This edited volume addresses some of the educational issues arising from the tension between Standard English and English vernaculars. The tension is more acutely felt when the vernacular is marginalised or stigmatised, as is the case with the varieties discussed in this collection. The book consists of 12 chapters, a foreword by Peter Elbow and an introduction and a conclusion by the editor. Each of the 12 chapters starts with a synopsis and ends with a list of questions for critical discussion and reflection. The chapters are organised into seven parts. The two papers in the first part by Y. Kachru and Siegel are more general. The rest of the papers deal with specific English-based vernaculars: two each on Ebonics, Caribbean Creole English, Hispanized English and Asian Englishes (India and Philippines), and one each on Hawai‘i Creole English and West African Pidgin English. These vernaculars have undergone varying degrees of grammatical restructuring as a result of contact with other languages. English dialects in the traditional sense — such as the colloquial varieties spoken in Belfast, Northern Ireland or Brooklyn, New York — are excluded from consideration.

The chapters by Y. Kachru and Siegel set the stage for the chapters that follow. Y. Kachru classifies World Englishes in terms of the Three Circles model of B. Kachru (1985). According to Y. Kachru, the English varieties in the Outer and Expanding Circles have stable grammar and are effective tools of communication in their respective communities, yet they have experienced and continue to experience enormous difficulty in competing with Inner Circle English in all important domains, including English language teaching (ELT). Y. Kachru laments the severe under-representation in academic journals of scholarly work from Outer Circle regions, and the dearth of ELT materials based on the Outer Circle English. She discusses the sociolinguistic, educational and ideological reasons for the supremacy of Inner Circle English, and suggests ways of moving towards a pluralistic model of ELT.

While Kachru focuses on World Englishes, Siegel is concerned with English-based creoles and other non-standard vernaculars, such as Ebonics, and their roles in education. It is commonly believed that vernaculars such as Ebonics have no economic or social value and that they interfere in the acquisition of Standard English. Siegel examines the empirical and conceptual basis of such beliefs, and other common biases against vernaculars and the educational programmes that use them. Citing empirical studies, Siegel shows that these beliefs and biases are misplaced, and use of the vernacular in the educational process is beneficial to the development of students’ cognitive and academic skills.

The next eight chapters address the tension between Standard English and specific English-based creoles in North American schools. The two chapters by Rickford and Delpit revisit the debate on Ebonics in California in the 1990s. Rickford gives a precise summary of the Ebonics firestorm, and reviews the
empirical studies that bear on the use of Ebonics in the teaching of Standard English. Delpit recognises the importance of Standard English and urges teachers to be culturally and linguistically sensitive in classroom practice.

Unlike Ebonics, which is similar to standard American English (McWhorter, 1998), Caribbean Creole English and Jamaican Creole — the subjects of the chapters by Winer and Pratt-Johnson — are so different from Standard English that they are mutually unintelligible. As a result, Creole-speaking immigrant children face adjustment problems in North American schools and perform poorly. In order to improve the effectiveness of teaching, Winer proposes eight principles of ‘best practice’, some of which emphasise awareness of language diversity and a healthy respect for ‘the logic of students’ language’. Pratt-Johnson is more concerned with the process of teaching academic English. She discusses some grammatical features of Jamaican Creole to highlight the point that Jamaican students’ English errors can often be explained from the perspective of creole grammar.

The emphasis on language diversity in the curriculum inevitably raises the question about appropriateness: is the use of the vernacular appropriate in the educational context? This question is taken up by Eades, Jacobs, Hargrove and Menacker in Chapter 7. The authors trace the development of Hawai’i Creole English from a stigmatised vernacular to a language form accepted as appropriate for literary expression. As people’s attitudes have changed, the Creole has shed much of its earlier stigma and is able to expand the boundaries of appropriateness. Still, it has not reached the point where it is recognised and accepted as appropriate in educational contexts. The authors advocate additive bilingualism between Standard English and Hawai’i Creole English in Hawaiian schools. This remains a cause for language activism.

The section on Hispanised English contains one chapter by García and Menken, and one by Kells. García and Menken use the term ‘plurilingualism’ to describe the complex language situation facing American Latinos, many of whom are proficient in English and Spanish, as well as in non-standard varieties between the two languages. Standardised assessment in American schools is conducted only in Standard English, which places plurilingual Latino students at a disadvantage. Like the authors of the preceding chapters, García and Menken argue for language diversity in education and for school curricula that give due recognition to the plurilingual reality of Latino students. The chapter by Kells is practice-oriented. It describes the success of non-prescriptive teaching in raising language awareness among students, many of whom speak Tex Mex, a stigmatised English vernacular that has a strong Spanish (Mexican) influence.

In American schools, West African Pidgin English-speaking students experience the same language and assessment problems as do their classmates speaking other vernaculars. de Kleine reports her analysis of the grammatical errors in the writing samples produced by West African students, which reveals the extensive influence of the West African Pidgin English that they speak at home. Although the poor performance of West African students may be due to multiple factors, de Kleine singles out West African Pidgin English as the main culprit. In other words, she finds that the vernacular is a serious impediment to the acquisition of Standard English, contrary to the view expressed by Siegel. Like Winer,
de Kleine advocates classroom activities that explicitly contrast grammatical differences between the vernacular and Standard English.

