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by

Lian Malai Madsen, Martha Sif Karrebæk & Janus Spindler Møller
(University of Copenhagen)

martha@hum.ku.dk
lianm@hum.ku.dk
janus@hum.ku.dk

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Lian Malai Madsen, Martha Sif Karrebæk & Janus Spindler Møller[1]
University of Copenhagen

Over the recent decades the populations of large Western European cities have become increasingly ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous and concurrently individuals' language use, expressions of identity and affiliation with socio-cultural values have become less predictable. In addition, technological advances (the Internet, mobile phones and cheap flights) have changed the communicative possibilities and access to linguistic and cultural resources for all citizens, both those with a migration background and those without. Vertovec (2006, 2010) refers to these new and emerging social (and societal) conditions as *superdiversity.*

Compared to most other European countries the process of language standardisation has been particularly powerful in Denmark (Pedersen 2009: 51). This is the result of a conservative standard language ideology, firmly governing linguistic attitudes and policies and evident in public discourse and education (e.g. Kristiansen & Jørgensen (eds.) 2003; see also Holmen & Jørgensen 2010). Yet, the ethos of uniformity is increasingly hard to reconcile with current migration, globalization and superdiversity. Everyday linguistic practices and possibilities form striking contrasts to the wide-spread mono-lingual norms and ideologies, which are founded on an understanding that homogeneity and stability constitute the unmarked and normal societal situation. This socio-linguistically highly interesting situation is at the heart of the *Amager project*.

The Amager project studies language use, linguistic resources and language norms in the everyday life of contemporary children and adolescents under the current superdiverse social conditions. The project is situated in Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, and it takes an empirical starting point in a school setting. The overall project is constituted by a number of part projects and most of the studies conducted investigate how urban children and youth construct, reactivate, negotiate, contest, and navigate between different linguistic and socio-cultural norms and resources.

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[1] This paper builds on work carried out by a large research team which, in addition to the three authors of the working paper, includes Jens Normann Jørgensen, Astrid Ag, Andreas Stæhr, Signe Wedel Schøning, Liva Hyttel-Sørensen, Ulla Lundqvist, Thomas Nørreby, Lamies Nassri, Narges Ghandchi, Birte Dreier, Line Knoop-Henriksen, Maria Malik, Iben Halling, Maria Colberg and Emine Kader Akkaya.

Some studies also treat the interplay between the educational system, parents', and the young participants' resources, aspirations and identifications.

The aim of this working paper is to present an overview of the main results from the Amager project. We do not go into the theoretical aspects of the individual studies but we refer to the individual papers and written works in which this as well as additional (and more detailed) analyses and methodological information is to be found. However, initially we will touch briefly on three essential background aspects and assumptions of the Amager project as a whole.

First, theoretically, this project relates to two significant developments within sociolinguistics: (1) on a theoretical level sociolinguists increasingly deconstruct the concept of 'a language'; while (2) on a methodological level, there is a growing trend of approaching language as a three-partite phenomenon consisting of form, use and ideology, or Silverstein's (1985) 'total linguistic fact', but also to do this holistically rather than to look at each aspect in isolation. Our work has drawn heavily on Agha's theoretical approach to language (Agha 2007) which is concerned with how human beings use language to organize social space, and how they draw on different cultural and social models when doing it. Agha's concept of enregisterment – the processes through which we associate indexically particular performable signs with particular meaning, including models of behaviour, social groups, models and relations – has been a particularly powerful source of inspiration. In addition, we do not differentiate between 'languages' and 'styles'. Both are cultural codifications, enacted in everyday communication, and marking differences in social space.

Second, methodologically we emphasize the importance of taking a starting-point in speakers' actual use of linguistic resources. We are interested in the role of language in the lived lives, realities and understandings of real children and youth, and the complexity of this social, or *sociolinguistic*, life needs to be approached empirically through language and other communicative behaviour as it unfolds in reality. We are also interested in the concept of language on a theoretical level. However, from our perspective language is essentially a social phenomenon and therefore it should be studied empirically as such. We also emphasise the integration of meta-linguistic activities in the investigation of how linguistic resources become associated with particular values and social typifications (Agha 2007).

The third aspect we will draw forward here concerns the Amager project's predecessor. The Amager project builds heavily on the legacy of the *Køge* project (e.g. Jørgensen 2010; Møller 2009; Møller, Jørgensen & Holmen 2013) which is a unique longitudinal study of the

linguistic development among Turkish-speaking children in Denmark. Empirically the Køge project consists in a series of data collected among a cohort of children attending a public school in the provincial Danish town Køge from 1989 to 1998, and again, from 2006 to 2007, when the participants were in their 20s. The bulk of the data is the yearly group conversations of groups of four: mixed boys and girls, boys only, girls only, Turkish-Danish speakers only and mixed Danish and Turkish-Danish. In addition, the data corpus includes matched guise tests, official school results, language evaluation test, interviews, etc. These data have been analyzed from a number of linguistic and educational perspectives (e.g. second language acquisition, code choice in interaction, language attitudes among teachers and students; see overview in Jørgensen 2010). The Køge project's impact on Danish sociolinguistics cannot be underestimated. For instance, it lead to the questioning of the assumption of languages as natural, neutral, and countable phenomena and bounded categories. In extension, if 'languages' are ideological concepts, widely used notions such as 'bilingualism' or 'multilingualism' are inadequate as descriptive tools. Instead the concept of polylanguaging was proposed to account for a widespread type of language use in post-modern, superdiverse Danish society in which (primarily young) language users drew on linguistic resources generally associated with different 'languages' (see for a more extensive account, Jørgensen 2010; Møller 2009). Also, the Køge project results have fed into discussions of the theoretical distinction between deficit and resource oriented views on minority children's language development. The Amager project has taken up the exploration into the concept of polylingualism, but in contrast to the Køge project this is now overwhelmingly done on an ethnographic basis. In addition, the Amager project also takes a resource oriented view on the young participants' language.

1 Site, field work and part projects

The Amager project is based on an extensive collaborative empirical work in a culturally and linguistically diverse urban school in a former traditional working class area. The team of researchers (16 in total) has carried out fieldwork, alone, in pairs and in teams from 2009 until 2013, and this work continues. During the first phase of the Amager project the studies focused on students in their final three years of school (grade 7-9) and among school starters (grade 0-1). The second phase of the project aims to follow three classes from school start in grade 0 (2010) throughout their entire school trajectory. Furthermore, one project team focuses on middle school students (grade 4 -6; 2010-14), and a recent and partly overlapping project takes a methodological

starting point in so-called 'Mother tongue classes' where minority students are taught a language and culture attributed to their national background.

