

CURRENT SOCIOLINGUISTICS IN LATIN AMERICA

Richard E. Wood

Southeast Missouri State University

- O VINHATEIRO. ESTUDO ETNOGRÁFICO-LINGÜÍSTICO SOBRE O COLONO ITALIANO NO RS.* By HEINRICH A. BUNSE. (Porto Alegre: Ed. da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul and Instituto Estadual do Livro, 1978. Pp. 116. Cr\$ 36,00.)
- PARAGUAY, NACIÓN BILINGÜE.* By GRAZIELLA CORVALÁN. (Asunción: Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociológicos, 1977. Pp. 97.)
- ALGUNAS PRECISIONES SOBRE LOS DIALECTOS PORTUGUESES EN EL URUGUAY.* By ADOLFO ELIZAINCÍN. (Montevideo: Universidad de la República, División Publicaciones y Ediciones, 1979. Pp. 24. Available on exchange.)
- VARIACIONES SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICAS DEL CASTELLANO EN EL PERÚ.* By ALBERTO ESCOBAR. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978. Pp. 179.)
- FALARES ALEMÃES NO RIO GRANDE DO SUL.* By WALTER KOCH. (Porto Alegre: Editora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 1974. Pp. 90.)
- CORRIENTES ACTUALES EN LA DIALECTOLOGÍA DEL CARIBE HISPÁNICO. (ACTAS DE UN SIMPOSIO).* Edited by HUMBERTO LÓPEZ MORALES. ([Río Piedras] Editorial Universitaria, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1978. Pp. 247.)
- LINGUAGEM E CLASSES SOCIAIS.* By LUIZ ANTÔNIO MARCUSCHI. (Porto Alegre: Editora Movimento and Co-edições da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 1975. Pp. 84.)
- FONOLOGÍA DEL ESPAÑOL HABLADO EN LA CIUDAD DE MÉXICO. ENSAYO DE UN MÉTODO SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICO.* By GIORGIO PERISSINOTTO. (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1975. Pp. 134.)
- FRASEOLOGIA SUL-RIO-GRANDENSE. FRASES, PERÍFRASES E ADÁGIOS.* By ÁLVARO PORTO ALEGRE. (Porto Alegre: Edições da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 1975. Pp. 107.)
- BILINGÜISMO NACIONAL EN EL PARAGUAY.* By JOAN RUBIN. (México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1974. Ediciones especiales 69. Pp. 188.)
- EL ANGLICISMO EN EL HABLA COSTARRICENSE.* By VIRGINIA ZÚÑIGA TRISTÁN. (San José: Editorial Costa Rica and Editorial Universidad de Costa Rica, 1976. Pp. 166. \$25.00)

The older Latin American traditions of philology, dialectology, grammar and lexicography, associated with such classic names as Bello, Céspedes, Cuervo, Mac Hale, Rosenblat and Schuchardt, have now been joined by the lively new field of sociolinguistics, which has helped redefine the older disciplines, particularly dialectology and the writing of descriptive grammars. It is impossible to speak of an emerging Latin American school of sociolinguistics; rather, the titles under review indicate a number of geographical and thematic areas of activity, all with their counterparts in the somewhat older-established, but still youthful, sociolinguistics of the United States.

Heinrich Bunse's *O Vinhateiro* is, as the subtitle indicates, an ethnographic and linguistic study of the old Italian settlement zone in Rio Grande do Sul. The north Italians established themselves as vintners, and Bunse's work is, among other things, a fine, illustrated study of the traditional methodology and terminology of viticulture and winemaking. The book, indeed, can well be read by the nonlinguist, and is recommended to the ethnologist, the sociologist, and the student of folk life. Linguistically, Bunse notes that in Rio Grande do Sul, as in similar colonies in the U.S., Australia, and elsewhere, dialectal differences among the emigrants were flattened in the direction of a colonial *koiné*, a compromise language, rather than in a rapid switchover to the host language (Portuguese) or acquisition of Standard Italian (which was known only to priests and others with formal Italian education). The *koiné* was strong and still exists today in a form that shows little Portuguese influence. When this reviewer compares it with Haugen's samples of the Norwegian language in America or the American Finnish of Kolehmainen, the continuing strongly Italian nature of the Rio Grande do Sul *koiné* is strikingly different from the wholesale Americanization at every level—lexical, phonological, syntactic—of the immigrant languages of the United States. The syntactic level, admittedly, is the most difficult to judge in Bunse's book. Its main shortcoming is that it does not present even a single running text in the *koiné* or in any individual variety of it. Admittedly, the work is not entirely a linguistic study; but even on the most elementary syntactic and grammatical points, like the agreement of adjectives and the pluralization of nouns, we hardly have enough material to know whether the traditional Italian system still functions. About the only sentences or phrases cited are proverbs and *adágios*; but these may not be representative, since they may be influenced by Standard Italian or maintained as units while other items in the language change. Phonologically, the *koiné* is close to Venetian, with influences from Triestine, Trientine, Lombard and other varieties. Bunse permits a statistical comparison using dialect atlas mapping methods—Italian linguistics is at present the most advanced in the world at com-