The last two chapters deal with Asian Englishes: Indian English by Govardhan, and Philippine English by Tayao. Govardhan’s analysis of some 500 essays written by American and Indian college students reveals significant differences that reflect the discursive and rhetorical traditions of the two countries. Govardhan urges the English language teachers to be aware of the two traditions and devise positive teaching strategies that will help Indian students improve their writing skills by moving from the Indian rhetorical tradition to the American standard. Tayao is the lone Outer-Circle-based scholar who looks at a variety of Outer Circle English in an Outer Circle educational context. She lists some salient phonological, lexical and grammatical features of Philippine English, which, according to the author, is a dialect of General American English (there are numerous typographical errors in phonetic transcription, but the reader should be able to appreciate the phonological characteristics of Philippine English.) The Philippine government advocates biliteracy between English and Filipino, the local language. Tayao proposes ways to improve the teaching and learning of English to achieve this goal.

The book is a good collection of thought-provoking papers on the linguistic and educational tension created by the proliferation of vernacular Englishes and the need for language standardisation. Although different views are expressed on the proper role of the vernacular, the careful reader will be impressed with a sense of linguistic egalitarianism that runs through the book. There is no doubt that the vernaculars — English-based pidgins and creoles and Outer Circle Englishes — are rule-based and systematic. Popular notions that they are broken English are simply wrong. Nevertheless, the entrenched stigma of such varieties impedes the stabilisation of grammatical innovations and the development of adequate referential capabilities that would allow them to compete with Standard English in important domains (Bao, 2003). Not surprisingly, the arguments cited by Kachru in defense of Outer Circle English are written in Standard English, rather than in the vernacular, a phenomenon all too common in the Outer Circle countries or regions where English vernaculars are spoken (see also Romaine, 1994; Talib, 2002). Until the stigma is removed, Inner Circle dominance will continue.

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References
Words and Worlds: World Language Review

This book emerged from a UNESCO project that investigated the status of languages throughout the world, and the data analysed in it came principally from a survey questionnaire that was completed by over a thousand respondents, each one providing information about the status of one language. Particular attention was paid to small, endangered languages in order to establish exactly what languages are spoken where and to estimate how many speakers each one has. One purpose of the survey was an attempt to determine how many languages are under threat of extinction and to evaluate the official status of each language within its own community, the resources each has at its disposal in terms of media access and educational materials, and the factors that have led to so many of them being endangered.

There are 12 chapters in the book, each dealing with a different aspect of language status and survival. Most chapters end with a list of recommendations aimed at improving the social environment for minority languages and thereby maintaining multilingual diversity throughout the world. Chapter 1 introduces linguistic concepts and definitions, Chapter 2 provides overall estimates of the number of languages remaining in the world and the number of their speakers, and Chapter 3 considers the official status of languages within their communities. Each of the next five chapters covers the role of languages in one domain, with Chapter 4 considering public administration, Chapter 5 dealing with writing, Chapter 6 covering education, Chapter 7 looking at the media and Chapter 8 discussing the use of language in religion. The final four chapters then investigate specific issues concerned with the survival of languages, with Chapter 9 dealing with language transmission from parents to their children, Chapter 10 discussing attitudes towards languages, Chapter 11 providing an overview of the threats they face and finally Chapter 12 considering the future. Chapter 12 concludes with a summary of the issues covered in the earlier chapters and with recommendations for policies that might succeed in slowing down or reversing language attrition throughout the world.

Interspersed throughout the book are contributions from a wide range of writers. Some of these consider the status of minority languages in various places including China, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Nigeria, Northern Caucasus, Papua New Guinea and Siberia, while others provide independent perspectives on issues such as the effect of bilingualism on the mind, the status of linguistic norms, the use of the media in the service of minority languages and social attitudes towards pidgins and creoles. These contributions are clearly and effectively signalled as separate from the main text, being presented in blue-shaded boxes with the name of the author shown prominently at the end. In fact, most of the first two chapters were also written by guest writers: Peter
Mühlhäusler contributed nearly all of the material for Chapter 1 and Moreno Cabrera wrote most of Chapter 2. This external authorship is not indicated quite so clearly as the blue-shaded contributions mentioned earlier. In these two chapters, the author is just mentioned briefly at the start of each chapter. It would have been better if this extensive guest authorship had been indicated more clearly.

With contributions from so many authors, inevitably there is some degree of repetition, especially regarding the focal issue of the book: that our diverse linguistic heritage is something to be treasured and promoted. For example, the consideration of languages in India by D.P. Pattanayak states, ‘Culture, language and education are social capital for development’ (p. 154). Then the discussion of language diversity in China by Sun Hongkai and Huang Xing says, ‘The richness of a culture is contained within its language, which captures the essence of the traditional culture and experiences of its speakers’ (p. 236). Similarly, the recommendations stress that ‘the value of one’s own language and culture in terms of the individual’s identity and self-esteem must be emphasised’ (p. 257). Finally, in the main text we are reminded that ‘Language and culture are inseparable. Celebrating linguistic diversity involves celebrating cultural diversity’ (p. 261). While these statements are undoubtedly true and certainly all well intentioned, the degree of repetition can get a bit tedious. It might have been better if the guest contributions on language status in various parts of the world had focused on the situation regarding languages in one particular region rather than reiterating this central message.

