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Social style of communication and bilingual speech practices: Case study of three migrant youth groups of Turkish origin in Mannheim / Germany

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In our ethnographically based sociolinguistic research study on "The construction of social styles of communication in migrant youth groups of Turkish origin in Mannheim / Germany" we selected three different groups and described their style of communication in in-group situations as well as in outside-contacts. In spite of comparable background experiences as guest worker children, the three groups have developed different styles of communication and different variation practices in relation to their social and professional orientations. They differ with regard to their preferences to rules of speaking, their construction of relevant social categories and their evaluation and use of German, Turkish or mixing practices.

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1. Introduction

Our ethnographic-sociolinguistic study of *The construction of social styles of communication in migrant youth groups of Turkish origin in Mannheim / Germany* describes a wide variety of migrant groups and their socio-cultural orientation in relation to various migrant worlds as well as to various social worlds of the dominant German society. The development of a social style of communication is grounded in the groups' socio-cultural orientation as well as in the perception of themselves in relation to relevant others. The main purpose of our study is to analyse the construction of the groups' social identity in terms of their social style of communication.[1] One central aspect of our analysis is how various migrant youth groups make use of the linguistic and communicative resources at hand in the process of constructing their own style of communication.

[1] For a presentation of our research project see Kallmeyer & Keim (1999).

Our study uses ethnographic interviews and participant observation. The data collection consists of audio-recordings of biographic interviews, ethnographic records (field notes, photographs), and of audio- and video-recordings of natural in-group and out-group conversations. The conversational data are analysed with conversation-analytic and sociolinguistic methods.

In this paper, I will demonstrate how the groups' different socio-cultural orientations influence their construction of a genuine stylistic means of communication and their preference for specific variation practices.

2. Social style of communication and linguistic variation practices

Our concept of social style is influenced by the anthropological and ethnographic concepts of cultural style, where style is related to a group's culture and its social identity.[2] In this tradition, cultural style is the product of the adjustment of human communities to their ecological, social, and economic conditions. A part of these conditions is the striving for social equality and for social integration and differentiation. Cultural or social styles correspond with schematic knowledge of social behavior, and their relevant traits reflect distinctive features of the respective cultural paradigm. In this perspective, a social style has a fundamentally strategic grounding, and it is defined as the specific cultural solution for existential needs. The specific characteristics of a cultural style become obvious through a comparison across different social worlds. Practices of linguistic variation, as described in linguistic and sociolinguistic stylistics, are constitutive to our concept of social style together with other aspects of communicative expression.

Style is a holistic concept. Members' ideas about social styles of communication are prototypically organized: they are constructed around key phenomena, and they have fuzzy boundaries. The construction of a communicative social style is connected with the formation of specific linguistic and communicative patterns and rules on different linguistic levels. Elements from all expressive levels are combined along the same line and formed to a unique expressive means. This is a dynamic process: new materials can be incorporated and result in different stades of stylistic density.

On the basis of sociolinguistic and ethnographic research results, we assume that the following dimensions of expressive behavior are essential for the construction of a social style:[3] pragmatic rules of speaking, especially rules for the regulation of

[2] For an elaboration of our concept of social style and a description of the social style of different social groups in an urban context, see Kallmeyer (1994), Keim (1995), and Schwitalla (1995). For papers and publications of the project on German-Turkish variation, see the research group's homepage (cf. note 1).

[3] In the project about urban communication, these dimensions proved to be most relevant for the construction of a social style and for its analysis; see Kallmeyer (1994), Keim (1995), Schwitalla (1995). Therefore, in our project about migrant youth groups, we started our socio-stylistic research with the analysis in these dimensions.

social distance; the construction of systems of social categories for defining group members and outsiders and the procedures for contextualizing social categories; specific verbal and nonverbal aesthetic means; formulaic speech for the handling of specific communicative problems; and linguistic variation for purposes of interactional organization and for socio-symbolic reasons. In this paper, I concentrate especially on language choices and variation practices, and their relation to rules of speaking and social categorization.

The variation practices can be described in terms of two concepts, the concept of code-switching and the concept of code-mixing. In discussions about the two concepts various perspectives were developed with varying definitions. The term code-switching as a cover term for a wide variety of alternating phenomena (see Poplack 1980, Myers-Scotton 1997, 1999, a.o.) is replaced by the term code-mixing (see Muysken 2002) for the description of intrasentential variation. Other authors locate variation phenomena on a continuum scale, where the terms code-switching and mixing refer to special zones on the continuum and to special variation practices (see Auer 1998, Franceschini 1998).

