Everyday Languaging. Collaborative Research on the Language Use of Children and Youth

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The chapters in this volume represent an important contribution to the study of young people's everyday sociolinguistic language practices, both from a theoretical and an empirical point of view. Drawing on Jørgensen's (2010) *languaging* framework, as well as on Agha's critical approach and enregisterment theory, this collection of essays is based on the collaborative research by a team of scholars carried out in Copenhagen, Denmark, from 2009 to 2014, with the aim of showing how young people linguistically "construct, reactivate, negotiate, contest and navigate between different linguistic and socio-cultural norms and resources […] and how they do it while challenging or validating otherwise hegemonic discourses and norms" (2).

In the "Introduction. Everyday Languaging: Collaborative research on the language use of children and youth," M. Karrebæk, L. M. Madsen and J. S. Møller set the theoretical framework against which the chapters in the book are set, illustrating the methodological and theoretical underpinnings as well as dealing with fundamental notions like *superdiversity* (Vertovec; Blommaert), hybridity, *languaging* and *polylanguaging* (Jørgensen 2008, 2010), and other similar concepts like *translanguaging* (García and Wei), *metrolingualism* (Pennycook and Otsuji), *transidiomatic* practices and environments (Jacquemet). Agha's theory of enregisterment, "the process through which human beings display and enact social functions of language" (14) whereby "elements such as lexical items, sounds, discourses, food items and other material objects become grouped together, into cultural models, i.e. *registers*, and associated with stereotypical actors, conduct, social and cultural values" (22), is also outlined with its significance to the contributions in the volume and the (meta)linguistic practices analysed.

In Chapter 1 – "Arabs, Arabic and urban languaging: Polycentricity and incipient enregisterment among primary school children in Copenhagen" -- after challenging traditional sociolinguistic assumptions as to

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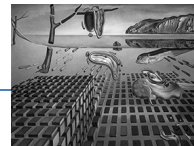
nowadays widespread hybrid language practices, M. Karrebæk investigates, through a longitudinal case study set against Agha's theory of enregisterment, how different language resources (Standard Danish, Arabic, other immigrant languages/cultures and slang/urban youth register in Copenhagen known as Street language) are employed by Danish schoolchildren. Findings show how "language is not divided into stable, fixed and uniform categories" (44), and that language resources are used with different indexicalities (and identification processes) according to situations and groupings.

In Chapter 2, "Gangster talk on the phone – analyses of a mass media parody of a contemporary urban vernacular in Copenhagen and its reception," L. Hyttel-Sørensen discusses how preadolescents perceive the use of *street language* (or *slang / gangster language / perker language*) as portrayed in a national Danish TV comedy sketch, featuring the use of this contemporary urban vernacular alongside Standard Danish. Analysis of findings shows that "the pupils, who identify with the contemporary urban vernacular and its indexicalities, can potentially view this media representation of 'their' way of speaking as insulting and its use of this register as inauthentic" (68).

Chapter 3, "Normativity as a social resource in social media practices" by A. Stæhr, deals with (self) regulations of linguistic normativity in social media, investigating self- and other-correction practices by Danish pupils interacting on Facebook. Findings show that these adolescents use several correction strategies, often accompanying them with metalinguistic comments, not simply to correct typos and orthography; rather, they are employed for social positioning, also interactively, with an orientation "towards peer-group norms as well as standard norms," demonstrating "to be capable of navigating in relation to the different centres of normativity" (93).

In Chapter 4 – "Rights and wrongs – authority in family interactions" A. Ag investigates how authority is construed and negotiated between members through messages about 'right' and 'wrong' behavior in five families with a similar ethnic, linguistic and religious background in Copenaghen. It is shown how, differently from media representations, interpersonal and authority relations are actively negotiated through languaging practices, and how "authority relations take different forms depending on various contextual factors," such as the participant constellation, age and conversation subjects.

U. Lundqvist in Chapter 5, "Becoming a 'smart student': The emergence and unexpected implications of one child's social identification," explores how teacher's identification of students as 'smart 'influences his/her- as well as other students' - participation and opportunities to learn. The study is set within three Arabic heritage classes in Copenhagen, and findings point to the need to reflect upon classroom processes of social identification that, in the case of the 'smart student', can result in labels that are somewhat imposed by teachers and that can influence learning processes as well as participation to class activities.

In the following chapter "Well, because we are the One Direction girls" – Popular culture, friendship, and social status in a peer group" L. Nassrithe, drawing data from a 12-month ethnographic fieldwork in an ordinary class and complementary after-school Arabic classes in Copenhagen, investigates how processes of identity and socialization (inclusion/exclusion) of One Direction band fans are constructed for two girls and their schoolmates/friends. By looking at identity as a dialogical process, symbolic capital and social status, it is shown how One Direction and its "brand and associated merchandise" (166), are on the one hand exploited to create "relationships with those who will be an asset to her [one of the girls in the study], while claiming social status in the school environment" (165), and on the other hand to exclude others.