The composition of the pupil population of the Amager school has changed dramatically over the last few years. In 2007 62 % of students had ethnic and linguistic minority background, in 2011 it had decreased to 30 % which corresponds to the average for schools in the area. This change has been the result of very strategic and intentional work by a new school principal who argues that he aims for an ethnic composition of the school that reflects the neighbourhood demography. However, there are still differences in the composition of different classrooms, and in particular between the school-beginners and the school-leavers. For instance, among the 7th-9th graders we followed, 75 % and 82 % of students were of ethnic minority background, in the 3rd grade class that was followed during grade 0-2, 2/3 are of minority background, and among the 2nd graders about half has a minority background. Such students with an ethnic or linguistic minority background are labelled 'bilingual students' on a legislative level. This is also the label used in general, in public discourse, media etc. 'Bilinguals' have simply become a synonym for 'linguistic or ethnic minorities' regardless of particular individuals' (lack of?) acquaintance with a particular heritage language that they are associated with.

2 Data and approach

The starting point of our studies is the local realities and everyday encounters of the students. Although our project is school-based, such an approach exceeds the school-context, and it involves institutional and non-institutional adults as well as peers, school as well as leisure activities. The project draws on a range of data types: recorded conversations, self-recordings, group-recordings, video-data, recordings from home, diaries from participant observation, ethnographic interviews, written texts, drawings, and CMC. By now the Amager corpus consists of more than 1000 hours of conversational data, and in addition to this many hours of recorded interviews and thousands of pages of field diaries.

Methodologically the Amager project deploys the approach of Linguistic Ethnography (e.g. Blackledge & Creese 2010; Creese 2008; Rampton 2007), and we see the development of language use as language socialization (Kulick & Schieffelin 2004; Ochs & Schieffelin 2012), that is, socialization to the use of language through the use of language. Both Linguistic Ethnography and Language Socialization combine micro-analysis with considerations of locally prevalent ideologies and with larger scale social analysis. Both approaches also consider the concept of

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indexicality to be central for the understanding of the meaning and significance of situated language use. The metalinguistic level is considered essential, and it is investigated empirically through micro-analysis of interactional data and through metalinguistic activities which both contribute to the studies of ongoing processes of enregisterment (Agha 2007; Madsen et al. 2010; Karrebæk forthc. a; Madsen 2013; Møller & Jørgensen 2011). During such processes semiotic, including linguistic, resources become associated with particular values and social stereotypes. This happens through meta-pragmatic activities on various scale-levels (Blommaert 2010) and it is manifested through more or less self-reflexive usage and linguistic commentary. A last fundamental assumption of the Amager project, which we will mention here, is that the concept of 'a language', and notions derived from this such as 'bilingualism', are matters of ideology rather than natural categories (Jørgensen et al. 2011). Rather than taking language and languages as starting points we therefore approach language and the social use of language – *languaging* – through speakers' use of linguistic resources (Jørgensen 2010; Møller 2009), as already mentioned.

3 Overview of main findings

The primary focal points comprise aspects of language use, language norms, social categorization and food socialization, in everyday peer interaction, inside and outside classrooms, during family activities and in writing – with siblings, in essays and CMC. We have also discussed the role of language norms and polylanguaging in relation to identity work and constructions of socio-cultural affiliations.

3.1 Contemporary urban adolescents

Identities and categorizations
In tune with recent sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology (e.g. Rampton 2006; Bucholtz 2011), our work shows that among the adolescents ethnicity, gender and other identity categories are not treated as fixed, bounded and countable facts, based on biological, geographical or sociocultural distinctions and similarities. Rather a practice-based approach shows how these categories are sociocultural and flexible constructions. Although at times the adolescents employ essentialist understandings of identities, such as 'Dane' and 'foreigner' (more often labelled 'perker' among the young participants, see below), several studies underline that the young participants practice ethnicities as interwoven with other social categories (Ag 2010; Madsen

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2011b, 2013a, 2013b, forthc.). Clearly, cultural practices and resources understood as related to ethnic heritage is only part of the participants' cultural repertoires (Ag 2010; Nørreby 2012; Stæhr 2010). The adolescents employ wider cultural and linguistic resources and associated discourses in creative ways for locally situated positioning and social negotiations. These include discourses of ethnic and gender differences (Ag 2010; Nassri 2012; Nørreby 2012), global conspiracy theories of Illuminati (Stæhr forthcoming), rap-cultural resources (Stæhr 2010) and presumably derogative racist terms for social bonding and as a way to get attention from the opposite sex (Møller 2011, Møller forthc.), to mention but a few. All of this points to an understanding of identity categories (ethnicity, gender etc.) and social status as perspectives, representations and interpretations of the social world that are exploited and ascribed through social action.

Example 1 illustrates the negotiation of rights to language use, heritage, (indexicalities of expressions of) belonging and identity. The excerpt is part of a longer Facebook thread, and the context is as follows: Lamis and another girl are discussing a situation which occurred earlier the same day in the French class. They are interrupted by their classmate Mark who comments on the situation. Yet, Mark was not present, and this annoys the girls. Lamis therefore asks him:

Example 1: "Where do you come from"
Facebook extract, Lamis' wall, 6th of October 2009

Original:	**Lamis** hvor kommer du fra.. du var ikk engang med til det, det var i fransk timen.. 6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:26 · Synes godt om […] **Mark** Men Lamis jeg kommer fra 1. Min mor 2. Tyrkiet 3. Polen 4. Italien 5. England… :D 6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:30 · Synes godt om

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Translation:	**Lamis** where do you come from.. you weren't even there, it was in the French lesson...
	6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:26 · Synes godt om
[...]	
	Mark But Lamis I come from 1. My mother 2. Turkey 3. Poland 4. Italy 5. England... :D
	6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:30 · Synes godt om

As a response to Mark's 'interruption' Lamis writes to Mark: "where do you come from" in the sense 'you are totally lost' or 'what are you doing'. Mark, somehow provocatively, replies by stating: "But Lamies I come from 1. My mother 2. Turkey 3. Poland 4. Italy 5. England…:D". 'Coming from' is clearly re-worked here. We know from our ethnographic observations and the interview we have conducted with Mark that his parents come from Turkey and Poland respectively, that his favourite soccer team is Italian, and that he is a fan of the formula one driver Lewis Hamilton from England. Mark does not treat 'coming from' as essentially concerned with physical locations where one lives or to which one has a heritage affiliation. Rather he implicitly claims that the relation of belonging or origin comes about as the result of different types processes. One even has agency and the right to choose a 'coming from' relation. In fact, this is an exemplary illustration of Vertovec's claim that in superdiversity belonging is not a zero sum game (Vertovec 2007) because one can claim belonging and affiliation to different places, which may be motivated in different ways. Contrary to this dynamic and complex approach to 'place of origin' Lamies deploys a traditional and more essentialist view on the notion of originating from somewhere in the continuation of the example. She states that it is only possible to come from one place, yet this does not seem to bother Mark:

Example 2: "Sjuf I'm 100% "Perker""
Facebook extract, Lamis' wall, 6th of October 2009

