

## **Chapter 6**

# **Socio-cultural identity, communicative style, and their change over time: A case study of a group of German–Turkish girls in Mannheim/Germany**

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### **1. Aim of the study**

In this paper, I present some aspects of a youth group's construction of a communicative style and show how the group's stylistic repertoire changes over the course of their growing into adulthood. My paper is based on an ethnographic case study of a group of Turkish girls, the 'Powergirls', who grew up in a typical Turkish migrant neighborhood in the inner city of Mannheim, Germany.<sup>1</sup> The aim of the case study was, on the basis of biographical interviews with group members and long-term observation of group interactions, to reconstruct the formation of an ethnically defined 'ghetto'-clique and its style of communication and to describe the group's development into educated, modern, German–Turkish young women. In this process, a change in the group's stylistic repertoire could be observed.

I will analyze the group's socio-cultural identity in terms of its communicative style. From my perspective, identity is not to be regarded as an 'essential' phenomenon representing a predictive or explanatory variable to human behaviour as it is, for example, in social identity theory (e.g. Tajfel 1978). Following the conversation analyst's perspective as it is outlined in Antaki and Widdicombe (1998a and b), I argue that identity is something that is produced in interaction. The analysis of identity is concerned with its occasioned relevance 'here' and 'now' and with its consequences for the interaction and the local purposes of interlocutors. From this perspective, the construction of socio-cultural identity is part of the routine of everyday life and everyday interaction, where identities can be produced in order to affiliate with or to disaffiliate from relevant others and relevant social groups (e.g. Widdicombe and Wooffitt 1995).

In the following analysis, style is regarded as a central means of expression of the 'Powergirls' socio-cultural identity. From this perspective, the

construction of a genuine peer group style is motivated by key experiences of social life, and the choice of stylistic features is closely related to the group's self-conception and their positioning in relation to relevant others. Stylistic transformations that can be observed in the process of the girls' growing into adulthood are conceptualized as indices to their changing self-conception at different phases of their lives.

After a short outline of the present migration situation in Germany and a short characterization of the socio-cultural context in which the peer-group formation took place (2), I will present the concept of style as it is applied in this paper and focus on those stylistic aspects which are constitutive for style construction (3). In the following sections (4 and 5), some of the features that are constitutive of the Powergirls' peer group style are presented in more detail. The final sections focus on the gradual stylistic changes in the course of the girls' growing into adulthood and the widening of their stylistic repertoire, first in out-group (6) and then in in-group communication (7).

## **2. The 'Powergirls' migration context**

Migration from Mediterranean countries to Germany began after the erection of the Iron Curtain and of the Berlin Wall. From the late 1960s onwards, German industry needed workers for skilled and unskilled jobs. 'Guest workers' were recruited, especially from Italy, Spain, former Yugoslavia, and Turkey. Since the guest workers' residence in Germany was planned for only a short period of time, a temporary residence permit as well as a temporary work permit restricted their legal and social status. But gradually, the guest workers' stay became longer and longer; the workers brought their wives and children, who grew up in Germany and went to German schools. Many migrant families have been living in Germany for over 30 years, and most of their children view Germany as their home country. In the course of time, migrant 'ghettos' emerged and stabilized in many inner city districts. Preschool institutions and schools were and still are badly equipped for the instruction of children from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Many teachers saw and still see migrant children as double semi-linguals with serious deficits. A high percentage of migrant children are not successful in school and have few opportunities on the job market.

Out of frustration with their children's educational and professional failure and out of fear that they would become more and more estranged from 'their culture', many Turkish parents tried to educate their children with increasing rigidity along their own traditional norms and values. One of the central problems for young migrants has been coming to terms with their parents' traditional demands and, at the same time, experiencing failure in and exclusion from more advanced educational and professional worlds in Germany. The children's ability to cope with often contrasting traditions and demands from different social worlds is fundamental in the process of forming their own socio-cultural identity.

The ethnographic research on which this paper is based was carried out in an inner city district of Mannheim, an industrial town of 320,000 inhabitants in southwestern Germany. Over 21% of Mannheim's population are migrants,<sup>2</sup> most of them of Turkish origin. The district under study, traditionally a working class district, has a migrant population of over 60%; it is called a 'migrant ghetto' by inhabitants of the district as well as by outsiders. The Turkish population has a highly organized infrastructure and lives in close networks where Turkish or 'migrant Turkish' (see below) is the dominant language.<sup>3</sup> In everyday life, standard German is not necessary, and most children come into contact with it, for the first time, in preschool with their German teachers. Since up to 100% of the preschool children have a migration background, they soon begin to develop bilingual practices, code-switching and code-mixing, as well as morphologically and lexically reduced German learner varieties mixed with elements from other languages. When they start school, their competence in standard German – a precondition in the monolingually oriented German school – is not very high. Up till now, the district's primary schools have not succeeded to build upon the children's bilingual abilities and to foster their proficiency in standard German. As a consequence, most migrant children are not very successful in school.

In the German school system, children have options between three school types at the end of primary school (at the age of ten): children with the best marks go to the *Gymnasium*; others go to the *Realschule*, a more practically-oriented school type, and children with low marks go to the *Hauptschule*, the lowest secondary school type with a very negative image. Because of their low school marks, most migrant children have only one choice, the *Hauptschule*. So, in the course of time, the *Hauptschule* of the district has become a school for migrant children, where 90% of the pupils have a migration background. Teachers adjusted to this situation by reduc-

ing their educational standards with the consequence that it has become even more difficult for migrant children to succeed in schools outside the migrant district.

One of the findings of our ethnographic research is that migrant children develop different socio-cultural orientations and communication practices depending on their school careers.<sup>4</sup> Going to the *Hauptschule* for a ten-year-old child implies (since the *Hauptschule* is situated in the migrant district) that he/she will grow up in an environment and in peer groups where German–Turkish mixing or highly marked ethnolectal German varieties are the normal ‘codes of interaction’.<sup>5</sup> When the adolescents complete the *Hauptschule* at the age of 15 with low marks or without a qualification,<sup>6</sup> as 25–30% of the students do, they have almost no opportunity to obtain a professional qualification.<sup>7</sup> These youths typically develop an anti-educational and non-professional orientation. They align with other migrant peer groups, where members are proud to be a school failure, engage in sports or music, and wish to become a good football player, boxer, hip hopper, or break dancer. They typically marry partners from their parents’ home villages and live with them in the migrant district.