puterized analysis of the percentage degree of similarity between different, chiefly regional, dialects, and further work in this field might permit us to make predictions on linguistic change, the formation of koinés, etc. While Bunse's inclusion of a sophisticated dialect map, then, is admirable, we feel all the more strongly his decision not to include a copy of his questionnaire or to tell us in any but the most general terms about the methodology of its administration. We lack good data, too, on his informants. Until such basic matter is provided, sociolinguistics in Brazil will not have come of age.

Graziella Corvalán offers us an "exploratory study" of the bilingualism that is felt by Paraguayans as uniquely distinctive of their country—nowhere else has a single indigenous language become essentially coterminous with the national territory and national identity. Corvalán quotes the 1962 census as saying that only 4 percent of the population surveyed were monolingual in Spanish, as against 45 percent monolingual in Guaraní and 51 percent bilingual. She begins with a historical survey, then analyzes the existing studies of language in Paraguay, chiefly those of Rubin, Pottier, and Meliá. Descriptions began to appear in early colonial times and still emerge from the Summer Institute of Linguistics today.

Corvalán, a sociologist and educator, is mainly concerned with national language policy in education and the poor performance of children whose language problems in the school setting have been officially ignored. Of all the books reviewed in the present study, hers is the strongest in its statement of quantitative method; Corvalán surveyed 3,688 children in grades one, four, and six, in science and language arts classes, and linked their grade performance to their linguistic repertoire and that of their teachers. Her book is the first to apply the principle (first introduced in creole linguistics) of the linguistic continuum in the Paraguayan case. The compartmentalization of Guaraní and Spanish is too neat; in the flesh-and-blood world of contemporary Paraguay there is a partly unrecognized, partly stigmatized intermediate variety (a style? a language?) known as *Jopará*; its use, by pupil or teacher, has a negative impact on class performance in either recognized language. Escobar, in a similar work to be reviewed below, introduces the useful term *interlect*. We might hope, in the future, for some comparative work on interlects as far apart as Paraguayan *Jopará*, the creole mesolects of Jamaica and elsewhere, "Tex-Mex" and other U.S. border varieties, creoloid English of Singapore (a creoloid is a language with creole-like features but not demonstrably derived from a pidgin), *Gastarbeiter* speech in Europe, and possibly Yiddish and other Jewish languages, Romani varieties, etc. Corvalán's study, while quite short, is a pioneer work in educational sociolinguistics in Latin America and, as such, ranks alongside such

works as Prins's *Latent taaltalent* on the problems of native Papiamentu speakers in Dutch-medium schools in the Netherlands Antilles (a work from which Corvalán might have profited).

