

BOOK REVIEWS

Half and Half: Writers on Growing up Biracial and Bicultural. Edited by C. C. O'Hearn. New York: Pantheon Books. 1998. 272 pp.

What do we mean by "bicultural"? The exact meaning of the word "culture" in English is slippery at best, and its usage downright confusing: Do we "have" a culture, or "belong to" one? The term "biracial" is also problematic. Geneticists tell us there is no biological basis for the term "race"; it is, echo the social scientists, entirely a social construct.

The nineteen writers in this collection of personal accounts make it clear what it means to suffer at the hands of — and at times transcend — a social construct. These are not anguished tales of internal struggles as two opposing forces (two "cultures") fight it out within an individual psyche. There is anguish and struggle aplenty, but the battle is, mainly, external, not internal. The "bicultural/biracial" authors are fighting with the need of those around them to categorise them, to have them be one thing or another, to assign them a social identity. Here is Meri Nan-Ama Danquah in her essay "Life as an Alien":

I don't know where I come from. When people ask me, I have to stop and wonder what it is they really want to know about me. (p. 99)

Danquah is not describing a search for self-understanding, but a conflict about how to present herself to the world.

Maybe the desire to categorise others into a particular "race" or "culture" (or whatever else one wants to call the categories) is a universal feature of human nature. It is certainly a constant of life in the U.S., where most of the writers in the collection have spent their formative or adult years. It is one which, sometimes despite myself, I share: some of the writers began their essay by identifying the salient aspects of their background; those who did not soon had me scurrying to the "About the Authors" section at the end of the book so I could pin them down. Perhaps you, the reader of this review, also felt your curiosity tweaked by the melodious name "Meri Nan-Ama Danquah" (a Ghanaian living in Los Angeles, since you ask).

O'Hearn's thoughtfully selected and beautifully arranged collection is part of a growing understanding in the U.S., in some circles at least, that an increasing number of people do not fit into the categories we make for them, and that our trying to make them fit can do them considerable damage. Garrett Hongo writes of his growing sense of alienation from life in Eugene, Oregon, and his ever more frequent trips to the acceptance and diversity of the L.A. area he grew up in. Roxane Farmanfarmaian tells of her eventually futile attempts to reconcile the worlds her parents came from: Tehran and Salt Lake City. Francisco Goldman speaks of his searing anger at being treated as a Moroccan in Spain; Phillippe Wamba of the years spent trying "to negotiate the precarious currents of the middle passage between my American mother and African father" (p. 169).

Some of the writers appear to reach a kind of peace, either by transcending the categories (Bharati

Mukherjee concluding that "the point is to stay resilient and compassionate in the face of change," p. 79), fusing them together (Julia Alvarez seeing Latinos as providing a multiracial, multicultural model for a new America – a view which is viciously parodied in Danzy Senna's essay), or retreating into a personal world where the categories no longer apply (Indira Ganesan making Indian tea to ward off the America whose citizenship she now holds). Others hope that their own children will be able to find a peace of mind unattainable to themselves (David Mura hoping that his daughter can find a way of looking at herself "which does justice to her own complexity and the complexity of her parentage," p. 98).

For the most part, though, the focus is on the struggle rather than its resolution. Perhaps as a result of this, most of the essays in the collection deal with adolescence, the classic period for struggling with one's identity. Writer after writer remembers a period of growing awareness of not fitting the categories of the dominant society, specific incidents which made the condition acute, attempts to square the circle of social identity, and the pain of failure. Not one of the accounts fails to move; not one fails to make the reader a little wiser about the perspective(s) of the writer; not one offers a facile conclusion seeking to negate the pain that has come before.

And this is exactly what we should expect, since the writers anthologised here have all made writing in English their profession. Each essay has the surface effortless precision of metaphor which can come only from long apprenticeship in the skills of writing. The anguish here is as beautifully expressed as it is real. Clearly the writers have been chosen not only for their varied backgrounds, but also for the dexterity and evocative spirit of their prose. This is not to suggest that they all tell the same tale in roughly the same way. Far from it: Each essay has a unique and compelling tone — anger, melancholy, high-humour, biting irony, nostalgia, hope.

There is, however, a price to be paid for the clarity and force of expression which professional writers bring to their task. Almost without exception the writers describe middle-class social environments, middle-class upbringings, and middle-class affluence which allow time to write. This begs an important question: Is a social identity crisis a middle-class luxury, or is it simply that poorer people have less chance to write about their crises?

O'Hearn has made a Faustian bargain in deciding to include only contributions from professional writers: The beauty and resonance of expression comes at the price of sampling from a narrowly restricted stratum of society. The real clue to this is macaroni and cheese. This redolent dish appears in not one but four different essays as a metaphor for the U.S. experienced and enjoyed in youth. For all their variety of backgrounds, many of the writers share an association with U.S. gastronomic culture which indicates that the range of this collection is actually smaller than it at first appears.

