

Review Articles

Bilingualism and Bilingual Education in the United States

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Bilingual Education for Hispanic Students in the United States. *Joshua A. Fishman* and *Gary D. Keller*, eds. New York: Teachers College Press, 1982. x + 502 pp. \$18.95 (paper).

Bilingualism and Language Contact: Spanish, English, and Native American Languages. *Florence Barkin*, *Elizabeth A. Brandt*, and *Jacob Ornstein-Galicia*, eds. New York: Teachers College Press, 1982. xiii + 320 pp. \$24.95 (cloth).

Spanish in the United States: Sociolinguistic Aspects. *Jon Amastae* and *Lucía Elías-Olivares*, eds. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982. x + 434 pp. \$14.00 (paper).

The New Bilingualism: An American Dilemma. *Martin Ridge*, ed. Proceedings of a Conference Sponsored by Center for Study of the American Experience. The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Southern California, May 1980. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1981. 272 pp. \$20.00 (cloth).

THERE CAN BE LITTLE DOUBT BUT THAT SPANISH is the language spoken by the largest number of speakers in the United States, after English; in fact, the United States is the fourth largest Spanish-speaking country in the world (the 1980 Census of Population reckoned 14.6 million persons of Hispanic origin, which, although not identical with the number of Spanish speakers, gives a reasonable indication of the latter). Little wonder, then, that the four volumes on bilingualism under review here pay the lion's share of attention to Spanish-English bilingualism in its varying forms around the country. Two of the volumes are devoted explicitly to U.S. Spanish and the bilingualism of Hispanics, as is evident in their titles. The Barkin et al. volume includes a consideration of Native American languages, while the work edited by Martin Ridge provides perspectives on bilingualism in Canada and Mexico as well as the United States.

Bilingualism is a sprawling subject, ranging from the workings of the bilingual brain in the individual to the fiduciary and political implications of bilingual education for society. In between we find research on the influences exerted by co-territorial languages on one another, on attitudes of bilinguals toward their two languages (and varieties of each), on patterns and meanings in code switching, on language maintenance and shift, on language choice and bilingual language play, and so on. Most of these topics are addressed in the books being reviewed, each of which focuses on several of the many possible themes associated with bilingualism and U.S. Spanish: *Spanish in the United States* (henceforth, SUS) was, in the words of its editors, "compiled . . . in the belief that it was time for a volume dedicated to the full range of Spanish dialects in the country and to the spectrum of analytical methods now in use" (p. ix). *Bilingualism and Language Contact*

(BLC) likewise emphasizes language diversity, but specifically in the southwestern United States. *Bilingual Education for Hispanic Students* (BEHS) aims not only to "help the reader to understand American bilingual education better, but . . . [to] help him or her to make it better as well" (p. x, emphasis in original). In light of current debate about the nature and mission of bilingual education in this society, the BEHS volume makes a timely appearance on the scene.

There are 65 articles in the three collections, many by well-established scholars in sociolinguistics and bilingualism, some by newcomers. The majority are based on original research, and nearly half of them have been published previously, chiefly in journals; 6 of the 21 contributions in BLC are revised versions of papers given at the 1979 Southwest Areal Language and Linguistics Workshop and published as *Speaking, Singing and Teaching: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Language Variation* (1980). As a reviewer of the latter work (Timm 1981) and a reader of the major sociolinguistic journals, it is not surprising that a sensation of *déjà vu* overtook me as I fingered my way through the tables of contents of the three volumes. This I say as a reminder to the reader that the research being reviewed here is not always on the cutting edge, for some of the articles were originally published in the early to mid-1970s.

Each of the collections assembles a number of important essays, and some of lesser importance, and each is of interest to the teacher of sociolinguistics. SUS contains the longest and most technical studies, and would be suitable for a graduate-level course in Hispano-American linguistics or sociolinguistics. BEHS and BLS could be used in either an upper division or graduate course on bilingualism or bilingual education. All three require some background in linguistics to be fully comprehensible. I shall discuss BEHS, BLS, SUS, and *The New Bilingualism* in that order.