Children of the district who, at the age of ten, have the chance to go to the *Gymnasium* or the *Realschule* (10–20% of an age-group) develop quite different social orientations. Since both types of schools are situated outside the district, the children have to enter German educational worlds where migrants are a small minority. For the first time in their lives, they experience the negative image of the Turkish migrants in terms of abuse such as *scheiß ausländler* (‘fucking foreigner’) and *dreckiger* (‘dirty’) or *dummer Türke* (‘stupid Turk’).<sup>8</sup> In these schools, they have to cope with new educational, linguistic, and social standards for which they usually are not prepared. A typical reaction to these experiences is the organization of an ethnically defined peer group along with the dissociation from or the upgrading of ethnic features.

There is a third educational career: with a good *Hauptschule*-diploma, adolescents have the option to attend various *Fachschulen* and obtain a qualification that enables them to go to *Fachoberschule* and later on perhaps even to a university. German teachers call this career *der langsame Weg* (‘the slow path’). They recommend it to those migrant children who, from their perspective, have an ‘ability to learn’ but do not yet have the necessary competence in German. Pupils with this school career live in the migrant district until the age of 15. After that, they, too, have to enter

school worlds outside the migrant district, where they encounter similar experiences as the other children.

The 'Powergirls' belong to the small portion of district children who were quite successful at school. Some of the girls went to the *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* at the age of 10; others took 'the slow path'. So, in the course of their educational career, all of the girls had to leave the migrant district, some very early, the others later on at the age of 15.

The formation of an ethnic group started not long after some of the girls attended the *Gymnasium*. Here, they experienced the *Schock des Lebens* ('shock of their lives') because they were not up to the new linguistic, educational, and social demands. Their parents could not help them, and, since they were too ashamed or too proud to ask for assistance from their German peers or teachers, they felt helpless, alone, and excluded. Trying to understand their situation, they soon arrived at an ethnic interpretation and considered their 'Turkish-ness' to be the reason for failing in school and for being excluded by their German peers. At the age of 12 or 13, they joined with other Turkish girls, formed an ethnic group, and called themselves 'Turkish Powergirls'. On the one hand, they struggled against the German school world, where they felt marginalized and excluded, and, on the other hand, they revolted against their parents' educational principles, especially against the traditional Turkish female role, since they had been exposed to other female models in their new surroundings. Gradually, the group developed into a wild, aggressive ethnic clique that even became criminal for a period.

As the girls grew older, they started to visit one of the district's youth centers where, at least, they found help with their school problems and new models for their further social, educational, and professional development. That was the time when I first met the 'Powergirls'. I had the opportunity to observe them over a longer period of time and to document their gradual development.<sup>9</sup>

The main topics in the group's discussions were the girls' relationships to their families and the Turkish community and their experiences in schools outside the migrant district. In the course of these discussions, a new social identity emerged (see Keim 2002). The 'Powergirls', who up till then had defined themselves as a rebellious 'Turkish' group, gradually came to see themselves as something 'new', as 'modern, German-Turkish' young women who wanted to be socially and professionally successful and who were determined to fight against restrictions put on them by both the migrant community and German society.

### 3. Social style and social identity: A dynamic relationship

Our concept of social style is influenced by cultural (Clarke 1979; Willis 1981), ethnographic (Heath 1983), and sociological (Strauss 1984) concepts in which style is related to a group's culture and its social identity.<sup>10</sup> In this tradition, cultural style is the product of the adjustment of human communities to their ecological, social, and economic conditions. Striving for social integration as well as for social differentiation is a part of these conditions. Cultural or social styles correspond to schematic knowledge of social behavior, and their relevant traits reflect distinctive features of the respective social and cultural paradigm. From this perspective, a socio-cultural style is defined as the specific solution for existential needs and aspirations. The specifics of a socio-cultural style become obvious through a comparison across different social worlds. In the following section, I want to focus on some aspects of style formation that are relevant to the 'Power-girls' stylistic development.

- (a) Style is a complex and holistic means of expression. It is signaled by co-occurring features on the prosodic, lexical, syntactic, and lexico-semantic level as well as by the realization of specific activity types or specific genres and conversational structures. Elements from all these levels are combined along the same line, in a homologous way, and form a unique 'gestalt'. In this 'gestalt' formation, further dimensions of expression are included such as outward appearance (clothing, make-up, piercings), body movement, preference for specific music or sport trends, etc.<sup>11</sup>
- (b) In sociological and ethnographic research, further aspects of style formation are discussed. Style is seen as an 'aesthetic performance' (Soeffner 1986), a unification of features in order to give a holistic self-presentation, high-lighting those features which contrast to other socio-stylistic paradigms. The issue of contrast is central in Irvine's concept of style (2001) as "part of a *system of distinction* in which a style contrasts with other possible styles and the social meaning signified by the style contrasts to other social meanings" (22). From this perspective, style is a relational concept: it exists only for participants of a group or milieu who interpret it in relation to another group or milieu (see Hinnenkamp and Selting 1989; Auer 1989).

- (c) Social styles differ from one another. They are ascribed to social groups or milieus and have social meaning. Solidarity, affiliation, or identification with a social group or milieu is symbolized by using its style. In relation to other social groups or milieus, style functions as a means for differentiation and separation, as described especially in research on youth languages or youth cultures: cf. concepts such as ‘Kontrasprache’ (Bausinger 1972), ‘anti-language’ (Halliday 1976), ‘subculture’ (Hebdige 1979; Widdicombe and Wooffitt 1995), or ‘counter-culture’ (Clarke et al. 1979; Willis 1982). Aspects of differentiation are also central in studies on ethnicity (see Barth 1969; Schwitalla and Streek 1989; Czyzewski et al. 1995) and on social categorization (see Sacks 1979; Hausendorf 2002).
- (d) Style is interactionally produced. Speakers as well as recipients participate in the formation of a style, its maintenance and its change. Styles are not determined: they are performed as socially and interactively meaningful productions and can be adjusted to situational and interactional requirements. By abrupt style switchings or gradual style shiftings, locally different contexts or footings (Goffman 1974) can be accomplished.

These aspects are essential for the description of the ‘Powergirls’ style whose formation can be related to two processes of differentiation: the girls’ emancipation from the traditional Turkish female role and their opposition to the German school world. In the course of these differentiation processes, the ‘Powergirls’ created a style that contrasted on all stylistic dimensions with the ‘traditional young Turkish woman’ as well as with the teachers’ expectations at the *Gymnasium*.<sup>12</sup> Both contrasts made the girls fall back on features taken from the communicative behavior of Turkish male groups of the district, characterized by aggressiveness and coarse language.

