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## **A pluricentric perspective of German minority varieties in Africa, Americas, Australia, and Oceania**

Albrecht Plewnia, Claudia M. Riehl (eds.). 2018. *Handbuch der deutschen Sprachminderheiten in Übersee*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.

The book *Handbuch der deutschen Sprachen in Übersee* by Plewnia and Riehl, published in 2018, was conceived as a complementary resource to two handbooks about German-speaking minorities in Central and Eastern Europe (*Handbuch der mitteleuropäischen Sprachminderheiten* by Hinderling and Eichinger 1996; *Handbuch der deutschen Sprachminderheiten in Mittel- und Osteuropa* by Eichinger, Plewnia and Riehl 2008). It shows the current state of research in the field of German-speaking minorities in Africa, the Americas and Australia. In comparison to European linguistic minorities, these originated more recently, and in diverse ways.

The articles are consistent in their structure. The reader is first given crucial contextual information about the minority in question, including geographical, statistical and demographic data, as well as information about the historical development of the settlement and data about its economy, politics, culture and juridical status. In the second part the authors deal with language-specific aspects of the linguistic minority, from detailed descriptions of its language contact and the German language varieties that took part in them, to details about the speakers' language-use and attitudes to language.

The present review is designed as a suggestion for cross-reading, each section dealing with one of the following aspects in a country comparison: chronology of immigration movements; characteristics of the group, such as professions and their influence on its economic situation; religion as a factor in language retention; language contact phenomena; and efforts at language retention/current speaker situation.

### **1. Time and type of immigration (chronology)**

As mentioned in the introduction, relatively recent immigration is a commonality among language minorities overseas, in comparison to language minorities in Europe. Nevertheless, the former show great variation in terms of *how* recently they immigrated, as well as in terms of group composition and size, which are influenced by the motive for emigration. While rather selective emigration is observed early on, larger groups follow in search of a better life, be it due to religious persecution or difficult conditions in the country of origin.

Major waves of immigration were often preceded by a smaller number of individual forerunners, who could be of different kinds. Hans Staden published a first report on the experiences of his trip to South America as early as 1557 (Rosenberg, p. 195). Oceania's first contacts with German sailors on merchant ships, whaling vessels or scientific expeditions took place between the 17th and early 19th centuries, at first without settlement (Engelberg, p. 37). German immigration to North America began with the first settlements around 1683 (Keel, p. 139). These and later settlers, like the Amish (Tomas, p. 156) and the Mennonites (Siemens, p. 267), fled religious intolerance to what would later become the USA. At the beginning of the 19th century, Germans were among the first settlers – as well as the first prisoners – in Australia (Riehl, p. 12).

For the larger settlement groups, emigration can often be linked to historical conditions in the country of origin. The Thirty Years' War, for example, encouraged emigration to South Africa, with up to 15,000 Germans arriving there before 1789 (Harr, 85). Interestingly, these were mostly men who entered into mixed marriages with women of other nationalities, whereby German could not establish itself as the family language. Likewise, from the early 18th century onwards, various missionary societies settled in South Africa, followed by farmers. These settlements were able to preserve the German language for a long time through German-speaking schools and municipalities.

Throughout the 19th century, the South Pacific was a focus of economic interest (Engelberg, p. 38). The trade in products such as copra, cotton, coffee and cocoa was at times dominated by German trading companies (e.g. in Tonga), and Samoa was declared a German colony. In Latin America, German settlements in Brazil began in 1818 (Rosenberg, p. 217), in Chile in 1846 (Rosenberg, p. 206) and in Argentina in 1877/78 (Rosenberg, p. 202). The active population policy of these countries, who declared their independence in the beginning of the 19th century, encouraged settlement in closed groups, who were promised the possibility to preserve their German culture and language. From 1844 on, the German Empire took over the South Pacific area of German New Guinea and Samoa, resulting in increased missionary work by various religious communities. This in turn promoted further immigration of settlers, and finally also the introduction of German in schools, as a subject and as a language of teaching (Engelberg, pp. 42). The first group of 486 Old Lutherans settled in Australia in 1838 (Riehl, p. 12). Similarly, German immigration to Namibia began in 1842 with missionary work by the Rhenish Missionary Society, which was particularly marked by its status as a German colony between 1884 and 1915/20 (Dück, p. 113). In a US-wide comparison, German immigration to Texas occurred relatively late, namely in the late 1820s (Boas, p. 174). However, immigration

to the United States was particularly high shortly before the turn of the 19th century, with 1,455,181 immigrants between 1880 and 1889 (Keel, p. 139).

The two World Wars had drastic effects on the German language worldwide, which can be observed in two directions. On the one hand, many German speakers were led to seek their fortune overseas in a new wave of emigration; on the other hand, language-political restrictions in destination countries now at war with Germany caused deep cuts. There were particularly large waves of immigration to Latin America: between 35,000 and 45,000 German-speaking Jews and other political refugees emigrated to Argentina alone during the Nazi era (Rosenberg, p. 203), whereas in the postwar period several Latin American countries harbored Nazi criminals, in distinction. On the other hand, German emigration to Australia was banned between 1919 and 1925 in the wake of the First World War (Riehl, p. 13). When Brazil declared war on Germany in 1917, all activities in German were banned (Rosenberg, p. 221). In Oceania, too, the situation changed with the beginning of World War I. Depending on the region, German settlers were either deported, left the country themselves, or tried to assimilate (New Zealand) (Engelberg, pp. 44).

In present times, emigration overseas no longer takes place in waves, and no longer involves agricultural settlement, but individuals do continue to immigrate to Australia as well as South Africa and Latin America. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the use of the German language continues. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2000 there were about 42.8 million people of German origin living in the United States (15.2% of the total population), but as of 2012 only 1 million German speakers could be identified as native speakers (Keel, pp. 137). The development seems to be different in New Zealand, where although German immigration only began to rise again in the 1990s, it did so in such a way that German was also found in public use (Engelberg, pp. 44).

The waves of migration of Mennonites from Flanders, Holland, Friesland and Northern Germany should be presented separately for the sake of clarity. This migratory path begins in 1530 with emigration to the Spitt (West Prussia) from 1789 on to Chortitzta in the Ukraine, from 1873 to Manitoba (Canada), and finally from 1922 via Chihuahua (Mexico) and Menno (Paraguay) to Belize, Texas (USA) and Santa Cruz (Bolivia) (Siemens, p. 287). The main reason for this pattern is the incompatibility between the group's pacifist attitude and the political demands of the surrounding area, primarily military service.

## 2. Type and composition of the settlement

The authors of the individual articles emphasize the type of settlement, as well as the composition of the settling group, as important factors for language preservation or language change. The type of settlement varies – individuals or groups, isolated in rural areas or experiencing urban contact. The settlements may be composed of a rather homogeneous group of speakers who keep their common variety active through regular use, whereas heterogeneous groups tend to agree on mixed forms or a standard emerges, which means that the original variety is pushed into the background.