The 26 essays in BEHS (15 reprinted) explore the goals of bilingual education (Part 2), diversity in U.S. Spanish (Part 3), attitudes toward Spanish and bilingual education (Part 4), research on bilingual instruction (Part 5), and children's acquisition of bilingualism (Part 6). Part 7 offers a historical overview on bilingualism in the United States.

In Part 2 Joshua Fishman blasts the so-called bicultural thrust of bilingual/bicultural education, charging that it condescends, trivializes, and peripheralizes the "marked" (minority) language (a process he calls the "thingification" of the marked group). Community-sponsored schools (as opposed to Title VII-funded programs) would avoid this, but they are too few and too powerless to counteract the forces of assimilation. Such community schools seem to correspond to one of three possible outcomes of differing bilingual education "philosophies" outlined by Amado Padilla in another article in this part—that is, the "separatist" philosophy or model. Also posited are the models of cultural assimilation and pluralism, which are far more often realized than the separation model, which, for the Southwest, implies Spanish language dominance and a Mexican value system.

Of relevance in this connection is Sally Tilley's survey of the ranking of goals and objectives of 220 bilingual project directors, which showed them favoring "neither a purely transfer-oriented (assimilationist) program nor a purely maintenance-oriented program," but rather "a merging of the two philosophies" (p. 43). Ranked as *most* desirable was the goal of developing and maintaining a child's self-esteem in both cultures and prevention of academic retardation.

The question of which language, and which variety of which language, should be taught in the classroom inevitably arises in discussions of bilingual programs, and opinions are sharply divided among educators: Gary Keller debunks the idea of teaching children in their vernacular and of not correcting nonstandard forms in the classroom; he argues forcefully that all Spanish-speaking children be taught the standard dialect: "Do educators in Spain suppose that Andalusians be taught to read and write in their own vernacular rather than in standard Spanish?" (p. 85). The opposing viewpoint is not presented in this volume; but related to this issue is Chester Christian, Jr.'s plea for developing Spanish literacy first in Spanish-dominant children on the grounds that Spanish is more regular orthographically and closer to actual pronunciation; trying to teach literacy

in the weaker, nonnative language may, he argues, damage the child's self-concept, and the cultural content of the literacy instruction will be closer to the child if it is in his or her native language. (This is clearly debatable: Spanish readers produced in Madrid are hardly closer to the child's experience in East Los Angeles than American English readers would be.) But is Spanish orthography all that clear cut? Jorge Guitart argues that there are "conservative" and "radical" dialects of Spanish, the former being closer to the orthographic shape of the language than the latter, whose speakers tend to delete /s/ and /d/, among other things. Guitart claims that native Spanish speakers from radical dialects who are not literate in Spanish should receive instruction in Spanish that would lead them to "acquire the phonological representations shared by educated (conservative) speakers" (p. 176).

In another group of essays in this volume, linguists John Lipski, William Milan, and Alicia Pousada and Shana Poplack (separately) examine the structural characteristics of U.S. Spanish (especially Puerto Rican) finding that it is fully intact as a Romance language, in spite of some inevitable degree of influence from English. The study by Pousada and Poplack of the Puerto Rican verb system demonstrates with particular clarity that this variety of Spanish is as authentic as the 15th-century Spanish of *La Celestina*, for their analysis of 8,679 verb forms collected from 12 native Puerto Rican Spanish speakers living in East Harlem revealed "virtually no divergence from standard usage" (p. 219). The authors state trenchantly that their findings "suggest that emphasis on deviations in multilingual situations on the part of researchers, educators, and intellectuals is merely stereotyping due to the phenomenon of categorical perception (Labov 1966), whereby deviations from a norm may be seen as far more prominent than its negligible frequency would warrant" (p. 235).