Adolfo Elizaincín begins his short study of the Portuguese dialects spoken on Uruguayan soil by noting that they were the topic of unprecedented press coverage in Montevideo in 1978: "linguistic penetration" by Portuguese was paralleled by discussion of such concepts as sovereignty and self-determination. Elizaincín cites some editorials, particularly those reacting negatively to suggestions that bilingual education be established in the lusophone departments of Uruguay, in accordance with a suggestion by an official of the OAS (p. 6). He then continues by analyzing work done on the *fronterizo* dialect, including his own studies and those of Rona and Hensey. In his major chapter, "The True Nature of the Problem," Elizaincín points out, *inter alia*, that the presence of lusophones is not due chiefly to recent expansion from Brazil, but that the historic ethnic composition of one third of Uruguay's national territory, around the time of the creation of the republic, was lusophone, and that cities were founded between 1835 and 1862 to stem the advance of Portuguese; an act of parliament in 1861 spoke in alarmist terms of Brazilian advances into the east and northeast. He points out that the term *fronterizo* is considered derogatory and that it refers, in fact, to a variety of Portuguese which has come under strong Spanish influences at the phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical, and semantic levels. He also notes that Spanish is widespread in the frontier departments, and that bilingualism has been spread through education and is now typical of the upper classes and many of the young. Portuguese monolingualism typifies the old and the lower social strata. A diglossic situation has emerged; the upper classes have a clearer consciousness of different registers applicable in different situations and are, in general, more aware of the existence of two standard languages, Spanish and Portuguese, respectively. Elizaincín reports, in an anecdotal fashion, on the difficulties faced by lusophone youngsters in Spanish-medium schools. They tend to be silent in the classroom; like Corvalán's Jopará speakers in Paraguay, they tend to become dropouts.

Elizaincín's final chapter, "Educational Problems," cites some examples of nonstandard Spanish influenced by *fronterizo*; quotes some views of inspectors of education; and calls for a plan to study the need for bilingual education in the border area and introduce such education, at first in pilot schools, then more broadly. The author's liberal views are offset in the foreword by Alfonso Llambías de Azevedo, director general of university extension at the Universidad de la República, who speaks in puristic terms of "corrupciones en el habla coloquial" and makes no mention of bilingual education or any other recognition of Portuguese.

On the contrary, he calls for the inclusion in the Constitution of Uruguay of an article that would read: "El castellano o español es la lengua oficial del Estado. Todos los uruguayos tienen el deber de conocerla y el derecho a usarla" (p. 4).

The distinguished Peruvian sociolinguist and educator Alberto Escobar offers us a summary of five years of his research, 1973–78, on sociolinguistic variation in the Spanish of Peru, consisting of four separate but interrelated essays. Linguistic variation is a key principle of contemporary North American sociolinguistics; language is viewed as a dynamic process (this view, of course, dates back at least to Humboldt and the Schlegels) that cannot be oversimplified into "standard" vs. "nonstandard." American regional dialectologists of the Kurath-McDavid tradition will be pleased to see Escobar espousing their long-held belief in regional standards and registers within these standards. Escobar dismisses such simplistic dualisms as urban/rural and capital/provincial; never accurate, these distinctions are less valid than ever today in an era of migration, development, and population change. One general distinction which can, he says, be made is between Andean Spanish and lowland (*ribereño*) Spanish—found both in the Amazon basin and on the north and central coast including Lima; Andean Spanish is *lleista* whereas lowland Peruvian Spanish is non-*lleista* (or *yeista*, it being understood that *botella* may show, e.g., [y], [ʒ] or zero.) Escobar shows himself to be in the mainstream of American variationism by adopting the terms *acrolect*, *mesolect* and *basilect* (at a time when some North American and European scholars, notably creolists, have begun to question or reject these terms!). A second essay deals with "degrees of bilingualism and social dialectology" and may be profitably compared with Corvalán's work, which it influenced (e.g., giving it the term *interlect*). The interlect of Native Peruvians acquiring Spanish must, he says, be studied, and he suggests a three-point *escala de castellanización*. It is a simple scale, and lacks the complexity of his parameters of the Peruvian Spanish of native speakers. Quechua has a three-vowel system—its speakers may not acquire the five-vowel system of Spanish, specifically confusing *i* and *e*, *u* and *o*; also Spanish phonemic stress may not be acquired by a user of Quechua, a language without phonemic stress.

