appears in conversation 306 where they have the form which can be seen in excerpt 3,14. Conversation 306 is a gender-mixed conversation, in the excerpt the boys provide the English items.

Excerpt 3,16
*FRA: va pa bu la vap dut fut xxx <vut dut fut at the mama loo.>[>]
%com: singing, most of it incomprehensible
*LIS: <ad den.>[<>]
%eng: yerk, it
*JOH: <at the mut trutti frutti at the moony.>[<]
%com: singing, most of it incomprehensible

The English production here does not make sense in the narrow discussion going on, involving the task and other issues. But of course it makes social sense to the two boys who hum and sing and throw in some words here and there which are, or to them sound as, English. This is not just performance, but it is also co-produced performance (cf. Lytra 2007).

By grade 3 the minority students are beginning to get a strong hold of Danish, and their code choice patterns are becoming more advanced. The majority students are still mainly playing with non-Danish items, almost exclusively English, but the English items are not integrated into the ongoing discussions, they mainly serve social purposes.

Code choice in grade 4

In grade 4 there are obvious differences between the Turkish-speaking girls' bilingualism and the Turkish-speaking boys' bilingualism. Danish achieves a more prevalent status than it has had in the previous years, but primarily among the boys. A greater part of the utterances are Danish-based, among the boys, and there are a few examples of English. This means that we have more intersentential code-switches. All the while the ad hoc loans continue together with the other types of bilingual production which we have observed in grade 1-3.

The Danish loans are sometimes integrated into Turkish morphology and syntax, as we can observe in the following excerpts. The word *møblerlar* in excerpt 4,1 has both a Danish (*-er*) and a Turkish (*-lar*) plural ending. The (vowel harmonic) form of the Turkish ending reflects the Danish pronunciation with a low back tongue vowel of the ending, as the plural form *-lar* is attached to syllables with back tongue vowels. In cases where the plural ending was attached to the written form of the Danish word, i.e. with the ending *e*, we would have had the Turkish form *-ler*. This means that the word is integrated through oral use and not in the written version.

Excerpt 4,1:
*ESE: møbler*lar ve koltuklar masa xxx.*
%eng: *the* furniture *and so the sofas, the table xxx.*

In excerpt 4,2 the Danish word *lærerværelse* (English: teacher's room) appears in the nominative, but with a Turkish accusative ending.

Excerpt 4,2:
*ESE: *oh bir* lærerværelse nej det er klasseværelse lærerværelse*yi zar zor bulduk değil mi.*
%eng: *oh, a* teachers' room, no it is a classroom *we found the* teachers' room *with great difficulty, did we not*

397

In excerpt 4,3 Ahmet uses a construction with a Danish adjective combined with Turkish endings. Turkish is a pro-drop language, and in constructions like the one in the excerpt there are no copula. Therefore the ending *-iz* represents the meaning *we are*, and the Danish word *heldig* is integrated as a loanword, perhaps ad hoc. There are many words like this which are morphologically integrated but which appear only once in the many hours of conversation. The students have developed an integration mechanism which allows them to integrate any Danish word in any Turkish-based utterance. This permanently blurs the distinction between ad hoc or nonce loans on the one hand, and long-term loans on the other hand. All Danish words as well as all Turkish words are available to the students in their mutual conversations, and in their production the students integrate the words (and other features) with apparent ease.

Excerpt 4,3:
*AHM: xxx heldig*iz* musik*ten kurtulduk*.
%eng: *xxx we are* lucky, *we escaped* music class.

In excerpt 4,4 Murat forms another integrated form, *søler*, with a Danish stem *sø* (English *lake*) and the Turkish plural ending *-ler*. In the following sentence the Turkish word for *lake* is used. Murat says he does not want to write *søler*, i.e. the Danish names of the lakes which appear in their assignment. Murat's second sentence is an explanation in Turkish of this assignment and explains that it involves writing place names on a cardboard sheet. Here he distinguishes between on the one hand   *sø* meaning the Danish name of a lake or a lake as it is referred to in Danish, and on the other hand *göl* (Turkish for lake), meaning a lake as it is in real life.

Excerpt 4,4:
*MUR: *bak* sø*leri yazmayacağız biz şey göl yazacağız* land*leri* sø*leri değil*.
%eng: *look, we are not going to write the* lakes, *we are going to write those* lakes *there, the* lands, *not the* lakes.

From this, we can draw several conclusions. Firstly, Murat uses his access to two sets of words to distinguish between two aspects of language use: talking about things, and talking about the words for things. He uses the Danish word *sø* about the name of a lake, or about the Danish reference to a lake. But when he speaks about a lake, a real lake, it is with the Turkish word *göl*. What he says is that he is going to write not the name of the lakes as it is with *sø* in Danish, but he is going to write the real life lakes as they are in the land, not as a *sø*.

Secondly this means that he also shows that he realizes that things are not what they are called. They are called what they are called, and that is different in different languages. In other words, he distinguishes between things or phenomena as they are, and the names for them - a lake is not a lake, a lake is called a lake.

Thirdly he shows a linguistic awareness which allows him to make these distinctions instantly and with ease. We have observed a gradual development of morphological integration over the first four years of school, and here we can see that it has been accompanied by a development of linguistic awareness.

Fourthly, once again we see how effortlessly the morphology of Turkish is applied to Danish loanwords, ad hoc or not. Apparently any Danish word can be morphologically integrated into a Turkish sentence by these speakers. This does not mean that the students confuse Danish and Turkish, obviously not, as one can see in Murat's utterance. But it means that the students do not maintain the distinction between Danish words and Turkish words all the time. In these group conversations, words are words, and all words can be combined with Turkish morphology.

This does not mean that the bilingual behavior which we observed in the earlier stages has been left behind. On the contrary, what has once been acquired as a linguistic means, will remain. Danish remains a language which can be used in a derogatory way. In excerpt 4,5, Erol uses the Danish word *skrid* which is quite strong,

in an otherwise Turkish utterance.

Excerpt 4,5:
*ERO: *o zaman* skrid *yapmıyorsan* skrid.
%eng: *then* fuck off *if you are doing nothing* fuck off.

Aylin's utterance in excerpt 4,6 is interesting because it is actually Turkish-based, with a Danish quote, and a Danish tag. There are seven Danish words and only one Turkish word. The construction shows us her syntactical virtuosity, in that it demands a certain level of skills to maintain word order rules in spite of the vocabulary used in the utterance.

Excerpt 4,6:
*AYL: fjerde b er dum *yaz* for helvede mand.
%eng: hell, *write* class fourth B is stupid, man.

Both boys and girls use derogatory words and phrases from Danish with great ease and great pleasure. They are certainly aware of the value attached to these words by speakers of Danish, as excerpt 4,7 shows. Esen describes a place on the map they are working with, using the term *skråt op*. Literally it means *diagonally upwards*, but it is also used to mean *up yours*. Esen is or becomes aware of the double meaning of the phrase, and she comments on it in her next turn. Her comment is that she did not intend to say *fuck*. This means that she did not intend to say *up yours*, and she explains the meaning with a similarly loaded English word, *fuck*.

Excerpt 4,7
*ESE: *dur ha doğru* Maraş skråt op.
%eng: *wait oh yeah that is right Maraş* up yours.
*SEL: *Antalya Antalya burda o kaç numara çek elini kaç
         numara.*
%eng: *Antalya is here, which number is it, move your hand,
         which number*?
*ESE: skråt op *dediğim yer* <u>fuck</u> xxx <u>demek istemiyorum bak
         şöyle yani yukardan deneyelim.</u>

%eng: *when I said* skråt op *I did not want to say* <u>fuck</u> (xxx incomprehensible) *look there we try from up and down.*

The boys in grade 4 use more Danish than the girls. This does not mean that the boys use more advanced forms of code-switching than the girls. Excerpt 4,8 shows how easily the speakers move in and out of the languages. The first utterance is Esen's attempt in Danish to attract the attention of the project worker (who is as usual not present in the room). Perhaps it is not a genuine attempt, but in reality intended for the other participants in the conversation, as we have seen it happen several times. It does not matter very much here. From Selma's reaction we can see that she is opposed to calling the project worker, and that she considers this an issue to be negotiated. Esen and Selma disagree whether they are ready and finished, and they make their points in Danish, and the addressee therefore is still possibly the project worker. However, then Esen argues in Turkish, and thereby she takes the discussion away from the exchange (in Danish) between herself and Selma. By speaking in Turkish Esen makes it clear that the utterance is not intended for the project worker, but is a contribution to the discussion between Selma and herself. And Esen has decided that she will call the project worker. She probably even gets up to go to the door behind which the project worker can be found, and Selma's attempt to keep the discussion in Danish fails. The matter is settled by the project worker's arrival in the same moment.

Excerpt 4,8:
*ESE: Normann vi er altså færdige kan du ikke snart komme
%eng: Normann we are finished can you not come soon
*SEL: nej vi er ikke færdige
%eng: no we are not finished
*ESE: valla.
%eng: by God.
*SEL: se nu har jeg findet Tyrkiet og og billig xxx.
%eng: look now I have found Turkey and and cheap (xxx incomprehensible).
*ESE: *sen burda dur ben bir öğretmenin yanına gidiyim.*

401

%eng: *you stay here then I will go out to the teacher.*
*SEL: må ikke.
%eng: must not.
*ASI: *aha geliyor.*
%eng: there he comes.

Play with language develops further during Grade 4 to involve other varieties than simply Turkish and Danish. In excerpt 4,9 there is at least one more variety at play, namely stylized immigrant Danish, a version of how the majority of speakers of Danish mock the way immigrants speak Danish. Thus, this is not a copy of immigrant accent, but a mock version of the majority-Danish (mis)representation of immigrant accent.

Excerpt 4,9:
*BEK: hvad er den største by i Tyrkiet.
%eng: which is the biggest city in Turkey.
*HÜS: İstanbul.
*MUR: Ankara.
*BEK: ja det er rigtigt det er İstanbul sig et tal.
%eng: yes that is correct that is Istanbul say a number.
*MUR: otte.
%com: pronounced [ute]
%eng: eight.
*BEK: nej han sagde otte men det er ikke rigtigt.
%com: otte pronounced [ute]
%eng: no he said eight but that is not correct
%com: Murat laughs
*BEK: kom så nu griner han helt vildt mand
%eng: come now he laughs wildly man
%com: they all laugh
*BEK: Hüseyin der griner xxx de ser hit med videoen mand videre.
%eng: Hüseyin there laughs (xxx incomprehensible) they watch give me the video man go on
%com: Hüseyin laughs
*MUR: fuit.

%com: nonsense word
*BEK: han sagde fuit vi vil have et tal vi vil have her et bogstav
       kom så bogstav ja et bogstav det var a nej det var e videre
       nu skal jeg spørge hvad er den største by i Danmark.
%eng: he said fuit we want a number we want a letter here come
       on letter yes a letter it was an a no it was an e go on now
       I am going to ask which is the biggest city in Denmark.
*HUS: København.
%eng: Copenhagen.
*MUR: *Kopenhag*.
%eng: *Copenhagen.*
*BEK: ja det er rigtigt stop uret din fulde perker.
%eng: yes that is correct stop the clock you drunken nigger.
%com: they all laugh

The boys in this conversation are involved in a playful exchange organized by Bekir. He acts as a television quiz game host and asks the others questions. Throughout the excerpt he refers to the genre of televisions quiz shows (stop the clock, give me a number), but at the same time he exaggerates it in ways that would be absurd in a television show (you drunken nigger). The exaggerations are not random, however, but triggered by Murat's way of playing. Murat acts the dumb immigrant by speaking stylized immigrant Danish, and he and Bekir join in a variation of the Danish word for *eight* which actually lasts longer than the excerpt shown here. The hearty and repeated laughter shows that the boys appreciate the ironic caricature aimed at the trivial and cliché-ridden language use of television quiz shows. On the one hand, the indulge in the ritual of TV quizzes and perform the linguistic acts connected to those rituals. This is varidirectional double-voicing in Bakhtin's terms, as the boys employ the words and behavior of the participants in a television quiz game. On the other hand they also grossly violate the norms, especially of the host, much to their shared pleasure. Hinnenkamp (2003, 32) suggests that such uses of stylized minority varieties of majority languages amount to mimicry in Bhabha's sense (see also in Part 1 the section on Power and language use).

403

This is one instance where the boys seem to have developed their bilingual behavior before the girls. We have seen how the girls certainly double-voice in grade 2 and 3, but we have not seen such vari-directional double-voicing (Canan's double-voicing in grade 2 was decidedly uni-directional, she made the words of conservative social norms for Turkish girls her own without any reservation). The one who introduces the code-switch with a vari-directional effect, is Murat. Holmen and I have elsewhere (2000, 150) argued that Murat in some ways follows a pattern in his development which is more similar to that of the girls than to that of the other boys. In this excerpt he shows a stage in the development before anyone else.

More English is added in Excerpt 4,10, where Hüseyin uses English, and he is clearly understood at least by Bekir who comments in a way which is relevant to the content of Hüseyin's English utterance. The Danish word *perker* is a (frequently derogatory) word for an immigrant or a descendant of an immigrant, particularly Moslems with a background in the Middle East. In this connection the word acquires a positive value when Bekir as a member of that particular minority declares that *Heman* is *en stor perker* and *sej*.

Excerpt 4,10:

*HUS:	<u>Heman you got the power</u>.
*BEK:	nej han er en stor perker han er en sej mand
%eng:	no he is a great nigger, he is a cool, man

Let us finally look at the use of language choice as a tool in power struggles among the students. The event is led by Esen.

Excerpt 4,11:

| *ESE : | helt ærligt kom nu så kom så i gang   *biz mi yapacağız* og lad være med at snakke. |
| %eng: | honestly get going get started *shall it be us who make it* and do not talk. |

*AYL:	*oh çanta olur.*
%eng:	*oh it can become a purse.*
*CAN:	*biliyorsun biz böyle yaptık maalesef.*
%eng:	*unfortunately we already have made such one as you know.*
*ESE:	det har vi også gjort.
%eng:	so have we.
*ERO:	det har vi også gjort.
%eng:	so have we.
*CAN:	*yapmayın verin siz de siz yapacak mısınız.*
%eng:	*then don't make it are you going to make that?*
*ESE:	så skrid hvis du ikke vil lave vi gider sgu ikke at have dig hvis du snakker.
%eng:	*then fuck off if you don't want to work we bloody don't want you here if you talk.*
*CAN:	bæbæbæ.
*ERO:	det er rigtigt nok.
%eng:	it is 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 must not talk we must work.
*AYL:	jeg snakker altid tyrkisk så.
%eng:	I will speak Turkish then.
*ERO:	kırt kırt kırt cart curt curt cart.
%com:	Erol imitates the sound of cutting scissors

In excerpt 4,11 we see Esen in the role of the leader who puts the others to work. She does so by Danish imperatives and a Turkish interrogative. The Danish imperatives (*kom så* and *lad være*) have the form of powerful adult-style talk to children, while the Turkish question (*biz mi yapacağız.?*) more is a suggestion on behalf of them all. This difference is hardly any coincidence.

Aylin follows up on Esen's initiative by proposing a solution to a part of their task. This leads to a critical remark from Canan. The tone of her rejection is not mild, and the *unfortunately* combined with the you *know* is apparently taken by the others as a rejection. Both Erol and Esen rush to relate that they have also been involved in a task like this before, which leads Canan to overtly reject Aylin's proposal, again in relatively strong words. Esen clearly finds Canan's rejection unacceptable, and she explodes. She tells Canan that she can work or fuck off. In front of Esen's blast Canan only answers with a meaningless *bæbæbæ*.

Until now the main feature of the conversation is that Esen has been speaking Danish and been seconded by Erol. On the other hand, Canan's criticism has been made in Turkish. Esen's first appeal is both in Danish and Turkish, but the development makes her choose Danish - in opposition to Canan. This leads to an interesting reaction from Aylin who asks whether they must speak Danish or what. The girls thus show that they know that they can choose to speak Danish or not to speak Danish, and they decide explicitly on Aylin's recommendation to switch to Turkish. It is Esen and Aylin who discuss. Aylin announces her intention to speak Turkish, and Erol once again seconds the former honored speaker.

In grade 4 we can observe that it becomes possible for the students to loan Turkish words into their Danish, see excerpt 4,12. The first one involves the loan of the word for closed, and it is similar to the Danish loans in the Turkish of the students. We can see that the mechanism of loaning Turkish words into Danish does not differ from the mechanism of borrowing in the opposite direction.

Excerpt 4,12:
*HUS: ja nu tror jeg også jeg skal også se det farvel og
              tak i dag er *kapat.*
%eng: yes now I think I am going to leave also, look
              here, goodbye and thank you, today is *closed*.

*MUR: du *yok yok* otte.
%eng: you *no no* eight.

The utterance in excerpt 4,13 involves a Turkish tag and a switch into an otherwise Danish utterance. As with the loan, we can see that the mechanism is the same regardless of the direction of the alternation, from Turkish into Danish or from Danish into Turkish. The values attached to the indivdual languages are not always involved in the local creation of meaning through code-switching.

Excerpt 4,13
*BEK: *evet* nu har vi Hüseyin Murat og Kenny vi
               spørger dem øh hvor blev Jesus født.
%eng: *yes* now we have Hüseyin, Murat, and Kenny,
               we ask them, eh, where was Jesus born?

It is part of the students' relation to language that they can choose between a range of varieties according to their own needs to express themselves, and that they know they can choose. The patterns of their choices involve a number of issues such as competence, preference, power, values attached to the languages in society at large, and precision of terms. This leads to discussions in which opposing interests get into conflict. Social relations are openly negotiated, and the available languages are used without inhibition or narrow-minded norms.

The students show an increasing tendency to use whatever linguistic means are available to them without regard to other people's grouping of the different means into separate groups. In doing so, the students do not treat words like *fuck*, *arastırmalar*, *hestevogn*, and *gemütlich*, as if these words belonged to different sets of linguistic units and items and therefore should be kept apart in language production. The students seem to have no qualms about using all such types of words in the same language production. It becomes increasingly hard to separate the languages neatly in their production, we can no longer group the features into separate languages, allowing some loan here and there. The

407

students are developing into poly-lingual languagers.

This does not mean that anything goes. But the students do make conscious decisions about when to use which linguistic features, i.e. they know when they can code-switch - and they have acquired this knowledge by experience. Somehow children learn to curse and swear without being taught in school. Somehow they also learn when to swear and when not to swear. Similarly children somehow learn to code-switch without being taught in school, and they learn from hard experience when they can not code-switch.

Other languages than Turkish and English are still not very frequent, but they can be observed in use in several instances. English appears more than other languages, both as loans in utterances mainly formulated in Turkish or Danish, and in English-based utterances, se excerpt 4,14. The utterances in excerpt 4,14 are from the same conversation, but otherwise unrelated. See also excerpt 4,10 with an English utterance.

Excerpt 4,14:
*BEK: Nordrup kom lige herind han dræber mig helt
             vildt <u>help me</u> ellers smadrer jeg dig.
%eng: Nordrup come in here, he is killing me wildly,
             <u>help me</u> or I'll crush you.

*BEK: <u>ninety-five</u> hvad var det for et tal.
%eng: <u>ninety-five</u>, what kind of number is that?

*BEK: så sagde han til mikrofonen <u>I love you</u> det gjorde
             han hvem sagde <u>I love you baby.</u>
%eng: then he said to the microphone: <u>I love you</u>, he
             did, who said: <u>I love you, baby</u>?

*BEK: <u>Denver the last dinosaur</u>.

*MUR: <u>ninety-five</u>.

There are two short exchanges which involves German. They are from the same conversation as the English in excerpt 4,14, and they are produced while they boys go through the quiz routine which we also observed in excerpt 4,9. This game is initiated and run by Bekir who is behind most of the English in excerpt 4,14, but actually Murat introduces the German here, see excerpt 4,15.

Excerpt 4,15:

*BEK: han sagde syv vi må have et bogstav kom så bogstav ja r det var et r nej det var et m kom så videre nu hvad er hoved+/.

%eng: he said seven, we must have a letter, come now, letter, yes, r, that was an r, no, it was an m, come on, go on now, which is the main+/.

*MUR: ein ein.

%com: German

%eng: one one.

*BEK: hvad er hovedbyen i Danmark.

%eng: which is the main city in Denmark?

*HUS: Ankara.

*MUR: *Kopenhag*.

%eng: *Copenhagen*.

*BEK: ja det er rigtigt stop uret hvad for et tal siger du.

%eng: yes, that is correct, stop the clock, which number do you say?

*MUR: ein zwei drei.

%com: German

%eng: one two three.

*HUS: ein vier.

%com: German

%eng: one four.

*BEK: vi må have et tal nej vi vil have et bogstav kom så bogstav bogstav seks tusind kroner mand.

%eng: we must have a number, no, we want a letter, come now, letter, letter, six thousand kroner, man.

It has become an aspect of the students' relation to language that they can choose between different kinds of language, and this has led to discussion where different interests are in contrast with each other. The social relations among the students are in several cases openly negotiated, and there are certainly power struggles among some of the girls. The girls obviously master a wider range of linguistic means more skillfully than the boys, and the new developments seem to appear among the girls first. With one exception - the boys seem to introduce new languages before the girls. The boys involved Danish with their Turkish earlier than the girls, and here in grade 4 the boys use a little English and German. The boys, however, seem to use the new languages mainly for play, while the girls employ them as tools in their social negotiations, and they do so in more advanced ways than the boys. The observations we can make regarding the differences in use between the boys and the girls support the conclusions of other studies which have found that the girls, when they are among girls, are very competitive and employ a wide range of linguistic strategies to succeed in the struggles (see Part 2).

Another development of grade 4 is that the loaning mechanisms have become more advanced and involve more complicated morphological and syntactical structures. The majority of loans are still Danish loan taken into Turkish-based utterances, but the mechanisms are used on a wider range of Danish vocabulary than before. Ad hoc loans can be integrated into a Turkish morphological and syntactical context on the spot.

More languages have been added to the students' practice. Stylized immigrant Danish and German are involved. The stylized immigrant Danish is used in a way that shows how well the students know the values ascribed to it in society at large (you drunken nigger), but they openly enjoy playing with these values, using the reference with an ironic distance.

In the grade 4 conversations between Turkish-speaking students there are altogether 2833 utterances produced. Of these 2481 are

410

Turkish-based, 69 of them with loans, 64 from Danish, and 5 from other languages, mainly English. There are 297 Danish-based utterances, 5 of which involve Turkish loans, and 3 involve loans from other languages. There is more widespread use of languages other than Turkish and Danish, such as utterances in English, and most importantly: there are different varieties of Danish involved. There are 46 utterances with intra-sentential code-switches.

The code profile of conversation 401 shows us a conversation which involves a more frequent use of Danish than in the conversations of the earlier grades. There are a couple of short stretches which stay along level 5, but generally there is a lot of movement from level 5 to level 3 and back again, with an occasional utterance at level 1. In conversation 401 there are three girls and one boy. In other conversations from grade 1 we can observe a difference between conversations among girls and conversations among boys.

The code profiles of the conversations in grade 4 are namely not entirely similar. There is more Danish in grade 4 than before, but only among the boys. The boys are quantitatively in front in their development of language choice patterns, although as we have seen, not qualitatively (with Murat as an exception). Conversation 405 is a conversation among girls, and its code profile looks quite a bit like the code profiles from grade 3. There is a slightly longer stretch which stays at level 3, namely around utterance no. 440, but apart from that we observe no important differences from the code profiles of grade 3. The profile of conversation 406 is very similar to that of conversation 405. There is a stretch along level 3, and perhaps a little bit more Danish, but apart from that the profile looks like the profiles we found in grade 3.

The profile of conversation 408 shows a conversation among boys. A little more than half way through the conversation a marked change takes places. Until around utterance 390 Turkish dominates, more than in conversation 311. Between utterance number 390 and utterance number 450 the conversation alternates

rapidly between Turkish and Danish. From utterance number 450 until utterance number 480 it is all Turkish again, but from then the conversation slides into Danish (level 1) with some spikes into level 3, but only very few to level 5. Very roughly described, it seems that the first part of the conversation is in Turkish, the second part in Danish. This confirms the impression that the boys, even though they use more Danish than the girls, do not integrate Danish and Turkish to the extent that the girls do. The code profiles support the conclusions we reach by analyzing the transcripts.

There are 8 conversations in grade 4 which include both minority and majority students. In these conversations Danish dominates strongly, with 4525 Danish-based utterances out of a total of 4784. There are 162 Turkish-based utterances, of which about 40 are produced in conversation 402 involving four girls. A lot of the time the girls are involved in attempts to get all four of them singing together. Both Danish. English, and Turkish songs are proposed, and in several cases one or more of the girls begin singing a song. Now and then they all join in, as in excerpt 4,16.

Excerpt 4,16
*EME: *şiirimin dili <ağıtlardan şurmeli.>[>]*
%com: singing, laughing
%eng: XXXX
*PEM: *<ağıtlardan şurmeli.>[<]*
%com: singing, laughing
*BRI: skal vi ikke hellere synge de fødselsdagssange.
%eng: shouldn't we rather sing those birthday songs?
*SID: skal vi begynde.
%eng: let's begin
*BRI: ja happy birthday.
%eng: yes, happy birthday
*EME: happy birthsday to you.
*PEM: happy birthsday.

The largest part of this conversation consists of either singing and

attempts at singing or gossip about teachers and about boys. The task is not very much a matter of discussion, but social relations - and the social activity of singing are. The singing involves three languages, the gossip is mainly in Danish. It seems as if the interaction involves that the girls understand the content of each other's contributions, there is room for very little but Danish. When the interaction is more oriented toward the social aspects, and less toward the semantic content, Turkish and English also get involved, but Turkish is only used by the minority girls. There are no indications that the majority girls appreciate or understand Turkish, with one possible exception, see excerpt 4,17.

Excerpt 4,17
*BRI: <jeg skal tisse>[<]
%eng: I need to pee
*AYL: *kes be sesini*.
%eng: *shut up*.
*BRI: ja men jeg tisser i bukserne.
%eng: but I am peeing in my pants.

In excerpt 4,17 Britta for the second time in a short while complains that she has to pee. It is possible here that she understands the exact message delivered by Aylin, even if she does not understand the Turkish utterance word by word. Aylin's utterance is fired off rapidly and not in very friendly voice, so it would not take much social insight to understand the message. We can not assume that Britta understands Turkish in any detail on the basis of this excerpt.

Code profile conversation 401

Code profile conversation 405

Code profile conversation 408
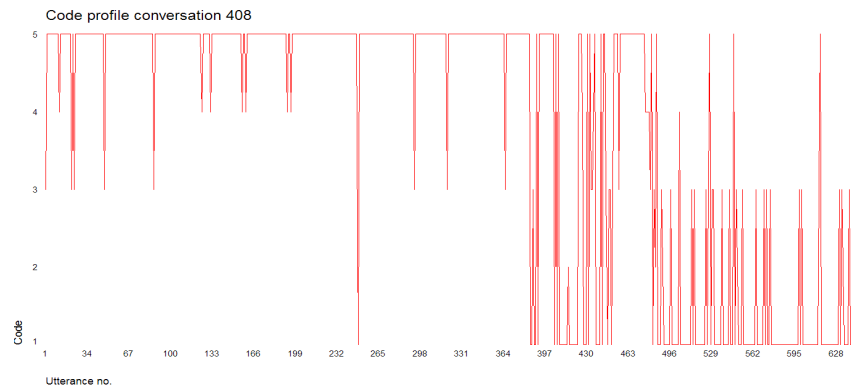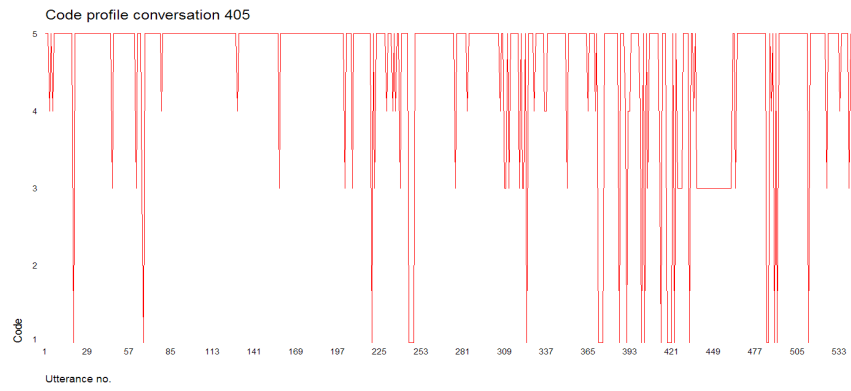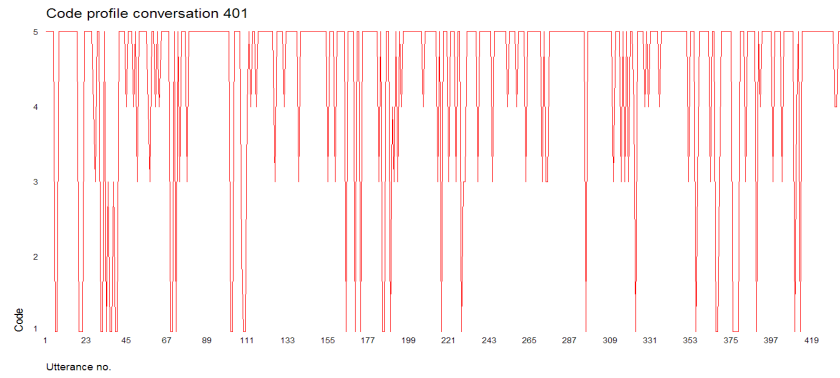
Erol produces more of the Turkish-based utterances in these conversations than any other participant. Out of the 162 Turkish-based utterances, he is behind 76 (and 31 of the 54 intrasentential switches between Danish and Turkish), He participates in two conversations, both of them with Esen. In Excerpt 4,18 we see Esen and Erol in the company of two majority students, the same students as in excerpt 2,6. Again we notice how Erol attempts to negotiate with Esen in Turkish. The only remark he says in Danish, once he has begun this exchange, is *hold kæft*. Otherwise he insists on Turkish and on what he wants. Esen on the other hand insists on speaking Danish, and she specifically orders him to do so too. Esen carries out this discussion with Erol, without letting it disturb her involvement in a discussion in Danish with the two other group members. This is the same constellation of participants as in conversation 209 (see excerpt 2,10), and the course of the conversation is somewhat similar to that. Esen maintains control of the situation by involving herself in two different sub-conversations. She attempts, apparently in vain, to involve Erol by making him speak Danish, but most of the time he maintains Turkish.

Excerpt 4,18:

*ERO:	du er sgu da jeg vil klippe fra Folkeskolen af der er ikke nogen indianere *bunları okula asamaz mıyız kız*.
%eng:	you are the, I want to cut out from Folkeskolen, there are no Indians, *couldn't we hang these on the wall at school, girl*?
%com:	*Folkeskolen* is the magazine of the teachers' union
*ESE:	lad nu være med at snakke og klip
%eng:	don't talk, just cut
*ERO:	hold kæft *dur bak Esen şunu şeye yapamaz mıyız*.
%eng:	shut up, *wait, look, Esen can't we make this one into that*?
*ESE:	snak dansk.

