

Spyros Moschonas, *Ιδεολογία και γλώσσα*. Athens: Patakis, 2005. Pp. 338

This book sums up Moschonas' earlier work on specific issues of language and ideology, presenting in a coherent, comprehensive and transparent way the underlying theoretical framework of his research. The overall aim of the book is 'the presentation of those very general principles that would allow anyone to refer to secondary bibliography about language and ideologies and attempt a synthesis adequate to his own interests and preferences' (p. 9). Moschonas identifies two such principles (discussed in chapters two and three of the book respectively). His line of argumentation is presented down to the smallest detail in a way that allows the reader to make up his own mind, aided by sometimes very long footnotes with extensive references to secondary bibliography from different disciplines (from philosophy of language to applied linguistics and from pragmatics to sociolinguistics and discourse analysis).

The framework presented here can be used for defining ideologies in general as well as specifying the role and function of linguistic ideologies. The title of the book ('Ideology and Language') reflects Moschonas' chief maxim: it is not possible to understand and analyse language ideologies without first defining ideologies in general; the book is structured accordingly in three chapters, progressively moving from ideologies in general to ideologies that relate to language.

The first chapter ('Two moments of ideology: from scholarship to criticism') provides the necessary historical background for the development of the notion of 'ideology' and its inherently inextricable connection with language (in the work of the French philosopher Antoine Destutt de Tracy (1754–1836), who coined the term 'ideology' in the first place). Moschonas contrasts the descriptive standpoint of the French idéologues with the later critical and analytical examination of the term by Marx and Engels in their *Deutsche Ideologie* (written 1845–46, published 1932). These two antagonistic views of ideology have however one thing in common: both adhere to the notion of 'linguistic relativism' or the conflation of language and thought (or ideas). In going back to the origins of ideology and critique on ideology, Moschonas sets the frame for a new approach, one that allows for a critical understanding of ideologies while, at the same time, providing anyone studying them with the necessary means for their description.

The first step towards this new approach is the identification of ten primary characteristics of ideology in chapter two ('A conceptual ten-point catalogue. Between "ideology" and "idea-logy" [ιδεολογία]'). This is a long chapter (139 pages), evolving in a way from the extensive discussion and analysis of each of the principles making the ten-point catalogue: each characteristic is constantly refined through revision in dialogue with relevant views from secondary bibliography. The first characteristic, one of the two identifying characteristics of ideology, is defined in the beginning of the chapter (p. 79) as follows: 'Ideologies are systems of ideas'. The reader soon realizes that the unsophisticated wording of the beginning of the chapter is deliberate. Moschonas digs gradually deeper by introducing new concepts or counter-arguments and objections developed in linguistics and related fields like semiotics. At the end of the discussion the principle is rephrased: 'Ideologies are second degree semiotic systems' (p. 91). Moschonas is interested in presenting the conceptual edges of ideology, rejecting the idea that there is a single definition of the term. In this chapter he leads by example, constantly refining the ten principles of ideology he has identified: the reader, however, has rather the sense that he is attending a series of introductory lectures (this feeling is strengthened by the extensive use of diagrams and logical symbols within the text). The analysis becomes nevertheless more persuasive where Moschonas presents concrete examples, as for example in his discussion of the quest for a Modern Greek standard language and the corresponding ideology of demoticism (pp. 135–141; this set of issues belongs to his fourth principle, 'Ideologies are historical phenomena').

The third chapter ('Themes [τόποι] of language ideology. From meta-language to language') deals with language ideologies. Moschonas introduces here his second principle for identifying and analysing (linguistic) ideologies: 'Linguistic ideologies are meta-linguistic systems'. The use of the notion of meta-language ('language that refers to or uses linguistic categories' p. 233) as a key to understanding language ideologies is extremely productive. Moschonas demonstrates, using concrete examples, how language ideologies are primarily ideologies, and linguistic ideologies are primarily meta-linguistic systems (i.e. they are expressed in a specific linguistic meta-language that may progressively create new ideologies). This chapter will appeal more to readers interested in the application of theory to specific language use settings (and especially those interested in issues of ideology in relation to the standardization of Modern Greek).

To conclude: this is a book that should not be ignored by anyone interested in exploring issues of ideology and language. Because it is written in Greek, it is bound to attract primarily the interest of those concerned with this language. Moschonas, however, does himself no favours by adopting a style that makes quite heavy use of linguistic jargon, coupled in places with rather unexpected

colloquial expressions (perhaps in a deliberate attempt to demonstrate that the standardization of academic writing in Greek is related to ideological factors?); this might alienate readers with little or no background in linguistics. A detailed subject index, a structured bibliography with a different bibliographic reference system (thus reducing the size of footnotes) and perhaps a glossary of linguistic terms would considerably enhance the readability of this book, making it an invaluable tool for researchers and students alike.

Notis Toufexis
Cambridge University