loppé, eux non plus, une sémiotique conséquente: la conception de Buyssens est l'antécédent de leur théorie de respect et réservée.

                                             W. Voigt

Joshua A. Fishman, Robert L. Cooper, Roxana Ma et al.: Bilingualism in the Barrio. Indiana University, Bloomington — Mouton & Co., The Hague 1971. 696 p. = Indiana University Publications, Language Science Monographs. Volume 7.

During the last ten years a great change which seems to be connected with the emergence and development of modern sociolinguistics has taken place in the research of bilingual communities and, in general, in views on bilingualism. Joshua A. Fishman, in chapter 20 of this volume, passes severe judgement on traditional concepts and methods of the three disciplines that have devoted attention to bilingualism; namely, psychology, linguistics and sociology.

To begin with, traditional models described societal bilingualism as being "an *inter*-group phenomenon resulting from the contact between essentially separate monolingual groups" (p. 605). Each of the three disciplines studied particular aspects of one and the same phenomenon, but their results have never been integrated into a theory covering all phenomena of bilingualism. *Linguists* have traditionally regarded bilingualism as "languages in contact" (Weinreich 1953)[1] "that is, as the interaction between two entities that normally exist in a pure and unsullied state and that have been brought into unnatural contact with each other" (p. 561). They focused on interference phenomena taking place between two ideal linguistic systems at different linguistic levels (phonological, syntactical and semantical). Furthermore, linguists were inclined

[1] U. Weinreich: Languages in Contact: Publications of the Lingustic Circle of New York -- No. 1. 1953. New York

to think that contacts of two linguistic systems were harmful to the communicational function and they stressed that bilingual individuals had many handicaps compared to their monolingual speech partners.

The conception of a *single* linguistic system underlying speech, which stemmed from Saussure, was the main reason why linguists were unable to explain the "free variations" of pronunciation, grammatical structures and the lexical level. However, "sociolinguistically sensitive analyses have shown that much of this variation was not free at all, but corresponded, instead, to highly patterned ('structured') usage by particular subpopulations of speakers existing either as co-territorial speech communities, or by such speakers in particular situations and with particular purposes in mind" (p. 561). And the task of linguists therefore would be "to determine the structures of the several speech varieties coexisting within the bilingual speech community" (p. 562). *Psychology* tried to elaborate methods for measuring individuals' proficiency in their two or more languages. Psychologists assumed that "bilingualism is basically best understood as a single, unified, unvarying 'capacity' or 'competence,' which may be tapped by means of various alternative tasks or 'performance' "(pp. 557—558), and that "their measures of bilingualism are context-free (i.e., unrelated to circumstances influencing verbal performance in any given language, such as speed pressures, motivation, social class, education, interlocutor relationships etc.)" (pp. 559—560). Psychological research on bilingualism, however, should take into account "what bilinguals actually *do* with or by means of their bilingualism" (p. 559), it should consider certain social parameters of the interaction, since contextual factors have an influence upon the actual performance.

Sociological research on bilingualism laid the main stress on language censuses, on measuring the frequency of the use of each language at the national-societal level. The most important means of sociological

inquiry aimed at describing bilingualism was self-report. However, modern sociolinguistics has cast serious doubts on the validity of the self-report, especially in the case of ideologically and intellectually unsophisticated bilingual individuals. Sociolinguistics, trying to refine its methods, must therefore answer the following question: *"what kinds* of respondents can validly reply to *what kinds* of language questions in conjunction with *what kinds* of criteria" (p. 178).

The principles of a new methodology for the study of bilingualism are essentially derived from modern sociolinguistic theory. Modern sociolinguistic theory considers bilingualism as an *intra-group* rather than an inter-group phenomenon. It assumes that the stable use and maintenance of two or several languages in a multilingual community includes that each language must be related to distinct, but complementary values of the community. In typical diglossia-situations, taking this term in the sense given to it first by Ferguson (1959),[2] one of the two languages (or dialects) is generally related to different aspects of High Culture (H) such as the status differentials, interpersonal distance and power relationships, (for definition of power and solidarity relationships see Roger Brown and Albert Gilman: The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity, in J. A. Fishman: Readings in the Sociology of Language, The Hague 1968. pp. 252—275) as well as the formality, rituals, school education and ideology etc.; and the other language to Low Cultural Values (L) such as intimacy, family, kinship and friendship relations, everyday life in the community and lower work sphere. Individuals generally accept, and identify themselves with these two major value clusters of their society; and sociolinguists, by means of extensive observation and correct identification of the interactions belonging to the H and L levels,

[2] C. A. Ferguson: Diglossia. In: Word 1959. 2. (15): 325—40.

can predict the corresponding use of L and H languages.