The teachers at the *Gymnasium* rejected the ‘Powergirl’ style rigorously because it contrasted sharply with the schools’ ideology of cultivated behavior. Two girls were even expelled from school because of their rudeness. These experiences and the insight that a higher school qualification was the only way to become professionally successful and financially independent of their families<sup>13</sup> effected a gradual change of social orientations and a gradual transformation of style. Stylistic elements, which so far had been evaluated by the peer-group as ‘not belonging to us’, were tried out,

and gradually accepted. Along with this constant reconstruction of the stylistic repertoire, the following questions arise:

- How much stylistic continuity is possible since processes of repertoire reconstruction are not necessarily harmonious, and conflicting stylistic means may collide;
- are there phases in the stylistic development where different styles coexist;
- or is a unique style constructed with various stylistic facets?

These questions will be discussed in the course of the following outline of the ‘Powergirls’ development from a ‘ghetto’ clique to young university students. In the following sections, I want to focus on two sets of stylistic features: a) the use of different varieties, Turkish and German, and b) the choice of specific communicative practices such as rough and coarse provocations and insults as the stylistic means for the symbolization of being a ‘Powergirl’. The first set of features (4) will be outlined very roughly,<sup>14</sup> but the second will be presented in more detail (5).

#### **4. The use of different varieties**

I start with a rough outline of the group’s linguistic development regarding the use and evaluation of the three varieties: ‘Mannheim Turkish’, German–Turkish mixing, and monolingual German. When I first met the ‘Powergirls’, they were still closely linked to the social life of the migrant community; some had just finished the *Hauptschule* and attended a *Realschule* or *Fachschule* outside the district. For those girls, ‘Mannheim Turkish’ and especially German–Turkish mixing were the essential means of in-group communication. Monolingual German was not important for them, and some girls had no routine of using it over longer interactional stretches. They told me mixing was the most comfortable code and, as I observed, the most important one in in-group communication.

‘Mannheim Turkish’ is the variety of Turkish spoken by second and third generation migrants, especially with their elders. The name is derived from a comparison between the Turkish spoken in the home villages of the parents and the varieties spoken in Mannheim. ‘Mannheim Turkish’ has some of the typical characteristics of the Turkish varieties in Germany such as deletion of the question-particle, use of personal pronouns in unfocused

positions, avoidance of embedded gerund-constructions, etc.<sup>15</sup> Some of these characteristics are caused by influences from German; others point to a loosening of grammatical norms or could be seen as the result of a dialect levelling. But most features of 'Mannheim Turkish' correspond to the Turkish dialects of the regions the families come from.<sup>16</sup>

In the case of the 'Powergirls', mixing was preferred in in-group communication, especially in everyday interactions such as narrations and arguments. In mixing, the girls use their bilingual competence for discursive and socio-symbolic functions.<sup>17</sup> Until now, we could not find another migrant youth group that had developed such highly elaborate mixing practices; therefore, we assume that mixing as well as its discursive functions are part of the 'Powergirls' peer-group style.

Those 'Powergirls' who had to leave the migrant district early in the course of their educational career had, when I met them, already acquired a high competence in monolingual German. But in in-group communication, mixing was their preferred code of interaction. The mixing of these girls differed slightly from that of the others in the higher proportion of German structures and elements. In some interactions (for example, discussions about their school affairs), German was their dominant language. This shows clearly that in the course of their educational career outside the migrant district, the girls' linguistic competences and preferences had changed: in specific constellations together with specific topics, the relevance of mixing had decreased, and the relevance of German had increased.

Two years later, when all girls attended schools outside the migrant district, they all had acquired a high competence in monolingual German. For the oldest girls, who had just started to attend a university, German had become the central means of expression in all professional domains. But in in-group communication, all girls still preferred mixing. At this time, it had become a means for symbolizing their affiliation with the category of the 'German-Turk' and their dissociation from the Turkish-speaking world as well as from the German-speaking majority. When I asked them about their ideal life-partner, they spontaneously answered that they would only marry a German-Turk, a man who could mix the languages. Thus, the formation of German-Turkish mixing as well as the use of monolingual German is closely related to the speakers' processing of social experiences and to their construction of a genuine socio-cultural identity.

## 5. Coarse language – a stylistic marker of the ‘Powergirls’

When I first met the ‘Powergirls’ (they were 15–19 years old), coarse language was a constitutive characteristic of their communicative style. Its use is closely related to their emancipation from the category of the ‘young traditional woman’. The defining features of this category can be characterized as the following: the young woman restricts her life to the house and the family, submits to the norms and values of the family, behaves in an unassuming way, and follows the orders of her elders. Chastity and modesty are highly evaluated virtues that are symbolized by clothing as well as behavior. A life outside the house and contact with boys is strictly forbidden. For a girl or young woman, it is obligatory to wait on other family members, to stay in the background in the presence of her elders, and to keep quiet in the presence of older men. To address older people in an outspoken manner or to contradict them would be offensive, at least in public.

Many Turkish migrant families try to educate their girls according to this model in order to shield them from modern, western influences, as did the ‘Powergirls’ parents. But the girls revolted against this model and strictly rejected it. One of the girls describes its features as follows:

(1)<sup>18</sup>

- 01 AR: *die sind so furschbar unterwürfig \* bedienen die älteren \**  
 ‘they are so terribly obsequious they wait on the older ones’
- 02 AR: *servieren tee↓ \* und gehn wieder still in die ecke↓*  
 serve them tea and then they go quietly into their corner
- 02 AR: *des find=isch einfach schre“cklich↓*  
 I think that is really terrible’

And another girl describes her experiences with a neighbor, whom she sees as a candidate for the category:

(2)

- 01 DI: *weißt du jedesmal wenn ich bei denen war, \*\* hat sie immer*  
 ‘you know, every time I was in their house she acted always
- 02 DI: *schön brav äh die dienerin gespielt, \* hat immer tee gebracht*  
 like a servant, very obediently she brought tea
- 03 DI: *und gebäck gebracht und und die leute bedient, und ähm m/*  
 and cookies all the time and she waited on people and she
- 04 DI: *saß immer brav zu hause, \* ähm hat immer des getan*  
 always stayed at home, like a good girl, and she always

05 DI: *was die eltern gesagt haben*  
 did what her parents told her'

The 'Powergirls' developed an 'anti-traditional' self-conception: they disobeyed their parents' orders, preferred stylish clothes, make-up and piercings, went out with boys, danced in discos, and experimented with drugs. They enjoyed undisciplined, rude, and coarse ways of speaking and behaved very generally in a wild and aggressive way. From the perspective of their Turkish elders, such behavior was unusual for young women but rather typical for young men living in 'street gangs'. Undisciplined behavior was expressed, for example, by ignoring turn-taking rules, interrupting each other, and shouting each other down (see below, examples 8 and 9). For the expression of coarseness, the girls drew on rough ways of speaking that they had observed in Turkish male groups who practiced verbal duellings and ritual insults.