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Original:	Mark Åååååååååårrrrrrrrrrrr!!!! hvor er det fedt jeg kommer fra 5 lande…. :D Sjuf jeg er 100% "Perker"…. :D 6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:38 · Synes godt om Lamis Jaer men du stadig ikk araber.. så lad vær med at sig Sjuf.. ;D 6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:39 · Synes godt om
Translation:	Mark Åååååååååårrrrrrrrrrrr!!!! it's so cool that I'm from 5 countries ….:D Sjuf I'm 100% "Perker"….:D 6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:38 · Synes godt om Lamis Yeah but you are still not an Arab…so don't say Sjuf.. ;D 6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:39 · Synes godt om
	Word list: Sjuf (Arabic): Look Perker (Danish): A derogatory term equivalent to "nigger" or "paki"

Mark explicitly associates his coming from five different countries with being a *perker*. *Perker* is a Danish equivalent to *Paki* or *Nigger*, used to refer to people from the Middle East or North Africa. It is generally treated as a very derogative term, but in in-group use it may be used positively as an in-group marker. In such use, as well as in example 2, it refers to a social category defined by ethnic minority status across various ethnicities and invokes values of toughness and street-credibility (Ag 2010; Nørreby 2012; Stæhr 2010). In addition, Mark demonstrates how his Perker identity is associated with a particular language use: "Sjuf I'm 100% "Perker"". *Sjuf* is a linguistic feature generally associated with, both, Arabic and street language. Yet, according to Lamis, Mark lacks the necessary Arab qualities to be a conceived as an authentic 'perker'. Therefore Lamis claims that Mark does not have the right to use *sjuf*. In other words, Lamies reserves the feature *sjuf* to people who can use it authentically, that is, Arabs and real Perkers. Mark does not agree:

Example 3: "I say sjuf whenever I want to"
Facebook extract, Lamis' wall, 6th of October 2009

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Original:	Mark Jeg siger sjuf når jeg vil..... Men det er det der sker når man går i samme klasse som alle araber.... Det er en goooood klasse... :D 6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:40 · Synes godt om Lamis Det kun 8 ud af 23 der er araber.. Og self er det en god klasse.. :D 6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:46 · Synes godt om
Translation:	Mark I say sjuf whenever I want to..... But that's what happens when you attend the same class as all the Arabs.... It's a goooood class... :D 6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:40 · Synes godt om Lamis Only 8 out of 23 are Arabs.. and ofc it's a good class :D 6. oktober 2009 kl. 19:46 · Synes godt om

Mark explains that he attends a class with "all the Arabs" and according to him this is a sufficient condition for having obtained rights to use *shuf*. Lamis denies this and she points out that only eight out of 23 students in the class are Arabs. Whether this means that she does not accept Mark's justification (that he obtains linguistic rights through his peer group) or whether she finds the number of Arabs too low for him to obtain the rights to use *shuf* is not clear. However Mark does seem to be aware of some obstacles with regard to his authenticity as a *perker* as he originally puts this word in quotation marks. He also indicates that his interactional contributions are keyed (Goffman 1974) as 'for fun' as he ends his posts with a laughing smiley, and Lamies confirms the humorous and amicable tone, contending that it is a good class and using a widely smiling smiley :D. (For more detailed analysis of this example, see for instance Karrebæk et al. forthc.; Stæhr forthc.).

School orientation and peer-cultural practices
One of the significant findings of the Amager project is that young minority students frequently orient to measures of school success in their peer interactions, much in contrast to a widespread societal stereotype. At the same time, the students employ linguistic practices, which are not officially appreciated in school contexts, such as swearing, ritual insults, mixing features of various

codes and employing a particular urban vernacular speech style, to bring about school related topics and activities (Stæhr 2010, Madsen 2011a, Madsen & Karrebæk forthc.).

Three boys among the adolescent participants, Mahmoud, Isaam and Bashaar, were heavily engaged in a rap-band *The Young Gz's*. They signaled affiliation with hip hop culture and took part of various local and national hip hop and rap events (see also Madsen 2011a; Stæhr 2010). Example 4 illustrates a hip hop oriented activity in a youth club where the boys usually spent a few hours after school. This is a self-recording made by Mahmoud and Bashaar who are writing a climate rap as homework for school. However, it takes place in a context in which they often worked on their hip hop music and this makes the activity somewhat hybrid. The two boys jointly create the lyrics, and Mahmoud writes them down. The third participant Madiha, a girl, is also a regular to the youth club (see transcription key in appendix).

Example 4: "do your homework get yourself an education"

1	Mahmoud:	[den stiger] ((rapper))	[it rises] ((rapping))
2	Madiha:	[Koran xxx kom nu] lav jeres	[Koran xxx come on] do your
3		lektier få jer en uddannelse (.)	homework get yourself an education (.)
4		↓rap Koran tror I I får	↓rap Koran do you think you'll get
5		penge [for det]	money [for it]
6	Bashaar;	[HVOR MEGET] HVAD	[HOW MUCH] WHAT DO
7		HVAD TROR DU JEG FIK I	YOU THINK I GOT IN
8		FRANSK I DAG(.) <u>TI</u>	FRENCH TODAY (.) <u>TEN</u>
9		HISTORIE FIK JEG TOLV	HISTORY I GOT TWELVE
10		MATEMATIK FIK JEG <u>TI</u> LAD	MATH I GOT <u>TEN</u>
11		VÆRE MED AT SNAKKE	DON'T TALK
12		WALLAH	WALLAH
		(2.0)	(2.0)
13	Madiha:	(ej hvor skulle jeg vide det fra)	(well how would I know)
14	Mahmoud:	[tempera<u>tur</u>en (.) den stiger]	[The tempera<u>tur</u>e (.) it's rising]
		((rapper))	((rapping))
15	Madiha:	[øh JA I FORHOLD TIL ANDRE]	[eh YES COMPARED TO OTHERS]

16		HVAD FIK DU MOUD	WHAT DID YOU GET MOUD
17	Bashaar:	Mahmoud fik sgu også ti	Mahmoud also got bloody ten
18	Mahmoud:	TI I FYSIK OG	TEN IN PHYSICS AND
19		KE↑MI (0.3) TOLV I	CEMIS↑TRY (0.3) TWELVE IN
20		BIOLO↑GI	BIOLO↑GY

Madiha interrupts Mahmoud's rap with the suggestion that the boys do homework instead of rap music in order to get an education (lines 1-6). Thereby she articulates the widespread assumptions that rap does not lead to income (as education does) and that there is a contradiction between youth cultural practices such a rap music and general measures of societal success. However, to do so, she employs non-standard linguistic features such as a prosodic pattern characteristic of the speech style that the participants refer to as street language (Madsen 2013, Madsen et al. 2010) and the slang expression *Koran* used as intensifier (line 2 and 4). Bashaar does not argue that they are, in fact, engaged in doing homework. Instead he mentions defensively the high marks he has recently received in school (line 6-12) as if to demonstrate his academic capabilities. Similar to Madiha he deploys linguistic features associated with street language, both prosodic and lexical (e.g., the expression *wallah*, line 12). Finally, Mahmoud, too, lists up high marks in several subjects. Excerpt 1 thereby illustrates how the boys defend their school competence as a reaction to the articulation of widespread assumptions of an opposition (or at least lack of connection) between rap-culture and school success, and that rap does not lead to income (as education does). It is a typical example of how these boys creatively and in many ways successfully blend dominating educational norms and positive school orientation with peer and popular cultural norms and semiotic activities.