The first settlers in Australia were from southwestern and southeastern Germany, but in the 19th century they were mainly from the north and northeast, including Silesia and North Prussia (Riehl, p. 12). There were manifold types of settlement. On the one hand, there were Old Lutherans and common people who went to the countryside as farmers and established their own towns (e.g. Adelaide). On the other hand, about 6,000 German men immigrated to work in the gold mines. Since the proportion of women was very low, mixed marriages were pervasive, with the result German did not prevail as a family language (Riehl, p. 13).

In Namibia, the majority of immigrants came from northern Germany, and the large number of northern German varieties they brought with them meant that the speakers formed a standard everyday variety with a northern German influence. In addition to mineral resources such as diamonds, uranium, copper and zinc, Namibia benefits from a productive market economy consisting of fishing, agriculture and tourism, in addition to mining. Medium-sized businesses and companies run by Germans are integrated into the Namibian economy, especially in the cities of Swakopmund and Windhoek, where ethnic Germans make up about one percent of the population (Dück, pp. 114). The large proportion of tourists from Germany, in particular, led to the preservation of and positive attitude towards the German language, despite the country's colonial history.

German language users in the United States can be divided into several groups. On the one hand, there are heterogeneous settlement compositions, whose varieties of origin are North German, East Frisian, Westphalian, Central German, East Middle German and Upper German dialects. Where speakers of different varieties lived together, a different colloquial German was spoken in each case (Keel, pp. 146). Texas German can be cited as a concrete example. Here, the linguistic origin of the German-speaking immigrants was very heterogeneous compared to elsewhere. The large number of German varieties and the relatively short period of 80 years during which German was in dominant use did not lead to the development of a separate Texas

variety (Boas, p. 180). The case of Pennsylvania-German is different. It was formed by members of the early Anabaptist movement from the regions of today's Palatinate, southern Germany and northern Switzerland. In the rural areas, the settlers mainly worked in agriculture. This is still the case among the Amish, who continue to reject technological development (Tomas, pp. 157), in contrast to the Hutterites, who did incorporate new agricultural technologies and were therefore better able to switch to other economic sectors (e.g. furniture production, metalworking).

In Oceania, settler varieties include Low German on New Zealand's South Island and Egerland Northbavarian, concentrated on New Zealand's North (Engelberg, p. 64). Sugar cane plantations in Hawaii drew a wave of immigration from northwest Germany (1881-1895, about 1,400 settlers). New Zealand, which recruited for colonial development, has a special position. These settlers mainly originated from Northern Germany (Mecklenburg, Hamburg, Bremen, Hanover, Holstein, West Prussia), but also from Bohemia, the Rhineland and Bavaria. There were also Swiss, Austrian and bilingual Polish immigrants. Over twenty settlements formed, where immigrants built farms, cultivated wine and hops or tried their luck in the gold mines. Germans also lived in urban spaces, working as craftsmen or entrepreneurs.

In Latin America, each region has to be regarded separately. Immigration to Brazil was predominantly rural: small farmers, craftsmen, doctors, pastors and teachers were invited to settle the land and develop it for agriculture. In Chile, the origin of the first immigrants can be periodized very precisely: in the 1860s immigrants originated in Hesse, Saxony, Swabia, Silesia and Bohemia; in 1863 a Catholic group arrived from Westphalia; and in 1875 a group of Austrian immigrants arrived (Rosenberg, p. 208). While immigrants to Chile came mainly from the lower middle class, they also included educated German-speaking Jews. A large percentage of immigrants to Argentina also had commercial and industrial skills, especially in the urban Buenos Aires. Volga Germans and Black Sea Germans dominated language use in Argentina (Rosenberg, p. 254). The contribution by Rosenberg includes a detailed appendix with information on Belize, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Colombia, Cuba, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela (Rosenberg, pp. 254-263).

### **3. Religion as a factor in migration and language preservation**

Religion appears repeatedly in the contributions in the context of two different functions, namely as a driver of migration and as a factor for preserving language. In Australia, for example, until 1851 half of the immigrants had left German-speaking areas for religious

reasons (Riehl, p. 12). In Brazil, too, the isolated location of the settlements often led to church congregations (mostly of Lutheran origin) being the only institutions that contributed to language preservation through schools and church services (Rosenberg, pp. 217).

In the United States, too, immigrants from rural areas settled mainly in groups of their own religious affiliation, because church infrastructure made an important contribution to the founding and development of the communities (Keel, pp. 134). Even before the First World War, however, church communities' fear that young people would migrate to English-speaking congregations led to services being held in English. With regard to Pennsylvania-German, a long language tradition and even a separate diasystem can be observed. The religious communities of the Amish had been living in relative seclusion in rural areas of the US, which allowed the development of their own diasystem, Pennsylvania-German (PeD). While colloquial communication takes place in PeD, knowledge of High German from the church context was usually exclusively passive. The Amish also use English, previously in contact with the outside world and nowadays also in their own schools (Tomas, p. 162).

Changes of language among the Mennonite groups are particularly interesting. After many generations during which Plautdietsch was retained, in the United States the younger generation seems to be slowly assimilating to the majority language, whereas the same generation in Spanish-speaking countries has a better command of Plautdietsch and High German than of Spanish (Siemens, pp. 288-290).

A special position is held by the missions based in Oceania, some of which were allowed to stay in the country (in New Guinea; Engelberg, p. 44) even after the World Wars, and are still active today, whereas immigrants who were not bound to institutions had to leave the country. In Namibia the service of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELKIN) is still held in German in about 15 congregations, as well as Roman Catholic services being held in German in about 3 parishes. Nevertheless, the number of speakers is declining.

#### **4. Specific examples of contact phenomena**

Regarding contact phenomena, the countries described display some common characteristics. Two factors play an important role here: the composition of the speaker group, and how isolated its settlements are. These factors determine whether the linguistic minorities develop their own variety, for example Barossa German (Australia), Unserdeutsch/Rabaul Creole German (German New Guinea), Springbok German (South Africa) and Namdeutsch/Namibian

German (Namibia) – as well as whether they do so on the basis of High German or a regional variety.

New circumstances promote, in particular, lexical borrowings from the contact languages. For example, South African Springbok German includes borrowings from English with and without assimilation: 'Jam', 'Fenz' (engl. *fence*); as well as neologisms: 'Grosskinder' (engl. *grandchildren*); and borrowings from Afrikaans: 'vor dass' from *voordat* for 'before' (Harr, pp. 93). Namibian German also contains the same contact languages and partly identical examples, such as the use of 'jam' from the English word or 'mooi' (engl. *beautiful*) from Afrikaans (Dücker, pp. 122). Borrowings from English are particularly popular in the United States, such as the unsurprising use of 'to behave' instead of the German *sich verhalten*: 'Der hot sich gut behoove/beheeft' and, in Pennsylvania German, 'I bin in d Sctor (engl. *store*) ganga und hob ebbas gkauft fir breakfast' (Tomas, p. 163). In Texas-German, too, there are borrowings at the lexical level of flora and fauna, and even of discourse markers ('Un denn abends of course die Kieh z'melken'; Boas, p. 181). The influence of local languages can also be found in the language use of Oceanians, such as 'Aiga' (engl. *family*) in the Samoan context or in examples that draw on cultural specifics ('Una' for engl. *supervisor*; Engelberg, pp. 64). Semantic transfer can also be observed in the vocabulary of Australian Barossa German where there exists a strong variation between the speakers and family-specific idiolects, for example 'the Roode' (engl. *road*) (Riehl, pp. 20).