### 5.1. *Coarseness in verbal duellings*

In the district under study, games such as tavla and billards are part of everyday life for Turkish men. Such games are played in Turkish coffee houses, exclusively visited by men. In these games, playful insults with drastic expressions, swear formulas, coarse sexual formulas, and verbal duellings are constitutive elements.<sup>19</sup> The aim of these verbal activities is to distract the adversary with advice or insults, to make him feel insecure, and to provoke him. The provocative turn follows the action of the game.

Traditional Turkish women do not play such games, at least not in public. But for the 'Powergirls', tavla and billards were favorite games and part of their leisure-time activities. In order to demonstrate the kind of coarseness the girls enjoyed along with these games, I will give a short example taken from a weekend excursion I had the chance to document at the beginning of my observation.

Hatice and Teslime, 16 and 17 years old, are playing billards. Before the following transcript starts, Hatice has commented on her successful moves with statements in German such as *das war gut* ('that was good') or *ich hab deinen ball getroffen* ('I hit your ball'). Teslime reacts neither to Hatice's moves nor to her remarks. Her silence causes Hatice to provoke her: she poses provocatively in front of the billiard table, laughs as if she is confident of victory, switches into Turkish, and starts speaking in a sweet, seductive voice (Turkish segments are in bold type):

(3)

- 01 HA: **seksi oyun yapalım**↓ \*1,5\* PLAYS, HITS  
'let's play in a sexy way'  
K SWEET VOICE
- 02 TE: →>**oruspu**<<←  
'whore'
- 03 HA: PLAYS, DOES NOT HIT >**ağzını \* sikiyim**<  
'I fuck your mouth'  
K: SHARP VOICE
- 04 TE: PLAYS, DOES NOT HIT →**allah belanı vermesi:n**↓<←  
'Allah shall not curse me'
- 05 HA: LAUGHS **niye be**↑ \* **ha: \* ben an/ anladım niye versin**↓  
'why oh, I have got it why He should curse you'
- 06 HA: PLAYS, DOES NOT HIT →>**siktir**<<←  
'fuck you'
- 07 TE: PLAYS, DOES NOT HIT **ağzına sikiyim**  
'I fuck into your mouth'
- 08 TE: PLAYS AGAIN, HITS
- 09 HA: →**des is do=normalerweise ein faul gell**↑ \*  
'this is a foul normally you know'  
K ANGRILY
- 10 HA: **dass du meinen stein zuerscd triffschd**←  
'that you hit my ball first'

Transitions into playful interaction have to be signalled by contextualisation cues and practices<sup>20</sup> and have to be ratified by the co-participants. They imply a change of frame<sup>21</sup> whose beginning and ending also have to be contextualized. Hatice frames her playful initiative explicitly with *seksi oyun yapalım*↓ ('let's play in a sexy way', 01), hits the ball, and succeeds in provoking her partner. Teslime reacts with a drastic term of abuse *oruspu* ('whore', 02). The following interaction shows that this term functions as a contextualization cue for a playful competition: every strike is commented by an abusive formula. The timing of the commentaries is directly related to the moves of the game, and the abuses become increasingly drastic.

Hatice does not comment on the abusive term *oruspu*; she plays the ball. Since she does not hit the target, she comments on her failure with the insult >*ağzını \* sikiyim*< ('I fuck your mouth', 03). With this, she ratifies the playful competition in Turkish and continues it by topping the previous

move.<sup>22</sup> Teslime plays the next ball. She also does not hit and uses a religious formula as a kind of self-reproach (*allah belamı vermesi:n* ‘Allah shall not curse me’, 04).<sup>23</sup> Since the formula does not belong to the standard repertoire of formulaic abuses, Hatice does not understand its meaning at first and asks *niye be* (‘why’, 05). But as she begins to understand, she confirms Teslime’s bad play by using the positive version of the formula: *ha: \* ben an/ anladım niye versin* (‘oh, I have got it why He should curse you’, 05). She then continues with the game. She plays the ball, and because she does not hit again, she comments on her failure with the abuse formula *siktir* (06), a shortened version of *siktittir git* (‘let yourself be fucked’). With this formula, she resumes the verbal duelling that was interrupted by the religious formula. When Teslime, too, does not hit the target, she uses a further version of the abusive formula that Hatice had used in line 03, which has a slightly more drastic quality: *ağzına sikiyim* (‘I fuck into your mouth’, 07).<sup>24</sup>

When Teslime hits the target with the next move (08), Hatice ends the playful competition:  $\rightarrow$ *des is do=normalerweise ein faul gell*  $\hat{=}$  *dass du mein stein zuershd trifftshd*  $\leftarrow$  (‘that normally is a foul, you know, that you hit my ball first’, 09/10). She reproaches Teslime for foul play and changes the frame of interaction from ritual insults to an earnest reproach. The end of the playful interaction and the beginning of the new interaction modality are signalled on various linguistic levels: faster tempo, louder and angry voice, code-switching into German, and the meta-linguistic comment on the adversary’s move. The speaker opens another frame and speaks like a young German from Mannheim – using some colloquial elements<sup>25</sup> – who reproaches her friend for unfairness in a game.

## 5.2. Coarse language in calls to order

Calls to order using coarse language were used for playful criticism as well as for the expression of irritation and anger. It includes formulas such as *halts Maul langer* (‘shut up, man’), *verpiss dich* (‘piss off’), and *siktir lan*<sup>26</sup> (‘fuck you, man’), or terms of abuse such as *orospu* (‘whore’) and *orospu çocuğu* (‘child of a whore’). But coarse language in calls to order is not treated as an insult: recipients accept or ignore them, and they often top them as in the following example:



*oruspu çocuğul\** <*hau ab↓*> ('fuck you, child of a whore, beat it'), she turns away and leaves the room.

The comment *rezil olduk* reveals a rule for vulgar expressions: they are specific to in-group communication, and the girls try to avoid them in the presence of outsiders on whose good opinion they depend because they know that they disapprove of them.<sup>28</sup> But the speaker's use of vulgar expressions even in the course of lamenting her coarse language reveals how stabilized and routinized these ways of speaking are in in-group communication. Coarse language together with the male address forms *mann*, *lan*, and *langer* are closely related to the group's self-conception, contrasting maximally with the social category of the 'traditional young Turkish woman'.