As illustrated different cultural practices stereotypically associated with school *opposition* and school *ambition* are combined in peer interactions (similar to findings of Madsen 2008). There is no indication in our data that such combinations result from a lack of knowledge about appropriate language use in different social contexts. On the contrary, it is clear that the adolescents are highly aware of the difference between evaluations of ways of speaking in different contexts (see below). Thereby our findings suggest that the adolescents do not see peer affiliation with urban, tough and youthful practices as incompatible with educational expectations. (For more detailed analysis of this example, see Karrebæk & Madsen Forthc.).

Contemporary urban speech styles – enregisterment and metapragmatic commentary

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Explicit metalinguistic accounts from our adolescent participants suggest that a sociolinguistic transformation is taking place among contemporary youth (Madsen et al. 2010; Madsen 2011b, 2013a; Møller and Jørgensen 2011). In interviews with the participants during the first year of our study they introduced us to two labels for ways of speaking that differ from what they refer to as "normal" and "old fashioned" (the latter being a way of speaking that the participants did not claim to use themselves). One label was *integreret* 'integrated' and the other had various labels, predominantly *gadesprog* 'street language', but also *perkersprog* (more or less equivalent to 'paki language') or *slang* 'slang'. Despite the different names there was general agreement on many characteristic features of this way of speaking. According to the participants, 'street language' includes slang, swearing, affricated and palatalised t-pronunciation, polylingual 'mixing' practices, what they refer to as a 'strange accent' and linguistic creativity and innovations. 'Street language' is indexically associated with values such as toughness, masculinity, youth, pan-ethnic minority 'street' culture and academic non-prestige. In contrast, the participants characterize 'integrated' speech as consisting of features of distinct pronunciation, abstract and academic vocabulary, high pitch, quiet and calm attitude and ritual politeness phrases. 'Integrated' speech is associated with indexical values of up-scale culture, sophistication, authority, emotional control and aversion to rudeness, academic skills, politeness and respect. Thus, in the values and privileges it evokes, 'integrated' speech seems to be undergoing enregisterment as a conservative standard code. This enregisterment is confirmed by the study of metapragmatic commentary in stylization practices (Madsen forthc.), and street-language is enregistered partly in opposition to this (Madsen 2011b, 2013a, forthcoming; Stæhr forthcoming b). Yet, the label for the more conservative speech style of 'integrated' (in Danish public predominantly used about satisfactorily adapted immigrants) as well as its oppositional relation to the contemporary urban vernacular speech (containing features indexing cultural and linguistic diversity) also bring about a dimension of minority/majority relations that has not previously been included in the stereotypical associations related to a conservative standard register. In addition, the socio-hierarchical dimension of the contemporary youth speech has perhaps been overlooked by several recent sociolinguistic works on urban youth language focusing predominantly on ethnic and cultural diversity as the interpretive frame for current language variation. Some of the meta-pragmatic typifications are illustrated in this excerpt from a group-interview with Lamis (Lam), Selma (Sel), Yasmin (Yas) and Tinna (Tin) and the interviewer (Lia).

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Example 5: Speak integrated with the teachers

1 Lia:	hvad taler I så med lærerne	then what do you speak with	
2	i skolen	the teachers at school	
3 Lam:	integreret	integrated	
4 Sel:	integreret	integrated	
5 Lia:	[integreret]	[integrated]	
6 Sel:	[**vil du**] **gerne bede om en**	[**would you**] **like to have a**	
7	**kop te** hhh ((shrieky high pitched voice))	**cup of tea** hhh ((shrieky high pitched voice))	
8 Lam:	hhh nej der bruger man de	hhh no there you use all	
9	der integrerede ord	those integrated words	
10 Sel:	der [prøver xxx]	there [tries xxx]	
11 Lam:	[nogle gange] nogle gange	[sometimes] sometimes	
12	når jeg har trip over	when I have a trip about the	
13	lærerne så taler jeg det der	teachers then I speak that	
14	gadesprog	street language	
15 Lia:	hvad øh kan du give	what eh can you give	
16	eksempler på integreret	examples of integrated	
17 Yas:	[integration]	[integration]	
18 Sel:	[sådan der] [**hvad**] **laver du**	[like][**what**]**are you doing**	
19 Lam:	[int]	[int]	
20 Yas:	hhh	hhh	
21 Sel:	**har du haft en god dag** ((shrieky high pitched voice))	**have you had a nice day** ((shrieky high pitched voice))	
22 Lam:	nej nej nej ikke sådan noget	no no no nothing like that	
23	ikke sådan noget sådan noget	nothing like that more like	
24	hvor de kommer med	where they come out with	
25	[rigtig rigtig]	[really really]	
26 Sel:	[**god weekend**] ((shrieky high pitched voice))	[**have a nice weekend**] ((shrieky high pitched))	
27 Lam:	rigtig svære ord	really difficult words	

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28 Yas:	mm	mm
29 Sel:	sådan der rigtig	like this really
30 Lam:	(.) nej nej[nej]	(.)no no[no]
31 Sel:	'[ube]høvlet' hhh ((deep voice))	'[im]pertinent' hhh ((deep voice))
32 Lam:	ja hhh [og sådan der]	yes hhh [and like that]
33 Lia:	[det lyder rigtigt]	[it sound really]
34 Lam:	'det så uaccep[tabelt Lam]'	'it's so unaccep[table Lam]'
35 Yas:	[ja men også]	[yes but also]