%eng: speak Danish.
*ERO: *bunu okula yapamaz mıyız.*
%eng: *can't we make this for the school?*
*ESE: må jeg se.
%eng: let me see.
*ERO: *okula sığarsa.*
%eng: *if there is room for it in the school.*
*ESE: nej.
%eng: no.
*NIN: der er jo ikke noget med en sko [//] jo her der er
            en klasse.
%eng: there is something with a scho [//], yes, here,
            there is a classroom.
*ESE: der er ikke er det ikke klasseværelse hvad.
%eng: there isn't, is that not a classroom, isn't it?

There are some cases where the Turkish-speaking students exchange information which might as well have been in Danish, for instance the girls discussing fashion in conversation 402, but this happens only rarely, except for Erol's contributions which we see in light of the ongoing social negotiations in which he is held under control by Esen. She asks him to speak Danish, but she will simultaneously participate in two separate sub-conversations, and Erol is not in a very central position. As always there is no or extremely little Turkish produced by the majority students. One instance is interesting, however, as pointed out by Reiff (2002a), namely in conversation 415, see excerpt 4,19.

Excerpt 4, 19:
*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.>[>]

416

%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 they are all pigs</u>.

Frank and Kenny are united in an alliance against Eda. This is evident several times during the conversation which presents several examples of teasing which is not well-intended (or jocular in Rampton's 1995 terms). In excerpt 4,18 Frank tries out with a derogatory term in Turkish which he must have heard. At first Eda does not realize what he has been trying to say, but after his repetition she retorts with a string of Turkish insults. He tries to brush her off after the first salvo, but she continues, and Kenny joins in asking her to shut up. He further plays a really negative card, the ethnic derogation, and Franks supplements him with a German diatribe. This excerpt shows us a rare case of crossing, and one which is used negatively, not to bond with a minority member, but in fact the opposite - to ostracize her, see above in Part 2 about teasing.

The conversations between majority students produce 1636 utterances, 1635 of them Danish-based, 1 is English-based (a one-

417

word utterance *damnit*). Out of the Danish-based utterances, 2 include English loans (*Jack the Ripper*). The majority students have no Turkish whatsoever in their mutual conversations.

In grade 4 the code choice patterns, particularly code-switching develops among the Turkish-speaking students. The boys involve more Danish in their Turkish, but except for Murat it seems as if the girls are developing their behavior to integrate Danish and Turkish more. Quantitatively the boys integrate more, but qualitatively the girls do. The majority students still almost only use Danish.

Code choice in grade 5.

Between grade 4 and grade 5 the code choice patterns of the students develop dramatically. In grade 5 there are many more code switches, and the code switching practices are also much more complex than up until grade 5. Code profile 501 clearly demontrates how the patterns have changed. There are frequent and repeated moves up and down the levels, the changes of levels are very dense. There is still more utterances on the upper levels, but there are regularly utterances at level 1, and certainly more than we have seen at any time during the first four years. We can also see that there is not as much going on at level 2 as there is on level 4. Borrowing from Danish into Turkish is still more frequent than borrowing from Turkish into Danish.

There is an important difference between code profile 408 and profile 501. Both can be said to represent a relatively even distribution of utterances on Turkish and Danish. In conversation 408, however, the utterances are distributed in different parts of the conversation. One part is primarily Turkish-based, and another one is primarily Danish-based. This is not the case of code profile 501, in which there is constant code-switching.

In code profile 501 there are also frequently utterances at the mid levels, i.e. with features from more than one language, as loans or in mixed utteerances. It would be meaningless to label such a conversation as "Turkish" - even as "Turkish which involves also Danish", or vice versa, to label it as "Danish" or "Danish which also involves Turkish". The two languages are integrated in the language use which leads to such a profile. The languages are really positioned as ideological constructions by the speakers, and the ideology which lies behind the monolingualism norms, the *sprachliche Reinheit,* are entirely rejected by such practices. We can identify almost all of the individual features as Turkish or Danish (or, from grade 5 and on, English). Nevertheless we can not identify very long stretches of speech as produces in either one or the other language. The fluctuation is too dense. In some cases it

is even hard to identify an individual word as one or the other.

Code profile 502 appears to show much the same as code profile 501. There are a couple of short phases, or perhaps three, during which the interlocutors use only one language, around utterance no. 40 and around utterance no. 935. Around utterance no. 120 there is a short stretch in Turkish followed by one utterance at level three and then a short stretch in Danish. In conversation 501 it seems as if there are only very few cases in which an utterance is followed by another utterance which uses the same code. This is not completely absent from conversation 502. Conversation 503 has a profile which is similar to the profile of conversation 502, with to or three very short stretches of speech in one code, but otherwise with the same rapidly changing picture as conversation 501.

The differences between the code profiles of grade 4 and the code profiles of grade 5 are indeed remarkable. A very evident change has taken place. By grade 5 the young speakers have found the oppotunities offered by variation in language use, particularly code choice. In the following analyses we will get a closer look at that, including the potion of involving utterances from a third language, English.

It appears from the code profiles in grade 5 that there is a lot happening with the code choice patterns of the Turkish-speaking students in the grade 5 conversations. In order to take a close look at the changes at the level of the individual utterance, and not just the graphs, I analyze conversation 501 in some detail. This conversation illustrates in many ways the phenomena we can observe in grade 5. The conversation has also been studied by Jacobsen (2002), Madsen (2001b), and Reiff (2002). The following rests to a large extent on my analysis (Jørgensen 20003c) with references to the others.

Code profile conversation 501
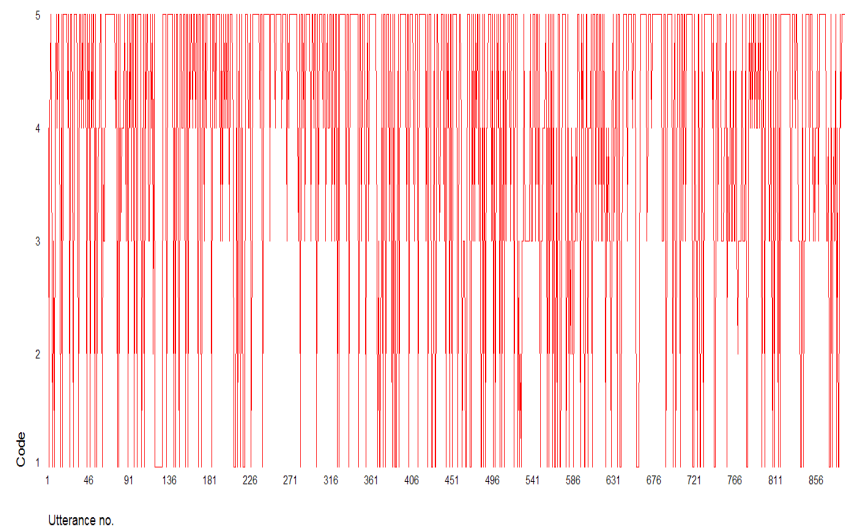
Code profile conversation 502
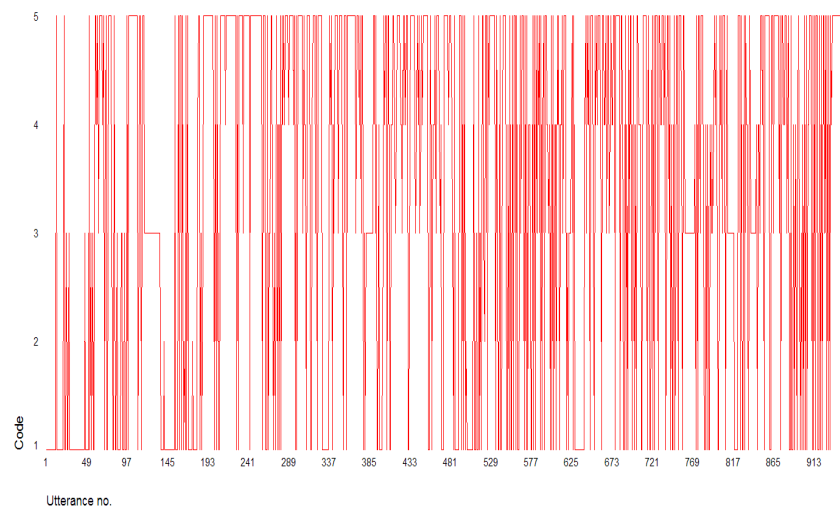
The conversation involves two boys, Erol and Ali, and two girls, Esen and Selma. In the conversation as a whole, roughly 60% of the utterances are in Turkish, about 20 % in Danish, and the remaining 20 % other (either in a third language, a mix, or unclassifiable). From these figures one could conclude that conversation 501 is a conversation in Turkish. Nevertheless, as we can observe in the code profile, the inclusion of non-Turkish elements is so frequent that we would oversimplify if we just considered conversation 501 a Turkish conversation with an occasional loan or code-switch.

The use of non-Turkish elements is not evenly distributed among the four students. Selma's use is close to the average of the group. The boys are the most frequent users of Turkish with roughly 70 %, 10 % Danish, and 20 % other, respectively. Ali uses a little more Turkish and a little less Danish than Erol. Esen has about a third of her utterances in each category. In the conversation as a whole the girls speak less Turkish than the boys.

During the conversation a variety of themes appear, get developed, are left and re-introduced. The task that the group is assigned to do is geographical. The task is a frequent theme in the conversation, it is frequently referred to, in fact it is permanently present as a possible frame of reference. This theme leads to several sub-themes, such as particular geographical places. Africa appears in six different connections. In one connection Esen comments on a picture from Africa. In another connection the four students all look for Africa on the map. In a third connection (see excerpt 5, 4 below) they discuss how to illustrate Africa as part of their task. Turkey is another theme that appears - and it leads further to a different theme, namely holidays spent in and outside Turkey (see excerpt 5, 1). Similarly the theme of Paris leads to a discussion of the Euro-Disney amusement park there, and again vacations. Sweden is a theme of Erol's which he brings up eight times during the conversation. First he looks for it, then he thinks he has found it, and then again he asks the others whether he has indeed found the right place, but he never gets a straight reply. At one point Esen

reacts to his initiative, by playing with the word *Sverige* (see excerpt 5,5). At another point Ali discusses whether it is correct to write *Sverige* on the cardboard. In excerpt 5,1 we can observe how a theme unfolds.

Excerpt 5,1.
*ERO: *Pamukkale'ye gittim ben*
%eng: *I have been in Pamukkale*
*SEL: *Pamukkale mi*
%eng: *in Pamukkale*?
*ESE: *ben çok gittim*
%eng: *I have been there a lot*
*SEL: *ben <gitmedim> [>]*
%eng: *I have not been there*
*ERO: *<ben de> [<]*
%eng: *me too*
*ESE: *gitmedin mi.*
%eng: *have you not been there*?
*SEL: nej *biz hamamın çok uzaktayız ondan gitmedik biz*
%eng: no *we are very far from the Turkish bath, that is why we did not go*
*ERO: *biz İstanbul'dayız <bir de Uşak'tayız bir de Ankara'dayız> [>]*
%eng: *we spend some time in Istanbul, then we are in Uşak, and then we are in Ankara*
*ALI: *<biz eskiden [/]> [<>]*
%eng: *in the old days we* [/]
*SEL: *<Australien> [<]*
%eng: Australia
*ESE: *biz Ankara'dayız*
%eng: *we are in Ankara*
*ALI: *ulan biz nerdeyiz*
%eng: *man, where are we*?
*ERO: *biz de*
%eng: *we too*
*ALI: *<dındı Türkiye'mi gene kaybettim> [>]*
%eng: *dindi I lost my Turkey again*

*ERO: *<üç yerdeyiz biz ızmir'de bak dört yerdeyiz>* [<] *İzmir'de Ankara'da İstanbul'da <Uşak'ta>* [>] *İsta [/] eh işte dört yerde oluyoruz*

%eng: *we are in three places, in ızmir, look, we are in four places, in İzmir, in Ankara, in İstanbul, in Uşak, İsta [/] eh so we are in four places*

*ALI: *<Türkiye mi xxx bak bak bak bak Esen>* [<] *<Irak Irak Irak Irak>* [>]

%eng: *is it Turkey? xxx, look, look, look, look, Esen, Iraq, Iraq, Iraq, Iraq.*

*SEL: *<benim mikrofonuma şeyimizi>* [<]

%eng: *into my microphone that thing there of ours*

%com: Selma blows into the microphone

*ESE: vi er kun i *<Ankara>* [>]1 og så *on gün* ferie*ya gidiyoruz ya şöyle Mersin'e oluyor ya Kuşadası'na ya Pamukkale <birisi>* [>]2 *oluyor*

%eng: we are only in Ankara *and then we go on ten days of* vacation *it will be Mersin or so, or Kuşadası, or Pamukkale, one of them*

*ERO: *<Ankara>* [<]1

*ALI: *<ulan>* [<]2 *Erol*

%eng: *man, Erol*

*ERO: *biz Pamukkale'ye gittik ay ne güzeldi*

%eng: *we went to Pamukkale, and was that pretty*

*ESE: *Marmara Deniz'e hepsine gittik ay*

%eng: *to the Marmara Sea, we went everywhere, ey*

*ERO: *bir yere gittik böyle bedava otelin orda otel <hep taşlar aj mand bir* güzel> [>]

%eng: *we were at a place, a free place next to the hotel the hotel lots of rocks, oh man, so pretty*

*ALI: *<Irak aha Türkiye>* [<]

%eng: *Iraq, there, Turkey*

In excerpt 5,1 we see how the place-name Pamukkale triggers an exchange about vacations spent in Turkey. The most active participants are Erol and Esen. They both relate in detail where they usually spend their summer vacations in Turkey with their

families. Selma also contributes to the subject, although mostly by saying what she does not do. Then she turns her attention to the task (*Australien*). Ali, however, apparently does not really know where he spends his summer vacations, and he gives up contributing further to this theme. He shifts his attention to the task. He has lost what he calls *my Turkey*. In his next remark he tries to attract Esen's attention, looking for Iraq. With the final utterance in the excerpt he seems to have found it, Iraq, and as a consequence its geographical neighbor, Turkey, on the map.

There are several characteristics to notice in this excerpt. Firstly, at is noteworthy that not one of Ali's utterances seems to be integrated into the flow of conversation between the others. All of his remarks are simultaneous with something another participant says, and both Erol and Esen blatantly ignore his contributions. It is not because Ali's utterances are monologic remarks or independent statements - they all relate to the conversation and the themes introduced by the others. He refers either to the vacation theme or to the task. But he does not get any attention from the others. Secondly, Ali is not the only one who experiences being ignored. Erol and Selma both react to Esen's *ben çok gittim*, but Erol's reaction is ignored by the two girls. He persists rather stubbornly with the details of his vacation, and first then does he get a reply from Esen, while Selma still ignores him and continues with the task. A certain hierarchy appears from this excerpt, with Esen as the strongest individual, the girls being stronger than the boys, and with Ali as the weakest individual. Attention and replies to initiatives are the observable features of an ongoing power process. The girls seem to master the power handling with more success than the boys. Thirdly, we observe how the subject of Pamukkale develops into the theme of vacation, and further into what is pretty or fun. Fourthly, we observe how the participants shift effortlessly from theme to theme and back again, even Ali. Although he does not receive very much attention from the others, he is still able to follow the conversation, and in a way contribute. His remarks are relevant enough, they just do not receive any reactions. His contributions are real contributions, but they are not

met with any acknowledgement.

This raises two issues. One issue has to do with the content of discussion. What do the participants talk about, and what do they say (see also Esdahl's (2001a) concept of focus). The other issue has to do with the relations between the speakers: who has power (over whom), who makes the decisions, who teases whom, who supports whom?

With respect to the content, the place-names are at the core of the conversation. Not only is the task about place names, but they also amount to a point of departure for other themes, and they constitute a frame of reference which the participants can always resort to at any point during the conversation (cf. first Selma's and then Ali's return to the task in excerpt 5,1). Several other place names figure in the conversation, and in some cases they lead to sub-themes. The subject of travels leads further to discussions of airlines. At one point a jingle from a TV commercial for an airline plays a central role in the conversation (see excerpt 5,3 below). Advertisements, pictures, and the different place-names trigger several introductions of short themes. There are also several instances of singing, humming, shouting and other ways of having fun which are not conversationally focused. Most of the activities and themes one way or another grow out of the place names which appear in the students' work with the task.

The acitivity, and the introduction of place-names do not occur equally frequently with the participants. Selma, Erol, and Ali each mention about 20 different place names (types) during the whole conversation. With Selma and Ali we find roughly 60 tokens; Selma has *Australia* 9 times, *Turkey* 8 times, and *Japan* 6 times; Ali mentions *Paris* 8 times. With Erol we count 80 tokens (*Sweden* 17 times, and *Paris* 9 times). Esen stands out with more then 40 different place names mentioned altogether more than 100 times combined, *Africa* 8 times, *Euro-Disney* 8 times, *Belgium* 7 times, *Turkey* and *France* 6 times each. She may or may not know more place names than the other speakers, but she definitely produces

426

more names, and a much greater variety of places and names than the others do.

The social relations among the four speakers are not simple. Madsen (2001b) studies the power relations between the four speakers on the basis of four different quantitative criteria. She finds that Esen is by far the most powerful participant. The others are not very different from each other. Madsen posits Selma as the second most powerful speaker, and Erol as the least powerful speaker. Jacobsen (2002) agrees that Esen is undisputedly the leader of the four. Jacobsen illustrates this with Esen's use of the medium of Danish as a means of control. Jacobsen finds that Esen uses Danish more often than Turkish to get the others' attention or to administer the conversation through reprimand and praise.

These two strands of observation support each other. Esen is dominant in the sense that she introduces more themes than the rest of the group, and she mentions more place-names. She is also dominant in the sense that she uses powerful language and achieves control of large parts of the conversation.

The constant oscillation between languages which is characteristic of conversation 501 (in comparison to the earlier conversations we have seen), and which involves several languages, can be observed in excerpt 5,2.

Excerpt 5,2
*ERO: *manyak*.
%eng: *fool.*
*ESE: ih Erol.
%eng: oh Erol.
%com: reprimanding
*ERO: *yapma valla küserim*.
%eng: *don't, by God, I'll be angry*.
*ESE: *pis.*
%eng: *dirtbag*.
*ERO: *terbiyesiz.*

%eng: *scum.*
*ESE: *sen de.*
%eng: *you too.*
*ALI: *<Erol ya.> [>]*
%eng: *Erol now.*
*SEL: *<Erol xxx.> [<]*
%eng: *Erol xxx.*
*ALI: *Esen valla sen değil misin.*
%eng: *Esen, by God, isn't that you?*
*SEL: åh ja Erol.
%eng: come on, Erol.
*ESE: det er du selv.
%eng: you yourself are.
*ALI: *evde de böyle yapıyorsan.*
%eng: *if you do like that at home too.*
*SEL: <SAS.> [>]
%eng: SAS.
%com: SAS is an airline.
*ERO: *<ha.>[<]*
%eng: *what?*
*ESE: hvad.
%eng: what?
*ERO: *şimdi Zehra sildim Özkan sildim.*
%eng: *now, Zehra, I have wiped it out, Özkan, I have wiped it
          out.*
*SEL: *biz hiç ya+/.*
%eng: *we have writ-* (or perhaps *don-*) *nothing.*
*ERO: åh ja.
%eng: come on
%com: complaining.
*ESE: åh ja <Erol.>[>]
%eng: come on, Erol.
%com: complaining.
*SEL: *<manyak.>[<]*
%eng: *fool.*
*ERO: *Esen dedi ki eh xxx'nın parasını biz ödemiyoruz dedi
          manyak* <u>Dummkopf</u> *kart kart cik cik cik cik.*

428

%eng:	*Esen said that eh we do not pay xxx's money she said, fool*
	fool, cut cut no no no no.
*ESE:	det er løgn.
%eng:	that is a lie.
*ERO:	*yaz xxx as.*
%eng:	*write xxx ace.*
*SEL:	*Erol üşüttün.*
%eng:	*Erol you have gone crazy.*

It is not difficult to see that Danish is mainly used for quarreling. However, Danish is not the only language used for this purpose - Turkish and German both provide explicit terms of negative evaluations of the other. The flow of the quarreling is constant and fluent. The speakers use a range of negative expressions. There is no apparent flagging or other marking of the code-switches. Furthermore, the stream of invectives is briefly interrupted by a reference to the task (the remark about the SAS company). The speakers are clearly able to handle two themes at the same time without dividing the issues between L1 and L2. The issue of the task appears intermittently throughout the conversation, and simultaneously other negotiations go on, in this case an elaborate exchange of negative evaluations - an exchange that uses invectives from L1, L2, as well as an L3.

The speakers seem to have no difficulty in handling several themes and several languages within the same conversation. In this excerpt there is no obvious importance to the involvement of the separate languages. The important thing is not how each of the languages is used differently from the other. The important thing is the very fact that more than one language is involved. This is not to say that the individual switches do not carry meaning, but if so, it is a very local meaning (cf. Hinnenkamp 2003). The material gives us no reason to assume that the variation which characterizes code-switching is disappearing. We do not here observe a fused lect in Auer's (1999) terms, but we may witness an early stage in what could in theory become a development towards a fused lect. In social psychological terms, we may see this language use as a

429

means to strengthen in-group ties, at the cost of (or with the extra bonus of) alienating several others at one time: the parent generation, the monolingual Danes, the teachers and school authorities. Such linguistic signaling of youth group membership is not different from the use of advanced vowel pronunciation in monolingual language use (cf. Eckert 2000) or the use of a group specific argot (cf. Møller & Jørgensen 2002). What is salient in the language use of the speakers in excerpt 2 is not that they use more than one language. In a sense the four students' language use in this conversation works as if only one language was at play - there is nothing to distinguish this behavior use from the language use of monolinguals who use every available negative term to haul insults at each other.

In fact, at least sometimes the attitudes of young bilinguals also point in the same direction, cf. Landsberg (1997,180) who in her conclusion finds that "I have come to understand bilingualism as *one* language" among the young Finnish-speaking minority in Sweden. She has observed that the values attached to each of the languages of Finnish and Swedish are not unequivocally accepted and used by the young speakers.

> But even if the youngsters do not talk explicitly about the ideological language arena, they are very much part of an ongoing debate concerning how a multicultural Sweden is to be organized (Landsberg 1997, 181).

This is not to say that the languages are just being mixed arbitrarily. This is probably only rarely the case. Everywhere in our material and at all times we seem to find meaning in the code choice. Cromdal (2000, 2001), for instance, has found a discourse level division of labor between Danish and Turkish in conversation 801 (see the section on grade 8 below). Indeed the languaging of the four students in conversation 501 involves the option of dividing the work between the involved languages. The speakers may simply *choose* to let the languages do different jobs. This we can see in excerpt 5,3.

430

Excerpt 5,3
*ALI: hej *benim kartıma bakar mısınız.*
%eng: hey *will you look at my card.*
*ESE: *o zaman şöyle kes ya* det skal ikke [//] det fylder meget.
%eng: *in that case cut it like this* it is not [//] it is quite big.
*ALI: *Erol bak benim kartım güzel değil mi.*
%eng: *Erol look isn't my card nice.*
*ERO: *bakayım # arkasına.*
%eng   *let me have a look # on the backside.*
*SEL: *kesti.*
%eng: *he has cut.*
*ESE: Italien.
%eng: Italy.
*ALI: *şurdan vardı bende koparttım gitti.*
%eng: *I had one of these I tore it.*
*ERO: *<şeye sokarsın denersin olur # paran olur o zaman xxx.>*[>]
%eng: *you can put it into that one you can try # then you will have money xxx.*
*SEL: *<kopart xxx.>*[<>]
%eng: *cut it off xxx.*
*ALI: <nej <u>shit</u> mand>[<] Jackpot hele verden.
%eng: no <u>shit</u> man Jackpot all over the world.
*ESE: <u>Jackpot takes you there</u> dadadadidu.
%com: Esen sings.
*SEL: hele verden.
%eng: all the world.
*ERO: <u>are you finish.</u>
*ALI: Jackpot hele verden.
%eng: Jackpot all over the world.
*SEL: <<u>no I am Danish.</u>>[>]
*ERO: <<u>no I am Danish</u>>[<] *reklâmda.*
%eng: <u>no I am Danish</u> *in the ad.*
*SEL: *he.*
%eng: *yes.*
*ALI: <u>no I am Finnish.</u>
*ESE: <<u>Morocco.</u>>[>]

431

*ERO: *<İngilizce>[<]* <u>hello</u>.
%eng: *English* <u>hello</u>.
*SEL: <u>hello I would like a squash</u>.
*ALI: <u>hello I would like a squash</u> # <u>I am Danish</u>.

In the beginning of excerpt 5,3 Ali proposes a picture for inclusion in the task. Esen takes the floor. In the first part of her utterance she addresses in Turkish the issue which was at hand before Ali's remark. In the last part, she switches into Danish and brushes off Ali's proposal. Ali instead turns to Erol and asks for his support, but Selma agrees with Esen, and nothing comes of it. The discussion continues, mostly in Turkish, until Ali gets another idea. He finds an advertisement (a free postcard) for the SAS airline. This postcard advertisement was at the time part of a campaign for the SAS company. The campaign was organized around the theme "Jackpot takes you there" which Ali reads out. This initiative of Ali's triggers a series of remarks: The girls immediately fall in and show that they recognize the campaign and its theme, Esen even singing the jingle of the corresponding TV commercial. Esen's humming reinforces the turn of attention from the task to the advertisement theme.

Erol develops this line further by contributing a line from another widely played TV-commercial: *are you finished*. In this advertisement, a green-grocer asks an insisting customer - in English: *Are you finished?*, and the customer answers: *No, I am Danish*. Ali does not immediately realize that Erol has introduced a new ad, so he continues with the jackpot theme. But Selma has noticed, so her following remark is a reaction to Erol's initiative, and in a way a corrective to Ali's inappropriate reaction. Simultaneously with her reaction Erol also stresses the appropriate answer to his own initiative - with the same words as Selma. Erol even adds in Turkish: *reklâmda*. Thereby Erol uses Turkish to explain what the appropriate reaction to his own utterance *Are you finished?* Is supposed to be, and thereby he also explains the development to Ali.

The four participants now develop the conversation with this finish-Finnish word pair. The original pun of the TV-commercial is picked up by Ali who turns it into the opposite: *No, I am Finnish*. Esen and Erol react simultaneously. Esen adds *Morocco -* (possibly) a double reference to the punning game and the map in front of them. Erol also double-comments, as he again uses Turkish (*İngilizce*) to explain what the appropriate remark is supposed to. Selma extends the reference to the appropriate sequence of remarks from the TV commercial. Ali follows up on this and continues, again in non-correspondence with the original sequence with *I am Danish.*

With the change of language back and forth between English, Danish, and Turkish the bilingual adolescents not only share their enjoyment with the pun of the TV commercial, extending it further. They also build up an obviously shared attitude to the use of English. They make fun of the English which is extensively used in ads and slogans in Denmark. This works partly as sheer fun, partly as an alleviation of the disagreement which it follows.

The speakers do indeed select linguistic items freely from the languages they meet in their everyday. They choose linguistic items, words, and insert them into new combinations which relate new values and attitudes. The effect is that they all join in a mutual activity of poking fun at the world - through the simultaneous use of three languages. This unites them in the situation, and it contributes to bringing about and negotiating shared values which may reach beyond the situation. In this sequence Ali is much more part of the ongoing conversation than we observed in excerpt 5,1.

However, the languages are not used completely arbitrarily. Firstly, the use of English is primarily bound to the texts of the advertisements and TV-commercials, but the children do not restrict their use to verbatim quotations. They also elaborate on the lines of the ads, still using English. Secondly, Turkish seems to be used by Erol for side remarks, particularly to explain (to Ali) what is going on. In this excerpt as opposed to excerpt 5,2, the languages

do not seem to share their functions. Danish seems to be used at least once by Esen to mark opposition to Ali's proposal.

In this excerpt we have seen different codes being used for separate conversational functions. The choice of code is free, but it is not arbitrary. The different languages serve different functions, but the division of labor is not based (not entirely, at least) on norms of appropriateness (Boyd 1985), not even on a distinction between we-code and they-code (Gumperz 1982). Within the same conversation the codes may exchange their functions, for instance so that a language which represents one function in one part of a conversation may serve other functions in other parts of the same conversation. In such circumstances, code switches do indeed carry local meaning, but it is the code-switch itself, not the direction of it, that matters (cf. Jørgensen 1998a).

In excerpt 5,4 we find the four speakers a bit later in the conversation than in excerpt 5,3. Esen comments on their task (*Det er Grækenland*), and Selma adds *Sjælland* which she produces with an exaggerated intonation contour and an equivocal apposition. In Esen's reply, the *Jackpot takes you there* theme appears again, as it does several times during the conversation. The success of the use of the jingle that we observed in excerpt 5,3 has established it as a theme which the speakers can refer to within this conversation. It is part of the shared frame of reference which conversation 501 becomes in its course. But this is not the only instance of singing and humming. There is singing with Turkish sounds (both Erol and Esen), and there is Selma's exaggerated intonation (while she speaks Danish) which borders on singing. All the three languages are thus employed within this aspect.

Erol interrupts Esen's singing in order to tease her. He comments on something she has pasted on the cardboard. Unfortunately it is unclear just what or how: *kulağına yapıştırmış* may refer to both Esen's own ear or somebody else's ear. Esen apparently sees the comical side of pasting paper on one's ear and giggles, while Erol follows up on his success. Selma's remark adds a further layer on

to this: *kulağına yapıştırma* may mean *do not paste it on her (his) ear*, but also *do not paste it on your ear*. Again it appears as if Ali is not quite with the others. He refers to the fact that "they" (probably those who are eventually going to listen to the recordings) can in fact hear what goes on. He may not have realized that the three others are in the process of creating yet another frame of reference - the pasting of cut-out paper on somebody's ears. At least there is a short silence after his remark. Esen breaks the silence with a sentence that is both a reply to Ali's comment, to Erol who fingers with his microphone, and a reference to her own singing of the Jackpot theme. If indeed Ali here shows that he has not understood the game the others were playing, Esen's remark is a face-saver on his behalf. We may note that in excerpt 5,3, Erol used Turkish in his face-saving efforts on behalf of Ali. From this we can see that a specific function may at one time be served by one language, at another time by another language - within the same conversation and within the same type of speech event.