Stable bilingualism can be found only in case of a functional differentiation of the languages, otherwise bilingualism is something like a transitional state, since no community needs two or more languages for the same functions. It is evident that linguistics and psychology cannot ignore any longer the crucial importance of social dimensions, moreover, they must study bilingual performance, competence and speech varieties as a function of contextual factors and social patterns represented in the verbal interaction.

In chapter 20 of the volume (Sociolinguistic perspective on the study of bilingualism) J. A. Fishman resumes once again that system of social parameters proposed for the psychological and linguistic study of diglossic language use and language proficiency which has been used as a framework of the analysis in various chapters of this volume. The most important and, during the analysis, the most frequently used constituents of this system are — taking first the most abstract constituent and last the most concrete one — cultural values, domains, role relationship and social situations.

The different cultural values determining the choice of a given language variety can be specified in two complementary sets of *domains*. According to the definition of J. A. Fishman, domains are "institutionally relevant spheres of social interaction in which certain value clusters are behaviorally implemented ... Domain analysis in multilingual setting ... allows us to make the crucial connection between abstract value clusters and the more concrete social situations" (p. 17). "Domains themselves are abstracted from notions of domain-appropriate persons, domain-appropriate places and domain-appropriate times ..." (p. 268). After using interviews, self-reports and after a long period of participant-observation, "family ", "friendship", "religion", "education" and

"employment" were found to be such domains among the Puerto Rican community in Jersey City. These domains are abstracted from a huge number of *congruent social situations*. Social situation is an "encounter defined by intersection of setting, time and role relationship" (p. 599). (And congruent are those situations in which the interaction between two individuals occurs in appropriate role-relationship, in a locality appropriate to their role-relationship, and about a topic appropriate to the same role-relationship.) Finally, according to Gumperz's definition, *role-relationships* are "statuses defined in terms of rights and obligations" (p. 32) (e. g. parent-child, pupil-teacher etc. role-relationships).

These are the most essential parameters of sociology which permit two different kinds of analysis: in psychology a *contextualized* analysis of the individual's bilingual competence (that is, an analysis which takes into account the different factors of a given social context), and this analysis will result in *competence repertoire*; and in linguistics an analysis of the functional use of speech varieties in bilingual communities, and this will result in *linguistic repertoire*.

The studies of this volume, which summarize the results of two years of collective study, put into practice this contextualized, interdisciplinary approach to the phenomenon of societal bilingualism. The population studied was the inhabitants of four blocks in a single Puerto Rican neighbourhood in Jersey City, New Jersey (431 persons). The contrast populations examined were Puerto Rican intellectuals in the greater New York City Area, and college-oriented high school students, members of a Puerto Rican youth organization, all of Puerto Rican birth or extraction. The volume contains some fundamental general studies about the Puerto Rican community in the New York — New Jersey area (Part II. Background Studies), as well as sociologically, psychologically and linguistically oriented studies (Parts III.;

IV.; V.). It is completed by a summary of the results and experiences of the investigations (Part VI.), by a survey of general theoretical-methodological principles applied in the course of the research program (Part VII.) and, finally, by an appendix of the instruments used. All these parts comprise twenty-two separate studies written by different authors.

The themes of the respective studies cover a wide variety of fields, ranging from the analysis of press references to Puerto Ricans to the investigation of the linguistic registers of the Puerto Rican community. Therefore, I am not going to give a full account of all the aspects of these exceptionally rich and sometimes very original studies; this would be anyway impossible in this review. I would like to say, however, a few words about the studies which seemed to me to be the most significant in respect to the problem investigated and the method proposed.