However, the influence of language contact can also work the other way around, from the immigrant language to the local languages, for example during the colonial period in German New Guinea ('aihanapana' in German *Eisenbahn*) or in South Pacific toponyms like 'Kaiserin-Augustina-Fluss' (Engelberg, p. 65).

On the **phonetic** level, parallels can be drawn between the influences on spoken varieties, for example in Australia and Texas. In both cases, this happened through the linguistic contact with English, for example in the rounding of the vowels [y] and [ø] can be seen (Texas: Boas, p. 183; Australia: Riehl, p. 20). For the USA as a whole, the influence of the pronunciation of the liquid /l/ and /r/ on the German varieties is mentioned (Keel, 147). A special case in South Africa is Springbok-German, which, due to its isolated location, has taken on characteristic features of Low German such as st- as [st-] and sp- as [sp-] (Harr, p. 93).

On the level of **morphosyntax**, simplification phenomena predominate as a result of language contact. For example, the Australian Barossa-German is characterized by the avoidance of the

pleasure mark by zero articles or plural use and case dismantling. Specific to Barossa German is the *tun*-periphrase, which in Riehl's corpus appears especially in the past: 'Sie tate vorlesen weil ich stricken tate.' (Riehl, p. 24). The Oceanic 'Unserdeutsch'/Rabaul Creole German also has strongly reduced flexion: 'du geht wo?' (Engelberg, p. 60).

In the South African Springbok-German, there is an extension of the 'um...zu' construction for which Standard German speakers would use 'zu'-infinitives: 'Er probiert um dem Vater zu helfen' (Harr, p. 96). As already mentioned, no singular variety could develop in Texas due to the large number of German dialects, but case syncretism or the reduction of plural morphology can nevertheless be found (Boas, p. 185). A phenomenon unique to Pennsylvania-German, on the other hand, is the formation of an *am*-progressive as a verbal paradigm, which even includes passive-capable progressive-constructions and is also recognized as standard-conforming (as yet in contrast to Standard German): 'D Anne is am Appl schala'. (engl.: *Anne is peeling apples*); 'Fiel Haisa sin am ufgeduhn warra do in d letscht Zeet' (engl. *Many houses are being built here recently*) (Tomas, pp. 166).

Latin America provides some examples of language contact phenomena at the level of the caption. The Argentinean-German variety with numerous Spanish and old Russian borrowings ("double emigration from the Rhine to the Volga and from the Volga to the Rio de la Plata" (Schmidt 1996, 204) has developed its own form of lettering to enhance its prestige according to Spanish orthographic standards: 'Trink, trink, priderlain trink. Lass doj di Sorguen tzú Haus.' (Rosenberg, p. 205). In Brazil, the varieties Hunsrückisch and Pommeranian have, depending on the region, initiated a co-official status and a great discussion about norms of transcription ensued (Rosenberg, pp. 237).

Namibia and German New Guinea are worth discussing in more detail, if we are to do justice to the complexity of the language contact and the importance of individual factors. Namibia is a multi-ethnic state where multilingualism is part of everyday life, with English as the only official language and 11 national languages (among them German). Although instruction in German was prohibited between 1915 (end of the German colony) and 1945 (end of the Second World War), there are now 5 PASCH schools and the German Higher Private School, where approximately 9,000 students are taught German as their mother tongue and/or as a foreign language. Numerous associations and institutions promote an active cultural life, including even a Windhoek Carnival on the Rhenish model, celebrated since 1953. Contact languages for the approx. 22,000 speakers of Namibian German are mainly English as the official language, and Afrikaans as lingua franca. The deviation from Standard German, which

mainly takes place on a lexical level, is recognized as a separate variety, which is also used in writing, at school, in the media and at the Namibian university, and has an identity-forming effect. Namslang has been used especially among young people, where the density of language mixture, especially with English, is significantly higher: 'Oukie, alles alright bei dir?' ('Oukie': afr. *ou*, 'guy, dude'; Dück, p. 125). Similarly, the 'Küchendeutsch'/Namibian Black German is considered a restricted German contact variety, created by the asymmetrical work relations during colonialism. It is not very prestigious, and is slowly dying out due to social changes.

Another special case, although different, is 'Unserdeutsch'/Rabaul Creole German, a Creole language that emerged from the activities of the Catholic mission in German New Guinea. Since 1891, the missionaries taught local children or children from mixed marriages in boarding schools, with as little contact with their parents as possible. In other contexts such as trade and plantations, the English-based Tok Pisin was a common means of communication. At school all subjects were taught in German, but outside the classroom the pupils mixed languages. Even after the change to Australian administration from World War I onwards, students continued to learn German, and many started families whose family language was Unserdeutsch/Rabaul Creole German. Since World War II, however, the prohibition on German as a language of instruction, as well as increased mobility and marriages outside the group, have slowly dissolved the speaker group (Engelberg, p. 58-60).

## **5. Efforts towards language retention / current speaker situation / language competence**

As seen in the previous sections, the type of settlement and its composition are important contributing factors to language preservation. Also important, however, is the infrastructure, which church institutions once established or continue to maintain in the region, often concretely in the form of schools. In connection with print media, communities' own newspapers or ones purchased from Germany also play a role, as do new immigrants. In most contributions, the use of German or a German variety is described as being in steady decline, despite many measures to the contrary. In Australia, it used to be schools and magazines that were expected to contribute to language preservation. Today there are still male choirs and clubs, as well as the Barossa German Language Association, but German is only taught as a foreign language (for up to two years). The use of German is therefore limited to the oldest generation, or is the family language of new immigrants (Riehl, pp. 14).

In Oceania, settlement situations often made it difficult to maintain the language. In principle, Oceania is multilingual, so that the speakers had a functionally differentiated repertoire of languages/varieties at their disposal, depending on their needs. Repertoires consisted of English, a native language, and pidgins (Engelberg, p. 70).

In the USA, the isolation of rural German-speaking settlements and the use of Standard German in schools and church communities contributed to the preservation of the language. Legislation introducing English as a school language in the 19th century, as well as increasing mobility through railroads and later motorways, gradually led to triglossia (dialect at home, Standard German in the church community, and English for outside contact), and in later generations to the dominant use of English. The number of German-language periodicals has declined from over 800 before the First World War to only about a dozen today. However, the number of heritage societies for the cultivation of German culture and language is growing (Keel, p. 143). Texas German is also clearly declining, from a peak of 100,000 speakers before the First World War to about 70,000 in the 1960s and down to an estimated 8,000-10,000 in the beginning of the 21st century; it is expected to have no speakers by 2030 (Boas, p. 177). Factors in the decline include language use being restricted to the family context, negative connotations due to the two World Wars, migration to cities, and mixed marriages. According to the 2009 census (Tomas, p. 157), about 344,000 Americans are descended from Pennsylvania Germans. While the number of Amish is rapidly increasing, and the diasystem therefore remains active, other ethnic Germans integrated into American society and show a long-term tendency to change language due to the more prestigious status of English.