In the continuation, Erol concentrates on his microphone while Esen tells him there is something wrong. She does so in Danish, but the word for *wrong* is pronounced with a distinctly exaggerated local vernacular (Sealand) pronunciation of the stød (glottal constriction). Esen's remark comes across as playful and not necessarily informative. Her use of the local pronunciation for effect is not a privilege for bilinguals. As pointed out by Kristiansen 1990 and others (see the section on Language and power in Denmark in Part 1), Denmark is characterized by a comparatively intolerant sociolinguistic atmosphere in which non-standard varieties are systematically stigmatized. The Sealand stød pronunciation is one stigmatized feature which is sometimes used for comical effects by non-Sealanders, and in such cases it is pronounced precisely the way that Esen uses here. This takes the power out of her somewhat critical remark to Erol. It is further interesting that these Turkish-Danes are Sealanders in their Danish, although Esen is less so than the others. Esen demonstrates her knowledge of the way in which standard speakers regularly

exaggerate the Sealand stød as well as her capability and willingness to activate this feature as a mitigating factor in an utterance that is also a face-threat. The use of the Sealand stød becomes an act of solidarity in this context. This is only possible because the feature (i.e. the exaggerated Sealand stød) is ascribed negative evaluations in Danish society at large and particularly among Copenhagen standard speakers. Esen is able to bring this feature into the conversation, turn the values around, and use the feature with positive values.

Then Selma intervenes, as she attracts Esen's attention. Apparently Selma shows Esen a picture, but Esen finds that it is useless for the purpose at hand. It is too pretty, and Esen finds that *i Afrika er der ikke så grønt # og smukt # og beautiful*. Esen first reaction is a sharp rejection, but it is mitigated through her building up of praise for the beauty of the picture that Selma has found. The word *beautiful* amounts to a hyperbole, because of its face value, but first and foremost because it is in English, and they all react to this point with laughter. Esen's use of the English word which might be risky in other contexts, here helps to alleviate the face-threat involved in rejecting Selma's proposal.

We have already seen that face-saving is done by the participants in this conversation through intersentential code-switching. Erol switches into Turkish to explain the situation to Ali, and Esen switches into Danish under similar circumstances. These last bits have shown us that intrasentential code-switching can work the same way. Esen's use of stigmatized local Danish in one utterance, and of English in another utterance, have exactly the same effect - they soften otherwise negative contents.

Excerpt 5,4
*ESE: det er Grækenland og det # er øh
%eng: this is Greece and this # is eh
*SEL: Sjælland <dos> [>]
%eng: Sealand dos
%com: with exaggerated intonation, "dos" equivocal as *there are*

*ESE: *(is) also* or *fool*.
*ESE: <u>yes</u> øh> [<] det er her eller der *şuraya yap* # <u>Jackpot takes you there</u> <di di.> [>]
%eng: <u>yes</u> eh, it is here or there, *make it there*, <u>Jackpot takes you there</u> di di.
*ERO: <oraya> [<] *yapıştır kimse duymaz seni*
%eng: *paste it on there, nobody can hear you.*
*ESE: daha iyi en +/.
%eng: even better, the most.
%com: giggling
*ERO: *kulağma yapıştırmış manyak*
%eng: *she has pasted it on her (his) ear, fool.*
%com: they all laugh
*SEL: *Esen kulağma yapıştırma.*
%eng: *Esen, do not paste it on your (her, his) ear.*
*ALI: *ama Erol duyuyorlar.*
%eng: *but Erol, they hear it.*
*ESE: # man kan høre jer ikke mig
%eng: # they can hear you, not me
%com: Erol fingers with his microphone
*SEL: <ååååh.> [>]
%eng: oh.
%com: protesting
*ERO: <dududu> [<] *bakın mikrofon* dududududu.
%eng: dududu, *look at the microphone,* dududududu.
%com: singing.
*ESE: Erol den duer altså ikke derinde der er noget galt.
%eng: Erol it does not work inside, there is something wrong.
%com: *galt* pronounced with an exaggerated Sealand stød.
*SEL: Esen.
*ESE: er det ik [/] det er sgu ikke Afrika i Afrika er der ikke så grønt # og smukt # og <u>beautiful</u> eller [/] næh.
%eng: is that no [/] that is bloody not Africa, in Africa it is not that green # and pretty # and <u>beautiful </u>or [/] no.
%com: they all laugh
*ERO: *Afrika ne kadar çirkin* add.
%eng: *how Africa is ugly* yerk.

437

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*ESE:   se lige her bu Af rika mı.
%eng:   look here for a moment, is that Africa?
*SEL:   åh ja.
%eng:   come on.
%com:   protesting
*ERO:   åååh.
%eng:   oh.
%com:   impressed
*SEL:   yes I am <xxx değil mi bu> [>]
%eng:   yes I am is that not xxx.
*ERO:   <Afrika değil bu>[<] <kikicikcik Afrika değil.>[>]
%eng:   this is not Africa, kikicikcik (singing) this is not Africa.
*ALI:   <it's you Africa>[<]
*ESE:   dan cici bororrom don cici kulağımdaki şeyleri duysun
        böcekleri
%eng:   dan cici bororrom don cici let him hear those sounds in
        my ear the insects
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Reiff (2002) has noted that the exchange which we observed in excerpt 5, 3 may be described as an instance of performance (in Bauman's terms, see the section on Youth language in part 1). Speakers have shared an enjoyable moment, and they realize this. They can later always refer to this moment of shared fun. They may also want to continue social relations to people with whom they have shared pleasant moments. This is not the same as saying that speakers play with language only or primarily to build their social relations with others. Fun can be a purpose in itself. Rampton (1999a) shows the performative use of German bits and pieces by London school boys, and Reiff finds similar patterns in conversation 501, particularly in the Jackpot theme. An example not mentioned by Reiff 2002 is excerpt 5,5.

In excerpt 5,5 Esen reacts to Erol's repeated introduction of Sweden in his search for the place on the map. Esen runs through several different pronunciations of the word *Sverige*. There are several interesting points in this variation of pronunciations. Firstly, Esen's pronunciation is a very particular form of Swedish.

The basic pattern of pronunciation is the same such as the intonation and the consonants. Both aspects represent Swedish pronunciation - and especially the pronunciation of the word *Sverige* - such as Danes stereotypically think that Swedish sounds. Esen's pronunciation does *not* represent Swedish pronunciation as it can be heard from Swedes, but the way Danes *think* it is. It is not mock Swedish, but rather functions as mock Danish-Swedish. Secondly, the change of vowels in the three versions in the excerpt (there is more later in the conversation, but that is beyond the point

here) is a fun ride through Danish vowels, all of which can be heard when Danes imitate Swedish. Thirdly, the way Esen forms her utterances, at least the second and third ones, do not contribute content to the ongoing conversation, only entertainment. The entertainment does indeed rely on a Danish routine about Swedes, but it does more than that - it develops the theme and extends its phonetic shape. Thus it is a case of performance, supporting Reiff's description of the Jackpot theme.

Excerpt 5.5
*ESE: Sverige.
%eng: Sweden.
%com: pronounced [ثَةتَجِـ جِـت] with tongue tip r, consonant g,
        and imitated Swedish intonation
*ERO: *ha burda yazıyor ah buraya yapıştırayım.*
%eng: *ha it says it here, let me paste it on here.*
*ESE: Sverige.
%eng: Sweden.
%com: pronounced [جِـ جِـ ٘ةتَ] with tongue tip r, consonant g,
        and imitated Swedish intonation
*SEL: ya.
%eng: so.
*ALI: ne Sverige'si yazıyorsun.
%eng: which Sweden are you writing?
*ERO: valla valla.
%eng: by God.

439

*ESE: küçücük yap Sverige.
%eng: make it very small, Sweden.
%com: *Sweden* pronounced [جـچـæːچـﺜﺔæ] with tongue tip r,
        consonant g, and imitated Swedish intonation
*ALI: ne Sv [/]
%eng: which Sw [/]

In conclusion we have found that the adolescents use the following languages and varieties: Standard Danish, exaggerated Sealand Danish, Turkish, English, stylized Swedish, German. At least, Danish, Turkish, and English are used for both exchange of information, practical task-solving, and administration of social relations in power struggles as well as in face-saving. In some situations, there is no clear difference in function between the languages, in other situations there is. The speakers do not rely on a concept of "appropriate" language choice as defined by society outside their group. They may choose - and switch - between their languages independently of such norms, and they may achieve certain effects by their choices and switches. However, their language use is not completely separated from or ignorant of the norms of society. They, especially Esen, bring into the conversation signals of attitudes that are widely held in Danish society, and they use these values to jointly oppose such attitudes, to play with them, and to create a shared frame of reference which is obviously related to (commercialized) youth culture.

In conversation 501 there are many references to youth culture, particularly popular culture and media culture. There are a few references to gender, but there are hardly any references to ethnicity at all. We witness a language use which is primarily carried by its users' adolescence, and not their ethnicity. The speakers violate, with premeditation, pleasure, virtuosity, skill, and wonderful effects all the norms that linguistic minority children and adolescents are confronted with in Denmark. Firstly, the speakers curse and yell and scream like all other adolescents who are left alone. They fight, and they are nowhere near being soft in

their sometimes playful (and sometimes not so playful) verbal fights. At other times, they can carefully calibrate a sentiment and avoid a face threat through punning, through poking their nose at the outside world, or in other ways. All in all: they speak precisely the kind of adolescent language that is downgraded by adults. Secondly, the speakers use whatever linguistic element or feature they find useful. There is not a single passage that even remotely looks like an attempt to speak one and only one language. This could be mistaken for a specifically "bilingual" characteristic, but of course it is not. Thirdly, the speakers violate with obvious pleasure and high sophistication the double monolingualism norms. They show no attempt to accept the language hierarchy which is prevalent in Danish society in general. Together the two latter points indicate that the students do not at this stage approach Auer's "fused lect". The code choices are meaningful and not arbitrary.

New and more complicated uses of code switching than we have found in the earlier years can be found many times in the conversations of grade 5. Excerpt 5,6 is one example.

Excerpt 5,6
*EDA: *ay Asiye* undskyld *ağlama ne olur* gør.
%eng: *oh Asiye* I'm sorry *don't cry, okay*?, do

In this utterance we have three finite verbs, to of which are in the imperative. The construction *ağlama ne olur gør* is complicated. The verb *gør* functions as a (Danish) substitution verb, but in relation to a negative imperative, and this is not usual in mother tongue Danish. Even if the first imperative had been positive, it would have been difficult to determine whether the base language here was one or the other. The *ne olur* which comes in between is a further complication. Literally it means *what will it become?*, but in the context it is an appeal - something like an emphatic please. The example shows us how structurally complex the students' code-switches can be.

441

From grade 4 to grade 5 the code-switching practices develop rapidly, they almost explode. Not only are there many more code-switches. But they are also much more complicated than hitherto. The code profile of conversation 501 shows this with a much more dense pattern of level change. This profile looks like the profiles of the other conversations of that year.

Because of the group constellations we can not know for sure whether we can place this development precisely in grade 5. We only have gender mixed groups, and it is possible that this has provoked more switches than the gender specific groups which, at least in grade 1-4, tended to use less complicated choice patterns, especially the groups involving only girls, see the section on the grade 4 code profiles above. If complicated code choice behavior is triggered by gender-mixing, it could in principle also have appeared already in grade 4, but in fact it did not, as can be observed in code profile 401. The expanded use of code switching, and the pointed choices made in grade 5, mark a step in the development of the students' languaging. The students have developed an advanced level of code switching. Of course not all the students have reached the same level, and not all students code switch equally much. As a group they have nevertheless developed an advanced patterns of code choice.

In grade 5 there are 3 group conversations between the Turkish-speaking students, 4 conversations in groups involving both majority and minority students, and 3 conversations between majority students. The Turkish-speaking students' group conversations produce 2538 utterances, of which 1546 are Turkish-based, and 847 are Danish-based. There are 42 utterances which are based on other languages, mainly English, as we have seen. There are 103 intrasentential code-switches. These figures make less sense in grade 5 than earlier, because the base of several utterances can not be categorized sufficiently with these categories (cf. The stylized Swedish), but they nevertheless indicate clearly that Danish is now an important part of the conversation, and that switches are not occasional accidents.

The conversations involving both minority and majority students deliver 3007 utterances. Out of these there are 2862 Danish-based utterances, 10 with English loans, and 5 with Turkish loans, all of the Turkish ones produced by minority students, see the examples below.

Examples of Turkish loans in Danish-based utterances.

Excerpt 5,7:
*HAV: det betyder også dum *manyak*.
%eng: it also mens stupid *stupid*

Excerpt 5,8:
*ERC: *Türkiye* det er hernede.
%eng: *Turkey* that's down here

There is also some German involved in conversation 506, both as loans in Danish-based utterances and as German-based utterances, see excerpt 5,7. The wide variety of forms which we have observed in conversation 501 does not seem to be used in the conversations involving both Turkish-speaking and majority students, however. The German is not integrated into the conversation in the way Turkish, English, and Danish are in conversation 501.

Excerpt 5,9:
*KEN: hvor hvor <u>Deutschland Deutschland.</u>[>]
%eng: where is <u>Germany Germany</u>
*JOH: <Kenya Kenya.>[<]
*ERO: <u>Deutschland Deutschland Deutschland <Deutsch la la land.</u>[>]
%eng: <u>Germany Germany Germany Germa la la land</u>

The same goes for most of the uses of English in the conversation with both majority and minotiry students, although there are examples in which English is used as a meaningful contribution in a sequence, and not as performance or language play, see excerpt 5,8 which is also from conversation 506. Johan is accusing

Kenneth in Danish of stepping on the chord to the mixing board, and Kenneth takes the power out of the accusation by stating - in English - that this (his stepping on the chord) is a matter of course. This short exchange is part of an ongoing teasing between the boys, and the English-based remark fits in nicely.

Excerpt 5,8 (conversation 506)
*JOH: ja nu jokker du på ledningen.
%eng: now you are stepping on the chord
*KEN: <u>of course I do.</u>

In these conversations we can also observe language play which at least borders on the cross-linguistic, such as the examples from conversation 504 below. Majken pronounces the words with Danish sounds, but she runs through a series of words which point to items such as *cameleons*, *calamities*, *camels*, and *zillions*. There are probably more, but this is a genuine example of language play. It runs along the same lines as Esen's rollercoaster ride with the word *Sverige* in conversation 501. In the second example which is triggered by the name *Istanbul* Majken plays with the names *Istanbul* and *Lissabon* and pretends not to know the words.

Excerpt 5,9:
*MAJ: <kalam kalamiyoner>[<] meloner meloner <kalameloner kalmeloner.>[>]
%eng: kalam   kalamiyoner   melons   melons   kalameloner kalmeloner.
%com: except for *melons* the words are meaningless

Excerpt 5,10:
*MAJ: listabul listabon nå lista.
%eng: listabul listabon, I see, lista.
%com: except for *nå* the words are meaningless

The group conversation between majority students produce 1301 utterances out of which 1260 are Danish-based, 28 are based on other languages (not Turkish), and 6 are intrasentential code-

switches. Of the utterances based on other languages 25 are in English. In conversation 510 there are several English-based utterances, interestingly some of them are a in a pattern we also saw in conversation 501, see excerpt 5,11.

Excerpt 5,11:
*JAN: squash are you finish.
*OLE: <no I am Danish.> [>]
*KEN: <no I am Danish.> [<]
*OLE: xxx Paris.
%eng: xxx Paris.
*JAN: Malaga jeg troede der stod Mallorca.
%eng: Malaga I thought it said Mallorca

The reference to the item of *squash* triggers the reference to the TV commercial which advocates the softdrink called *squash*, as it did in excerpt 5,3. But this time the exchange does not go beyond the reference to the commercial. Ole and Kenny simultaneous reply to the question *are you finish* with the appropriate *no I am Danish*, and there it stops. The conversation continues with the task. A little later Ole tries again with the utterance *hello I would like one +...* , but he does not get any reaction from the others. Even later he finds the Jackpot card and tries with that: *Jackpot takes you there*, but this time he does not get any reaction, either. Finally when he tries a third time, Jacob reacts and repeats the utterance *Jackpot takes you there*, but that is it. The other uses of English in conversation 510 are not integrated to a very high extent, either. Some of the occurrences are meaningful contributions to the ongoing conversation, such as excerpt 5,12, but others are nonsense words (and in one instance, a fictitious remark addressed to me).

Excerpt 5,12:
*MOG: hvor ligger Holland.
%eng: where is Holland?
*KEN: I don't know.
*MOG: hjælp mig lige Kenny.

%eng: give me a hand here, Kenny

There are a few utterances which use German. In the example in excerpt 5,13 there is a discussion about the names of state railways companies. DSB is the *Danske Statsbaner* which are the Danish ones, and DB is the *Deutsche Bundesbahn* which is the German version. Around this the discussion in excerpt 5,13 takes place, and it triggers the utterance from Frank in German *was sagst du?* which may be a genuine question formulated in German, but which more appears as a piece of performance. The way the others react support this understanding - they do not react to the German remark as a question at all. On the contrary, the attention turns straight away from the German, even Frank who goes on to pay with stereotypical East Asiatic sounds triggered by the word Thailand.

Excerpt 5,13:

*KAR:	Dannemark # Danmark DSB her her passer det ikke at DSB er fra Danmark det burde det gøre hvis xxx DSB danske statsbaner.
%com	the a-sounds exaggeratedly pronounced conservatively, DSB are the Danish State Railways
%eng:	Denmark # Denmark DSB here here is it not true that DSB is from Denmark it should be so if XXX DSB Danish State Railways
*THO:	nej det er <u>deutsche</u> statsbaner.
%eng:	no it is <u>German</u> state railways.
*FRA:	# <u>was sagst du</u>.
%eng:	<u>what are you saying?</u>
*THO:	øh det er vist Morten Olsen.
%eng:	eh I think it is Morten Olsen.
*FRA:	hej Thailand sjing sjang sjang sjing sjang sjask.
%eng:	hey Thailand shing shang shang shing shang splash.

In grade 5 we have seen an important development. The depth and

the width of code choice practices have increased enormously, especially for the Turkish-speaking students, and apparently led by the girls. Turkish and Danish have become integrated much more than before, and English is also being employed. Non-standard forms are also becoming part of the resources available to the students. The majority students are clearly behind in this development, although we see clear indications that English is beginning to be used, and sometimes with some content-wise integration into the conversations.
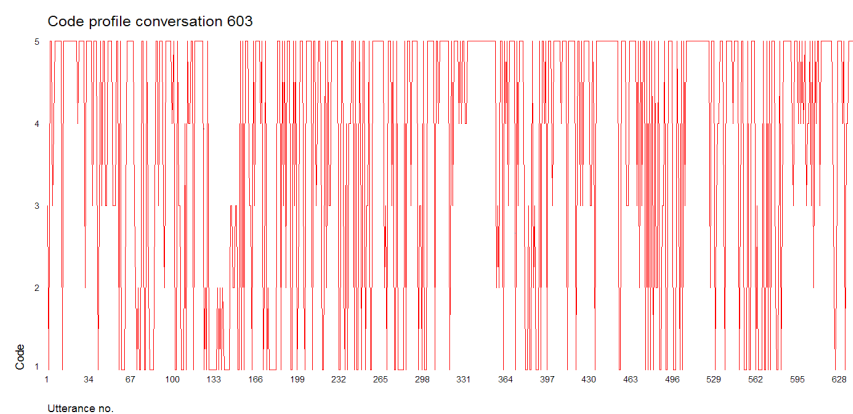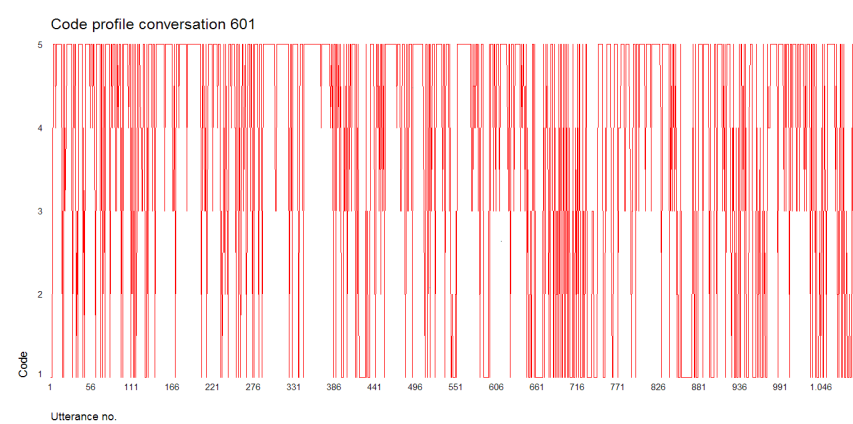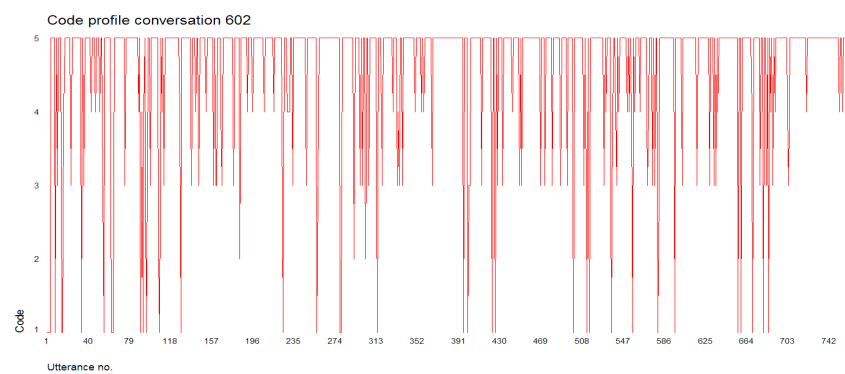
Code-choice in grade 6

In grade 6 we have three conversations involving Turkish-speaking students, one between boys, one between girls, and one gender-mixed conversation. The percentage of Danish-based utterances in the girls' conversation is small (6 %), but almost the same in the two remaining conversations (23 % in the boys' conversation, and 26 % in the gender-mixed conversation). This difference confirms the impression from figure 3.9 in which we observed that the girls in the company of boys use considerably more Danish than the girls do when they are in the company of only girls. The combined use of Danish in grade 6 is relatively smaller than in grade 5. There was no girls-only group conversation in grade 5 to lower the total amount of Danish. The code profiles of the three conversations are also accordingly different. The profile of conversation 602, a girls' conversation, looks to a certain extent like the code profiles from grade 1 through 3. A major part of the graph is at level 5, Turkish with no loans. There are forays down into other levels, but no longer stretches of talk at the lower levels of the figure. The utterances at lower levels than level 5 are more frequent than we found in grade 1 through 3, but nowhere near as frequent as in grade 5.

With the distribution of Danish-based utterances, the code profile of the boys' conversation must be quite different from that of the girls' conversation. Code profile 601 shows the boys' conversation. The profile is quite similar to the grade 5 profiles. The switching back and forth is not quite as dense in code profile 601 as in the grade 5 profiles, and there are several stretches that stay on level 5, although they are all very short. In general the upper half of the profile of conversation 601 is thicker than the lower half, indicating that Turkish is still stronger represented among the boys than Danish is. Both conversation 602 and conversation 601 show a more diversified use of codes. An integration of features has taken place, and that shows on the code profiles.

All conversations in grade 5 involved gender-mixed groups, so we

448

can not compare the grade 6 conversations and the behavior in boys' only groups and girls' only groups with the grade 5 conversations. The girls' group in grade 6 (conversation 602) differs distinctly more from the grade 5 groups, than the boys' group (conversation 601) does. This is confirmed by the profile of the mixed group in grade 6, conversation 603.The profile of conversation 603 looks quite different. The participants are two girls and two boys. As in conversation 602 there is more Turkish than Danish. The graph moves more in the upper half of the figure than in the lower half. However, we can also see that the continuous stretches of conversation are not only at level 5. Around utterance number 130, utterance 275 and a few other instances there are passages which stay on level 1. Between utterance 115 and 140 all utterances are Danish-based (some of them with loans). In this conversation Danish plays a more important role than in conversation 602. We observe that conversation 603 differs from conversation 501 in that the switches between Turkish and Danish do not appear with such short intervals in conversation 603. In conversation 501 the course is hectic, with frequent switches, intersentential as well as intrasentential, and many loans. Switches and loans are not absent from conversation 603, but there are also stretches of the conversation which maintain the same code for a while.

The grade 6 code profiles show a wider variation than we observed in the profiles of the conversations in the younger grade levels. The integration between the levels which can be observed allows elements from different codes to appear side by side in a range of varied combinations. In conversation 603 we see Danish and Turkish in different combinations, but there is very little in other languages. There is one utterance in Arabic which is clearly not received as a serious remark. Ahmet's utterance *Allahu ekber* causes Canan to laugh, se excerpt 6,1. Ahmet's words may have been just come to him by association, therefore his utterance stands as a pointed remark.

449

Code profile conversation 602

Code

Utterance no.

Code profile conversation 601

Code

Utterance no.

Code profile conversation 603

Code

Utterance no.

450

Excerpt 6,1
*HUS: <hey hadi başlıyoruz>[<] büyük bir adam yapalım len.
%eng: *hey come on we are beginning now, let us make a big
        man, man.*
*AHM: *Allahu ekber.*
%eng: *Allah is great.*
%com: Canan laughs

Except for the example with the exclamation *Allahu ekber*, which
is Arabic, we only see Turkish and Danish. The exchange in
excerpt 6,2 is typical of the grade 6 conversations. The two
languages are involved in the individual utterances in different
ways, and all the participants use both Turkish and Danish in their
contributions.

Excerpt 6,2:
*HUS: *Merva ya.*
%eng: *but Merva.*
*CAN: *ay dinleyeceklerinden <geldiysem.>[>]*
%eng: *if I could just get away from those who are going to
        listen.*
*HUS: <Merva hvor er du dum du er *baksana*>[<] *şura* det skal
        være sådan her når man ser så skal de to være sådan her
        og så skal det være sådan her.
%eng: Merva you are stupid you are *look at this* it has to be like
        this when you look at it then these two must be like this
        and that must be like that.
*MER: *ha ver la.*
%eng: *yes give it to me man.*
*HUS: *ama yapma le şimdi sırası mı.*
%eng: *but don't man is this the right moment.*
*MER: *hadi le başlıyalım ya.*
%eng: *come on man let us begin.*
*HUS: *başlıyoruz işte Ahmet gel buraya Ahmet* kom her for
        pokker *nasıl getirdim.*
%eng: *we are indeed beginning Ahmet come here Ahmet* come
        here for Pete's sake *how did I make him come.*

451

*MER: kom nu Hüseyin
%eng: come on Hüseyin.
*HUS: *deniyoruz herhalde Merva.*
%eng: *we are trying Merva.*
*MER: *he hadi.*
%eng: *yeah come on.*
*HUS: *hadi be.*
%eng: *come on, man.*
*AHM: *öyle değil la he Merva'nɪm dediği doğru böyle.*
%eng: *it is not like that man yeah it's correct what Merva says like this.*
*MER: *bak böyle.*
%eng: *look, like this.*
*HUS: nej *ama bunlarɪ bunlarla yapalɪm daha iyi olmaz mɪ.*
%eng: no, *but we are going to make these with these here, would that not be better.*
*AHM: *dur.*
%eng: *stop.*
*MER: nej nej jo jo.
%eng: no no yes yes.
*HUS: er det ikke meget bedre.
%eng: isn't that much better.
*AHM: *he zaten koca kafaya.*
%eng: *yes on the already big head.*
*HUS: *işte şöyle xxx* dem her nej.
%eng: *so like this xxx* these, no
*MER: de skal være de skal ikke være blå de skal ikke være blå.
%eng: they must be they must not be blue they must not be blue
*HUS: jo.
%eng: yes
*CAN: de skal være gul.
%eng: they must be yellow
*HUS: *bütün herşey* blå *olsun.*
%eng: *everything must be* blue.
*MER: bukserne skal være blå.
%eng: the pants must be blue
*HUS: *hɪ.*

%eng: what
*AHM: *işte* bukserne.
%eng: *this is* the pants.
%com: Merva laughs
*HUS: *işte* bukserne *bunlar.*
%eng: *this is* the pants *these.*
*MER: *he*.
%eng: *yes.*
*HUS: *hey beş tane olacak ha beş tane olacak.*
%eng: *hey there must be five there must be five.*
*MER: hvad
%eng: what

In excerpt 6,2 all four participants use both Turkish and Danish. There are utterances which are strictly Turkish such as Hüseyin's *ama yapma le şimdi sırası mı.* All four students, Ahmet, Canan, Hüseyin, and Merva, produce utterances entirely in Turkish. There are also utterances which are strictly Danish such as Canan's *de skal være gul*. In this excerpt Merva, Hüseyin, and Canan produce utterances entirely in Danish. There are also utterances which are Turkish-based but contain Danish loans, for instance Hüseyin's *işte bukserne bunlar*, and there are intrasentential code-switches such as Hüseyin's *başlıyoruz işte Ahmet gel buraya Ahmet* kom her for pokker *nasıl getirdim.* As in the rest of the material Danish words and expressions are loaned into Turkish much more than the opposite happens. Within this comparatively short excerpt, we see a range of different code choices administered by all the participants.

In the following examples there is one Turkish loanword in each of the Danish-based utterances. In each case it is a Turkish word, to which the students know the corresponding Danish word. Nevertheless, the utterances are marked by including a Turkish word. These words do not seem to be integrated Turkish loans in the Danish of the students. In fact there are very few Turkish words which appear more than once in Danish-based utterances in the whole material (one example being *vallah* which we will look at

453

below). The Turkish words appearing in Danish surroundings are ad hoc loans. The students have extended their competence in including Danish ad hoc loans into their to including Turkish ad hoc loans into their Danish. This is an indication of the languages becoming more equal in the usage of the students, and of increased integration of the two languages.

Examples of Turkish (*italics)* ad hoc loans into Danish-based utterances:

*ESE: Selma du tager den *sıra* så tager jeg denne her og du tager den og du tager den ikke også.
%eng: Selma you take that *row* then I will take this one, and you take that one, and I take this one, okay?

*CAN: vi laver sådan en lang en og så *şu* laver vi sådan der så laver vi+...
%eng: we will make a long one like this and then *the one there* we will make like this and then we will make +...

*MUR: *ne* første gang.
%eng: *what* first time?

Between grade 5 and grade 6 the languages and the possible combinations have stabilized. The students involve the different combinations in their contributions to the conversations with the functions which language use happens to have in conversations, parallel to choice of words, tone, etc. Still code choice is not arbitrary - at least not always. In excerpt 6,3 from conversation 601 we can see how the code choice is systematic. In different parts of the conversation each of the boys maintains his choice of language contrary to the others. However, at any time any participant may maintain any of the two languages, depending on the situation. One and the same boy may in one sequence stay with Turkish, and in another sequence in the same conversation stay with Danish, apparently with the same interactional purpose. With this the code choice and code switching as such have become fully integrated

454

into the languaging of the students - they have achieved linguistic skills on a par with morphological, lexical, msyntactic, etc. skills.