When the girls are asked how they speak to their teachers, they claim to speak integratedly. An exception to this may occur when they are angry with the teachers or "have a trip" as Lamis puts it. In such situations 'street language' may be used (line 12-14). Throughout the sequence Selma demonstrates integrated speech with a stylized performance marked by a shrieky, high-pitched voice (in bold line 6-7, 18, 21 & 26). In her performance she emphasizes politeness with ritual phrases such as: "have a nice day", "have a nice weekend", and "would you like to have some tea?". The politeness, the tea offer, and the high-pitched shrieky voice bring about stereotypical associations of higher class cultural practices. As in the extract above, Lamis underlines "difficult words" as the significant trait of integrated speech (line 27), and Selma supports with the example of "impertinent" in line 31. As well as being exemplified with words like *impertinent* and *unacceptable*, integrated speech is related to reprimands or corrections of behavior typically performed by authority figures. So integrated speech appears associated with authority, control and aversion to rudeness, combined with ritual politeness and higher class cultural practices. More generally, when examples of vocabulary are presented in the interview accounts and the written essays, four main aspects are emphasized. About half of the examples in the essays are related to academic activities (e.g. "analyze", "criticize", "argue", "curriculum", "lecture"). The other half are almost equally divided between ritual politeness (e.g. "have a nice day", "you're welcome" etc.), relatively complex and abstract adjectives (e.g. "hypothetical", fascinating", "intelligent", "well organized"), and finally, corrections of behavior as above. With respect to the stylizations in example 5, it is worth noting that the integrated performance is accompanied by quite a bit of ridicule in the girls' representations, detectable for instance in the change of voice and the laughs following the examples of difficult words (line 31-32). In this manner the girls present a certain

distance to this register, and this is emphasized by Selma's jocular remark on not being able to "say it" in spite of practicing the difficult words "in front of the mirror" (line 37-39). In fact there are significant differences in the way the students relate to the integrated register in their constructions during the interviews, and this appears to correspond to their general school orientation. Overall, Lamis and Yasmin (and Selma up to a point) presented a positive orientation to academic work and school achievement, both in their everyday social practices at school as well as in their representations in interviews. Although they ridiculed integrated speech in their stylized performances and generally did not present integrated as their 'own' way of speaking, they still claimed to use the integrated register for certain purposes: speaking to teachers (or other adults) and writing in school. In contrast, there were other students who didn't generally orient positively to school, and they claimed not to use or to have limited access to the integrated register (see more details in Madsen 2013).

Polylanguaging, language norms and language ideologies
It is well documented in our data that in practice speakers draw on their full linguistic repertoires of resources to achieve their communicative aims in a given situation. We have observed how speakers use whatever linguistic resources are available to them when they communicate. Furthermore we have observed how the frequency in use of features associated with e.g. street language may on the one hand depend on situational factors and on the other hand may be used for dramatic effect in narratives, etc. (Madsen et al. 2010). Thereby language use is not constrained by common associations of certain linguistic resources belonging to certain varieties or languages (Ag 2010; Møller & Jørgensen 2011; Stæhr 2010). This does not mean that the ideological construction of separate languages is irrelevant to the practices of the adolescents. On the contrary, the adolescents are highly metalinguistically aware of different ways of speaking and the values and norms associated with these. The adolescents organize their sociolinguistic environment in relation to dimensions of different ways of speaking understood as existing sets of linguistic resources usually described as 'languages' or 'varieties' (e.g. English, Urdu, Street language, Integrated etc.), as well as with respect to a stylistic dimension of more or less formal/academic/respectful versus informal/peer-related/relaxed, as demonstrated above, and finally, with respect to ownership and rights to certain ways of speaking (Møller & Jørgensen 2011). The following example illustrates norms of rights to a certain way of speaking. The excerpt is written by Isaam in 8th grade:

Example 6: Perker language

Language protocol, Isaam, grade 8

```
Efter perkersprog skal kun "perker" snakke som de snakker
På grund af det vil være mærkeligt hvis nogle dansker med dansk baggrund
hvis du forstår hvad jeg mener, talte perkersprog, men (danskere) som er
født i en bolig blok med (perkere) må sådan set godt tale det sprog
```

Translation:
```
In perker language only "perker" should speak as they do.
Because it would be awkward if some Danes with a Danish background if you
understand what I mean, spoke perker language, but (Danes) who are born
in a housing block with (perkers) are in fact allowed to speak that
language
```

This statement assigns the right of use of 'Perker language' to two specific groups; one is the 'Perkers' themselves, the other one 'Danes' whose local areas are characterized by cultural diversity. Other speakers ascribed to the category 'Dane' are not accepted as users of 'Perker language', as also illustrated in example 2. 'Perker language' or 'street language' is described as composed of features historically associated with minority languages such as Arabic, Urdu, and Turkish. Example 7 illustrates how the linguistic resources available to the participants are accompanied by norms of use linked to larger systems of power:

Example 7: "I answer her in the slang way"

Written essay, Lamis, grade 8

```
Andre mennesker snakker også forskelligt til mig, mine lærere snakker
integreret til mig, og mine venner snakker slang. Men min søster snakker
ik til mig på den der slang måde, hun snakker hele tiden integreret til
mig, men jeg svare hende på slang måden.
```

Translation:
```
Other people also speak differently to me, my teachers speak
integratedly, and my friends speak slang. But my sister does not speak to
```