South Africa has 11 official national languages, with Zulu, English and Afrikaans considered the three *linguae francae*, and English as the country's dominant language. German language use remains active through Lutheran churches and schools but tends to decline due to mixed marriages and migration to urban centres. Nowadays, elementary school education is taught in English or Afrikaans, but there are some private and state elementary schools in which German is the language of instruction, as well as four German schools supported by the Federal Republic of Germany, and German as a foreign language at 13 universities. However, the use of German is in decline; fewer and fewer German speakers are enrolling in these schools and the number of German students has decreased by 357 to about 1,000 between 2005 and 2010 (Harr, p. 89). The supply of newspapers and magazines is also decreasing, but the online weekly newspaper 'Kap-Express' is still well-known, and media from Germany is of course also directly accessible online. The language competence of German-speakers is mostly quadrilingual: English, Afrikaans, German and Zulu, the latter limited to speakers who

grew up on farms, which is becoming increasingly rare. Use of German is limited to schools, whereas in the community and in the family Springbok German is spoken more commonly.

In Argentina today, the speech islands are bilingual, but speakers in urban areas are usually already linguistically assimilated. After the Second World War, German was still the family language of 300,000 speakers, but this number is currently estimated at 200,000. In Brazil, Decree 7387 (Presidência da República do Brasil 2010) contributed to the recognition of multilingualism in terms of language policy, enabling the co-officialization of indigenous or migration-related minority languages, such as Hunsrückisch, Pomeranian and German, in various communities (Rosenberg, p. 236)

Namibia should be mentioned as a special case in the context of language preservation among German language minorities overseas: there are today about 22,000 speakers of Namibian German as their first language. Due to the variety being lexically different from standard German, as well as to positive language attitudes, anchoring in the school system, and continued immigration, Namibian German is used in both informal and formal contexts and is therefore not threatened with extinction (Dück, pp. 126-128).

## **6. Conclusion**

In addition to the above-mentioned thematic priorities (time of immigration, type and composition of the settlement, religion as a factor in language preservation, concrete language contact phenomena, and attempts to preserve language/current speaker situation), the authors of the volume also look at language settings/identification. Here, limited space only allows us to summarize that although many people like to refer to their German roots (in some cases even despite the aggravating political past), their 'new' homeland plays a larger role in their identity formation.

The authors of the handbook succeed in bringing the individual regions, which are described in great detail, closer to readers interested in contact phenomena as well as in history. The readability of the text is consistently maintained, allowing readers to go on an exciting trip overseas from the comfort of their desks.

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## **Narrating migration: a comprehensive and dynamic approach of social representations**

Débora Amaral da Costa. 2018. *Identities of Migration. A Narrative-based Approach to the Studies of Social Representation*. Berlin: Peter Lang.

This publication presents the research conducted by the author during her PhD, that she pursued within two institutions—the Federal Fluminense University (Niterói, Brazil) and the European University Viadrina (Frankfurt an der Oder, Germany)—thanks to the PROBRAL cotutelle program. This was funded by CAPES (*Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior*) and DAAD (*Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst*), between 2016 and 2018, hosted by the research project *Ethnicity in Motion*, which aims to investigate the transculturalization processes amongst immigrant communities in Brazil. In this work, Débora Amaral da Costa studied the Haitian community in Rio de Janeiro. She offers an analysis on social representations of this community by using a narrative-based approach, grounded on an interdisciplinary perspective. The objectives of the study are to analyze how identities are constructed/negotiated through narratives of migration and to identify the immigrant's representations of the host country before and after their migration. Another declared goal of the research is to provide a new methodology for the analysis of social representations in the context of migration.

The book is divided into nine chapters, of unequal length. In the first chapter, the introduction, the author sets the general context of the study and introduces key terms such as the crucial difference between primary representations—the ones Haitian informants had of Brazil before migrating there; counter representations—built as opposites to the primary ones; and new representations—fully merged with the contact with the new culture. She underlines the great value of narratives to analyze such representations:

The narratives are useful to demonstrate how representations can change and relate to the dynamic process of identity construction through discourse. When subjects give accounts of their experiences, they give new meanings to their stories based both in primary representations created in their communities, as in secondary representations, made up from identities they choose to emphasize in their interlocutor. (p. 22)

Chapter 2 offers an overview of the sociohistorical and linguistic context of the Haitian immigration population in Rio de Janeiro, encouraged after Brazil issued humanitarian visas to Haitians following the 2010 earthquake, in a context when Brazil needed more workforce to prepare the Olympic games. The author also analyzes the function of each language used by

the immigrant, namely Haitian Creole, Portuguese, and French. The next two chapters, 3 and 4, provide a deeper understanding of the theoretical background used by the author to support the research. The author demonstrates a very pertinent appeal to interdisciplinarity, using references from a wide range of disciplines. In Chapter 3, she focuses more specifically on theories of international migrations, giving all its value to extralinguistic factors in the study of representations. Chapter 4, for its part, inspects the concept of sociolinguistic representations, “symbolic formations of reality, both broadly and narrowly, to the languages” (p. 56), as well as the one of identity, a “mosaic of symbols that individuals associate with themselves to mark a position of resemblance to members of their group and to differentiate them from others” (p. 60). Rightly, the author constantly reminds the reader of the fluidity of such concepts. In this chapter, she also introduces some references on the use of cross-genre narratives, a point we will examine further with more detail.

The fifth chapter presents the methodology more carefully, based on ethnographic techniques—mainly in-depth interviews and participant observations carried out in various contexts over the course of more than three years. Ten people were interviewed. One original aspect of the research is that some interviews were led in-person, while others occurred through the use of WhatsApp. We will go into more detail regarding this point.

Chapters 6 and 7 provide detailed analyses of the data. Chapter 6 in particular offers an analysis of the dynamics of migration, focusing more on extralinguistic aspects, i.e., on how the migration network of Haitians in Rio de Janeiro works. Chapter 7 focuses on the representations of the migrations. It is the largest and most significant chapter of the book, in which the author analyses primary and counter representations, as well as, to name a few points, linguistics representations and representations of the Other (that is, of the Brazilians). The main asset of this chapter is to show that representations are moving objects which are always likely to be reshaped. As the author states: “[...] the representations are dynamic, fluid and collectively constructed in the discourses. In other words, they are as unstable as the discourses, which are conveyed by society, and thus liable to re-readings and contradictions” (p. 185).

The eighth chapter is a small one, but of great interest. It focuses more specifically on the “frames, forgetfulness and silences as spaces of the construction of identities” (title) and we will later show that it constitutes one of the strengths of the book. The ninth and final chapter is the concluding chapter, in which the author offers further methodological perspectives, a goal she had announced at the beginning.