What of Japan? What will our children write about when called upon for contributions for a similar volume? This book does not even hint at an answer to that question. There are essays by people of partly Japanese ancestry, but since they write (quite rightly) not of the "influence of Japanese genes", but of what U.S. society tries to make of them, they offer no clues at all to what our children might experience in a Japanese social context. We can only hope that when our children do produce their own collection of essays it will be half as well-written as this.

This caveat notwithstanding, there are many reasons to read *Half and Half*. Read it if you enjoy good writing. Read it if you want to get close to understanding the formative experiences of nineteen other human beings. Read it for the humour, the wisdom, the catharsis of shared adversity. Read it as a sign of the growing awareness of multi-cultural individuals in the U.S. Read it because it is compelling and, in places, haunting. Read it because it is a good read.

Reviewed by Stephen M. Ryan, Eichi (Sapientia) University

***Tutorials in Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Perspectives.* Edited by Annette M.B. de Groot and Judith F. Kroll. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc. 1997. 372 pp.**

This book provides a tutorial overview of research issues related to psycholinguistic aspects of bilingualism. In this review, I will try to briefly touch on the areas that are discussed in each section. The volume begins with an introduction and overview in which the editors discuss past developments and pursuits of educators investigating psycholinguistic issues related to bilingualism and give a short synopsis of the research covered in this collection of articles. The remainder of *Tutorials in Bilingualism* is divided into three parts: (1) Second Language Acquisition, (2) Representation, Comprehension, and Production in Two Languages, and (3) the Consequences of Bilingualism for Thought and for Special Forms of Language Processing.

Chapters 1 - 4 deal with the psycholinguistic aspects of second language acquisition. The first article, by Birgit Harley and Wenxia Wang, reviews past research and gives an analysis of where we are in regards to the Critical Period Hypothesis, which suggests that the optimum time for language acquisition is childhood, and that after a certain age, languages cannot be fully mastered. Harley and Wang consider five developmental periods and components that have been proposed in relation to the Critical Period Hypothesis: (1) onset, (2) offset, (3) intrinsic maturational component, (4) external component, and (5) affected system component (Colombo, 1982). The authors conclude that there is not enough evidence to prove that children necessarily have an advantage when learning languages.

In chapter 2, Nick C. Ellis and Nadine Laporte discuss how to best help learners become proficient in a second language. They draw on methods that call for use of conscious knowledge (deduction) and unconscious knowledge (induction), and conclude that both processes of learning are necessary to become a more proficient second language learner. In chapter 3, Norman Segalowitz proposes an approach to language learning that accounts for and brings together three perspectives: (1) individual differences, (2) cognitive/information processing, and (3) neuropsychological processes. This approach emphasizes that there is not any one factor that is necessarily the most important. In the final chapter in Part 1, Brian MacWhinney refutes the hypothesis that first language learners proceed to learn a language differently than second language learners. Instead of attributing differences in the learning process to different levels of conscious and unconscious learning, MacWhinney accounts for them by examining the role of input in their learning process and investigating how each type of learner assigns meaning to the

forms that they receive as input.

The second part of this book, comprised of chapters 5 - 9, covers representation, comprehension, and production in two languages. In chapter 5, Marilyn Chapnik Smith maintains that language form representations are language specific and that these representations are mapped onto various memory stores in the bilingual memory. In the next chapter, Judith F. Kroll and Annette M. B. Marilyn de Groot discuss the possible ways that memory stores are connected in the bilingual learner. The authors explain how hierarchical models that specify two distinct memories for the word forms and meanings of each language have been modified and revised to the point that they now represent different degrees of connections between the memory stores for the two languages.

Next, Nanda Poulisse looks at the limited research on the speech production of bilinguals, in chapter 7. She follows the process from developing concepts to articulating them, defining four stages of speech production that are accounted for by three components of processing: a conceptualizer, a formulator, and an articulator. In chapter 8, Francois Grosjean discusses how bilinguals mix two languages in speech production (codeswitch). The author argues that it is necessary to know the level of activation of the base or guest language and take this into consideration before making statements about language-specific or language-independent representation. He proposes a model with two subsystems, one assigned to each language, contained within an individual system. In chapter 9, Aydin Yucesan Durgunoglu reviews how bilinguals process reading passages in two languages. The author maintains that a learner's development of reading skills is determined by his or her linguistic and metalinguistic knowledge, literacy knowledge, and prior knowledge.