Studies on language attitudes, which, according to contributor Ornstein, are far too few in number, generally show Spanish and English speakers alike depreciating U.S. varieties of Spanish, especially Pachuco-Caló (discussed in SUS). This came out clearly in an experiment by Ramírez, Acre-Torres, and Politzer designed to determine the effects of a five-hour workshop in sociolinguistics conducted by the authors (in San José, California) on teachers' attitudes about nonstandard varieties of English and Spanish. They learned, first of all, that the teachers did indeed have opinions about language varieties, ranking standard English above all nonstandard varieties and code switching. But the workshop had the rather surprising effect of inducing an even more negative response to both nonstandard varieties of English and to code switching than they had held before the training; the authors can only conclude that much more extensive training will be required to effect the desired "consciousness raising." Ornstein also reported "widespread confusion about Southwest varieties in general" (p. 249)—for example, in a study he conducted, although 5% of the bilingual subjects had claimed that "formal, educated" Spanish was used in the area (of Texas), in another question about which Spanish variety was best controlled by the subjects, 32% claimed formal, educated Spanish! Only in Florida is there any evidence, in the papers in this volume, of a contrasting set of attitudes about Spanish: Carlos Solé's study of 14–18-year-old Cuban Americans indicates that positive feelings about their native language stem from a number of socioeconomic and demographic factors that differ from those prevalent in most of the other Spanish-speaking minorities of the nation: their parents were highly skilled and well educated, and did not have difficulty finding work in the United States. The young people had arrived as very young children and so had little difficulty in mastering English. Finally, the innovative bilingual education philosophy of Dade County positively reinforced Spanish: "Children were never chastised nor ridiculed for using Spanish, as has been the case with Mexican-American children" (p. 262). All of these are critical factors in attitude formation, and the receptive environment for Spanish is further bolstered by increasing Hispanic participation (at high levels) in the regional economy, with the obvious result that Spanish speakers will be regarded as an asset rather than as the burden they are often perceived to be in other parts of the country.

Studies of bilingual instruction and assessment include Edelsky and Hudleson's participant-observation report on the problems faced by a "marked" language in a bilingual classroom (in Phoenix), even when attitudes about the virtue of teaching it to members of the "unmarked" majority seem optimum on the teacher's part. Richard Figueroa points out that most Spanish-English bilingual curricula are too rigidly geared toward Mexican culture, when Spanish-speaking children may well come from other cultural backgrounds. Andrew Cohen examines the effect of bilingual schooling on Spanish language maintenance using as a data base 30 of the Chicano kindergartners at the Redwood City school he began studying in 1970 (14 children were in the bilingual classes and 16 in the conventional classroom). He found that several years later the children with the bilingual training were using Spanish more, overall, than the comparison group, for whom, on the contrary, Spanish language use had declined. By contrast Barbara Merino reports that the Spanish of older bilingual children (8–9 years) was not keeping pace with the development of their English and was in fact losing ground, which she attributes to the pressures of the dominant society.

The acquisition of bilingualism by young children is the theme addressed by the final essays in BEHS. Padilla and Liebman report on the results of a longitudinal study of three Spanish-English bilingual children aged 17–26 months whose MLUs (mean length of utterance) were calculated for English, Spanish, and mixed utterances and then compared with MLUs for monolingual children of similar ages. They found no evidence of a retarded rate of linguistic development for the bilinguals, as has been claimed by some other researchers; nor did they find support for the hypothesis that, in the early stages of bilingual acquisition, children do not distinguish between their two codes (the "mish-mash" hypothesis). Rather, the authors report that their subjects "demonstrated the use of one set of rules for each language" (p. 409). Finally, they make the important point—too often ignored by researchers of bilingualism—that code mixing is normative adult linguistic behavior in many bilingual communities of the United States (and elsewhere) and, as such, constitutes a model of language use that children are exposed to from the tenderest age.

In a study of somewhat older bilingual children, Padilla and Lindholm try to ascertain whether parallel rules in the children's two languages emerge simultaneously or one at a time and to document the types and degree of bilingual interference. They found that interrogatives were acquired more slowly in English than in Spanish but that negative and possessive structures emerged at about the same time; and there was very little evidence of interference across languages. Again, the data point to the conclusion that bilingual children do not develop linguistically more slowly than monolinguals.

The latter conclusion was likewise independently reached by Alvino Fantini, the final contributor to this volume, who analyzes his bilingual son's verbal repertoire, showing it to be rich and situation-sensitive even at early stages of development. Fantini identifies a number of speech styles controlled by his son, including peer talk, baby talk, intimate talk, talk for adults, and diverse styles associated with different public areas, as well as a narrative or storytelling style that was recognizable at 3 years, 3 months. The essay constitutes an interesting attempt at applying sociolinguistics to child bilingualism.