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me in that slang way, all the time she speaks integratedly to me, but I
answer her in the slang way.
```

The excerpt illustrates the stylistic dimension of the sociolinguistic organization among the adolescents and how it is linked to expectations of language use from siblings. It appears just as inappropriate if one of your peers address you by speaking 'integratedly' as if you address your parents in the "slang way". The example highlights a general point derived from our data: peer group interaction is not characterized by the norm (or lack of norm) that 'anything goes'. The adolescents describe linguistic choices and the resulting positioning and identity work as just as important and normative when interacting with peers as in conversations with e.g. teachers and parents (for more details see Møller & Jørgensen 2011).

Language norms are not only school instigated, they are brought about in all communicative contexts we study, including family settings (Ag & Jørgensen 2012) and CMC interactions (Stæhr forthcoming b). Overall, we find a contrast between the monolingual standard Danish norms of the school and the polylingual norms of peer and family interaction. Example 8 illustrates how hybrid linguistic resources and polylanguaging are indeed characteristic of interactional encounters in a family setting, in this case, between Nasha, one of our adolescent participants, her mother and her younger sister. In this 23 minutes long recording the family members use Urdu, Danish, English, and Arabic. There are utterances in Danish only, utterances in Urdu only, and utterances with both Urdu and Danish integrated in a way that makes it impossible to categorize them as either Urdu or Danish. All three types of utterances are found in the contributions of all of the three family members.

Example 8: subject grade
Self-recording by Nasha at home, Malika: mother, Yalda: Nasha's sister

1	Yalda:	Hej inspektør	hi, principal
2	Malika:	*Yalda manna kiya tha na ke*	Yalda did I tell you not to do that
3		*nahin tha*	or didn't I
4	Yalda:	Ohoho	ohoho ((makes silly sounds))
5	Nasha:	it's raining men hallelujah	it's raining men hallelujah ((singing))

6	Nasha:	jeg er så glad for jeg fik tolv i biologi	I'm so happy I got twelve in biology
7	Malika:	er det rigtigt Nasha tolv *miley hain*	really Nasha *did you get* twelve
8	Nasha:	standpunktskarakter tolv *hi hain mere*	*my* subject grade *is* twelve
9	Malika:	ah det er flot	wow that's nice
10	Nasha:	*ke [/] ab mein bas[/] ke matlab*	that [/] now I just [/] that I mean
11		standpunktskarakter *yeh hota hai*	subject grade *is that*
12	Malika:	Mm	Mm
13	Nasha:	*ke aik* period *mein na sirf* tolv	that I over an extended period, right,
14		*par hoti hoon* biologi *mein*	get nothing but twelve in biology
15	Malika:	mm det er flot skat	mm that's nice, dear

In example 8 illustrate two overall points. Firstly, that polylingual behavior is not only a practice among peers, but also in family interactions. Secondly, that despite most studies of polylanguaging are conducted among adolescents (e.g. Jørgensen 2010; Madsen 2008; Stæhr 2010; but see Møller 2009) polylanguaging is not only a youth phenomenon. In the above, the mother also demonstrate a flexible use of linguistic resources associated with different languages: For instance, in line 7 she employs the Urdu word order of an interrogative sentence ("tolv *miley hain*") with the object before the verb, but with the object in Danish ("tolv"). In line 13, Nasha employs the word "period" which is generally associated with English, but by using phonetic features which are associated with Urdu. Interestingly Nasha's linguistic practice at home differs significantly from her language use in school where her linguistic practices follow almost entirely the monolingualism norm, whereas her linguistic practices at home follow the polylingual norm (see Jørgensen 2012 on different norms). This tells us that polylingual practices are not only the result of informal learning among peers, but that polylingual practices can be developed and employed within families as well. Furthermore, it illustrates that attention to norms is a competence, and one which Nasha has developed to a high degree. (For further analysis see Ag & Jørgensen 2012).

3.2 Becoming and being a school child

Language norms and language ideologies
A striking contrast exists between the language use and norms among the adolescents, on the one hand, and the school beginners, on the other. Among the school beginners, Danish dominates both

public and private talk almost entirely, despite their diverse linguistic backgrounds. We witness very little language use which could be characterized as polylanguaging. In order to uncover the official understandings of the absence of minority language resources we talked to the principal and the teachers. These institutional adults are responsible for the official approach to and understanding of pedagogy and classroom morality, as well as for the ways that it is carried out in classrooms. In addition, we interviewed the other important authorities in children's lives, namely their parents. Together with interactional classroom data such interviews contribute to the understanding of the particular cultural environment in which the children strive to carve out places for themselves. From our different types of data it was clear that the linguistic hegemony with Danish as a dominant language is understood and exercised in different ways by different adult authorities. However, the school is clearly not conducive to the use of languages and cultural resources associated with minority backgrounds. Minority language repertoires are, at best, treated as irrelevant in school, and it is explicitly characterized as the best choice within the school area that the children use linguistic resources associated with Danish and not resources associated with minority languages. During everyday school life this stance is left implicit – as there are no explicit restrictions of the use of minority languages – but clear. Compare here the following excerpt from an interview with the principal. The interviewer brought up the issue of the absence of minority language resources during an interview with the school principal. In his extensive reply he argued that such an absence could be a result of the lack of an explicit language policy:

Example 9: "maybe because there is no language policy"
Audio-recording of interview with Principal, Interviewer: MSK.

01	Pri:	måske fordi der ikke er en	maybe because there isn't a
02		sprogpolitik	language policy
03	MSK:	så der er ikke noget at gøre	then there is nothing to oppose
04		oprør imod	
05	Pri:	Nej	No
06		…	…
07	Pri:	så jeg tror det der med tryk	so I think that this with action
08		avler modtryk og det der med	begets reaction and this with
09		at tage afstand og sådan noget	disaffiliating and that sort of thing

10	på samme måde som øh med	in the same way as eh
11	tørklæder jeg kan garantere dig	scarves I can guarantee you
12	for hvis vi nu pludselig	that if we now suddenly
13	indfører tørklædepolitik og	introduce a scarf-policy and
14	forbud og sådan noget eller	restrictions and so on or
15	taler rigtigt meget om det	talk a whole lot about it
16	prøver at gøre det til et	try to make it into a
17	problem det vil kun blive et	problem it will only become a
18	større problem	bigger problem

The principal's pedagogical approach builds on the assumption that explicit attempts at regimentation through restriction (such as, a 'Danish only policy' or a ban against headscarves) create opposition (l. 07-08, 10-18). Therefore the absence of minority language resources in the public domain could be motivated by the absence of an explicit language policy (l. 01-02). To a large degree children have a free choice with respect to what linguistic and cultural resources they will deploy but the school should provide them with support for making the best choices. The principal compares language choice and the use of headscarves, and his answer shows the understanding that if you deny the students the possibility of choosing freely what language they want to use, they would make a less desirable choice. That is: not to speak Danish. When talking to the researcher the young minority children's parents' respond in an assimilatory manner and accept and encourage the hegemonic status of Danish. Also, we see how the adult caretakers' implicit and explicit evaluations of the linguistic resources at the children's disposal are reflected by their language use with adults as well as with peers. (See for extensive analysis Karrebæk forthc. c, d)

Within the peer group language ideology gets embedded in local negotiations of face-work and social relations. The following excerpts illustrate one of the rare occasions where a child introduces minority language resources. Essentially the use of Turkish becomes a stigma, collectively designated as such by Fadime, another Turkish-speaking girl, and Selina, who does not speak Turkish, and this happens during play related negotiations of social positions, power, solidarity and similarity. The excerpts come from a video-recorded play activity about a month into the school-year. The three girls build constructions out of wooden blocks, and the situation is a classic ménage-à-trois. In example 10 Selina has her attention devoted to Fadime whom she accuses of copying her construction. Yet Fadime argues that she builds something similar to Merve, not to