The third part of this book deals with the thought processes of bilinguals. In chapter 10, Vivian Cook looks at the positive and negative consequences of cognitively processing two languages in comparison to processing only one. In chapter 11, Robert Dufour discusses how sign language is a second language in itself, even though there are many aspects of sign language that are shared with various languages. Finally, in chapter 12 Michel Paradis discusses some cognitive neuropsychological issues related to bilingualism, looking at the left and right hemispheres of the brain and how they are accessed by bilingual aphasics.

Overall, *Tutorials in Bilingualism* provides a good overview and fairly current account of research on the psycholinguistics of bilingualism. The issues that the authors raise help the reader to develop a good grasp of the psycholinguistic aspects of bilingualism. Furthermore, the reference lists are an excellent bibliographical resource.

REFERENCE

Colombo, J. (1982). The Critical Period Concept: Research, Methodology, and Theoretical Issues. *Psychological Bulletin*, Vol. 91, pp. 260 - 275.

Reviewed by Peter Wanner, Kyoto Institute of Technology

書評

『バイリンガリズムー2 言語併用はいかに可能か』東照二著（2000年）東京：講談社。
248頁。

講談社の現代新書なので専門書ではなく、バイリンガリズムの触りと、著者の専門分野であるバイリンガルの社会言語的側面が概観できるようになっています。4章立てになっていて、第1章では、個人にとってのバイリンガリズム、第2章では、どのようにしたらバイリンガルになれるのか、第3・4章では、社会という大きな枠組みの中でのバイリンガル教育が扱われています。まず第1章では言語学的なアプローチから、「バイリンガルの定義」や「バイリンガリズムと知能」等が説明されています。後半部分は筆者の専門性によって、事象的には非常におもしろいコードスイッチ（日英バイリンガルの人たちが日本語と英語を混ぜ合わせてしゃべることがありますね、あれです）について書かれていますが、一般の読者にはちょっと詳しすぎて、ここで読むのをやめてしまいかねません。ただ、バイリンガルと知能の関係や、脳構造などは実に簡潔にわかりやすく書かれているので、この章は興味のあるところだけつまんで、飛ばし読みをすると良いと思います。

第2章は、「どんな語学オンチでもバイリンガルになれるの?」「英語をマスターするには何年かかるの?」など取っつきやすい内容になっています。一方で、言語を考える上でとても大事なカミンズ、クラッシュン、チョムスキーの理論がわかりやすく説明されています。これからバイリンガリズムの勉強をしていこうとする人には多くのことが学べる章になっています。

第3・4章では、アメリカでのバイリンガル（教育）史が、社会言語学的に書かれています。「エンパワーメント」という語をキーワードに、過去だけでなく、現在から近い将来のアメリカで、バイリンガル教育がどのように推移していくのかについて、著者の考えが述べられています。要約すると、バイリンガリズムとは言語学的側面だけで捉えるのではなく、心理的・社会的側面も有機的に繋げて考える必要があるというものです。つまり、バイリンガルになるということは、他の言語社会や文化に興味を持ち、柔軟で創造的な考え方をもち、自分の言語・文化に対する誇りを持つことに加えて、他の言語・文化も受け入れ、様々な背景を持つ人たちと共生し、お互い学びあい、繁栄すること（これが「エンパワーメント」）だと主張しています。この後半2章は、アメリカ社会を通して、バイリンガリズムを実にうまく浮かび上がらせています。ただ日本語で書かれている以上、在日韓国・朝鮮人、アイヌ、中国帰国者たちにも少し触れて欲しかったとも思います。非常にわかりやすく偏見なく書かれている良書なので、細かなところまで注文をつけてしまいましたが、日本語で書かれているバイリンガルに関する本が殆どない状況で、社会言語学的視点からバイリンガリズムを捉えた最良の入門書と言える1冊です。

福井医科大学 田浦秀幸

『日本のバイリンガル教育』山本雅代著（2000年）東京：明石書店。294頁。

この本は社会言語的な面からバイリンガルを見たものですが、日本の事象のみを取り扱っています。バイリンガルと言うと、どうも日本人は英語と日本語の2言語併用者を頭に思い浮かべますが、数から見ると日本に一番多いバイリンガル（純粋に言語面から見るとモノリンガルかもしれませんがバイカルチュラルという意味で）は在日の韓国・朝鮮の人たちです。それ以外にも、政府の抑圧の為に殆ど自由に自分たちの言葉を操れる人たちがいなくなってしまったアイヌの人たちや、外国人労働者（ニューカマー）の子供たち、中国からの引き上げ者の子供たち、インドシナ難民の子供たち、帰国児童・生徒、また沖縄にはアメラジアンと呼ばれる米軍人とアジア人との間に生まれた子供たちがいます。このようにあまり知られていませんが、様々なタイプのバイリンガルの人たちが日本で生活しています。このような人たちと日々接し、よく実状を認識している5人の著者が、それぞれ第2～6章を執筆しているので説得力があり、更に、編者が導入部分で全体を総括しているので、手取り早く日本社会のバイリンガル教育の現状を掴むには、実にコンパクトにまとまっている本だと思います。