As a consequence of the intensive revolt against the category of the 'traditional young Turkish woman', the girls' rough and rude behavior was gradually used in other contexts, too. As long as they attended the district schools, they got on quite well. But in schools outside the district, especially the *Gymnasium*, the teachers did not tolerate their behavior. And here, they got into serious trouble. They interpreted the teachers' criticism and rejection of their behavior in an ethnic frame: they felt negatively evaluated *because* they were Turks and *because* of the German teachers' prejudices against Turks, and they reacted accordingly with an up-grading of their ethnicity. They rejected the teachers as *ausländerfeindliche Deutsche* ('Germans hostile to foreigners') and emphasized their Turkishness by enforcing their aggressive and coarse behavior. They enjoyed shocking everyone with the consequence of marginalizing themselves and being marginalized by their German schoolmates and teachers. Retrospectively, they characterize their behavior in this phase of their lives as *unverschämt, frech und einfach asozial* ('insolent, rude, and truly anti-social'). For some of the girls, this attitude grew into a hostile relationship towards the teachers with very serious consequences. One of the girls who was no longer accepted as a student and had to leave school explains this in the following way:

(6)

01 HI: *des haben die lehrer zu mir gesagt*  
'the (German)teachers told me

02 HI: *dass isch ähm- \* dass halt der ton, die musik macht*  
that I ehm \* that I need to change my tune

03 HI: *dass isch misch halt falsch ausdrücken würde*  
and that I express myself in a wrong way

- 04 HI: *dass die misch missverstehn<sub>1</sub> (...)*  
that they misunderstand me
- 05 HI: *isch weiß was die meinen halt dass isch- \*\**  
and I know what they mean that I
- 06 HI: *dass isch halt zu grob bin<sub>1</sub>*  
that I am too rude'

The speaker portrays the teacher-pupil conflict as based on differences of social style, and her failure in school is presented as a consequence of her stylistic shortcomings. On the basis of such experiences, the girls came to understand that the teachers, whom they treated as their enemies, were 'gate-keepers' to their future professional careers. Consequently, they became more and more sensitive to situational demands on their verbal and nonverbal behavior: they learned to distinguish between situations where it was possible to use rude ways of speaking from situations where they were better avoided, and they learned to come to terms with the social conventions and values of the social worlds in which they wanted to succeed. They learned to control their behavior and to adjust it to new contextual conditions. Along with a change in their self-conception from the 'Turkish Powergirl' to a socially and professionally successful 'German-Turkish young woman', they gradually oriented towards communicative practices associated with this new category. In this process, more formal and elaborate forms of communication were acquired, including 'polite talk' with conventional politeness formulas.

## 6. Politeness in out-group communication

The youth centre that the 'Powergirls' began to visit regularly enforced this process. Here, they learned new communicative styles, especially in interaction with their favorite social worker, Naran, a young, modern German-Turkish academic. Since she grew up and finished her university career in Germany, she was well acquainted with life in the Turkish migrant community as well as with the social and educational demands in German institutions. The young women respected Naran as their *abla* ('older sister'), and they followed her advice. Even though she tolerated the girls' rude ways of speaking, she would never tolerate rudeness addressed to herself. If the girls disregarded rules of politeness towards her, they had to apologize using the relevant formulas, or they had to offer other compensatory actions.

In some of these interactions, differences between the girls' and the social worker's communicative styles come into focus. These show that even though the girls knew how to be 'polite' they still dissociated themselves from that kind of behavior, signalling that it belonged to others and not (yet) to their peer group. This can be demonstrated by the following example.

On a weekend trip (in the second year of my observation), when the social worker tried to explain some organizational details, she could not get the girls' attention and did not succeed in getting the floor. The girls interrupted her, spoke all at once, or tried to shout each other down. When, at last, Naran got the floor, she reproached the girls for their undisciplined behavior, returned to the official agenda, and continued with the organisational information. With this, the transcript starts:

(7)

- 01 NA: für den fernsehraum ←krieg ich schlü"ssel↓→ \* →das heisst  
'I get the keys for the television room that means
- 02 NA: we=ma← a"bends noch was unternehm'n↑ \* wir ham selbst die  
if we do something in the evening we have the opportunity
- 03 NA: möglichkeit a"bzuschließen↓ \*\* >bitte<  
to shut the room by ourselves' 'yes, please'
- 04 TE: >isch möscht was fragen<  
'I would like to ask something'
- 05 TE: darf isch bitte am donnerstag \* entweder elf uhr morgens  
'may I watch TV please on Tuesday either at 11 o'clock in
- 06 TE: oder zehn uhr abends fernsehn kuckn↓→  
the morning or at 10 o'clock in the evening'
- 07 HL: GIGGLES SOFTLY
- 08 TE: s=is sehr wichtig  
'it's very important'
- 09 NA: >sehr wichtich↑ wir kuckn mal<  
'very important we'll see'

Right after the information about the TV-room, the first point of Naran's announcement, Teslime (TE), one of girls who had just been rebuked for rude behavior, intervenes and asks for the floor >sch möscht was fragen< ('I would like to ask something', 04) even though it is clear to all participants that Naran has not yet finished. Reluctantly (longer pause), Naran gives Teslime the floor, and she presents her request: ←darf isch bitte am

*donnerstag \* entweder elf uhr morgens oder zehn uhr abends fernseh kuckn* ↓ → \* ('may I watch TV please on Tuesday either at 11 o'clock in the morning or at 10 o'clock in the evening', 05/06). Explicitly asking for the floor and speaking in a soft way marks a clear contrast to Teslime's former behavior. The request is formulated in a rather elaborate and 'polite' way of speaking using conventional politeness markers such as the modal verb *dürfen* and the *bitte*-formula and giving an account for the request *s=is sehr wichtig* ('it is very important', 08). With this, Teslime follows Naran's call for a change in behavior and demonstrates that she is perfectly able to speak in a polite way. Naran does not reject Teslime's request for the floor, but gives her the floor, and she even does not rule out that the request may be granted *>sehr wichtig↑ wir kuckn mal<* ('very important↑ we'll see', 09). This reaction indicates that she treats Teslime's politely formulated request not as an intervention but as a kind of repair for her previous (bad) behavior; and she shows her that polite forms are effective in interaction.