The contents of BLC fall into five parts, designated "Perspectives," "Native American Languages in Contact," "Spanish in the Borderlands," "Teaching and Learning," and "Language Maintenance, Language Shift, and Language Use." In Part 1 Guadalupe Valdes calls for more sociolinguistic research in the Ciudad Juarez-El Paso region, arguing that Juarez, in particular, merits closer attention than it has received, because there are marked "differences between this border situation and contexts in which Spanish is a minority language" (p. 12). Elizabeth Brandt proposes a research agenda on language contact phenomena which pays particular attention to Native American languages in the Southwest and to the question of the existence of pidgins or creoles involving these languages.

Language contact is the topic of Paul Kroskrity's insightful study in Part 2; he de-

scribes a series of different linguistic outcomes of contact for Arizona Tewa with English, Hopi, Spanish, and Apachean that in turn reflect different cultural and political interactions of the Tewa with the other groups (though the Tewa-Apachean relationship can only be inferred from linguistic evidence because it goes back to a much earlier time).

Spolsky and Irvine stress the sensible, but perhaps overlooked, idea that a traditional people such as Native Americans already in the process of becoming bilingual may not necessarily desire to develop literacy in their traditional tongue, or they may wish to do so for only limited purposes; they maintain that "a sociolinguistic analysis is needed to make explicit the conditions upon which such a decision depends" (p. 79).

The public speeches of Native American students are the focus of two essays in this section and of a third later in the volume. At issue is the complaint often heard from teachers that Native Americans' speeches are disorganized and rambling. The analysis of such speeches shows that the organizational premises are totally different from those of Anglo Americans, the former relying on implicit relationships among topics and a diffuse pattern of development. Such differences are ultimately tied to cultural values and expectations that are different between Native Americans and others: as Siler and Labadie-Wondergem point out, "Native American speakers do not take on the role of leading the listener through the speech . . . it is the listener's responsibility to decide on the importance of each topic and to relate the topics to each other" (p. 97). In form, the Native American speech has more the aspect of the spokes of a wheel than a linear progression. These are important observations that teachers should be urged to appreciate.

William Leap reviews research on American Indian English, of which he estimates there are at least 200 varieties; they share a number of linguistic features (some found in other nonstandard varieties of English as well), reflecting substratum influences on English phonology and grammar. Like Brandt, Leap calls for a great deal more research on the comparative histories of Indian languages and cultures, and on Indian multilingualism and Indian pidgins.

Part 3 contains linguistic and sociolinguistic studies of Southwest Spanish, including a brief survey of research on the phonology and lexicon of these varieties of Spanish by Florence Barkin. Mary Beth Floyd points to the dearth of syntactic studies and urges comparative work on the syntax of different regional varieties of U.S. Spanish. Jamarillo and Bills investigate the pronunciation of the voiceless affricate /č/ in the Spanish spoken in a bilingual town in New Mexico. Their analysis is sensitive to sex, age, and level of education, as they quantify the incidence of the phoneme's two major allophones, /č/ and /š/. Contrary to what some other investigators have reported as a strong tendency, especially among the young, toward a /š/-pronunciation of this consonant, their sample shows just the opposite, with the young preferring standard /č/ over /š/. It turns out that the younger speakers are also the best educated, so the authors conjecture that this change does not represent "a change of competence, but an expansion of competence" (p. 164).

Sex as a sociolinguistic variable is the focus of a study by James Lantolf on *para* reduction in Chicano Spanish (as in *Me voy pa(ra) San Antonio* ["I'm going to San Antonio"]). This occurs in other varieties of U.S. Spanish, but it is particularly prevalent in the Southwest—and, as he shows, among male speakers, especially in the blue-collar category. This is similar to Trudgill's findings about male-female differences in Norwich English, in which women were less likely than the men to use nonstandard forms.