Excerpt 6,3:
*BEK: han skal have t-shirt på.
%eng: he is going to wear a t-shirt.
*MUR: *ne nasıl düz mü olsun.*
%eng: *how is it going to be straight?*
*ERO: hvad for noget.
%eng: what?
*MUR: *şöyle iki ikişer tane burda.*
%eng: *like this, two, double here.*
*ERO: *bu tarafa doğru gitsin xxx.*
%eng: *it is going to go stright to this side xxx.*
*MUR: *cık yok.*
%eng: *no no.*
*ALI: *hey ayak öyle olmasın şöyle şöyle.*
%eng: *hey the leg is not going to be like this, like this, like this.*
*MUR: *o küçük olur ya.*
%eng: *but it is going to be too small.*
*ALI: *boşver işte küçük.*
%eng: *never mind if it is small.*
*MUR: *dur bir dur dur.*
%eng: *wait a little wait wait.*
*BEK: nej *küçük olmayacak ayaklar büyük olacak.*
%eng: no *they are not going to be small the legs must be big*
*MUR: *aha bak bu ayakkabısı şimdi şurdan da şey gider.*
%eng: *look here this is the shoe and noe something goes out from here.*
*ALI: *he.*
%eng: *yeah.*
*BEK: den skal mindst være så stor.
%eng: it must be at least this big.
*ERO: nå jo mand.
%eng: oh yeah, man.
*MUR: *anladın mı.*
%eng: *did you understand?*

*ERO: ja.
%eng: yes
*MUR: *bu bir ayağı xxx.*
%eng: *this is one of its legs xxx.*
*ERO: nå der.
%eng: oh, there
*MUR: *öteki ayağını da yapıyor.*
%eng: *and he is going to make his other leg.*
*ERO: jeg troede den skulle være sådan her.
%eng: I thought it was going to sit like this
*BEK: nå ja *hele şükür anladı.*
%eng: oh yeah, *finally he understood.*
*ERO: *xxx ben siyahları buluyorum.*
%eng: *xxx I'll find the black ones*
*MUR: xxx de sorte xxx *tamam.*
%eng: xxx the black ones xxx *okay.*
*MUR: *# sen ne yapacaktın.*
%eng: *# what were you going to make*?
*ALI: *ayak.*
%eng: *leg.*
*ERO: *hepimiz ayak yapıyoruz şimdi, krop güzel olsun.*
%eng: *we are all making legs now, the body must be nice.*
*BEK: krop *zor olur.*
%eng: the body *is going to be difficult.*
*ERO: *boşver* det er lige meget *güzel olsun yeter.*
%eng: *never mind* it does not matter *as long as it is nice.*
*BEK: *güzel de olmaz,* det bliver svær krop <xxx kroppen.> [>]
%eng: *but it is not going to be nice* , it is going to be a difficult
        body xxx the body.
*ALI: <*kaç xxx.*> [<]
%eng: *how many xxx.*
*MUR: *dur o kadar çok değil* <xxx *şey de olacak.*> [>]
%eng: *stop, not so many there must be xxx*
*BEK: <det skal ikke være tyndt> [<] Murat kroppen Murat det
        skal ikke være tyndt det skal også være tykt.
%eng: it is not going to be thin Murat the body Murat it is not
        going to be thin it must also be thick

*MUR: ja ja.
%eng: yes yes
*BEK: jeg skal bruge de der ellers kan jeg jo ikke se ellers jeg
kan ikke blive ved.
%eng: I need those or else I can not se, or else I can not continue
*ERO: *aman ya biraz daha uzasın ya.*
%eng: *yeah but it needs to be a little longer.*
*BEK: ellers kan jeg ikke blive ved.
%eng: or else I can not continue
*MUR: *yo burada pantolon mu birşey olacak böyle d ışarlara
giden.*
%eng: *no, there must be pants or something like that which go
outside.*

Excerpt 6,3 illustrates how the boys vary their use of the languages.
The code switches serve different functions. Most of the
conversation focuses on the task, but simultaneously there is a
struggle for control of the conversation.

The first utterance in the excerpt is in Danish, but Murat switches
into Turkish. This code-switch Erol does not understand. In his
answer Murat explains that he meant something different than the
t-shirt Bekir was talking about. Then Erol continues, and after him
also Murat and Ali, the conversation about Murat´s theme, and
they do so in Turkish. Bekir chips in with a remark which contains
a Danish *nej*, but is otherwise in Turkish. Bekir's contribution
leads to no reaction from the others, and he repeats it, this time in
Danish. This attracts Erol's attention, and he acknowledges that Ali
has a point: *nå jo mand*. Murat teasingly asks Erol in Turkish
whether he really has understood, and Erol maintains both the
medium and the message when he claims that he has. Murat
nevertheless continues with an explanation in Turkish, and Erol
admits that he had not quite understood after all, still speaking
Danish. Throughout this stretch of conversation Erol is under
pressure from the others, particularly Murat, who speaks Turkish.
Erol distances himself from the pressure, but maintains the subject
at hand, achieving both by speaking Danish.

457

At the end of this part of the excerpt Erol changes into Turkish and introduces a new subject. Murat accepts this change of subject and develops it, in Turkish. All four boys discuss the task, which is a LEGO-construction. They use the Danish word *krop* as a loan in otherwise Turkish contributions, until Erol emphasizes his point of view by repeating his Turkish utterance in Danish, *det er lige meget.* Bekir counters, and does so by similarly using first Turkish and then a repetition in Danish. In the rest of the excerpt Erol and Murat take sides against Bekir. They do so in Turkish while he speaks Danish.

There is pressure and jockeying for positions in this excerpt. The boys are more or less quietly fighting about the task, the medium, and other issues. The social negotiations are open, particularly in Erol's case. Erol involves himself in jockeying for powerful conversational positions, in one case by insisting on Danish, and shortly after by staying with Turkish. The choice of language is not arbitrary, because he positions himself vis-a-vis one or more of the other participants, but at is arbitrary in the sense that neither of the languages is the one that is used for power struggles. Both can serve that purpose.

There is tendency for Danish to be the language of the school, into which one can switch in order to invoke its power and prestige. There are cases where Danish is used as a *they*-code in Gumperz terms, and Turkish as a *we*-code. These are values which they interlocutors can choose to invoke, but as we see in excerpt 6,3 they may as well choose not to. The code switch in itself is a tool in the social negotiations *regardless of direction*. Ali continues in Danish at a certain point in the excerpt, although Erol and Murat speak Turkish to him. This is not because Erol knows too little Danish, or does not prefer Danish, because a few seconds earlier he was the one to maintain Danish. Using the opposite medium of the others is the trick in this pragmatic game.

The following examples show Danish-based utterances with Turkish tags. Interestingly, *vallah* may be on its way into majority

458

Danish as one of extremely few loanwords from recent immigrant languages (Christensen 2004, Quist 2000a, Maegaard 2007). Danish generally borrows freely from several languages, and there is only a very weak tendency to danify loans. However, the languages which have come to Denmark as mother tongues after the 1960's have left few traces in majority Danish in Køge or elsewhere so far.

Excerpt 6,4:
*ERO: *tamam* det skal være hårdt.
%eng: *okay* it must be hard

Excerpt 6,5:
*ERO: *vallah* det har vi ikke tænkt
%eng: *by God* we have not thought about that

The use of two languages goes much further than simple practical rules. Our description of code choice is not sufficient if it is only concerned with utterances in one language and utterances in the other language(s). The mixed utterances must be involved, exactly with their character of mixing. This does not prevent the loaning mechanisms from being more or less the same between Turkish and Danish. There is one exception, a system of borrowing Danish into Turkish which does not go the other way. Some of the Danish loans into Turkish are integrated with the verbs *yapmak* and *etmek*. This process has also been documented elsewhere (see above in the section on Code categories about Türker 2000, 2001, Pfaff 1993, etc.). As we saw, it seems to be generally so that diaspora Turkish speakers in North America mainly integrate with *etmek*, while diaspora Turks in Europe integrate with *yapmak*. It leads beyond the scope here to deal with the processes that transcend the national and linguistic borders, but there are probably tendencies in the development of language use among these students that can be ascribed neither to their Turkey Turkish roots, nor to their contact with Danish. In excerpt 6,6 and 6,7 we find examples of loans with *yapmak*.

Excerpt 6,6:
*BEK: *istemiyorum.*
%eng: *I won't.*
*AHM: åh gokke I må gokke om det.
*ERO: *ha* gokke *yapalım.*
%eng: *yes let's* play gokke
%com: gokke is a colloquial Danish word for the stone-scissors-paper game
*BEK: *ikinizde* gokke *yaparsınız oldu bitti.*
%eng: *if you both* play gokke *it is over and done with.*
*MUR: *he hani* gokke *yapacağız xxx.*
%eng: *yeah come on we will* play gokke xxx

Excerpt 6,7:
*AHM: Mogens *gibi değil onun gibi.*
%eng: *he is not like* Mogens *like him.*
*MUR: *iki tane üçlü lâzım ona.*
%eng: *he needs two times three.*
*AHM: tåle tabe *o* tåle tabe *yapabiliyor da* Mogens *gibi değil işte anla.*
%eng: take losing, *he* can *also* take losing *he is not like* Mogens *if you see what I mean*
*BEK: åh ja Mogens han er altså meget.
%eng: yeah Mogens he is a bit too.
*MUR: Peter *oynamıyor mu daha.*
%eng: *does* Peter *not play any more*?

By grade 6 the students have integrated their languages. They switch without any flagging or hesitation, some more than others, but all produce in both languages and in different combinations. The intensity of code switching is not as high as in grade 5. The relationship between the languages has become stable. Remarkably, the girls behave differently in company with boys than they do when they are in the company of girls only. The boys do not change behavior to the same extent. Apparently the linguistic flexibility of the girls is greater than that of the boys. The boys seem to have the same level by grade 8 (see the section on

grade 8 below), and again we can observe that new developments appear with the girls before the boys.

In addition we can observe that there is a development towards an equilibrium between the two languages. Turkish loanwords appear in Danish surroundings. They are still less frequent than the opposite, but their existence is an indication that the two languages function on less different terms than hitherto.

The group conversations between the Turkish-speaking students in grade 6 give 2394 utterances. There 1799 Danish-based utterances and 467 Turkish-based, and only 7 utterances based on other languages. Roughly half of these are English, and the rest are in German as in excerpt 6,8.

Excerpt 6,8:
*YUS: <u>ja ja ja was gucht man dass</u>.
%eng: <u>yes yes yes what does one see that?</u>

Most of the English and German elements appear in language play such as in excerpt 6,9 which is also from conversation 601.

Excerpt 6,9:
*YUS: <u>einz zwei polizei drei vier fünf und xxx five six</u>.
%eng: <u>one two police three four five and xxx five six.</u>

In addition there are 121 intrasentential code-switches, all except 2 are between Turkish and Danish.

There are 4 group conversations in grade 6 involving both Turkish-speaking and majority students, and further 4 groups conversations with only majority students participating. In the conversations involving both minority students and majority students there are 2843 utterances, and 2751 of them are Danish-based. There are only 33 Turkish-based utterances, 41 utterances based on other languages, and there are 18 intrasentential code-switches.

Some of the Turkish-based and English-based utterances occur in exchanges as excerpt 6,10. Ahmet and Ali are two Turkish-speaking boys, while Thomas and Kenneth are two majority boys. Ahmet and Ali are discussing the size of the LEGO figure they are building. Ahmet wants Ali to stop adding more on top of the construction they are working on, and he is arguing that their construction is already bigger than the one Ali and others have constructed in another situation. He puts this argument in Turkish. Kenneth intervenes with a comment in Danish that they are supposed to add more blocks. The conversation revolves around the LEGO figure, but this is one of the rare instances where Turkish-speaking students use Turkish in spite of being addressed in Danish. In the middle of this, English is introduced also. Kenneth attracts the attention of Ahmet with a *hello*, which is followed up by Thomas's *touch me* and Kenneth's *yes, don't touch me*. There is no much coherence in this exchange other than the use of English, but Ahmet continues with a *don't sik me* which involves a Turkish verb in the English construction, and which is in fact also a more coherent continuation of the initiative than the first parts, although it is taken up by Kenneth again in a way which leaves the whole sequence as a piece of performance and not an exchange of content through English. The simultaneous use of Turkish, Danish, and English involving the majority students is not yet as advanced as we observed in conversation 501. The majority students have not had very much experience with English, and they have not been encouraged to take advantage of their contact with Turkish at all.

This is confirmed by the figures for the group conversations which only have majority students as participants. These conversations produce 1803 utterances, of which 1795 are Danish-based, and 7 are English-based, while 1 single utterance is an intra-sentential code-switch, all of the non-Danish being English.

Excerpt 6,10:
*AHM: ikke mere Ali ikke mere.
%eng: no more Ali no more

462

*ALI: nej nej.
%eng: no no
*AHM: ellers så *sizinki bu kadar büyük müydü*.
%eng: or else, *was yours as big as this one*.
*KEN: hej I skal sætte dem op.
%eng: hey you are supposed to put them up there
*AHM: *ne kadar dı bu kadar mı..*
%eng: *how big was it, like this?*
*KEN: ikke højere ellers falder de.
%eng: not any higher than that, or else they will fall down
*ALI: *şöyle birşey vardı.*
%eng: *there was such a thing.*
*THO: oh shit nu er den tættere mand.
%eng: oh shit, now it is even closer, man
*AHM: *bizim de bu kadar.*
%eng: and ours is like this
*KEN: hello Ahmet.
*AHM: hvad.
%eng: what
*KEN: xxx.
%eng: $o
*THO: touch me.
*KEN: yes don't touch me.
*ALI: don't *sik* me.
%eng: don't *fuck* me.
*KEN: oh fuck me.

I will finish the description of the grade 6 conversations with a rare example of student awareness of identity and language being expressed. In conversation 606 there are expressions of awareness of language choice that we do not see very often. There is also an exchange about national identity, see excerpt 6,11. The claim by Kenneth that he only understands Turkish is of course not serious. He is challenged by Ali and retreats with a nervous giggle. This leads to a brief discussion about nationality, when Ali pursues the question. Kenneth suggests a squeeze out of the question by the criterion of birthplace. Ahmet and Ali do not accept this, but they

do not get any further than that when Kenneth diverts the discussion into nonsense, and a new subject is quickly taken up.

Excerpt 6,11:
*ALI: kan du ikke forstå dansk.
%eng: don't you understand Danish.
*KEN: nej jeg forstår kun tyrkisk.
%eng: no I only understand Turkish.
*ALI: hvorfor det.
%eng: why that?
*KEN: det ved jeg ikke fordi jeg er dansker hihi.
%eng: I don't know, because I am a Dane hihi.
*ALI: nå hvorfor er du dansker.
%eng: so, why are you a Dane?
*KEN: fordi jeg er født i Danmark.
%com: Thomas whistles
%eng: because I was born in Denmark.
*ALI: nå hvorfor +...
%eng: so why +...
*AHM: Ali du er også født i Danmark <det er jeg også så er vi også danskere.>[>]
%eng: Ali you were also born in Denmark, so am I, then we are also Danes.
*ALI: <nej.>[<>]
%eng: no.
*KEN: babbarababababado>[<] yabado er I danskere danske statsborgere.
%eng: babbarababado yabado are you Danes, Danish citizens?
*ALI: nej jeg har ikke.
%eng: no I haven't.
*AHM: jeg har heller ikke.
%eng: neither have I.
*KEN: har ikke I er ikke der skal en lang en.
%eng: have you not; a long one goes there.
*ALI: <jeg er>[>] ikke dansker fordi jeg er tyrker.
%eng: I am not a Dane, because I am a Turk.
*KEN: <mik>[<] Mickey Maiki.

Code choice in grade 7

In grade 7 a dramatic change happens to the code choice patterns of the girls. The use of Turkish decreases to the extent of a complete shift of language. Until grade 7 the girls in girls only groups have spoken little Danish. As we have seen in grade 5 this is not an indication that the girls do not know Danish, because in the company of boys they speak as much Danish as the boys do. From grade 7 the girls speak primarily Danish (see figure 3.9), and this remains so through grade 9. The boys change their language use much more gradually, and the boys never reach the dominance of Danish which we find among the girls from grade 7 and on.

The profile of conversation 703 shows the development most abruptly. The conversation mainly runs at level 1 in the graph. This means that the girls who participate in the conversation by and large speak Danish, with a few spikes into Turkish, and with a Turkish loan here and there. The same three girls participate in conversations 802 and 901 to which we return below. Turkish is not totally absent, but immensely reduced compared to its share among the girls in girls' conversations in the earlier grades.

Furthermore, several of the Danish-based utterances which include non-Danish elements do not involve Turkish at all. English appear in several cases, as in excerpt 7,1.

Excerpt 7,1:
*MER: hvad står der <u>I love you</u> står der ikke ja jeg skal lige xxx
        sådan der jord.
%eng: what does it say it says <u>I love you</u> yes, I am just going to
        xxx like that, earth

When Turkish is used, it is often flagged. Typically this happens when the girls whisper their Turkish-based utterances instead of producing them at the same volume as the rest of the conversation, as in the following examples.

Excerpt 7,2:
*CAN: *düşer düşer şöyle.*
%eng: *it falls down it falls down like this.*
%com: Canan whispers
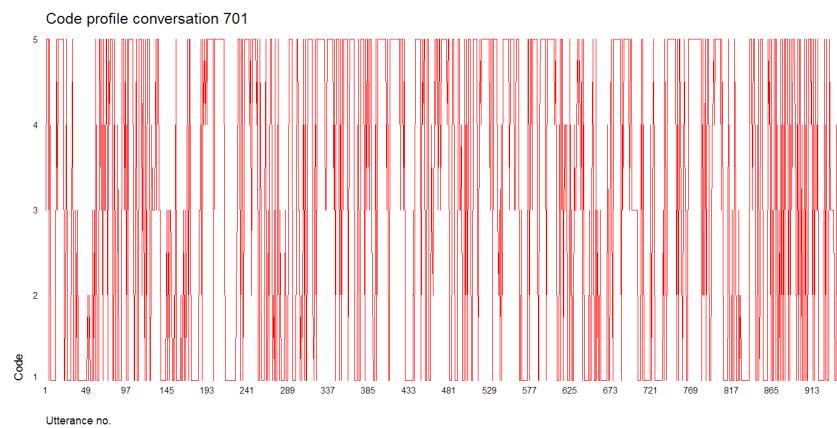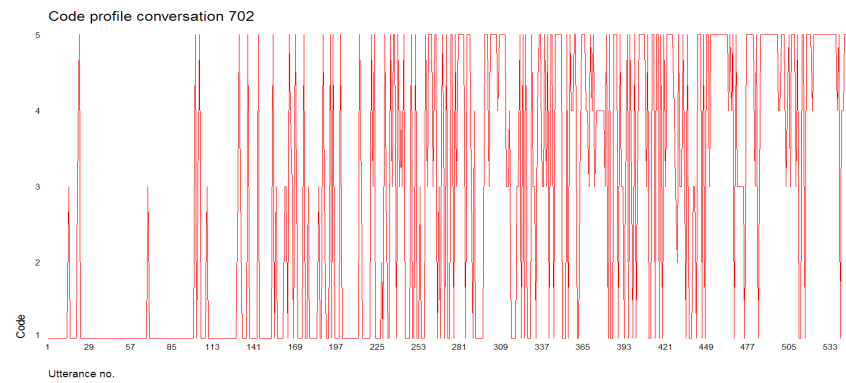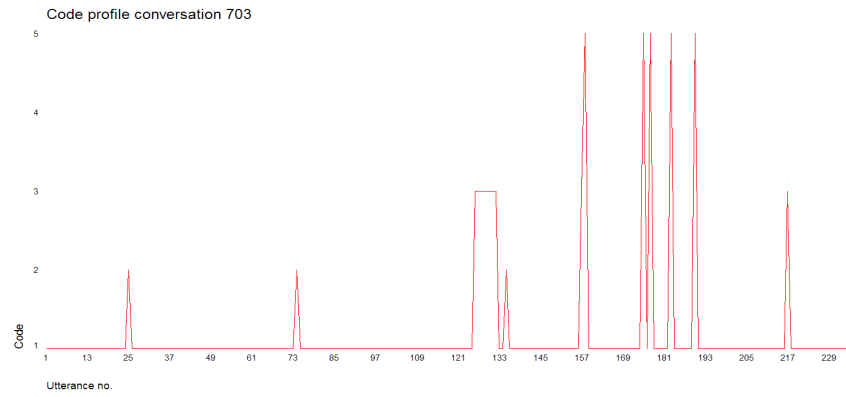
Excerpt 7,3:
*CAN: *şöyle yapacaksın e h p.*
%eng: *you do like this e h p.*
%com: Canan whispers

In conversation 703 Turkish is almost marginalized, and the behavior of the participating girls indicates that they are aware of this. In conversation 702, which involves three other girls, the picture is not quite so clear. The code profile does indeed show a conversation which mainly runs at level 1, but there are also short stretches which are at level 5, and there are some switches on the way.

The profile of conversation 702 is to an extent the opposite of the profile of code profile 408. In conversation 702 Danish is the most used, but Turkish is certainly there too, as Turkish was the most used language in conversation 408, but Danish was certainly there also. There is a difference, however. In conversation 702 the two languages are more integrated. There are more switches, and there are more utterances at level 3 in conversation 702 than in conversation 408. In addition to the abrupt change in language choice the girls have also integrated their languages in grade 7.

There are more code switches in conversation 702 than in conversation 408, but the switches are not as frequent as in the grade 5 conversations. The switches are fluent and effortless, as we can observe in excerpt 7,4. The change from Turkish into Danish happens at a crucial point in Esen's short account, and the switching sentence is also effective, as we can see from Selma's reaction. Her reaction is in Turkish *çok gıcıksın*, so that this exchange is in Turkish except for Esen's point.

Code profile conversation 703

Code profile conversation 702

Code profile conversation 701

467

Excerpt 7,4:
*ASI: *anlat hep şunu.*
%eng: *tell it all.*
*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 I don't like him.
*SEL: *çok gıcıksın Esen.*
%eng: *you are very strange Esen.*
*ESE: <u>I don't like him any more</u>.

The opposite relationship between the two languages can be observed in excerpt 7,5. There is a similar switch in the middle of the utterance, this time from Danish into Turkish. The switch is just as fluent, and it marks a point. Selma again reacts, this time by laughing in appreciation of the point.

Excerpt 7,5:
*ESE: jo det er bagfra det ser meget bedre ud *götü yuvarlak.*
%eng: yes it is from behind it looks much better *its ass is round.*
%com: Selma laughs

The code switching is automatized. The students apply the switches like they apply the other linguistic resources at their disposal without every time specifically marking the evaluations attached to the codes. They may indeed refer to values attached to the codes by society at large, but they may also switch without the values becoming relevant. In the following examples the switching goes back and forth without any particularities. Switches under these circumstances do not seem to be the result of careful flagging or other kinds of marking, because they happen so swiftly and effortlessly that they must be automatized.

Excerpt 7,6:
*ESE: *Selma şurdan kesebilir miyim* det er blevet for stort *başını*

det ligner en hund for den skal sidde sådan her.
%eng: *Selma can I cut it from there*, it has become too big, *its head* it looks like a dog, it should sit like this.

Excerpt 7,7:
*ESE: *kim tutacak çok ağır* derhenne *veya orda tut şurdan tut o zaman* hvad kan du ikke lige jeg kan ikke se det şurasını düzeltiver.
%eng: *who holds it, it is very heavy*, over there *or there, hold it from there in that case*, what, can't you, I can't see it, *set that one straight right there*.

Escerpt 7,8:
*ESE: *daha iyi kız çünki* den er ikke så stor denne her.
%eng: *that is even better, girl, because* this one is not so big.

The girls again seem to have developed their skills earlier than the boys. Most of the examples of such effortless manifold intersentential code-switching are produced by the girls.

Conversation 702 also involves ad hoc loans which are included in the utterances just as effortlessly as the code switches we have seen. The following examples has a Turkish loan in a Danish-based utterance.

Excerpt 7,9:
*ESE: hvem gider *tutmak* mand.
%eng: who will *hold*, man

In excerpt 7, 10 Selma and Asiye exchange remarks about the product of their task, a figure which they think looks like a pig. The Danish word for pig is *gris*, and the Turkish word is *domuz*. Both words are used in the excerpt.

Excerpt 7,10:
*SEL: *iyidi tamam birşey demedik* gris*imiz bitti.*
%eng: *that's fine, okay, we did not say a sound, our*   pig *is*

finished.
*ASI: gris*imi bitireyim xxx.*
%eng: *let me just finish my* pig xxx.
*SEL: *uh dur*.
%eng: *oh stop.*
*ASI: *xxx Amca Domuz Amca Domuz Ağabey.*
%eng: *xxx Uncle Pig Brother Pig.*

The third conversation in grade 7, which is conversation 701, involves four boys. The code profile is quite similar to the grade 5 profiles with dense and frequent switching between all the five levels. There are a few more stable phases where the conversation stays at one level, mainly level 1 or level 5, Danish or Turkish with no loans. Many utterances are nevertheless mixed, and there are also examples of complicated code choice like the ones in conversation 702. They are just not so frequent as among the girls.

Excerpt 7,11:
*ERO: det er nok det er nok mand det er nok for fanden *valla* jeg
        var ikke *ben iki tane attım* det siger jeg også.
%eng: it is enough it is enough, man, it is bloody enough   *by
        God*, I was not, *I threw two* and I am going to say so, too

Here Erol refers to an incident which has just happened. The groups were given the task and recorded with buttonhole microphones in a room at the school, but not in a classroom. They were left alone, and in this case the boys did not match our expectations of appropriate behavior. The task was to form a sculpture out of a block of clay. Instead the boys formed small balls of clay and threw them around in the room, particularly into the ceiling where the balls stuck. Realizing that this would probably cause some consternation among the adults involved in the project, they started recriminating each other. In excerpt 7,11 Erol both tries to stop the activity and defends himself against accusations of having been instrumental and leading in the episode. He employs both languages eloquently and shifts from Danish into Turkish into Danish into Turkish into Danish.

470

In excerpt 7,12 the boys juggle with numbers and the endings *-kant* or *-gen* which are the Danish and Turkish equivalents of the English *-angle*. The excerpt is in two parts. The whole stretch is longer, and throughout the students alternate between the forms.

Excerpt 7,12:
*ERO: *Bekir o dörtgeni yap ondan sonra saç falan yapalım bunları da onların üstüne yerleştirir.*
%eng: *Bekir make that quadrangle there, and then we can make hair and so for it, and these we can place on top of it.*
*MUR: *durun bir bir* firkant *yapın içi delik olsun şunun içine şey yapalım xxx üstüne.*
%eng: *stop a moment make a* quadrangle, *it must be hollow inside, inside, inside, we can make this here on the outside xxx.*
*ERO: *valla.*
%eng: *by God*
*HUS: en firkant *yap.*
%eng: *make* a quadrangle
....
*MUR: *şimdi bu be*şkant *yapsın.*
%eng: *now this one is going to make a pent*angle.
*BEK: det kan han ikke finde ud af.
%eng: he does not know how to.
*HUS: *ha siktir len.*
%eng: *oh fuck off, man.*
*MUR: *neyse on*kant.
%eng: *but then a dec*angle.
*BEK: du skal ikke lave trekant det er jeg i gang med.
%eng: don't you make a triangle, I am doing that.
*MUR: nej vi gør ikke *ben ne yapacağım.*
%eng: no we don't, *what am I going to make.*

In the course of this short excerpt from a longer exchange we find the forms *dörtgen, firkant, beşkant, onkant,* and *trekant*. The boys master both the Turkish form and the Danish form, and they produce mixed forms in between using the Turkish and the Danish

471

ones. It is important to understand that these combinations are regular words which the speakers can use when they interact. There is nothing peculiar or cumbersome about these forms, they are linguistic features just like the ones we usually find in dictionaries. They are not flagged, they are not marked in any special way, and they do not cause any reactions for their form. They are examples of integrated language use. It does not change anything that this integration apparently happens ad hoc in some cases. On the contrary, it indicates that the whole treasure of linguistic features which are in the possession of the speakers is at their immediate disposal at any time - when they are in company of each other.

Conversations 701 and 702 have been analyzed in several other connections (Jørgensen 2001a, Jørgensen 2001b; Esdahl 2001b, 2003a, Madsen & Nielsen 2001, Petersen 2000, see also in Part 2 the section about Linguistic aspects). There is a striking difference between the way the boys and the girls handle their social relations. The boys' conversation is characterized by constant low key quarreling, extensive use of epithets and mutual contradiction. There are many stretches with disagreement about this and that, but the concrete disagreement usually does not last very long. It is left - often unsolved - for the benefit of another disagreement. All the boys take active parts in the exchanges of insults, and they all laugh together, when there is laughter. They seem to enjoy the not too serious verbal figthing.

Among the girls, Esen and Selma ally against Asiye, and they build up a conversational theme in which they pretend that Asiye has a boyfriend, and Asiye very clearly does not like that. With regular intervals during the conversation Esen and Selma refer to the fictitious boyfriend. At one moment Asiye launches a counterattack, accusing the two of telling others something she has told them in secret. As we observed in part 1, teasing may develop into an unpleasant controversy (Pichler 2006, Miller 1986, Keim 2007) and this is what happens here. However, in an elegant maneuver Esen gets the upper hand, and she continues with her teasing remarks. In an analysis of the linguistic correlates of these

472

difference between the boys and the girls, Madsen (2002, 2003) finds that the girls compete much more fiercely among each other than the boys do. In addition, the girls' conflicts result in losers and winners much more often than the boys' fights. However much this finding goes against classical feminist views on the linguistic differences among males and females, it illustrates how the girls develop advanced skills earlier than the boys. Esdahl (2001b, 2003a) reaches a similar result when she finds that the girls develop code switching for power wielding purposes earlier than the boys (see also Jørgensen 1993).

The apparent language shift among the girls between grade 6 and grade 7 is probably best understood as an indication of identity work (see for instance Møller 2001, Jørgensen 2001c, Holmen & Jørgensen 2000, 149). As Quist's sociogram (1998a, 113) og Møller's (2001) studies find, ethnicity is a more important factor among the girls than among the boys. Both gender primarily express themselves on behalf of their age group. They are first and foremost *young*. When this is said, gender is a very important factor to which everybody relates.

Among the boys there is complete integration. The Turkish-speaking boys are members on a par with majority boys, of a comprehensive and inclusive network which is hierarchical. The minority boys are distributed evenly over the hierarchy. In other words, one can not predict anything about a given boy's relations to the other boys, even when one knows he is a linguistic minority member.

As opposed to this the minority girls are grouped together with other minority girls in pairs or very small groups. There are two exceptions, Canan and Esen. Both are members of two small groups, one consisting of minority girls (one for Canan, and a different one for Esen), and one consisting of majority girls (one for Canan, and a different one for Esen). Both Canan and Esen in a sense build bridges in the social organization of the girls. Ethnicity is far more important among the girls than among the

473

boys. With increased awareness of ethnicity in their social organization (see Bøll 2002, Møller 2002) the girls' language shift between grade 6 and grade 7 amounts to a marking of a identity statement or possibly an identity experiment.

The three group conversations between Turkish-speaking students yield 1662 utterances. Of these 683 are Turkish-based, and 870 are Danish-based. Altogether 9 are based on other languages, and 100 are intrasentential code-switches. The utterances based on other languages include French, see excerpt 7,13. Erol is trying to attract the others' attention to something which he calls a pretty view. It is unclear what it is, but Bekir comments on it with the positive evaluation in French. Almost verbatim the same exchange is repeated a little later in the conversation, and a couple of more times Murat and Bekir use versions of this French expression in similar circumstances.