Nevertheless, the book does contain an impressive quantity of fascinating material about the status of minority languages throughout the world, including plenty of valuable charts and tables as well as 13 detailed multi-coloured maps illustrating language usage in such places as Peru, South Africa, Tanzania, North Africa, Canada, Columbia and China. In some cases, the text in the book makes only passing reference to a particular map, so for example, we are told on page 180 that Map 9 shows the languages spoken in Tanzania, but the only relevance for this on page 180 is a brief description about the language of the media in Uganda, and there is actually no discussion of the situation in Tanzania. And similarly on page 190, we are referred to Map 10 which indicates the areas of north Africa where Tamazight varieties are spoken, but the text on page 190 is actually about the use of Arabic in religious domains and it includes no specific mention of Tamazight or any other North African indigenous languages. One gets the impression that this book has been cut down from a much lengthier UN report, but in the process of condensing it into a book form, the authors could not bear to part with such painstakingly prepared maps. To a certain extent, one can empathise with this decision, for all the maps are indeed beautiful and fascinating sources of detailed information.

Occasionally, the effort to pack so much into a single book results in long lists of languages with little or no elaborating details. For example, on pages 240–243, all the languages found in Nepal are listed, which might be fascinating for someone living there, but is probably of limited value for most other readers. On pages 178–179, we are offered a list of 209 languages that are not used in the media, and it is not clear what the purpose of such a long list is. In fact, much of Chapter 2 consists of lists of languages existing in the various regions
of the world, which can get a bit overwhelming. Nevertheless, most of the text does provide fascinating insights into language usage in a range of domains and the charts and tables by and large provide effective analyses of the data. Just occasionally, some aspect of the presentation could be improved, such as the use of five different shades of blue for the pie-chart on page 48 and at times there is something lacking in the presentation, such as the omission of Dravidian as one of the major language families of the world in the table on page 60. But these are minor quibbles. In general, this book represents an incredibly valuable compendium of information about the status of languages throughout the world.

There is, of course, a certain irony about a book written in English deriding the pernicious influence of a few dominant languages, especially English, on the survival of so many minority languages. There are other similar ironies: one of the major efforts of the survey was to identify and name the languages of the world, but Peter Mühlhäusler observes (p. 78) that the whole concept of demarcating and labelling languages is something which does not make any sense in the traditional societies of Papua New Guinea. Despite a few ironies such as this, on the whole, the book does an excellent job in collating so much information about the status of languages in the world. In fact, maybe it is a good idea that this information is written in English, to ensure that the message can reach as many people as possible, and also in the hope that speakers of English can develop a more understanding and supportive attitude towards speakers of minority languages.

The book adopts an almost missionary enthusiasm in its earnest promotion of the rights of minority languages, insisting that every government has an obligation to protect the linguistic rights of all communities. While respecting and promoting the linguistic rights of everyone is vitally important, and one cannot question the underlying claim of this book that there is an urgent need to enact policies that will slow down or reverse the immediate threat to so much of our linguistic diversity, in reality there are no easy answers. Indeed, there are genuine reasons why many governments seek to promote a single, national language, to ensure that education can reach as many children as possible without incurring unsustainable costs. In the real world, where funds for education are finite, attempts to offer comprehensive education in every language could seriously undermine ongoing efforts to ensure that a substantial standard of education reaches all children. In this book there is almost no consideration of this side of the argument. As a result, in insisting that all minority languages must be supported in all domains of usage at all levels, the book seems a little naive.

Of course, the threat to our diverse linguistic heritage is real and urgent. Will this book achieve anything to counter this imminent catastrophe? Probably it will do some good by raising awareness and allowing readers to appreciate the threat that hovers over all of us and by emphasising the importance of respecting the linguistic rights of everyone. However, the chances that all its recommendations will be adopted are rather slim. In the final chapter (p. 265) the text asks if it is utopian to imagine a world where exotic languages become a tourist resort and ordinary folk will pay to go and learn them. However beautiful an image this conjures up, it does indeed seem rather utopian. But, if even a few
Developing in Two Languages: Korean Children in America


Developing in Two Languages: Korean Children in America by S. J. Shin is the first book to investigate the language situation of Korean children and their families in America. It begins with an introduction and a thorough review of previous studies on childhood bilingualism (Chapter 1) and on the Korean population in the U.S. (Chapter 2). The methodology chapter (Chapter 3) is followed by the findings of the author’s rigorous research (Chapters 4, 5 and 6). The last chapter (Chapter 7) sums up Shin’s arguments and discusses development and maintenance of heritage languages. Incorporating her own experiences as an ESL student, a teacher educator and a parent of ESL students, Shin argues strongly that heritage language is an asset for children, community and society, rather than an obstacle.

While discussing the theoretical frameworks of her book in the first chapter, Shin points out that most linguistic minority children go through successive acquisition to become bilingual by using their first language at home and becoming exposed to their second language at school, resulting in the temporary delay of grammatical development in both languages. She reviews the studies showing that language shift occurs when children enter school, and children of immigrants tend to become monolingual English speakers. She also notes that support of the mother tongue is positively correlated to higher academic performance at a later stage. Thus, she argues that bilingual children’s language proficiency should not be evaluated in the same way as that of monolingual children.

In order to understand bilingual children’s language development, Shin argues that linguistic, cognitive, social and educational factors should be considered. She discusses, for example, the unequal social and cultural power that languages have in society. Social and cultural context is crucial to understanding children’s bilingual acquisition, and a language socialisation approach is appropriate for its investigation. Shin also turns our attention to immigrant children who experience conflict and breakdown in their families due to the loss of their mother tongue.

In Chapter 2, Shin provides an insightful discussion on the social, cultural, historical and linguistic contexts of Korean Americans. The majority of Korean immigrants emphasise their children’s education and the acquisition of English because they themselves had experienced downward mobility in the U.S. due to their own limited English proficiency. Even in Korea, English proficiency is
a desirable asset, and that might also encourage Korean-American parents to put their children’s acquisition of English at a higher priority than maintenance of Korean proficiency. This chapter also provides a description of the basic structures of the Korean language, such as its subject-verb-object word order, postpositional markers, the influence of Chinese and complex honorific systems.