The reaction of another girl (HI) to Teslime's polite request is interesting as well. Her soft giggling (07) signals that Teslime's change in behavior is unexpected and has comical effects for her. The style Teslime uses with Naran does not correspond to the group's normal way of speaking, and by emphasizing the stylistic difference, a certain social distance towards Naran is established. This interaction sequence makes evident that two different communication styles coexist in the stylistic repertoire of the girls at this developmental stage and that they differentiate very clearly between different social worlds by using different stylistic means together with markers of disaffiliation.

## **7. Elaborate and polite ways of speaking in in-group communication**

In the course of the older group members' successful participation in the world outside the migrant community, new forms of communication were gradually incorporated into in-group communication. This process was reinforced when the group experienced for the first time that verbal means that had been effective so far no longer met with new requirements. A crucial situation occurred when, one and a half years after the conversational exchange discussed in the previous section (6), the girls had to manage a complex and demanding project without the help of their social worker. The girls were then 17 to 21 years old. They planned to produce a video

film about themselves in order to take part in a supra-regional film contest. The film was of great importance to them, offering an opportunity to present themselves to the public and depicting a picture of modern migrant women, which was quite different from the stereotypical view of Turkish women dominant in German society.<sup>29</sup>

The group started with a meeting of all members in order to draw up the plot of the film and to plan its production. Right from the beginning, the girls experienced their inability to cope with a situation in which they had to organize a creative process over a longer period of time and to integrate members' often contrasting views and proposals without excluding anyone.

The meeting started chaotically. Trying to establish a working order, the group elected a moderator, who had to organize the discussions and decisions on the film project. This type of situation, where an elected moderator has to cope with a new role and new tasks, provided the context for introducing new stylistic means. In the course of this meeting, new and more elaborate ways of speaking were gradually brought in and tried out; some were rejected, and others were accepted and incorporated into the group's stylistic repertoire.

The elected moderator was Didem, one of the older girls, who had just begun to attend a university. The first opportunity for introducing new stylistic means arose when communication threatened to break down. This happened when the girls, talking about their film ideas, interrupted each other and all tried to speak at once until a wild confusion arose with reproaches, counter reproaches, and rude insults. The moderator tried to calm everybody down by calls to order like *ruhe* ('be quiet') and *jetzt hört ma zu mensch \* seid doch ruhig* ('now you listen and be quiet'), but nobody obeyed her orders. The noise became louder and louder until one of the young women complained:

(8)

- 01 SU: <die stören uns die ganze zeit<sub>1</sub> und die schrei"en  
'they disturb us all the time and they are yelling
- 02 SU: voll<sub>1</sub> meine o"hren<sub>1</sub> isch schwö"r<sub>1</sub>>  
terribly, my ears I swear'
- 03 TU: <ja" <sub>1</sub> halt=s maul<sub>1</sub>>  
'ou yeah, shut up'
- 04 DI: KNOCKS ON THE TABLE <wir haben hier gerade eine besprechung  
'we are having a meeting

- 05 DI: *falls ihr das nischt mitbekommen ha"bt, und wer nischt*  
 in case you did not notice and I ask those
- 06 DI: *dazu gehört> bitt isch raus zu gehn, du wolltest*  
 who are not participating to leave the room you wanted to
- 07 SU: *genau,*  
 'exactly'
- 08 DI: *was sagen, jetzt mach ma weiter,*  
 say something please continue'
- 09 HA: *yani i/ isch zum beispiel*  
 'well I for instance'

Suna's (SU) complaint about the noise is rejected by a rude call to order from Tuna (TU): <ja" halt=s maul>↓ ('oh yeah, shut up', 03). The rude rejection of a discussant's justified complaints could be the beginning of the meeting's break down. The way the moderator intervenes suggests such an interpretation: she knocks on the table, gives an explicit definition of the situation as a *besprechung* ('meeting', 04), and asks participants who do not accept it to leave the room. In contrast to the previous turns of Suna and Tuna,<sup>30</sup> the moderator switches into an elaborate way of speaking: <wir haben hier gerade eine besprechung (...) wer nischt dazu gehört >bitt isch raus zu gehen ('we are having a meeting here (...) I ask those who are not participating to leave the room', 04/06). This constitutes a marked contrast to the kind of language used in the previous turns. With this move, the moderator succeeds in putting an end to the interaction chaos. She obtains a positive response from one of the participants: *genau*↓ ('exactly', 07), and as soon as the others are silent, she gives the floor to the girl who was interrupted before: *du wolltest was sagen↑ jetzt mach ma weiter*↓ ('you wanted to say something, please continue', 06/08), and the girl continues with her statement (09).

The conversational discipline only lasts for a short time; and it is not long before the participants talk all at once again and try to shout each other down. Thereupon, the moderator proposes a procedure that she became familiar with at the university and that she announces as her last attempt to establish order: she proposes that each speaker who has the floor takes a rod, symbolizing that it is her turn. As long as she holds the rod, no one should interrupt her. Only the moderator is allowed to take the rod from a speaker and to give it to another, who then gets the floor. This proposal is rejected, first by Tuna's negative evaluation in Turkish *ay ne gıcık* ('how stupid') and then by Funda's comment in German *des is bei uns in der clique ganz schlecht* ('that is completely unsuited for our clique'). These

comments highlight the social meaning of the proposed procedure: it is seen as belonging to the style of another social world to which the two younger girls do not (yet) belong and which is not (yet) accepted as part of their repertoire. By rejecting elements of a social world not (yet) their own, the two girls reveal a high stylistic sensitivity.

But the moderator insists on the proposed procedure and explains that for her, it is the only effective way to accomplish some kind of interaction order:

(9)

- 01 DI: *des is=n einziges cha"os hier<sub>1</sub> un=des is die einzige*  
 'here, we have only chaos and my proposal is the
- 02 DI: *möglichkeit o/ eusch mal irgendwie zum schweigen*  
 only way to silence you somehow
- 03 DI: *zu bringen<sub>1</sub> und du willst jetzt grad was*  
 and you want to say something right
- 04 HA: *ah<sub>1</sub>*
- 05 DI: *sagen<sub>1</sub> GIVES THE ROD TO HA und alle anderen*  
 now and all the others
- 06 DI: *halten jetzt die klappe<sub>1</sub>*  
 keep their mouths shut now'

By explaining the reason for her insistence in introducing the new procedure, the moderator uses no peer group expressions but more elaborate formulations: *des is=n einziges cha"os hier<sub>1</sub> un=des is die einzige möglichkeit o/ eusch mal irgendwie zum schweigen zu bringen<sub>1</sub>* ('here, we have only chaos, and my proposal is the only way to silence you somehow', 01/03). She continues to speak in this way as she performs the new procedure, handing over the rod to the girl who wanted to speak and giving her the floor: *du willst jetzt grad was sagen* ('you want to say something right now', 03/05). After that, she addresses the other participants with a further call to order, thereby switching into more colloquial expressions: *und alle anderen halten jetzt die klappe* ('and all the others keep their mouths shut now', 05/06). With this move, Didem succeeds with the new procedure and re-establishes the interaction order.