In our study, we focus on structural patterns for the combination of elements from both languages (inter- and intra-clause, insertional and alternational switches) as well as on different types of functions combined with variation practices. We differentiate between (a) variation for the symbolization of social properties and social contexts, (b) variation for the organization of the interaction (separating different activities and signaling a change in the interaction constellation and / or interaction modality, etc.), (c) genre-specific variation patterns (patterns for narratives, patterns for arguments and for aggressive verbal plays) and (d) variation for structuring verbal presentations (differentiation between foreground and background information, proposition and comment, etc.); and above all, there is (e) variation without analytically reconstructable functions.

In our study, we use the term "mixing" as a cover turn for all variation types from (a)-(e) in a group's communicative practices where in interactional episodes there is a constant alternation between elements of both languages, and where elements of both languages are closely intertwined.

3. Characterization of the migrant population and the three youth groups

Not until very recently, has German society come to consider Germany as an immigration country. The former "guest workers" from Mediterranean countries living in Germany since the late 1950s were not citizens with equal rights; their legal and social status was determined by the so-called "Ausländergesetz" with its many restrictions regarding residence permit as well as work permit. At the beginning, the guest workers' stay in Germany was envisioned to last for only a short period of time, but gradually it became longer and longer. The guest workers brought their families and their children, who grew up in Germany and visited German schools. Although migrants have been living in Germany for over forty years, politically, legally and socially they are still living under provisional conditions. In inner city

districts and in suburbs migrant ghettos have emerged with all the well-known social and educational problems. In ghetto schools there are classes with pupils from over fifteen nations and almost no German children. Preschool institutions and schools are still lacking in programs for the instruction of bilinguals, and teachers are still not trained in teaching German as a foreign language. As a result, most migrant children are not very successful in school, and many of them fail to get a school-leaving qualification.

For most of the migrant children, life in Germany is characterized by experiences of discrimination and marginalization from their early childhood onwards. The children's reactions to their underprivileged situation as migrants, and their ability to come to terms with discriminating experiences are fundamental in the process of forming a genuine socio-cultural identity. The processing of discriminating experiences forms the basis of the children's self-positioning in relation to the migrant population on the one hand and the German population on the other.

We selected three groups: One group, the "Powergirls", live in an inner city district of Mannheim, a typical district of migrants, a so called migrant "ghetto" with over 60% migrant inhabitants, and in contrast to that two student groups at the university of Mannheim, the "Unmündige" and the "European Turks". The groups' names are self-descriptions. We observed these groups in in-group situations and in contact with relevant outsiders in situations where the construction of social identity becomes specifically relevant for social membership and for gaining access to other social worlds.

All the groups' members are guest worker children, born and raised in Germany, most of them in Mannheim. The youngest group, the "Powergirls", is a group of about 15 girls who meet almost daily in one of the district's youth centers. They work together on their school homework there, play games, listen to music, or they dance. The girls are between 15 and 21 years old; most of them visit high schools or go to university. The girls grew up in the ghetto and visited the primary schools there with a high percentage of migrant children. The younger girls' social networks and their socio-cultural orientation are still limited to the social life of the district; the older ones tend towards networks outside the ghetto. The girls live in a tension between the Turkish migrant society with an orientation towards the old rural traditions of their parents' home villages, and the German society ("at home we live in Turkey, outside in Germany"). When leaving the ghetto, they experience the negative image of the Turkish migrant population and suffer abuses like "scheiß Ausländer" ('damn foreigners') or "dreckiger Türke" ('dirty Turk'). In long and intensive discussions about these kinds of discrimination a new sense of identity has emerged: The "Powergirls" see themselves as neither Turkish nor German, but as something new, as tough German-Turkish young women who fight against all forms of discrimination from members of the majority. The young women strive for a good education, and they consider their life in Germany as a chance to move upward socially and to break with traditional female roles.