The third chapter explains the data collection methods employed by the author, including participant observation, experimental design, survey method and interviews. The data sources include the bilingual speech of 12 first-grade Korean-American children in a New York city public school, experimental language data elicited from the 12 Korean-American children, a survey of Korean-American families which contained 53 questions in Korean about bilingualism and language shift and maintenance, and follow-up interviews with selected survey respondents and their children.

In Chapter 4, Shin provides exhaustive descriptions of codeswitching among Korean-English bilingual children. First, she discusses the patterns of participant-related codeswitching, demonstrating how children negotiate their language preference through codeswitching and how they adjust their speech to others’ language competence. She also discusses discourse-related codeswitching patterns, which occur when children take turns, express disagreement, repair previous speech, and mark side sequences deviating from the main conversation. While discussing the effects of codeswitching in children’s language development, she argues that using L1 is helpful for children to develop their L2 in that they can use the knowledge they already have in L1 to improve new language.

In Chapter 5, the author demonstrates that the acquisition of both Korean and English plural-marking morphemes in bilingual children is temporarily delayed as compared with monolingual children. She suggests that the differences between English and Korean phonology and structure may be the main factors for the delayed acquisition: the Korean language has no words ending with /s/ and uses the plural suffix optionally. Shin emphasises that the delay is only temporary and that should not be regarded as a language problem of bilingual children.

In Chapter 6, the author presents the findings of her survey and study of Korean-American parents and discusses the personal, social and educational pressures that affect Korean-American children’s language shift. Shin demonstrates various strategies used in parent–children communications to accommodate each other’s language preference and competence. She also examines inconsistencies in parents’ attitudes and behaviour regarding bilingualism. Although many Korean-American parents have a positive attitude toward bilingualism, they tend to support their children’s language development in English more strongly than that in Korean.

Shin speculates on possible reasons why becoming bilingual is difficult in most Korean-American families. First, she suggests that since Korean parents strongly emphasise children’s academic achievement, they tend to allow children to choose English as the medium of education over Korean. Second, many teachers, doctors and speech therapists believe that bilingualism causes language developmental problems, even though they do not have research supporting that idea. Unfortunately, because these professionals recommend that parents stop using two languages, many linguistic minority children lose their
mother tongue. Third, although research results demonstrate the advantages of maintaining the mother tongues of students, U.S. policies such as standardised national tests and the ‘No Child Left Behind’ Act push teachers and parents to focus only on children’s English proficiency, rather than balancing it with the development of Korean.

In the last chapter the author summarises the central findings and concludes with suggestions to promote the development and maintenance of the heritage language of linguistic minority children. She suggests transmission of heritage languages through intergenerational interactions, teaching heritage languages at school (including community-based heritage language schools, foreign language classes at public schools and dual language programmes) and supporting bilingualism at the level of national policy and practice. Each suggestion is followed by some practical tips that parents and educators can apply.

In this book the author argues that bilingualism is an asset rather than an obstacle for children, community, school and society. She successfully supports her arguments by reporting research findings that show the social and pragmatic purposes of Korean-English bilingual children’s codeswitching, their temporary delay in morpheme acquisition in both languages and pressures for language shift on linguistic minority families. She challenges current educational policy and practice which devalue native languages and unfairly evaluate bilingual children’s language proficiency on the same terms as monolinguals. Although this book mainly discusses Korean-American children, these findings can be applied to other immigrant and linguistic minority groups.

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Language Minority Students in American Schools: An Education in English

Language Minority Students in American Schools: An Education in English, authored by H.D. Adamson, differs from most other books on language minority students’ education. Most other books focus on language policy itself and neglect language acquisition research, or they only concentrate on language acquisition research and pay no attention to the ongoing language issues in the society. Adamson’s book is a combination of both theory and practice.

The education of language minority students in the United States has become a hot topic since anti-bilingual education laws were passed consecutively in California, Arizona and Massachusetts. Throughout his book, Adamson does not hesitate to state that he is in favour of using mother tongue and mother dialect in education. However, he still tries to ‘give both sides a fair hearing’ (p. 7).

Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter. Drawing from his own rich English as a second language (ESL) teaching experience, Adamson shares his views about
language minority students’ education in American schools. First of all, Adamson prefers a view of education, in which school curriculum and culture should be related to the students’ daily lives outside of schools. Meanwhile, he also points out that some elements of the standard curriculum should be incorporated because these minority students will compete with mainstream students later in life. Then, Adamson states that if full scale bilingual programmes are not feasible because there are many minority languages in one school, minority students’ languages should still be respected.

Chapters 2–5 lay the theoretical foundation for this book by elaborating the theories about language acquisition, language teaching, language varieties and learning in a second language. Chapter 2 deals with three main theories in language acquisition: behaviourist, nativist and sociocultural approaches.