Excerpt 7,13:
*ERO: *oh vallah şuna bakın manzaraya bakın ne güzel.*
%eng: *look here what a pretty view*.
*BEK: superbe magnifique superbe.
%eng: superb magnificent superb.

There is also an instance of German, see excerpt 7,14. In fact it is quite similar to the German we observed in grade 6, in excerpt 6,9.

Excerpt 7,14:
*ERO: ühürüüühh ühürüühh ein zwei drei.
%eng: uhuhuuuh one two three.

The intrasentential code-switches are all but one between Danish and Turkish. In one instance there is a switch between Turkish and English.

The four group conversations in which both minority and majority students participate produce altogether 2565 utterances, and 2533 of these are Danish-based. There are 10 Turkish-based utterances,

18 English-based utterances, and only 4 intrasentential code-switches (2 between Danish and Turkish, and two between Danish and English). The few times that the students use Turkish happen mostly when one Turkish-speaker corrects or directs or complains to an other Turkish-speaker, see an example in excerpt 7,15. There is no Turkish used by majority participants in these conversations. Danish has become very dominant.

Excerpt 7,15:
*CAN: det gjorde jeg ikke alligevel *dur kız dur Merva yapma bir*.
%eng: I did not do it after all, *stop girl, stop Merva, don't.*

The group conversations with only majority students as participants produce 1425 utterances, 1406 of which are Danish-based utterances. Of the rest, 16 utterances are based on other languages, 15 of them are English-based, and 1 is German-based, see excerpt 7,16. There are a mere 3 intrasentential code-switches, all between Danish and English.

Excerpt 7,16:
*KAR: så er de ikke runde længere det kan man ikke.
%eng: then they are not round any more, one can't do that.
*THO: aj.
%eng: no.
*VIK: hej he he he.
%eng: hey he he he.
*THO: was ist dies <was ist das.>[>]
%eng: what is this what is that?
*PET: <dejlig romkugle.>[<]
%eng: a delicious rumball
%com: a rumball is a kind of candy
*VIK: <I got xxx i din xxx.>[>]
%eng: I got xxx in your xxx.
*KAR: <ja hvorfor laver vi ikke romkugler>[<] vi er færdige.
%eng: yes, why don't we roll some rumballs, we have finished
*PET: ja skal vi ikke lave en kæmperomkugle

%eng: yes, let us roll a giant rumball.
%com: they laugh loudly for a long time

In excerpt 7,16 the conversation turns to round things and balls. The task was to create a figure or sculpture out of clay, but the proposal here is to roll the clay into balls, or one giant ball. The German-based contribution by Thomas is not connected to this theme, either backwards or forwards. Neither is Viktor's contribution which involves English. The use of non-Danish items is in general not very well integrated into these conversations as anything but performance. Content-wise they are not integrated.

Code choice in grade 8

As in grade 7 the conversations in grade 8 are quite different depending on the participants. Conversation 802 takes place between the same interlocutors as conversation 703. In the code profiles it is obvious that the two conversations are quite similar with respect to code choice. There is roughly the same dominance of Danish in conversation 802 as we observed in conversation 703 above. There is one single sequence with several Turkish-based utterances in a stretch, but apart from that only a few individual switches into Turkish. There are also few intrasentential switches. Excerpt 8,1 shows one example.

Excerpt 8,1:
*CAN: aj jeg gider altså ikke *ne şey ettiniz arkamdan.*
%eng: ah, I don't want to, *what were you doing behind my back*?
*MER: *sana mı xxx.*
%eng: *xxx against you*?
%com: Eda laughs
*CAN: *kapatın kız sesini.*
%eng: *turn down the volume girls*.
%com: they cover the microphones with their hands, they whisper, giggle and laugh
*CAN: jamen for helvede jeg kan ikke finde ud af det så kan jeg så gider jeg altså heller ikke vi kan aldrig finde forskellen på to kulturer.
%eng: but hell, I don't know how to do this, so I can, I don't want to either, we can never find the difference between two cultures

The use of Turkish right here seems abrupt. The accusation of the remark in Turkish is enforced by Canan's slightly insulted tone of voice, which may be only in jest. At least there is nothing in Merva's reply which indicates otherwise, and Eda's laughter is then in appreciation of the act. The following sequence indicates that Merva and Canan are not fighting with each other, but rather they are both dissatisfied with the task they have been asked to do.

(Nevertheless, by the end of the day they do succeed in solving the task in an original and talented way).

In excerpt 8,2 the use of Turkish is followed by giggling. The girls are looking for pictures of women in order to illustrate the "two cultures" of their task, and they are focusing on how the women in the pictures are dressed. Merva's remark about a women with bare legs is followed by giggling. It may be her choice of language, it may be the subject, or it may precisely be the combination which causes the giggling.

Excerpt 8,2:
*MER: *xxx açık bacaklı.*
%eng: *xxx with bare legs*.
%com: they giggle, Merva coughs

In general Turkish is not very frequent in conversation 802. Neither are code switches, loans, or mixed utterances. No features from other languages than Turkish and Danish are used (with one exception, namely the name of a Nigerian soccer player who was at the times playing in a Turkish club). The conversation is characterized by many pauses, some of them quite long. There is quite little said in the course of the work the girls do. There are few signs of enthusiasm or youthful joy, and there are very few references to themes outside the task. One measure of this is the number of utterances produced by the three girls during the roughly 40 minutes, namely 176 involving 574 word tokens. These are very small figures (conversation 801 produced 479 utterances with 2659 word tokens, and conversation 803 produced 974 utterances with 5563 word tokens).

Conversation 803 involves to boys, Murat and Bekir, and two girls, Merva and Canan. The two girls also participate in conversation 802. Their share of Danish-based utterances is by and large the same in the two conversations. In Canan's case 82 % of the utterances in conversation 802 are Danish-based. In conversation 803 the figure is 85 %. For Merva the figures are 82 % and 82 %.

478

As opposed to the girls' behavior in grade 5 the participants do not show different behavior depending on the gender combination of the group. With the respect to the boys the pattern is quite different.

Name\Conversation	701	803	903
Murat	49 % Danish-based	85 % Danish-based	56 % Danish-based
Bekir	47 % Danish-based	77 % Danish-based.	41 % Danish-based

Table 3.8.1. Murat's and Bekir's Danish-based utterances as a percentage of all their utterances in group conversations in grade 7, 8, and 9.

The two boys increase their use of Danish, relative to Turkish, substantially between grade 7 and grade 8, and they decrease their use of Danish again between grade 8 and grade 9. In grade 7 they participate in conversation 701 with two more boys, in grade 8 they are with Canan and Merva, and in grade 9 they are again with boys only, in conversation 903. We observed that in grade 5 the girls use more Danish in company with boys than they do in girls-only groups. The same is the case in grade 8, but for the boys. There is not nearly the same difference in behavior among the boys in grade 5. Similarly, the girls in grade 8 do not differ very much in behavior in the two types of conversations. In grade 5 the boys use a little more Danish in the company of girls than in boys' groups, but not much. In grade 8 this is the case for the girls. In the meantime the boys have developed their linguistic behavior, at least their code choice patterns, to allow adjustment to different social situations. It is not certain that the boys were unable to do so in grade 5, but they did not. In grade 8 they do.

Code profile conversation 802

Code profile conversation 801

Code profile conversation 803

480
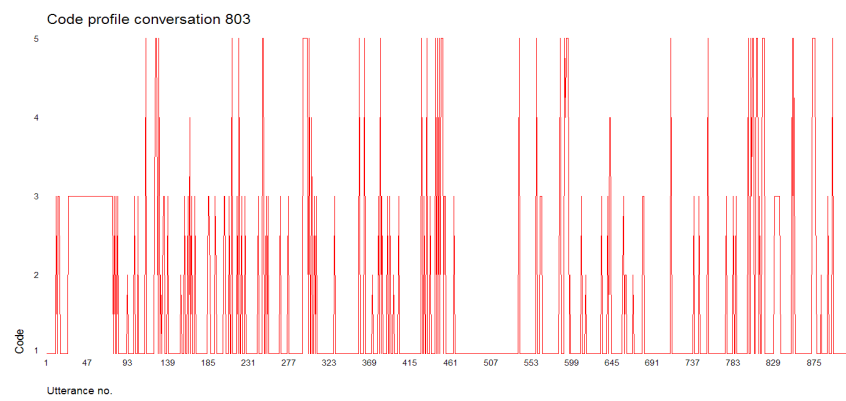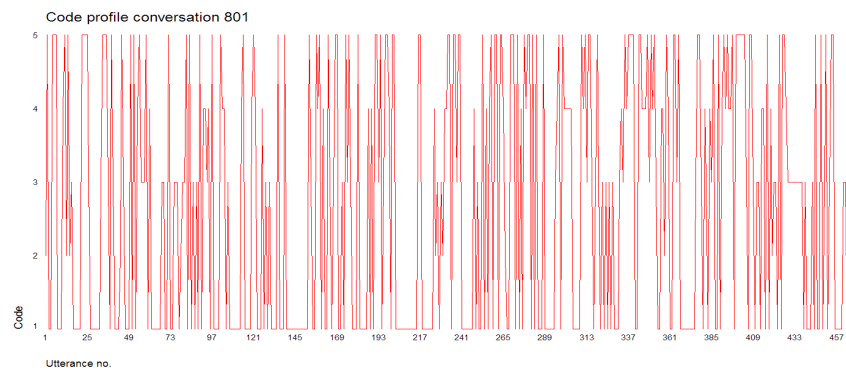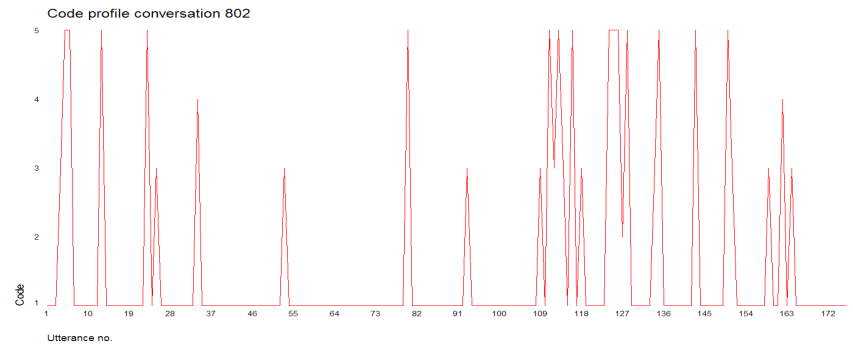
We can not understand the changes in behavior without involving the students' identity work. We have good indications that at least in grade 8 age is a more prominent criterion for the young students identity work, and as a consequence for their work with social relations, than gender is, and that gender seems to be more important than ethnicity (Møller 2001, Bøll 2002). Ethnicity is apparently more important to the girls than to the boys. This would indeed be compatible with the behavior we observe here, although we have no way of knowing which is cause and which is effect. It is obvious, however, that the girls choose to use Danish when they are among each other. This may indicate a separation of linguistic behavior determined by belonging to different groups (or, several different *we-codes* for different identities, see below).

If Danish was simply the students' *they*-code, and Turkish their *we*-code the code choice patterns in grade 8 would indicate that the boys behaved as if the girls were not in-group members who shared the boys' Turkish *we*-code. The students would think of gender-mixed group conversations as conversations between strangers. This is of course possible, but it is unlikely. We would probably be able to find many other signs, including linguistic ones, that the situations were formal, and we would find examples of distancing. We do not find such features. In fact there are counterexamples, excerpt 8,3.

Excerpt 8,3:
*BEK: Merva.
%com: pronounced with a exaggerated commando voice and in
        formal Turkish
*MER: hvad er der.
%eng: what is it.
*BEK: *şuraya sakız sakız sakız ver* saks *ver*.
%eng: *there give me chewing gum chewing gum chewing gum
        give me* scissors.
%com: Bekir plays with the words, Merva laughs
*MUR: nu skal jeg have den.
%eng: now I am going to have it.

*BEK:	*alıyor musun* er der kun en.
%eng:	*will you take it*, is there only one?
*MUR:	okay vi samler lige alle billederne først.
%eng:	okay let us collect all the pictures first.
*CAN:	Murat jeg skal til tyrkisk på onsdag.
%eng:	Murat I am going to Turkish class on Wednesday.
*MER:	det skal [\\] der er ikke flere.
%eng:	that [\\] there are no more.
*MUR:	det gider jeg ikke *oğlum xxxneyecek* den der skal jeg have.
%eng:	I do not want to my boy is going to xxx I am going to
	have that one.
%com:	xxx incomprehensible

Bekir begins this excerpt with a demonstrative call for Merva's attention. Her real name is a different one which allows a very formal pronunciation, and Bekir uses this pronunciation in excerpt 8,3, but he exaggerates wildly. Merva reacts mildly, and in the continuation he asks for a pair of scissors, playing with the words in a cross-linguistic pun. He uses the Turkish word *sakız* which means *chewing gum*. The pronunciation of this word, however, is quite close to the typically Turkish-accented pronunciation of the Danish word for scissors, *saks*. His point is well taken by Merva who laughs heartily. Murat enters the conversation to ask for the pair of scissors. From here the conversation turns to the Turkish classes, and Murat also produces a mixed utterance.

There is nothing in this excerpt to indicate that the participants are not in-group members and accept each other as such. All four students participate actively and frequently in the ongoing discussions about the issues which come up. This is true for issues related to the task as well as issues outside the task. Furthermore, Bekir's way of addressing Merva, and her reaction to his pun, strongly indicate that this is an in-group conversation. With their active and creative linguistic behavior the young speakers show that they do perceive of themselves as belonging to a shared in-group.

If the differences in language choice patterns do not indicate a difference between *they*-code and *we*-code, something else is at stake. Social negotiations are going on continuously in these conversations, and the code choice patterns are involved in these negotiations. They are just more complicated than the distinction between *they*-code and *we*-code allows. If we want to describe the behavior of the young speakers in these terms, we can say that they have developed *different we-codes for different in-groups*. As late modern youth members of society they develop not one essential identity, but several identities. Each of these identities is negotiated, marked, and sometimes even flagged, language being one of the means to achieve this. This allows that the young speakers can behave actively and creatively in different ways in different groups. They have several *we*-codes.

There is one possible exception to this, namely Eda. It looks as if she is not quite an in-group member, and she does not seem to be treated as an in-group member by the others in any of the conversations. She is not as involved in the conversations. In conversation 703 she contributes about half as much as each of the other girls, and in conversation 802 she contributes about one-third of each of the other girls. This becomes even more evident in conversation 901, see the section on grade 9 below.

Conversation 801 is the most analyzed and studied conversation in the Køge Project (Aronsson 2000, Backus 2000, Cromdal, 2000, 2001, Hansen 2001, Hansen 2004, Holmen & Jørgensen 2000, Jørgensen 2001b, Karrebæk 2004, 2005, Steensig 2000a, 2000b, 2001a, 2003). The task which the students had, was to create a cartoon or series of pictures on the theme *Young in Køge*. Cromdal (2000, 2001) has argued that the participants in conversation 801 create a narrative in Danish. But the negotiations about the narrative involve a complicated arrangement of patterns involving both Turkish and Danish. Cromdal (2000, 2001), Aronsson 2000, and Steensig (2000, 2001) all agree that the conversation revolves around an ongoing power struggle which Esen eventually wins. In the course of the conversation a (local and situated) hierarchy

develops, with Esen on top, Selma and Erol at the same level in the middle, and Asiye at the bottom.

Jacobsen (2002, 2003) and Madsen (2001b, 2002, 2003) argue that Esen's success is no coincidence and is not bound to the specific situation. It is a repetition of many similar successes in earlier conversations. They find that Esen in every conversation which involves age peers from the school brings along such high prestige (and possibly a reputation for being nasty when opposed) that she can get her way when she wants to (see also about conversation 702 in the section on grade 7 above). Quist (1998a) ranks the students according to different criteria. In one ranking the criterion is how fast they acquire Danish. In another ranking the criterion is how socially central they are placed. This is based on the students' own statements in interviews. Esen is in the top category, no matter what the criterion is. Holmen & Jørgensen 2001 have included even more rankings, some of them based on teachers' ratings, some on school grades, some on tests. The picture is the same throughout. Jørgensen & Quist 2001 reach the same result.

In other words, we must assume that Esen goes into the group conversations with a very strong base of power resources. She has accumulated a string of successes, and it is highly unlikely that the students are not aware of that. Jacobsen (2003) is an attempt to apply different theories about personal psychology on Esen's case. She finds (against strict discourse psychology) that Esen is indeed able to get her way without necessarily invoking her powers in a way which brings her power along, but not necessarily brings it about in the actual conversation. This result supports the finding of Olesen (2003), se Part 2.

1. Student\Score	2. Language choice	3. Assessment of Danish
Esen	13,8 %	4,12
Bekir	10,3 %	3,7

Canan	1,3 %	3,66
Murat	4,0 %	3,22
Merva	2,1 %	3,1
Erol	6,6 %	2,88
Selma	3,3 %	2,61
Huseyin	1,1 %	2,59
Eda	0,0 %	2,18

Table 3.8.2. Two measures of language use by Turkish-speaking students in grade 8 of the Køge project. Column 2 shows the percentage of utterances in (at least) two languages for each of the students in group conversations. Column 3 shows the assessment (1 to 5 with 5 as the highest score), given by adult native speakers, of the students' oral Danish based on excerpts from face-to-face conversations in grade 8.

Table 3.8.2 shows that there is a certain degree of correspondence between, on the one side, how well the students speak Danish according to adult first language users of Danish (see Jørgensen & Quist 2001), and on the other side, how frequently they code-switch in group conversations. The correspondence is most evident at the top and at the bottom of the ranking. The most frequent code-switchers are also those who are judged to be most eloquent in Danish. Those whose Danish is judged to be the least eloquent, hardly code-switch at all. In the middle there are a few exceptions to this general tendency. Erol code-switches quite a lot, but his Danish is not judged to be particularly good. Hansen (2004) speculates whether this may be related to Erol's specific learning style. Oppositely, Canan code-switches quite little, but her Danish is ranked highly by the first language users. But as a whole there is good reason to assume that code-switching is an advanced linguistic skill which not everybody masters. In the case of

linguistic minority students it seems that frequent code-switching follows good second language skills.

These figures show us that code-switching is a skill, a competence. By grade 8 this code-switching competence is quite closely related to the other specific linguistic skills developed by the young speakers. In company with others who can also handle both Turkish and Danish the students have access to features from both languages *plus the option of switching between them*. It is not an option which is put to very much use in one and every situation or conversation. But it is always there as an option. It is an option which the students may further choose *not* to bring into use. For instance, in conversation 802 there are very few code-switches. As we saw, conversation 802 is held in a somewhat moody atmosphere, and the girls do not exhibit any enthusiasm or any wish to employ their advanced linguistic competencies. Conversation 801 happen to be exactly the opposite, as is evident from the two different code profiles. There is a lively atmosphere, an ongoing social play with teasing, fun, and also power struggle. Under these circumstances the young speakers involve a wider range of their linguistic skills, and the advanced ones, such as their code choice patterns, are employed.

The code profile of conversation 803 shows the difference between the girls' conversation (802) and the gender-mixed conversation (803) clearly. There is more Turkish involved in conversation 803, and there is much more mixing. This conversation is closer to the girls' conversations - at least with respect to the quantitative relationship between Danish and Turkish, but the frequent switching and changing levels do not appear in conversation 802.

In grade 8 we have seen code-switching as an advanced instrument in the negotiations of social relations. We have also observed how some young speakers are successful, and continuously more so, while others lose out. Some of the students are centrally placed in-group members, others are peripheral at best. The winners happen to also be the frequent and eloquent code-switchers, those who

486

employ a wide range of features and exhibit sophisticated patterns of code choice. I stress that we have not found a causal relationship between these factors. We do not know whether advanced language users acquire power in and outside school, or whether the school gives the powerful better chances of developing linguistic (and other) skills.

In grade 8 we have 3 group conversations between Turkish-speaking students, 5 group conversations involving both minority and majority students, and 2 group conversations between majority students only. The group conversations between the Turkish speakers yield 1415 utterances, and of these 1108 are Danish-based, 234 are Turkish-based, and 10 are English-based. In conversation 803 we have one of the few discussions about language choice. Interestingly, Murat chooses English to argue for his proposal that they speak Turkish, see excerpt 8,4. Murat begins an injunction after Canan's first words, but as she continues, he waits until she has finished to formulate in English *we speak in Turkish*. We observe that the use of English fits in with the ongoing discussion, and the content of the English-based utterance is related to the topic at hand. The use of English may certainly be said to have a quality of performance, but it is also content-wise a contribution to the theme.

Excerpt 8,4:
*CAN: vi taler dansk <skal> [>] vi ikke hvad.
%eng: we speak Danish, don't we?
*MUR: <we +/.>[<]
*MER: jo.
%eng: yes.
*MUR: we speak in Turkish.

These group conversations give us 63 intrasentential code-switches, almost all of them between Turkish and Danish, see the excerpts above. The group conversations between minority and majority students produce 2240 utterances, and 2201 of them are Danish-based. There are 10 utterances which are Turkish-based. In

one case two Turkish-speaking boys have a short sub-conversation which is held in Turkish for a few sentences, see excerpt 8,5.

Excerpt 8,5:
*MUR: Bekir.
*BEK: mm.
*MUR: *yarɪn xxx* <u>body</u> <u>building</u>*e ver*.
%eng: *tomorrow I am going to body-building, give it to me*
*BEK: *nerde*.
%eng: *where*
*MUR: *camiin <orda> [>]*.
%eng: *by the mosque*
*ALB: <u>put your</u> [<] <u>finger away</u>.
*BEK: *ne altɪna*.
%eng: *where*
*MUR: *camiin altɪnda*.
%eng: *by the mosque*
*BEK: det er løgn går du til det.
%eng: that is not true, do you do that?
*MUR: ja.
%eng: yes.

Murat and Bekir are involved in solving the task together with Albert and Janus. Until this sequence they have been discussing the task in Danish, and after a few remarks in Turkish the conversation returns to Danish. There is one contribution by Albert in English on the way, but it is hard to tell whom he addresses, if anyone. It may be directed to one of the others as an order to keep his fingers away from whatever Albert is concentrated on. We can not know, so we still can not for certain determine that the majority students have integrated English into their contributions besides as performance.

Later in the conversation (see excerpt 8,6) Bekir suggests that they write a text bit in English on their task, and Murat assists him in spelling the English. This triggers two utterances in English from Janus, the first one of which expresses his accept of Bekir's idea:

all righty then. The second one follows up on this with the word *dude.* There are indications that the majority boys are becoming capable of using English and Danish integratedly.

Excerpt 8,6:
*BEK:	hvad ja # hvad så med skole på d [//] engelsk.
%eng:	what yes then what about school in D[//] English?
*MUR:	school.
*BEK:	ja men når man staver det <s.>[>]
%eng:	yes, but when you spell it, s.
*MUR:	<s>[<]
*BEK:	ja.
%eng:	yes
*MUR:	c h o o l.
*ALB:	eh hvor er den blå henne den var her der xxx nå ja den skal sgu ikke være blå den skal være grøn.
%eng:	eh where is the blue one it was here there xxx oh yes it is not going to be blue it is going to be green.
*BEK:	xxx det her skal stå der if you go to school you are going to be fucked up.
%eng:	xxx it is going to say here if you go to school you are going to be fucked up.
*MUR:	<hvad.>[>]
%eng:	what
*JAN:	<all righty then.>[<]
*BEK:	det skal jeg selv gøre # xxx det her skal vi have med altså # simpelthen.
%eng:	I wil do that myself # xxx we are going to have this on also # simply.
*JAN:	dude.

In these conversations there are altogether 15 utterances which are based on English, and 2 utterances in German. See an example of this in excerpt 8,7. Here we have an instance of cross-language play. Firstly, the word *eine* is a German nominal article. Secondly,

489

the first part of the second word, *lim* is a Danish word which means *glue*. Thirdly, the middle *e* of the *Limesteife* is a composition marker. Fourthly, the *steife* is neither Danish nor German. It plays with the Danish word *stift* which means *stick*, and it is obvious that the word *Limesteife* means *glue stick*. Fifthly, the *steife* plays on a stereotypical German word structure (*Bein, Seite, ein, weil*, etc.). So the construction *eine Limesteife* is an intricate play with Danish and German. As we can also notice in the excerpt, the utterance which plays with this word follows Thomas expressed wish for help with finding a glue stick. Esen's construction is a piece of performance, but it is also an indication that she is aware of Thomas problem and on the way to help. This is confirmed by her next utterance in which she triumphantly declares that she has found it.

Excerpt 8,7:
*THO: hvor er der noget lim hernede et eller andet sted.
%eng: where is there some glue, down here somewehere
*ESE: eine Lim<u>e</u>steife.
%eng: <u>a</u> glue <u>stick</u>.
*THO: aj hvor det irriterer mig at jeg ikke kan finde noget.
%eng: it irritates me that I can't find anything.
*ESE: nananananana wow hvem har fundet det her.
%eng: nananananana look who has found it here?

Excerpt 8,8:
*HUS: hvad står der <u>ich habe sicher gut</u>.
%eng: what does it say <u>I am fine</u>.

In excerpt 8,8 the language play is carried out at the level of syntax. The first half of the utterance, *hvad står der*, is Danish and means *what does it say*. It is probably a reference to something written somewhere in their materials for the task. The continuation includes four German words, but the sentence only makes sense if the words are translated one by one, in the same order, into Danish words. In Danish that would correspond to *I have surely good*, which again means the same as *I am fine*.

490

The group conversations with only majority students produce 1045 utterances, 1015 of them are Danish-based, while 18 are English-based. There are 12 intrasentential code-switches between Danish and English.

In excerpt 8,9 Karsten comments on an ongoing discussion about the task. A proposal has just been made regarding the text they are to write. Karsten expresses an evaluation of the idea - he describes it as *lousy humor*, and it appears from the continuation that he is very much along with the idea of writing something which is lousy humor. He suggests that the character they are creating, be looking forward to Christmas. In combination with the characters tastes in music and behavior, this is slightly absurd - or lousy humor. Our observation is that English is used and integrated in Karsten's utterance. English is not only there for the performance effect.

Excerpt 8,9:
*OLE: <ja for helvede Karsten mand.> [<]
%eng: yes, hell, Karsten, mand
*KAR: lousy humor jeg har ikke.
%eng: lousy humor, I have not
%com: starts laughing with *har*
*JEN: han hører # Rednex +...
%eng: he listens to # Rednex +...
*KAR: og han glæder sig til jul.
%eng: and he is looking forward to Christmas

In the same conversation we also have an example of creative language play involving an English ad hoc loan. The reference to Kurt Cobain is no coincidence. Kurt Cobain was a rock star whose suicide became a hot topic for a while. The construction *to kurtcobain oneself* means the same as *to commit suicide*, but it is not an integrated or even otherwise documented construction in Danish any more than in English, see excerpt 8,10.

Excerpt 8,10:
*OLE: <men så kurtcobainede han sig selv> [<] og så er der

491

censureret.
%eng:	but then he <u>kurtcobain</u>ed himself, and the rest has been blocked by the censors.

Excerpt 8,11 from conversation 809 shows another example of an English-based utterance which is content-wise integrated into the flow of conversation abut the ongoing topic. Signe refers to a commercial (*If you have the spirit, Bilka* (a supermarket) *has the job*) and she adds *carrots*, a rather mundane continuation in light of the dramatic beginning *if you have the spirit*. She pokes fun at the commercial, and refers to *Bilka*'s status as a discount business by her choice of carrots. Both Ole's and her reactions show that they find it funny. Mogens, however, apparently does not see the fun. He asks what the fun is. He does so in non-standard English which is somewhat influenced by his Danish mother tongue. Nevertheless, the contribution is not just a piece of performance. Even as a student whose English is quite obviously accented, he employs English to deliver his message. So by grade 8 it begins to make sense to observe the majority students as languagers who are in the process of integrating the use of English with their use of Danish. The delay seems to be about five years compared to the Turkish-speaking students in the Køge project.

Excerpt 8, 11:
*SIG:	har du gejsten har Bilka gulerødderne.
%eng:	if you have the spirit, Bilka has the carrots
%com:	Signe laughs
*OLE:	til hvad.
%eng:	for what.
%com:	CHR laughs
*MOG:	<u>what funny is that</u>.

The Eskişehir material provides an opportunity to compare the development of code choice patterns among the young speakers in Køge and in Eskişehir (see also Møller & Jørgensen forthc.). In table 3.8.3 we have compared the code choices of grade 8 students at two different times, and in both places. First of all, the Eskişehir

492

grade 8 students use much more Turkish than the Køge grade 8 students, both in the 1990's and in the 2000's.

Secondly, the percentage of "mixed" utterances (which in this case involves both intrasentential code switches and utterances with loans, i.e. all utterances which use material from more than one language), is much lower in Eskişehir than in Køge and remains so. This supports the conclusion that code-switching is a skill that follows with acquisition. Everybody borrows, some people cross, but only the sophisticated languagers use code choice skills extensively.

Year\Var.	pct Turkish		pct other		pct mixed	
	Køge	Eski-şehir	Køge	Eski-şehir	Køge	Eski-şehir
1990's	18,2	96,5	77,4	1,9	10,3	2,1
2000's	42,9	98,1	48,5	1,4	15,4	0,7

Table 3.8.3. Code choice patterns of grade 8 students in Køge and Eskişehir at two different times. Turkish-based utterances, other-based utterances (including Danish), and utterances involving features from at least two languages.

Year\Variable	pct Turkish	pct Danish	pct other	pct mixed
Minority	18,2	76,9	0,5	10,2
Majority	0	97,1	1,7	4

Table 3.8.4. Code choice patterns of grade 8 students. Turkish-based utterances, Danish-based utterances, other-based utterances, and utterances involving features from at least two languages.

This finding is also supported by the comparison of the Køge

majority students in grade 8 with the Køge minority students with respect to code choice. By grade 8 the majority students are beginning to show the patterns, with their gradual acquisition of English, which we found much earlier with the minority students. This shows as the 4 per cent mixed utterances produced by the majority students. They also produce slightly more in other languages than Danish and Turkish.

Code choice in grade 9

The group conversations from grade 9 include 3 conversations between minority students, 5 conversations with both minority students and majority students, and 2 conversations between majority students only.

Code profile 903.

In grade 9 the languaging patterns of the young speakers include new styles which we have not met in the earlier years. In grade 9 the use of code-switches combines with other patterns of behavior to develop into a youth language with all the characteristics of that (see the section on Youth language in Part 1). It is used for play, for ironical distance to the adult world, and for social negotiations among the involved interlocutors.

We can see how the features ascribed to different languages, varieties, and codes are taken into possession by the young speakers who make the features their own regardless of how the features are supposed to belong to languages, etc. We can further see how the young speakers play with language, in particular switches between codes. The young speakers are not ignorant about the features being ascribed to different languages, and that different values are attached to the sets of features in society at large. In fact the young speakers can use these relations, both as contributions to social negotiations and as pure performance.

