

Attitudes to endangered languages: Identities and policies. By JULIA SALLABANK. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Pp. xvi, 271. ISBN 9781107030619. \$99.

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Attitudes to endangered languages is the result of more than ten years of research into language endangerment based on fieldwork on Britain's periphery—the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. Although the title and subtitle suggest a broad treatment, the book is not in fact a general overview of or theoretical approach to the topic. Its focus is on three separate case studies, which are discussed in the second part of the book.

The book starts with a comprehensive introduction to the field of study in Ch. 1; Ch. 2 then gives the sociocultural and political background of the islands studied, and Ch. 3 is devoted to the study of language attitudes and ideologies. After these three introductory chapters, the book shifts its focus to language endangerment and revitalization efforts on the Isle of Man, Guernsey, and Jersey. Ch. 4 discusses language practices, Ch. 5 language attitudes and language ideologies, and Ch. 6 language planning and policy. Chs. 4 to 6 are thus an application of Spolsky's (e.g. 2004) well-known and useful tripartite division of language policy. Investigating how practices, beliefs, and management of languages interact constitutes an important heuristic means to understand trajectories of languages and their speakers in the dynamic setting of changing language ecologies.

The sociopolitical setting of the three case studies deserves attention. All three islands feature their own distinct languages and enjoy far-reaching autonomy, being self-governed dependencies of the British Crown. In Guernsey and Jersey, the Oil languages Jèrriais and Guernesiais, respectively, are spoken. On the Isle of Man, the Celtic language Manx is spoken. The level of endangerment differs between the three cases. Jèrriais and Guernesiais are considered severely endangered today, whereas Manx is considered critically endangered after having been dormant (or 'extinct') for three decades (Moseley 2010). There are a number of important lessons to be learned from Ch. 2, most notably from the discussion of small islands and 'imagined communities' (41–42). This is largely uncharted territory in language endangerment studies, and the discussion of a number of factors impacting on language vitality, such as war, evacuation, and repatriation on some of the islands, is also very instructive. The fact that all three languages are endangered despite the political autonomy of the three islands is not fully discussed. I would have liked to know more details about how negative views of the indigenous languages have entered these islands, how they were spread and reproduced, and by whom, when, and why.

Ch. 3 is dedicated to the study of language ideology and language attitudes. It focuses by and large on what publications on language endangerment have to say. In particular, expanding the approach of language ideology for the study of language endangerment would have been desirable. The study of language ideology engages not only in ideas about language structure and use, but also in the background from which ideology emerges in the first place, and the processes concerning how ideology is normalized and spread as being 'commonsensical'. In fact, the entire book could have benefited from including more consideration from neighboring disciplines such as sociology or political science.

Chs. 4 to 6 constitute the core of the book. They relate Sallabank's fieldwork results to other cases of language endangerment. Her discussions of language shift and language revitalization refer mainly to the theoretical work done by Fishman (1991, 2001). In these chapters, S demonstrates detailed knowledge of her field of study, gained through numerous visits, during which she conducted surveys and interviews and also learned to speak Guernesiais fluently. Her observations of and participation in these language ecologies enable her to give detailed accounts of language use, ideology, and management. There are too many insights to cover in a brief review, but the following examples can be listed: phatic communication plays an important role in grassroots language revitalization efforts (85); among some speakers, fear of language change appears to be greater than that of language extinction (137); language loss (loss of proficiency) in speakers deepens over the course of language shift (96)—loss is not just between generations but is within individual speakers as well; there is playful language use of endangered languages, which places

more emphasis on 'looking good' in the linguistic landscape than on being grammatically correct (134); and ideas about linguistic diversity among scholars are unduly focused on the number of languages, rather than on the variety within these languages (172). The book is a real treasure trove of such small but important observations about endangered language ecologies. This is the book's greatest strength. Readers will benefit from her descriptions because S directs attention toward issues too often treated rather lightly in other studies of language endangerment. Thus S's book makes an important contribution to our understanding of what is at stake and what is really happening when languages are endangered and attempts are made to safeguard or revitalize them.

S's book is a very solid case study, similar in that respect to, for example, King's (2001) account of Quichua. It lacks, however, the boldness of the 'classics' on language endangerment such as Gal 1979, Dorian 1981, or Fishman 1991. Their urge or drive to identify and name abstract explanations, and to find new metaphors and categories to account for language shift and revitalization, is absent here. As a result, the book is at times repetitive when it comes to discussions of theory. This is lamentable, because new theory building is urgently needed, given the fact that views of language shift and language revitalization have been stagnating over the past twenty years.

