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definitively from seductive evolutionary ideas. Sam Gill pushes us to dismiss these ideas by revealing not only their ethnocentric nature but also how they are ill-conceived and distort the character of Native American experience and symbolization. He shows that what would be seen as "primitive" traditions, for instance unwritten traditions, have their own sophisticated dynamics which we as outsiders are barely beginning to grasp. Implicit in evolutionary ideas lies the notion that when Indian Peoples change they "progress" and thereby become somehow less "Indian" [and more "civilized"]. This notion underlies not only most of Hultkrantz's work but also much important work by other scholars, despite disclaimers to the contrary. Therefore it is appropriate that Gill openly repudiates this popularly held misconception that change leads to a loss of "Indianness." This gesture points the field in the direction it needs to develop.

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Bilingualism and Language Contact: Spanish, English, and Native American Languages. Edited by Florence Barkin, Elizabeth A. Brandt and Jacob Ornstein-Galicia. New York: Teachers College Press, 1982. 320 pp. $24.95 Paper.

This collection of papers grew out of a 1978 conference held at the University of Texas at El Paso that sought to develop a new socio-linguistic perspective on the study of languages spoken in the Southwestern United States and adjacent Northern Mexico. The papers presented were supplemented by additional essays which provide a survey of bilingualism and linguistic diversity in the Spanish Borderlands. What distinguishes the book, according to the editors, is its focus on the processes, rather than the outcomes, of languages in contact, where linguistic variety serves to differentiate and maintain both group and individual distinctiveness.

The Borderlands are a linguistically rich and complex area within the United States where many Native American languages continue to flourish within a sociopolitical context that

was progressively dominated by Spanish speakers from the sixteenth century until the late nineteenth century when English gained ascendancy. It is an area, too, for which there are abundant historical records left by missionaries, colonial administrators, explorers and others—records which continue to furnish an ever-expanding ethnohistorical portrayal of human interaction in the region over the past five centuries.

Of the twenty-one papers in *Bilingualism and Language Contact,* eight discuss Native American languages while the remainder are concerned with Spanish. Because the two groups of papers are so topically distinct, this review discusses only those papers dealing with Native American languages, all but two of which, without editorial explanation, are reprinted here from the previously published proceeding of the Eighth Annual Southwest Area Language and Linguistics Workshop (Tempe, Arizona 1980).

In the first section, "Perspectives," Elizabeth A. Brandt provides a sketch of past research in the Borderlands on Native American languages that touches on the full gamut of their linguistic and socio-linguistic study. Pointing out areas where she feels additional or new research is needed, Brandt concludes the paper with a research agenda, enumerating twenty-three general topics and a variety of specific subjects for future research. She emphasizes the same priorities that linguists surveying this and other geographical areas in the United States persistently reiterate: the continuing need for more basic descriptive studies of individual Indian languages, particularly for more extensive and usable dictionaries and for the continued examination of language relationships and historical reconstructions. The lack of thorough descriptive studies—grammars and dictionaries—is certainly an impediment to the development of insightful sociolinguistic investigations; but more to the point, there is a real need, in other geographical regions no less than the Borderlands, for more solid linguistic research to go hand in hand with sociolinguistic study. All too frequently linguists ignore the sociocultural context within which a linguistic system is embedded. It is an unfortunate neglect since, as the following paper cogently illustrates, a good working knowledge of the structure of a language is essential for a more discerning understanding of its functioning in its social milieu.

"Native American Languages in Contact," the second section,

consists of five essays on a wide range of topics. In the first paper Paul V. Kroskrity successfully contributes to a typology of sociolinguistic contact by examining 500 years of Arizona Tewa language history. His study examines some results of Tewa contact with English in the twentieth century, with Hopi since the eighteenth century, with Spanish since the sixteenth century and with Apachean in prehistoric times. It is based on two complementary approaches: his own field observations of contact and change as manifested in patterned variation among contemporary Tewas (How contact with English has affected different generations.); and, for earlier periods, ethnohistorical investigation and inferences from linguistic data. The result is a fine example of what may be achieved by a multifaceted approach that stresses the relations among linguistic, social and cultural systems.