In Chapter 7, "'The Diva in the room' – Rap music, education and discourses on integration," L.M. Madsen looks into processes of integration in a context of organised leisure activities in two youth clubs in Copenhagen, regularly attended by a group of boys involved in rap music. After delving into the concept of 'integration', the author briefly outlines hip hop and rap creative and social value and illustrates methodology and participants. Several examples form data are then provided to argue that involvement in rap can both represent an asset to academic achievements and in making the participants' artistic competencies emerge, in competitive terms, too. It is also shown how the participants "employed indexical signs stereotypically associated with different cultural models (e.g. formal school marks and linguistic vernacular style in peer interactions around rap" (197); interestingly, their later rap texts were linguistically more standard-oriented: this can be related "partly to the influence of hegemonic language ideologies of standard and correctness" and partly to "adaptation to the Danish majority population to achieve success as musicians" (196-197), thus pointing to integration rather than to minority status.

In the chapter "Ethnic identifications in late modern Copenhagen" T. T. Nørreb delves into how ethnicity is constructed by a young man living in Copenhagen, whose family has an immigrant background. In the opening quote, where the participant defines himself as Jamil Perkersen (referring to his immigrant background) Nielsen Rasmussen (referring to being Danish), he illustrates "the socio-cultural complexity of late modern Denmark by suggesting to inhabit a sort of Danish *and* non-Western joint ethnicity" (199, italics in original). Traditional and popular categorizations of 'Danes' and 'non-Danes' based on ethnic relations are well present in Danish – as well as European – public discourse; the author convincingly argues for the need to challenge these dualistic and simplistic categorizations: new methodological and conceptual approaches, such as the theory of superdiversity (Vertovec), linguistic ethnography (Rampton et al.), and theoretical work on discourse and identity (Blommaert; Agha) can shed light onto this complexity in late modern, global(ised) societies. After presenting the superdiverse reality of Copenhagen, complexity in defining 'identity' and 'ethnicity' are illustrated, also in connection to the case study. It is convincingly shown that through the exploitation of different semiotic resources drawn from Jamil's repertoire different (ethnic) identifications are performed, where 'being a Dane' closely interweaves with being – and being categorized as a 'non-Dane / a bilingual / Lebanese and Palestinian', in a process that is both global and local.

In the last essay, "Discursive reactions to nationalism among adolescents in Copenhagen," J. S. Møller presents us with an involving school project where the leading figure in the right-wing Nationalist Party, and Nationalists, are parodied "as a group who ascribe negative identities to people with a minority background and link those identities to stereotypical behavior such as social fraud, exploitation of the welfare system, and so forth," and "submissive immigrants are portrayed as people who 'contribute', apologize, want to be 'potatoes', drive buses for people with ethnic majority background and so forth" (241). In their skillful and lively parody, the young people show deep knowledge of national and international media events; through stylization (Rampton) they employ different linguistic resources, from 'integrated' to 'stereotypical Danish' to express different voices and their indexicalities.

The concluding chapter "Growing up bilingual in Copenhagen" by A. Agha summarises the main findings in the volume, (re)collocating them within a broader socio-linguistic conceptual framework and pointing to how the approach adopted can be relevant also to other (similar) contexts, particularly across Europe. It is stressed how an array of multi-channel semiotic resources are employed either as part of media representations or in group encounters, to "reanalyze the form and significance of their own behaviours and thus of youth emblems to incremental degrees in their daily lives" (253). Languages are one of the semiotic resources that are employed by the young Danes in this volume, who are immigration-based bilinguals. An important point that is made by Agha is that, given that "bilingualism is a social practice that involves the transposition of speech tokens across geographic or social settings that alter their 'type'-level construal both at the level of grammar and social indexicality," phono-lexico-grammatical (PLG) systems are reanalyzed accordingly, not least in the "register models used to interpret speech behaviours in social interaction" (244). Thus, as the essays in the volume well show, one or more elements from 'integrated speech' (more institutionalized) to 'street' language that become 'visible' from the phonological to the lexico-grammatical level, are skillfully used to (re)interpret and/or portray different ethnicity and identity (individual and social) aspects.

This collection of essays represents an extremely valuable contribution to research into the complexity of current urban youth speech, both from a theoretical and an empirical perspective. The methodological approaches adopted in the studies, together with the problematizations posed by the challenges of today's superdiverse societies and the theoretical frameworks outlined in the volume, can offer new and important insights for research into languaging practices. The longitudinal and ethnographic approach has allowed to gather results from different perspectives, and the way in which they are integrated in the contributions in the volume provides a comprehensive picture on the complexity of everyday sociolinguistic and languaging processes and practices in a European urban setting, that could be extended to other contexts.

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