

show patterns of language use across large samples, yet as John Swales remarks in his Afterword, such analysis tells us little about the function and placement of language within a text, nor about its ‘compositional or semantic coherence’ (p. 293). Thus, a ‘marriage’ of the two approaches is the way forward.

The articles in this collection will be of interest to researchers and teachers of Applied Linguistics and English for Academic Purposes. The collection is interesting from both a research methodology and an applied linguistic point of view. Several of the contributors aim to suggest pedagogic applications of their work, and this is most evident in the article by Swales and his use of the revision process. However, one concern is that a number of the articles give very little specific advice as to how the findings can be applied in the classroom. This is nevertheless an excellent and important collection, clearly demonstrating the analytical power of combining two key approaches to the study of academic writing.

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Ayala Fader, *Mitzvah Girls: Bringing Up the Next Generation of Hasidic Jews in Brooklyn*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009. xvii + 260 pp.

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Traditional communities are often seen as stagnant remnants of the past because they strive to maintain a connection to their roots. In fact, these societies are hardly immune to change. A Yiddish saying popular among Hasidic Jews ‘*vee azoi es goyisht zich azoi Yiddisht zich*’, expresses the notion that Jewish life follows the evolutionary trajectory of the secular society within which it exists. Preservation of traditional religious practices necessarily involves effective management of the tensions between the traditional and the modern. Fader’s study captures the evolving nature of Hasidic life leading into the 21st century, and the ways in which its members negotiate modernity through language and dress. Her analysis leads to a conception of Hasidic women as important players in this process, and the rise of what the author calls a ‘distinctly Jewish femininity’. By accepting cultural changes on their own terms, members of this Hasidic group actually strengthen their religious practices.

Fader provides an intimate look at one fundamentalist society, the *Bobover* Hasidic community in the Borough Park section of Brooklyn, New York. She eschews

the somewhat contentious term 'fundamentalist' in favor of 'nonliberal' to describe this religious community. The author observes the ritualized, religiously structured lifestyle and sets out to discover what drives young women and girls to want to perpetuate the Hasidic traditions. By analyzing the everyday language and practices by which young girls are socialized into their future roles, Fader examines the Hasidic female life cycle, from infancy to marriage, and reveals how the older generation teaches members of the younger to manage their worldly needs, discipline their bodies and 'redeem Jewish meaning from North American secular and Gentile life' (p. 31). The culture that Fader reveals in this study of an enclave community is founded upon a belief that true freedom and self-actualization comes from self-discipline, achieved through adherence to religious laws and principles.

The book consists of seven chapters and a coda. The first chapter introduces the subject of Fader's research, the *Bobover* community, and offers useful background information on Hasidism, from its inception until modern times. The second and third chapters explore issues of identity formation, and discuss the tensions between continuity and change in contemporary Hasidic life.

Things get really interesting, at least for the reader who is curious about language and discourse, in Chapters 4 and 5. Here, Fader examines the language variations that are popular among the *Bobover* Hasidic Jews, and suggests that Hasidic Jews speak a distinct variety of English which she calls 'Hasidic English' – largely a lexical, phonological and syntactic amalgamation of English, Yiddish and traditional Hebrew. Hasidic women, according to the author, both originate and perpetuate Hasidic English through their collective everyday experiences. By sanctifying, as it were, the English language through various transformations, the distinctions between the secular and the spiritual become obscured. For young Hasidic girls, speaking Hasidic English has become associated with a kind of hybrid identity: a North-American Hasidic femininity.

Chapters 6 and 7 explore modes of dress, another code that Hasidic women use to signal belongingness as well as distinction. Fader emphasizes that modesty, an important value in Hasidic society, is not merely the passive acceptance of norms, nor a rejection of contemporary fashion codes. Rather, it has become a way of bridging the gap between the secular/modern and the religious/traditional. Through modest but fashionable attire and assertive but approved comportment, a Hasidic girl can transform her involvement in secular materiality into a vehicle for spiritual growth. Modesty practices become a way for her to use her personal judgment to reconcile the American mandate to look good with the Orthodox/Hasidic mandate to be pious.

Through analyzing the appropriation of language and dress codes, *Mitzvah Girls* portrays a sort of hybrid modern identity which encourages members of the community to engage selectively with the outside world. The Hasidic woman often becomes the public 'face' of her family, acting as the mediator between the religious and the worldly. She takes the children to the doctor, pays the bills and negotiates with various secular institutions. Fader introduces the concept of a unique 'Hasidic femininity', which fuses a heightened religious stringency with a fluency in the ways of the secular world. One can be 'with it', appropriately sophisticated, without being 'modern', and navigate the secular to bring about progress for the religious community. Through a language socialization that includes fluidity between Hasidic Yiddish and Hasidic

English, and via the enforcement of a form of modesty which promotes fashion consciousness while remaining true to a prescribed code of behavior and attire, Hasidic girls learn that participation in the modern world is acceptable, and even enabling, provided it is utilized in the service of God. In the coda, the author situates her study within the wider anthropological conversation, explaining the complexities involved in this type of ethnographic project.