From our point of view, this last chapter constitutes the weakest point of the book. Indeed, at the beginning of the book, the author sets an explicit goal to “propose a new methodology for the analysis of social representations in the context of migration” (p. 26). It is an ambitious goal, and it was even part of title of the original thesis in portuguese (*Negociação de identidades e formação de novas representações sociais em narrativas de migração: uma proposta metodológica*). However, it occupies only six pages of the whole book and we believe that this chapter would have deserved more attention, for it sketches interesting analysis perspectives. The author proposes a model of analysis for representations based on their function. She distinguishes three types of functions of representations: ideological, social, and communicative. This seems a fruitful and promising model, but it could have been further developed and the reader is left a bit frustrated.

Regarding data analysis, the author very accurately underlines the ambiguous role of the researcher/interviewer, and even goes further by affirming that the representations and identities are also constructed/negotiated in the interaction with the researcher: “Representations of migration are products of collaborative negotiations, both within a migrant community and between the informant and the interviewer, so that contradictory positions can coexist in time and space” (p. 212). This observation is relevant and methodologically fecund. She also mentions, repeatedly and rightfully, that the fact that she is Brazilian influences the way the interviewees express their representations about Brazilians.

Although we can only praise such a critical view of her own position as a researcher, we regret that she is very evasive of the fact that she is also their teacher. This becomes very clear when I1 calls her, several times, “Professora”, which was translated in English as “Ms.”, showing that she occupies this social position for at least one of the informants. At least one paragraph analyzing the nature of this social relationship would have been especially welcome, since the teacher/student relationship is hierarchical in many points and could add one more factor of distancing between the informants and the researcher. Indeed, the teacher often appears as a figure of a person to whom one might want to give “the right answer” and this can have a great influence on the interviewees’ responses.

Beyond the two main critiques we addressed, the book presents many noticeable strengths. First of all, it is a proclaimed interdisciplinary work that fulfills its promises. Indeed, the variety of theories used to analyze the experience of migration is of deep interest. Unlike many works claiming interdisciplinary, the author provides a wide understanding of the experience of

migration, in which language is only one of the aspects, and that makes her analysis so deep and complete.

The methodology used is also highly intriguing in many ways. Particularly, the use of cross-genre narrative, i.e., the use of various types of narratives ("research diary, informal face-to-face conversations without the use of a tape recorder, conflicts during Portuguese classes, collective recorded conversations, informal written dialogues exchanged throughout the app individual interviews", p. 51) provides highly diverse material in terms of sources, facilitating analysis of the fluctuations of representations. Her analysis of how the transition from written text to voice messages on the WhatsApp app influences what and how the interviewee expresses about him/herself is particularly convincing. The fact that the authors have been accompanying the informants in very different contexts (classes, work, home, churches, hospital, etc.) reinforces the ethnographic quality of the work.

One last but not least quality of this work is the dedication of one whole chapter to the analysis of frames, forgetfulness, and silence. The use of Lakoff's concept of frame, although unexpected, is a real asset. Indeed, she states that "[e]voking a frame makes it stronger and avoiding it is the strategy to make it weaker and weaker." (p. 202) and thus demonstrates that the fact of mentioning or silencing a frame (i.e.: the earthquake in Haiti) contributes to renegotiating the subject's identities. Thus, silences occupy a special place in her analysis, and this is worth mentioning. Indeed, this contributes to making this book a work which, beyond some minor flaws, remains a consistent and solid analysis of representations and their relation to identities.

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Nina Rioult: Review on *Identities of Migration*. 2018. In PRAGMATICS.REVIEWS 2020.8.1

## Learning to Learn Multilingualism

Jörg Roche, Elisabetta Terrasi-Haufe (eds.). 2018. *Mehrsprachigkeit und Sprachenerwerb*, (Kompendium DaF/DaZ 4). Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag.

### 1. Introduction

This very comprehensive textbook was published by Jörg Roche and Elisabetta Terrasi-Haufe in 2018, and is the fourth volume of the nine-part series 'Kompendium DaF/DaZ' (*Deutsch als Fremdsprache/Zweitsprache* – German as a foreign/second language). Jörg Roche, editor of every volume in the series, describes its aim as deepening the education of foreign-language instructors. In order to do so, the series focuses on sharing insights from research on language acquisition, language teaching and multilingualism. According to the publishers, all volumes in the series share the orientation toward insights from the cognitive sciences (p. 16). All of the textbooks can be used in academic teaching as well as in further training, and are part of a correspondence course at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich (LMU) and its European partners.

Both editors work at the *Institut für Deutsch als Fremdsprache* at LMU and have collaborated on different book series on methods in the DaF/DaZ field. Only one of the eight chapters in the textbook was written without the involvement of one of the two editors (chapter 4 'Dynamische Modellierung von Sprachenerwerb' by Kees de Bot, University of Groningen). Apart from de Bot and Jala Garibova (Azerbaijan University of Languages), the participating authors are all associated with LMU (Svenja Uth, Claudia Maria Riehl, Eduard Arnhold).

The volume comprises 350 pages, including the introduction, list of references, illustrations and index. Each of the eight chapters is divided into three subsections (learning units) and begins with a one-page introduction as well as a list of key points (in a highlighted field). At the end of every unit are a bullet-point summary and a list of comprehension and discussion questions. Another recurring element is numerous suggestions for experiments that can help readers experience and thereby better understand the chapter content (these are described in a highlighted box containing further questions). This pattern helps the reader to gain orientation to the different theories and models described in the textbook. The same format is followed in all volumes of the series, which is also helpful to academic instructors and students. The choice to use a single bibliography at the end of the volume is convincing, as it avoids duplication and reflects the contributors' shared research.

## 2. Summary

### 2.1 Prelog & chapter 1 – introducing multilingualism

The introduction is very clear on the theoretical framework. It carefully dismisses older theories of multilingualism and criticizes generative linguistics for only seeking to explain early or children's language acquisition (p. 15). In contrast to nativist theory, cognitive-oriented theories view late language acquisition as a different process from learning a language as a child.<sup>1</sup> The authors claim that newer research has been inspired by this assumption but has not consistently pursued its methodological and application-oriented consequences. Specifically, they argue, adult language learning should involve interaction with, and systematic use of, the languages a person had already learned until that point in their life. Different fields of cognitive science are considered particularly useful in terms of developing methods that keep in mind the linguistic background of the individual being taught. Nevertheless, the authors stress that insights from the cognitive sciences cannot always be transferred into the classroom on an as-is basis, notwithstanding their value for understanding how languages are processed in the human mind (p. 16).