In Chapter 3, Adamson discusses approaches to language teaching: instructional, progressive and behaviourist. Under the ‘instructional approach’, he includes the grammar-translation method. ‘The direct method’ is categorised under the ‘progressive approach’. Under the ‘behaviourist approach’, there is audio-lingual method. Some of the teaching methods have fallen out of fashion, but the argument between instructional and progressive approaches continues till today. The reading war in California is one result of the debate between progressive and instructional approaches. Progressive educationists prefer whole language methods. Stephen Krashen specifically believes that ‘learning to read can be as natural to a child as learning to speak’ (Adamson, 2005: 89). In contrast, the phonics method, considered a part of the instructional approach, is promoted by people who prefer ‘teaching the relationship between letters and sounds and encouraging children to sound out words’ (Adamson, 2005: 92). Adamson (2005: 98) does not try to provide a definite answer to this debate; instead, he concludes by stating that most experts recommend that ‘specific language forms should be taught, but only within the context of meaningful language use’.

Chapter 4 deals with the issue of standard and vernacular English. One of Adamson’s strong arguments in this chapter is that standard English is a language variety like any other, just a more prestigious one. Lippi-Green (1997) made a similar statement that all spoken languages are equal in linguistic terms. Adamson summarises the short history of the rise of standard English and reinforces the idea that standard American English is a variety that has been influenced by social and political forces. Citing examples of Black English and the Oakland School Board Resolution on Ebonics, Adamson re-states his position that students’ first language should be used as a resource in teaching a second language.

In Chapter 5, Adamson addresses the issue of academic learning in a second language. He begins the chapter by referring to the research done by Collier and Thomas (1989). Their research results show that in the upper grades, English language learners often fall further and further behind mainstream students. To explain this result, Adamson goes into how both groups learn academic material. The theories of academic learning can be divided into cognitive (nativist) and social/cultural varieties. According to Adamson, there are some problems with the basic assumptions of the cognitive theory. The cognitive perspective assumes that human minds work in the same way, so learning need not be affected by the
social situation in which it takes place. The sociocultural theory does a better job in this aspect. They are interested not only in the workings of the mind, but also in the culture and society that surrounds the individual. Vygotsky is one of the leading psychologists in this theory. Adamson found that some of Vygotsky’s theories are very useful for working with English language learners (ELL). For example, Adamson argues that the notions of scaffolding and the Zone of Proximal Development are very useful in understanding how ELL students learn academic material when tutored by an adult. Later in this chapter, Adamson discusses how learning American academic discourse conventions is a major challenge for many English language learners. He quotes Biber’s (1988, 1995), Biber et al.’s (1998), and Selinker and Douglas’ (1989) research to support a point that academic discourse and everyday discourse are different. The well-known bilingual educationist Cummins has been making this statement for a long time. In the final section of the chapter, Adamson suggests that a crucial factor in ELL students’ success is how well the ESL and mainstream programmes are integrated. ELL programmes need to focus not only on teaching language, but also on the background knowledge assumed in the mainstream curriculum, the conventions of academic discourse and the effective strategies for dealing with difficult material.

Chapter 6, School and Family, co-authored by Adamson and Courtney, is a case study of Cholla Middle School located in a Hispanic neighbourhood in the south of Tucson. With this case study, the authors illustrate the opportunities and challenges that face schools enrolling substantial numbers of ELL students. One of the challenges for such schools is to maintain classroom discipline. Another challenge is to provide high quality academic instruction at an appropriate level for its ELL students. Cholla school has a major strength of having bilingual and bicultural teachers, but communication between teachers and parents is not good. The authors suggest that good communication between school and family is of great importance to students’ academic development.

In Chapter 7, Adamson gives a thorough review of bilingual education. Adamson reviews the relevant legislation from the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 to the Proposition 227 of 1998. According to Adamson, the debate over bilingual education is based on theory, programme evaluations, political considerations and personal experiences with bilingual education programmes. After reviewing these factors in turn, Adamson suggests that there is no blanket answer because conditions vary so much from school to school; however, if both bilingual education and ESL-only are feasible, then bilingual education is clearly the way to go for several reasons. First, bilingual education values students’ home culture and eases the transition from home to school. Second, mother tongue can help ELL students learn academic skills. Third, competence in two languages is of great value for the United States.

This book is a considerable contribution to the field of the education of language minority students in the United States. With a large number of examples from educational programmes and his own teaching experience, Adamson presents his opinions on how to educate language minority students vividly and persuasively. In addition, Adamson has done a great job of relating theories on language acquisition and teaching, learning in a second language and bilingual education. The pileup of theories at the beginning of the book looks
somewhat intimidating to novice readers, but Adamson provides a solid theoretical foundation for the readers to make judgements about how to educate language minority students in the United States.

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References

Language Planning and Education

Ferguson’s Language Planning and Education provides a contemporary view of language planning (LP) as a ‘resurgent academic discipline’ (p. 13). It is meant as an advanced introduction for Master’s level students, those interested in research in the area and generally for ‘applied linguists, language teachers and educational policymakers’ (p. ix). This highly accessible book serves its target audience well with its numerous references and coverage of topics.

Ferguson contextualises LP in an era of globalisation. He discusses a wide range of important issues arising from or being redefined in the context of globalisation, like the re-imaginings of national identities, language revitalisation and the global spread of English. In the discussions, there is a focus on education, particularly bilingual education, and its advantages. In his presentation, he constantly draws from numerous key academic commentators like David Crystal, Joshua A. Fishman, Braj B. Kachru and Jim Cummins, amongst others. These issues are effectively reviewed, discussed and critiqued from various standpoints. He also provides numerous thought-provoking examples from various countries that provide the basis or the model for research into one’s own local context.