In her turn, Didem combines different stylistic means: along with the presentation and explanation of the new procedure, she uses more elaborate ways of speaking; but when she addresses the other girls, calling them to order (06), she switches into a typical peer group formula used when somebody is annoyed, without being as coarse as the other girls' utterances.<sup>31</sup>



03 DI:	treffen auch kommen <sub>1</sub>		ja <sub>1</sub>	
	come to every meeting		yes'	
04 FA:	darf isch noch was sagen <sub>1</sub>	bitte <sub>1</sub>	das nächste mal (...)	
	'may I say something	please	the next time (...)'	

Before the moderator finishes her last appeal (01/03), Facilet asks for the floor: *darf isch noch was sagen*↑ *bitte*↑ ('may I say something, please', 04), using conventional politeness forms such as the modal verb *dürfen* and the *bitte*-formula. The utterance is spoken in an earnest and eager way without any signs of ironic or playful modalization. The addressee grants the request, and the speaker presents her proposal. In this short interaction, a 'polite' way of speaking is realized in an unmarked and natural way without signs of dissociation. Even though it is practiced in interaction with the moderator, it was initiated by a discussant for the first time. With this, 'polite' speaking has entered in-group communication, and it is accepted and practiced by group members.

But the incorporation of new stylistic means into a group's stylistic repertoire is a dynamic process, and it does not advance in a linear way. Every new element is tried out and evaluated if it agrees with the group's ideas about adequate behavior. This can be demonstrated by another example taken from the same meeting. Here, the recipients do not accept the new stylistic elements introduced by the moderator. As Didem closes the group meeting with a formula, she provokes distancing reactions:

(12)

01 DI:	<danke dass ihr da wart <sub>1</sub> >	danke	für eure- gute	
	'thank you for coming	thank you for your good		
02 TU:		bitte <sub>1</sub>		
		'you're welcome'		
03 DI:	kooperation <sub>1</sub>	auf wiedersehen <sub>1</sub>		
	cooperation'	'good bye'		
04 FA:	<hu: 1>	*1,5*		
K&			END OF THE MEETING	

<*danke dass ihr da wart*↑> ('thank you for coming', 01) is a formula for closing a formal meeting to which the chairperson has invited the participants. One of the girls, Tuna (TU), reacts with the *bitte*↓- formula ('you're welcome', 02) although no response is expected in the closing ritual. With this reaction, Tuna falls back on another formulaic ritual – thanks and acceptance – and produces the second part of that ritual (acceptance). Her reaction has a non-serious, playful quality indicating that she is making fun

of the closing ritual produced by Didem. The reason behind Tuna's reaction could be, on the one hand, that the formula does not correspond to Didem's role in the situation: only the person who initiated the meeting could use it. On the other hand, the formula might be too formal and inconsistent with other stylistic features.

Didem's next closing formula *danke für eure gute Kooperation* ('thank you for your good cooperation', 01/03) is also not accepted, made evident by Facilet's (FA) surprised and amused exclamation <hu:> (04). It is interesting that Facilet, who took over the moderator's polite way of speaking a short time before (see example 12), now distances herself from her. These reactions make it evident that the girls, who accepted Didem's performance as the moderator up till now and who even incorporated some of her ways of speaking into their own, reject stylistic means that do not agree with their idea of adequate behaviour in the present situation. They work together with Didem to construct the stylistic means of a group moderator, but they object to the (too formal) situational definition that Didem produces in her closing rituals.

## 8. Conclusion

The formation of the 'Powergirls' style was related to two social categories relevant to the girls' self-definition. Their dissociation from the 'traditional Turkish woman' was expressed through the selection of maximally contrasting features, taken from 'male worlds' of the migrant 'ghetto', features which are 'rough, coarse and aggressive'. These features were used in all situations in which the girls wanted to express their opposition to the traditional female category. In opposition to German teachers of the higher educational institutions, the girls highlighted their 'Turkish-ness' by the extensive use of elaborated Turkish-German mixings as well as behavior contradicting all teacher expectations.

The 'Turkish Powergirls' realized that their rebellious and *anti-social* behavior excluded them from social and educational success. This led to the construction of a new self-conception and to integration into educational and professional German worlds, expressed on the stylistic level by the incorporation of elaborate and polite ways of speaking.

The formation of a style is a dynamic process and in constant progress. There are phases in which various styles with conflicting means co-exist in

a group's repertoire and are separately used in order to adjust to or to create different contexts. Additionally, there are phases where the gradual incorporation of new means into peer group communication can be observed. When group members obtain more and more experience in the use of stylistic means characteristic of the outside world, they differentiate their stylistic repertoire according to situational and functional tasks, combining new forms with features of their former in-group style.

As the young women's further development shows (some of them became teachers or social workers, others are still university students), the acquisition of new stylistic means does not imply giving up in-group forms. All former group members still have a high competence in coarse language and ritual insults. But they have learned to switch in a virtuoso manner from one style to another according to different situational and contextual purposes: vulgar expressions in response to a 'ghetto kid' may be followed by conventional politeness forms in order to create a more elaborate or formal situation. The formation of a social style follows biographical processes and adjusts to new demands emerging from new social orientations and aspirations.