Escobar's next essay, "La difusión del castellano andino," is based upon a questionnaire, and attempts to probe Peruvians' consciousness of indexically Peruvian varieties of Spanish and their beliefs in a "typically Peruvian" style of language. Escobar's belief is that Andean types of Spanish are more indexically Peruvian than the lowland varieties, including the speech of the capital, Lima, which some take to be the national standard. He looks to the highlands as do those lowland Scots who, though they have no intention of learning Gaelic, still view the

Gaelic-speaking highlanders, now less than 2 percent of the total population, as the quintessential Scotsmen linguistically, a cultural symbol of Scotland to the world. His method was the elicitation of a judgment on the social acceptability of various marked morphosyntactic variables, in contexts labeled *educados*; his informants were 1,500 public school teachers from all national school districts—this selection of questionnaire-fillers has not changed since Wenker's German *Schulmeister* over a century ago. Finally, Escobar asks whether the Spanish of Lima is the national standard; he tests this by playing texts taped by native informants divided by barrio of origin and socioeconomic status. His work is fascinating and deserves to be studied in detail; suffice it to say that his study tends to confirm the work of Labov and others in the U.S., that the middle class (Escobar's *intermedios*) are more conscious of indexical and shibbolethic language and more sensitive to linguistic status than either the upper classes or the lower classes. The *intermedios* are socially mobile and self-conscious, caught between linguistic standards; Labov, McDavid, and others in the U.S. have shown how the would-be, upwardly mobile can adopt a new standard, while the traditional elite continue to speak as they did before. Like "Network English" in the U.S., a perceived "national standard" for Peru is recognized only by the middle-class resident of Lima; otherwise, local norms remain, and the linguistically versatile lower class is better at recognizing barrio of origin than its middle-class cousins. Escobar intends his work to be applied linguistics and calls for "el tratamiento lingüístico y pedagógico de los problemas sociales . . ." (p. 98).

Walter Koch's *Falares alemães no Rio Grande do Sul* is a fairly traditional dialect study in the tradition of the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* and particularly the *Deutscher Wortatlas*, at whose headquarters in Marburg Koch was trained. It is similar in approach to Bunse's work reviewed above, and like it, includes ethnological data and an examination of the language of a traditional cultivation—the raising of sugar cane and a single-word study of the variant terms for cucumber (Standard German *Gurke*). Koch's work modifies previous suggestions of the existence of a German colonial koiné in general use in RS with only a few isolated pockets of distinctive local speech. Rather, he shows a situation of complex variation, mapped by the *Wortatlas* technique. It is quite wrong, he asserts, to label a broadly spoken German colonial language variant with a narrow name claiming an overly specific origin in the old country, such as *Hunsrückisch*. The German-speaking settlers were from many areas including Austria, Switzerland, and German-speaking regions of Russia; their principal affiliations were, however, Franconia and Westphalia.

The first section of the book, despite the broad title "Contribuição para o estudo dos falares alemães no Rio Grande Do Sul," consists, in

fact, of two sharply differing parts: a general historical introduction, and the study of the geographical distribution of phonological and lexical variants of the lexeme *Gurke*, illustrated with maps. The second, "Idioleto e dialeto numa colônia vestfaliana," presents briefly the methodology and selection of informants for a questionnaire administered to a modest total of six informants and eliciting, in classic *Wortatlas* style, almost exclusively nouns, the words being selected from the *Deutscher Wortatlas*. Koch suggests that origins in Germany of the Brazilian German variants by the superposition of dialect maps, but does so in a less sophisticated way than Bunse (above). One questions Koch's decision to write the book in Portuguese and not in German, as it is essentially a contribution to German dialectology; lusophone readers unfamiliar with Standard German will get little out of it, and are not helped by his decision not to list Standard German forms, for comparative purposes, alongside his phonetic transcriptions (which unfortunately use a makeshift hodgepodge of letters, as the printer lacked an IPA font) of the local variants. Koch concludes with "Notas etnográfico-lingüísticas sobre a cana-de-açúcar," with some useful line drawings. Here, in contrast to section two, Standard German spellings of all terms are given, and indeed, in this fairly modern, technical field, Rio Grande do Sul German speech appears to be close to Standard German. Throughout the work, nothing is said on the morphosyntax of the language; Portuguese loanwords are not labeled as such; and in various other ways Koch does not provide the average reader with knowledge which he undoubtedly possesses, but which he should not assume in others—including his erstwhile colleagues in Germany.