The reasons some minority groups readily accept literacy in their vernacular language and others reject it are the subject of the short paper by Bernard Spolsky and Patricia Irvine. By comparing the experiences of Navajos and Maoris Spolsky and Irvine suggest that the Navajo may be maintaining traditional cultural integrity when not accepting literacy in the Navajo language. The paper also stresses the need for a socio-linguistic approach to understanding the functions of literacy in any society and for assisting in policy decisions on whether or not to teach initial literacy in the vernacular.

The next paper, by Ralph Cooley and Philip Lujan, questions the frequent mainstream stereotyping of Native American public speeches as unorganized and rambling. After analyzing a corpus of twelve speeches—eight by college students and four by older adults—they conclude that Native American speeches are not randomly constructed but are organized according to culturally determined structural principles, primary among which is an adherence to implicit relationships between topics in lieu of relating topics explicitly as Western educational standards require. Cooley and Lujan suggest that the eight students in their study, all of whom are monolingual speakers of English, have modelled the structure of their communicative behavior after their elders' performances.

Ina Siler and Diana Labadie-Wondergem pick up on Cooley and Lujan's study and argue that Native American student speeches conform to a culturally determined Native American

rhetorical style. They claim that in Native American cultures—whether all or only some, we are not told—the speaker is "responsible for sharing with the audience knowledge about a subject, and the listener is responsible for determining the worth of the information. Any indication of the relationship among topics might be interpreted as an attempt to lead the audience towards a decision. This rhetorical strategy would be considered inappropriate."

The final paper in this section continues the subject of Indian English, a topic of many previous publications by its author, William Leap. He begins by noting that the study of Indian English has been legitimized by federal funding agencies which now award grants for its investigation and by an increasing number of students who have begun to study it. He summarizes recent work that bears on Indian English and assesses the implication of these various studies for educational policy.

In "Teaching and Learning," the fourth section of this book, there are two papers which focus on certain implications of sociolinguistic study for Native American education. In the first one J. Anne Montgomery notes that the learning and teaching of Indian languages has often been unsuccessful, a failure that she attributes to a clash between the polysynthetic structure of many Indian languages and language teaching methods derived from structurally different Indo-European languages. To improve the effectiveness of Indian language instruction she proposes a basic change in pedagogical technique: abandonment of the audio-lingual or cognitive approach traditionally used by linguists and substituting for it a method to be observed in the Native (Menominee) tradition for teaching Indian children to perform ceremonial drumming. This method relies on choral repetition of natural texts after a language speaking model and their memorization. Oral fluency in a language will admittedly not be achieved; but the method is an alternative for students whose primary interest is access to their culture history through language.

The last paper is based on the study of Cooley and Lujan. Marla Scafe and Gretta Kontas contend that negative classroom experiences for Native American students result in part from differing cultural expectations: in speech structure White educators demand, for example, a linear progression from one topic to the next, whereas Indian students provide an array of perspectives not overtly related to one another, a speech pattern supposed-

ly learned from tribal elders. To achieve a more satisfying classroom experience for both teacher and Indian student the authors suggest that speech teachers broaden their cultural perspective on expectations for speech organization and develop a more flexible approach to the evaluation of speeches.

As a collection the Native American papers in this book are uninspired. Several of them are interesting and one—Kroskrity's—is exemplary. Others, however, amount to little more than naive editorial opinion thinly veneered with sociological or educational jargon. Like most anthologies, this one varies dramatically in what it offers. Its unevenness and frequent shallowness are unfortunate since the Borderlands offer such rich and exciting opportunities for socio-linguistic research. Perhaps the major contribution of this book is to demonstrate that the study of Native American bilingualism in the region is still in its infancy.

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Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot. Edited by Theda Perdue. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983. 248 pp. $18.95 Cloth.

Cherokee Removal: The "William Penn" Essays and Other Writings by Jeremiah Evarts. Edited by Francis Paul Prucha. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1981. 320 pp. $19.50 Cloth

These well-produced and attractive volumes are a welcome addition to the growing body of primary materials about Native American history. The University of Tennessee Press is to be congratulated for its continuing effort to assist students of Native American history by making these long out-of-print and difficult-to-obtain sources accessible. Both contain key documents for the study of Indian removal in the 1830s. Both are edited by noted scholars in the field, and both have excellent scholarly introductions, footnotes and a handy, usable format.

Some might argue that we already have enough material on