The task in grade 9 was, as in grade 8, to create a cartoon or a picture series with free post cards and glue them on a large piece of cardboard. The students could also write a text on the cardboard. The theme in grade 9 was *My worst nightmare*.

Conversation 903 includes Murat, Erol, Bekir, and Hüseyin, four boys. From the outset there are several proposals in conversation 903 as to what "My worst nightmare" should mean. In the first half of the conversation there are frequent references to *My worst*

nightmare. The words *mit værste mareridt* are used in 23 utterances. Shortly before the conversation is half way through, the participants get involved in discussions of other matters. The most frequent source of new issues for discussion is the stack of postcards made available to the group, and a string of digressions are caused by the motives of the different postcards. An otherwise unrelated issue was the grade sheets which they were about to receive from their teachers the week that the recording was made. A theme which pops up several times in the second half of the conversation is women and girls, and how they look. The nightmare theme appears intermittently in the second half, in altogether 6 utterances.

The young speakers' simultaneous use of elements from different languages is complicated, and by no means reducible to just two languages, Turkish and Danish. Several sets of features are involved, including stylized types of Danish and English. The code-switching practice of this conversation has been described by Havgaard (2002). She finds that the speakers use "(at least) four different languages or varieties, namely Turkish. Danish, English, and Perkerdansk" [late modern urban youth language] (Havgaard 2002, 176, my translation). In fact Havgaards finds the use of at least one more variety, namely stylized Asian (Indian) English. We will return to this example below, see excerpt 9,5. Havgaard on this basis concludes that there is a substantial variation in the young speakers' behavior.

496

Code profile conversation 903

Code profile conversation 901

Code profile conversation 902

497
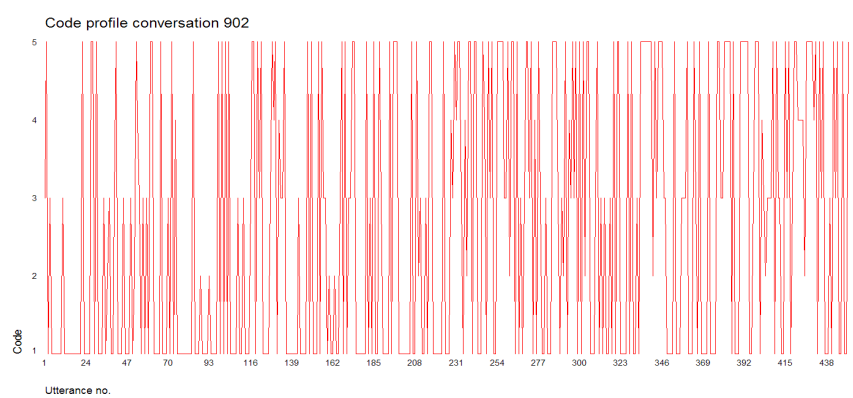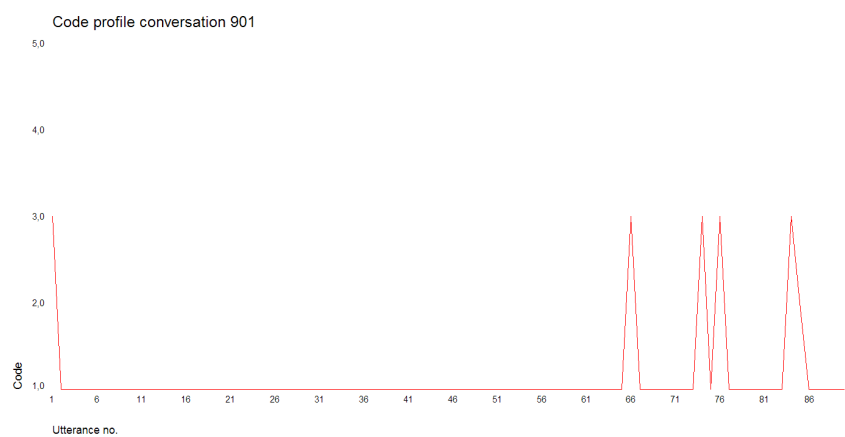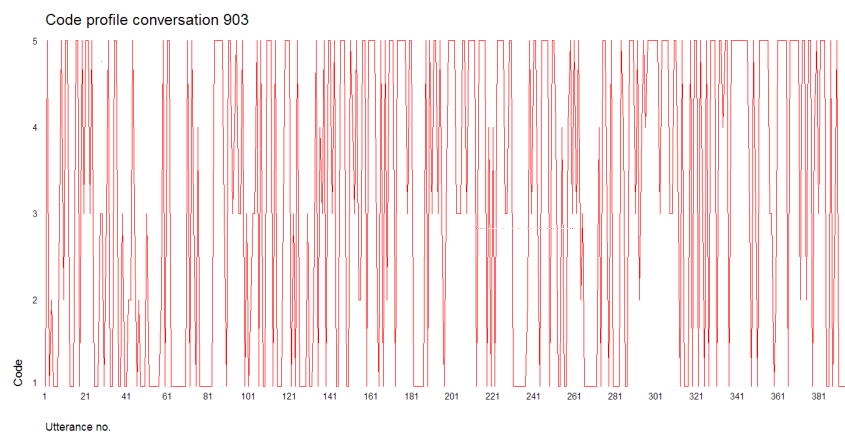
In one and the same conversation among adolescents with this age (about 15 years) there are many different functions of code-switching. I found code-switches which can be explained from the conversation alone, e.g. when the speakers code-switch to emphasize a statement, attract attention through a joke (performance), or generally play with language. On the other hand there are also switches which are better understood if one includes outside social factors. These switches signal that the adolescents express and to a large extent explore their ethnic identity and the borders between the two cultures (Havgaard 2002, 199, my translation).

One of the styles which appear in grade 9 is the stylized immigrant Danish, perhaps better characterized as a speech style of Danish connected to late modern urban youth groups, a certain style which includes a distinct intonation pattern and a range of new words and word meanings, including loanwords from particularly Arabic, Turkish, and Kurdish (Christensen 2004, Quist 2000). Excerpt 9,1 gives an example of this.

Excerpt 9,1:
*ERO: mit største mareridt er Atlantis.
%eng: my worst nightmare is Atlantis.
%com: pronounced in late modern urban youth style
*HUS: ha Atlantis.
%com: Hüseyin laughs

In this utterance, Erol uses a highly marked pronunciation characteristic of the late modern urban youth style. This is not Erol's usual intonation, and his attempt at marking his utterance does not go unnoticed – Hüseyin laughs in appreciation of the pointed reference. The word *Atlantis* refers to one of the postcards which advertizes a musical titled "Atlantis". This is one of the cases where the nightmare theme is brought up, triggered by a picture on one of the postcards. This is also the case with the

utterance in excerpt 9,2.

Excerpt 9,2:
*ERO: mit værste mareridt er at bolle hende der.
%eng: my worst nightmare is to fuck her.
%com: Erol and Hüseyin laugh.

In this excerpt the issue of girls is also brought into focus. Erol uses an expression which would be taboo in the adult world, and thereby refers to the border between the age group represented in this conversation on one side and adults on the other side. He is rewarded with Hüseyin's laughter, and the two share the joy of the moment. The reference in this excerpt, however, is entirely in Erol's usual slightly Sealand flavored Danish. The function of the code-switch in excerpt 9,1 is not reserved for code-switches – it can be achieved by other means also. The code-switching has now fully become pragmatic-linguistic tools for the young speakers on the same level as all other pragmatic-linguistic tools. Code-switches do not need to be considered as exceptional features that we happen to find in bilingual behavior. They are not outstanding as linguistic features, and in reality they are not reserved for bilinguals in the classical sense (see e.g. Rampton's 1995 account of code-switches by both minority and majority adolescents).

In conversation 903, the majority of utterances are either Danish-based (40 %) or Turkish-based (47 %), including utterances with loans. The use of English is not nearly as frequent: 7 % of the utterances are English-based. That leaves us 11 % of the utterances which are mixed, i.e. they contain an intrasentential code-switch, typically between Turkish and Danish, but in a couple of cases English is involved, see excerpt 9,3.

Excerpt 9,3:
*ERO: *goril dedi sana vallah* <u>where are you going tonight</u> [//]
        <u>tonight</u> *xxx ben de*.
%eng: <u>where are you going tonight</u> [//] <u>tonight</u> *xxx me too.*

But this categorization does not distinguish between sets of features which are dialects or sociolects or styles of the involved languages. In a couple of cases there is clearly a switch into stylized types. This happens with Danish in most cases, but also English. We saw one example of this happening with Danish in excerpt 9,1. Excerpt 9,4 also has an example with Danish. The last three words of excerpt 9,4 which form a joking goodbye greeting, are pronounced in the same Danish multi-cultural youth style. Its form also refers to the concept of *halal* the slaughter method which is a ritual for Moslems. In Danish society at the time *halal* was a highly controversial subject which was attacked by many majority Danes as "un-Danish". The greeting *halal og farvel* is also a reference to a series of media programs aimed at the young generation.

Excerpt 9,4:
*ERO: *ah bak kim var* halal og farvel.
%eng: *oh look who is there* halal and goodbye
%com: Erol laughs and talks in a late modern urban youth style

This remark of Erol's unites the use of a controversial style, the reference to a series of (satirical) media programs for youth, the reference to a controversial subject in the public debate, all in one statement which stands as an ironical statement about the norms which the surrounding world tries to enforce on the young speakers.

Excerpt 9,5 has an example involving a stylized type of English, referring to a stereotypical (subcontinental) Asian accent (see also Havgaard 2002).

Excerpt 9,5:
*ERO: where are you going today.
%com: pronounced with retroflex d-sound and front tongue r-sound.

The utterance in excerpt 9,5 is pronounced with the retroflex stop

and the front tongue r-sound which - at least according to stereotypes prevalent in Denmark - signal Indian-accented English. This is probably not an idea Erol picks out of the blue. One of the postcards used for the group task shows a picture of an Indian-looking taxi driver (actually with a Sikh headgear) asking where his customer wants to go. In some cases the text of a postcard is read – or sung - out, as in excerpt 9,6.

Excerpt 9,6:
*ERO: <u>always Coca Cola</u>.
%com: Erol sings

Later in the conversation Erol adds on to and develops the theme of *always Coca-Cola* by substituting tequila for Coca-Cola: A reference to alcohol is a (slightly) exciting reference to something forbidden, by the adults, and Erol once again receives an appreciative reaction from Hüseyin, who breaks into laughter.

Excerpt 9,7:
*ERO: <u>always Tequila</u>.
%com: Erol sings
*HUS: Tequila.
%com: Hüseyin laughs

So there is of course little doubt that the boys are aware of variation within the languages they use. A large part of the uses of stylized varieties is, however, triggered by specific identifiable postcards. In the case of excerpt 9,4 the trigger is most likely a postcard which advertizes a group of comedians known as *Tæskeholdet* (The Gang of Thugs). In excerpt 9,8 Erol expands on this routine, receiving once again a favorable reaction from Hüseyin. Hüseyin's pronunciation of the word is standard Danish, but Erol's following repetition of the word *Tæskeholdet* is entirely in a Danish late modern urban youth style. He continues with a reference to another theme which is non-appropriate in adult conversations: Murat's purported fart. This time, however, he is not rewarded with a favorable reaction from any of the others, and he

501

reacts inconspicuously to Bekir's request for the Gang of Thugs postcard.

Excerpt 9,8:
*ERO: *ah bak kim var* halal og farvel.
%eng: *oh look who is there* halal and goodbye
%com: Erol laughs and talks in Danish multi-cultural youth style
*HUS: Tæskeholdet.
%eng: The Gang of Thugs
*ERO: hi hi hi halal og farvel Tæskeholdet.
%eng: hi hi hi halal and goodbye The Gang of Thugs.
%com: Erol parodies
*ERO: Murat har lige slået en skid # *o adam ın xxx aynı senin gibi*.
%eng: Murat just farted # *that man's xxx is like yours*.
*BEK: Tæskeholdet'*u bir bana ver hele*.
%eng: *give me* The Gang of Thugs
%com: Bekir asks for the postcard
*ERO: *al len senin olsun istiyor musun*.
%eng: *take it, man, it can be yours, do you want it*.

The word *Halal* is controversial by representing Islam, which is the target of much hate speech in Denmark. The word invokes Islam, Moslem butchers in the cities, and a host of stereotypes about Moslem citizens. At the same time it has a certain similarity with the word *hallo* which is a welcome greeting, or a call to attract attention. The expression *Halal og farvel* therefore includes a pun on the word pair *halal - hallo*.

As we have observed earlier (for instance in conversation 501), a reference to a popular character or a media concept, such as *Tæskeholdet*, may trigger recognition by several interlocutors and start a sequence of comments which refer to details concerning the media name. This I have described as performance in Bauman's sense, but it could also be understood as the interlocutors going through a routine, a ritual-like behavior, see Rampton 2008. In other cases a media name appears without triggering such a string

of comments: Another postcard which attracts their attention is a picture of a British TV comic character, Mister Bean. Hüseyin has found a card with a picture of Mister Bean, and now Erol is also looking for one, but he can not find it. In excerpt 9,9 Erol asks for assistance from the others in his search, but he is only rewarded with a *why, are you gay?* This blocks any further excitement about Mr. Bean.

Instead Erol takes the *halal and farvel* point a step further by also hinting to the word *lal* which means *foolishness* or *foolish behavior*, and by using the word *hava* which is Turkish for *air* or *weather*, but also a girl's name. Furthermore he extends the Danish goodbye greeting which has already been used into a decidedly local Sealand form *farveller*. In one and the same moment Erol brings a string of Danish and Turkish word into play, with puns across styles and languages. He uses *hello* and *goodbye* to make an ironic statement about majority norms, and he develops themes both high and low in one short utterance. Hüseyin's reactions show us that Erol does not produce these statements in vain. Hüseyin understands them and appreciates them.

Excerpt 9,9:
*ERO: Mister Bean where are you come here.
*BEK: *niye* bøsse *müsün.*
%eng: *why, are you* gay?
*ERO: *bir tane daha bulursanız bana verin ha bir tane daha bulursanız.*
%eng: *if you find one more then give it to me, man, if you find one more*
*HUS: *düşünürüz.*
%eng: *we will think about it.*
*ERO: ah halalla farveller *istiyor musun lan hava halal.*
%eng: oh halalla goodbyes *do you want it, man, air halal.*
%com: Erol plays with the words
*HUS: Tæskeholdet.
%eng: The Gang of Thugs

503

With these examples several characteristics should be obvious. Firstly, Erol's code-switching and code-mixing certainly involve language play in Crystal's sense (see the section on Youth language in Part 1). But this is not just ludic adolescent fooling around with words and sounds, the language play is in fact quite sophisticated.

Secondly, Erol's oscillations are also statements about himself and the others in the group. The references to youth phenomena, the group of comedians, the attraction to alcohol, etc., function as statements of ingroup youth status.

Hüseyin's reactions show us that Erol's word juggling is also taken as such, and appreciated, at least by him. This is not as much the case with the other two boys. In excerpt 9,10 Erol is again playing with words cross-linguistically. The Danish word *mus* has a standard plural form *mus*. This is an irregular plural. A regular form could be *muser* with an otherwise frequent plural ending *-er*. Erol uses the form *muser* here, because it enables him to pun it against *Musa* which is a b*oy's name in Turkish.* Bekir curtly tells Erol to stop being stupid. In other words, Bekir has also understood what Erol was playing with, he does just not appreciate it as much as Hüseyin.

Excerpt 9,10:
*ERO: mit største mareridt er at fange muser Musa.
%eng: my worst nightmare is to catch mouses Musa.
%com: Hüseyin laughs, Musa is a name for a boy in Turkish
*HUS: Musa fange muser.
%eng: Musa catch mouses
%com: Hüseyin laughs
*BEK: *eşeklik yapma ya.*
%eng: *don't be stupid now.*

In several cases Erol's puns or ideas are not too well received by Bekir. This leads to our third observation, namely that Erol's word play is also part of an in-group jockeying for position among the

four boys. In this connection, Erol's performance is exactly - performance, in Bauman's terms. There are other indications that the boys position themselves differently - and sometimes conflicting - within the group and in relation to the task. An analysis in initiative-response terms, but reduced in number of categories (see Madsen & Nielsen 2001 for similar analyses of other Køge conversations) yields the differences which we see in table 3.9.1.

Name \ IR	New Initiatives	Response + Initiative	Other
Erol (N=128)	11 %	75 %	16 %
Hüseyin (N=101)	8 %	89 %	3 %
Murat (N=62)	22 %	68 %	10 %
Bekir (N=95)	18 %	72 %	11 %

Table 3.9.1. Percentage of utterances which are new initiatives, responses + initiatives, and other types, respectively, for each of the four participants in conversation 903. N= total number of utterances by the individual speakers.

We can see in table 3.9.1 that Murat takes a little less part in the flow of the conversation than Erol and Bekir, and clearly less than Hüseyin. Murat has the lowest number of utterances, and percentagewise he has fewer responses + initiatives than the others. This does not mean that he is outside the conversation or has no influence. This will be clear from table 3.9.2.

Table 3.9.2 shows us that Murat's initiatives by and large are taken into account by the others. He seldom says anything that is ignored. Contrary to this, every fourth initiative by Hüseyin does not lead to any reaction from the others. Bekir and Murat exert more control over the conversation than Erol and Hüseyin do when we see it in this light, although Erol and Hüseyin produce more utterances. We

have already noticed that Hüseyin backs up Erol's performance utterances, while they do not seem to be rewarded similarly by Murat and Bekir.

Name \ Init. recept.	+	-
Erol	72 %	11 %
Hüseyin	72 %	24 %
Murat	82 %	5 %
Bekir	80 %	6 %

Table 3.9.2. Reception in percentage of initiatives taken by each participant in conversation 903. Column 2 (marked +) represents initiatives which have received a reaction, and column 3 (marked -) initiatives which have received no reaction from the other participants in the conversation.

Addressee	Erol		Hüseyin		Murat		Bekir		Total
Speaker	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	
Erol	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
Hüseyin	0	2	0	0	4	1	3	5	15
Murat	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	5
Bekir	3	1	1	1	7	0	0	0	13
Total	4	3	4	1	11	1	3	6	36

Table 3.9.3. Number of times each speaker (rows) in conversation 903 addresses another participant (column) by name. Positive or neutral addresses are scored with +, negative or confrontational addresses by -. For instance, Erol receives 4 positive and 3 negative addresses.

A third quantitative measure of conversational dominance is the number of times each participants attempts to attract the attention of another participant by addressing him by name, see table 3.9.3. This table shows us that Murat is addressed by name more often than the others, and he is particularly often addressed positively. It is also interesting to observe that Erol exclusively addresses Bekir, and only negatively. Hüseyin, and particularly Bekir, direct most attention to Murat. All these quantitative measures reveal that Murat is relatively centrally positioned in the group. The others are aware of his presence, and although he does not say very much, he is certainly not ignored.

Murat's status is also easily noticed in table 3.9.4. He has more Danish-based utterances than the others, and he uses no English and very little mixing. In fact he has also only one construction with a loan word. These figures yield a picture of Murat as one who does not participate very much in the performance exercises. He seems to be centrally positioned in the group, and this is further supported by the figures for intersentential code-switching. For both Erol, Hüseyin, and Bekir, 66 % of their utterances are followed by utterances in the same code, while 34 % of their utterances are followed by an intersentential code-switch. For Murat the figures are 73 % and 27 %. The others simply do not switch as often when they follow Murat – or more precisely: the group tends to follow Murat's code choice more than the others'. And it is not because he himself gets less involved in intersentential code-switching. Following Bekir, he is the most frequent intersentential code-switcher: 39 % of Bekir's utterances are code-switched from the preceding utterance. The figure for Murat is 34 %, for Erol 30 %, and for Hüseyin 28 %.

Both the quantitative data and the qualitative analysis of the excerpts have showed us that there is indeed both a jockeying game going on inside the group and confirmation of the social bonds keeping the group together. The individual code-switches, including the mixed utterances, can often not be seen as single-purpose statements. A short exchange with two or three utterances

may contain both pure ludicrum linguae, performance, ingroup marking, and internal jockeying for position - in the same expression.

Name\Code	Danish	Turkish	English	mixed
Erol	32 %	52 %	5 %	10 %
Hüseyin	40 %	51 %	0	9 %
Murat	55 %	39 %	0	4 %
Bekir	42 %	42 %	1 %	14 %

Table 3.9.4. Distribution of utterances on codes. Danish includes Danish with loanwords, etc. Mix covers utterances with intra-utterance code-switching.

We have also been able to see that code-switching is only one aspect of the interaction taking place in a conversation such as 903. But the code-switches, or in some cases perhaps more precisely: the code choices, are so integrated with the other mechanisms and tools at the speakers' disposal, that it makes almost no sense to isolate the functions of the code-switches, as if they were in any way special. They contribute to the fun of playing with language. They contribute to the concept formation of the language users. They certainly contribute to the construction of social relations among the speakers, both in ingroup marking and in the struggle for status in a hierarchy.

Cross-linguistic language play is much more common with the boys than with the girls. It does happen that girls play with language, particularly Esen and Selma, but as can be seen from the code profile of conversation 901 there is no cross-linguistic activity in the conversation involving Eda, Canan, and Merva. In conversation 901 Turkish has almost disappeared. There is not one Turkish-based utterance. It is further characteristic of this

508

conversation that very little is said between the participants, and that there are long pauses in the conversation. Conversation 901 has 50 utterances with altogether 451 words, while conversation 902 has 450 utterances with 2833 words, and conversation 903 has 394 utterances with 1863 words. All of the conversations last roughly 40 minutes.

Code profile 901.

Excerpt 9,11 gives a good impression of the conversational style of conversation 901 with its frequent and long pauses, the lack of engagement, and particularly the unenthusiastic answers given to Eda by the others.

Excerpt 9,11:
*EDA:	må jeg ikke godt lige se noget.
%eng:	can I see something?
*MER:	vi kan da ikke lime sådan nogle billeder for helvede mand.
%eng:	we can't paste pictures like that, hell, man.
*EDA:	du må også godt bruge det.
%eng:	it's okay if you use it, too.
*CAN:	det var altså værste mareridt altså <det at>[>] øh det ved jeg sgu ikke.
%eng:	so it was the worst nightmare that øh I bloody don't know.
*MER:	<ja..>[<]
%eng:	yes.
%com:	pause
*EDA:	# men kan vi ikke finde nogen billeder xxx for helvede.
%eng:	# but we can't find any pictures xxx hell.
%com:	pause for several minutes
*EDA:	# skal jeg klippe den her ud tror du.
%eng:	# do you think I should cut out these?
%com:	pause, the bell rings