Selina. Thereby Fadime emphasizes similarity to – and aligns with – Merve. Merve then replies that Fadime is copying (*laver efter*) which is generally treated as unacceptable. Fadime then continues with the theme of morality. She says that Merve and Selina keep all the blocks to themselves, and that they are not her friends, thereby she introduces rules of friendship as a relevant theme. Despite (or maybe because of) her serious accusations of Selina and Merve, Fadime is ignored, but then she changes her strategy:

Example 10: "She talks like that"
Video-recording of play situation.

01 Fad: Merve min er ik det samme som farve di:g? (.) min er sådan her xxx.
            Merve mine is not the same colour as you:? (.) mine is like this xxx.
02 MER: benimki seninkinden daha güzel.
            mine is nicer than yours.
03   (0.3)
04 FAD: ↑duh siger til mig den ik var stor? (.) ↓duh (.) du snakker sådan til
05   mig igen!
            ↑youh say to me it wasn't big? (.) ↓youh (.) you talk like that to
06   *me again!* ((points accusingly at Merve))
07   (2)
08 FAD: hun: sir til mig den ik var stor.
            she: says to me it wasn't big.
09 MER: o:kay:.
10 FAD: hun snakker sådan.
            she talks like that.

Fadime goes from claiming similarity to claiming difference as she says that her block structure has a different colour than Merve's; differences in their work may be used to index or point to differences between them as individuals. When Merve responds in Turkish that her own block structure is nicer, Fadime suddenly changes her focus from Merve's wooden construction to her language choice. She partly repeats something Selina said earlier when she says "you talk like that to me again" (l. 04-06). Here this functions as an accusation (signalled by pitch change and

gestures) and it signals transgression of norms. Then she complains to Selina over Merve's use of Turkish (l. 08, 10), thereby positioning Merve as a bystander. Selina was actually the first to police Merve's use of Turkish shortly before this example, and her dispreference for Turkish-associated features could very well be motivated by the fact that she does not understand them. However Fadime has now turned the use of Turkish into a more general political issue. Turkish becomes transgressive in relation to what is now presented as a norm of language choice, and in terms of interactional identities Merve becomes a norm transgresser and Selina a norm enforcer. The discussion continues into example 11, which falls immediately after the previous:

Example 11: "She speaks Danish"

10 FAD: hun snakker sådan.
           she talks like that.
11 SEL: Merve la vær med [og xxx tale til dig (.) la vær med at tale sådan til
12   hende.
           Merve don't [xxx not speak to you (.) don't speak like that to her.
13 FAD: [jeg snakker ik sådan.
           [I don't talk like that.
14 FAD: jeg snakker ik sådan der jeg snakker overhovedet ik sådan der.
           I don't talk like that I don't talk like that at all.
15 SEL: hun taler dansk.
           she speaks Danish.
16 MER: hey Selina hey gi gi mig (.) den der.
           hey Selina hey give give me (.) that one.

According to Fadime, Merve's use of Turkish is unsolicited. She repeats that she herself does not speak "like that" (l. 13, 14) and thereby she denies the similarity to Merve. Selina may have used the formulation 'like that' about Turkish language because she did not know a term for Turkish but this is certainly not the case with Fadime, and the avoidance of the term Turkish certainly validates the impression that Fadime distances herself from Merve. Selina supports Fadime (l. 11-12) and adds that Fadime speaks Danish (l. 15). This introduces a juxtaposition between a named language – Danish – and a way of speaking 'like that' – Turkish – and the shift in Danish from *sådan* to

sådan der suggests even further distancing. Merve obeys and switches back into Danish when she asks Selina to cooperate. In sum, the use of features associated with Turkish here becomes a transgressive act. The negative and transgressive meaning of Turkish is not negotiated explicitly in terms of language ideologies but only as part of negotiation of local social relations. (For the more extensive analysis, see Karrebæk forthc. c). However, as the institutional adults general treated 'minority languages' as unwanted, inappropriate, not belonging in, and a sign of disaffiliation with the school context, it is not a far cry to see these peer group constructions as mirroring and contributing to a more general tendency. Thus, this illustrates the interactional processes that leads to hegemony. Merve was one of the very few children that occasionally used features associated with a minority language (Turkish), particularly in the beginning of the first school year. Another child who did this was Amira, a girl with Arabic background, but Amira's approach differed fundamentally from Merve's. Merve was mostly playing with other minority girls, and she deployed Turkish to communicate about a play related or social theme. Amira on the other hand almost exclusively sought the company of majority Danish girls, and she clearly embraced a Danish-only policy in her language choice. However, when she had just entered the class, in the beginning of her school career, she performed the 'exotic Other' by demonstrating a knowledge of Arabic in playful demonstrations and teaching sessions. Amira thereby seemed to convert her (unmistakeably) minority background into a playful object, not an important identity feature. Amira thereby could position herself as a mainstream girl – who just happened to have an Arabic touch (see Karrebæk forthc. d). In sum, the primary school children show very little resistance to the monolingual order and linguistic hegemony in school, despite their diverse linguistic backgrounds. Thereby they are active participants in the process of socialization into a norm of institutional monolingualism and Danish dominance. (See also Knoop Østergaard forthc.).

In contrast to these pictures of an almost all-encompassing Danish hegemony we have explored language practices in the minority family with a particular focus on literacy in the home setting in a pilot study. It is clear that the hegemony of Danish is not exclusive here. Children may be socialized to the use of linguistic resources which are associated with a heritage language, and which are highly relevant in their further literacy acquisition and socialization at school (Lundqvist forthc.). The children draw on their knowledge of the different indexicalities of the linguistic resources available in the social context, and the adult caretakers' implicit and explicit evaluations of linguistic resources get reflected by their language use, with adults as well as with peers.

Food, health and socialization

In addition to what we saw with regard to language the (re-)production of cultural differences and marginalization of cultural minorities also happen in health education and during food encounters among the youngest students. As food is also a semiotic object with indexical value, an object that mediates cultural understandings in social encounters, this is actually unsurprising. In this particular school, health, and in particular healthy food practices, is a strategic priority area which, at the same time, are seen to as attractive to middle-class, academic parents (which often emphasize the importance of a healthy life-style) *and* as a compensatory measure particularly oriented towards the minority students. This may explain some teachers' somewhat assimilatory approach. In the classroom studied the teachers treated health education primarily as a question of working with lunch box contents. The children were only explicitly instructed to bring the traditional Danish variety of bread, rye bread, and not white bread, for lunch in that rye bread was claimed to be healthy and white bread unhealthy. The teachers inspected the students' lunch-boxes on a daily basis, and they clearly concentrated their search on a specific group of minority children whom they suspected would not bring rye bread. The teachers' intense work was surely reflected in the children's peer group interaction as well.

In the following example we meet Özlem at the lunch table with her new friend Merve. Özlem is a later-comer to the class and this is only her first or second day. When she unwraps her pita bread, she is therefore unaware of lunch-box norms – but not for long! Merve re-directs Özlem's focus from the teasing routine she was engaged in with Bilal about the food.

Example 12: You can't bring white bread to school
April, video-recording
Participants: Özlem, Elias, Merve, Bilal, Shabana, Louise

	Elias	Shabana	Özlem	Merve
01		det der må man ik ta me:d.		
		you are not allowed to bring that.		
02				
03	jo man må		det ik hvaf[1]for	[1]man må ik

