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Exploring Language in a Multilingual Context: Variation, Interaction and Ideology in Language Documentation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. xi + 359 pp. (Cloth US\$105.00)

This book will be valuable reading for many kinds of readers. It gives specialists in circum-Caribbean studies a detailed, empirically based, integrated update on interactions among language, ideology, and society in an area that has undergone rapid demographic change over the last three decades: western French Guiana (hereafter “WFG”). And it gives expatriate workers in the area some basic practical insights for navigating the evolving social-linguistic currents in which they find themselves immersed. But most broadly and hence most importantly, it argues for and exemplifies a methodological framework for anyone interested in threatened or endangered languages and their documentation—languages that almost by definition are found in multilingual and often highly fluid social contexts. These benefits arise from the authors’ success in achieving the book’s “two interrelated goals” of investigating “the phenomenon of *Takitaki* in French Guiana” and exploring and setting out “a holistic methodology for documenting language in a multilingual setting” (p. 10). This review mentions only a sample of the book’s riches.

After an introduction briefly laying out the book’s purposes and content, Chapter 2, “The Political, Social and Linguistic Contexts of French Guiana,” describes the slow transition within France, especially within French Guiana, from traditional denial of multilingualism to recent recognition and consequent action. It summarizes the investigation’s research methods and presents a history of the peoples and languages of WFG, the area most affected by immigration from Suriname, particularly since the late 1980s, convincingly supporting the claim that “contrary to common assumptions, ... multilingualism and linguistic diversity are the rule everywhere” (p. 45) in French Guiana, with its more than thirty languages.

The “*Takitaki* phenomenon” involves linguistic practices of Suriname Maroons now living in French Guiana, and of others in WFG who interact with Maroons. Chapter 3, “The Maroons: Historical and Anthropological Notes,” describes the history and current distribution in WFG of Maroon communities, who constitute “more than sixty percent of the population” (p. 110). An important recent change is that while these Maroons continue to value general Maroon identity and culture, their identification with traditional specific Maroon communities has weakened.

Chapter 4, “What’s in the Name *Takitaki*? Investigating Linguistic Ideologies,” exemplifies the authors’ generally applicable “language-ideology ap-

proach: a critical examination of people's discourses about a particular language or language name such as *Takitaki*, taking into account the social context in which the discourses emerge and are employed, as well as the social positionality of people's ideologies" (pp. 112–13). Thus what *Takitaki* is used to denote, and what attitudes it reflects, varies from academics to tourist guides to the middle class to Amerindians to young and old Maroons to immigrants from the wider region, as well as according to one's (perception of one's) interlocutors. Maroons, for example, often use *Takitaki* "as a kind of natural label—a cover term—to designate their language in the presence of what they perceive to be non-locals" (p. 153). Sociologically, by using the term, "young urban Maroons are able to construct two categories of Maroons, one characterized by features such as urban, modern, pan-ethnic and the other by the opposite features (rural, traditional, ethnic), as well as foreground and align with the former and play down and minimize the latter in the French Guianese context" (p. 161). The breadth of coverage of users of the term reinforces the argument that documentation of a language and its names must not be restricted to the linguistic practices of its "native speakers."

Chapter 5, "The Social Profiles of Some *Takitaki* Speakers: The Data for this Study," provides demographic and linguistic detail on the various social classes and cultural groups studied, and on the individual subjects in each group. I note here only the conclusion that "While social class overlaps with cultural background in French Guiana, it also cross-cuts ethnicity and culture. ... it seems that social class is a better predictor for differences in language ideology, in salient social distinctions, categories and processes that shape social life" (pp. 192–93). This conclusion typifies the mutual interaction of ideology, social structures, and language practices to which the study's results bear clear testimony, again strengthening the case for a socially and ideologically aware approach to language documentation. The following chapter, "Towards the Linguistic Structure of *Takitaki*: An Analysis of *Takitaki* Practices," compares the groups studied with respect to a selection of lexical and morphosyntactic features (although both of the "lexical" features for which frequencies are compared across groups—negation markers and demonstrative modifiers—are also morphosyntactic, and the distinction between "relative average" and "absolute average" given for these frequencies is left unexplained).

Chapter 7, "Communicating in *Takitaki*: Maroons and Non-Maroons in Interaction," includes much of interest on Maroons' use of accommodation and simplification in speaking with non-Maroon interlocutors. Chapter 8, "Linguistic Practices Among Urban Maroons," compares current language practices and concomitant ideologies among urban Maroons with those of traditional village life, the locus of "the practices most typically described in the literature"

(p. 259). The final chapter, “On *Takitaki* and its Insights,” is worth more than one careful reading, not only for its summary of the changing language practices of various sociocultural groups in WFG, but especially for the case it makes for several points of serious language documentation methodology.

Summaries of all but the last chapter enhance the general clarity of the writing throughout. Eight maps concisely facilitate understanding of the spatial dimension of language distribution and contact. Around 350 works cited cover a breadth and depth of scholarship related to broad issues and details of the research and conclusions. English translations of citations in French and other languages are appropriately free rather than over-literal, but occasionally omit material or significantly differ in meaning from the original. Occasionally the authors use terms (e.g., *sociolinguistic erasure* [p. 131]) in unclear ways. There are a few typos, and some more serious errors that can be resolved by some rereading. But these and other blemishes notwithstanding, the book will reward careful readers seeking a comprehensive methodology for responsible language documentation in its social contexts, as well as those wishing to better understand the complexities of language use in western French Guiana.

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