Turning to the content of the volume, the overarching argument is that multilingualism is more (or sometimes less) than speaking two or more languages on a native speaker's level (cf. p. 33). Instead, multilingualism should be understood as the dynamic interaction of different languages or even varieties (p. 199), serving different needs and functions, depending on the domain in which the code in question is being employed. As globalization progresses, multilingual functionality plays an increasingly important role that should not be mistaken for learning (only) English or another *lingua franca* in addition to one's first language (p. 37). From the very beginning, the authors seek to point out the importance of linguistic diversity and intercultural (language) learning, while also engaging with new approaches such as intercomprehension (p. 64).

### 2.2 Chapter 2 – modelling multilingualism

Despite the initial announcement of the intention to concentrate on newer explanations, the authors never fail to mention traditional theories of multilingualism, for example in chapter 2.2 on "innere und äußere Mehrsprachigkeit" (p. 67, cf. Wandruszka 1979) and "Schwellen- und Interdependenzhypothese" (p. 70, cf. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukoma 1977). Next to well-known theses about e.g. territorial and social forms of multilingualism (p. 30, cf. Riehl 2014),

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<sup>1</sup> This proposition becomes highly relevant in chapter 7.2 on xenolects (p. 257) where the role of input for foreign language learners is discussed.

the volume also deals with dimensions of multilingualism that have not been investigated in much depth, for example the role of belonging and identity. It is a pity that no further literature is provided here (p. 35), but this is mostly not the rule.<sup>2</sup> Here (p. 36) and throughout the chapters, the authors stress that for most of human history multilingualism has been the norm rather than the exception (for example on p. 36). In the process of nation-building starting from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, language homogenization has been used to shape national identities. As a consequence, political and educational efforts to revive multilingualism are necessary, especially in industrialized countries where minority languages are mostly marginalized by dominant majority languages (p. 36, cf. Crystal (1997) and p. 37, cf. Weinreich (1953)). These preliminary assumptions not only stand on their own, but also serve as a preface to the discussion of bilingual education (see p. 49 for political aspects and p. 67 for didactics).

Although they are mentioned in the section header, chapter 2.1 does not properly address questions of migration and its consequences. Instead, the author Jörg Roche discusses the implications of the *Sinus* study at length (pp. 58-60), before turning to the (important) conclusion that "ethnische Faktoren nicht milieubildend wirken" [...] and therefore cannot serve as a benchmark for revival measures that help maintain ethnic segregation (cf. p. 66). Chapter 2.2 and 2.3 finally contain a great wealth of information, especially with respect to the question of modeling multilingualism adequately.

### **2.3 Chapter 3 – on (foreign) language acquisition**

It is only logical that chapter 3 focuses on (late) language acquisition. This time, the author quickly turns to contemporary theories in chapter 3.1, explaining the process of chunking (among others) as well as introducing the concept of a *basic variety*. The chapter illustrates the principles of a learner's grammar, which the reader should be able to understand quickly provided a minimum of prior linguistic knowledge. The experiment proposed on p. 102 offers the chance to apply these insights immediately. Earlier, the author draws parallels between the concept of a basic variety and, again, an older theory developed by Givón (1979) about the supremacy of the pragmatic mode over the syntactic one when learning a language. Sadly, the connections to *gestalt* psychology are dealt with very briefly (p. 101). Also, the importance of the lexicon over grammatical structures is repeated multiple times but concrete examples and references to literature are missing.

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<sup>2</sup> The textbook does discuss literature on social coherence and belonging in chapter 6.3 but at this point it neglects to provide the relevant references.

In spite of the clear orientation towards cognitive linguistics, the two editors of the present volume openly discuss nativist approaches, namely in chapter 3.2. This is done not only with the aim of pointing out the limits of this theory. Insights from form-based theories do indeed help us understand learners' grammatical development. However, in the authors' opinion they should be considered more as "Diagnoseinstrumente denn als Einladung zu externen Korrekturen [...]" in the process of teaching a foreign language (p. 115). They reach this conclusion after discussing the question of how to interpret deviations from norms in the process of directed second-language learning (cf. Diehl et al. 2000: 372). On the one hand, those in favor of a natural process in the acquisition of an L2 claim that variation occurs *despite* grammar being taught. On the other hand, those critical of a "starke Formfokussierung im Unterricht" suggest that training exercises may have contributed to the results observed by Diehl et al. (2000), (cf. p. 111). Finally, Terassi-Haufe refers to her own work (2004) where findings inconsistent with Pienmann's teachability hypothesis (1998) are explained by maturational factors as well as "unterrichtliche Maßnahmen" (p. 115).

The editors are also responsible for chapter 3.3, which addresses newer issues around foreign language learning as well as older ones (such as *fossilization* and *stabilization*). In addition, the subsection contains some valuable hints for teaching foreign languages with its focus on the "Erhöhung der subjektiven Wahrnehmbarkeit eines sprachlichen Phänomens" (p. 127).

#### **2.4 Chapter 4 – language as a dynamic system**

The preceding chapters can be considered a prelude to the findings reviewed in chapter 4, "Dynamische Modellierung von Spracherwerb", which can be seen as the heart of the volume. Starting with the note that it is important to consider the interactional development of various languages an individual has gained, the author speaks of *Entwicklung* rather than *Erwerb* in order to include processes like attrition and language loss in multilingual minds (p. 131, chapter 4.2 on p. 142). For the same reason, one should look not only at (grammatical) rules within a language, but also at attitudes and patterns of language use, which are placed at the center of any dynamic modeling of language acquisition.

The general rules of complex systems, discussed in chapter 4.1, very successfully address the aforementioned critiques of older theories of multilingualism, and the methodological demands arising from newer ones. This is despite the fact that languages are not mentioned even once in this first subsection. Parallels are only introduced in chapter 4.2 ("Sprache als dynamisches System"), which sadly lacks depth (only 8 pages). Apart from the fact that one cannot properly explain complex dynamic systems in a nutshell, many statements in chapter 4.2. and 4.3 again

lack references. For example, no literature at all is cited on p. 143 ("Diese Annahme wird von Forschungserkenntnissen unterstützt, die ..."), on p. 144 ("es hat sich gezeigt, dass die ...", "Wie die Forschung zur Sprachlernentwicklung gezeigt hat, ..."), and on p. 155: ("Hinsichtlich der unterschiedlich ausgeprägten linguistischen Fähigkeiten zeigen die Ergebnisse verschiedener Forschungsprojekte, dass ..."). On p. 147, the author of this chapter (Kees de Bot) introduces "*Emergentismus*, der im Fall von Sprache so zu verstehen ist, dass ...", but cites neither Keller (1994), nor Hopper (1998), nor any other key literature. He also refers to findings mentioned in other volumes of the series without providing a page number, as on p. 143 ("vergleiche den Band »Sprachenlehren«") and p. 152 ("siehe hierzu den Band »Sprachenlernen und Kognition«"). The latter volume does not seem to even refer to the "kognitionslinguistische Systemperspektive".<sup>3</sup> Finally, some passages are either inaccurately written or poorly translated. Phrases such as "Es gibt viele Theorien über Sprache, was sie ist, wie sie entstanden ist, und so weiter." (p. 146) or "Ein System entwickelt sich auf eine gewisse Weise, weil sich das System so entwickelt." (p. 147) would certainly require some adjustment. At times, the content even lacks clarity, as can be seen in the following quotation:

Sowohl beim Verlust der L1 als auch der L2 spielt das Alter in zweierlei Hinsicht eine entscheidende Rolle. Es wirkt sich deutlich auf den Spracherhalt aus, ob es um den Zeitraum vor oder nach der Pubertät geht: In der präpubertären Phase findet ein erheblicher Verlust statt, während in der postpubertären Phase weitaus mehr bewahrt wird. Der gegensätzliche Alterseffekt tritt im hohen Alter ein. (p. 155)<sup>4</sup>

First of all, it is entirely unclear what the pronouns *es* in the second sentence refer to. While the author probably means them to refer to the onset of attrition of an acquired L1 or L2, it is still difficult to imagine what the "opposite effect in terms of advanced age" exactly means in this context (*ibid.*, translation EB).