The "Unmündige" (the name refers to the migrants' status: politically and socially treated as minors) are a multiethnic group dominated by Turkish members between 25 and 32 years old, most of them young university graduates. They are a political group fighting against a new institutionalized racism in Germany that hinders the political and social integration of migrants. Their main tools are verbal wit such as the ironic reversal of perspectives typical of majority and minority members and a sharp rhetoric which exposes discriminatory language in public discourse. The "Unmündige" see themselves as well educated migrants of Turkish origin striving for a self-determined life in Germany with equal rights.

The "European Turks" are a group of young Turkish university graduates between 26 and 32 years old. In contrast to the other two groups, they see themselves as "Turks", as well educated Turks living in international and European networks. The group's idea is to fight by means of an elaborated socio-cultural program and a self-presentation as sophisticated, competent bilingual and bicultural Turks in Europe against the negative image of the Turkish guest worker (their parents) as uneducated, unskilled migrants with only a poor command of the German language.

4. Communication profile of the "Powergirls"

The in-group communication of the "Powergirls" can be characterized by features of softness and intimacy on the one hand, and on the other hand by features of directness, aggressiveness and ruthlessness, characterized by a reduction of negative politeness strategies and a reduction of face saving strategies. In discussions and arguments there is a considerable amount of aggressiveness, with short antagonistic turns, high speech rate, screaming voices, and crude and coarse insults. In this context, crude sexual Turkish formulas are used for ritual insults.[4]

In the process of forming and constructing a genuine socio-cultural identity the girls have developed an elaborate set of social categories belonging to different social worlds of the surrounding populations. The girls distance themselves from the defining features of these categories, and they have developped their model of themselves in contrast to them. The relevance of specific social categories can be reconstructed from of the frequency and intensity with which they are made subject of discussions or of conflict narratives in communication. There are three groupings of relevant categories, all negatively valued:

- First, there are social categories belonging to migrants of the first generation; here we find categories such as "der asoziale Türke" ('asocial Turk'; he / she lives in a traditional fashion, rejects Germans and the German way of living, and

[4] Forms of ritual insults among Turkish young males were first described by Dundes et al. (1979), and then by Tertilt (1996), in his ethnography of a Turkish youth group in Frankfurt, Germany; as to ritual insults among black youngsters in the US, see Labov (1972).

speaks the typical "guest worker German", a pidginized variety of German); then there is "der türkische Bauer" ('Turkish peasant', who is loud, aggressive, uneducated, and speaks a rough east-Anatolian dialect); and there is "der möchtegern-Moderne" ('would-be-modern-Turk'; he / she comes from western Turkey, speaks Standard Turkish in an exaggerated way, despises eastern Turks, and considers him / herself "European").

- Second, there are social categories of young migrants of the second generation who have developed quite different social and cultural orientations, categories such as the "Assi" ('asocial'; he / she lives in close ghetto-networks, behaves aggressively, is a criminal and a junkie, prefers Turkish and "Stadtteilsprache", see p. 290 of this article); or a category like the "Vollidiot" ('total idiot'; young men who sympathize with the right wing "Grey Wolves", who are religious, uneducated, and stupid, and who prefer Turkish or mixing); and categories like the "die Angepassten" ('Turkish assimilated young persons', who accept the traditional male and female roles, obey their parents, marry a partner their parents select for them, and who prefer Turkish).
- Third, there are specific social categories of the German majority from which the girls dissociate themselves, categories as "der dumme Deutsche" ('stupid German'; he / she is prejudiced and hostile to foreigners, uneducated, and speaks Mannheim dialect); "arrogante Deutsche" ('arrogant Germans', who treat migrants as stupid, uneducated persons, who despise them and speak down to them, and who speak standard German in divergence to the migrants' ethnolects).

The girls have a wide linguistic repertoire, and they have developed specific variation practices in order to refer to relevant social categories. Their linguistic repertoire contains the following varieties:

- German-Turkish mixing: it is the default level in the in-group communication, and the means for expressing the group's genuine identity; it is their own code, their "we-code".
- The German variety learned at school, which corresponds to near-standard German with local influences; this variety is often used in contact with adults, teachers, instructors, and social workers. The elder girls are more fluent in near-standard German than the younger ones. For the elder girls German becomes more and more the "professional language".
- As for Turkish, the young women differentiate between the "Mannheim Turkish" and the "Turkish in Turkey". The Mannheim Turkish is a kind of basic Turkish vernacular with many German insertions (cultural borrowings, nonce borrowings) and many German formulas. The girls have no difficulties with the Mannheim Turkish, but with the Turkish in Turkey because there are many expressions and phrases, which they cannot understand.[5]

[5] For some characteristics of the group's Turkish, see Keim & Cindark (2002) and Cindark & Aslan (forthcoming).