While S announces a critical review of the field (76), she is too rarely critical of the scholarship this field has produced. For example, she never seems to seriously challenge existing language endangerment theory. While mainstream theory emphasizes the many differences between cases of language endangerment, there are also a number of similarities that all cases share. This is most relevant for our understanding of language shift and the possibilities of revitalizing endangered languages. Similarities include that language shift occurs in dominated communities, that it is triggered by changes in the economic organization of communities, that it is the result of inequality between speech communities in contact, and hence that language revitalization is an attempt to adjust such relations of domination and inequality (Wendel & Heinrich 2012). We have these insights due to the case studies that have been conducted over the past two decades, and it is now time to feed these insights back into language endangerment and revitalization theory.

Fishman's work is repeatedly referred to (e.g. pp. xii, 83–84, 113, 215–16), due to his position that language revitalization must start at home in the family and not in 'higher domains' such as school. S quotes others in questioning whether this view is tenable. The study of language endangerment calls for more thorough reflection, however. There is a deep-seated contradiction in a field that (i) claims that all language-shift processes are different and thus cannot be grasped by a limited number of factors impacting on language vitality, but (ii) proposes one singular approach to revitalizing endangered languages. If processes of language endangerment all differ, why should one approach to revitalization fit all cases? There is too little 'socio-' in a 'sociolinguistics' that does not consider differences in the social organization and structure of communities undergoing language shift, and likewise also does not consider the social changes that result in efforts of language revitalization. Furthermore, what beliefs about 'school' did Fishman have, in a serious ethnographic sense? Do these beliefs apply to those schools that played key roles in language revitalization, such as schools in Hawai'i, Wales, or Israel? In addition, we can ask whether the theoretical concept of 'domain' actually allows us to comprehensively grasp all processes of language shift and revitalization, or whether other approaches focusing on social networks or language proficiency in the endangered language are more adequate points of departure (Brenzinger & Heinrich 2013). Such questions could have been addressed, and need to be addressed, in order to advance our understanding of language endangerment and revitalization. Given the attention that has been placed on language endangerment in the past three decades, the field is ripe for such new questions and it must come up with new answers. But this is not done by S.

S's contribution to the study of language endangerment is that of adding new case studies. This is an important achievement, and everyone working on language endangerment will find her book extremely useful due to its many insightful details in the discussion of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. This book constitutes a comprehensive and up-to-date summary of where the study of language endangerment stands today. It will be referred to for many years to come, and

it will serve as an excellent point of departure for the study of language endangerment in other regions of the world.

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Lexical processing and second language acquisition. By NATASHA TOKOWICZ. New York: Routledge, 2014. Pp. 138. ISBN 9780415877541. \$35.72.

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The last two decades have seen a dramatic surge in research on bilingualism and multilingualism, with exciting new frontiers in the study of language being explored particularly in the cognitive and neural sciences. Current research is dedicated to studying the bilingual experience and shows a language system that is highly dynamic, where each language interacts with and influences the other. Within this context, *Lexical processing and second language acquisition* contributes persuasive evidence from psycholinguistics and second language (L2) acquisition research for how bilinguals of varying language backgrounds and proficiencies navigate the use of two languages. Tokowicz's expertly written volume builds on the canon of books dedicated to bilingualism by specifically addressing the word level, identifying unifying themes across subdisciplines, and showcasing the latest developments in a rapidly growing field.

The value of focusing on the representation and processing of words lies in part, as T reminds us, in the finding that 'word knowledge is foundational to learning the rest of language' (2). Indeed, lexical skills are tightly linked to successful language comprehension and production in both first language (L1; e.g. Nation 2014) and L2 acquisition (e.g. Prior et al. 2014). By skillfully demonstrating the interplay of variables that influence lexical access, T provides us with a framework for thinking about the dynamics of language at grammatical, syntactic, and pragmatic levels. To build her case, T emphasizes laboratory approaches to investigating the lexicon. This emphasis is well suited to inform our understanding of L2 learning because quantitative studies provide experimental control as well as sensitivity to the timing of events in linguistic processing.

In the first chapter, T situates the book both theoretically and methodologically, providing a roadmap to the reader on the fundamental questions the book addresses. T then moves themati-