Despite these criticisms, it is important to stress the value of the introduction to complex (dynamic) systems (4.1), the many analogies to and examples of language as a complex system (4.2), and the summary of relatively new research on language loss and attrition (4.3). The author contextualizes new findings very reasonably, and considers the role of both acquisition *and* loss in the development of multilingualism.

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<sup>3</sup> In other cases, the authors do not neglect to include page numbers. For example, on p. 165 the exact learning unit is given in the reference to another volume of the same series.

<sup>4</sup> In contrast to other citations I did not translate this passage into English. The aim was to show the original wording.

## 2.5 Chapter 5 – on multilingual use of language

The problems mentioned above persist, but are much less pronounced, in chapter 5.1 and 5.2. The examples lack interlinear glossing and other details (p. 164, "Englisch" missing in final line) and there are some technical errors (p. 169, reference of "Auer 1995: 120" in bullet instead of right-justified) – a general problem in the volume, discussed below. While these may be corrected in a new edition, it is much more important to consider the line of argumentation against the artificial separation of languages in multilingual minds. Firstly, the authors compare code-switching with interlingual variation of styles and registers (p. 163) without referring to Coseriu's (1988) concept of "Dachsprachen", which is discussed in chapter 6 of the same volume. After a brief discussion of whether or not switching costs exist, Kees de Bot and Jörg Roche conclude that not only multilinguals benefit from what is known as "Mehrsprachigkeits-Vorteil" (p. 171). Therefore, one must ask how the so-called advantage of multilingualism comes into being in the first place (cf. p. 173). The authors claim that switching between languages *and* conversational situations both involve similar costs and benefits.<sup>5</sup> They refer to the inauthentic nature of experiments in which code-switching is elicited, in order to show that switching is not a matter of one's choice of language, but of a certain variety that best fits the situation:

In usual conversations containing code-switching, [speakers] are never forced to switch codes. They do so because it is in line with their purpose... Some words and constructions tend to occur in a certain language. Perhaps even the term "language" is insufficient to describe the process. A word or a phrase is used because it comes to one's mind; which language the word originates from is basically irrelevant. (p. 173, my translation).

In this respect, both multilinguals and monolinguals use "die praktische und kostengünstige Variante und das können Entitäten aus dieser oder jener Sprache sein." (ibid.)

Chapter 5.2 (on transfer) maintains the approach of contrasting older and newer theories ("von der Fehleranalyse auf der Basis von Kontrasten hin zur *Performanzanalyse*", p. 177, emphasis added). The author (Kees de Bot) also provides a good overview of basic literature on the phenomenon of transfer, as well as a short introduction to gestures and transfer (p. 184). Chapter 5.3 (by Claudia Maria Riehl) then broadens the perspective on multilingualism by discussing multiliteracy as another domain where transfer can be observed. It also contains two illustrative examples (p. 189, 197) as well as many cross-references to materials within the volume (e.g. to learning unit 8.2 and the concept developed by Koch und Oesterreicher

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<sup>5</sup> This argument is taken up again in chapter 7.2 on xenolects, which show great variation and can therefore be analyzed in terms of code-switching (p. 251).

(1994) on p. 190), along with external references (cf. most recent study by Rosenberg and Schröder (2016)).

## **2.6 Chapter 6 – language variation**

Among the aims of chapter 6 (by Jarla Garibova, Jörg Roche and Svenja Uth) is to explain variation as part of multilingualism (p. 200). However, in my opinion it fails to do so. After a short introduction to the theory of language as an architectural ensemble of varieties (Coseriu 1988), the authors raise more questions than answers. One of these is whether anything like a standard language actually exists. In the end, the "postmodern" doubt is dismissed quite rapidly by listing arguments (reasonable in themselves) in favor of a standard, such as supraregionality, codification, institutionalization and literacy (p. 204). Subsequently, the social interaction of varieties is discussed in terms of assimilation and division. Special attention is given to regionalization as an example of a process in which convergence of varieties is due to "the desire of assimilation" (Coulmas 2013: 7, cf. p. 205). In contrast, division happens "[w]here social norms put a premium on social distinctness" and differences "tend to be maintained" (Gumperz 1967: 228, cf. *ibid.*). All this is true, including the statement on p. 206 that variation on a social level creates variability on an individual level. The authors' corresponding example of how different factors in a (foreign) language learner's mind dynamically interact with one another is a simple but striking indication of how the process of language learning can be described as a complex adaptive system. However, neither chapter 6.2 on regional varieties (Jala Garibova and Svenja Uth) nor chapter 6.3 on social varieties (Jala Garibova and Svenja Uth, assisted by Eduard Arnhold) clarify the extent to which these insights are relevant to learning a foreign language. There most certainly is a difference between learning and using varieties of a single language on the one hand, and learning different and sometimes clearly unrelated languages on the other. That said, the chapter fulfills all the other aims it sets itself, especially that of raising the awareness (of foreign language teachers) to the operating principles of variation and variability on different levels (regional, social, stylistic, etc.). Chapter 6.2 focuses on the question of what makes a dialect different from a language. In many cases, structural criteria are less significant than the analysis of political decisions (cf. p. 220). While it is truly exciting to read the overviews of different theories, the connection to multilingualism and language acquisition is again missing. The same applies to most of chapter 6.3, except for p. 227 where the authors point to the educational potential of reflecting youth language as a diastratic variety.

## 2.7 Chapter 7 – communication in multilingual contexts

In no way does the critique above apply to chapter 7, written by the editor Jörg Roche (7.1 on ethnolects, 7.2 on xenolects and 7.3 on pidgins and creoles together with Svenja Uth). This is already evident in the reference to Wandruzska (1979) in the introduction as well as in section 7.1.1 (this one unfortunately referenced incorrectly to "Lerneinheit 2.1" on pp. 233 and 234). By appreciating that mixed languages can bridge the "innere Mehrsprachigkeit" with which young children easily experiment and the "äußere Mehrsprachigkeit" with which adult foreign language learners sometimes struggle, the reader will better comprehend the application-oriented advice given repeatedly through the chapter. The author not only provides the reader with the most common model of ethnolects (Auer 2003, cf. p. 235), but also gives a long list of examples from research, especially from Wiese's work on *Kiezdeutsch* (2006, 2012; p. 236). The illustration of its (grammatical) innovations makes it easier to understand that ethnolects are not (only) about simplification and reduction, but also about how speakers creatively exploit, develop, and rearrange various linguistic structures. *Kiezdeutsch* therefore does more than to express the speaker's belonging to a certain group (p. 237). Moreover, they are fully capable of switching between different registers, including standard (cf. p. 241), which ultimately proves that *Kiezdeutsch* is not the code of some parallel society.