Among the background studies (Gerard Hoffman: Puerto Ricans in New York: A language-related ethnographic summary; Joshua A. Fishman and Heriberto Casiano: Puerto Ricans in our press; Joshua A. Fishman: Intellectuals from the Island; Individual interview: Puerto Rican intellectual; Joshua A. Fishman: Bilingual attitudes and behaviors; Group interview: High school students) Joshua A. Fishman and Heriberto Casiano tried to examine, in an ingenious manner, the general atmosphere and opinions surrounding Puerto Ricans in the New York — New Jersey area. They context-analyzed the references to the Puerto Rican community, Puerto Rican culture and the Spanish language spoken in this community in two newspapers published in Spanish and in two dailies published in English in the New York City area. The findings revealed a clear difference in the attitudes manifested by the two kinds of newspapers concerning Puerto Ricans and frequently a subtle discriminative trend in the English language press. For example, English dailies concentrated more on Puerto Rican-

Anglo-American intergroup relationships than did Spanish language dailies, and were more preoccupied with Puerto Rican needs and problems, and less frequently regarded these problems to be remediable, less frequently ascribed positive characteristics to Puerto Ricans and more frequently described them in negative terms, less frequently referred to the American citizenship of Puerto Ricans, more frequently mentioned Puerto Rican gains and possibilities of progress in the United States, more frequently referred to the Spanish language as an obstacle of Puerto Rican-Anglo-American intergroup relations. Dailies published in Spanish favoured the maintenance of the Spanish language by attaching value to the Spanish language referring to it as a means of communication preferable to English within the Puerto Rican community, and a symbol of "Puerto Ricanness" and as a connecting link with the Hispanic world. These sorts of analyses seem to be excellent methods of primary orientation. Context-analysis has been on the first occasion employed in the field of research on bilingualism and this kind of analysis is to be exploited further in the future.

Among the sociologically-oriented studies (Joshua A. Fishman: A sociolinguistic census of a bilingual neighborhood; Joshua A. Fishman and Charles Terry: The contrastive validity of census data on bilingualism in a Puerto Rican neighborhood; Gerard Hoffman: Life in the neighborhood: A factor analytic study of Puerto Rican males; Lawrence Greenfield and Joshua A. Fishman: Situational measures of normative language views of person, place and topic among Puerto Rican bilinguals; How I talk to my parents [Instrument-construction try-out, Tape A, Informant P_2]) Lawrence Greenfield and Joshua A. Fishman deal with some aspects of the central problem of sociolinguistics: namely, with the connection between verbal behaviour and a set of sociological and psychological constituents, such as the setting, the role-relationships of the participants

of the interaction, the topic, the purpose of the interaction, and the opinions of the participants on these factors. The mutual effects of these factors have been so far studied mainly at the level of small group interactions, as it were, at microsociolinguistic level. The aim of the two experiments described in this chapter was to establish whether members of the Puerto Rican community considered one language, Spanish, more appropriate to domains such as "family", "friendship" and the other one, English, more appropriate to "education" "religion" and "employment"; in short, whether this Puerto Rican community was a diglossic one or not. Self-report has been used as the method in these experiments to reveal and to measure these normative language views concerning communicative appropriateness. This method was based upon the sociolinguistic experiences of small group interactions in the following manner: in the first experiment, the subjects, members of a Puerto Rican youth organization, were presented a set of situations, from the five previously established domains. The three components of these situations were: interlocutor, place and topic (e.g. in the "family" domain: talking with *parents*, at *home*, about *how to be a good son or daughter*). Two factors of these situations were given, partly congruent, partly incongruent with each other. The subjects were asked 1. to choose the third component in order to complete these situations, 2. to mark on a five-point scale the proportion of English and Spanish used in these situations. According to the results, in the case of congruent situations respondents selected the assumed domain-appropriate third component generally in 80 – 100 per cent. When dealing with incongruent situations, 85 per cent of the subjects chose as the third component a factor which was congruent with one of the two given components. As for language choice, if the third component selected was that of "family" or "friendship" domain, the use of Spanish was generally preferred to that of English.

In this way Spanish and English were really found to be functionally separated and differentiated, that is, diglossia existed in the Puerto Rican community. Little difference was found between congruent and incongruent situations concerning language choice. This seems to indicate that "incongruent" situations were reinterpreted by the subjects and furthermore the subjects felt these situations to predominantly belong to one or to the other of the two major value clusters and "normatively calling for the use of the language appropriate to that value cluster" (p. 243). In the second experiment all the three components were given, partly in congruent and partly in incongruent combinations. It was found that the most important factor defining the situation was the person of the interlocutor; the topic and locale were found to play no important role in the choice of the appropriate language.