## 9. Transcript conventions

The transcription uses the signs of the German alphabet in analogy to the rules of pronunciation in German for the representation of the phonological and phonetic features of the spoken language, including dialectal speech. In addition, we use the following notation:

*, **	short pause, longer pause
↑, ↓, –	rising, falling, and middle intonation
←, →	slower, faster tempo
<, >	louder, softer voice
”	strong accent
:	strong lengthening
=	slurring manner of articulation, linking different words
ich  hab das gesehn  niemals	overlap
# #	extension of comments

*Notes*

1. This study is part of a research project on “German-Turkish variation and the construction of social styles of communication in young migrant groups in Mannheim, Germany.” This project was funded by the DFG (2000–2004) and carried out by Sema Aslan, Ibrahim Cindark, Werner Kallmeyer, and Inken Keim. The aims of the study were the description of the group members’ linguistic and communicative repertoires, their bilingual practices, and the reconstruction of their in-group style of communication in relation to their social experiences. We selected three groups of young migrants and documented their in-group and out-group communication over 2–3 years. One group was studied by I. Cindark (2005 and i. prep.), the other by S. Aslan (2005) and the third group, the ‘Turkish Powergirls’, by myself. For a presentation of the research project, see Kallmeyer and Keim (1999); for a short overview of the three groups and their style of communication, see Keim (2003); for project papers and publications, see:  
<http://www.ids-mannheim.de/prag/sprachvariation/public.htm#tp-3>.
2. According to statistics, in October 2004, 67,000 migrants from 177 nations were living in Mannheim, most of them in inner city districts; see *Mannheimer Morgen*, 26.10.04, Nr. 249, p. 20.
3. There are Turkish stores, banks, doctors, hairdressers, advocates, service stations, cafes, restaurants, etc. In the past years, numerous Turkish companies were founded where young migrants can find a job.
4. For a detailed description, see Keim (2007).
5. For a more detailed description, see Keim (2005).
6. At the end of *Hauptschule*, students have to pass a final examination in order to obtain the *Hauptschule*-diploma. Without this diploma and without good average marks, they do not have a chance to take an apprenticeship.
7. According to the newest statistics, only 16% of the adolescents leaving the *Hauptschule* in Mannheim get a professional training; see *Mannheimer Morgen*, 03.12.2004, Nr. 281, p. 20.
8. Many of my young informants, not only the ‘Powergirls’, spoke about such experiences.
9. When I met the girls at the youth center, they were 15–19 years old. After having offered them some help with their homework, I had access to the group. As soon as some of them got better marks at school, I was accepted at their group meetings and was allowed to (audio and video) record their group activi-

ties as well as other situations (family meetings, week-end excursions). I observed the group for 3 years, visited their meetings once or twice a week, and did biographical interviews in German with all group members. Sema Aslan did ethnographic interviews with the girls' parents in Turkish. I was present at all the documented group interactions. After the end of the observation, I kept in touch with the girls, was invited to their weddings, and am still informed about their social and professional lives. The conversational material was transcribed and translated by Necmiye Ceylan and Emran Sirim, German-Turkish bilinguals, who grew up in the migrant community in Mannheim.

10. This concept was developed in the course of various research projects on different social groups in an urban context; see Kallmeyer (ed.) (1994), Keim (1995), and Schwitalla (1995). For a further development of the concept, see Kallmeyer and Keim (1996 and 2003).
11. See the papers in Hinnenkamp and Selting (eds.) (1989), in Selting and Sandig (eds.) (1997), and in Keim and Schütte (eds.) (2002).
12. Other Turkish girls as well as German girls characterized the 'Powergirl'-style and the 'Powergirls' behavior as *asocial, non-feminine, and not what a (Turkish) girl should do*.
13. This insight was reinforced in the course of many discussions with the social worker of the youth center.
14. For a detailed description see Kallmeyer, Keim, Aslan and Cindark: Variationsprofile. Zur Analyse der Variationspraxis bei den Powergirls. Online. <http://www.ids-mannheim.de/prag/sprachvariation/fgvaria/Variationsprofile.pdf>. 08.07.2004, and Keim (2007).
15. For detailed description of 'Mannheim Turkish', see Cindark and Aslan (2004) and Sirim (2004).
16. Cindark and Aslan's study focuses on some features of 'Mannheim Turkish' such as the use of personal pronouns, the question particle, and the plural-marker and compares them with the Turkish spoken in Turkey. They show that only in 1–7 % of the cases does 'Mannheim Turkish' differ from the Turkish spoken in Turkey. The authors conclude that speakers of the second and third generation have a high structural competence in Turkish (morphology and syntax), but on the lexical level, there are gaps, and expressions are used that are unusual in Turkey.
17. For a detailed analysis of these functions, see Keim (2007); see also <http://www.ids-mannheim.de/prag/sprachvariation/fgvaria/Variationsprofile.pdf>. 08.07.2004.
18. See Appendix for transcription conventions.
19. Verbal duellings among young Turkish men that are not related to games are described by Dundees, Leach, and Özkök (1972); Labov (1972) analyzes ritual insults used by young blacks in the US. In his ethnography of a Turkish street gang in Frankfurt, Tertilt (1996) also describes verbal duellings.

20. For the concept of contextualization, see Gumperz (1982) and Auer (1986).
21. For the concept of frame, see Goffman (1974).
22. Topping is constitutive for verbal duellings or ritual insults used in male youth groups, see Labov (1972); Dundes, Leach, and Özkök (1972); Schwitalla (1994), also for rap and hip-hop. Topping also occurs in female groups, see Keim (1995), Chap. 5.
23. Turkish parents use the formula *allah belani vermesin* ('God shall not curse you') with their children, for example, when they have done something very wrong. Here, Teslime uses the formula as a self-reproach for not hitting the ball.
24. According to my German-Turkish informants, the second version *ağzına sikiyim* with *ağzın* in the dative/ directional position, marked by -a, is slightly more drastic than the first version *ağzını sikiyim*, where *ağzın* is in the accusative, marked by -ı.
25. Regional colloquial elements are the palatalization of /s/ in the consonant cluster /st/ in *zuerschd* and *triffschd* as well as the shortening and raising of the vowel in *des* instead of *das* and the tag *gell*.
26. The German address form *langer* ('man, old boy') and the Turkish address form *lan* ('man'), taken from male repertoires, are normal in the 'Powergirls' in-group style.
27. The girls know that TU occasionally smokes pot; therefore, HI's question does not refer to a secret. HI rejecting TU's critique implies that from her perspective the question is no great infringement on TU's privacy.
28. The Turkish informants to whom I presented the conversational material confirmed the 'Powergirls'' impression that coarse expressions are negatively evaluated by outsiders. From an outside perspective, it is unusual for a young Turkish woman to use such language.
29. In connection with the video project, intensive discussions about the girls' self-conception took place. In these discussions, the new model of a 'self-assertive German-Turkish young woman' emerged, who strives for social and professional success; see Keim (2007).
30. Suna's utterance has markers of 'youth language' such as the use of the adjective *voll* as a modal adverb in *die schreien voll* and the intensifying formula *isch schwör*. Tuna's call to order *halt=s maul* is a very rude colloquial expression. For the description of 'youth language', see, for example, Androutsopoulos 1998.
31. Throughout the meeting, Didem does not use the kind of coarseness that the other girls use in the same situation, for example, *halt=s maul* ('shut up') or *siktir* ('fuck you').

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