Sex as a variable also turns up in a study by Valdés, García, and Storment, who investigate language choice in customer-server interactions at a large shopping center in New Mexico. They wish to ascertain who is accommodating linguistically to whom in such exchanges, based on the premise that for bilinguals "a speaker is said to have accommodated to the language choice of an interlocutor if, having initially selected a language, he or she honors the other's choice entirely or interjects utterances in this language which show an awareness of the other's preferred code" (p. 188). The result showed female servers always accommodating to the language of the client, whether male or fe-

male, whereas male servers accommodated to the language of the client 100% of the time if the client was male, but 75% if the client was female. Since sample size was small, however, nothing decisive can be concluded.

There is a clutch of articles dealing with pedagogical matters: Edelsky and Hudleson again sound the theme (see BEHS) about the hopelessness of children acquiring a marked language in an ordinary (nonimmersion) bilingual program in the absence of "heroic" efforts. Teschner attributes the lack of motivation he perceives among his University of Texas students to learn Spanish, even though there are strong economic and political reasons to do so and even though Spanish is heard all around, to "the inevitable disparity between the limited amount that can be mastered in a classroom . . . and the total command of the language shown by its native speakers" (p. 238). This disparity he sees as an argument in favor of the delayed oral production model of language instruction. J. Anne Montgomery also argues for delaying oral production in the classroom for Native American students, though for somewhat different reasons that relate to their reluctance to perform alone in class and the cultural expectation that one should reflect before speaking. Such behavioral norms are ill-adapted to traditional language pedagogy, and it is tempting to agree with Montgomery's observation that the more customary "language drills serve more as a disciplinary framework in the classroom of the overtaxed teacher than as a teaching device" (p. 248).

Language maintenance/shift is the focus of the three remaining essays, a subject of evident interest to speakers of minority languages in this, and other, countries. In the case of U.S. Spanish, which is strong numerically and which, in general, is constantly renewed by immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries, there is no immediate concern about its demise. However, there are less obvious factors at work that could undermine the chances for the long-term survival of the language. First, Spanish appears to be flourishing mainly in the home domain in many—certainly not all—Spanish-speaking communities. This pattern is reported in the three studies here: Jon Amastae on Southern Texas, Adalberto Aguirre, Jr. on a California border town, and Mary Beth Floyd on southern Colorado. Second, even within the home there may be significant differences in language use among the generations: for example, Floyd found that it was mainly her subjects' *parents* who spoke Spanish to one another, which has clear implications for the continued transmission of the language. Aguirre, on the other hand, states that his adolescent subjects most often spoke Spanish with their siblings in the home. Amastae found an interesting interaction between use of Spanish, sex of parent, and socioeconomic status: mothers influence their children more toward Spanish than fathers do at all levels of income, whereas increasing income on the father's side correlates with increasing likelihood of using English. The link between increasing upward social mobility for minorities and increasing use of English is obvious and a cause for concern among language loyalists. In spite of this trend, Amastae points to a cluster of factors that will cause Spanish to be relatively stable in the area he investigated (and, by extension, in many other areas of the Southwest): Spanish is an important commercial and political language (especially on the borderland), and it is heard on the streets, in shops, and on the media. Floyd, on the other hand, concludes that Spanish is being lost, at least among the younger people. Her conclusion is consonant with that of other sociolinguists who have shown that an intergenerational language shift is generally under way in the Southwest (e.g., Hernández-Chávez 1978; Hudson-Edwards and Bills 1980; Lopez 1978).

The SUS collection is more linguistic and ethnographic in orientation than the preceding two, and of the 18 articles in it, 10 were previously published. Part 1 contains 5 articles on structural aspects of varieties of U.S. Spanish. Rosaura Sánchez outlines the major phonological and morphological features of Chicano Spanish (where these differ from standard Spanish, discusses loanwords and other influences from English, and notes some common code-switching patterns. (This article was originally published in Spanish in 1972.) T. D. Terrell reviews the linguistic and sociolinguistic (including variable-rule) research on four phonological patterns prominent in Cuban and Puerto Rican Spanish