In the first of the three psychologically-oriented studies (Robert L. Cooper: Degree of bilingualism; Robert L. Cooper: Bilingual comprehension, interpretation and perception; Joan Findling: Bilingual need affiliation and future orientation in extra-group and intra-group domains) R. L. Cooper made full use of the traditional indirect measures of bilingual proficiency, proposed by the psychology, but he intended to modernize it by the contextualized approach. The indirect measures of the degree of bilingualism consisted of two types of measures: those based upon verbal fluency (Word naming and word association tests) and those based upon self-ratings of relative usage (Word frequency estimation and Spanish usage rating scale). On the word naming task the subjects were requested to name, both in English and Spanish, as many words in each of the five domains as they were able to enumerate in one minute per domains. In the word association task they were asked to associate in one minute as many words as they could, to English and Spanish stimulus words representing the five contexts for

each language (e.g. factory, school, escuela, iglesia etc.). In the word frequency estimation task the respondents were asked to rate Spanish and English words on an eight-point scale according to their frequency occurring in their own communication. Each domain was represented in the word-list. In the Spanish usage rating scale the subjects rated the amount of Spanish they spoke to other bilingual Puerto Ricans at school, at work, in the neighborhood, at church and at home. The results in the four performance tasks showed important differences between the domains in the degree of bilingualism. It seems that such measurements can, to a certain degree, predict the maintenance of each of the languages in the bilingual community. The findings seem to indicate that the domains very little influenced by English are "family", "religion", and "neighborhood". Younger subjects were generally more proficient in English and they speak English rather than Spanish among themselves; owing to this increased proficiency of English, the use of Spanish is likely to diminish among the Puerto Ricans of the New York — New Jersey area in the future.
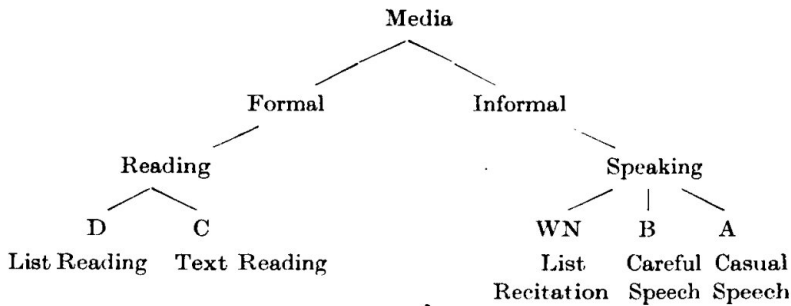
The great study of Roxana Ma and Eleanor Herasimchuk, "The linguistic dimensions of a bilingual neighborhood" in part V. aims at discovering the patterns of stylistic variations in the verbal behaviour of Puerto Rican bilinguals. The underlying principle states that "variation in linguistic behavior is patterned variation, a lawful behavior whose manifestation reflects and accompanies other social patterns within the speech community itself" (349 p.). The well-known study by William Labov whose ideas and methods inspired this study in a particular way, proved the existence of such patterned variations in the speech of monolingual communities (e.g. Labov, 1964).[3] As for

[3] W. Labov: Hypercorrection by the Lower Middle Classes as a Factor in Linguistic Change. In: W. Bright (Ed.): Sociolinguistics. The Hague 1966: 84—113.

the research of such stylistic patterns in bilingual communities the authors adopted the view of Gumperz (Gumperz, 1967),[1] according to which "bilingualism per se is merely a more salient extension of the general phenomenon of variation in code repertoire and code switching, so that bilinguals switch languages for many of the same reasons that monolinguals shift styles" (p. 350).

In the intra-group communication bilinguals use the language according to patterns and norms which can be different from those of the surrounding monolingual community.

It is the sociolinguistic competence (or communicative competence) which governs the use of these variations. The authors chose phonological variables as the units of stylistic variations in Puerto Rican Spanish and Puerto Rican/New York English. Similarly to the studies by Labov, phonological variables were analyzed in five contexts or "styles" (these "styles" being in fact different elicitation procedures) represented by the diagram below (p. 368).

occurrence patterns among phonological variables revealed six speech styles characterized by sets of linguistic variables. By the application of modern statistical methods (factor analysis) the authors defined four well-separable linguistic subgroups among the population studied. Further analysis proved that the four population subgroups were "clearly differentiated . . . with respect to a number of demographic variables and by five of the six styles, thus giving a precise sociolinguistic characterization of Puerto Rican bilingual speakers in the New York City speech community at large" (p. 456).

