THE POLITICS OF PALESTINIAN MULTILINGUALISM: SPEAKING FOR CITIZENSHIP

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In *The politics of Palestinian Multilingualism: Speaking of Citizenship*, Nancy Hawker provided a discursive overview of multilingualism where Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular, as speakers of a marginalised and contained mother tongue, through their multilingualism, manage to engage in the political system of Israel, maintain their Arabic identity on different contexts, and create spaces to practice Arabic as L1. As expected from a first glimpse at a book on politics and sociolinguistics in Israel, the politicised interactions that take place within and between the domains of civil culture as well as the Israeli cabinet, elections' events - such as promotions and meetings and political structures - are among the main poles of this book. Hawker preluded key concepts, theories and schools of thought to build a quintessential epitome to ground the sociolinguistic aspects of her book. Vividly and accurately, she harnessed and managed the social context to provide a rich portion of political and social life with excerpts and records from her field research to convey the complexity and dynamism in Israel.

This book, which is a part of a series entitled *Politics of Language* edited by Deborah Cameron, comprises an introduction, four chapters and a short conclusion, tackling altogether the sociolinguistic fabric of the society along the political logic adopted by the author. The introduction draws the context of the ongoing conflict in the area, its impact on the political life and on the sociolinguistic situation, reveals the sources of the analysed material, and sets the limitations of the study scope. The conclusion of the book, which rounds up the sociolinguistic enterprise, is the shortest part which, unlike the main 4 chapters, does not include direct quotations, but only refers to previous citations appearing throughout the book. The book closes with an epilogue, different appendices, a rich bibliography, and an index.

One of the great values of the book rests in the author's tackling various aspects of the political and sociolinguistic issues based on her authentic experience, as well as

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research records in different political walks in Israel. Nancy Hawker's work presents an unequivocal and inspirational script for varied audiences. Undoubtedly, readers interested in multilingualism, language contact, ideology and policy, in the fields of sociolinguistics, anthropology, politics, and Middle Eastern studies, will consider it a seminal work.

Writing a book of such a theme involves a number of rather exclusive challenges, including the delimitation of access, clarity of communication via different languages during the recording-analysing phase of data collection as well as during writing the book, to create a balance between the representation of the field of study and the interpretation of the material. Nancy Hawker meets all these challenges relying on her personal experience and involvement yet embracing an objective opinion and attitude. Throughout the work, there is a strong emphasis on the sociolinguistic and ethnographic factors of political life and citizenship structures leading to "negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts" (p. 5). Relying both on her first-hand experience and recordings in witnessing and recording political and social incidents and delving in piles of parliamentary recorded debates, both historical and recent, Hawker managed to present a trustworthy body of texts that she analysed contextually in terms of ethnography and discourse coining a newly emerging identity, "the emergent Palestinian and other Arab middle-class" under the multilingual negotiation (p. 5), whom she also refers to as "the new liberal multilingual middle-class voice" later (p. 91).

The author repeatedly paints pictures of and connects between linguistics authority and identity, community and citizenship formulations. Gender, as kept distinct from both grammatical gender and sex, has been highlighted by the author in heated arguments, especially among the Cabinet proceedings.

Chapter 1 elaborates on the different norms and practices that supress Arabic, and on the double standards in treating Arabic vs. Hebrew on different political platforms, while mentioning the limitation of the formal inclusion of what the author calls 'the diversity' of Palestinians and other Arabs. The conceptual base of the Palestinian political sociology centring around the concept of one-nation-one-language, its direct and indirect applications in the construction and maintenance of Arab identity are yardsticks of this diversity.

Chapter 2 observes how bilinguals can control or struggle between two lingual variables/linguistic variants of the "insider-Arabic" and "outsider-Hebrew", which analogously are not clear-cut in daily or political life. Here, the author discusses a major and tacit principle that she calls "the principle of Arabic avoidance in 'mixed' company" (p. 24), which controls selecting the preferable language in line with the context for each sociolinguistic variability.

Chapter 3 introduces attitudes for expressing discursive power in different varieties of interactions, namely "to give their proposition weight, speakers mobilise a range of discursive strategies that index ideologically aligned sources of authority." (p. 88). The chapter also discusses five phenomena, which the author ironically termed as 'rules', as descriptors exclusive to certain contexts, which involves both 'gaining authority' and 'rhetorical effect' in debates despite how contradicted they might be, i.e. one cannot "mix in Hebrew loanwords…" and "…use Educated Spoken Arabic" (p. 91) in one context; these are rules number 2 and 3, respectively. Add to that, the chapter tackles how Arabic–Hebrew linguistic contact and communication is affected by the armed conflict and its relation to discrimination towards and oppression of certain languages i.e. Arabic.

Having looked so far at the different settings and styles that constrain Arabic language variation, in chapter 4 the author examines, "Anxious attitudes, confident practices" (p. 118) of the multilingual identity which have been commercialised over the course of time. Thus, she introduces us to a real-time issue of language attitudes in late capitalism. These issues confidently mobilise multilingualism as a resource and a solution vs. explicit language attitudes that express anxieties towards the Arabic situation. The former revolves around how the expressed ideologies betray monolingual anxieties towards bilingual language contact, and how different practices are confidently displayed in alignment with multilingual aspirations. Expressions of anxieties, on the other hand, are related to multilingualism's fluctuations between the ideological language purist attitudes towards reinforcing Arabic caused by late capitalism ambivalence and real-life multilingual practices.

Naturally in this type of books, the delimitation of coverage begins with the sources, but it does not end there. Having established a sound base for reviewing the key organising principles of politicised social life in Israel, Hawker expertly weaves in the coverage of game-changing events and incidents in the form of field research to retrieve first-hand data. Her comprehensive and representative records have been analysed discursively even with attention paid to different cultural-and-language-specific demeanour. For instance, in order to facilitate English reading comprehension, the author provides a localised translation of Ahmad Tibi's name, (p. 93) (The original sentence translates literally as: *This alif for Ahmad, I want to put hamza on it*. For an English reader, the author renders it as follows: *this T in Tibi, I want to cross it properly*.) This style of writing is seamless and simple without a hint of self-indulgence. We have to admit that Hawker references her own previous works as relevant, but these are never allowed to distort the overview she wants the readers to contemplate on.

Among the running themes in Hawker's work are "the institutional suppression of Arabic and reactions to that suppression, the principle of Arabic avoidance in 'mixed' company, and the sociolinguistic practices of recourse to multilingual

repetoires when agentic discursive space is created" (p. 25). Here we learn, for example, that the ostensibly democratic Israel has been practicing an institutional suppression of Arabic since its existence, with emerging challenges to these policies started from 2010 by multilingual Palestinians.

Purposely, Hawker conveys essential settings for all incidents of the book to prepare the reader for the rather special contexts of each analysed record. These include, for example, the different phases of Arabic since 1950s including 'the Arabic silence' and 'Arabic avoidance', even conducting her own experiments on Arabic language perception and avoidance. Throughout her work, she also draws on different resources to provide a comparison between various case studies and a currently topical issue. For example, Kathryn Woolard's research (1985) on Barcelona to show how language choices can be guided, comparing it with multilingual Palestinians in 'mixed' company in Israel. In passing, she alluded to a number of studies by researchers from within the tackled society (Abu Rabia, 2011; Amara 2007, 2010).

Evidence in itself, Nancy Hawker's work provides an external and neutral lens of observation to the complicated and challenging political-sociolinguistic reality of Arabic in Israel for the multilingual Palestinians.

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