Fader discusses the challenges that women face in this strictly gendered world and shows how the curiosity, creativity and self-expression of Hasidic girls are directed into relatively narrow channels. That she does not address the broader question of the relative status of women in this culture may reflect the author's belief in the need to conceptualize the roles of Hasidic women in a way that goes beyond the progressive liberal instincts of the modern intellectual. Enforced segregation of the sexes, a system of male-dominated religious authority and a distinct female dress code may be markers of gender inequality to the uninitiated observer. But from another perspective, the segregated environment may provide an answer to what Mary Pipher deems the 'junk culture' of contemporary secular society in *Reviving Ophelia* (1994). Free from the cultural influences of sexism, capitalism and 'lookism', raised within a system that encourages strong parental control tempered by affectionate support, the conditions appear optimal for these young Hasidic women to develop a positive sense of self. Fader evidently recognizes the multiplexity of the status of women within the nonliberal society entering into the 21st century. The North-American Hasidic woman she describes essentially directs the course of modernity for her community and, in Fader's words, 'redefines the narrative of civilization' (p. 219). Indeed, this new Hasidic female appears to be subliminally both cognizant and proud of her status, and it is difficult to argue that her influence is insignificant.

By resorting to an analysis of everyday talk instead of relying on religious texts and rituals, Fader's study is able to capture the reality that similar Jewish ethnographies often miss: the evolution of contemporary Hasidic life in two disparate directions. Religious restrictions are getting tighter in reaction to a secular culture that is increasingly more encroaching. At the same time, Hasidic communities are becoming worldlier, choosing the elements of popular culture they can adapt for their personal use and rejecting the rest. Similar to Stephanie Levine's *Mystics, Mavericks and Merrymakers* (2003), *Mitzvah Girls* uncovers the surprising ways in which Hasidic women assert their autonomy and exercise their agency even as they conform to growing religious stringencies. Readers with an interest in linguistics, anthropology, psychology and Jewish ethnography are sure to find new insights in this book. Additionally, casual readers looking for an objective view of Hasidic culture will appreciate the engaging narrative, although they may occasionally find the language dense and overly theoretical. This reviewer, who was raised in an environment very similar to the one Fader describes, was gratified to find a refreshingly accurate account of Hasidic life, authored by a professional who treats her subjects with sensitivity and respect. Fader does not apologize for, nor does she censure, convictions that are in conflict with her own. Instead, she tries to step back and allow the ordinary talk of Hasidic women to shape the account.

References

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Peter Garrett, *Attitudes to Language (Key Topics to Sociolinguistics)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. x + 257 pp.

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Attitudes to Language by Peter Garrett attempts the difficult task of introducing readers to a complex, multidisciplinary area of research: attitudes towards language, ranging from attitudes towards proper names to attitudes towards whole languages, and from evaluative reactions to speech rate to the effects of content on the evaluation of speech samples.

After providing telling examples from the fields of politics, the film industry, marketing and education in the opening chapter, the author draws the reader's attention to the importance of attitudes in our daily lives.

The book consists of 13 chapters, a glossary and references. Chapter 2 reviews the main theoretical issues pertaining to attitudes. Referring to Allport's (1954) often-cited definition of attitude, i.e. 'a learned disposition to think, feel and behave toward a person (or object) in a particular way', Garrett reviews fundamental issues such as different facets and manifestations of attitudes, the potential duality of attitudes, i.e. attitudes as input and output, genetic heritability of attitudes, the role of social environment in attitude formation, attitude structure, stability and durability of attitudes, and other related concepts.

Chapters 3 to 12 address three main approaches in attitudinal studies: the direct approach, the indirect approach and the societal treatment approach. In Chapter 3, the author discusses the relative advantages and disadvantages through the exploration of studies using each method. This enables scholars working in this area to evaluate the different approaches and to select those that best suit their purposes.

Chapters 4 and 5 review two of the most widely used techniques within the indirect approach, namely the matched and verbal guise methods. Chapter 4 concentrates on 'inner circle' Englishes, reviewing key studies on attitudes of native speakers towards different accents of English. These studies clearly show the impact of context on attitude formation towards an attitude object, a particular accent in this case. Garrett also demonstrates that these studies provide an overview of attitudes towards varieties of English among these 'inner circle' countries, and shows how these varieties achieve distinctive profiles across a number of evaluative dimensions. Chapter 5 reviews studies undertaken in contexts other than the UK, Australia, New Zealand and the USA.

Chapter 6 addresses methodological issues from a different perspective, with a focus on speech styles, rather than whole languages or accents, and their impact on attitudes within a language. Communication features such as lexical provenance, lexical diversity and speech rate are discussed in relation to a range of studies in the literature. Studies of speech rate again stress the role of context in attitude formation and show that the same