phonology and offers a methodological critique of quantitative variable rule analysis on the basis of data from these dialects. Robert Phillips's 1972 study of the distribution of the allophones of the phoneme /b/ in Los Angeles Spanish is included here, as are two syntactic studies—Maryellen García's on the variation in speakers' use of the prepositions *a* and *para* in connection with motion verbs in the Spanish of El Paso-Juarez and Carmen Silva-Corvalán's well-done quantitative analysis of the expression and placement of the subject in sentences and clauses in Los Angeles Spanish. The final study is John Webb's descriptive account of Caló, that much-maligned and ill-understood sociolect of Chicano Spanish that derives ultimately from Spanish Gypsies and feeds most directly into the Southwest through the underworld of Mexico City. It is primarily a youthful male form of talk whose users range from the English speaker who "sprinkles form and content into English discourse" to "a fluent speaker of informal Mexican Spanish, living in urban poverty . . . [who] may speak constantly . . . in caló, to the point of often being incomprehensible to other Spanish speakers . . . ; at the deepest level, caló borders on and blends with delinquent cant" (p. 124).

The second part of SUS is devoted chiefly to a consideration of code switching, an area of research in bilingualism that has developed spectacularly within the past decade. Once viewed as a bizarre, and incompetent, mixture of a bilingual's two languages, research has shown beyond a trace of doubt the complex linguistic, psychological, and social dimensions to this very prevalent form of bilingual talk. Carol Pfaff provides a thoughtful analysis of the linguistic parameters of code switching using data gathered from 200 California bilinguals. She concludes that "It is unnecessary to posit the existence of a third grammar to account for the utterances in which the languages are mixed; rather the grammars of Spanish and English are meshed according to a number of constraints" (p. 292). Shana Poplack's sophisticated quantitative analysis of the speech of 20 Puerto Rican Spanish-English bilinguals provides an analytical model of code switching that draws on both linguistic and extralinguistic factors and reveals some interesting patterns—for example, that more women than men favor switching code within sentences, and that subjects who were bilingual from birth manifest the highest percentage of such switching. Much like Pfaff, she concludes that competent code switching is generated by a "single code-switching grammar composed of the overlapping sectors of L_1 and L_2 " (p. 260). Rodolfo Jacobson analyzes the psychological and sociological implications of code switching, finding, very much in line with what other researchers have reported, that switches may be triggered by reference to ethnic or nonethnic culture, by topic or domain changes, and for metaphorical or emotional expression; he defines it as "a social dialect used by those who not only share the same code but also similar ethnic, cultural and environmental characteristics" (p. 206).

The final part of SUS focuses on "Ethnographic Aspects of Language Use in Bilingual Communities." Herein we find an ethnography-of-speaking type of analysis by Jose Limón of the use of folk Spanish by Chicano nationalist students in their political meetings at the University of Texas at Austin during the 1970s. Drawing on both macro and micro traditions of sociolinguistic investigation, Limón shows, ultimately, how the use of Spanish in such meetings serves to evoke political and nationalistic sentiments and how these can help keep the language vital and prevent language loss. John McDowell studies the verbal games of children living in East Austin and reports the use of a great deal of code switching, much of it deliberate and requiring considerable skill to achieve certain effects in telling riddles or jokes or in singing games. Ana Zentella explored Puerto Rican children's language use while playing dominos; like McDowell, she found much competent code switching, which did not show up during her formal interviews with the children. As she points out, this finding has important implications for bilingual education because "the full range of a child's linguistic ability and code-switching patterns may not be obvious or exploited in formal classroom lessons or examinations" (p. 373). Alexander Sapiens examines language use in a senior high school civics class where the students were either bilinguals or Spanish monolinguals and the teacher a bilingual Chicano. He found

that the teacher spoke more English than Spanish, in spite of the Spanish dominance of two-thirds of the class. English, he concluded, "was clearly treated as the more advantageous and more commonly spoken language, a sociolinguistic fact that holds in the school as well as in the community" (p. 395)—and a theme that has been noted elsewhere in this review. The final study in this part is Jose Galván's investigation of the changes in the language of marble games between 1935 and 1974 in southern Texas, with the trend being, not surprisingly, from Spanish to English.