A world removed from traditional rural dialectology is the strikingly modern, theoretically progressive, even avant-garde collection of papers from a 1976 symposium at the Universidad de Puerto Rico, *Corrientes actuales en la dialectología del Caribe hispánico*, under the perceptive editorship of Humberto López Morales. The papers cover Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Cuba (including Cubans in Miami), Venezuela, Panama, and general Caribbean Spanish phenomena. The approach of the majority of the contributors is variationist; transformational-generative, lexico-statistical, and instrumental phonetic analyses are represented. In a satirical vein, Henrietta Cedergren wonders whether anything more can be said on syllable-final *s* in Caribbean Spanish; yet she, as do others in this collection, adds much to our perception of this familiar, but still not exhausted, topic. The same can be said for other well-known topics like the liquids *l* and *r* and the alternation of *lo* and *le* (brilliantly analyzed from a transformation perspective, for Venezuelan Spanish, by Francesco D'Introno.) Not *all* popular subjects, however, are dealt with in *Corrientes actuales*; at least there is nothing on *tú, vos*

and *Usted*. Also, there is nothing on creoles or creoloids; a pity, since the discovery in the 1950s of Palenquero, a creole in El Palenque de San Basilio (Cartagena, Colombia), brought predictions of future work on Afro-Iberian creoles elsewhere in the “mainstream” Hispanic Caribbean (countries in which Spanish is and has always been the official language). However, taking this collection on its own terms, we see that it concentrates on the new dialectology, defined by López Morales as having “dejado definitivamente de ser un mero repertorio de curiosidades lingüísticas señaladas *a priori* y con criterios atomistas. Hoy es una ciencia empeñada en describir sistemas dialectales, o en establecer variantes diastemáticas, o en buscar marco sociolingüístico a la variación dialectal, o . . . para entender mejor el funcionamiento de las lenguas” (p. 4). This is perhaps the first book of Spanish dialectology that is a major and indisputable contribution to the overall theory of general linguistics; as such, it should be brought to the attention of non-Hispanists and non-Romanists, for example, by translation into English (two papers are already in that language).

Luiz Marcuschi’s *Linguagem e classes sociais*, though written in Portuguese for a Brazilian readership, is, like the works of Koch and Bunse above, German in spirit. But whereas Koch and Bunse presented Brazilian linguistic material, Marcuschi presents what was originally British sociolinguistic theorizing (the works of Bernstein on restricted vs. elaborated code), heavily filtered through and interpreted by German scholarship. The works in the bibliography are in German or English, plus one in French by Saussure; the question of the possible application of Bernstein’s theories or the existence of “restricted” and “elaborated” codes in Brazilian Portuguese—surely the most elementary question in a work of this nature written in that language—is never raised. The book contains exceedingly few linguistic examples, and those are merely translated from English to Portuguese, perhaps by way of German. And there are problems in such translation. Bernstein’s “restricted code” users supposedly use pronouns in different ways, or with different frequencies, from “elaborated code” users; but the structure of Portuguese, a more highly inflected language with verb endings which render the pronoun less necessary, differs from English (and German). The work derives from class notes and papers from a seminar attended by Marcuschi at Erlangen/Nürnberg in 1972–73; the author claims that it is a critique of Bernstein (an essayistic, theoretical critique, not a quantitative test)—but it is that only to the extent the German writers have criticized him. Marcuschi lists pioneer urban language surveys since 1948; he mentions his own “study of pronunciation in San Francisco (1953)” (p. 13). This catches our interest—it would be the first urban survey in the U.S. by a nonnative speaker of English, a vantage point

which can produce fresh perspectives. But the work, if published at all, is absent from the bibliography. To conclude, Marcuschi's book is not recommended.

Giorgio Perissinotto (whose affiliation and background are not specified in the book) offers a modest "Ensayo de un método sociolingüístico" on Mexico City. Studying language variation, he confronts the familiar issues in the phonology of Mexican Spanish, many of them important for Spanish generally—the question of syllable-final *s*, the neutralization of syllable-final plosives, the assibilation of vibrants, etc. While he does not resolve all these issues himself, he disproves, or casts doubt on, many existing accepted explanations, and his work is perhaps most significant as a challenge to others to undertake study, perhaps through fieldwork more extensive and more rigorous than his.