Summing up the merits of this collection of studies, I think the volume definitely proves the usefulness of a contextualized, interdisciplinary approach to the phenomenon of bilingualism in the field of the different disciplines. In some cases it employed for the first time in the research of bilingualism certain modern methods of mathematical statistics, which opened up new perspectives of analysis and summarized the experiences and results

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                          Media
                         /     \
              Formal              Informal
                  /                      \
        Reading                           Speaking
          /\                            /    |    \
        D    C                        WN     B     A
  List Reading  Text Reading         List   Careful  Casual
                                   Recitation Speech  Speech
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The distribution of six Puerto Rican Spanish phonological variables and eight Puerto Rican English variables and their subvariables was analyzed and a number of regular patterns of stylistic variations were found. In some cases the interference variables turned out to be functionally distributed. The study of the cross-language co-

of sociolinguistics for the research of widespread bilingualism.

Two remarks remain to be made: at first as for the future of research in this field, I think that inter-group studies of bilingualism can nevertheless be justified in a modified form, and can be useful in the case of certain other type of bilingual societies.

Secondly it would be urgent to elaborate field methods for studying regularities of code-switching (and the authors of this

[1] J. J. Gumperz: On the Linguistic Markers of Bilingual Communication. Journal of Social Issues 1967. (23), 48—57.

volume are aware of the importance of this task). The interesting individual and group interviews of this volume (chapters 4, 6, 11) suggest that regular patterns of code-switching must exist like patterns of intra-language varieties.

I think that according to the initial goal, the participants of this work have succeeded in "developing data gathering and data analyzing techniques that might be of value in the study of widespread and relatively stable bilingualism in large and complex social environments" (p. 4).

Zita Réger

R. H. Robins: A Short History of Linguistics. Longmans' Linguistics Library, London, 1967, 248 pp.

The author of this work is to be commended on having been able to give in a single, relatively slim work the ramified history of linguistic science as it developed in particular from ancient Greece and Rome, through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and to the present day. Moreover, Robins has not limited himself exclusively to the history of linguistics in the West, but has also taken into account the linguistic traditions of the East, both Near and Far. However, to keep the size the work manageable and due to the un-developed state of the field, the author centers the work around Western linguistics. This organization, however, is in no way meant to prejudge the case of the history of linguistics. As Robins writes (6), "In some important respects it is difficult to believe that European linguistics would be in the position it is today without the insights brought to it by linguistic work from out-side Europe." (In particular, "Chinese, Arabic, and Indian linguistic work" are mentioned. [vi].) As far as possible, more-over, Robins tries to place linguistic science within the total social, cultural and intel-lectual milieu of each period under consid-eration, thus producing a work which

indeed is a worthy contribution to the field of linguistic history on the one hand and the history of science and intellectual history on the other.

However, the above notwithstanding, there are several gaps in the work. Perhaps the most serious is the Classical bias of the book, which assumes that "all things come from Greece". As Robins writes (10), "It is, of course, not just in linguistics that the Greeks were the European pioneers. The intellectual life of Europe as a whole, its philosophical, moral, political, and aesthet-ic thought finds its origin in the work of Greek thinkers." This bias may well be due to the fact that the author is a Classical scholar and, moreover, has previously published a work which dealt particularly with the Greek and Roman periods (Robins, 1951). The present book, then, may be seen as basically an extension and elaboration of the first one.

Thus, although Robins beginst the history of linguistics with the work of the Greeks (Chapter II), still a short prefa-tory chapter should have been included dealing with the linguistic work done in the Ancient Near East which preceded and may well have influenced the work of the Greeks. As Robins himself states (10), "The Greeks were not the first group of civilized men in the area that they entered. They learned much from established civilizations with which they came into contact in and around the eastern end of the Mediter-ranean and the 'fertile crescent' of Asia Minor, the cradle of civilized man in the west." Thus, for example, in contrast Mounin (1967, 32—57, 71—83) discusses the linguistic work, in particular the devel-opment of writing systems, in Egypt, Sumer, Akkad and the Fertile Crescent before discussing Greece. Inasmuch as the Greeks ultimately borrowed their writing system from the Ancient Near East, such a discussion would be particularly germane even in a work with a Classical slant to it. Of similar interest would be the bi- and multi-lingual dictionaries and word lists produced in the Ancient Near Eastern