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*EDA:        # ih.
*MER:        ej.
%eng:        no.
*EDA:        jo denne her.
%eng:        yes, this one.
*CAN:        hvis du synes.
%eng:        if you think so.
```

Eda's attempts to establish a conversation with the others fail completely. They answer negatively or not at all. The only moment where the interaction approaches the other conversations is in Merva's reaction to Canan's remark about the pictures. The excerpt is typical of this conversation. The two show no wish to converse with Eda. They are hardly motivated for using linguistic variation, language play, code switching, and all the other mechanisms which can contribute to establishing a social relationship. On the contrary, we can observe two girls marginalizing a third girl. This in fact confirms and is confirmed by statements made by the speakers in interviews in grade 8.

The young speakers work with a wide range of creative and lively linguistic patterns, and that work is precisely also a work with social relations. All the creativity and originality and fun do not happen automatically. When the social motivation is not there, they do not happen.

What we can see here in grade 9 (and to a certain extent in grade 8) is that language can also be used to keep others *outside* the social relations. Canan's and Merva's linguistic behavior in conversation 901 is also an advanced use of linguistic tools to shape their social relations, in casu to prevent Eda from becoming an in-group member.

Code profile 902.

The code profile of conversation 902 shows a picture which is now

510

common. There is rapid switching from level to level, and all five levels are represented. The participants in conversation 902 are girls, Selma, Esen, and Asiye. The difference between conversation 901 and the others is therefore not related to the gender of the speakers. Conversation 902 and 903 are not very different from each other with respect to code choice patterns. The outstanding conversation is 901, in which Turkish is avoided by speakers (particularly two of them) who have no problems with using Turkish in other connections. The choice of code is a tool in the social negtiations, and in 901 we have an extreme situation. The almost strictly monolingual behavior is a *deviaiton* from the usual linguistic behavior of these young languagers. The effect is an atmosphere which is characterized by lack of enthusiasm, if not by animosity.

In grade 9 the conversations show great differences in the linguistic behavior of the young speakers. Their linguistic work involves a wider range of languages and dialects, etc. than before. Their language work also involves references to youth attitudes and youth conditions. The social outcome of the conversations reaches from freezing out to a hearty sense of togetherness among young people who share their experience, attitudes, and world view.

The Turkish-speaking students produce 905 utterances in their 3 conversations, with 492 being Danish-based, and 319 being Turkish-based. There are 11 utterances based on other languages - 10 are English-based, and one is German-based. The German-based utterance is a comment on the task, see excerpt 9,12. These conversations produce 83 intrasentential code-switches

Excerpt 9,12:
*SEL: <u>langweilich Tag</u>.
%eng: a boring day

The group conversations with both majority and minority students yield 1962 utterances, of which 1936 are Danish-based, 3 are Turkish-based, and 20 are based on other languages. There are 3

511

intrasentential code-switches. The group conversation between majority students gives 660 utterances, 638 are Danish-based, 18 are based on other languages, and 4 are intrasentential code-switches.

Conclusions

In the Køge project we have recorded group conversations between peers who are members of the Turkish-Danish minority in Køge. The students have all grown up in Denmark, and they have acquired Turkish skills in their home. They have also attended Turkish as a subject in school. The students are members of a typical minority established by migrant workers i the 1960's. Such minorities have become common in Western Europe during the past 40 years. The Turkish-Danish minority in Køge is typical of this migration. On the other hand, the migrant workers represent many different backgrounds, so in a sense the Turkish-Danish minority in Køge is unique also. The Køge project studies the unique group of Turkish-Danish grade school students in Køge in order to achieve general insight into linguistic behavior among late modern human beings.

The students in the Køge Project have studied Turkish at school, more or less as a part of the general school curriculum at the time. Their acquisitional histories are different, and we can not assume that they would all live up to Paikeday's (1985, 87) criterion of a native speaker. The same goes for the students' Danish skills. However, we know now beyond any doubt that the young speakers can handle any situation linguistically which other young people can handle linguistically. The young Turkish-Danes handle language as a social tool and otherwise, just like everybody else.

This is not to say that there are no differences between the group of Turkish-speaking minority students and their majority peers. There are, indeed. And there are also differences within the group, i.e. between the young minority students. Some of these differences have to do with skills - some of the students leave school with more advanced linguistic skills and greater school success than others. However, to measure these differences with respect to language is not possible with the traditional school means of grading language students. In addition to the differences in skills, there are also differences in style and habits. In Part 3 I

have described the different uses of codes, and the development of the uses of codes which we can observe over 9 years of grade school development, particularly in group conversations.

I have found a tremendous change from grade 1 to grade 9. During the first years the students primarily use Turkish features when they are in the company of other minority students. Danish items gradually become more common. From grade 4 Danish plays a distinct role among the boys. In several ways grade 5 marks a turning point. This year there are particularly many intersentential code-switches, features from other languages than Turkish and Danish appear, and there is a higher share of Danish among the girls than in both grade 4 and grade 6. From grade 7 another important change takes place. The girls practically undergo a language shift from Turkish to Danish. The boys also increase the share of Danish, but not at all to the same extent. In grade 8 the boys have a higher share of Danish than in grade 7 and 9, similar to what we see among the girls in grade 5.

The distribution of Danish and Turkish undergoes a not entirely simple and unidirectional series of changes between grade 1 and grade 9. In addition to this features from other languages are involved more and more frequently, although they remain a small proportion of the total linguistic production of the young speakers.

During the first years the Danish items are mainly words related to school life. Later, words and expressions are added which have to do with the students' experiences in general, from grade 5 particularly popular culture. Already before grade 5 the students have developed skills in integrating any Danish vocabulary into their Turkish in automatized ways. Ad hoc loans are used with the same ease as Danish words and expressions which are already established in their internal communication. After this I have observed how the intrasentential code-switches become regular. At an even later point the student integrate a few Turkish features into a production which is otherwise in Danish, although this never becomes as common as the opposite.

514

The introduction of Danish words may in the beginning fill gaps. The young speakers are school-beginners at the time, and many new concepts and phenomena appear in the everyday of all school beginners, minority or majority. As the words presented to the Turkish-Danish school beginners in the vast majority of cases will be Danish, there is no surprise in the fact that the school-related vocabulary to a large extent becomes Danish. It is more unusual that the members of this particular group *also* to some extent acquired a school-related vocabulary in Turkish from the school.

Already at an early stage we can observe that the students play with the use of Turkish and Danish features in the same conversation. It often has the character of fun, but at the same time there is no doubt that it plays a role for the relationships among the students. This aspect becomes increasingly more important, the older the students get. Code-switching, borrowing, and language mixing are tools in the negotiations of the social relations, such as in power struggles. The students use this kind of linguistic variation to position themselves vis-a-vis each other, and in relation to the rest of the world. It may take the form of performance, in creative renditions of the surrounding world - through mimicry in which the students use stylized immigrant Danish in a way that signals a border between their "thems" and their "us'es".

The linguistic tools related to code choice and code-switching are used by the young speakers in the higher grades in two ways. Firstly, the young speakers draw a border between themselves and the "others" through their extensive use of their broad linguistic knowledge. This does not happen in one, common minority grouping, but in relation to several groups and subgroups. Secondly, the students use their linguistic skills in the internal organization of their social relations. This happens in power struggles, but it also happens in face-work and in other ways.

In the younger grades we do not see too much of a difference between the boys as a group and the girls as a group. At first sight the boys begin to use Danish earlier than the girls, at least the boys'

515

groups use more Danish than the girls' groups in the first years. However, as we learn from the conversations in grade 5, this is not because the girls are unable to use Danish, they just *choose* not to use Danish when they are together in girls-only groups. In gender-mixed groups the girls use Danish as well as Turkish. In fact, most of the changes we can observe all seem to appear first with the girls, and later with the boys (cf. also Duncker 2003,122). In the higher grades the differences in the material seem to show that individual differences mean more than gender differences. The linguistically, educationally, and otherwise strongest individuals are obviously girls, and so are the weakest individuals. It is possible that the developments I have observed, have all the time been driven by the strongest girls, taken up by the boys, and finished by the weakest girls. It is, however, no coincident that we find such a pattern of development. The social organization of the boys' group in one, inclusive, hierarchical structure (which is not unusual for boys) will allow for new developments to spread to all the boys. The girls' organization in separate, excluding pairs or small groups may isolate some of the girls (see also Jørgensen 2001a).

However, much individual differences mean, it does not change the fact that the students form different groupings (perform different identities), and this is reflected in their linguistic behavior. They are hardly different from other young people in Denmark in that respect, and probably not from young people elsewhere in late modern urban societies. This is a good argument for primarily characterizing the linguistic behavior we can see in the Køge data as youth language (or youth languaging), (cf. also Jørgensen 2001b).

The major conclusion concerning code-switching is that it is not used differently from other kinds of linguistic phenomena. Code-switching is used to achieve goals, and code-switching is intentional in the sense that all language use is intentional (it may also be considered rational, see Myers-Scotton & Bolonyai 2001). To be in the possession of, to command, to "have" linguistic

features which are usually by other people ascribed to two different sets of features and considered separate, is neither exotic nor strange. It is language just like every other linguistic phenomenon, and it is evident from the Køge data that the use of such features in violation of the monolingualism norms is language use like all other kinds of language use. It is languaging as usual.

The linguistic behavior of the Køge minority students develops into youth language with all its characteristics. There are the characteristics which Kotsinas 1994 describes, including loud talk, simultaneous talk, the use of non-linguistic sound effects, etc. We have also observed the creativity and expressiveness which Kotsinas finds characteristic of youth language, and we have observed them particularly in the code choice and code-switching patterns which the minority students develop through their school years. By the higher grades we can furthermore observe frequent references to popular culture, media personalities, TV shows, etc. Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou (forthc.) mention in addition to this teasing which we have also observed in many instances. They further describe the "increased and innovative use of certain discourse markers" which is the least one can say about the Køge students. Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou (forthc.) also include as characteristic of youth language a phenomenon mentioned by Kotsinas, namely the extended use of tabooed words and expressions. Keim (2007, 227) lists several of the same characteristics as typical of her Turkish Power Girls. Finally, and crucially, it is characteristic of youth language that it involves language play (Crystal 1998).

In particular we have seen how the language use of the young speakers is extremely meaningful in their negotiations of social relations. On the one hand, we have seen that the code choice patterns are related to the group combinations. There is an effect, in the way the young speakers choose their codes, on the social relations they cultivate with their utterances - including patterns of inclusion and exclusion. On the other hand, the specific code choice patterns also reflect how the young speakers categorize their

517

relationships. As usual there is a mutuality between the social relations and the linguistic variation.

The playful language and the social negotiations do not seem to point in different directions as is sometimes described (Rampton 1999c, 368, Talbot et. al 2003, 218, Keim 2007, 254ff). This may have to do with the fact that the group studied in the Køge project is small and has a homogeneous background. We have found very few overt indications of a feeling of ownership to any linguistic form or sets of features (one example involving a minority girl and two majority boys occurs in grade 4, see excerpt 4,19, but this is an exception). There is indeed a lot of teasing going on, and it does sometime cross the border into the serious (see for instance the analyses of conversation 702), but it does not involve rights or access to the languages involved.

This may also be related to the fact that the majority students show extremely little interest in getting access to Turkish. This general attitude among the majority Danes, including adults, is sometimes indirectly referred to by the students (such as in example 1,2 in Part 1). We have observed how the young speakers through variation in their linguistic behavior may signal opposition to the outer (in particular the adult) world. This sometimes happens as *double voicing* or as *mimicry*, in which the students through indirect linguistic means mark a shared opposition to "them".

Such behavior must be characterized as quite sophisticated language use, quite advanced language use. Particularly in the older grades we have observed linguistic production with many layers and many references and double references in one item (e.g. Erol's *ah halalla farveller istiyor musun lan hava halal*, see the section on grade 9 above). At least some of the students have become very eloquent by grade 9. Their eloquence includes the way in which they manouver between the codes available to them. This again refers back to their mutual group membership, because the only ones who appreciate these skills are their minority peers.

By grade 9 the young speakers have gradually integrated the linguistic features at their disposal, particularly those which are generally ascribed to Turkish and Danish - and to a certain extent also those which are generally ascribed to English. In the first years we mainly see ad hoc loans and borrowed words from the school world. Later we see intersentential code-switching, and later again intrasentential code-switching. Along the way, the structural relations between the features in intrasentential switching becomes more intertwined, sometimes to the extent where we can no longer identify every individual element as belonging to one or the other (ideologically constructed) set of features, or languages. In the higher grades we also observe cross-linguistic punning - which is only possible if the involved languages are somehow within (reach of) the attention of the speaker as well as the appreciating listener. This integration of linguistic features is something the students have *achieved* in spite of all the efforts in their surroundings to prevent them from doing so.

The development of Danish as a second language is the most important specific goal of the school with respect to these minority students. We have seen that this particular group have achieved much better results in terms of traditional school success than what is typical of minority students in Danish schools. It is difficult not to see this as an effect of the better conditions they were given by the school at the time. They do of course not achieve with the same degree of success all of them, there are considerable differences between the students in our group. Interestingly, we have noticed that the same students seem to score high on all rankings and all measures of school success, including their school leaving grades.

Those who score well in the rankings, are also the individuals who code-switch the most (see table 3.8.2). Code-switching is a phenomenon which is characteristic of the most sophisticated, the most advanced language users in this group. Nevertheless, code-switching is not a very frequently occurring phenomenon. This we see when we study the proportions of code-switching and non-code-switched production.

519

The figures of the simultaneous use of more languages in one utterance show us that there is still a considerable majority of linguistic production which is held in one language. The figures we have from the Køge project do not categorize all linguistic variation, however. Jutland Danish is still Danish, but producing an utterance, or a part of an utterance, in Jutland Danish, when the rest of one's production in a given situation is in standard Copenhagen Danish, has an effect. This effect is comparable to the effect of switching from Greenlandic to Swahili. The values involved will be different, and the references to attitudes, societal power relation, etc. will be different. But the phenomenon of linguistic variation expressing or creating meaning is the same.

The total number of utterances which are Danish-based, is 37,400, while there are 16,200 Turkish-based utterances. Of the Danish-based utterances, around 300 include loans, from Turkish or ad hoc loans from English or a few other sources. Of the Turkish-based utterances, roughly 1000 involve loans, primarily from Danish, but also some from other languages. In addition there are 400 utterances based on other languages, and there are 800 intrasentential code-switches. This leaves us with 54.800 utterances, 2100 of which include items from more than one language. We notice that we have *not* accounted for different codes which are considered varieties of the languages. Yet, we reach the result that as a whole the phenomenon of simultaneous use of two or more languages in terms of utterances amounts to about 4% of all talk among the participants in the Køge project. We know very little about the representativity of the data, but the data material is large and varied enough to tell us that code choice is an important linguistic tool used for whatever language is used for, and that code-switching is a sophisticated and advanced means of expression.

Part 4: Perspectives and implications

With the Køge data we have observed the development of youth language. The specifics of the linguistic behavior of the Køge students are of course precisely specifics, but the general characteristics which we find in the analyses indicate typical late modern adolescent behavior (see below about the Rampton perspectives). We have witnessed the development of linguistic behavior as social acts. The young speakers use language, and they do it to do things with, by, and for each other. It is important to bear in mind that we have not seen everything the young speakers can do with and choose to do with language. We have material from a few specific types of situations from their everyday. The language use we have as data in the Køge project, is language use in a school setting, but not a classroom. I have almost exclusively been concerned with the interaction between the young speakers, with an emphasis on the linguistic minority students who know Turkish. Their peer interaction under such circumstances have given us insight into the patterns of development as well as the rate and order of certain developments of poly-lingual behavior. I have described the specific poly-lingual behavior we can witness among these minority students, as a kind of youth language which carries many of the characteristics of youth language, but which is also characterized by some qualities that we find among all poly-linguals, and some qualities we find among human beings, languagers, as such.

The youth language characteristics are, for instance, the playfulness, the performance, the creativity, the construction of opposition. They are all qualities which are characteristic of youth language as it has been described in many studies.

The frequent use of features which are generally ascribed to different sets of features, ideologically constructed "languages" (varieties, dialects, or codes, etc.), including ones the speakers do not "know" or "have easy access to", is not something only adolescents do. And it is not something only poly-linguals do.

521

Agha (2007, 164) describes the alternating use of different registers, for instance sport announcer talk and "everyday speech" among young monolingual boys who do not command the sports announcer talk to a very large extent.

> When a register that is regularly employed in one social practice is deployed in a partial or fragmentary way in another such a usage may confer some legitimacy - a peppering of prestige - upon its speaker/author, particularly when the target audience is unfamiliar with the authentic uses of the source register (Agha 2007, 165)

Agha argues that this is possible because speakers are able to recognize many more different registers (languages, codes, etc.) than they can actively use. As we have seen, values are ascribed to the codes, and it is possible for all speakers to refer to these values with a token linguistic features representing the code (register, language, etc.), the ideological construction. This is my main point - that on the basis of their language use and language development we must characterize the young Turkish-Danes as absolutely normal human beings in general, and as absolutely normal late modern adolescents in particular. They are languagers like everybody else in their age group. They have access to features ascribed to a different (perhaps a slightly wider) range of codes than the average majority adolescent Dane, but this is a matter of (small) degree, not of important cognitive or social consequences. The special characteristics of their languaging have to do with the fact that they are *young* languagers, not that they are members of a linguistic minority in Denmark, and especially not what linguistic minority they happen to belong to.

In addition to this point there are some perspectives which the Køge material and my analyses raise. Before discussing these perspectives I emphasize that the multivariety behavior of these adolescents shows how meaningless it is to expect *sprachlige Reinheit* from poly-lingual language users. With Rajagopalan

(personal communication) I propose that we do not primarily classify speakers as monolingual, bilingual, trilingual or whatever, but as *languagers*. Human beings use language as a human facility, and human beings are the only species with such a facility. The ways in which human beings use this facility are so intricately integrated, and perhaps so universal in their structure, that it is of less importance that some people only understand some of what other people can produce with language. Speakers can not expect to understand everything others say (something all parents have realized when their children began verbalizing). Similarly speakers can not expect that everybody else understands everything they say.

There are nevertheless usually some others who can understand the things that a person says, what she or he does with language. Languagers who do not understand a particular human being are not in any way entitled to degrade what they can not understand. People can not forbid others to employ their skills, and neither can they downgrade others who understand different language use. These are the purely moral consequences of our observations, which should be absolutely uneqiuvocal and universal, including in Denmark.

There are other perspectives of the Køge project and my study. I have discussed issues which were raised in the Køge project under inspiration from Huls, particularly power in language use. I have also discussed issues which came to the Køge project by inspiration from Pfaff, particularly regarding the organization of linguistic features and models of so-called bilingualism. Thirdly I have in may ways used insights, concepts, and suggestions from Rampton on the Køge data. Finally there are certain educational implications of the insights from the Køge data. These points I take up in the rest of Part 4.

Huls perspectives

An important perspective in the analyses I have presented in Part

3 is that of linguistic power in interaction. Conversational power is also in focus of several of the Køge studies I described in part 2.Important inspiration has come to our studies from Huls and her studies. First of all, her studies of power in Turkish speaking migrant families in the Netherlands operationalize power as a concept for analysis of language use. Huls (2000) is critical of traditional sociolinguistic views of the linguistic power relationship between the gender. She finds that within the families who have provided her data, the women are quite unequivocally the most powerful and dominant language users. Huls analyzes power *wielding*, i.e. processes by which individuals (seem to) get their way at the cost of others, in her case how interruptions and simultaneous starts are solved, in short: who "win" and who "lose"? Huls distinguishes, with Olson & Cromwell (1975), between power bases, power processes, and power outcomes. Power bases are the resources that enable one to fulfill one's intentions. Resources need not be activated, the possessor may choose not to use her or his resources under particular circumstances. Power as a resource is of course also relative. The powerful person is powerful in relation to other persons. Power resources are therefore not easily determined on the basis of interactional data. However, in the Køge project we have so many consistent indications of the relative distribution of power resources that we have no difficulty in determining (some of) the distribution of power resources. The girl Esen is again and again found to be a very strong individual, and she realizes this herself (Jacobsen 2003). Esen's case leads to the conclusion that it makes no sense to discuss power only as processes. In these processes the powerful individuals *wield* their power *resources*.

To understand what goes on, we will be helped by our insight into the ongoing power relations among the individuals. This insight contributes to explaining, for instance why Erol several times follows Esen's lead, also when there is no preparation or explanation for this in the interactional data. Huls distinguishes between status and power in order to explain the apparent discrepancy between her results and received wisdom about

Turkish family structures. Although status undoubtedly is at play in the Køge project, such a distinction is probably not necessary. Those individuals who rank highly, are also the powerful ones. Murat is another example (cf. the section on grade 9 in Part 3).

Like Huls has found, all the Køge studies who have focused on power and gender have reached the conclusion that girls are more powerful and linguistically stronger than boys. Petersen (2000), Madsen (2001b, 2002, 2003), Madsen & Nielsen (2001), Jacobsen (2003), and the results of the analyses in Part 3 here all support that conclusion. As we have seen, Petersen (2000) suggests that this distribution of power is a reflection of ongoing societal change. On the other hand, this general distribution of linguistic power may also relate to more traditional patterns. The behavior of the different groups show that the girls handle the administration of topics with more sophistication and flexibility than the boys. The boys discuss one issue, often loudly, until another subject comes up, and then this new subject is discussed for a while. Among the girls issues are not necessarily left, when they are not addressed directly. They can be taken up again, nuanced, and used, for instance in teasing. There is more direct and loud teasing among the boys, and everybody participates both in the teasing and in the laughing. Among the girls there are conspiracies and alliances, inclusion and exclusion. This observation is in line with Quist's (1998a) sociogram, in which we can see the boys form one big inclusive, hierarchical network, where the girls form several small, exclusive groups. There are similar descriptions of gender-specific network organization in the literature (about Turkish families, for instance Kâğıtçıbaşı 1982), and we can speculate that boys are better trained to linguistically handle situations where several or many people are present, while girls are better trained to handle situations involving only few people.

This would explain why the Køge data so consequently show us girls as the most powerful individuals - the data reflect situations with relatively few (three or four) speakers. It could also contribute to an explanation of why men seem to linguistically dominate

women in the public sphere (as pointed out by feminist linguists long ago), and women on the other hand seem to dominate men linguistically in the private sphere.

Another aspect is the fact that the boys seem to be on more equal terms with each other internally than the girls are, but these equal terms are not extended by the boys to the girls. The very strongest individuals may be girls, but the very weakest among the core informants are also girls (cf. Bøll 2002). Exclusion may happen only to girls and not to boys, but an excluded girl can not count on any support from the boys.

Huls' (2000) study actually bases its conclusions on a sort of power outcomes, on results of struggles for the floor. The power of course lies in the process, in that the outcome is determined by the ongoing struggle. As Huls' analysis goes, she looks for explanations in the power resources. To an extent we do likewise with the Køge data. We have analyzed power processes, i.e. verbal fights, initiative-response patterns, formations of conspiracies, etc. In some cases, power outcomes have also been in focus, such as Madsen (2002) and Olesen (2003). In all studies, the results are that power within this group of speakers is accumulated over the years, and when we are past the first grades, there is no doubt that the speakers bring their relations along to the conversations.

Another aspect Huls has studied, involves politeness strategies (see for instance Huls 1991, 2000, Huls et al. 2003) among young speakers. Huls finds that traditional politeness theory can not account for the linguistic behavior of majority students in Køge - who are in the process of constructing an equality norm. The Turkish-speaking minority students in Køge do something similar, but less extreme. They distinguish between hierarchically organized interlocutors in their behavior, but much less so than similar minority students in Rotterdam. This observation supports Petersen's finding that the minority adolescents linguistically behave in a way which reflects ongoing societal change. However, as Huls points out, the adolescents also *contribute* to ongoing

social change with their linguistic behavior. There is a two-way relationship between the social norms and the young people behavioral (including linguistic) choices.

Possibly the differences in sophistication in the linguistic behavior of boys and girls may also reflect the fact that girls seem to lead in most developments of new skills and patterns. If one has command of more different means, one is likely to be able to outmaneuver the opposition. One example which could indicate so, is the exchange in excerpt 4,19. A verbal fight is started by a majority boy who is joined by another majority boy against a minority girl who ranks very lowly in the hierarchy. Nevertheless, she defeats them completely - she is used to tougher verbal strife than they know.

These perspectives concern the adolescents as agents of language and social change in late modern society. Some of the social changes going on undoubtedly relate to gender issues, and some to generational issues. However, there is not much evidence of class issues or ethnic issues being prominent. There is plenty of evidence of *individual* identity work, such as Esen's power demonstrations.

Pfaff perspectives.

Figure 1.11. presents Pfaff's understanding of the organization of factors which influence the language acquisition of Turkish-speaking children in Germany. Her model illustrates her crucial point that children meet a rich variety of input, including different varieties of L1, regional and contact varieties, etc. They also meet different varieties of the majority language, both used as L2, i.e. as an interlanguage, and used as L1, i.e. as a mother tongue. In addition, the children meet combinations. This input leads to a certain intake which Pfaff systematizes in several different processes, and a general competence. Some of the processes involve language universals, other processes are language specific, and some are determined by learning processes, etc. The

competence posited by Pfaff, however, is notably described as a total competence which involves all linguistic skills together. This model can therefore handle output which contains features from both "L1" and "L2" (and in fact from elsewhere). The crucial element is the linguistic competence which enables production. When this is considered to contain all linguistic features, the model will be able to handle poly-lingualism also.

Pfaff introduces both psychological, cognitive, and social factors in her model. That allows for attitudes, judgements of correctness (and the possibly following corrections) to contribute to the individual psychological factors which stride the specifically linguistic elements of her model. Both language policy at the macro-level, and scaffolding as a strategy at the micro-level, contribute to the input. The input may eventually lead to acquisition. The acquisition ultimately results in the linguistic competence of the individual.

With inspiration from Pfaff's understanding of bilingualism and her model of acquisition and competence Holmen and I (2001, 144) have suggested that the individual features of a speaker are bound together in a network in which the features are also ascribed to languages as norms. I suggest that we extend this metaphor to the features, both as units and rules, being ascribed to languages as ideologically constructed sets of features. The language to which the feature is ascribed, relates to the features just like other meanings do, including denotation and connotations. In addition, prestige and values ascribed to languages also relate to the individual features which are constructed as members of the languages. This is why it is cool to say *shit* among young majority Danes, and perhaps even *Scheisse*, but definitely not *bok*.

As Pfaff points out, the speaker's experience with language and languaging forms the basis of what is eventually in her or his competence. Therefore regularly received input which combines features ascribed to one language with features ascribed to another language, will lead to these features being ascribed also the

possibility of being combined with each other in output production.

Such an understanding is able to deal with "languages" as separate entities, while still describing real life language use which combines features completely regardless of their being ascribed to different "languages". We don't need a concept of "languages" as separable units in use, but their existence as ideological constructions may influence the use of specific features at specific times. The habitual use af features with certain characteristics ascribed to a language may make itself felt in the use of features ascribed to another language.This is what happens in so-called *foreign accent*, which is therefore nothing which should be avoided or people should be discouraged from. In fact this is also (without being accent) what Pfaff exemplifies with the construction *Peter, sen bana topu verir misin?* (see the section on Bilingualism and poly-lingualism in Part 1). In the Køge project we have followed up on this observation of Pfaff's, as we have made a similar observation regarding the competences of the Køge students (Jørgensen & Quist 2001). The vocabulary use in danish of the minority students seemed to reflect on a very abstract level that they also knew an agglutinating language. The vocabulary the speakers use in the younger grades may give a hint (Jørgensen 1997c), but the impression does not last, as I have noticed in Part 2 (see figures 2.14-2.17).

The evident conseqeunce of Pfaff's model is that we analyze the input offered to the individual, as features, not primarily as representatives of languages. The features are marked as belonging to the ideologically constructed sets of features which we call languages or codes. But a model of languaging and the competence of a languager must take into account that features can be - and are - combined across all their different belongings to languages. Therefore whatever competence there is, it *must* be of such a kind that it allows all features to enter the same production, regardless of ideologies. Language competence is not independent of ideologies, much to the contrary, as Pfaff's model also clearly illustrates. "Knowing" a feature or "commanding" a feature must

529

include its ideological ascription to a "langauge". The pragmatic skills of a speaker would be greatly diminished, if she or he was to a great extent unable to categorize features according to the features' belongings to different languages. Nevertheless, being able to categorize features according to ideologically determined language ascription does not suffice to make a speaker pragmatically competent. The speaker must also know, or at least be able to rapidly register, with what features she or he can expect to be understood, by given interlocutors under given circumstances. Language learning is much more than feature acquisition.

Rampton perspectives

The young Turkish-Danish grade school students develop their language use tremendously over the nine years of grade school. By grade 9 they are capable of sophisticated and varied language use. First and foremost, I have shown how the young speakers choose from the linguistic resources available to them without following the norms expressed by society at large, or the teachers in particular. These norms are not ignored, on the contrary. They are present in the sense that their existence is used, commented on, and sometimes ridiculed by the young speakers. Rampton (2006, 2008a) describes style contrasts which are utilized by his adolescent speakers to highlight phenomena in their everyday lives while at the same time expressing evaluations and positioning themselves in relation to these phenomena. Rampton (2008a) discusses two dimensions, or sets of values which contrast, the posh-cockney dichotomy, and the Creole-Asian English dichotomy, which are exploited by the speakers on certain occasions, and which are by the way not entirely independent.

Rampton's students can refer to the two dichotomies, because they are omnipresent in Britian, including the grade schools. The tokens that refer to particular sides of the dichotomies are resources available to the students. The *values* ascribed to the specific tokens

are determined by the hierarchical dichotomies, and these values are also resources available to the speakers.

The concept of class is not so often present in Danish everyday life, including the grade schools. Other general parameters of identity are, however. Identity is a buzzword in interactional sociolinguistics, and there is a rich literature on identities and language use (including, in the Køge project, Jacobsen 2002, 2003, Møller 2003 and several others, see Part 2).

Blommaert (2005, 207) defines identities as "particular forms of semiotic potential, organised in a repertoire". Blommaert argues that his view of identities as semiotic potential enables analytically to view the relationship between semiotic resources and identities, in particular how different distribution of resources lead to different possibilities of enacting high-status identities. We have several times seen how the linguistic resources available to the young Køge speakers are tied to evaluations, and that the identities played out in some cases were directly related to the linguistic features (as linguistic and status resources, i.e. semiotic potential).

The identities which are invoked by the Køge speakers are (cf. Møller 2003, Bøll 2002) in the first instance age, and in the second instance gender (as a distant third comes ethnicity). The Køge minority students present themselves time and again as young people with everything this entails of subscription to popular culture, disliking the boring adult stuff, etc. In addition to these social identities, the young speakers perform *individual* identities (such as Esen's being powerful, and Erol's being a quick wit). Such personal identities seem to make themselves more observable than references to other more general identities in Danish society or among the minority group than the ones already mentioned. There are very few indications of specific religious identities, to mention just one example. The youth identities are of course observable in many ways, not only linguistically (see for instance Reiff 2002, Kohl 2002, Olesen 2003, as described in Part 2), and the gender identities likewise (Møller 2003, Bøll 2002, and others).

531

Linguistically the young speakers use whatever linguistic features they have access to, across a still wider spectrum of varieties, in their performing personae. The range of different codes to which the young Køge speakers have some (although often very little) access is different from what is reported by Rampton. The ways in which the Køge speakers can position themselves vis-a-vis events and objects in their everyday, are more diverse. Rampton analyzes the (infrequent) use of German by his young speakers, and finds that it is used for a narrow range of situations: "adolescent *Deutsch* was comparable to soccer practice devoted to dealings with the referee" (Rampton 2006, 203), in that it prevents a state of flow, of concentration, among the students. The uses of German, French, English, etc. among the Køge students do not show this restriction. However, the acts carried out by the young Køge speakers represent in a broader sense some of the same characteristics (cf. Rampton 2006, 378). 1) There is a range of different codes (styles, languages, etc.), which, together with the values ascribed to them, regularly appear the language use of the speakers. 2) The young speakers regularly use features from such codes, with or without the values ascribed to them, in different performative stylizations. In addition the Køge speakers construct images of codes which touch on the absurd such as in excerpt 5,5 where Esen makes her way through a parody on the way Danes think Swedish is pronounced. Rampton shows that the adolescents in his study contribute to the reproduction of linguistically marked class difference in Britain in "far more than a superficial engagement with the class dynamics of English society" (Rampton 2006, 378). The young speakers are aware of the values out there, they may occasionally oppose them, but the values are very real phenomena. Sometimes the young speakers use and exploit these values, at other times they refer to them as such, and at yet other times they oppose them.

The young speakers use features and the values belonging to them, sometimes critically, sometimes oppositionally, but generally with an acute reference to the values in society at large, particularly adult values. Along the way the young speakers reproduce a lot of

values, but here and there they construct or reconstruct alternatives. They are late modern language users, languagers. They are furthermore poly-lingual. They employ features which are ascribed to many different codes, without much respect for these ascriptions, but with an eye on the values ascribed to them. The language use of the young poly-lingual languagers both reflects social patterns and creates social relations, and it does so in situationally determined contexts, but with a contunuous option of referring to the conditions outside of the individual situation.