The book is organised into seven chapters. Chapters 1 and 2 provide a comprehensive overview to the discipline of LP and its key concepts, providing the foundation for the rest of the book. Ferguson traces the developments of this academic discipline over the past half century and notes various criticisms
against the discipline which led to its decline in status. Ferguson then highlights certain ‘major geopolitical developments’ (p. 5) in the late twentieth century that have led to a revival of interest in LP – developments such as globalisation. He observes that there is currently more willingness to recognise the limited effectiveness of LP and rightfully points out that in order for LP to be effective, it needs to work with ‘the economic, political and social structures that more substantially influence language behaviour than language policy itself can’ (p. 13). In Chapter 2 Ferguson provides a useful review of key concepts and terminology in the practice of LP. Appropriately, Ferguson starts off by clarifying the terms ‘language planning’ and ‘language policy’ which at times have been used interchangeably (p. 16) and at times as different concepts. Ferguson proposes that it would be preferable to treat the two not as distinct categories but as ‘closely related’ to facilitate ‘exposition and analysis’ (p. 16). He also emphasises that the domain of education is ‘the most crucial, sometimes indeed bearing the entire burden of LP implementation’ (p. 33).

Chapters 3 and 4 discuss LP in relation to linguistic varieties arising from immigrant and autochthonous minorities respectively. In Chapter 3 Ferguson presents a case study of bilingual education in the United States where there is a greater ‘linguistic and cultural diversity’ (p. 37) arising from increasing migration due to globalisation. Ferguson surveys the debate in the United States over the ‘education of linguistic minority pupils’ (p. 37) from educational and political perspectives. On the educational front, Ferguson concludes that bilingual education is advantageous. On the more interesting political front, Ferguson notes that many of the arguments surrounding bilingual education take place between assimilationists and pluralists, where the arguments are ideologically rooted, having to do with the ‘re-imaginings of national identity’ (p. x). Chapter 4 moves on to the topic of language revitalisation of ‘autochthonous, regional [linguistic] minorities’ (p. 71) as a part of LP efforts to prevent endangerment of such languages. Reviewing language decline and language revitalisation as subject matters, Ferguson points out the importance of ‘historical, sociopolitical and economic contexts of language revitalisation projects’ (p. 71) in comprehending how successful they are. For this reason, Ferguson devotes an interesting, substantial portion of the chapter to a comparative case study of the revitalisation of Welsh and Breton where the revitalisation of Welsh is successful while the revitalisation of Breton is ‘fragile’ (p. 103). In considering the ‘implications of the Welsh/Breton case study’ (p. 107), Ferguson notes that the fate of such languages depends on ‘primarily sociopolitical and economic factors’ (p. 107) and highlights that no one factor can predict the ‘successful revitalisation or failure’ (p. 107) of these languages. However, he points to factors like bilingual education, ‘economic incentives’ (p. 108) and language users’ positive attitudes as more influential of the success of language revitalisation.

In Chapter 5 Ferguson examines ‘the causes, effects and implications of the global spread of English’ (p. 110), drawing attention to Spolsky’s observation (2004: 91) that ‘English as a global language is now a factor that needs to be taken account in its language policy by any nation state’ (p. 110). Ferguson firstly considers ‘the debate over cause and agency in the spread of English’ (p. 110) by examining and critiquing Phillipson’s ‘thesis of linguistic imperialism’ (p. 113) and de Swaan’s explanatory framework as explanations to the spread of English.
Ferguson then moves on to address the ‘effects of the global spread of English’ (p. 125). He assesses the claims that the spread of English has reduced linguistic and cultural diversity, and he observes that there is little evidence that this is the case. Ferguson then moves on, in my opinion to the more important discussion of the global spread of English and its effect on inequality. Ferguson states that the spread of English is usually linked to ‘two main forms of inequality’ i.e. ‘inequalities in communication . . . between native and non-native speakers, and social, economic and political inequalities within and between countries’ (p. 136). This is reflective of Blommaert’s view that ‘inequality is produced in, through and around discourse’ (2005: 233), where discourse is located in the context of globalisation, which is situated within a world system that is characterised by inequalities (Blommaert, 2003: 612).

Chapter 6 addresses a further important consequence of the global spread of English, that is, the ‘pluralisation of “English”’ (p. 149). The significant implication of this has to do with education – it calls into question the continued use of British and American standard varieties as models for English language teaching as opposed to, for example, New Englishes (the focus of this chapter) or English as a lingua franca (which he discusses in the closing of the chapter). Ferguson fittingly starts off this chapter by discussing the sociolinguistic contexts within which the global spread of English has occurred, drawing on Kachru’s (1985) three circles of English schema. He then goes on to define New Englishes found within Kachru’s outer circle (e.g. ‘Singapore English’ and ‘Nigerian English’). He points out that these have ‘considerable heterogeneity’ (p. 152) as they can consist of differing styles including the standard and the colloquial. Ferguson argues that it is the differing perceptions over the divergence in features from the traditional standard models as ‘acceptable deviations’ or as ‘errors’ which is at the heart of the debate over the choice of teaching models (p. 157). He then goes on to effectively present and assess the arguments arising from the debate between the traditional standard varieties or New Englishes as models for teaching by addressing ‘the recurring issues of intelligibility, identity, practicality, acceptability and standardisation’ (p. 163).

He seems to argue in his discussion that it is in fact the acceptability of speakers that is the key factor in determining the successful use of localised varieties as a model. Drawing examples from India and Singapore, he argues that ‘[t]here is little current evidence . . . of any great enthusiasm in leading political circles for the establishment of an endonormative Standard Indian or Standard Singapore English’ (p. 171). This ultimately boils down to the attitude and mindset of speakers – as long as actual users of these localised varieties do not find them fully acceptable, the debate over the model of English to be taught will always tip the scale in favour of exonormative models. However, as Ferguson also points out, ‘high level political endorsement is surely necessary if a local variety, however sociolinguistically valid, is to find adoption as a teaching model’ (p. 171).