The New Bilingualism reports on a conference held in May 1980 at the University of Southern California's Center for the Study of the American Experience. The term "new bilingualism" is misleading, for there was, in truth, nothing literally novel about the issues relating to bilingualism discussed in this work. The term seems instead to refer, on the one hand, to the efforts to get the federal government involved in bilingual education, and, on the other, to the question of whether or not the country should become officially bilingual. The last theme was sounded frequently at the conference, but it is in fact a red herring, for, as panelist Noel Epstein points out, "that is not a question facing any policy maker in Washington"; rather, "the issues have to do with the role of the federal government generally in bilingual education" (p. 132). Indeed, it might be noted that the only movement vocal and active at the moment about legislating language is the "U.S. English" lobby (formed in the spring of 1983) whose advocates seek a constitutional amendment to make English the *sole* official language of the nation.

The volume constitutes a disparate and, at times, rambling set of observations and comments by an assembly of 38 panelists, the majority of whom are not experts in the field of bilingualism, though a goodly number are involved in education in one way or another; and while there were several journalists present, one looks in vain for a linguist or sociolinguist on the roster of participants.

Three major addresses, by Stephen Wagner ("The Historical Background of Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the United States"), Maxwell Yalden ("The Bilingual Experience in Canada"), and Salomon Nahmad Sittón ("The Bilingual Experience in Mexico"), are solid essays that one might readily refer to again for data on those particular situations. Nathan Glazer's address "Pluralism and Ethnicity," on the other hand, is impressionistic and anecdotal. He is dubious about the value of bilingualism, in terms both of its effectiveness and its desirability, but his argumentation is superficial and intuitive—for example, he states that "In any case, it will take a very long time to find the conditions under which bilingual/bicultural education contributes to educational achievement" (pp. 60–61). He certainly must not have looked very hard.

The second, longer half of the book consists of the transcribed panel discussions on the implications of bilingualism, loosely organized around the themes of culture and economics, education, the law, politics, religion, and the media. It would be impossible to summarize these discussions, so I shall say only that, on the positive side, they provided a forum for the frank, and sometimes hostile, exchange of views on bilingualism—pro and con—and the formulation of some trenchant or insightful comments such as "the argument to discontinue bilingual education or diminish it because it has not been done well, if applicable, would also end the teaching of math, reading, and writing in our public schools" (p. 145). On the negative side, they impart a sense of undirected drifting from topic to topic, and often the comments made about a prior panelist's statements miss the point. Finally, there is a fair amount of repetition, perhaps an inherent flaw of conference proceedings.

Overall, the volume provides some useful information on bilingualism in North America, some interesting, and occasionally entertaining, anecdotal and personal comments, and an open airing of opinions about the worth of bilingualism to individuals and ethnic groups; but it cannot be said to constitute a very weighty, or durable, contribution to the study of this field.

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Manufacturing Danger: Fear and Pollution in Industrial Society

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Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technological and Environmental Dangers. *Mary Douglas and Aaron Wildavsky*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. x + 221 pp. \$14.95 (cloth), \$7.95 (paper).

Grevous compleynt [was made] that mochel people of the same ton brewen hure [their] ale and maken hure mete [meat] with water of the ryver of the said toun, the which said ryver there ben certeyn persones dwellying upon, as Barbers and White Tawyers,¹ that leyen many diverse hides . . . [to the] impayring and corrupcion of the said water of the rever biforesaid, and in destruction of the flysche thereynne [and] to gret harmyng and noissaunce of the said people. [Town of Colchester 1425]

[If] the iron mills be suffered to continue there will [be no timber] to build . . . either houses, watermills or windmills, bridges, sluices, ships crayers, boats and especially [nothing left] for the King's Majesty's towns . . . Hastings and Rye . . . shall not have timber sufficient to maintain their piers . . . [And if] the remedy be not shortly had . . . [these towns] will shortly decay. . . . [For if] the iron mills continue . . . there shall be but a few take commodity by them . . . [while] many a thousand not yet born [shall] feel with their parents great hurt and incommodity. . . . [Commission to examine the iron mills in Sussex, 14 January 1549]

WE LIVE IN A WORLD ENCOMPASSED BY FEAR. Americans, say Douglas and Wildavsky, are afraid of "Nothing much . . . except the food they eat, the water they