詳しく見ると、第1章では、アメリカでの少数言語の子供たちを対象とした教育のあり方に関して、3つの言語観が述べられています。1つめは、子供たちが社会の主流言語である英語を使えない事態を解決すべきだとする言語観、次に子供たちの母語を用いる権利や母語教育を受ける権利ばかりでなく、社会の主流言語である英語を獲得してメインストリームの教育を受ける権利まで含む言語観、最後に子供たちの母語を個人及び社会にとって有用な人的資源とみなす言語観が紹介されています。この枠組みに沿った形で、日本でのアイヌ、在日韓国・朝鮮人、帰国生徒、中国からの引き揚げ者、インドシナ難民、ニューカマーの子供たちのことが簡潔に考察されています。この第1章で、日本におけるバイリンガル教育の理念や現状を概観したあとに、各章でアイヌ、在日韓国・朝鮮人、ニューカマー、アメラジアンに関して詳細な報告が、それぞれの分野の専門家からなされています。それぞれ様々な問題を抱えながらも、どのように対処しているのか、将来的にはどのような施策を行えばよいという提案もあり、日本の言語政策を決定していくような立場の人たちばかりでなく、日本のバイリンガリズムの現状について関心を持っている人にとって、是非仕入れておく必要がある知識がまとめられています。

母語が日本語でない人たちがどんどん増えてきつつある日本社会において、日本の公教育の現状を、バイリンガリズムという側面から見据えることで、最近始まったばかりの小学校での英語教育のあり方に対しても、方向性が見えてくるような気がします。

福井医科大学 田浦秀幸

『帰国子女100人の昨日・今日・明日：バイリンガルジャパニーズ』佐藤真知子著（1999年）東京：人文書院。265頁。

この著者は23才の時から30年以上にわたってアメリカやオーストラリアに居住し3人の子供を育てながら、海外生活体験をまとめた本を何冊か出しています。今回のこの本では、帰国子女として日本に戻ってきた後、現在は社会人になっている帰国女性の体験談や人生観（外国の学校体験、帰国後の学校体験・職場体験、結婚観、結婚生活に関するもの）が扱われています。100人以上の帰国女性にインタビューして得た生の声が、そのまま書き綴られていて、非常に興味深い内容となっています。幼くして言葉のわからない国の学校に一人で通うことの心細さを支えるのは家族であり、日本にいる時よりも家族の絆がうんと強まったとか、帰国後の担任の先生の一言で学校に通うのが楽しくも辛くもなったりするという頭ではわかっていることでも、実際にそれを体験した人たちの言葉で読むと、その大変さがひしひしと伝わってきます。海外で暮らしたことの無い方が読まれると、帰国生徒に対する見方が、「英語ができていいな」という羨望だけではなくにちがいありません。また、これから海外赴任の予定がある方々には、実に役に立つ参考書になることでしょう。そして、現在中学、高校在籍中の帰国生徒にとっては、自分たちの先輩が、どのように日本社会の中で生きているのか、沢山の見本（role-models）をこの本の中に見い出すことができます（帰国生の数が一挙に増え今のようになったのはせいぜい70年代後半なので、先輩といっても30歳代前後の方が一番年上でしょう）。250ページほどありますが、平易な文で体験談をまとめ上げた本なので、読み終えるのにそれほど時間はかからないでしょう。

「数カ国語を操れる人でも感情や羞恥心と直結した言葉としては、母語以外は使えない」「帰国生は書類さえそろえば簡単にブランド大学へ入れる特別の権利を持っている」「結婚とは直接つながりそうにない男性と関係を持つというライフスタイルも1つの選択肢になっている」など、あまりに紋切り型であったり、独断的な結論のため、閉口してしまう部分があるところどころにあります。これも本は批判的に読むものと割り切れれば済むでしょう。ただ、これだけ沢山の（今は社会人となっている）帰国生の体験談を載せたものは類が無く、筆者の地道な情報収集の姿勢には頭が下がります。膨大な資料にもかかわらず、学術書のように、むやみと統計資料や数値をふりかざしておらず、インタビューから直接引用された部分には引き込まれてしまう本です。帰国生徒自身、その保護者の方々、帰国生徒に接している教員の方々は言うに及ばず、新たな視点を求める人にはお勧めの一冊です。

福井医科大学 田浦秀幸

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