Perissinotto's work is divided into two parts; a description of the segmental phonemes of Mexico City Spanish and a description of his sociolinguistic fieldwork, based upon selected phonological data as correlated with certain demographic variables. The author describes his method, but some points are unclear. His corpus was collected by students; but who analyzed it—Perissinotto or the students? It is also unclear whether his tapes were analyzed in whole or in part, or on what basis they were selected for analysis. Again there are questions on the criteria for informant selection. They seem in some instances to have moved to Mexico City at quite mature ages and so are hardly native speakers of the variety desired. The work of the neurologist Wilder Penfield suggests that neural and muscular patterns governing language are generally fixed by preadolescence, so that articulation is unlikely to change since then; hence the "foreign accent" and atypicality of the immigrant informants, used by Perissinotto, who reached Mexico City at 10, 11, 18, and even 23 years of age.

In his handling of the vowel system, there are some apparent contradictions. Perissinotto concludes that the vowel system is "generally very stable and no structural changes are observed" (p. 38); however, on p. 41 he makes the stunning claim that all vowels in final position are neutralized and that a very relaxed vowel, apparently a kind of schwa, is heard in unstressed positions. If this is true, such endings as *-o* and *-a*, and *-os*, *-as* and *-es* would no longer be distinctive and a structural change of the most major proportions would have taken place. Regarding the consonants, perhaps his main conclusion is that Mexico City Spanish shows tense consonant articulations in positions where relaxed variants would have been expected (p. 68). He rejects a Native American substrate theory to explain this, but offers no other explanation. In his sociolinguistic chapter, his statistical method is not made explicit; he appears to be using percentage frequencies, but their

statistical reliability, especially in view of his small subject sample, is unclear. A questionable approach in the selection of informants was suggested above; his segmentation by age (definition of generations) and by socioeconomic status is also dubious. The latter is based upon educational level, employment, and a rather ill-defined, impressionistic measure of "degree of consciousness of the world around" in the informant. His assignment of housewives and students, in particular, to socioeconomic categories seems arbitrary, and not one of his three measures seems adequate to establish the *economic* aspect of his socioeconomic categorization. Much more could be said about Perissinotto's work; for all its defects of methodology and interpretation, it is recommended as a pioneering study in a field that now deserves further attention.

Álvaro Porto Alegre compiled the *Fraseologia* in 1943. It remained unpublished until after his death, when his heirs ceded the copyright to the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, which published his original "Fraseologia perifrases, adágios e provérbios gaúchos" under a slightly modified title. The publisher asked Floriano Maya d'Ávila to write a preface, putting Porto Alegre's work into a broader perspective of the international varieties of the Portuguese language. Maya d'Ávila analyzes the corpus collected by Porto Alegre and notes, for example, somewhat less than fifty Castillianisms, whether originating in the Río de la Plata basin or brought from Spain. He also compares the proverbial material with some standard works, and some lexical items of interest with the major Spanish-language sources, the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* and Augusto Malaret's *Diccionario de americanismos*. The original introduction by Porto Alegre is largely speculative, anecdotal, and patriotic in tone, and tells us nothing of his informants or methodology. The main body of the work is the phraseology, arranged alphabetically, the words and phrases being glossed in conventional Portuguese. Very rarely, explanatory notes or notes on geographical restriction of a phrase (generally "fronteira") are given. Though the work has its limitations, it is a useful compendium of folkways and folk wisdom from a vanishing rural way of life.

Joan Rubin's *National Bilingualism in Paraguay*, published in English in 1968, is already a standard work and needs no review here. So familiar, indeed, are some of its phrases and topoi, that it is beginning to crop up in tertiary literature, quoted or misquoted from secondary literature without credit to Rubin's original work. Our aim here is mainly to record that a Spanish translation of Rubin's work now exists. Reputable anthropologists today wish to share their work with the informants among whom they worked and try to ensure that it is published in their language or otherwise made known to them. At least that slight numeri-

cal minority of Paraguayans who know Spanish will now be able to judge her work. In a preface written in 1973, Rubín authorizes the Spanish version, reminds us that the fieldwork was conducted as far back as 1960–61, and hopes that the situation in Paraguay has not changed so greatly that the book is no longer realistic. This reviewer would suggest one addition: Guaraní has become a language of international broadcasting, with one hour daily from Radio Havana Cuba and a further half-hour from Radio Peace and Progress, Moscow. No Western short wave broadcaster transmits to Guaraní speakers, so that those with access to short wave radio (now widespread in Paraguay) are a captive audience. This could be added to Rubín's coverage of Guaraní in radio, pp. 75–76. In her preface to the Spanish edition, Rubín says that she returned to Paraguay in 1965 and 1967 for further fieldwork, and that her analysis of that is given in her 1969 work. This is confusing as no work by Rubín 1969 is listed in the bibliography (nor any reference appended to Rubín's 1973 preface) and one is left wondering whether or not "1969" is a misprint for 1968 (the work here translated).