Ferguson then provides some pedagogic conclusions to the debate, pointing out that changes in ‘the demographics and sociolinguistics of English use’ (p. 172) make the continued use of traditional models based on native speaker standards obsolete. Thus, he calls for a ‘more nuanced position, one that attempts to reconcile, if this is possible, the complex sociolinguistic realities of
variation and change with the need for pedagogical clarity, and the demands of international intelligibility with the pull of local varieties’ (p. 172).

Ferguson aptly concludes in Chapter 7 by presenting a case study of the debate over the choice of medium of instruction in ‘multilingual post-colonial states of Africa’ (p. 179). The choice between English (a post-colonial language) or an African indigenous language, is the main issue in language planning in education in sub-Saharan Africa for various reasons including enhancing the ‘educational performance of pupils’ (p. 179). This case study brings together the issues Ferguson discusses in the book; primarily the multidimensional influences and constraints on language planning, the attitudes of speakers that determine the success of language planning efforts and the role of bilingual education as a potential solution to language choice dilemmas. He observes that although there is much evidence to show that it is educationally beneficial to be instructed in an indigenous language that is familiar, there are constraints to policy changes – ‘some sociopolitical, some economic, some practical’ (p. 183). He notes that the most important factor ‘is the economic power and attractiveness of English’ (p. 185) in the context of globalisation. He argues that because of these factors, major changes to policies are unlikely anytime soon.

Ferguson concludes by briefly outlining ‘some of the ameliorative measures that might be considered, at the level of both policy and pedagogy’ (p. 192). One of the measures discussed is the implementation of a bilingual education programme which he argues will serve the dual needs for English and an indigenous language. He highlights that most of the measures suggested ‘are not new, and many may turn out not to be feasible’ (p. 191) – which means that there is more research to be done, pointing to further work for applied linguists.

The book usefully ends with a section on ‘Discussion questions, exercises and further reading’ (p. 199) that can be used as a guide for further study and research. This book is definitely worth a read.

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References

English in Urban Classrooms: A Multimodal Perspective on Teaching and Learning

Emerging from a research project involving the seven listed authors, this book provides a fascinating, groundbreaking account of teaching and learning
English in urban, multi-ethnic classrooms. Two facts, mentioned in the beginning of the book, attest to the particular timeliness of the book. Firstly, the project was the first major study of classroom English following the far-reaching educational reforms of the 1990s. Secondly, in the gap between previous large scale projects and the study reported in the book, electronic technology had almost completely changed people’s lives, both inside and outside the classroom. This is the backdrop for a book which takes teaching and learning English in urban classrooms beyond an investigation of the spoken and written language of the classroom.

The book consists of 11 chapters, including an introduction and a concluding chapter. Following the introductory chapter, there are two chapters which provide a theoretical frameworking for the book. The following seven chapters are data-based and focus on a plethora of issues, some of which might not initially seem central to the actualisation of English in the classroom. However, the fascination of this book is that these chapters demonstrate wonderfully the very complex web of factors which are involved in the teaching and learning of English. Clearly, some of these data-based chapters represent the particular interests of the seven authors and their individual views and voices come through. However, I certainly concur with the statement made at the end of the preface of the volume in which the director of the research project (Kress) comments on how the different positions and voices of the research team (who are all listed authors of the book) – and their positions and voices are very different – complement each other. These data-driven chapters tell a story which comes together as a coherent whole.

*English in Urban Classrooms* examines how English is shaped in the classroom, taking into account government policy, traditions and experiences of the schools and teachers, and the social and geographical school environment. In doing so, it focuses on the characteristics of three urban multicultural schools, the ethos of school English departments, teacher formation and tradition, and the institutional changes which have shaped school English classrooms and students’ experiences of learning in order to provide an account of how English is constructed at the micro-level of the classroom. The authors argue that the construction or realisation of English in its fullest approach requires a multimodal approach, that is, one where all the culturally shaped resources are available for making meaning. The theoretical approach used is a semiotic one, an approach that focuses on meaning in all the ways it is made and read in culture in order to provide a fuller, richer and more accurate sense of how the meanings of English are materialised in the classroom.

Chapters 2 and 3 provide a brief but broad theoretical framework, particularly of multimodal semiotics. The authors keep this to minimum with a short chapter which provides the social and political framework for thinking about English (Chapter 2) and a further chapter (Chapter 3) which discusses a new approach to understanding school English using multimodal semiotics. In the former, the authors stress that whatever the regulatory frameworks are in which English is embedded, English is ‘actualised’ or realised in practice, and to understand this, one needs to look beyond the traditional methods of analysing classroom language alone. The chapter stresses the need for a much wider, multidimensional and multimodal approach. In the second of the two theoretical chapters, the
authors develop a theory and methodology which was used to describe English as it was being produced in the classrooms in the three schools in the study (details about which are given in the introductory chapter). This extends traditional classroom work based simply on speaking and writing alone by taking a ‘multimodal look’ into two of the schools in the project. By providing a ‘look’ at two lessons in classrooms in two different schools, the authors demonstrate how teaching English is actualised through different modes in the two classrooms, focusing specifically on the layout of the classroom, movement of the teacher in the classroom, visual displays, speech, gaze, gesture and embodiment, voice quality and students’ posture. The authors persuasively argue for the complex pedagogic discourses which are realised by these different modes. For example, based on the layout of the classroom and the visual display, contradictions between the participative or authoritarian pedagogy come across. But the authors caution about reading too much into one sign and stress the necessity of combining the complex meanings from the myriad of signs in the classroom. The examples in this chapter provide a very useful flavour for the data-based chapter which follow.