Throughout the chapter, the reader is constantly reminded why new insights into language variation are valuable knowledge when teaching a language (p. 234). Sometimes the structural descriptions of an ethnolect like *Kiezdeutsch* are somehow incorrect or at least superficial: "Veränderung der deutschen Satzstellung in SVO" on p. 236 or "Verb steht an anderer Stelle" on p. 237, when the context is in fact V3-constructions. This is somewhat compensated for with the use of "Funktionsverbgefüge" *ich mach dich Messer* (p. 237-238) as an example for grammatical innovation. Therefore, credit must be given to the author for showing that a primary ethnolect or a dialect like *Kiezdeutsch* is far more complex than its usurped forms, taken up by youth via mass media (secondary ethnolects) or even produced in direct mockery (tertiary ethnolects, cf. pp. 239-240). In the end, the bridging function of ethnolects is best explained by pointing to how they enrich the majority language and thereby demonstrate "die natürlichen Kräfte der Mehrsprachigkeit" (p. 241). Roche then identifies another bridging function of ethnolects with methodological potential for language learning. By looking at intern and extern multilingualism as terms that exist on a continuum, one could lower the entry level for learning a second language and thereby expand the critical period for lasting language acquisition (pp. 242-243). In chapter 7.2, the author points out commonalities between ways of speaking to children (*motherese*) and to adult language learners (*xenolects*). Parallels to the concepts mentioned in chapter 3 (basic variety, pragmatic mode) are not only brought up, but

also turned into questions for the reader (p. 259). Likewise, the highly interesting but far too short section on pidgins and creoles contains some inspiring questions (cf. question 4 on p. 269: "Welche Konsequenzen ergeben sich für den Spracherwerb und den Sprachunterricht aus den Erkenntnissen über Pidginisierung und Kreolisierung? Wie lassen sich Kreolisierungserscheinungen im Spracherwerb vermeiden?"). However, the discussion of methodological implications is far from exhaustive, and is limited to the final paragraph of each of the first two subsections. As for the question of how to make use of the high variability of xenolects when teaching a foreign language, advice is given only in the very last sentence:

It makes sense to properly consider addressees' input model when teaching a language to young people and children, and when teaching technical terminology. This also applies to the selection of communicative tasks and readings or grammatical exercises. (pp. 258-259, my translation)

This shortcoming is compensated for in two ways. Firstly, in the sample solutions on the publishers' website one can find detailed responses to the questions mentioned above.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, the final chapter 8 is explicitly dedicated to methodological questions. It will be discussed in the following section, before drawing an overall conclusion in chapter 3 of the present review.

## **2.8 Chapter 8 – paving the way for research on multilingualism and applied linguistics**

The first section of chapter 8 opens with an interesting notion. Rather than treating mistakes, the aim of studying learners' varieties should be to understand how varieties impact the ways in which individuals learn. Nevertheless, the authors and editors give examples of longitudinal data in order to illustrate the progress of a foreign language learner's syntactical skills. They then quickly turn to the interactional use of the same learner's variety (p. 274). In this way they show which strategies learners employ and how they cope with cultural challenges alongside the challenges of the new language as such (p. 277). Furthermore, the pragmatic dimension of language learning is addressed. With the concept of scaffolding (p. 279), the authors also introduce practical guidelines for helping to develop language skills.

Chapter 8.2 focuses on differences between oral and written language (absence of interlocutor; planning and production, phenomena according to Koch and Oesterreicher

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<sup>6</sup> Available under [http://meta.narr.de/9783823381822/M4\\_Musterloesung\\_Wissenskontrollaufgaben.pdf](http://meta.narr.de/9783823381822/M4_Musterloesung_Wissenskontrollaufgaben.pdf). See for example the answer on question 4 in chapter 3.2 asking for the didactical consequences of the basic variety and its implications for learning and teaching a language. It includes a methodological discussion of the theses presented by Klein and Dimroth (2003) on non-directed second-language acquisition.

(2011)) which are crucial for comprehending the different skills one needs to develop when writing texts in a foreign language. The author (Claudia Maria Riehl) then introduces different models for recording language competence. Combined with Koch and Oesterreicher's well-known model mentioned above, one can understand the need for foreign language teachers to distinguish between texts' different modes of discourse, which they often disregard (p. 295).

Finally, chapter 8.3 (Jara Garibova) gives a nice brief overview of almost any question a researcher might be concerned with: from basic principles of empirical studies (such as the observer's paradox and methods of eliciting data) via the generation of a corpus (including transcription, annotation and triangulation) and through to ethical aspects of field research. It would have probably made more sense to begin the chapter with these explanations, but this way the reader is left with the urge to embark on research right after they finish the textbook.

### 3. Evaluation and final remarks

Before I conclude with my overall impression of the textbook, I would like to list some technical mistakes that could have been avoided with more careful proofreading.

In general, the authors take great care to use both masculine and feminine pronouns, but do not manage to do so consistently throughout the whole book. One can read masculine forms like "Sprecher" (p. 235) followed "a few pages later by both forms, as in "durch den Sprecher oder die Sprecherin" (p. 241). There is some faulty formatting, for example inconsistent bold printing of keywords (p. 65), italics that are missing in citation (p. 236, "jetzt bin ich 18") or misused (p. 249, "statt"), and missing opening brackets (p. 252, before "T1801") or paragraph breaks (p. 255 in dialogue excerpt "12P: Aber wann nicht nerven (...)"). The list of orthographical errors is much longer, and ranges from missing conjunctions (no "zu" before "akzeptieren" on p. 41), letters ("berücksichtig" on p. 71), blank spaces ("dasaktuelle", p. 82), prepositions ("auf" on p. 266 in table 7.4) and commas (p. 24, 63, 148, 176, 183). In contrast, some commas are superfluous (p. 113, 179, 183, 194). These errors may be corrected in a second edition, which would certainly be well-anticipated.

In summary, while this textbook has several different authors, one can easily see the common thread running through almost every chapter. This is reflected not only in the frequent cross-referencing but also in the common bibliography. In addition to using it as a textbook in a seminar, one can read the book backwards as in introduction to research on language acquisition and multilingualism. Indeed, the book's greatest merits are its up-to-the-minute research insights into language acquisition and multilingualism, and its potential to raise

awareness to the challenges still facing second language learning. However, teachers and those responsible for foreign language training will ultimately benefit most from this book, even if they find it occasionally demanding in terms of prerequisite linguistic knowledge and somewhat lacking in references to further literature.

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