- A simplified German variety used as a medium of communication between youngsters of different cultural and linguistic origins, the "district talk" ("Stadtteilsprache"); this is a simplified version of the colloquial German variety with special rules of speaking and with a sometimes pidginized morphosyntax, especially with the deletion of prepositions and articles: *ich geh doktor* ('I go doctor') or *wo kommst du* ('where do you come'). This variety is not part of the in-group communication; it is used as a medium of criticism for aggressive and uncooperative behaviour toward other ghetto-youngsters, and it is used to symbolize in an offensive way the girls' ghetto background when interacting with Germans from the outside.[6]
- Besides these varieties, the girls use forms of the Mannheim dialect and forms of "Gastarbeiterdeutsch" ('guest worker German') to caricature and ridicule specific social categories, and for critical-ironic functions. Thus, the girls use guest workers German for the caricature of the "asocial Turk". The Mannheim dialect is used to deride the typical "stupid German" and to criticize "arrogant German" teachers.[7]

4.1. Characteristics of the German-Turkish mixing

For the girls mixing is the most effective way of communicating in in-group situations. They call their mixing practices "Mixmax" or "Mischmasch" or "gemischt sprechen" (speaking in a mixed way). The girls' mixing practices differ in relation to age and social or professional orientations. Some girls—those who still attend ghetto schools—use in a habitualized way more Turkish material than others who already go to high schools outside the ghetto. That means, with the growing demands on German proficiency in high school or at university the share of German in mixing practices rises, too.

Mixing is fluently produced at a high speech rate and in a natural way of speaking without signs of searching for words or struggling with expressions. Constitutive for mixing are frequent inter- and intraclause switches, alternating after every fifth or sixth word on an average. The most characteristic features of mixing are:

(a) "Gestoßenes Sprechen" ('machine-like speaking'),[8] combining specific phonetic and prosodic features: shortening of long vowels and diphthongs, fortization of unvoiced plosives and fricatives in initial position; aspiration of unvoiced plosives; fast tempo, tense speech with heavy accents on every possible syllable, and the ten-

[6] For some details of the "Stadtteilsprache", see Kallmeyer & Keim (2002).

[7] The group's use of "guestworker German" and of the "Mannheim dialect" is analysed in Keim (2002a) and (2002b).

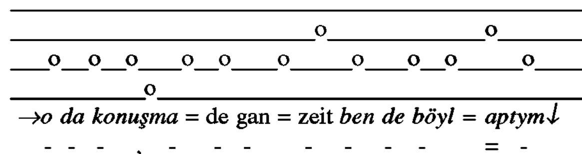
[8] The term "gestoßenes Sprechen" is a term from the outside perspective. I played some audio documents of the Powergirls to German students, and let them describe their impression. Thereby they used descriptive terms like "gestoßenes Sprechen" 'machine-like speaking' or *sprechen wie aus dem Maschinengewehr* 'speaking like a machine gun'.

dency to a "plane" intonation contour. These features in combination produce a very rhythmic, hissing speech quality, it sounds as if "words were being thrown out".

(b) Elements from both languages can be intertwined in a way (without hesitation markers or pauses) that gives the impression of an integrated segment:

(1) 01 ME: *o da konuşma=***de** gan=zeit *ben=d=böyl=aptym*
02 Ü *he did not speak* all the time *and I did like that*

The impression of uniformness is produced by the intonation contour overspanning the whole segment:



Furthermore, elements from both languages are grammatically closely intertwined. The grammatically correct version of the expression is: "o da konuşma[dı] [die] gan=zeit".

In the integrated version the

Turkish: "dı" = 3.pers. sg. past tense and
German: "die" = fem. article

are blended together and phonetically realized as [də]. The phone [də] functions as 3.pers. sg. past tense in the frame of the Turkish structure and as the feminine article in the frame of the German structure.

(c) Morphologically and syntactically integrated forms,[9] which belong neither to German nor to Turkish. These forms are already conventionalized verbal innovations; in them, a German infinite verb is combined with a Turkish finite *yapmak / etmek* ('do')- construction.