The first two chapters, based on data from the three schools in the study, provide a description and analysis of classroom layout and wall displays (Chapter 4) and a microanalysis of time practices in the classrooms (Chapter 5). Chapter 4 demonstrates how the visual displays and spatial arrangements of the classrooms can be understood as multimodal signs of English. These signs of English, or of the pedagogy of English, produced by the teacher are shaped by a variety of political and social factors, including the teacher’s views of learning and teaching English, and the link between the classroom practices and policy. Focusing on four classrooms in the three schools in the project, the authors paint a vivid picture of the spatial organisation and the visual displays and this discussion is well supported by figures of the layouts and the wall displays. They conclude this chapter by noting that although there are a variety of ways to construct English in the classroom, particularly the relationship between the curriculum and contemporary students’ cultures, there is a clear potential for alternative positions. In Chapter 5, the focus is on how policy and teachers organise educational time, focusing on the relationship between policy time, teachers’ time and students’ time. Through this microanalysis in the three schools, the chapter demonstrates how the time organisation fixed by policy affects the time practices of English lessons.

Chapter 6 focuses on the teachers’ understanding of ability and what effect this has on classroom interaction and the actualisation of English. The pedagogic construction of ability is discussed against the backdrop of two particular changes in education policy: the development of nationally planned curricula, and the changes in the position of teachers in the way that their performance is more closely managed and monitored. As a consequence of these changes, forms of pedagogy have changed and there has been a decline in teacher autonomy, and ability has emerged as a major government-endorsed principle of educational organisation. This chapter illustrates how different groups of students produce different types of English and important contributors to this are the high-stakes testing and teachers’ anxiety about the ability of their students to cope with the National Curriculum.
The theme of Chapter 7 is the production of ‘character’ in the English classroom, and how the different social and organisational features of the classroom influence its production. ‘Character’ is one of the central entities of the literature classroom and it is a prominent feature in the National Curriculum. The aim of this chapter is to show how an ‘entity’ such as ‘character’ is conceived and constructed in different ways in different contexts, and how this results in quite different versions of the meaning of character. Focusing on one English lesson from each of the two schools, the discussion demonstrates how, in one lesson, the teacher moves between the official version of the curriculum and her version, based on her understanding of the social domain of the students. In the other school, however, dominance is given to the official version of the curriculum.

Chapter 8 focuses on one particular teacher in one classroom in order to show how English and the ‘lifeworlds’ of the students can be brought together. This is done through an examination of the shared reading and interpretation of a set text. The strength of this chapter is that it clearly demonstrates the ‘multimodal orchestration’ of the lesson – rather than relying simply on an analysis of the spoken discourse of the classroom. The authors show how the students’ and teacher’s use of gaze, gesture and posture are crucial elements in accomplishing the task in hand. As the authors persuasively demonstrate, including several extracts which highlight the classroom participants’ use of gaze, posture and gesture, ‘many of the essential meanings and connections made in this lesson were carried out in modes other than language’ (p. 129), attesting to the potency of unspoken meanings through which lessons are accomplished.

The final two data-based chapters consider the issue of text. In Chapter 9, the focus is on the annotation of text, whereas in the following chapter, the focus is on the choice of texts. The annotation of text is a common feature of the English classroom and Chapter 9 shows how this is carried out differently in two classrooms. In one classroom, negotiation of meaning of the text is accomplished jointly by the teacher and students, whereas in the other classroom, the agency lies much more with the teacher. The discussion in this chapter also touches on the status of the text. In one classroom, it is an exploratory link between the story and the outside world, whereas in the other classroom, it provides a series of facts for examination purposes or, as the authors put it, the text is something to be ‘mined’ in order to be able to negotiate the exam. In Chapter 10, the authors examine the ‘textual cycle’ of English, that is the choice of texts in lessons, and the appropriateness of such texts within the larger educational context. What comes across in this chapter is the way classroom texts are chosen and used to create particular versions of English. Using teacher interviews, we see how the prescribed texts form a vital resource in the production of school English.

English in Urban Classrooms is an eminently readable book which will be of value not only to educational researchers, linguists and policymakers, but to practitioners as well as to those who have an interest in semiotics and multi-modality. The authors demonstrate, with admirable clarity, the connection between the myriad of modes through which meaning is made in the realisation of English in the classroom. In the short closing chapter, the authors touch on some important implications of the study – implications both for policy and practice. One of the major implications, and one which I was considering throughout
my reading of the book, is whether the insights in this book could be of use for teachers to change or adapt their professional practice. What can teachers and teacher trainers, for example, take away from this book? In the first place, it demonstrates the complexity of the classroom environment, as well as the interconnectedness between the classroom environment and the social, political and historical links with the world outside the classroom. Although recognising the fundamental role that speech and writing have in the classroom, the strength of this book is that it gives voice to other aspects of classroom life – aspects that, taken as a whole, would appear to be just as significant. The multimodal analysis that this book affords offers us a much more encompassing and enlightening account of classroom life and the role of English in urban classrooms. Emerging from this book are important insights into classroom research and teacher training, and the possibility for a more reflective approach to teaching.

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