#				
	ha man må ha xxx.		noget det xx.	
	you are yes you are allowed to bring xxx. ((to Shabana))		*it is not what[1]ever it's xxx.* ((Özlem is unwrapping her food while arguing with Bilal))	[1]*you can't* ((watching Özlem's actions closely.))
04				Man må ik ta
			Turns her head to face Merve	*You can't take*
05	de:r ingen der har xxx.			man må ik ta hvidt brød i skole.
	there is nobody who has xxx.		.	*you can't bring white bread to school.* ((Özlem looks down at something in her lunch-box while holding a pita bread.))
06			hva?	
			what? ((turns her head while saying this.))	
07				man må ik ta: øh hvidt brød i skole.
				you are not allowed to bri:ng white bread to school.
08		[2]Du har	↑hvidt [2]↓brød.	
		[2]*You have*	↑*white* [2]↓*bread.*	
09				jaer.
				yeah.
10				
11			hm.	
12			*Looks down at her*	

				pita bread	
13			man må ik [3]ha boller med. *you are not [3]allowed to bring rolls.* ((to Elias.))	[3]for det vidste jeg ik. [3]*cause I didn't know.*	
14				°Hvorfor må man xxx. ° °*Why can't you xxx.* °	
15				°hvorfor må man ik det. ° °*Why can't you do that.*°	°Louise°.

The example displays several remarkable features, but most importantly, the peer group discussion reveals a strong norm about lunch-boxes. Both Shabana and Merve orient to this norm, and they do it by pointing out that Elias' and Özlem's lunch-boxes do not live up to it (lines 01-05). Second, Özlem and Elias react very differently to the information. Although it is difficult to hear exactly what Elias says, it is clear that he contradicts Shabana's interpretation of food norms. As for Özlem, she seems puzzled. Her repetition of "white bread?" (08), with a strong rising-falling intonation, functions as a repair and underlines the impression of surprise. Apparently she needs to be sure that she understood Merve correctly. Merve confirms. Özlem says that she did not know (line 13), and after a short silence and in a very low voice she asks the rather reasonable question "why can't you do that?" (lines 14-15). Interestingly, this is the only time we heard this question voiced, although many of the children must have wondered about the rationale behind the animosity to white bread. Merve never answers because Louise arrives, and she then receives this as an explanation from Louise: It is because: "when you attend this school you have to bring rye bread. (.) then you become really smart (.) and really strong." (*når man går på denne her skole ska man nemlig ha rugbrød med. (.) så blir man rigtig klog (.) og rigtig stærk.*). (For a more extensive treatment see Karrebæk 2013.)

In general food creates similarities and differences, and it also has the potential to create pleasure and guilt. The culturally very particular interpretation of health in this classroom enhanced cultural and ethnic differences in the classroom and marginalized minority children. The pedagogically well-intended efforts to educate and nourish the children thereby got unintended but most certainly also unfortunate consequences (Karrebæk 2012, 2013, Forthc. a, b).

4 Perspectives

The Amager project was initiated in 2009. After four years we have found it timely to take stock of the results obtained so far; this has been the aim of this working paper. However, as all research projects, the Amager project also raises new questions and asks for additional research. Most importantly it calls for further investigation into when and how the hegemonic sociolinguistic situation we observe among school beginners transforms into the situation we observe among the adolescents. In other words, how, when and why do polylingual practices and norms come about?

In our studies the young participants' lives are dominated by different centers of authority and normativity, some of which they show acceptance of, some of which they do not, but all of which they use in the positioning of themselves by demonstrating alignment and dis-alignment with norms and social groups. While all of the situated negotiations have some element of creativity, there may also be certain limitations to the local appropriation of semiotic resources. It is clear that the centers of authority and the directions of normativity are neither obvious nor easily predictable. Therefore the multiplicity of 'ritual centers of authority' (Silverstein 1998: 405) coined by the notion of polycentricity (Blommaert 2010: 40) is worth looking further into in our future research. In particular the role of popular culture in relation to language socialization is an aspect we want to dig deeper into. It is clearly worth exploring which norm centers that are and come to be important for young people growing up in a superdiverse urban environment today.

Some of the research that we here point to is already under way. For instance, we intend to follow a cohort of children from school-start and all throughout their school-career. These children are now in 2nd grade. In addition, a new project "Mother Tongue Education in the Superdiverse Metropolis of Copenhagen" adds new aspects to our understanding of language use and ideologies in the era of superdiversity. The Mother Tongue Education project is so called because it takes its empirical starting point in mother tongue classes, labelled as such by the Ministry of Education. This is non-compulsory classes in which minority children are taught the language and culture associated with – or attributed to – their ethnic and national background. In

addition to mother tongue classes taught at the Amager school (Arabic, Turkish), the Mother Tongue Education project collects data in privately organized mother tongue classes (Farsi, Polish). The project's primary aim is to explore settings where the Danish hegemony is institutionally cancelled out – momentarily. In addition to classroom we also try to venture into children's mainstream classrooms and families to the extent possible. The project will explore the form level: what linguistic features are met, what 'languages'; the usage level: what types of participation frameworks, what interactional specificities, and what pedagogical formats are recurrent or just observed in what kinds of settings; and an ideological level: What understandings and models of language, linguistic registers and language use do teachers, children and parents present. Thus, the Mother Tongue Education project will enable us to get information on how minority citizens participating in minority language classrooms (or Mother Tongue Education) conceive of their position as speakers of minority languages in a society characterized, at once, by heterogeneity and mobility as well as strong standardisation and linguistic hegemony.

5 Publications from the *Amager* project

Published:

Ag, Astrid & J. Normann Jørgensen (2012): Ideologies, Norms, and Practices in Youth Poly-Languaging. *International Journal of Bilingualism.* (Published online on the website of the journal prior to print)

Jørgensen, J.N. 2012. Ideologies and norms in language and education policies in Europe and their relationship with everyday language behaviours. *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 25 (1): 57-71.

Jørgensen, J. Normann, Martha Karrebæk, Lian Malai Madsen & Janus Spindler Møller (2011): Polylanguaging in Superdiversity. *Diversities* 13 (2): 23-38.

Karrebæk, Martha Sif (2013). Lasagne for breakfast: Respectability and cultural norms of eating practices in the primary classroom. *Food, Culture and Society: An International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research* 16 (1): 85-106.

Karrebæk, Martha Sif (2012a). Authority relations: The mono-cultural educational agenda and classrooms characterized by diversity. *Naldic* 10 (1): 33-37.

Karrebæk, Martha Sif (2012b): *"What's in your lunch box today?":* Health, respectability and ethnicity in the kindergarten classroom. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology 22*(1).

Karrebæk, Martha Sif (2011): Understanding the value of milk, juice and water: The interactional construction and use of healthy beverages in a multi-ethnic classroom. *Working papers in urban language and literacies*, Paper 83; King's College London.

Madsen, Lian Malai (2013). "High" and "Low" in urban Danish speech styles. *Language in Society* 42 (2): 115-138.

Madsen, Lian Malai, Janus Spindler Møller & J.N. Jørgensen (2010): "Street language" and "Integrated": Language use and enregisterment among late modern urban girls. In Lian Malai Madsen, Janus Spindler Møller & J.N. Jørgensen (eds.), *Ideological Construction and Enregisterment of Lingusitic Youth Styles*. Copenhagen Studies in Bilingualism. Pp. 81-114.

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Transcription key

[overlap]	overlapping speech
LOUD	louder volume than surrounding utterances
°silent°	lower volume than surrounding utterances
xxx	uintelligible speech
(questionable)	parts I am uncertain about
((comment))	my comments
.	falling terminal intonation
?	rising terminal intonation
:	prolongation of preceding sound
>faster<	faster than surrounding utterances
↑	local pitch raise
(.)	short pause
(0.6)	timed pause
Str<u>e</u>ss	stress
hhh	laughter breathe
hvaf[1]for noget. (([1]raises hand))	superscript numbers = simultaneous actions