(2) 01 TE: *ben bizim okulda* **austeilen yapsaydım** * b vier eins und
02 Ü if I had distributed them in our school * b four one and

03 TE: zwei *gelirdi*
04 Ü two would have come

[9] Myers-Scotton (1999: 220) describes these forms as "CS with a composite ML".

Description of the structure:

austeilen	*yapsaydım*
infinitive of the German verb for 'distribute'	1.pers.sg.past conditional of Turk.verb *yapmak* 'if I had done'

(d) Some activity types or genres are characterized by specific variation practices. For example, mixing practices are constitutive of narratives. In narratives, there is a tendency to formulate the plot in Turkish, and explanations, commentaries, observations about motives, inside-perspectives, etc. are presented in German. Scenic presentations and dialogues are framed: quotation introductions are differentiated by code-alternation from the quotations themselves and from the preceding and / or following utterances. The following example is part of a narration; it presents a short dialogue between the narrator and her friend:

(3) 646 ME: mach bitte:↓← **söyledi** *Sandraya göster*↓
647 Ü hurry up *she said show it to Sandra*

649 ME: zeig=s Sandra↓ >zeig< * ja: oke: einmal **dedim**↓
650 Ü show it to Sandra show yes okey once *I said*

651 ME: *←tam a"çtım böyle*↑→ *
652 Ü I just opened it

Line 646 starts with a self-quotation of the narrator in German, addressed to her friend in the scene. The friend's answer is introduced by *söyledi* 'she said'; the introduction is combined with a switch to Turkish. The friend's quotation is presented in mixing, with the first part in Turkish *Sandraya göster*↓ 'show it to Sandra', and its reformulation in German *zeig=s Sandra*↓ *>zeig<*. The narrator's answer in German *ja: oke: einmal* 'yes okay once' follows a converging variation practice: If the second speaker (in our case: the narrator) agrees with the first speaker (in our case: the narrator's friend), he / she takes up the chosen language of the first speaker. In our case, the first speaker uses mixing with German in the last part, and the second speaker presents her agreement in German. The dialog between the narrator and her friend is framed with the closing formulation *dedim* 'I said'.

(e) Specific variation practices are used to outline two-part structures in narratives or in other verbal presentations. Here, the first part of a structure is formulated in Turkish, the second part in German: i.e. background information in Turkish, foreground information in German; statements in Turkish and commentaries in German; the description of conditions in Turkish and reactions to it or consequences in German, etc. In the following example—it is part of a narrative—some of the characteristics given under (d) and (e) can be demonstrated:

(4) 57 AY: **Zeynebi de gördüm↓** die arme die hat fast=en
58 Ü *I saw Zeynep too* the poor girl almost got

59 AY: herzinfarkt bekommen↓ LACHT **bahnda göryom böyle**
60 Ü a heart attack *I see her on the tramway*

61 NA: | ah ja? |
62 AY: **yapyyo↓** ** LACHT die hat | gedacht | mir is was passiert↓
63 Ü *she did like that* * she thought something had happened to me

In the first part of line 57 the narrator's action is presented in Turkish: *Zeynebi de gördüm* ('I saw Zeynep too'). Zeynep's reaction is presented in German: *die arme die hat fast=en herzinfarkt bekommen* ('the poor girl almost had a heart attack'). After that, the two actors' actions are described in Turkish: *bahnda göryüm böyle yapıyo* ('I see her on the tram, she did like that'). In the next utterance, there is a change of perspective from the outside of the action to the inside of one actor; and the narrator's friend's feelings are presented. This change in perspective is emphasized by code-alternation from Turkish to German.

(f) Oppositional turns in discussions and arguments are combined with code-alternation; the opposition in content is emphasized by a linguistic contrast. In the following example—a short part of an argument between two friends—there is code-alternation in every turn:

(5) 07 ME: **kardeşim↓ * sen onu yazyp versene bana↓**
08 Ü *hey man you write it and you give it to me*

09 ZE: isch ka˝nn des net isch bin im praktikum↓ *
10 Ü I *cannot do it I am in a job training*
11 ME: **niye↑**
12 Ü *why*

ME's urgent request in Turkish *kardeşim↓ * sen onu yazyp versene bana* ('hey man, you write it and you give it to me') is followed by a dispreferred second part *isch ka"nn des net* ('I can not do it') in German. The negative answer is without moderating markers, and a switch from Turkish to German stresses the opposition between the two speakers. The rejection formulated in German is followed by ME's turn in Turkish asking for reasons: *niye* ('why'). In her next turn, ZE presents reasons for rejecting ME's demands, thereby switching to German again: *isch bin im praktikum* ('I am in job training'). In this short interaction, the content opposition between the two speakers corresponds with their variation practices, and their turn-taking is connected with code-alternations.