Virginia Zúñiga Tristán's *El anglicismo en el habla costarricense* is in the long puristic and eradicationist tradition: "Se necesita una campaña a nivel nacional en todas las escuelas primarias y secundarias del país" to extirpate Anglicisms (p. 15). An existing law prohibiting the use of signs in a foreign language is not enough—a point which she graphically illustrates by an amusing and telling photographic section showing law-flouting public signs inscribed "Shoe Shop," "Costa Rica Academy" (monolingually), "Investigations, Information, Security," etc. Zúñiga Tristán's work is perhaps most similar in form and conception to Ricardo Alfaro's well-known *Diccionario de anglicismos* (Panama, 1950). It is strongest in its historical coverage—economic history, census data on number of English-speaking residents, etc. In her introduction, she notes the belletristic writers and philologists who have commented on the topic of Anglicisms in Costa Rica, though her list contains some unexpected inclusions and omissions—as does her bibliography. The value of her alphabetically-arranged list of Anglicisms is variable. Too many of the items are obvious trade names like *Alka Sélzer* which are marginal to the language; very important, however, is her recognition of brand names which have become generic: *klínex* means "tissue," *Róyal* means any "baking powder," and *yip* is "a four-wheel drive vehicle." She proves the generic nature and use of these and other words with illustrative sentences. This is really a healthier approach to the study of Anglicisms, since it treats Costa Rican Spanish as a dynamic system. On the other hand, Zúñiga Tristán enters the realm of speculation when she tries to distinguish probable oral borrowings from literary borrowings transmitted in writing. She suggests that Anglicisms which, in Costa Rica,

are close to their English phonological original, were transmitted orally, whereas those which have been extensively hispanicized came through writing (p. 17); she thinks this is "obvio" but it is not. In the first place, the degree of hispanicization can only be judged if we have careful phonetic transcriptions, preferably confronted with possible English pronunciations (including those current in the Caribbean, e.g., in Puerto Limón and other English- or English-Creole-speaking areas in or near Costa Rica). But Zúñiga Tristán does not provide such transcriptions (though she says she had them in the dissertation upon which the book is based). Her decision was to use Spanish orthography, or simulated orthography, for all entries. She based this decision upon the advice of her informants! Actually, no single system is ideal. One suggestion is that she might have used orthography for those words which are totally assimilated and which are no longer close semantically or reinforced by their English sources, e.g., *chumeco*, -a "a black, very dark-skinned person" (from Eng. *Jamaica*, or perhaps a Creole variant thereof); retained English orthography for unassimilated brand names and the like; and, in all cases, given one or more phonetic transcriptions. And, though she goes to great lengths to spell rather assimilated Anglicisms in a pseudo-Spanish orthography (*brif queis*, "briefcase") she still is inconsistent (*recóvery rum*: why -y as a final vowel in Spanish?). Things are worse when we see *brunch*, which she lists as "probablemente vía oral" (p. 48); if it was in fact transmitted orally, then all known patterns of Spanish assimilation would lead us to expect *branch* "brunch" (using Zúñiga Tristán's simulated Spanish orthography). Lacking a phonetic transcription, we will never know.

REFERENCES

HAUGEN, EINAR

1969 *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior*. Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press (reprint of 1953).

KOLEHMAINEN, JOHN ILMARI

1937 "The Finnicization of English in America." *American Sociological Review* 2:65.

PRINS, F. W.

n.d. *Latent taaltalent. Over de stiefmoederlijke behandeling van een moedertaal*. [1976] Zeist: Dijkstra's uitgeverij bv.

WOOD, RICHARD E.

1977 Review of F. W. Prins, *Latent taaltalent*. *The Modern Language Journal* 61:67.