Educational implications

The figures in table 3.8.2 show us that code-switching is a skill, a competence. By grade 8 this code-switching competence is quite closely related to the other specific linguistic skills developed by the young speakers. In company with others who can also handle both Turkish and Danish the students have access to features from both languages *plus the option of switching between them*. It is not an option which is put to very much use in one and every situation or conversation. But it is always there as an option. It is an option which the students may further choose *not* to bring into use. For instance, in conversation 802 there are very few code-switches. As we saw, conversation 802 is held in a somewhat moody atmosphere, and the girls do not exhibit any enthusiasm or any wish to employ their advanced linguistic competences. Conversation 801 happens to be exactly the opposite, as is evident from the two different code profiles. There is a lively atmosphere, an ongoing social play with teasing, fun, and also power struggle. Under these circumstances the young speakers involve a wider range of their linguistic skills, and the advanced ones, such as their code choice patterns, are employed. It is therefore absolutely imperative that we understand code-switching as a skill which it takes time to learn to use efficiently.

The overwhelming trend in the educational system is a pressure *against* code-switching, be it into English by majority students, or

by minority students into a minority language. The reality of late modern urban life is that there are many codes which are more or less available to an increasing number of languagers. Education which aims at preparing young people for that reality has a task ahead of it in adjusting the typical view of language in the educational systems - the national romanticist ideology of "national languages" is still extremely strong practically everywhere. Education for a late modern life will also have a task in involving code-switching and cultural bricolage in its understanding of the possibilities which today's urban grade school students meet in their everyday outside the school.

To prepare for this, an increased emphasis on interaction rather than production is certainly needed, at least in the Danish educational system. Students everywhere, from preschool to university, are met with strong demands on their production of Danish - but no demands whatsoever on their understanding of Danish which is not the modern standard *rigsmål* (see the discussion in Part 1). With the increasingly broad contact between Danish and other codes, this characteristic of the educational system has increasingly negative effects, for instance on Danish participation in Nordic co-operation.

Another expectation from the educational systems we find particularly in Denmark, but also elsewhere in Europe. It is the expectation that the (low-status) minorities assimilate, that they disregard their background and move on to become as majority-like as possible. It is a widely accepted claim that Turkish speakers, Punjabi speakers, Arabic speakers and other minorities conspire to turn whole neighborhoods into "ghettos" by packing them with black and brown people. In Denmark this construction has been repeated so often that it has become a political truth. Several times the Danish parliament has granted large sums to the study of how "ghettos" can be split apart. For instance by busing minority students to lily-white schools, and vice versa. These initiatives regularly conclude in recommendations of increased tolerance, increased focus on minority culture, perhaps even maintenance of

minority languages, etc. For this very reason the recommendations are systematically ignored by the authorities, particularly the Ministry of Education and the major political parties (Hetmar 1991, Bugge & Jørgensen 1995, Kristjánsdóttir 2006).

Motivation	%
Instrumental (we have to, we live here, to talk with authorities)	81.3
Educational (to learn more)	6.3
Integrative (to have Danish friends, Danish playmates)	12.5

Table 4.1. Turkish parents' motivation for wanting their children to learn Danish.

This constant and loudly communicated social and educational pressure on the minorities may succeed in assimilating some of the members of 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. In Table 4.1 we see one of the results of the questionnaire of the NISU-study (Boyd et al. 1994b, see also Bugge & Jørgensen 1995). It concerns the motivation that Turkish parents have for their kids to learn Danish.

Every single parent in the study wanted his or her Turkish speaking child to learn Danish. But more often than not, the motivation cited was instrumental rather than integrative. A truly open, egalitarian, and liberal educational system would not rely so strongly on instrumental motivation. It would not show such contempt for minority cultures. There is a tremendous task ahead of the educational system in restoring (or building) confidence in the human openness and tolerance of Danish society. Integration is reciprocal, and this also holds for the cultural integration between immigrated minorities and the majority.

To a certain extent this problem parallels the problem with the understanding of language learning. Language learning in Denmark is a question of learning to produce, not to understand. The educational system lacks the understanding of language use as interaction. Similarly the educational system thinks of the interrelation between majority and minorities as a one-way affair. Linguistic minority members are supposed to invest energy in learning how to produce Danish in company with majority members. Majority members are not supposed to invest energy in learning how to understand Danish spoken differently from the *rigsmål*, particularly not with new accents. Few educational systems, and certainly not the Danish one, have realized what it means that understanding precedes production: a lot can be achieved by emphasizing the students' comprehension potential systematically, particularly with respect to the variation in Danish spoken by different speakers.

As I have observed (see the section on Pfaff perspectives above), to be a competent languager one must have access to features including their ideological ascription to "languages". One must "know" what is considered to be "English", and what is considered to be "Danish". In addition, one must know or be able to rapidly register whether a given interlocutor will understand features from a particular set of features. If the interlocutor does not, it is time for the pragmatically competent speaker to find features from another set of features. The insight from the Køge project is that *speakers may understand features from many different "languages" and appreciate production that uses a wide range of features* . This important fact is as far as I know totally absent from all language education. In fact, language use as interaction is a perspective which is not very frequent in language education (at least in Denmark).

In evaluating the progress of language learners across the board, the educational system focuses on conservative norms of production. In addition, the system is entirely devoid of testing or evaluation or just appreciation of language use which involves

536

features from different codes. Code-switching is universally considered a hindrance to learning and a nuisance. In the Køge data there is ample evidence that this ideology could use some improvement, at least some thinking among educational planners and decision makers, and not only with respect to minority education.

A different educational issue is raised by the figures in table 2.4. It compiles all the rankings of the students which are based on evaluations, primarily of their linguistic skills in different ways at different times, but also a few other measures. The most conspicuous tendency is that the same students seem to top the lists from first to last, and there are other students who can be found at the bottom throughout the table. This has profound implications for the ongoing discussion in the Danish public school system about the so-called "negative social legacy". According to critics the school system only reinforces and maintains the socioeconomic differences in Danish society. According to decision makers this is not so, the school works hard to create equality and equal opportunities. With this group of students, there is very little to indicate that the school has meant anything at all when it comes to the social ranking. The ranking order on the day they leave school is the same as on the day they entered. This does not necessarily reflect any difference in socioeconomic status. The socioeconomic status of the students' background is practically the same for all of them. Nevertheless, their nine years of schooling has only maintained, and in fact reinforced, the differences which were already there when the students began in school. There are many possible ways to discuss this: Is the school unable to provide equal opportunities for minority students who do not have other means of acquiring them? This is possible, although we must remember that this batch of Turkish-Danish grade school children have been given a much better treatment by the school than most minority students. Or we could ask, is the school unprepared to deal with minority students with no skills in Danish? This is probably not so, for the only common characteristic of those who do well, is that they score well in the evaluation of their Turkish by school start.

537

Knowing Danish is not necessary to succeed. Knowing Danish is not even a guarantee to succeed. So the most precise, and the worst, question is, is the Danish school system unfit for minority students, or is it a failure with respect to dissolving the negative social legacy of some students?

Before we can approach such questions with a reasonable answer, we must probably study further what causes the differences between school beginners - notably, school beginners from the almost exact same social background. Why are some 6-7 year old children much better equipped than others with the same background? This is a relevant question, not only for minorities, but also for majority school beginners.

When all this is said, the most important educational implication of the Køge project is that the young minority members of society, based on their linguistic development and behavior, are absolutely normal human beings in general and absolutely normal late modern adolescents in particular. Their linguistic behavior is *not* deficient or problematic, it does *not* lead to negative cognitive consequences caused by semi-lingualism, there is *no* lower threshold they have not (yet) passed. The problems they may have in this respect are caused by the fact that the educational system does not recognize the minority experience and does not (want to) consider it as a normal human experience.

Conventions

The transcriptions in the Køge project follow a simplified version of the Childes conventions (see MacWhinney 1995). The specific conventions for the main tier are listed in part 2. The dependent tiers are also described in part 2.

The excerpts and examples I give in this book distinguish between codes. Anything in *Turkish is in italics*, and Danish is in recte, while material in other languages is underlined. I only distinguish

between these three in specifically cites examples, not in the running text.

Phonetic transcriptions follow the IPA (1999) guidelines.

All personal names and place names referring to participants and places in the Køge project have been anonymized. Individuals have been given aliases reflecting their first language (i.e. Turkish speakers have aliases from Turkish name tradition, etc.)

Sources of error

It is self-evident that a twenty-year project involves a wealth of sources of error. To begin with the set-up. The site of the project is by no means a coincidence. The project was realized, after Jørgen Gimbel and I had in vain for some years tried to approach other places - either the authorities would not accept our presence, or the schools (often the teachers) did not want to participate. The initiative to the Køge project came from Køge, and there is reason to believe that the involved persons were aware that the standard and organization of the minority teaching in Køge was superior to most of what was happening in Denmark. The participants in our study are not typical.

We can not know for certain that our project did not influence the way the group was dealt with by the school. If so, the effect has probably been marginal, because all the other minority students in the school received the same, for Danish schools extraordinary, treatment.

The data collection also involves pitfalls. We tried a lot of different data and collection methods during a two-year pilot phase, and in particular we gave up classroom observation and video recording. This means that the pedagogical insights we obtained were limited to the teachers' perspective, and the linguistic data excluded classroom talk.

539

This also means that our conversational data types are quite specific. We do not have data from the students' homes, their leisure time activities, youth clubs, or their hanging out.

The transcription is a problem of its own. To maintain absolute rock steady conventions and principles over the more than ten years it took to transcribe the conversations, and across many different transcribers is difficult, to put it mildly. To maintain common principles for Turkish and Danish, not to mention all the other codes used, is also a challenge. I am certain that we have failed to achieve perfect consequence in our transcription practices.

Once the transcription is in progress, the transcriber has to decide the limits of the utterances, i.e. when to close one main tier and open a new one. We have followed wildly uneven practices at different times in the project, ranging from the extreme (one grammatical sentence per main tier) to very lax rules. It has been a difficult job to streamline these differences to the utterance concept we eventually settled for, and it has not been consequently carried out in all transcriptions and all the versions which are available.

Analyses have also given sources of error. For instance, the tag switches have been classified as loans and as code switches at different times. The backlog of changing such analyses is not removed yet. A similar problem lies in distinguishing between ad hoc loans and more integrated loans. The very concepts are ranges on a spectrum rather than discrete points, and a clear boundary does not exist. The criterion of appearance in the data is not particularly good - especially in the case of school-related vocabulary which may only appear rarely in our data, but at the same time be used frequently in classroom interaction. Since we have analyzed more than 50.000 utterances, there must be errors and inconsequences.

Though it was not a very frequently occurring phenomenon, it did happen that we were in doubt how to categorize a feature,

540

particularly English loans in Danish, and we sometimes had to change the categorization with the passing of time. It is likely that a word as *fuck* by 1987, among grade 1 students, was an English ad hoc loan, and it is entirely possible that *fuck* by 1998, among 16 year old grade school students, was a completely integrated Danish word (which of course has historical roots in English, but so does the word *centerforward*). No clear line has been followed in this matter.

In the analyses of interactions I deliberately violate the more extreme rules of Conversation Analysis, and thereby I of course introduce new sources of error. I can not know whether Esen when she has fun with Danish vowels and pseudo-Swedish, in fact does have fun at all, or it is just hard for her to pronounce the vowels according to norms. Such understandings of what goes on in the conversations can not be absolutely certain and solid.

Similarly, I take certain values ascriptions to codes for granted, such as the late modern urban youth style signaling streetwise, oppositional, anti-adult demeanor (or claims to these characteristics). I do not *know* that this is the value ascribed to that style, I assume it, and I do not bother to demonstrate the truth of my assumption every time the style occurs. I do not know, either, that English is a prestige language for my informants, although I know it is in society at large, and it fits nicely with the behavior of the students. I assume it is, and in most concrete cases, I just take it for granted. This is a necessity, if one want to study a large number of interactions in a considerable number of conversations. This does not change the fact that it is a possible source of error, at least in the individual, isolated exchange in a specific given conversation.

I have described general tendencies in the development of code choice patterns of the young speakers. I have found that the stage the speakers reach is characteristic of youth language. This may be a result of the fact that my main data type is group conversations among peers with no adults present. The linguistic behavior of the

speakers in the company of family may differ considerably, and it does differ considerably in the adult conversations, as we know from studies of them. The data we have represent semi-private conversations, and we can not be sure exactly what that means for the languaging of the students. We know that the Køge project has succeeded in producing some very colorful data with intense poly-lingual languaging, but we must still be aware that classroom talk can be different, not to mention public talk on a larger scale.

Abstract

This book deals with the development of linguistic behavior among linguistic minority students in the Danish grade school. It describes the so-called Køge project, which is a longitudinal study among Turkish speaking Danish grade school students.

Part 1 is a theoretical discussion of some central concepts in studies of polylingualism (multilingualism). Firstly I point out that language is a human phenomenon which distinguishes humankind from all other species. Next I suggest that we give up counting languages, because languages as separate units are ideological constructions without reality in the language use of people. We can analyze language use at the level of feature, and we may know how the features are ascribed to the abstract ideological units called languages. Features are generally ascribed to a language.This enables us to work with a concept of code-switching. Any feature used in an inetraction following a feature with a different language ascription, may be a code-switch. Whether it is, depends on the situation, and whether speaker and listener(s) potentially agree that it is a code-switch.

Languages are further ascribed values. These values also follow the features. Speakers use this fact, among other things to borrow prestige through their language choice. In Part 1 of this book I describe the typical norms of language choice, including the monolingualism norms which assume that speakers use features from only one language at a time. These norms contrast with the multilingualism and poly-lingualism norms which allow speakers to use the features at their disposal, also when this violates the monolingualism norms. I define poly-lingualism as the languaging which employs whatever features are at the disposal of the speaker. Another discussion involves the notion of features which are "at the disposal" of the language users. In some cases there are social restrictions on who can use what features.

As a consequence of these insights it gives no meaning to try to

delimit a "speech community". As the social unit I must work with concepts of a smaller scope, such as school class or group. Newer sociolinguistic studies have used the notion of community of practice, which may shed light on the Køge material.

In part 1 I also describe different types of sociolinguistic work with language variation and change. In Parts 2 and 3 I discuss the analytical method I use, in relation to the sociolinguistic traditions. Analytically I am indebted to the so-called conversation analysis (in particular Steensig), although I can not at all follow the self understanding of Conversation Analysis.

Part 2 also decribes the Køge project in detail. We have collected data from the involved students each year, from grade 1 through grade 9. During the first years of the project all schools in Køge participated. From grade 3 we concentrated the data collection at the school with the highest share of linguistic minority students (the Ahornengen School). The core group of participants are a dozen Turkish of speaking students.

The data collection includes questionnaires to parents, teachers of Danish, and teachers of Turkish. In addition we have teacher diaries, week schedules, and the students' school leaving grades. The linguistic data are conversation recorded on sound tape, from each school year. There are group conversations between minority students, group conversations with both minority students and majority students, group conversations with only majority students, and face-to-face conversations between the individual students and a Turkish speaking adult and a Danish speaking adult, respectively. During the nine years different tests have been administered once, including a reception test in grade 2, two cloze tests in grade 9, a vocabulary test, and a reading test.

The Køge project has an educational aspect, a linguistic aspect, and a social aspect. The educational aspect includes the teaching provided to the students during the first three years of school. Data comprise teacher diaries, week schedules, teacher evaluations, etc.

This group of data has primarily been studied by Gimbel (e.g., 1994,1998), but also H. Laursen (1992, 1994), Holmen (1993a, 1995), Bugge & Jørgensen (1995) and others have dealt with this aspect. Generally, it has been characteristic of the teaching given to the core group that is has been more open toward and appreciative of the students' minority experiences, than what has been characteristic of the grade Danish school in general. Turkish as a school subject was included in the schedules of the students on a par with other subjects as a matter of routine, and the teachers of Turkish also taught other subjects. On the walls and elsewhere in the school it was evident that it housed a significant Turkish speaking minority. Nevertheless, the teaching in the subject of Turkish was only rarely co-ordinated with other subjects, including Danish as a second language (De Jong 1997), and teacher cooperation was not very intense. By the end of grade school the students were distributed along the whole spectrum with respect to traditional school success (i.e. with respect to their grades in the different subjects), but they were mainly in the extreme points. Some of the minority students achieved very significantly and were awarded the highest grades of that year. Others received very low grades. On average the difference between minority and majority students was not alarmingly big, but this covers very different distributions.

The social aspect includes the parents' attitudes to and evaluations of their children's linguistic development. This aspect was treated in connection with an Inter-Nordic study of language use and language choice among immigrants (Boyd et al. 1994a,b). We found that the use of Turkish among Turkish speaking families is more frequent than the use of minority language in families with other backgrounds than Turkish. Later it has turned out that the use of Turkish increases with the pressure put on the families by majority society (Bugge & Jørgensen 1995). The parents most often cite instrumental reasons for their wanting their children to learn Danish. Skepticism towards majority Danish openness is common. Can (1995) studies the young Turkish speaking minority Danes' leisure time habits in Køge. She finds that there are three

groups, and the best integrated one belongs in the district of our project. Quist (1998a) has drawn a sociogram of the students in the classes of the core group. The boys are organized in one hierarchical, but inclusive network. The girls are organized in small groups or pairs, and most minority girls are with other minority girls.

The linguistic aspect deals with the acquisition of Danish, and with the development of code choice patterns. Holmen (1993a, 1995) and Holmen & Jørgensen (2001), Quist 1998a, Madsen (2001a) represent this aspect. The minority students rapidly develop skills enough to participate in conversations in Danish, but Turkish is not given up by them. By the end of grade school all the students in the core group are able to cope with Turkish alone, as well as with Danish alone. Several of the Køge studies have looked at code choice as acts of identity on the side of the students (Møller 2002, 2003, Bøll 2002, Jacobsen 2003, Jørgensen 1993 are some of these works). Some studies have had their focus on the social negotiations which take place in the group conversations, and their relations to code choices (Madsen & Nielsen 2001, Esdahl 2001a,b, 2003, Jørgensen 1993,1998, Jacobsen 2002 and many others).

Part 3 of the book deals with the development of code choice patterns among the young minority students through their school years. The share of Turkish, for instance, in conversations involving majority students, is negligible after grade 3. During the first years the minority students do indeed speak a lot of Turkish to each other in group conversations among minority students. The boys continue to do so throughout their school years, while Danish gradually increases its share without becoming more used than Turkish. The girls, on the contrary, speak almost exclusively Turkish to each other until grade 7, and from grade 7 almost exclusively Danish. This is not an indication that the students do not learn Danish, as can be seen from the different distributions of code choice in different combinations of interlocutors in the group conversations.

Apparently, both boys and girls select code differently in the presence of members of the other gender from what they do when they are alone. This can be seen as an indication of several "we-codes" (Gumperz 1982), i.e. different ways of showing one's perception of the relations between the interacting persons. During their school years the young speakers develop continuously mere sophisticated code switching practices. This can be described in several ways. In a study of code switching in different types of sequences Hansen (2004) finds that there is a connection between the rate of acquisition of Danish as a second language and the development of code switching forms. Hansen applies Auer's (1995) concepts of different code switching types. In Part 3 I take a closer look at what it is the code switches do at different stages in the development of the students (see also Jørgensen 2004). In grade 1 the students mainly use Turkish-based utterances, in some cases with Danish loans, particularly loans from the school world, or tabooed words. The Danish words are also played with. We can also observe the linguistic playing in grade 2. Danish is slightly more frequent than in grade 1, and an occurence of English can be noticed. In grade 3 the Danish words, particularly from the school world, become more integrated with the Turkish, also grammatically, but there are still many ad hoc loans. There are not as many loans of Turkish into Danish (and they never become as frequent as the Danish loans into Turkish are). Code-switching appears in social negotiations, and a few German and English items are included. In grade 4 the loans become more sophisticated, and they involve more complex morphology and syntax. More varieties than before are used, such as stylized immigrant Danish (or late modern urban youth style). Grade 5 is a turning point in several ways. The use of English increases (and, by the way, falls again grade 6). Intersentential code-switching becomes common, and it is used in several different ways in the conversations. Code switching in grade 5 is fluent as well as apparently effortless, and it integrates items from several different codes. More than anything else the code-switches in grade 5 leave the impression that the students have increased the pragmatic potential of code choice tremendously with the involvement of

547

English and the automatization of intrasentential code-switching. Grade 6 shows some examples of Turkish loans into Danish. In addition many of the code-switches appear to be automatically produced (without making the young people's speech a *fused lect* in Auer's (1999) understanding). In grade 7 the girls more or less substitute Turkish with Danish in the girls-only groups. There is also a tremendous difference between the girls and the boys in the way they use code choice (and other linguistic means) in their social negotiations. The girls use more sophisticated means in an intense power struggle, while the boys rather unite in an oppositional shared norm violation. In grade 8 we see the linguistically strongest students develop their skills in achieving their aims, including through code choice. We also see that the most frequent code-switchers are those who are judged to be the best speakers of Danish when evaluated by adult native (non-linguist) speakers of Danish. By now, the majority students seem to be developing code-switching skills. It is further characteristic of grade 8 that there is quite a bit of creative and expressive language play with code choice. In grade 9 we see an example of total abstention from Turkish, apparently in an attempt to isolate one participant in the conversation. Grade 9 also gives many instances of cross-linguistic puns with many layers and deliberately equivocal meanings.

The conclusion of Part 3 is that we can follow the students' development from beginning acquisition over automatization to creative use and language play to highly sophisticated and creative use and language play, and to highly sophisticated social negotiations. Along the way the young students develop into poly-lingual languagers who employ the linguistic features which are at their disposal, without regard for monolingualism norms. First and foremost the young participants in the project develop their language practices to be characteristic youth language with everything it entails, creativity, norm violations, expressivity, etc. (Kotsinas 1994).

The fourth part of this book unites the different perspectives raised

by the Køge project. Firstly I discuss the perspectives brought into the project under inspiration from Erica Huls, including the social negotiations, power and politeness. Language use has proven to be very much a question of social negotiations, and the young people have developed into languagers whose language use not simply reflects social structures, but also contribute to the construction of social relations. Next I discuss ideas of lingualism with more than one language, under inspiration from Pfaff, whose model of Turkish-German children's linguistic development forms the basis of the Køge project's understanding of the status of the linguistic features within poly-lingualism. Finally I mention, against the background of Rampton's important influence on the Køge project, the perspectives raised by the fact that the young speakers relate to the world around them and position themselves within a more or less shared understanding of the world. The final perspective has to do with the educational implication of the insights gained by the Køge project. More than anything else, it is important to understand the necessity of involving minority experience in the educational system.

Resumé

Denne bog handler om udviklingen af sproglig adfærd hos sproglige mindretalselever i den danske folkeskole. Den rapporterer om det såkaldte Køge-projekt, der er en længdeundersøgelse blandt tyrkisktalende danske skoleelever.

Første del er en teoretisk diskussion af en række centrale begreber i studier af flersprogethed. For det først slår jeg fast, at sprog er et menneskeligt fænomen, som adskiller homo sapiens sapiens fra andre arter. Dernæst foreslår jeg, at vi opgiver at tælle sprog, fordi sprog som afgrænsede størrelser er ideologiske konstruktioner uden realitet i menneskers sprogbrug. Vi kan analysere sprogbrug på træknivo, og vi kan kende trækkenes tilskrivning til de abstrakte ideologiske størrelser, som afgrænsede sprog er. Et træk kan altså være forsynet med en tilskrivning til et sprog. Det er dette, der gør det muligt for os alligevel at tale om kodeskift, fordi ethvert træk, der benyttes i en interaktion efter et træk med en anden sprogtilskrivning, kan udgøre et kodeskift. Hvorvidt det er et kodeskift, afhænger af situationen og de samtalendes eventuelle (potentielle) enighed om, at det er et kodeskift.

Sprog er endvidere belagt med værditilskrivninger. Disse værditilskrivninger følger også trækkene. Det benytter sprogbrugere bl.a. til at låne prestige med gennem deres sprogvalg. Jeg gennemgår også de typiske normer for sprogvalg, herunder de såkaldte etsprogethedsnormer, der forudsætter, at sprogbrugere kun bruger et sprog ad gangen. Over for dem står den integrerede flersprogethedsnorm og poly-sprogethedsnormen, der lader sprogbrugere benytte de træk, der står til rådighed for dem, også når det er i strid med etsprogethedsnormerne. Jeg definerer poly-lingualism som sprogning, der benytter de sproglige træk, der står til rådighed for sprogbrugeren uanset trækkenes tilskrivning til sprog. En anden diskussion vedrører det, at træk "står til rådighed" for sprogbrugere. I visse tilfælde er der af sociale grunde restriktioner på, hvem der må bruge bestemte træk.

550

Som følge af disse begrebers indhold giver det ikke mening at afgrænse en størrelse som sprogsamfund. Som social enhed må jeg arbejde med begreber med mindre indholdsomfang, fx skoleklasse eller gruppe. Her findes i yngre sociolingvistik begrebet praksisfællesskab, som kan belyse materialet i Køge-projektet.

I første del gennemgår jeg også forskellige former for sociolingvistisk beskæftigelse med sproglig variation og forandring. I del 2 og 3 diskuterer jeg den analysemetode, jeg selv benytter, i forhold til de sociolingvistiske traditioner. Analytisk står jeg i gæld til den såkaldte konversationsanalyse (især Steensig), men teoretisk kan jeg slet ikke følge konversationsanalytikernes selvforståelse.

Del 2 beskriver i øvrigt Køge-projektet. Vi har samlet data fra de medvirkende elever hvert år, fra de gik i 1. klasse, til og med de gik i 9. klasse. I projektets første år medvirkede elever fra alle skoler i Køge kommune. Fra og med 3. klasse koncentreredes dataindsamlingen om den skole i kommunen, der havde størst andel af sproglige mindretalselever (Ahornengens Skole). Kernegruppen af medvirkende udgøres af ca. et dusin tyrkisk-danske elever.

Dataindsamlingen omfatter en række spørgeskemaer, til forældre, til dansklærere og til tyrkisklærere. Endvidere foreligger der lærerdagbøger, skemaer, og elevernes karakterer fra folkeskolens afslutning. Af sproglige data foreligger der lydbåndoptagne samtaler fra hvert skoleår. Der er gruppesamtaler mellem mindretalselever, gruppesamtaler med både mindretalselever og flertalselever, gruppesamtaler med kun flertalselever, og der er fjæs-til-fjæs-samtaler mellem de enkelte elever og henholdsvis en tyrkisktalende voksen og en dansktalende voksen. Enkelte gange undervejs er der indsamlet forskellige prøver, fx en test af forståelsesberedskab i 2. klasse, to cloze-tester i 9. klasse, en ordforrådstest og en læseprøve.

Projektet har et pædagogisk aspekt, et sprogligt aspekt og et socialt

551

aspekt. Det pædagogiske aspekt omfatter den undervisning, eleverne fik i de første tre år af deres skolegang. Data omfatter lærerdagbøger, ugeskemaer, lærervurderinger m.m. Disse data er først og fremmest blevet behandlet af Gimbel (fx 1994, 1998), men også H. Laursen (1992, 1994), Holmen (1993a, 1995), Bugge & Jørgensen (1995) og andre har behandlet dette aspekt. Generelt har det været karakteristisk for den undervisning, kernegruppen har været udsat for, at den har været mere åben og mere imødekommende over for mindretallets erfaringer end andetsteds i Danmark. Mindretalseleverne havde tyrkisk på skoleskemaet, og tyrkisklærerne på skolen underviste også i andre fag. På skolens vægge og andre steder var det også tydeligt, at den rummede et betydeligt tyrkisktalende mindretal. Ikke desto mindre har elevernes undervisning sjældent koordineret faget tyrkisk med andre fag, heller ikke dansk som andetsprog (De Jong 1997), og lærersamarbejdet var tilsyneladende ikke særlig intenst. Ved folkeskolens afslutning fordelte eleverne sig ganske vist ud over hele skalaen med hensyn til traditionel skolesucces, men de befandt sig især i yderpunkterne. Nogle af mindretalseleverne havde endog meget stor succes og scorede årgangens allerhøjeste karakterer, mens andre havde meget lave karakterer. Gennemsnitligt var der ikke den helt store forskel mellem flertalselever og mindretalselever, men det dækker altså over forskellige fordelinger.

Det sociale aspekt omfatter forældrenes holdninger til og vurderinger af deres børns sproglige udvikling. Dette emne blev bl.a. behandlet i forbindelse med en nordisk undersøgelse af sprogbrug og sprogvalg blandt indvandrere (Boyd m.fl 1994a,b). Det har vist sig, at brugen af tyrkisk blandt tyrkisktalende familier er mere udbredt end brugen af mindretalssprog i familier med anden baggrund end tyrkisk. Det har også vist sig, at brugen af tyrkisk stiger med det pres, flertalssamfundet lægger på familierne (Bugge & Jørgensen 1995). Forældrene angiver langt oftest instrumentelle grunde til at ønske, at deres børn lærer dansk. Skepsis over for flertalsdansk imødekommenhed er udbredt. Can (1995) undersøger de unge tyrkisktalende mindretalsdanskeres

fritidsvaner og fritidsforbrug i Køge. Hun konstaterer, at der er tre grupper, hvoraf den bedst integrerede hører til i det distrikt, hvor projektet foregår. Quist (1998) har udarbejdet et sociogram over eleverne i den årgang, projektet følger. Heraf fremgår det, at drengene er organiseret i et samlet, hierarkisk, men inklusivt netværk. Mindretalsdrengene er jævnt fordelt ud over netværket og de hierarkiske nivoer. Pigerne er derimod organiseret i små grupper eller par, og de fleste mindretalspiger er i grupper med andre mindretalspiger.

Det sproglige aspekt drejer sig dels om tilegnelsen af dansk som andetsprog, dels om udviklingen af kodevalgsmønstre. Holmen (1993a, 1995) og Holmen & Jørgensen (2001), Quist 1998a, Madsen (2001a) repræsenterer dette aspekt. Mindretalseleverne udvikler hurtigt færdigheder i at deltage i samtaler på dansk, men tyrkisk opgives ikke. Ved skolens afslutning er alle eleverne i hovedgruppen i stand til at klare sig problemløst alene med tyrkisk og alene med dansk. Adskillige af studierne i Køge-projektet har i øvrigt interesseret sig for kodevalg som udtryk for identitetshandlinger fra elevernes side (Møller 2002, 2003, Bøll 2002, Jacobsen 2003, Jørgensen 1993 er nogle af disse arbejder). Nogle studier har interesseret sig for de sociale forhandlinger, der finder sted i gruppesamtalerne, og deres forhold til kodevalg (Madsen og Nielsen 2001, Esdahl 2001a,b, 2003, Jørgensen 1993,1998, Jacobsen 2002 og mange andre).

Tredje del af bogen handler om udviklingen af kodevalgsmønstre hos de unge mindretalselever gennem årene. Således er fx andelen af tyrkisk i gruppesamtaler, hvor flertalselever er med, forsvindende lille efter 3. klasse. I de første år bruger mindretalseleverne især tyrkisk til hinanden i gruppesamtaler, hvor kun mindretalselever deltager. For drengenes vedkommende bliver det ved hele skolekarrieren igennem. Pigerne derimod bruger stort set kun tyrkisk til og med 6. klasse, og herefter stort set kun dansk. Dette er ikke et udtryk for, at eleverne ikke tilegner sig dansk - hvad der fremgår af de forskellige kombinationer af deltagere i gruppesamtalerne. Tilsyneladende fordeler både drenge og piger

deres kodevalg anderledes, når de er i selskab med medlemmer af det andet køn, end de gør alene sammen. Det kan opfattes som forskellige "vi-koder" (Gumperz 1982), altså forskellige måder at signalere ens opfattelse af relationerne mellem de samtalende på. I løbet af skoleårene udvikler de unge stadig mere nuancerede kodeskiftpraksisser. Dette kan beskrives på flere måder. I en studie af kodeskift i forskellige sekvenstyper finder Hansen (2004), at der er en sammenhæng mellem elevernes tempo i tilegnelsen af dansk som andetsprog og i udviklingen af mere avancerede kodeskiftformer. Hansen benytter Auers (1995) kodeskiftbegreber. I denne tredje del går jeg tættere ind på, hvad kodeskiftene gør på forskellige trin i elevernes udvikling (se også Jørgensen 2004). I første klasse forekommer der især tyrkiskbaserede ytringer med danske lån, der enten hidrører fra skoleverdenen eller udgør tabubrud. Der leges også med danske ord. I 2. klasse fortsætter det legende, og der leges med kodeskift. Dansk forekommer lidt oftere end i 1. klasse, og et enkelt sted forekommer engelsk. I 3. klasse begynder de danske ord, især fra skoleverdenen, at optræde mere integreret med det tyrkiske, også grammatisk, men der forekommer stadig mange ad hoc lån af danske ord. Der er ikke mange tyrkiske lån i elevernes dansk (og de kommer heller ikke på noget tidspunkt til at blive så hyppige som de danske lån til tyrkisk). Kodeskift forekommer som et træk i sociale forhandlinger, og ganske få engelske og tyske gloser indgår. I 4. klasse bliver lånene mere avancerede, og de involverer mere kompleks morfologi og syntaks. Flere forskellige varieteter end tidligere inddrages, herunder stiliseret indvandrerdansk. 5. klasse udgør et dramatisk vendepunkt. Anvendelsen af engelsk stiger brat (og falder i øvrigt igen i 6. klasse). Intersententielle kodeskift bliver meget mere almindelige, og de gør en bred vifte af forskellige ting i samtalerne. Kodeskiftene i 5.klasse er helt flydende, og de integrerer elementer fra flere forskellige sprog. Først og fremmest giver samtalerne i 5. klasse det indtryk, at kodevalgets pragmatiske muligheder er blevet mangedoblet med elevernes inddragelse af engelsk og automatiseringen af intrasententielle kodeskift. 6. klasse viser nogle eksempler på tyrkiske lån i det danske. Derudover er mange af kodeskiftene produceret på automatisk måde (uden at der dog er

554

tale om en *fused lect* i Auers (1999) forstand). I 7. klasse skifter pigerne over til at bruge meget mere dansk end tyrkisk. Derudover viser der sig en stor forskel mellem drengenes og pigernes samtalemønstre, der ytrer sig i intens magtkamp mellem pigerne under anvendelse af avancerede sproglige metoder, herunder kodeskift, mens drengene mere optræder oppositionelt i fællesskab. I. 8. klasse ser vi de sprogligt stærkeste elever udvikle deres færdigheder i at opnå deres vilje ved hjælp af bl.a. kodevalg. Vi ser også, at de hyppigste kodeskiftere er dem, der bliver vurderet til at være de bedste dansktalende, når voksne indfødte modersmålsbrugere af dansk skal vurdere dem. Der er endvidere tegn på, at flertalseleverne er ved at udvikle kodeskiftfærdigheder (med engelsk). Det er også karakteristisk for 8. klasse, at der leges meget kreativt med kodevalg. I 9. klasse ser vi et eksempel på bortvalg af tyrkisk sammen med isolering af en deltager i en gruppesamtale. Kodevalg er her en magtstrategi. 9. klasse giver også eksempler på tværsproglige ordspil med mange lag og flerdobbelte betydninger. Konklusionen på tredje del er, at vi kan følge elevernes udvikling gennem begyndende indlæring over automatisering til særdeles sofistikeret kreativ brug og leg og særdeles sofistikeret social forhandling. Undervejs udvikler de unge mennesker sig til poly-sprogede sprogere, der benytter de sproglige træk, der står til rådighed for dem, uden hensyn til etsprogethedsnormerne. De unge mennesker bliver endvidere særdeles avancerede i deres brug af træk med tilhørende værditilskrivninger. Først og fremmest udvikler vores medvirkende deres sprogbrug til at være karakteristisk ungdomssprog med kreativitet, normbrud, ekspressivitet osv. (Kotsinas 1994).

Den fjerde del af bogen samler trådene i nogle diskussioner af de perspektiver, som Køge-projektet rejser. For det første gennemgår jeg de perspektiver, projektet har behandlet under inspiration af Erica Huls, herunder magtforhandlinger og høflighed. Sprogbrugen har vist sig i høj grad at være et spørgsmål om sociale forhandlinger, og de unges udvikling har gjort dem til sprogere, hvis sprogbrug ikke blot afspejler sociale strukturer, men også er med til at skabe sociale relationer. Herefter diskuterer jeg

flersprogethedsbegreber under inspiration fra Pfaff, hvis model for tyrkisk-tyske børns sproglige udvikling danner basis for Køge-projektets forståelse af de sproglige træks status i flersprogetheden. Endelig gennemgår jeg på baggrund af Ben Ramptons store indflydelse på Køge-projektet de perspektiver, der rejses af, at de unge forholder sig til verden omkring dem og positionerer sig selv inden for en mere eller mindre fælles forståelse af verden. Det sidste perspektiv drejer sig om de uddannelsesmæssige implikationer af den indsigt, Køge-projektet giver. Her er det især nødvendigheden af at inddrage mindretalserfaringer langt mere centralt i uddannelsessystemet, der er vigtig.

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(References to Køge studies can be found in the Bibliography following this list of references. they are therefore not included in this list. When there are works from the same author in the same year on both lists, they are marked a, b, c, etc. There are therefore works in one and the same list which are not consecutively marked)

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577

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586

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591

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