The presented characteristics of the Powergirls' mixing practices indicate that, for the group members, mixing has the quality of an "own code"; it is their "we-code". The girls' preference for mixing, although they are quite competent in German, has

to do with their self-positioning in relation to relevant others: to several "social worlds" of the Turkish speaking migrant population on the one hand, and the German speaking majority on the other. None of these worlds uses mixing practices the way the Powergirls do. With these practices, the girls exclude monolingually oriented Turks as well as monolingual Germans from their interaction; and by their preference for this kind of mixing they express symbolically their genuine identity as neither German nor Turkish, but as something "new", as a special kind of German-Turkish young women: tough, aggressive, striving for good education and professional success, and at the same time with "feminine" characteristics like softness and prettiness.

5. Communicative profile of "Unmündige"

I shall now shortly summarize the research results on the "Unmündige" group.[10] The central activities of the in-group communication are discussions about political and legal issues of the migrant population in Germany, discussions about discrimination experiences in institutional contexts, and discussions about counter-strategies. For the group, relevant social categories are prejudiced Germans holding high positions within organizations, institutions or political parties. In contact situations with such persons the group has developed specific rhetorical and semantic procedures in order to provoke them and to uncover hidden prejudices against migrants. Preferred rhetorical means are irony and the reversal of perspectives.[11]

In accordance with the group's ideology, taking it as their aim to live in Germany, to become socially and professionally successful, and to fight against the discriminatory practices of German institutions, German is the dominant language in in-group communication, and all group members try hard to speak a high standard German. German is spoken even if there are only Turkish members present. German is used for most interactive functions, and there are only few cases where changes in the interaction modality (i.e. from earnest to playful interaction) coincide with a switch into Turkish or mixing. The group members' German is grammatically inconspicuous and sophisticated (except one group member who immigrated at the age of sixteen), and difficulties of expression or word searching processes do not trigger a code-switch.

Mixing practices are not essential in in-group communication. They sometimes occur in the frame of marginal activities. The marginal importance of mixing practices is not caused by any negative evaluations (i.e. as a marker of semi-bilingualism), but it is related to the dominance of German in in-group communication. Nevertheless, the group members of Turkish origin still use and are competent in Ger-

[10] For a detailed description of the communicative style of this group and their variation practices, see Cindark (forthcoming).

[11] For a description of the procedure of the reversal of perspectives, see Kallmeyer (2000) and Kallmeyer & Keim & Cindark & Aslan (forthcoming).

man-Turkish mixing practices. For them, these practices are an important cultural and social capital that symbolizes both their attachment to the migrant population and their own migrant background as part of their socio-cultural identity.

Mixing practices are typically used in playful interaction, in greeting- and leave-taking rituals, and in ironic and / or critical formulaic commentaries. They are used in these contexts even if the recipient, being of Italian origin, is not able to understand them. This is demonstrated in the following example:

(6)
01 MA: dann gehen wir irgendwas essen↑ ** ab zehn uhr↑ im marche↓
02 Ü and then let's go to eat something at 10 o'clock at marche's

02 HÜ: >oha↓< +> **hayret- bi texti yazalym ya**↓<
03 Ü unbelievable, first of all let's write that text okay
04 MA: wa"s- heißt des?
05 Ü what does that mean

06 HÜ: schreiben wir erstmal den te"xt↓
07 Ü let's write that text first
08 MA: haja geh mal dran↓ **
09 Ü okay go ahead

In line 01 MA, a group member of Italian origin, proposes to get something to eat at a nearby restaurant. HÜ, a member of Turkish origin, rejects that suggestion, giving reasons for it: The group has still to work (write a text) and cannot yet leave for dinner. Speaking in a softer voice, HÜ switches into Turkish (with the German insert *text* grammatically integrated in the Turkish structure) using a Turkish formula *hayret bi* 'unbelievable' to express his playful critique of MA's lack of interest in the group's work. With the switch into Turkish and the softer voice, the utterance is marked as "off-record"; MA is not supposed to understand it. But he hears the utterance, wants to understand it and asks for a translation. HÜ readily presents the translation: *schreiben wir erstmal den text* 'let's write that text first', leaving out the modal adverb "unbelievable" and thereby toning down his critique. MA takes up the request, but gives the initiative back to HÜ: He asks him to start composing the text.

Turkish is not used in in-group communication. The avoidance of Turkish has to do with the group members' lack of interest in Turkish (they have dissociated themselves ideologically from their parents' country), and it has to do with some members' lack of active competence in Turkish. If they are addressed in Turkish, they respond by speaking German or by mixing.

6. Communication profile of the "European Turks"[12]

In contrast to the "Unmündige" the "European Turks" are socially and culturally oriented towards the educated, academic upper class in Turkey. Although most group members are guest worker children who grew up in Germany and went to school and university, the group's linguistic and stylistic orientation is influenced by the social style of communication of the educated upper class in Turkey. In in-group communication Turkish is the dominant language; the group members try hard to speak a high standard of Turkish although some of them lack the competence to do so. Their striving for an elaborated Turkish style of communication is signaled by specific politeness formulas, and especially by the use of English and French loan words, which symbolize good education and progressive thinking. They cover up their guest worker background by giving euphemistic biographic accounts and by withholding precise information. The group's aim is to speak both languages well and to keep them apart; and they try hard to avoid mixing practices that they regard as stigmatized forms signaling a ghetto background. Nevertheless, in informal contexts and without the control of others, some of the group members switch very naturally into mixing practices.

Group members who support the group's linguistic ideology try hard to speak Turkish only, and they correct German or mixing utterances of other speakers. Even when referring to German contexts they work hard not to switch into German and not to use cultural borrowings. In case they cannot avoid a German technical term, they mark it as a quotation or they try to paraphrase it.

For the European Turks the Turkish ghetto-kids are the most relevant social categories; they are viewed very negatively. The group members see them as uneducated, aggressive, loud and conspicuous youngsters who speak a rough and dialectal Turkish. They blame them for the negative image that young migrants have in German society. In contrast to the ghetto-kids, the group members see themselves as well educated young academics who are well-behaved and polite.

7. Summary

The three groups differ with regard to their preferences to rules of speaking (politeness vs. aggressiveness or offensiveness), their construction of relevant social categories, their evaluation of German, Turkish or mixing practices and their preference for one of these in in-group communication. According to the dominance of Turkish in the "European Turks" in-group communication and according to the dominance of German in the "Unmündige" in-group communication, neither group has developed a kind of mixing practices (i.e. genre specific variation practices, etc.) similar to those of the Powergirls. Regarding the competence in spoken Turkish, there are great differences between the three groups. While some members of the

[12] For a detailed description of the European Turks, see Aslan (forthcoming).

"Unmündige" have no interest in Turkish and avoid speaking it, the "Powergirls" speak a kind of basic Turkish vernacular they learned at home fluently and very naturally, and some of the "European Turks" come close to standard Turkish as spoken in western Turkey. Nevertheless, the groups' Turkish shows partial loss of grammatical norms.[13]

In general, the three groups of young migrants of the 2nd / 3rd generation that we studied lived under the similar social and political conditions in Germany. Their parents came from rural parts of Turkey to Germany and worked as unskilled guest-workers. Most of the members in the three groups grew up in typical migrant neighborhoods, either in small towns or in suburbs, respectively in inner city migrant ghettos. In spite of these congruences, the three groups developed quite different social and cultural orientations and different styles of communication. From our perspective the construction of different social styles of communication is directly related to the groups' different socio-cultural orientations they developed in reaction to migration experiences, especially in reaction to discrimination and marginalization.

Abbreviations and symbols

*, ** short pause, longer pause
↑, ↓, – rising, falling, and middle intonation
←, → slower, faster tempo
<, > louder, softer voice
″ strong accent
: strong lenghthening
= slurring manner of articulation, linking different words
hab ich overlap passages
extension of comments
Ü translation

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[13] For details, see Cindark & Aslan (forthcoming).

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